

Abstracts and Biographies

Title: Matthew Fontaine Maury, Filibuster

Presenter: Roger Bailey, U.S. Naval Academy

Abstract: In recent years, many scholars have identified famed oceanographer Lieutenant Matthew Fontaine Maury with proslavery American expansionism. Recent scholarship, however, has observed that the mid-1800s witnessed the rise of an archetypal expansionist schemer. This eclectic group of political figures, adventurers, and filibusters (private invaders of Latin America) was characterized by ever-shifting political and national loyalties as they sought personal aggrandizement through imperial projects. Using Maury's speeches, publications, and promotion of naval exploration, this paper will argue that, while Maury was proslavery, his imperial designs on South America could more accurately be seen as examples of the same expansionist scheming practiced by American filibusters.

Bio: Roger Bailey is the Class of 1957 Postdoctoral Fellow in American Naval Heritage at the United States Naval Academy. He holds a PhD in US History from the University of Maryland, College Park and a BA from the College of William and Mary. His doctoral dissertation, “‘The Great Question’: Slavery, Sectionalism, and the U.S. Naval Officer Corps, 1820-1861,” received the Society for Military History’s Best First Manuscript Prize for 2022 and is currently under contract with Cornell University Press.

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Title: For the Lack of a Base the Fleet was Lost

Presenter: Larry Bartlett, Independent Researcher

Abstract: The transition from sail power to steam power presented a challenge to the world’s navies. The adoption of steam power dramatically changed tactics and strategic geography. The tactical advantages steam provided were immediately obvious, the strategic advantages less so. Steam ships traded one limitation on their mobility for another. While they could ignore the wind, they were tied to “coal piles” by their steaming radii. British historian Daniel Hedrick has argued that modern technologies such as steam power made imperialism possible. Some naval officers argued that steam power made imperialism necessary.

The U.S. Navy wrestled with this dilemma as it made its transition to steam power in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This presentation will address the navy’s multi-pronged attempts to solve the problem. One of the major efforts of the navy was the acquisition of foreign bases over which it had sovereignty. The navy focused on two areas: the Caribbean and the Pacific. By the early twentieth century the Pacific became the main area of interest. Hampered by technological limitations, conflicting national and institutional ideals, and limited funding the navy never fully solved the refueling problem until WWII.

Bio: Dr. Larry Bartlett received his Ph.D. from Texas Christian University in 2011. His dissertation focused on the creation of the new American navy between 1865 and 1914. A late comer to academia, Dr. Bartlett graduated from Texas A&M in 1973 with a B.A. degree in economics. He served four years as a commissioned officer in the U. S. Army before resigning to start a business in El Paso, Texas. In 1999 he sold his flourishing business to pursue a deepening interest in history, acquiring an M.A. in history from the University of Colorado, Colorado Springs in 2003. Bartlett has served as NASOH's membership secretary since 2006 and as treasurer since 2008.

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Title: “Mad Jack” and the Missionaries – Conflicting American Imperialisms

Presenter: Stephen R. Berry, Simmons University

Abstract: When Lt. John (Mad Jack) Percival commanding the USS *Dolphin* anchored in Honolulu on January 14, 1826, its crew anticipated sexual access to Hawaiian women. Fueled by tales of scantily clad Pacific islanders swimming out to welcome vessels, the news that the Queen had recently “tabooed” such practices dashed the mariners’ expectations. Other laws regulating the sale of alcohol further frustrated the newly arrived seamen. American merchants on the island met with Percival and singled out the suspected culprits: American missionaries led by Hiram Bingham.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) established its presence in the Sandwich Islands in 1820. By 1823, Queen Ka‘ahumanu along with several prominent chiefs converted to Christianity. The missionaries exported their view of civilization including a moral code regulating sex, dress, and other behaviors. For the American merchants operating in Honolulu, however, these changes challenged their own hierarchies of civilization, which included access to the bodies of native women. During the *Dolphin*’s stay in Honolulu, U.S. naval sailors damaged the missionaries’ property and threatened further violence on their persons.

While the physical conflict concluded when Lt. Percival and the *Dolphin* departed Honolulu after three months, a lengthy war of words continued in newspapers and court documents for years afterwards. The incident and its aftermath revealed the tensions involved in American imperial endeavors. Mariners and missionaries carried the two initial burdens of the United States’ overseas imperial enterprise, commerce and civilization whose struggle ultimately contributed to an increased American presence in the region.

Bio: Stephen R. Berry is associate professor and department chair of history at Simmons University, where he teaches courses in Early American, Atlantic World, and American religious history. He received a BA and MEd from Vanderbilt University, a MLIS from the University of Southern Mississippi, a MDiv from Reformed Theological Seminary, and a PhD in religion from Duke University. He is the author of *A Path in the Mighty Waters: Shipboard Life and Atlantic Crossings* published by Yale University Press in 2015. His research focuses on maritime and religious history, particularly the lived experience and construction of culture on board sailing ships. His current work investigates American mariners’ cultural interactions in the Pacific in the

age of the early republic and the role that maritime commerce played in early American overseas missionary endeavors.

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Title: “*Scandals and Bad Examples:*” Coronado’s Legacy and the Failure of the Luna Settlement

Presenter: Christina L. Bolte, University of West Florida

Abstract: In the 16th century, numerous Spanish expeditions sought to establish a foothold, by land and sea, in what is now the United States. Between 1540-1542 Tristán de Luna y Arellano accompanied Francisco Vázquez de Coronado on an expedition into what is now the American Southwest. The Coronado expedition left a trail of death, destruction, and mistrust in its wake and had a profound impact on Spanish expansionist policy. Luna was charged with establishing a settlement in Florida nearly 20 years later, and his time with Coronado impacted his governance of the fledgling settlement. By reviewing the documents of the Coronado and Luna expeditions, the interconnectedness of Spanish conquest, exploration, and colonization during this period is examined. Although the two expeditions were separated by 20 years, dispatched to different geographical locales, and had distinctively different expedition mandates, striking similarities exist between them. This presentation will discuss these links, across space and time, providing a backdrop for understanding and evaluating the ultimate failure of the 1559-1561 Luna expedition to what is now Pensacola, Florida.

Bio: Christina was born and raised in rural Connecticut. She received her bachelor’s degree in anthropology from East Tennessee State University with a focus in prehistoric and protohistoric archaeology. She is currently pursuing her graduate studies in the University of West Florida’s Historical Archaeology master’s program. Christina has participated in archaeological investigations in Florida, Tennessee, Jamestown, Virginia, as well as the Auvergne region of France. She has directed, supervised, and participated in documentary research and excavations at the 1559-1561 Tristán de Luna y Arellano Settlement on Pensacola Bay since its discovery in 2015. Her thesis research focuses on the Aztec Indian component of the Luna expedition. Her interests include: the late prehistory of the Southeast, Spanish contact and colonialism in the Americas, Disaster Archaeology, Artifact Conservation, Curation, and Collections Management, as well as all aspects of Maritime History and Archaeology.

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Title: Rudder Variation in Dutch Merchantmen of the 17th Century

Presenter: Kimberly Breyfogle, Texas A&M University

Abstract: In addition to dominating international maritime trade during the 17th century, the Dutch Republic had a flourishing trade system on the Zuider Zee. The typical ocean-going merchantman was the fluyt, a long and narrow but boxy ship with a simple rig that was extremely cost effective. The typical inland trader was a smalschip or wijdschip, variations on a

smaller but even boxier ship with a smaller length-to-breadth ratio. It sported a spritsail and had a relatively shallow draft to accommodate the shallow water of the Zuider Zee. Preliminary analysis of the rudders of the two types shows them to be strikingly different, with the analyzed wijdschips having much greater ratios of the area of the rudder to both the lateral waterplane area and the approximate displacement of the ship when compared to fluyts. Wijdschips also have a much lower draft:rudder breadth ratio than fluyts. These design features could be the result of a variety of factors, including making up for the shallower draft and larger breadth of wijdschips, the shallow water they sailed in, and possible heavier reliance on sails to steer fluyts. Dutch shipwrights commented directly on the effect of the ship's shape on the rudder's effectiveness, however other physical factors have been studied by more recent naval architects and likely played a role.

Bio: Kimberly Breyfogle is a second year PhD student in the Nautical Archaeology Program at Texas A&M University studying nautical archaeology and conservation. She interned at the Newport Medieval Ship Museum in 2022 and the NSF REU Site: Exploring Globalization Through Archaeology at Texas State University in 2021.

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Title: A Cactus Across the Atlantic: Prickly Pear in 16th-Century Europe

Presenter: Catherine Brooks, Texas A&M University

Abstract: While the importance of the exchange of plant products such as spices, sugar, and tobacco to the imperial project is well-documented, plants themselves were likewise a resource whose value is less often visible or acknowledged. Whether as instruments of knowledge, objects of commercial value, subsistence products, or symbols of power, in the colonial period live plants were transported across the globe at the behest of European empires. As such, they played significant economic and cultural roles that warrant investigation into the incentives and logistics of their transport. Their presence in the archaeological record is obscured by the realities of preservation, but the evidence of their movement is found in their continued existence in non-native ecosystems.

