

Conference Schedule with Abstracts and Bios

Thursday June 20

Registration opens at 8 am

8:45 - 9:15 am: Conference Opening Remarks

Session 1A: Fisheries: Harvesting, Populations, and Research

Time: 9:30 - 10:45 am

Chair: John Jensen, University of West Florida

Paper 1: International Retrospective (1870 –1970) on Commercial Fishing in the western Lake Superior basin Bill Skrepichuk, Independent Scholar

This image-rich presentation is a historical retrospective of the era from 1870 -1970 providing an international glimpse into Commercial Fishing boom and bust conditions in the western Lake Superior basin. Topics covered will be highlights from the Canadian and American regions of this western Lake Superior basin including Lake Nipigon and will cover the following: Fishing grounds and gear; Resource descriptions; Fish culturing and restocking; Processing, delivery & marketing; Ice vs Salt usage for transport; Fish supply companies; Regulations and seasons; Local area challenges; Fishing stations and families.

This will be a presentation based not primarily on industry statistics but focusing on information from contemporary International Reports, early Journals, and recorded interviews with area Commercial Fishermen and their families (using sources from J.L. Goodier and others). The value of this natural resource of freshwater fish as a vital protein food source that was readily available and supplied broadly to feed our growing nations, will be highlighted.

Bio: Bill Skrepichuk is a published author willing to share his passion and excitement for local and regional resource history in the Thunder Bay, Ontario area. He is a retired professional engineer after thirty years working in the Nipigon Bay area of Lake Superior and is now doing research on the history of early industries along the north shore of Lake Superior. Most of

his recent research work has been published in *Papers & Records*, the journal of the Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society.

Paper 2: *F. E. J. Fry's Impact on Fisheries Science* Neea Jacklin,
Toronto Metropolitan University

Frederick E. J. Fry (1908-1989) was a pioneer of fish population dynamics. He demonstrated a fantastic ability to apply himself effectively to a wide variety of problems. While his work focused primarily upon questions of fish physiology, beginning in the 1930s, Fry became interested in the problem of mathematically modelling fish populations. Unlike other population ecologists, fisheries scientists study “invisible” populations. For this reason, and because of the inherent practical application to important economic activities, mathematical modelling of fish populations became an essential, and to the derision of some, a highly influential, aspect of the science around the mid-twentieth century.

Fry’s “virtual population” analysis, developed in his influential 1949 paper, “Statistics of a Lake Trout Fishery”, and expanded upon by later scientists, is referred to in classics of the field, including Beverton and Holt’s 1957 *On the Dynamics of Exploited Fish Populations*. However, Fry did not turn his back on the life-history-style fisheries science that had dominated the previous decades; he placed a great emphasis on both field study and laboratory work. He was one of the first to take into consideration environmental factors on fish growth and population size, perhaps due to his pervasive interest in fish physiology, which he did both *in situ* and in laboratory study of live fresh-water fish. He blended these more costly and time-consuming practices with fashionable mathematical models to address problems in fisheries management with remarkable foresight.

This paper, based on archival sources, proposes that Fry was uniquely positioned at the University of Toronto to take advantage of its heyday as an influential locus of fisheries science in the early-to-mid-twentieth century. His interests spanned the typically highly specialised sub-fields of his discipline, and his work on the Great Lakes fisheries led him to grapple with problems in fisheries management which have yet to be solved today.

Bio: Neea Jacklin graduated with an Honours BA in History from Ryerson University. She has worked as a Research Assistant helping with Dr. Jennifer Hubbard's archival research at the University of Toronto Archives,

and has presented her own research at the November 2023 conference held by the Canadian Science and Technology Historical Association. She has applied for graduate studies in the history of science and technology.

Paper 3: The Atlantic, the Pacific, and the “Oceans” in Between

Jennifer Hubbard, Toronto Metropolitan University

Due to the enormous scope of global fisheries and fisheries science, historians have tended specialize in the fisheries of a specific ocean or other body of water. Historically, the field has divided into historians of freshwater and historians of ocean science. This may skew our understanding of the history of fisheries science, hydrobiology, and oceanography, and raises the question of whether or not the fisheries scientists and oceanographers in the early and mid- twentieth century similarly distinguished between ocean and fresh-water science. This paper will present the history of the Limnological Society of America from its origins in 1934 (the historical information on its website is incorrect in dating the society’s origins in 1936) through to its transformation into the American Society of Limnology and Oceanography in 1947-48. This transformation will be viewed through the lense of Dr. Archibald Gowanlock Huntsman, who joined the society in 1937, who was led, by his research on the highly anadromous Atlantic salmon, to challenge the barriers between freshwater and ocean science. Huntsman himself promoted the society’s expansion beyond its freshwater barriers to encompass ocean science, and was instrumental in pushing for the changed name. Fortunately, Huntsman apparently saved every scrap of paper he ever scribbled on, and his extensive correspondence, upon which this paper is based, is available at the University of Toronto Archives. This paper will also address the similarities and differences in focus and emphasis concerning fresh-water lake versus ocean science, with a focus on fisheries science.

Bio: Dr. Jennifer Hubbard is Professor of the History of Science and Technology at Ryerson/ Toronto Metropolitan University. She has published *A Science on the Scales: The Rise of Canadian Fisheries Biology 1898-1939* (2006) and was the primary editor of *A Century of Maritime Science: The St. Andrews Biological Station* (2016), to which she contributed a chapter and the introduction. Both books won a John Lyman Award from NASOH. She has published articles in both *Isis* and *ICES Journal of Marine Science*, and is currently researching and developing a

history of fisheries science that encompasses its development from the earliest times to the present.

Session 1B: Vessel Design and Function: The Influence of Task at Hand

Time: 9:30 - 10:45 am

Chair: Kimberly Monk, Brock University

Paper 1: *Northern Light: A Daggerboard Hay Scow of Eastern Lake Ontario* Ben Ford, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, and Carrie Sowden, National Museum of the Great Lakes

The wreckage of the *Northern Light* was discovered, photographed and identified in 2022 by Tim Caza and Dennis Gerber, and the visible remains were documented in 2023 by a team of archaeologists, volunteers, and students. This small wooden scow schooner was a part of an unofficial fleet of vessels called “hay scows”. Built in 1899 in Chaumont, NY, the *Northern Light* was used exclusively in local trade at the east end of Lake Ontario, finally sinking in October 1916 in a storm near Galloo Island.

The discovery of the *Northern Light* and its initial documentation led to excitement among Great Lakes archaeologists. The vessel has a daggerboard instead of a centerboard, a characteristic only anecdotally documented in a handful of vessels in Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, with the “newest” being possibly dated to the 1840s. This is the first daggerboard that has been fully documented by archaeologists and research and interpretations are still ongoing. The vessel also shows some other interesting characteristics, including a strong stringer at deck level that appears to be giving more structural integrity to the boat than the small frames and light planking. This paper will present the initial findings from the 2023 summer field work, a discussion of some of the historical questions that have been uncovered, and the unique triad of organizations working on this project.

Bios: Ben Ford is a Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. He has researched the maritime archaeology of lakes Erie and Ontario for two decades. He is a founding member of the Pennsylvania Shipwreck Survey Team and serves on the Pennsylvania Historic Preservation Board. His publications include *The Shore is a Bridge:*

The Maritime Cultural Landscape of Lake Ontario and Our Blue Planet: An Introduction to Maritime and Underwater Archaeology (with Jessi Halligan and Alexis Catsambis).

Carrie Sowden is the Director of Archaeology and Research at the National Museum of the Great Lakes where she has been for almost 20 years. During that time she has worked all over the region and collaborated with many archaeologists on a variety of projects. She is the assistant editor for the quarterly publication, *Inland Seas*, and curates the exhibits at the National Museum of the Great Lakes. Sowden is the vice-chairman of the Association for Great Lakes Maritime History and the secretary for the Council of American Maritime Museum.

Paper 2: *The Humble Logging Tug: Workhorse of Northwestern Ontario* Michael de Jong, Thunder Bay Museum, and Jeff Mundy, Thunder Bay Museum

The geography of Northwestern Ontario is defined by its waterways, and in the absence of roads and railways, water has been instrumental in the transportation of timber. Logs were difficult to transport over long distances in the era from the late 1800s to the early 1980s, before large powerful trucks and good quality roads were common.

A variety of watercraft have been utilized to move timber from the bush to the many lumber and pulp mills, from small skiffs assisting in river drives, to huge lake freighters transporting saw logs and pulpwood. This presentation will focus on tugboats used in this industry, which range from larger tugboats that towed log booms across and around Lake Superior, to the smaller purpose-built tugs which operated on smaller lakes and rivers, gathering logs into rafts and assisting with river drive operations.

The presentation will briefly discuss the shipyards in Northwestern Ontario that built them, and highlight some of the key forestry companies, such as Abitibi Power and Paper, Nipigon Lake Timber, Newaygo Timber and others, that utilized them and how they fit into their operations. The various uses of tugboats will be discussed, including alligators and other warping tugs, tugs that assisted in log drives, and those that assembled and towed log rafts. It will highlight several fascinating case studies, including the *Kingfisher* and the *Rachel S*, as well as larger tugboats like the *James Whalen* and *Peninsula* where logging use was just one part of their story. Finally, the presentation will discuss changes in technology and

transportation networks that saw these hard working tugboats gradually decline in their importance to the industry in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Bios: Michael deJong is the Curator/Archivist at the Thunder Bay Museum, a role he has been in since 2017. In this role Michael supervises the Museum's archival collection, researches and writes exhibit content, and also facilitates access to the archives and assists with external research. Michael completed his undergraduate education at Nipissing University (2006), before pursuing graduate studies from the University of New Brunswick (2011) where he obtained a Master of Arts in History. Michael has also completed the Certificate in Museum Studies through the Ontario Museum Association.

Jeff Mundy is a retired professional forester and graduate of Lakehead University's Honours Bachelor of Science in Forestry program. Jeff spent his career in the logging industry in Northwestern Ontario. Focusing on his interests in the history of industrial forestry in this area, Jeff has been embraced by the Thunder Bay Museum and in return for volunteer work has been able to indulge his curiosity. Jeff has written a number of articles on topics related to local forest history. Through his connections in the industry, Jeff has facilitated the transfer of a wide variety of new archival collections and objects that will benefit researchers and assist the Museum's exhibit programs.

Paper 3: Testing the Typology: New Analysis of Civil War Blockade Runners Alexander Owens, East Carolina University

Historians have examined Civil War blockade runners from many perspectives. This includes seeing the watercraft as phenomenal works of industrial engineering, ships that took daring escapes, and vessels that either single-handedly saved the Confederate economy (or doomed it). So much research on blockade running has occurred that prior researchers sought to create archetypes to describe the changing dimensions and technologies of these ships. Arguably, this work has been influenced by a limited array of historical sources and has tended to focus on the work of Confederate agent James Bulloch. Bulloch's writings emphasized a list of important anatomical features, and researchers have tended to organize typologies around these traits. Such historical sources take for granted the complexity and the wide range of locations where these ships were built.

This paper aims to challenge these assumptions by using new approaches, namely a critical examination of traditional blockade runner typologies.

Bio: Alexander Owens is a graduate student at East Carolina University. He graduated from the University of Georgia in 2021 with a bachelor's degree in Anthropology and certificates in Geographic Information Systems, Archaeological Sciences, and Historic Preservation. The same year, Alexander received a dual internship with the US Navy's Naval History and Heritage Command and the American Anthropological Association. He is interested in 19th-century and 20th-century maritime history as well as GIS and 3D modeling applications in his research. Alexander is currently a student member of the North Carolina Maritime History Council.