This paper is concerned with Spanish interest in the prickly pear cactus (*Opuntia ficus-indica*), a Mexico native introduced to Europe in the 16th century, now endemic to the arid climates of the Mediterranean. With the use of archival research and horticultural studies of current prickly pear species found across this region, I will trace the origins and reasoning behind the original introduction of *Opuntia* to Spain, and the conditions necessary for its transfer, survival, and successful implantation in European soil. This work inscribes itself in the subfield of colonial botany and serves to further the understanding of the impetus behind plant transfers, the specifics of the shipboard transport of living plants, and the long-term consequences of these plants' introduction on non-native natural and cultural ecosystems.

Bio: From the province of Québec in Canada, Catherine Brooks was awarded a BA in Anthropology and Asian History from Montréal's McGill University in 2017. She then received her MA in Anthropology from the Nautical Archaeology Program at Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas in 2021. Her current doctoral work on the mechanics and cultural

implications of the transportation of plants aboard sailing ships in the colonial period is a continuation of Master's thesis, which focused on the case study of the late 18th-century British "breadfruit voyages" of Captain William Bligh.

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Title: Reinventing the Wheel: A Historical Analysis of Ship Steering Assemblies

Presenter: Meagan Clyburn, Texas A&M University

Abstract: Prior to the introduction of the ship's wheel, mariners utilized paddles, oars, tillers, rudders, and other steerage assemblies to maneuver their vessels. Although these technological innovations were sufficient in navigating watercraft for thousands of years, the larger warships and merchant vessels of the 17th and 18th centuries required an improved and more robust device to better control their courses. Existing scholarship argues that the ship's wheel was first used at the beginning of the 18th century, but close examination of the archaeological excavation undertaken on the HMS *Stirling Castle* (1679) shipwreck suggests differently. Amongst the wreckage remains two wooden blocks fitted with slots for wooden sheaves. These likely would have directed the ropes of a steering arrangement that supported the use of a simple wheel on the quarterdeck, and was added during a rebuild of the warship in 1699. This interpretation of the archaeological materials provides the foundation for understanding the ship's steering wheel, and therefore allows for the analysis of its development throughout naval and maritime history. Major improvements in its construction, especially in relation to antiquated mechanisms and other steering components, reveal important information about the connection between maritime communities and how naval technology is shared and refined.

Bio: Meagan Clyburn is a second-year nautical archaeology Masters student at Texas A&M University. She studies Age of Sail maritime history and archaeological material remains, specializing in ship construction and the expansion of seafaring to a global scale. Her primary academic focus includes the study of the development of the ship's steering wheel. During the summer of 2022, she participated in the Gaspé Bay Historic Shipwreck Survey through the Institute of Nautical Archaeology. This coming summer she is planning on joining The *Equator* Project team in Everett, Washington to help record and preserve the historic *Equator* ship, and then sailing aboard *Lady Washington* to conduct research on traditional rigging and steering methods.

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Title: Savages in Paradise: American Sailors and the Shaping of the Nineteenth Century Pacific

Presenter: Christopher Costello, U.S. Naval Academy, University of California San Diego

Abstract: Persistent violence framed the ironically named Pacific Ocean as an exotic, othered space populated by a spectrum of peoples described as savage cannibals to tyrannical despots. While cross-cultural violence was not a certainty, cultural and language barriers posed

heightened potential for distrust, miscalculation or aggression. Differing interpretations around ideas of trade, possession, and socially acceptable behavior ashore resulted in what increasing numbers of American sailors rhetorically categorized as “disorder”. Chief amongst these perceptions was the notion that the Pacific was an unknown, ungoverned and therefore disordered space requiring exogenous control to facilitate safe or “civilized” interactions. American sailors responsible for this categorization frequently turned to the United States Navy to discipline and subordinate people characterized as being “uncivilized”. In turn, the Navy conducted savage and oftentimes disproportionate retaliation in an attempt to promote and safeguard American citizens’ activities. Perceptions of disorder and a desire for militarized policing normalized American overseas presence and intervention. Through this process of violent expansion, the U.S. Navy reflected the same base savagery they had been called upon to prevent.

Bio: Chris Costello is a PhD candidate in U.S. History at the University of California San Diego. His research focuses on the new republic and the ways through which American citizens shaped foreign policy in pursuit of divergent private interests in the Pacific world.

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Title: Problems and Solutions: The Archaeology of Early Steamboat Technologies

Presenters: Kevin Crisman, George Schwarz, Carolyn Kennedy, Christopher Sabick

Abstract: Steamboats offered 19th century North Americans a brisk and (mostly) reliable new form of transportation, but the learning curve with this nascent technology was steep and sometimes fatal. The earliest decades of the steam revolution witnessed an ongoing struggle by designer-builders and operators to overcome limitations imposed by materials (chiefly wood and cast iron), by seat-of-the-pants manufacturing techniques, and by fundamental ignorance of the forces involved in the use of steam. An ongoing process of incremental, trial-and-error improvements ultimately led to bigger, faster, and (mostly) safer steamboats by the second half of the century. Archaeological studies of early lake and river steamboat wrecks are uncovering the engineering details that didn’t get recorded, details that illuminate the many problems plaguing early boats, and the solutions applied to overcome them.

Bios: The research presented at the 2023 NASOH conference represents years of collaborative field and archival studies on numerous wrecks of steamboats (and one horseboat) in North America. Dr. Kevin Crisman is a Professor in the Nautical Archaeology Program (Anthropology Department) at Texas A&M University in College Station; Dr. George Schwarz is an Underwater Archaeologist for the U.S. Naval History and Heritage Command in Washington, D.C.; Dr. Carolyn Kennedy is an Instructional Assistant Professor in the Texas A&M Nautical Archaeology Program; and Christopher Sabick is the Director of Research and Archaeology at the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum in Vergennes, Vermont. In addition to the institutions listed here, the research on the archaeology of early steam has benefitted from the generous support of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology.

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Title: Ancient Constitutions and Pacific History

Presenter: Matthew Crow, Hobart and William Smith Colleges

Abstract: In what might be thought of as his Pacific trilogy of *Typee*, *Omoo*, and *Mardi*, the novelist Herman Melville delivered a famously romantic and an increasingly rich, darkly allegorical reconstruction of his own experience of roving in the central and south Pacific. Over the course of these books, he cites and borrows from a wide variety of different sources in his accounts of Indigenous cultures, including the journals of James Cook. Most scholars interpret the use of these sources as either a kind of satirical undermining of the pretensions in imperial ethnography to know another culture, or more critically, as a continuation of their exoticizing project. This paper argues that Melville is not only more subtle than either of these accounts allow, and that he was picking up on something in these texts that even modern scholars of them often fail to appreciate, and that is that these mostly English sources were using a recognizably English language of law, custom, and tradition to think—often but not always dismissively—about the legal cultures of others. Melville developed narratives not just of Pacific Islanders but of the imperial jurisprudence and ethnography that white visitors were using to interpret the cultural plurality that stretches across the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean. Melville’s novels, including *Moby-Dick*, can be read less as oceanic history per se than as oceanic historiography, a critical reflection on what it might mean and what tools one might use to write oceanic history in the first place.

Bio: Matthew Crow graduated from UC San Diego and did graduate work in history at UCLA, receiving his PhD in 2011. Since 2012, he has been a professor of history and law and society at Hobart and William Smith Colleges in Geneva, NY. In addition to articles and essays, he is the author of *Thomas Jefferson, Legal History, and the Art of Recollection* (Cambridge, 2017), and is finishing a second book, *Legal Imagination and Oceanic History in the Art of Herman Melville*. He has received grants and fellowships from the Rockefeller Library of Colonial Williamsburg, the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies, the Huntington Library, the American Philosophical Society, the NEH and Munson Institute at Mystic Seaport, and the Wolf Law Library at the College of William and Mary. He is also a rescue diver, and a frequent guest in the remaining kelp forests of the central and southern California coast.

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Title: The *Lintin*: An American Ship Anchoring the Canton Trade

Presenter: Otis Edwards, University of Hong Kong

Abstract: In the summer of 1830, the Boston merchant Robert Bennet Forbes took possession of the *Lintin* from the Medford shipbuilder Sprague & James. The *Lintin* was built for an entirely new purpose in the history of American commerce: it would be employed as a storeship, permanently anchored at Lintin Island, on the coast of southern China to secretly transship opium brought by ships arriving from the Middle East. In this way, storeships restructured the distribution channels of foreign ships in Canton. Our historiography of the Canton trade credits

storeships like the *Lintin*, for increasing the supply of illicit opium into China, leading to the Opium War.