Session 2A: Innovative Warfare, Success and Failure

Time: 11 am - 12:35 pm

Chair: Thomas Malcomson, Independent Scholar

Paper 1: Taking the War North: Confederates on the Great Lakes John Grady, Independent Scholar

In cramped Navy Department offices in Richmond's Mechanics Institute or down in spaces at the landing at Rockett's Wharf, Confederate Navy Lieutenant William Murdaugh was spelling out in detail in text manpower requirements, illustrated with railroad maps and navigation charts, and ledger book costs -- \$25,000, for the secretary on how the war for independence could be carried successfully to the Great Lakes. In the words of his close friend, Lieutenant Robert Minor, what the grievously wounded Murdaugh was committing to paper was nothing less than "brilliant and inviting." With only one federal warship allowed to patrol from Lake Erie to Lake Superior, Minor itched "to bring the war North" by attacking cities from Buffalo to Chicago.

Better yet, Canada's canals, Welland especially, could provide convenient gateways for a disguised Laker in Confederate hands to steam from one to another. Popular railroad guides illustrated other ways to move officers, men, and agents freely about. Upper Canada's track connected to railroads on the United States side at Niagara Falls, New York and its Great Western line extended to Sarnia on Lake Huron. It also sliced distances between key terminals -- Hamilton and Windsor -- following shorter cross-land routes.

The catch to all Murdaugh's planning was: Great Britain's neutrality. As President Jefferson Davis reminded his cabinet, the Confederacy has much to lose: commerce raiders coming from Britain and Scotland's yards; arms – from pistols to cannons; medicines; and “loyal subjects” piqued by greed to run the Union blockade. For now, Davis ordered “hold off.” And as weeks passed and casualties mounted, Confederate interest – from the War and Navy Departments increasingly focused on one spot in a bay off Lake Erie. Halfway between Cleveland and Toledo, on Johnson's Island, 2,000 Confederate officers and political prisoners were confined. Turn those freed prisoners loose on unsuspecting Ohioans! The impact on Union willpower could only be imagined. Sandusky, the closest city to the prisoners, was reachable by rail from the east, west, and south. Johnson's Island and Sandusky also were served by steamers from Detroit; Ohio port cities; Erie, Pennsylvania; and Buffalo.

The New York publishers of Dinsmore's “Official Railroad Guide: Travelers' Pocket Companion,” the “North American Railway Guide,” and the richly illustrated “Appleton's Railway and Steam Navigation Guide” with time tables, distances, and connections for trains, steamboats, and propellers across the United States, Canadas, and on the northern Lakes couldn't have foreseen in 1860 what a treasure trove they delivered to desperate men.

Like counterparts in Liverpool or along the Clyde, Confederates in Canada could use a front agent to buy a lumber-hauling “propeller,” as steam-powered Lakers were called, that could be transformed into a warship. Yet the November 1863 attack Davis approved to free the POWs failed – miserably, betrayed by an insider.

Less than a year later, with Confederate Commissioner Jacob Thompson operating from a Toronto hotel, a more desperate Richmond turned its eyes again on Johnson's Island. To succeed, land and water attacks must be timed to a prisoner revolt. This presentation examines that new daring plan.

Bio: John Grady is the author of *Matthew Fontaine Maury: Father of Oceanography*. He has contributed to *Sea History*, *Naval History*, the *New York Times* “Disunion” series, *Civil War Monitor*, *Civil War Navy*, and *Journal of the American Revolution*. Grady has presented at the History Camp (George Mason University), Society for Military History, McMullen Naval History Conference, North American Society for Oceanic History,

Virginia Historical Society, American Civil War Museum, Mariners Museum, and in the “Great Lives” series at Mary Washington University. He continues reporting on national security and defense for the United States Naval Institute. He holds a master of science degree from the University Of Illinois – Urbana.

Paper 2: *The Soldier and The Sailor at Vicksburg: Unprecedented Joint Operations* Dwight Hughes, Independent Scholar

Admiral David Dixon Porter, commanding the U. S. Navy Mississippi River Squadron and General Ulysses S. Grant commanding the Army of the Tennessee formed an underappreciated partnership in 1863 to conquer the Confederate bastion on the Mississippi River at Vicksburg.

Americans had no experience with extensive operations on inland waterways requiring specialized classes of war vessels commanded and manned by naval personnel cooperating with land forces. The U. S. Navy began the war with no shallow-water warships, no tactics, no command structure, no infrastructure. Neither service was versed in the relatively new—less than half-century old—business of steam rivermen and rivercraft swarming heartland waters.

Below the commander in chief, there was no joint commander, no joint staff, and no protocols or mechanisms for directing joint operations. Officers of one service could issue no orders to an officer of the other service, respective rank notwithstanding.

Military cultures with distinct organizations, technologies, and skills were required to cooperate within a common strategic framework. When service leaders failed to plan and execute together, tactical missteps and lost strategic opportunities followed. Efficient partnerships produced hard won victories, but it was a learning process.

“I assumed command of the Mississippi Squadron at Cairo, Illinois, in October, 1862,” wrote Porter. “There were the sturdy ironclads that had fought their way-from Fort Henry to Donaldson, to Island No. 10...and destroyed the enemy’s navy at Memphis.” Sturdy they were, but also hurriedly designed and constructed and not invulnerable. “The rest of the vessels...were not very formidable consisting of some side-wheel river steamboats and three or four ‘tin-clads,’ and this was the force with which the navy was expected to batter down Vicksburg.”

Despite contrasting personalities, Porter was charmed by this unassuming soldier who fully involved a sailor in planning and readily accepted advice from him. The general appeared eager to incorporate naval assets as integral combat and logistical arms. “Grant, in his plain, dusty coat, was, in my eyes, a greater general than the man who rides around, all feathers and fuss.”