My research reveals the *Lintin* did more than that; it was a catalyst for transforming traditional maritime roles, for reconfiguring ethnic hierarchies of labor, and instigating entirely new forms of commercial accounting, policies, and communication. And, as the first and only American storeship before the war, the well-furnished *Lintin* became the social center for an exclusive American community abroad. In its twelve years of commercial service in the Pearl River Delta, for hundreds of American merchants, Naval officers and even a few women, the deck of the *Lintin* offered them their first real glimpse of China. I will present what the life of the *Lintin* tells us about American maritime commerce in China before, during and after the Opium war.

Bio: Otis Edwards is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History at the University of Hong Kong. He first went to Taiwan in 1989 to explore his interest in studying Chinese. After returning to the States, he was accepted into the Chinese Studies undergraduate program at UCSD, including an intensive study abroad program at Nankai University in Tianjin. Upon graduation, he embarked a 27-year career in Chinese manufacturing, with postings all over China.

Along the way he obtained an MBA from the University of Western Ontario Ivey School of Business in Hong Kong in 2003, encouraging him to start his own consulting business. With offices in Hong Kong and Shanghai, he assisted North American automotive and aerospace clients pursuing partnerships in China. In 2015 he earned an MA in History from the University of Macau. His thesis engaged questions of Late Qing trade relations with the West, examining the role Lintin Island played in the commercial development of the Canton Trade. In 2017 Otis was accepted to the University of Hong Kong to continue his research of American merchants engaged in the Canton System. His dissertation examines the life of the storeship *Lintin*. He lives in Salem with his wife and three sons.

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Title: How Tuna Shaped the Pacific World

Presenter: Carmel Finley, Oregon State University and Rachel Carson Center for the Environment

Abstract: Fishers had to install engines in their vessels, in the 1930s, before they were able to troll quickly enough to overtake the vast schools of tuna living in the Pacific Ocean. Tuna are one of the most significant natural resources of the Pacific, feedings thousands of people globally, employing thousands and worth a delivered value of more than \$3.4 billion dollars. Yet very little of the revenue stays in the Micronesian Islands, according to a recent World Bank report. Why do the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Republic of Palau have so little access to the resources in their waters? The paper looks at the post-war efforts by scientists in Japan and the United States to unlock the migration path of the fish, allowing fleets to follow them to and from their spawning areas. In the absence of international law, both Japan and the U.S. used the construction of the science as a territorial

claim to the waters and the tuna. After the islands were granted 200-mile limit status in the 1980, other nations, including China and Taiwan, also moved into Micronesian waters to fish. Western science played a critical role in structuring economic relations in the Micronesian Islands, allowing other countries to extract most of the tuna resource and leaving the island nations unable to equitably develop and share in their tuna resource.

Bio: Carmel Finley is a historian of science, focusing on Pacific fisheries and oceanography history. She is the author of two books on fisheries history, *All the Fish in the Sea* and *All the Boats on the Ocean. Partly Right and Wholly Wrong, a history of fisheries science*, is out for review at the University of Chicago Press. She received her doctorate from the University of California, San Diego. She is a fellow of the Rachel Carson Center for the Environment in Munich and teaches fisheries history at Oregon State University. She lives in Corvallis.

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Title: Building Bridges Between Shipwreck Artifact Salvagers and Public Agencies

Presenter: Catherine Green, Wisconsin Maritime Museum

Abstract: We are at a critical juncture when treasure hunters who were active pre-Abandoned Shipwreck Act are making generational changes in dispositions of massive and incredibly significant collections of salvaged artifacts. Whether in small, private museums, basements, barns, or abandoned busses, volumes of maritime history are moldering in hidden collections of material culture. Can maritime museums become the bridge between shipwreck artifact salvagers and public agencies?

The Wisconsin Maritime Museum has recently incorporated a significant Great Lakes maritime “legacy collection” of artifacts salvaged from shipwrecks in Lake Michigan prior to 1987. In total, more than 10,000 artifacts were recovered and recorded principally by one diver, with the intention of creating a museum. The artifacts were held in private hands until they were transferred to the Wisconsin Maritime Museum between 2021-2022. This case study will highlight the challenges and opportunities these maritime legacy collections hold for a new era of research and public access.

This presentation will address how these maritime cultural resources can be handled in ethical and transparent ways. The committed and careful process of relationship building and mutual respect for all involved, anchors this often-complicated process. In this case study, consensus around the significance maritime heritage and Great Lakes shipwrecks, and the commitment to share that story with the public, allowed the museum to secure the integrity of this unparalleled collection on behalf of the State of Wisconsin.

Bio: Catherine Green is the Executive Director of the Wisconsin Maritime Museum. She is a maritime professional with 25 years of experience creating and implementing educational programs and managing heritage organizations. She currently leads one of the largest maritime museums in the Great Lakes. Her grounding in place-based education was formed teaching college semester-at-sea courses for Long Island University aboard traditional sailing ships in

Atlantic, Pacific, and Caribbean waters. With more than 13 years working for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration as a marine archaeologist, education coordinator, and federal program officer for a watershed education program, Catherine established herself as a knowledgeable teacher, author, and innovative leader. That depth of experience has led to roles in regional, national, and international organizations that focus on maritime history and archaeology, museums, historic ship preservation, and place-based education.

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Title: The Pacific Origins of Postwar U.S. Environmentalism

Presenter: Michael Gunther, Georgia Gwinnett College

Abstract: In a manner somewhat analogous to histories of U.S. involvement in World War II and the Cold War, European and Atlantic influences and connections often take center stage in explanations of the origins of environmentalism in postwar America. Some of this is due to the locations of Washington, D.C. and New York City, the political and cultural nerve centers of the country. Prominent environmentalists like Rachel Carson—as well as politicians invested in environmental concerns, such as John F. Kennedy—hailed from east coast states. Part of the impetus for this paper comes from my teaching and periodic rereading of key Carson works such as *The Sea Around Us* and *Silent Spring*. Put simply, was her work biased toward the eastern United States and the Atlantic Ocean, or, if not, how did she acquire information about the Pacific Ocean and littoral zones, and did stories and data from the Pacific World change her evolving perspectives on humanity and nature? Carson biographer Linda Lear notes that Scripps Institute of Oceanography director Roger Revelle invited Carson to join an expedition to the South Pacific to assess the impact of nuclear testing on wildlife in the winter of 1952-1953. She was unable to go for personal reasons, but it is fair to say that the distant Pacific had a significant impact on Carson's sea literature and on the broader postwar environmental movement. As one obvious example, the death of a Japanese crewman on the fishing boat *Lucky Dragon* (after encountering fallout from a U.S. hydrogen bomb test) sparked growing concerns in the U.S. and other countries about the environmental and health impacts of nuclear testing. Carson mentions this in *Silent Spring*. This paper traces some of the feedback loops of federal military and scientific programs in the Pacific, on the one hand, and emerging cultural fallout in the United States in the form of alertness to emerging threats to environmental and public health, on the other. Diverse fields of endeavor such as oceanography and the peace and antinuclear movements drew strength from the strategic significance of the Pacific Ocean and Pacific Rim in the mid-twentieth century.

Bio: Dr. Michael Gunther was raised in Lake George, a tourist village in upstate New York known for its connections to early American history. He earned his doctorate at Lehigh University in 2010. His dissertation examines the interplay of military activities and environmental change in 18th-century New York. While continuing to work toward publishing on military ecology in the eighteenth century, Dr. Gunther is also under contract to publish a book on the origins of ecofeminism in post-WWII America. He is an associate professor of history at

Georgia Gwinnett College, teaching courses in Colonial America, Revolutionary America, American Environmental History, and American Military History.

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Title: Bringing the Atlantic to the Pacific in Fisheries Science

Presenter: Jennifer Hubbard, Toronto Metropolitan University

Abstract: Fisheries science emerged piecemeal in North Atlantic nations in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and the new discipline was to take root in Australia, Japan and the North American Pacific coast at the beginning of the twentieth century. Despite, or perhaps because of, the Pacific's size and diversity of organisms, the science remained firmly rooted in the Atlantic model for the first half of the Twentieth Century. This paper will argue that features of colonialism and Eurocentrism, both within and outside the scientific community, favoured the practice of early marine scientists viewing the Pacific through an Atlantic lens, including supporting North Atlantic industrializing fisheries harvesting technologies, and in some cases, literally trying to transplant Atlantic species into the Pacific. This paper will also assess the value and impact of these Atlantic-centric approaches to investigating wild species within Pacific ocean, and the technocratic approach to conservation and utility of species that also fostered the later transplantation of Pacific species in the Atlantic, and aquiculture of Atlantic salmon in Pacific coastal regions.

Bio: Dr. Jennifer Hubbard is a professor of the History of Science and Technology at Toronto Metropolitan (formerly Ryerson) University in Toronto, Canada. She was the author of the John Lyman Book Award-winning book *A Science on the Scales: The Rise of Canadian Atlantic Fisheries Biology 1898-1929* (2006); and helped edit another John Lyman Book Award winner (Canadian), *A Century of Maritime Science* (2016). She has published articles on the history of fisheries science in *Isis* and *ICES* journals. She is currently working on a comprehensive history of fisheries science, integrating aspects of oceanic environmental history and the influence of fisheries economists and economics.

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Title: Fu and Philo: An American in a Chinese Naval Academy, 1885-1895

Presenter: Tommy Jamison, Naval Postgraduate School

Abstract: This paper explores the relationship between Philo McGiffin—an American adviser in the Imperial Chinese Navy—and Yan Fu—a Qing advocate of self-strengthening (自強), c. 1885-1895. McGiffin graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1882, but failed to gain a USN position due to austerity. A rapidly expanding Chinese Navy offered his best opportunity for

advancement and combat, and he took it.¹ Yan Fu is widely known as one of China's leading translators of foreign texts; less well-documented is his career as a naval officer.² Li Hongzhang—the most important official in late-Qing history—hired both men to serve as instructors at the Beiyang Naval Academy in the last decade of the 19th century. As Chinese reformers debated the relative merits of “Chinese study for the basis, western study for application” the interactions of McGiffin and Yan promise insights into the transnational Pacific as a laboratory for industrial naval warfare.³ Using archival and published sources in Mandarin and English, this paper follows the deeply entangled histories of two men as a window onto both the United States and China (two vast continental empires) as they pursued a credible naval defense. It also argues that McGiffin offered a conduit for popular and professional opinions about China in the wake of the Sino-Japanese War—a conflict in which he was mortally wounded.

Bio: Dr. Tommy Jamison is a military historian and Asst. Professor of Strategic Studies in the Defense Analysis Dept., Naval Postgraduate School. His work explores the history of naval development and conflict in the Pacific, with an emphasis on technological shifts and institutional adaptation. His work has been published by the *Journal of Military History*, *Technology & Culture*, and *Intelligence and National Security*. In 2022, Dr. Jamison's dissertation “Pacific Wars” won the Society for the History of American Foreign Relations Oxford University Press Award for best dissertation in International History. In 2021, that same work won the Society for Military History's Coffman Prize for Best Dissertation. He holds a Ph.D. (2020) and MA (2017) in International History from Harvard University, a BA in History from Grinnell College (2009) as well as language certificates from the Beijing Language and Culture University. From 2012-2014, Dr. Jamison served in the United States Navy. He currently lives in Monterey, CA with his wife and their Belgian Malinois.

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Title: The F/V Equator: A Century of Salmon and Family Tradition

Presenter: John Odin Jensen, University of West Florida

Abstract: This paper looks at tradition, continuity, and change in a Norwegian-American family who help pioneer the commercial fishing industry in the Pacific Northwest and Alaska. In 1887, twenty-two-year-old Conrad Michael Anderson left a small settlement of farmers and fishermen eking out a living in the cold fjord waters and barren landscape of Norway's Norfolk County. Anderson was of a large stream of young men and women leaving northern Norway's isolation and poverty for opportunities in the Pacific Northwest and Alaska in the later nineteenth and early decades of the 20th centuries. Bringing the skills of fishermen, boat builder, and designer,

¹ Lee McGiffin, *Yankee of the Yalu: Philo Norton McGiffin, American Captain in the Chinese Navy (1885-1895)* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1968). This paper supports a biography to replace Lee McGiffin's work—which was largely written for children.

² Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fun and the West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).

³ Orville Schell and John Delury, *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Random House, 2013).

Anderson settled in the Puget Sound region and ultimately realized his Pacific ambitions by opening a shipyard in Gig Harbor, Washington. A difficult man highly regarded for designing and building vessels of exceptional speed and quality, Anderson retired in 1937 and died in 1952. His sons Chet, Art, and Carl continued in the Pacific boatbuilding and commercial fishing industries until their deaths. In 2023, Conrad Anderson descendants remain active in commercial salmon fishing in Puget Sound and Alaska and Seattle's boat building and repair industry. The year also marks the 100th birthday of one of Anderson's masterpieces, the 65-foot seiner *Equator*. Under the ownership and command of Conrad's great-grandson William Gardner with two more generations of Anderson descendants on board as crew, the *Equator* will enter its second century of service as likely the oldest and almost certainly the fastest purse seiner in the Puget Sound fleet.

Bio: John Odin Jensen is a historian, marine archaeologist, and long-time NASOH member. Specializing in the history and archaeology of North American maritime frontiers and coastal heritage, he is currently associate professor of history at the University of West Florida in Pensacola. One of Conrad Anderson's great-grandsons, Jensen is a former commercial fisherman who (probably) retired from his fishing career with the bonanza Bristol Bay sockeye salmon in 2015.

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Title: It's in Their Hands: Teaching African American Maritime History in Coastal Georgia

Presenter: Kurt Knoerl, Georgia Southern University

Abstract: During the 2022 spring semester, Georgia Southern University's undergraduate maritime archaeology class visited five sites around coastal Georgia related to Gullah Geechee / African American maritime history. The students conducted visual surveys for each of the sites, conducted historical research, and presented their findings to the public through a live presentation, site reports, and by assisting in the creation of a digital storymap. This place based, hands on, educational approach introduced the students to an understudied aspect of Georgia's maritime history. The five sites ranged from early nineteenth-century civil projects such as canal construction to twentieth-century entrepreneurial businesses like oyster harvesting and processing. By this varied approach to teaching the topic, the students gained research and public presentation skills, as well as an appreciation for the Gullah Geechee / African American's impact on Georgia's maritime history.

Bio: Kurt Knoerl is an Assistant Professor of History at Georgia Southern University where he teaches courses in maritime history, maritime archaeology, digital history, and material culture. He is also the founder and director of the non-profit Museum of Underwater Archaeology. His most recent article, entitled 'A Ticklish Craft': Viewing Britain's Empire from Inside a Birch-bark Canoe in the Eighteenth Century was published in *The Mariner's Mirror* in 2022.

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Title: Ambition and Corruption: Diego García de Palacio and Spain's Pacific Trade

Presenter: Erika Laanela, Independent Researcher

Abstract: Many maritime historians are familiar with Diego García de Palacio as the author of the *Instrucción náutica*, an early handbook on Spanish ship construction and navigation published in Mexico in 1587. Less widely known is his role in Spanish attempts to counter attacks from English privateers in the Pacific and his involvement in the construction of several Manila galleons in Nicaragua. After the return route across the Pacific from Asia to the Americas was established in 1565, a small fleet of Spanish ships set off each year from New Spain for the Philippines, where silver mined in the Americas was exchanged for porcelains, silks and other exports. With the help of his brother, García de Palacio sought to gain control over the Spanish trade route across the Pacific. This short paper will contextualize several episodes in García de Palacio's biography that expose his ambition and corruption as a colonial bureaucrat seeking to profit from Spain's Pacific commerce.

Bio: Erika Laanela is an archaeologist and heritage professional with experience working in a range of academic, consulting and government contexts. She studied archaeology at Simon Fraser University, Texas A&M University and the College of William and Mary. Erika has previously worked for the Ontario Ministry of Culture and for Parks Canada's Indigenous Affairs and Cultural Heritage directorate, and she currently works as a heritage policy advisor for the province of British Columbia. This paper is an extension of her personal interests and is based on her Master's degree research on the *Instrucción náutica*, an early nautical treatise published in Mexico in 1587.

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Title: Descent into Madness: Psychiatric Treatment of Royal Navy Personnel 1795-1815

Presenter: Brandon W. Lentz, Texas A&M University

Abstract: The Royal Navy witnessed a substantial increase in psychiatric cases between 1795-1815 on account of the compounding psychosocial stressors experienced from a rigorous life at sea. The perspective held by the British Admiralty that "mania, madness, and lunacy" resulted from consequences arising from instances of *intoxication*, *accidents*, and *disease* largely prevailed despite contemporary notions of "mania" strictly arising from combat stress reactions (CSRs). Consequently, sailors treated and considered cured of "mania" generally returned to active service, usually to the same vessel or command, while a diagnosis of "lunacy," on account of in-patient treatment at a Royal Navy asylum, resulted in duty rotations, transfers, or removal from the service altogether.

Previous research by 20th-century naval historians commonly perpetuated the perception of the Royal Navy as being an institution held aloft by the ideals of personnel possessing "hearts of oak." While this widespread belief maintains a measure of truth as it relates to the service overall, closer inspection of the Royal Navy's medicinal and administrative functions through a study of its hospital records, court-martial cases, and surgeon's logs reveals a far more

sympathetic and progressive approach to treating and supporting service members experiencing acute or chronic mental illness during their sea service. In this paper, I will examine the primary mechanisms of mental illness afflicting seamen during the Long War and argue that despite previous historical notions of stoutheartedness, evidence demonstrates that the navy's desperate need to retain able sailors resulted in greater tolerance toward seamen suffering mental duress.