From December 1862 to July 1863, their joint forces conducted unprecedented amphibious river assaults and expeditions through sluggish swamps, flooded forests, and tiny, choked channels. Porter’s squadron braved massive shore batteries, providing transport and heavy artillery support until Vicksburg fell. Grant and Porter “were a formidable combination, hyper-aggressive and strategically astute,” noted one historian. One was “a ground commander with an inborn understanding of topography” and the other “a river warrior masterful at using enemy waters to his advantage.” “The navy under Porter was all it could be, during the entire campaign,” Grant recalled. “Without its assistance the campaign could not have been successfully made.... The most perfect harmony reigned between the two arms of the service.” In a conflict suffering many disastrous leadership clashes, these two superb commanders set the example for joint river operations.

Bio: Dwight Hughes is a public historian, author, and speaker in Civil War naval history. Dwight graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1967 with a major in history and government. He served twenty years as a Navy surface warfare officer and with river forces in Vietnam. Dwight taught Naval ROTC at the University of Rochester, earning an MA in Political Science, and later completed an MS in Information Systems Management from the University of Southern California. His second career was software engineering, primarily in electronic mapping for the U.S. Geological Survey. A ridge in Antarctica is named for him in recognition of contributions to Antarctic names databases and information services. Dwight is author of *A Confederate Biography: The Cruise of the CSS Shenandoah* (2015), and *Unlike Anything that Ever Floated: The Monitor and Virginia and the Battle of Hampton Roads* (2021). He co-edited and contributed to *The Civil War on The Water: Favorite Stories and Fresh Perspectives from the Historians at Emerging Civil War* (2023). Dwight is contributing author at the Emerging Civil War blog and has presented at numerous Civil War Roundtables, historical conferences, including NASOH Conferences, National Maritime

Historical Society Maritime Heritage Conferences, and McMullen Naval History Symposiums.

Paper 3: Wonham's Wireless War: from Lakehead to Lightship Jeff Noakes, Canadian War Museum

Like many of his young male English Canadian contemporaries between 1914 and 1918, Walter Richard Wonham joined up and went to war. Unlike most of them, however, he served in the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN). This may have been due to medical reasons, but he may also have been influenced by a family connection with the Royal Navy. Wonham's wartime and early postwar service brought him into direct contact with many of the central features of the RCN's experiences during these years. He trained as a wireless operator, and was posted to a variety of ships, both purpose-built military vessels and converted civilian counterparts, operating along the Atlantic coast. He also helped bring armed trawlers built at the Port Arthur Shipbuilding Company, in what is now Thunder Bay, Ontario, from the Great Lakes to the East Coast. Berthed in HMCS *Niobe* in December 1917, Wonham survived the Halifax Explosion. His career appears to have been otherwise unspectacular, and ended with a stint as a wireless operator aboard the Lurcher Lightship off Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. Postwar, Wonham took an engineering degree at McGill University and ultimately pursued a career in advertising, as well as serving with the Canadian Army during the Second World War.

Wonham's experiences exemplified many aspects of the operations of Canada's "tin-pot navy" in the latter part of the First World War, and also brought him into contact with some of the themes of the 2024 NASOH-CNRS conference, including ship building, waterways, and conflict, and some of the ways in which waterways linked the Great Lakes and the Atlantic during the First World War. While Wonham does not seem to have kept a diary that has survived, he did create, maintain, and keep an extensive and diverse annotated photo album that helped record his experiences, both at sea and ashore. The album is now part of the collections of the Canadian War Museum. Coupled with his naval service file and other supporting archival and genealogical records, they permit a reconstruction of one Canadian's experiences of the First World War at sea, and its aftermath. They also help shed light on the daily activities of

the RCN during this conflict, as well as some of the ways in which these events were connected to the conference's themes.

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 has also been the historian on museum teams responsible for creating or adapting a number of temporary and online exhibitions. He has worked as a researcher on subjects related to Canada's military and diplomatic history during the twentieth century, and is also 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 edited and provided an introduction for Arnold 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).

Paper 4: Under Pressure: An Engineering Analysis of British Naval Gun Failure Patterns James Fowler, East Carolina University

Because of their material composition and massive bulk cannons are ubiquitous in the archaeological record and commonplace throughout the world. Historical developments in metallurgy and material science paralleled progress in artillery design. However, seemingly random catastrophic gun failures continued to plague militaries well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with sometimes significant repercussions. This paper offers a multidisciplinary study that combines historical, archaeological, and engineering methodologies to answer complex archaeological questions concerning cannon failure patterns. Specifically, this paper analyzes an attempt to utilize engineering Computer Aided Design (CAD) software to conduct Finite Element Analysis (FEA) on a model of an eighteenth-century British 24-pounder naval gun in order to simulate how guns fail.

Multiple accounts exist of cannons exploding or otherwise failing and injuring British soldiers on the island of Antigua. An example of a failed

British Blomefield 24-pounder currently resides at the Blockhouse Ruins on the island. A team of archaeologists from East Carolina University conducted a recent archaeological field school on Antigua and documented the cannon by conducting photogrammetry and producing a model.

Archival documents and historic engineering drawings were located and used to accurately recreate the British naval gun in the form of a computer model in AutoDesk Inventor. The model is a dimensionally specific recreation, not only visually complete but also accurate in respect to its material properties and other invisible, physical characteristics. CAD is currently used within the engineering field during the design phase to model and test future components in a simulated physical environment. It offers analysis and predictions regarding how the components will perform under different loading conditions once manufactured and allows engineers to appraise the design. Though CAD has rarely been employed in the archaeological field, the multidisciplinary potential for this software is far-reaching. In this case, the software was used to recreate and test the historic cannon design to predict where failure points develop and analyze different failure modes. A static pressure and force simulation was conducted on different versions of the model to reveal stress concentrations and potential failure points. Additionally, fatigue stress simulations were conducted to replicate the cyclical pattern of firing to determine the cannon's average lifespan. A thermal stress simulation was also conducted to help verify if heat plays a significant role in the propagation of stress fractures.