Bio: Hailing from Calgary, Alberta, Canada, Brandon Lentz previously served in the United States Navy as a Hospital Corpsman for six years before earning his BS in Psychology from Texas A&M University in 2019. He is currently a second-year master's student in Texas A&M's Nautical Archaeology Program and is researching the effects of "mania, madness, and lunacy" experienced by Royal Navy personnel from 1790-1815 as a result of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic War.

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Title: Britain's Shipping Crisis and Canadian trade during the Great War

Presenter: Michael Moir, York University Libraries

Abstract: Control of seaborne trade was a critical factor in determining the outcome of World War I. As Arthur Salter wrote in his book on Allied shipping control (1921), "It was as much a war of competing blockades, the surface and the submarine, as of competing armies." Germany's campaign against British and neutral shipping began in 1914. By late 1916, Britain had lost 640 merchant ships with a capacity of 2.3 million gross tons at a time when 50 percent of food and 85 percent of materials for manufacturing were imported. Britain's government was warned that the current rate of shipping losses would force the Allies to accept Germany's peace terms by the summer of 1917. The crisis led to a vigorous response by British officials, including the requisition of privately-owned tonnage operated by Canadian owners. This paper will examine the impact of removing Canadian tonnage from the Great Lakes and the Atlantic coast to serve under the control of Britain's Ministry of Shipping, in particular the strain upon imperial-dominion relations, the realignment of Canadian trade in grain and coal, and pressure by manufacturers upon the Canadian government to create a merchant marine for the pursuit of overseas contracts during post-war reconstruction that stimulated steel shipbuilding on the Pacific coast and elsewhere in Canada.

Bio: Michael Moir's career as an archivist began almost forty years ago with the Toronto Harbour Commission. He joined York University Libraries in 2004, where he is University Archivist and Head of the Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections and Acting Director of Collections Development and Analysis. His research interests include Canadian shipbuilding between 1890 and 1939, and his study of the Port Arthur Shipbuilding Company won the Henry N. Barkhausen Award for Original Research from the Association of Great Lakes Maritime History in 2021. Moir was elected to the Council of the Canadian Nautical Research Society in 2015. He currently serves as President and is an ex officio member of the Editorial Board for *The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord*.

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Title: Digital Encounter: A Naval Animation at the Canadian War Museum

Presenter: Jeff Noakes, Canadian War Museum

Abstract: As part of the Canadian War Museum's ongoing upgrading of exhibitions and visitor experiences in its permanent exhibition galleries, staff and contractors developed a large-screen immersive computer-animated video experience for visitors to the museum's Second World War gallery. It is a dramatization of a Canadian corvette's nighttime encounter with a German U-boat in the North Atlantic, told from the perspective of the corvette's crew while escorting a convoy.

The approximately 2.5-minute full-colour animated film is projected onto a large curved screen, which replaced an installation using archival film footage projected onto flat screens. This presentation is based on actual events, and draws on published and archival sources such as Alan Easton's memoir *50 North*, deck logs from HMCS *Sackville* and other corvettes, and naval inquiry transcripts, as well as wartime technical documents and more recent research and secondary sources. Some details have been adapted for the presentation, and one of the particular challenges was the compression of events to create an experience that most museum visitors will choose to view in full as part of what is often a multi-hour visit.

This presentation will examine and discuss the development of this visitor experience, including the challenges and opportunities it presents. These include decisions about subject matter and the way in which it is presented, as well as designing an accessible installation that can fit within an established and already-defined space, and the role of archival and historical research in determining and supporting these objectives.

Bio: Jeff Noakes has been the Second World War historian at the Canadian War Museum since mid-2006 and is also the curator responsible for the William James Roué Collection at the Canadian Museum of History. He is the author or joint author of books, book chapters, exhibition catalogues, and articles on subjects related to the First World War, the Second World War, the Cold War, and the Arctic, including *Forged in Fire: Canada and the Second World War* (2016), and, with Andrew Burtch, *The LeBreton Gallery: The Military Technology Collection of the Canadian War Museum* (2015). Along with Whitney Lackenbauer he is the co-editor of A.G. Lester's *Special Contract: A Story of Defence Communications in Canada* (2019); with Tim Cook and Nic Clarke, he is co-author of *Canada in the World Wars* (2016), and with Janice Cavell he is co-author of *Acts of Occupation: Canada and Arctic Sovereignty, 1918-25* (2010).

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Title: Careers in Maritime History and Archaeology: A Roundtable Discussion

Roundtable Panelists:

Alicia Caporaso, Maritime Archaeologist (aliciacaporaso@gmail.com)

Paul Fontenoy, North Carolina Maritime Museums (Ret.) (mdesaxe@gmail.com)

Penelope K. Hardy, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse (phardy@uwlax.edu)

Thomas Jamison, Naval Postgraduate School (thomas.jamison@nps.edu)

Jason Raupp, East Carolina University (rauppj14@ecu.edu)

Roundtable Moderator:

Jason W. Smith, Southern Connecticut State University (smithj131@southernct.edu)

Roundtable Abstract:

The origins of this proposal are in discussions the NASOH Student Sub-Committee has had about continuing initiatives around graduate students and early career professionals in the disciplines of History and Archaeology. The roundtable seeks to bring together historians and archaeologists across a spectrum of professional capacities, institutional affiliations, and experience to discuss their own professional trajectory, what they learned along the way or wish they had known in retrospect, and to offer advice and answer questions about making a career in maritime history and/or archaeology with all its challenges and benefits. Each panelist will be introduced and given time to briefly talk about their careers, followed by pre-circulated questions by the moderator, and plenty of time for questions from the audience. It is our hope that this professional roundtable—similar to those NASOH has organized in the past—will continue to make NASOH a friendly and fruitful organization for those relatively new to these fields while supporting their professional foothold and ensuring the future of our organization and the relevance of the work we do.

Bio: Alicia Caporaso is a maritime archaeologist who has worked for ~20 years in the U.S. Department of Interior with the National Park Service and the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management. Her area of expertise is the characterization of maritime archaeological landscapes and seafloor composition, particularly within the deep-sea. She received her Ph.D. in Archaeological Oceanography from the University of Rhode Island in 2011.

Bio: Paul Fontenoy earned his B.A. and Ph.D. in History from the University of London (Kings College and Queen Mary College respectively) and an M.A. in Nautical Archaeology from East Carolina University. He has taught at New York University, Sophia University in Tokyo, and East Carolina University, and recently retired after 25 years as Curator of Maritime Research and Technology for the three North Carolina Maritime Museums. His principal research concentrations are on national and international naval and maritime technological developments between 1850 and 1950 and their societal impacts. He has written and presented extensively on these topics (three books, several book translations, 100+ articles, chapters, etc., and 20+ conference presentations).

Bio: Penelope K. Hardy is a historian of science, technology, and medicine, focusing on technologies of science, ocean sciences, and scientific exploration of the global ocean. Hardy's research on ocean sciences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries focuses on the role of ocean-going research vessels in the development of modern scientific understanding of the oceans and the ocean-atmosphere system, and in the establishment of oceanography as a field. Her academic fields of interest include the relationship between science and the public, the role of technology in American society, the professionalization of science, and changes in popular understanding of the deep oceans. She has published on topics including military-scientific

partnerships in the US and UK, meteorology in interwar Germany, and ocean mapping as both technical feat and imaginative exercise. Hardy has been an assistant professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse since 2019.

Bio: Tommy Jamison is a military historian and Asst. Professor of Strategic Studies in the Defense Analysis Dept., Naval Postgraduate School. He explores the history of naval development and conflict in the Pacific, with an emphasis on technological shifts and institutional adaptation. His work has been published by the *Journal of Military History*, *Technology & Culture*, and *Intelligence and National Security*. Dr. Jamison's dissertation "Pacific Wars" won the Society for the History of American Foreign Relations Oxford University Press Award for best dissertation in International History (2022) and the Society for Military History's Coffman Prize for Best Dissertation (2021). He holds a Ph.D. (2020) and MA (2017) in International History from Harvard University, a BA in History from Grinnell College (2009) as well as language certificates from the Beijing Language and Culture University. From 2012-2014, Dr. Jamison served in the United States Navy. He currently lives in Monterey, CA with his wife and their Belgian Malinois.