The results of the simulations were then compared to the archaeological data, and the trends are discussed at length. The impact of variables such as age, surface finish/corrosion, material composition, casting techniques, cannon design, and history can be quantified to help understand the archaeological record and explain why some guns failed in the way that they did. The objective of this research is to identify a selection of cannon failure patterns in an effort to help archaeologists and historians record cannons and extrapolate the gun's service history and cause of failure with confidence.

Bio: James Fowler is currently a graduate student at East Carolina University in the Maritime Studies Program. He graduated from the University of Louisville with a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering and a bachelor's degree in anthropology. Though history and archaeology

have always provided a focal point in his research, his methodological approaches are often multidisciplinary in nature. His research interests include eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century naval history, with a focus on technological change, ship construction, and engineering development. He has developed a keen interest in the evolution of maritime steam and military technology and their broader societal, political and strategic impacts.

Session 2B: On the Waterfront: Development, Corruption, Race and Labour

Starts: 11 am - 12:35 pm

Chair: Michael Moir, York University

Paper 1: Double-Dipping: Abraham Skinner, The Grand River Harbour Company, and the Corrupt Scheme to Defraud the United States Government James Risk, University of South Carolina

In 1831, Fairport Harbor, Ohio became the first federally sponsored port on the Great Lakes in the United States. The intent of this sponsorship was to promote economic development in maritime industries such as fishing and ship building. The port also became an important center for European immigrants headed to the upper Great Lakes and a distribution center for iron ore to the steel mills in Ohio and Pennsylvania. This economic development opened the door to a corrupt scheme intent on defrauding the federal government by having it pay twice for the same pier. Six years earlier in 1825, Congress appropriated one thousand dollars for the completion of a pier at the mouth of the Grand River on Lake Erie. The Grand River Harbour Company of Fairport Harbor, Ohio, contracted with Abraham Skinner, one of Fairport Harbors' founders, for repairs of an existing pier. Instead of following protocol of receiving payment from the Grand River Harbour Company upon completion of the pier, Skinner sought to payment in advance of the work directly from the government. The scheme meant the federal government would not receive the newly constructed pier authorized by Congress. It also meant that the government would pay for the repairs under Skinner and then pay for the pier a second time when the Grand River Harbour Company sold the pier to the federal government. Fortunately, this scheme was uncovered by the watchful eye of the Stephen Pleasonton, the Fifth Auditor of the Treasury. Pleasonton

not only saw the double-dipping attempt by Skinner, he was also rightly concerned that by paying for the repairs, the Grand River Harbour Company would demand a higher price for the pier. This research draws on primary source documents in the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, DC. It provides a real world example of Jeffersonian Republicanism in action. One of the key tenets of Jeffersonian Republicanism was prudent fiscal responsibility that sought to prevent or eliminate corruption in federal government contracts and spending. Fairport Harbor, Ohio's geographical location at the convergence of Lake Erie and the Grand River makes this paper ideal for a conference related to the events and concerns surrounding the Great Lakes.

Bio: James Risk is a historian of science and technology with a focus on maritime enterprises. His research has been published by NASOH in *The Northern Mariner / Le marin du nord*, *The Maryland Historical Magazine*, *the South Carolina Historical Magazine*, and most recently in *Wreck & Rescue*. He currently has articles under review with the Delaware Historical Society and the Maine Historical Society. His manuscript, *The Fresnel Affair: Science & Technology in the the United States Lighthouse Establishment, 1789 - 1850* is a revision of his doctoral dissertation. It is expected to be completed in late 2024. In addition to his research, James teaches courses in the history of science and technology and America's founding documents at his alma mater, the University of South Carolina. This will be the third time James has presented his research at CRNS / NASOH.

Paper 2: Chicago, London and Glasgow: How the UK's Ports Helped Shaped Chicago's Waterfront, 1900-1920 Guy Collender, University of Portsmouth

Chicagoans in the early twentieth century were fascinated by models of port ownership, and British ports in particular. This paper will assess what Chicago's planners and intellectuals did discover from British developments (particularly public ownership, and dredging of inland ports and canals), how such knowledge was translated into practice, and with what effects. This paper advances the historiography about models of port ownership (private versus public ports) - a prominent debate on both sides of the Atlantic. Railroad corporations dominated ports and public port administration was in its infancy in the US when the National Association of

Port Authorities was established in 1912 in New York. However, this status quo was soon challenged, especially as during the First World War the railroads and US merchant marine were temporarily nationalised.

As shown by historian Josef Konvitz, Atlantic port cities were in crisis at the turn of the twentieth century. They were unprepared for the “industrialization of shipping”, which was accompanied by ever-larger ships, traffic congestion and strikes.[1] Politicians from New York to London responded by commissioning reports and studies to understand the challenges and suggest solutions. Chicago was no exception, with Fred Busse, Chicago’s Mayor, establishing the Chicago Harbor Commission in 1908. John Goode, Economic Geography Professor at the University of Chicago, visited 11 ports in Europe (including seven in the UK) as part of his research for the Commission. He was particularly struck by the example of the Port of London Authority – a self-governing public trust created in 1909. He wrote: “It is most significant for us in Chicago that the best brains in Britain, after years of exhaustive study, have adopted the policy of having one powerful independent monopoly in charge of the business of the port”. Similarly, he recognised that “The story of Glasgow has much food for thought for us in Chicago”, particularly given the extensive dredging of the Clyde and the development of a manufacturing hinterland.

In keeping with the British trend for public ownership and the coordination of port facilities, Chicago’s policymakers frustrated private railroad companies owning land on the shores of Lake Michigan by supporting the building of public piers for commercial and recreational use. However, of the planned five piers, only Municipal Pier (later Navy Pier) was built in 1916, and it became more of a leisure destination than a freight terminal.

This paper will also problematise the view of Chicagoans towards their British counterparts. As shown by the University of Chicago’s Harold Moulton in 1910, they were far from universally complimentary. Moulton was scathing about the Manchester Ship Canal costing twice its original budget and criticised it for not attracting more ships. On the other hand, Charles McMurry, of State Normal School in De Kalb, Illinois, outlined a lesson plan for the “remarkable” transformation of “Glasgow and its Harbor” in 1912. British ports, were interpreted in different ways by Chicagoans, but they readily drew such comparisons, illustrating the prominence, for good or ill, of British ports.

Bio: Dr Guy Collender is the Research Fellow for the Centre for Port Cities and Maritime Cultures at the University of Portsmouth. He gained his PhD on the history of the Port of London (1900-1939) from Birkbeck, University of London, in 2022. His research focuses on the history of ports and their working class communities. He has written about the history of workplace accidents in the docks and legislation to reduce these risks. His report was entitled *Reducing the Dangers of Dock Work in the UK, 1899-1939: How Past Approaches Could Prevent Future Tragedies* (part of the Hindsight Perspectives series published by History & Policy, in association with Lloyd's Register Foundation, in 2023). Guy's comparative analysis of London's Great Dock Strike of 1889 and the Australian Maritime Strike of the following year is due to be published soon by the Sage journal *Coastal Studies & Society*. Guy's varied careers include journalism, communications and fundraising. His publications relating to this earlier work include co-authoring a report for *The Lancet* about the future of the Millennium Development Goals, and an article about mobile phone use in Africa for *African Affairs*.

Paper 3: Strike, 1861! Labour Action on Niagara's 19th Century Shipyards Adrian Petry, St. Catharines Museum & Welland Canals Centre

In March of 1861, skilled labourers at the shipyards located along the Welland Canal organized themselves into the Welland Canal Ship Carpenters and Caulkers Association. They went out on strike for five months through the summer of 1861 and demanded increased pay, regular pay intervals in cash (yard owners had been using the truck system) and the right for Association members to be the first to be called to work (yard owners had sometimes used cheaper unskilled labour to finish a ship after the majority of the work was completed). Remarkably: they won.

The strike is one of the earliest examples of this scale and depth of labour organization and action in Canadian history. Workers from five independent yards along the canal in three separate towns worked cohesively to bring their cause to the yard owners and the public. The Association was able to achieve its goals despite opposition from the media and lack of support from other skilled labour dominated industries. The pressure on shipbuilders to produce more product in a rapidly expanding Canal and shipping economy in the 1860s, in addition to the demand created by the American Civil War. Some American shipowners doubled their orders to Canadian and Welland Canal yards, which

remained open during the war, to replace ships they had lost in the war itself. This ramping up of capital and production helped to bring the strike to an end. Though, not an entirely peaceful end: the Abbey Brother's Yard was destroyed by arsonists: three Association members were arrested and tried for the yard's destruction.

The research of this story continues but is limited due to only a handful of primary sources available which detail the events, with the focus on the arson of Abbey Brother's Shipyard, and only one or two passing references in other secondary material produced locally.

The story of the Welland Canal, and the ships which traversed it, have dominated scholarly research and publication. This presentation assembles shipyard operations, working conditions, local and national politics, labour, and personality for a thrilling, yet mostly undocumented, story about the shipyards of the Welland Canal and their workers.

Bio: Adrian Petry is a public historian and Visitor Services Coordinator at the St. Catharines Museum & Welland Canals Centre. He holds a BA in History from Brock University and an MA in Public History from Western University. Adrian has been practicing public history and heritage interpretation in heritage sites and museums for 15 years.

Paper 4: Where the River Meets the Sea: Race and Labor in the Estuarian Gulf Kevin Grubbs, University of South Mississippi

For nineteenth century immigrants and people of color, the Gulf Coast offered a bevy of benefits including calm seas, easy access to inland lakes and rivers, and a plethora of fish and game to subsist on. Coastal dwellers enjoyed opportunities rarely found in the interior of the American South. The region was rife with activity among mariners who worked and lived in the liminal space dotted by barrier islands, sand bars, and bayous. Marginalized groups found or created safe havens for themselves and their families using subsistence lifestyles based on older models of labor. Frequently isolated by geography, coastal inhabitants farmed, fished, and hired out their labor or their vessels all at the same time, connecting their communities with southern ports. They provided nodes for the broader maritime community as valuable ports of call for coasters and small traders. For the people in these communities, experience in marine work was as essential as experience in farming, carpentry, or any other skill. They lived their lives half in the sea and half on shore. The "Creole Coast" created

unique social and economic relationships that spanned the length of the meandering southern coastline.

After the American Civil War, coastal denizens adopted a heterogeneous mix of strategies for survival. The coastal world was shrinking under the pressures of national industrialization and Southern Redemption. The second-class citizenship that outsiders experienced in much of the South provided a pushing mechanism away from established communities, while the potential benefits of coastal life provided an equally attractive allure. The realities of estuarian life complicated the social hierarchy of the American South at a time when it was already in flux. Though they attempted to distance themselves from the changes of the Postbellum South, this paper argues that coastal workers increasingly depended on those same changes for survival. Wage work as industrial fisherman, adventure tourist guides, and as members of a growing service economy won out over older subsistence lifestyles. As the century closed, people of color found that southern business and political interests increasingly limited their options on the coast.

Bio: This last year, Kevin Grubbs earned his PhD in U. S. history from the University of Southern Mississippi. His specialties include maritime history, diplomatic history, and labor history. His dissertation, entitled “‘Innumerable Small Crafts’: Maritime Work in the Estuarian Gulf, 1860-1900,” analyzes the interplay between brown and blue water workers after the Civil War as well as the development of industrial capitalism along the Gulf Coast. Previous conference papers include “Coasting through the Age of Steam: Commerce and Community along the Gulf Coast” and “Crime on the Margin: The Limits of Authority in Caribbean Port Cities.” He has also presented on the escape patterns of runaway slaves along the Gulf Coast. This work was published in *The Journal of Mississippi History* as “Pathways of Escape: The Interstate Slave Trade and Runaway Slaves in Mississippi.” When not working, Kevin is an avid rock climber and scuba diver.