Bio: Jason Raupp is an Assistant Professor of Maritime Studies at East Carolina University and Research Associate in the Department of Archaeology at Flinders University (Australia). Specializing in maritime archaeology and maritime history, he holds a B.A. in Anthropology from Northwestern State University, M.A. in History from the University of West Florida, and Ph.D. in Archaeology from Flinders University. Over the past twenty years he has been involved with maritime and terrestrial archaeological research in the United States, Africa, Australia, Asia, Europe, the Caribbean, and the Pacific region. Raupp's research interests include historical and maritime archaeology of the Pacific Ocean, Latin America, and the Caribbean; culture contact; historic fisheries; military technologies; battlefield studies; and contact-period rock art. He has authored or co-authored chapters in books, papers in conference proceedings, book reviews, and professional reports, as well as numerous articles which have appeared in peer-reviewed journals including the *Journal of Maritime Archaeology*, *the International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, *the Bulletin of the Australasian Institute for Maritime Archaeology*, and *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Bio: Jason W. Smith is associate professor of History at Southern Connecticut State University. He has published in the *Journal of Military History*, *the International Journal of Maritime History*, *Environmental History*, and the *New England Quarterly* as well as essays in various edited anthologies. In 2018, UNC Press published his first book *To Master the Boundless Sea: The U.S. Navy, the Marine Environment, and the Cartography of Empire*. His second book-length project is a cultural history of American navalism between 1890 and 1916.

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Title: "Poor Doomed Souls": Tragedy in a Great Lakes Maritime Community

Presenter: Melissa Elaine Parchment, University of West Florida

Abstract: This paper analyzes the maritime community in the port of Manitowoc, Wisconsin, through the lens of the wreck of the *Sea Bird* steamer in 1868. As part of the Goodrich Transportation Company line of steamers, the *Sea Bird* was based in Manitowoc and traveled throughout Lake Michigan, transporting passengers to and from Chicago, Green Bay, and Milwaukee. On April 9, 1868, the *Sea Bird* caught fire and sank a few miles offshore from Waukegan, Illinois. Of the approximate eighty people onboard at the time of the disaster, only three survived, one of whom lived in Manitowoc. Nearly twenty victims lived and worked in Manitowoc or frequently visited family members residing there. Among these victims were James A. Hodges (the *Sea Bird* clerk), John Sorenson (a Norwegian ship captain and carpenter), Henry Nieman (a young deckhand supporting his widowed mother and siblings), Joseph D. Doucett (a former lumberman), and Charles Riechen (a German-born master carpenter in Goodrich's Manitowoc shipyard). Public coverage of the tragedy highlighted the port's maritime identity, but it also allows for a contemporary examination of the complex relationship between the residents of a developing nineteenth-century port and the lake upon which their community relied.

Bio: Mel Parchment is currently a second-year graduate student at the University of West Florida's History Department. Her interests include nineteenth-century maritime communities, maritime cultural landscapes, and quantitative research. Life in a military family exposed Parchment to diverse communities, and her familial ties to Wisconsin helped nurture a genuine love of mid-lake Michigan history.

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Title: Americanizing Alaska: The U.S. Navy and Revenue-Marine in Alaskan Waters, 1867-1899

Presenter: Anthony E. Peebler, Texas Christian University

Abstract: In the first three decades of American Alaska, indigenous Alaskans composed a vast majority of the population in the territory, and if the United States was to permanently establish a foothold in Alaska, U.S. leadership believed that they needed to Americanize the territory and bring these groups under their control. The U.S. Government tasked Navy and Revenue-Marine vessels with enforcing American authority on the indigenous population, regulating commerce and fisheries, and otherwise assisting civilian authorities, an objective that culminated in the Revenue-Marine's humanitarian operations of the 1890s. These efforts largely succeeded, establishing American authority over indigenous affairs by force, the regulation of commerce, and humanitarian support of both indigenous and American populations in the harsh Alaska climate, solidifying U.S. control over the territory.

Bio: Tony Peebler is a PhD student in U.S. History at Texas Christian University. His MA thesis examined the U.S. Navy acting in diplomatic and security roles in the Kingdom of Hawai'i, 1826-1851. He is currently researching broader themes of the nineteenth century U.S. Navy's role in expanding American empire in the Pacific and how the United States envisioned a Pacific empire in the nineteenth century in general.

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Title: Using Network analysis: Reevaluating forced labor recruitment in San Francisco

Presenter: Nancy Quam-Wickham, California State University - Long Beach

Abstract: In this paper, I demonstrate how computer assisted data analysis can uncover networks of labor recruiters, or crimps, engaged in the procurement of sailors for ships at San Francisco in the late 19th century. *Shanghaiing*, or the kidnapping and delivery of working men to crew the world's sailing vessels, was a global phenomenon in the nineteenth century. It was a particularly brutal and near-universal feature of San Francisco's waterfront and the ships that sailed the Pacific. Most sources have identified crimps as boardinghouse keepers, saloon owners, clothiers – businessmen who preyed on the stereotypical “drunken sailor.” Using a variety of sources, including James Laflin's record book for the period 1886-1890, and the power of computers, I show that these networks were far more extensive than previously known. Networks of crimps emerged all across San Francisco, from the waterfront bars to the neighborhoods of the western and southern edges of the 19th century port city. In addition to those city officials and local politicians identified by Pickehaupt in his 1996 book, *Shanghaiied in San Francisco*, crimps included teachers who sold the labor of youngsters as cabin boys, nurses and servants, clergy, as well as former sailors. Further, especially in the whaling industry, there were generational dimensions to forced labor recruitment and the sailing workforce. The extent of these networks, uncovered through sophisticated computer assisted network analysis and GIS mapping, emphasizes that working men and boys in this city were quite vulnerable to this form of labor exploitation. This work is part of a larger project on Pacific whaling as a globalization process.

Bio: Trained at the University of California Berkeley, where she earned her doctorate in History, Nancy Quam-Wickham is a historian of labor and the environment. A former merchant mariner as well as a Munson Fellow (2014), she is currently working on several maritime history projects, most of which are related to a larger study of whaling as a global industry. She has written about the history of the oil industry (*Environmental History, Men and Masculinities, Southern California Quarterly*, among others), on the ILWU in World War II, and is the co-editor (and author) of *A Day in the Life of an American Worker* (2 vols, ABC-Clio, 2020). She teaches environmental, California, gender, and maritime history at California State University, Long Beach.

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Title: Modelling Maui's Submerged WWII Training Heritage: Documentation, Education, and Outreach

Presenters: Jason T. Raupp, Dominic Bush, Justin Dunnivant, East Carolina University and University of California – Los Angeles

Abstract: Archaeologists from East Carolina University and the University of California at Los Angeles recently investigated some of the underwater cultural heritage associated with World

War II in the waters surrounding the Hawaiian island of Maui. Working in partnership with the National Geographic Society and the Ocean Exploration Trust, the team surveyed the remains of lost or abandoned aircraft, amphibious assault vehicles, and moorings. This research centered on the physical assessment of these World War II sites to evaluate preservation threats and contribute to the creation of educational resources and outreach tools. A total of seven World War II-era sites were surveyed using photogrammetric recording methods; these include the wrecks of two US Navy aircraft, four amphibious landing craft, and an expansive mooring. Project members used the collected imagery to produce photogrammetric models, which proved not only to be effective visual aids for showcasing some of the island's rich submerged maritime heritage, but also provided archaeologists with detailed site maps made in a fraction of the time generally required. This paper examines the indelible impact left by wartime training activities on Maui through the investigation of these tangible remains.

Bio: Jason Raupp is an Assistant Professor of Maritime Studies at East Carolina University and Research Associate in the Department of Archaeology at Flinders University (Australia). Specializing in maritime archaeology and maritime history, he holds a *B.A. in Anthropology from Northwestern State University, M.A. in History from the University of West Florida, and Ph.D. in Archaeology from Flinders University. Over the past twenty years he has been involved with maritime and terrestrial archaeological research in the United States, Africa, Australia, Asia, Europe, the Caribbean, and the Pacific region.* Raupp's research interests include historical and maritime archaeology of the Pacific Ocean, Latin America, and the Caribbean; culture contact; historic fisheries; military technologies; battlefield studies; and contact-period rock art. He has authored or co-authored chapters in books, papers in conference proceedings, book reviews, and professional reports, as well as numerous articles which have appeared in peer-reviewed journals including the *Journal of Maritime Archaeology*, the *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, the *Bulletin of the Australasian Institute for Maritime Archaeology*, and *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

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Title: Measuring Climate Change Impacts to Maritime Heritage through Community-Guided Surveys

Presenter: Eric Rodríguez-Delgado, University of California San Diego

Abstract: Along the coastal regions of the world, anthropogenic climate change impacts including rising sea-levels, ocean acidification, and increasing storm intensities disproportionately threaten communities and their cultural heritage. Many local communities and stakeholders recognize the importance of these sites as these artifacts contribute to identity building and community resilience narratives. Though many of these communities are excluded from cultural heritage initiatives due to historic exclusion, non-existing infrastructures for engagement, or financial burdens, their community participation is required if adaptation and mitigation responses are to succeed. In this paper, we present a novel survey protocol to measure coastal erosion impacts on cultural heritage that centers the knowledge and priorities of local communities and stakeholders. As a case study, we applied our coastal heritage survey and vulnerability index assessment on the north and northeast coastlines of Borikén, the largest island

of the Puerto Rican Archipelago. Our efforts show how informed community participation and action can contribute to effective coastal heritage management strategies as we identified 21 previously unrecorded sites and provided recommendations and mitigation strategies for 47 sites in total. Our results demonstrate that previous surveys of the island's cultural heritage underestimated the number of cultural heritage sites along the coast and further collaborative efforts between cultural heritage practitioners and community leaders can promote more informed site documentation, mitigation practices and adaptive strategies.

Bio: Eric is a maritime archaeologist currently pursuing his PhD at the University of California – San Diego under the supervision of Dra. Isabel Rivera-Collazo. Through his knowledge and expertise in maritime archaeology, geoarchaeology, environmental remote sensing, paleogeographic modeling, and geographic information systems, he is currently investigating prehistoric and historic maritime cultural landscapes and maritime identity in the Caribbean. Before coming to UC San Diego, he obtained a B.Phil in Anthropology and History from the University of Pittsburgh in 2012 and a MA in Maritime Archaeology from the University of Southampton in 2014, where his research focused on the reconstruction of cultural wetlands in the Humber Estuary. Since then, he has worked as an archaeologist and GIS consultant in the Americas, Italy, Great Britain, Lebanon, and Japan.

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Title: Cataloging Submerged Historic Properties and Precontact Sites in Alaska

Presenter: Will Sassorossi, Gray & Pape, Inc.

Abstract: The Bureau of Ocean Energy Management (BOEM) is undertaking an updated inventory of coastal and submerged historic properties and precontact sites on the Alaska outer continental shelf. Under contract to BOEM, Gray & Pape, Inc., has teamed with NLURA and ASRC Consulting & Environmental Services, to identify the breadth of historical and cultural resources across Alaska. Important areas of information include shipwrecks and downed aircraft of the region, as well as submerged paleo landforms and pre-contact sites. Additionally, a catalog of NRHP eligible sites will be established, creating a multifaceted database, truly unique for BOEM. A large emphasis of this project is to work with Native communities to help identify areas of cultural and historical importance, all of which is to inform project related decisions that can affect the current and historical context of a region or specific location. This on-going project is due to complete at the end of 2023 and will result in not just a management tool to assist BOEM in identifying archaeologically sensitive areas, but also with public facing presentations and outreach tools that emphasize the importance of Alaska's submerged cultural heritage.

Bio: Will Sassorossi is a marine archaeologist, with 10 years of field experience and cultural heritage management. Prior to joining Gray & Pape, Inc. in October 2022, Mr. Sassorossi worked at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) Monitor National Marine Sanctuary (MNMS). While there, he coordinated projects according to the mission of MNMS, as well as collaborating with multiple partners and agencies to conduct field operations to in support MNMS goals. Mr. Sassorossi has extensive experience designing and implementing best practice research survey designs in compliance with regulations and policies, perform side-

scan sonar and diver-based surveys, identifying and evaluating submerged cultural resources according to NHPA and National Register eligibility criteria. As a Registered Professional Archaeologist (RPA) his extensive experience exceeds the Secretary of Interior Standards for Archaeology and History.

Additional Project/Paper Members:

BOEM Representative: Jeffrey Brooks, PhD

Project Manager: Amanda M. Evans, PhD, RPA, Gray & Pape, Inc.

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Title: Perry's *Revenge*: Archaeological Investigations of an Early U.S. Navy Schooner

Presenter: George Schwarz, Naval History and Heritage Command

Abstract: Before his assignment on the Great Lakes and famous victory at the Battle of Lake Erie during the American-British War of 1812, Commodore Oliver Hazzard Perry took part in coastal patrol operations along the Atlantic seaboard. In January 1811, U.S. naval schooner *Revenge*, under the command of then-Lieutenant Perry, encountered thick fog and heavy swells off of Rhode Island and struck a reef. In an unsuccessful attempt to free the sinking ship, Perry jettisoned the masts, anchor, and eight of the vessel's 14 guns before abandoning the hull. Two centuries later the wreck was believed to be rediscovered by local divers, and, since 2012 Naval History and Heritage Command's Underwater Archaeology Branch (UAB) has conducted sonar, magnetometer, and diver surveys to refine the extent of the wreck, confirm its identity, and study the remains. Between 2017 and 2022 UAB partnered with Naval Undersea Warfare Center and the site discoverers to map the wreck and recover artifacts, including a 6-pounder cannon and 12-pounder carronade for conservation, analysis, and exhibit. This paper provides an overview of Navy's ongoing research, collaboration with local divers, and considerations on what the artifacts, once conserved, might reveal about the site.

Bio: Dr. George Schwarz is a maritime archaeologist for the U.S. Naval History and Heritage Command's Underwater Archaeology Branch, who's work involves studying, managing, and preserving U.S. Navy shipwrecks. In addition to naval vessels, Schwarz researches and directs underwater archaeological projects on early modern Iberian vessels as well as early 19th-century steamboat wrecks. He recently published the book *The Steamboat Phoenix and the Archaeology of the Early Steam Navigation in North America*, by Routledge Press, which details studies of the world's earliest-known steamboat remains.

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Title: The Specter of "Alien Seamen" in the US Maritime Imagination

Presenter: Jonathan Thayer, Queens College, City University of New York

Abstract: The 1915 Seamen's Act protected the right of foreign seamen to shore leave and desertion, inadvertently creating a central venue for illegal immigration by ensuring that foreign

seamen, regardless of their citizenship status, would be able to come ashore without having to be subjected to full inspection at official sites at points of entry. Instead, merchant seamen were within their rights to take leave of their ship, avoiding the official processes of immigration inspection altogether and opening pathways to illegal entry into the country through smuggling rings, impersonation, and other acts of circumvention. During the quota era of immigration restriction, the specter of “alien seamen,” fueled especially by the widespread hiring of Chinese seamen on Pacific steamship companies operating under US federal mail-carrier subsidies, inflamed the anxious imaginations of politicians and middle-class and elite Americans who feared the influx of a transient population of working-class men they characterized as politically subversive, and racially, biologically, and morally degenerate. The containment and purge of these threatening workers from the nation’s ports was enacted through the mechanisms of the Johnson-Reed Act and zealous law enforcement agencies at both the federal and local levels. Only in overstepping their authority through the spectacle of indiscriminate dragnet raids in San Francisco and along the East Coast did these enforcement agencies lose their credibility in the public eye and the raids temporarily cease.

Bio: Johnathan Thayer is Assistant Professor at the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies, Queens College, City University of New York (CUNY), where he teaches courses in archival studies and public history. He holds a PhD in History from the CUNY Graduate Center, an MLS with concentration in Archival Studies from Queens College, CUNY, and a BA in English from Wesleyan University. His research focuses on confrontations between merchant seamen and shoreside individuals, institutions, and the state. He is the author of the forthcoming book *Citizenship, Subversion, and Surveillance in US Ports: Sailors Ashore* and co-editor of *Negotiating Masculinities and Modernity in the Maritime World, 1815-1940*, both titles in Palgrave Macmillan’s *Global Studies in Social and Cultural Maritime History* series. Thayer has worked in libraries, archives, and museums for nearly two decades, during which time he has directed the [Seamen’s Church Institute Digital Archives](#) and the [American Merchant Marine Veterans Oral History Project](#).

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Title: Everything That Comes Ashore Is Mine: Shipwrecks and Sovereignties in the Graveyard of the Pacific

Presenter: Coll Thrush, University of British Columbia

Abstract: Emerging from a book project on cultural histories of shipwreck on the northwest coast of North America, a place that has been called the “Graveyard of the Pacific” since the late nineteenth century, this paper affirms Indigenous ownership of lands and sea, particularly in what is currently called Washington State. Bookended with 1855 treaty negotiations in which access to and ownership of shipwrecks was a point of contention, the bulk of the paper focuses on the early era of sustained encounter between foreign ships’ crews and local Indigenous nations as the region was drawn into the larger Pacific world with the rise of the maritime fur trade beginning in the late eighteenth century. In particular, the paper focuses on two shipwrecks: *Sviatoi Nikolai*, a Russian trading ship that wrecked in Hoh territory in 1808, and *Hojunmaru*, a Japanese derelict that washed ashore in Makah homelands in 1834. In both cases, survivors

found themselves entangled in complex extant Indigenous legal orders. Drawing on colonial records and Indigenous accounts, the chapter also examines the afterlives of *Sv. Nikolai* and *Hojunmaru*, both of which continue to feature in local Indigenous and settler memory through modalities that include novels, theatre productions, museum exhibitions, markers on the land, and ongoing relations between distant communities. With its central premise of colonialism wrecking itself on Indigenous shores, this paper, like the larger project from which it is drawn, argues for the persistence of Indigenous sovereignties in place and the potential ephemerality of empire.