12:35 - 1:45 pm **Lunch Time Session: Reflections on NASOH at 50**

Participants: Amy Mitchell Cook, John B. Hattendorf, Gene Smith, and Paul Fontenoy

Moderator: Evan Wilson

A group of prominent maritime scholars officially incorporated The North American Society for Oceanic History in Maine in 1974. As NASOH celebrates its fiftieth year, another prominent group of maritime scholars--each a past or current president of NASOH--will discuss NASOH's past, present, and future.

Session 3A: Gender and Race: Maritime Spaces of Oppression, Freedom and Career

Time: 1:45 - 3:20 pm

Chair: Amy Mitchell-Cook, University of West Florida

Paper 1: The Colour Line and the River Road: Nineteenth-Century Ships as Spaces of Authority and Mobility for Women of Colour Julia Stryker, Memorial University of Newfoundland

The truism goes that ships were spaces of transformation, a world apart from land where social conventions could be manipulated, evaded, or even reversed, and where one might experience and confront their own habits, beliefs, and sense of self. Historians have both reinforced and complicated this long-held image of seafaring, particularly across the line between labour and leisure – to work on a ship was a different experience than to travel as either passenger or migrant. Scholars have likewise further nuanced the experience of seafaring across racial categories, historians paying special attention to the case of so-called ‘lascar’ seafarers and, particularly in literary studies, the way African and African-American travellers experienced and utilized the new trades of leisure and passenger travel.

But a significant number of people crossed or tread both lines: women of colour, especially Black women, who worked aboard ships. Like white women working the same or similar jobs, their reasons for working and means of gaining access to shipboard work were multitudinous, hardly able to be generalized. Unlike white women, the authority they exerted over shipboard space in the performance of their duties crossed an additional line – a colour line, which purported to limit not only their capabilities but their mobility. Yet women of colour were a vital, if often invisible, component of shipboard labour, who capitalized on the transformative properties of shipboard space to recapture elements of freedoms society sought to structurally deny them.

This talk will examine accounts of women of colour as labourers aboard ships across the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century saw a rise in women's employment aboard ship that at the same time transformed what that labour meant and who was expected and allowed to perform it. This broader transformation took place largely in the transoceanic passenger trade, while Black American women had long found more regular employment on riverboats and coastal vessels. While riverboats might seem less able to escape the restrictive social and racial conventions of the land, the women employed on these vessels were able to exercise considerable authority over their passengers, white and Black. Navigating hierarchies of race and class aboard these smaller vessels, though, could prove as complicated as navigating the constantly shifting rivers they plied.

Bio: Julia Stryker is the Ewart A. Pratt Postdoctoral Fellow at Memorial University of Newfoundland. She received her PhD from the University of Texas at Austin with a study of women's labour at sea in the nineteenth century British empire. She is a member of the COST Action Women on the Move, studying women's migration across the EU, has participated in several digital humanities and public history projects, including a MOOC on women at sea, and a presentation for the Second AskHistorians Digital Conference.

Paper 2: Mrs. Ellen Easton, Broker of Women's Domestic Labor on the Great Lakes Cargo Vessels John Jensen, University of West Florida

The contributions of women and the influences of gender remain understudied and misunderstood in the history of shipping and the port cities of North America's canals, rivers, and Inland Seas. During the second half of the 19th and first decades of the 20th century, women were hired as domestic servants (cooks, stewards, and chambermaids) on uncounted tens of thousands of trips carrying cargo on the Great Lakes and connecting canals and rivers. As with common sailors, the captains or agents of efficient Great Lakes cargo vessels depended on a reliable source of cooks who could sail at short notice. Adapting a centuries-old system for recruiting domestic labor or finding domestic work on land, a few enterprising proprietors of "intelligence offices" at Great Lakes ports began to expand their business model to brokering female shipboard labor. While male brokers placed the earliest advertisements for female shipboard work, women operated most of the intelligence offices identified in this research.

This paper focuses on the life and activities of Mrs. Ellen Easton, an independent woman who was the best-known broker of women's shipboard labor in Buffalo, New York, from the late 1880s into the first decade of the twentieth century. Involvement both in the maritime and domestic labor economies, physical location within urban spaces, and interactions with "maritime" clientele marked Easton and other women like her as complex actors who created the bridges between women's lives and work onshore and ships. Ellen Easton's life reframes our understanding of the boundaries and permeability of women's participation in maritime North America.

Bio: John Odin Jensen is an associate professor and coordinator of the graduate program in history at the University of West Florida. Born in Alaska and a former commercial fisherman, Jensen is a social and policy historian and marine archaeologist whose primary research areas include historic shipwrecks, cultural heritage management, fisheries, and health and social welfare. A specialist on maritime frontiers and applied cultural landscapes, his expertise and publications encompass multiple areas of North America's Atlantic, Pacific, and Great Lakes regions. His interdisciplinary monograph *Stories from the Wreckage: A Great Lakes Maritime History Inspired by Shipwrecks* received the Wisconsin Historical Society Board of Curators Book of Merit Award for the most valuable contribution to public understanding of Wisconsin's history in 2020. This paper builds on "Opportunities Afloat: Sailing Women on the Great Lakes and the History of Domestic Labor in the United States, 1870-1910," presented at the 2021 *NASOH* conference in Pensacola, and "Female Maritime Entrepreneurs and the Marketing of Women's Domestic Labor on Canadian and American Great Lakes Vessels 1865–1910" presented at the *Women of the Waterfront Workshop* held in Rome, Italy in December 2023

Paper 3: "A Tale of Two Ships: Part Deux" Previous discoveries in the history of La Concorde and the next phase of the NC African American Heritage Commission's IMLS-funded project Jill Schuler, North Carolina African American Heritage Commission

While the legacy of Blackbeard and his ship, *Queen Anne's Revenge* remains an integral part of North Carolina maritime history and folklore, less is known of the vessel's previous history as the French slave ship *La Concorde*. Funded by the Institute of Museum and Library Sciences, the NC African American Heritage Commission's "A Tale of Two Ships" project

aims to learn more about the history of *La Concorde* and the lives of the enslaved people it carried to the Americas. Additionally, the project strives to develop a more inclusive public interpretation of *Queen Anne's Revenge*, incorporating more about the vessel's earlier history and function as a French slave ship. This talk will present the previous work of the project and the next steps in expanding our knowledge and interpretation of both the history of *La Concorde* and of the enslaved people onboard the fateful day that Blackbeard attacked the vessel.