Bio: Coll Thrush is a settler scholar who was raised in the treaty territory of the Muckleshoot Indian Tribe near Seattle, Washington. He is professor of history, associate faculty in critical Indigenous studies, and Killam teaching laureate at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, on unceded Musqueam territory. He is the author of *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place* (2007/2017) and *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (2016), and co-editor of *Phantom Past, Indigenous Presence: Native Ghosts in North American Culture and History* (2011). His current project, *Wrecked: Navigating Colonialism in the Graveyard of the Pacific*, is under contract with the University of Washington Press and is expected to be published in 2025.

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Title: Necessary Blood Gold: Whaling in the Development of American Society

Presenter: Michael Toth, Texas Christian University

Abstract: In April 1813, a large fleet of American whaleships sat in the port of Talcahuano, Chile, trapped by two Peruvian men-of-war and approximately 1,500 Peruvian soldiers. The port, a popular refitting point for whalers, had found itself besieged by this invading army of “privateers” due to the previous year's declaration of war between the United States and Britain. Claiming to be allies of the British, the Peruvians declared all American-flagged ships to have been captured as legitimate prizes. While easily dismissed as a minor incident in a war primarily waged thousands of miles away, the events in Talcahuano speak to a larger truth on the place and role of whalers in the (economic) history of the United States; they represented a powerful yet fragile entity key to the development of the young nation. The carrying and cod fishing trades have long stood as the well-loved maritime children of the Founding and Inheriting fathers of the United States, while whaling is often overlooked in its importance. Here American born whalers of numerous races worked together in a miniature representation of the nation, carried forth the flag across the boundless expanses of multiple oceans, and, when needed, were used to advance the political ambitions of those who so frequently ignored them. In highlighting these crucial contributions, American maritime history is ever more closely revealed in its ultimately vital position.

Bio: Michael Toth is a rising third-year Ph.D. student at Texas Christian University, having previously earned his MA there in December 2020. His research focuses on American-flagged whalers in the Pacific between the 1790s and the 1850s, with a particular interest in studying how the American whaling industry was all-encompassingly consumptive. He served as a

Graduate Student Representative for NASOH from Summer 2019 through Summer 2022 and in an emeritus Graduate Student Representative position for the past year while transitioning into NASOH Treasurer. He also facilitates digitizing the Oscar Monnig Meteorite Collection Papers at TCU Special Collections.

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Title: 17th-Century Shipboard Food: The Ship Biscuit and Salted Beef Project

Presenter: Grace Tsai, Texas A&M University

Abstract: The Ship Biscuit and Salted Beef Research Project replicated shipboard food items commonly brought on English ships during the Age of Sail using historically accurate ingredients and food preparation methods. These provisions were then stored on tall ship *Elissa* in Galveston, TX, to simulate a shipboard environment. This talk covers the nutritional, microbiological, and flavor-profiling results of the shipboard provisions and discusses its implications on the health and daily life of sailors.

Bio: Grace graduated with bachelor degrees in Psychology and Anthropology from the University of California, San Diego in 2011 and received her Masters, focused on a rigging reconstruction and deadeye typology, from Texas A&M University. She recently defended her doctoral dissertation on shipboard food from which this talk is based. Her most recent field work includes the *Gnaliç* Project, an excavation of a sixteenth-century Venetian galley that sank off the coast of Croatia, the Burgaz Harbor Project, an excavation of Hellenistic harbors in Turkey, and the Shelburne Steamboat Project, an excavation of a steamboat graveyard in Vermont. She has also helped catalogue lead fishnet weights from *Uluburun*, a late Bronze Age shipwreck, in Turkey.

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Title: Soviet Whaling, Western Environmentalism, and the North Pacific Ocean Environment

Presenter: Ryan Tucker Jones, University of Oregon

Abstract: When Greenpeace protestors ambushed Soviet whaleships off the coast of California in June, 1975, they not only began the process of uncovering that country's secret, illegal whaling, but they also intersected with some of the key processes changing the North Pacific environment. Soviet ships had begun killing sperm whales and humpback whales from Alaska to California in the early 1960s after their whalers had destroyed the valuable whales of the Antarctic. At the same time, Russian deepwater factory trawlers were beginning to fish off the coasts of Washington and California. These developments panicked American fishermen and politicians. As this paper will discuss, it was this panic over Soviet fishing, along with the Saves the Whales movement, that would turn the tide against whaling in the Pacific in the decade that followed Greenpeace's protests.

Bio: Ryan Tucker Jones is Ann Swindells Professor of History at the University of Oregon. He is the author of *Empire of Extinction: Russians and the Strange Beasts of the Sea, 1741 – 1867* (Oxford UP, 2014) and *Red Leviathan: The Secret History of Soviet Whaling* (Chicago UP, 2022). He is also co-editor of *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Ocean* (Cambridge UP, 2023), *Across Species and Cultures: Whales, Humans, and Pacific Worlds* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2022), and *Migrant Ecologies: Environmental Histories of the Pacific World* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2022).

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Title: Hunting the ‘Devilfish’: Whaling Heritage on the Monterey Peninsula

Presenter: Dayan Weller, East Carolina University

Abstract: John Davenport began whaling on the shores of Monterey, California in 1854, the same year the North American Kerosene Gas Light Company began its operation. Three years prior, the seaside town had been the fledgling state’s inaugural capital, and though it no longer held that honor, Davenport’s new venture gave Monterey another point of notability – the first commercial shore whaling station on the American west coast. With the discovery of petroleum and eventual ubiquity of gas lighting through the 1860s, Californian shore whaling began as a moribund industry. The sharp decline in the value of whale oil and a dearth of whales in Monterey Bay nearly finished off the whaling companies operating in its waters by the 1870s, a pattern which continued despite a return in whale stocks towards the end of the following decade. Focused at multiple, sometimes overlapping companies on the Monterey Bay, as well as a station at Point Lobos miles to the south in Carmel Bay, Portuguese-Azorean whalers (and later Japanese whalers) who operated these stations were an integral part of the Monterey waterfront before the era of “Cannery Row.” A final attempt at making Monterey whaling a thriving enterprise occurred in the early 20th century based out of Moss Landing, but by 1927, even that had collapsed. While it never approached the success of the New England-based pelagic ships during the “Golden Age” of whaling, this paper will examine Monterey Peninsula shore whaling as a unique and understudied chapter of coastal Californian history.

Bio: Dayan Weller is a second year graduate student at East Carolina University who grew up in the Monterey Bay area. He attended Cabrillo College, where he began to pursue archaeology as a career and eventually enrolled in the 2014 field school on Santa Rosa Island & in Nipomo, CA and began working in cultural resource management shortly after. He transferred to UC Santa Cruz where he graduated with a B.A. in Anthropology in 2018, and continued to work on archaeological projects until moving to Greenville, NC to begin the Maritime Studies graduate program at ECU. His primary research interest is commercial whaling, and ultimately he hopes to work on the history of the shore whaling industry in central California.

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Title: Drakes Bay, California: A Cultural, Political, Maritime, and Commercial Confluence

Presenter: Steve Wright, Drake Navigators Guild

Abstract: Drakes Bay, California is the location of two official landmark designations relating to 16th century maritime history in the Pacific: Drakes Bay Historic and Archaeological District National Historic Landmark and California Historical Landmark 1061, Site of New Albion.

In 1579, English mariner Francis Drake sailed into the bay with the *Golden Hind* and his purloined Spanish ship, Tello's bark. The crews included men from Europe and escaped or liberated slaves from Spain's New World empire. While encamped from June 17 to July 23, 1579, Drake established friendly relations with the Coast Miwok people and made the first English political assertions in what would eventually become the U.S.A. While sailing for Spain on November 6, 1595, Sebastián Cermeño, arrived at the bay with his Manilla galleon, the *San Agustin*, where in a few days, she was lost in a storm. Although surviving crewmen eventually effected a self-rescue, the entire cargo was lost. In addition to writings by Drake's chaplain, Francis Fletcher, who recorded Coast Miwok cultural information, 20th century archaeological investigations of Coast Miwok middens revealed cultural contact through Ming porcelain sherds, material from the expeditions' cargos. The Coast Miwok had used and modified the porcelain to suit their desires. In these two 16th century moments, people and material from Europe, South America, North America, and Asia converged at Drakes Bay and made it a focal point of how the human spirit interacts with the currents of history.

Bio: Steve Wright is a Northern California native who first developed his intense interest in history during the 4th grade. After joining the Drake Navigators Guild in 2007, Wright became the Guild's fifth president in April 2018 and served in that capacity until January 2023. As he immersed himself into the history of Francis Drake, Wright's contributions included writing a young-adult book about Drake's California adventure; conducting research; giving presentations; writing journal articles; engaging in the successful California Historical Landmark designation, Site of New Albion; and working on a prospective film about Drake's New Albion landing. He remains on the Guild's board of directors today.