Bio: Jill Schuler works for the North Carolina African American Heritage Commission as the research fellow for the Tale of Two Ships project, researching and publicizing the famed pirate ship *Queen Anne's Revenge's* previous life as the French slave ship *La Concorde*. She received her MA in Maritime Studies from East Carolina University in 2023. In addition to her work in North Carolina, Jill is the Assistant State Underwater Archaeologist for Virginia's Department of Historic Resources. She is also a board member of the NC Maritime History Council and is the Associate Editor of their peer-reviewed journal, *Tributaries*.

Paper 4: A Female Submarine Diver (1895): Exploring the Contributions of Women to the History of Deep-Sea Diving Lynn Harris, East Carolina University

Newspapers at the turn of the nineteenth century sporadically note the presence of women in commercial diving operations. Some worked in family businesses, invented their own better fitting 'diving armor and helmets', and took over hazardous maintenance work in harbors as divers when tragedy struck their husbands. Others, like Millie Mariner, were described in a 1914 newspaper as the only independent fully qualified, and trained female submarine diver in England. Newspaper snippets note that twenty-five American female divers served in World War I. Another report notes that a woman, Margaret Naylor, led dive operations to search and raise a Spanish shipwreck at the Scottish Hebrides in 1924. By the latter part of the 1920s and 30s narratives of women's exploits in the underwater environment became more prevalent with icons like Amelia Behrens-Furniss, Penelope "Mossie" Powell, and Lottie Hass. After the invention of SCUBA in the 1950s, women explored careers as scientific biological divers, dive instructors, wetsuit designers, and underwater filmmakers. Others indulged in heroic endeavors like trying to swim the entire English

Channel underwater or competing in underwater spearfishing, starfish grappling, and octopus wrestling events. Historical evidence highlights the prevalence of women's little-known contributions to diving history. The tone of the reports captures public attitudes and incredulity of females as diving professionals in stark contrast to those reporting on male divers.

Bio: Lynn B. Harris (Ph.D.) has worked as a maritime historian and underwater archaeologist for over 40 years in South Africa, Namibia, the Caribbean Islands, Costa Rica, and North and South Carolina. Areas of specialization include gender history, environmental history, heritage at risk, and coastal cultural resource management. Currently, Harris is a Professor at the Program of Maritime Studies in the History Department at East Carolina University, USA.

Session 3B: Maritime Archeology: Object, Site, Preservation

Time: 1:45 - 3:20 pm

Chair: Christine Bolte, University of West Florida

Paper 1: Rendering the Whale: Design and Manufacture of Try-Pots in the Commercial Whaling Industry Dayan Weller, East Carolina University

An integral technological component to the historical commercial whaling industry was the tryworks, a rendering system comprised of heavy iron try-pots mounted within brick furnace structures, which allowed whalers to render vast quantities of oil from whale blubber through a boiling process carried out at both shore-based stations and directly onboard pelagic whaling vessels. Despite their ubiquity in whaling operations since the 16th century, the design and manufacture of try-pots has received little scholarly attention. Only scant references to gallon size of try-pots exist in the primary source record, and no secondary literature devoted to the typology of try-pots has yet been published. This study aims to describe key morphological features and decoration styles of try-pots used in the commercial whaling industry, with a particular focus on 19th century shore-based whaling. Four try-pots used in the Monterey Bay area in California were recorded at two different whaling stations during the course of thesis research into regional shore whaling, with an attempt to create an initial typology of common try-pot design elements. Additionally, a sample of 52 try-pots from museum collections and public displays was compiled, including 28 specimens from Australia and New Zealand. Though sample

size constraints limit broader interpretations, the consistency of key morphological attributes and decoration styles points to widespread cultural transmission of aesthetic tastes and functional knowledge pertaining to try-pot design within commercial whaling companies.

Bio: Dayan Weller is a 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 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, with an expected graduation of Spring 2024. His primary research interest is commercial whaling, and ultimately he hopes to work on the history of the shore whaling industry in central California.

Paper 2: Abandoned, but Not Forgotten: The Systemic and Archaeological Context of *Hildegarde* Paul Willard Gates, Lake Champlain Maritime Museum

Lake Champlain is the repository of a considerable number of submerged cultural resources and shipwrecks representing over twelve thousand years of human occupation in the region. While archaeologists have collated a substantial amount of data on the vessels, the histories of many have yet to be fully understood. *Hildegarde* is a case study of a vessel with a complete historic background from its launch in 1876 to its abandonment in 1937. This paper will explore the systemic context of the vessel with a focus on its use through *lateral cycling* during its pre-depositional context. The post-depositional context will also be explored when the vessel was abandoned in the Pine Street Barge Canal Breakwater Ship Graveyard along the shore of Burlington, Vermont. *Cultural* and *non-cultural* site formation processes will be discussed along with potential correlations between ship abandonment and trends in maritime commerce, economics, population, and technological trends.

Bio: Paul Willard Gates is the Laboratory and Project Manager at the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum in Vergennes, Vermont, United States. For over thirteen years, he has worked for the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum. Mr. Gates's background in Maritime Archaeology and Cultural Resource Management focuses on the New England and Mid-Atlantic

region of the United States. Mr. Gates is a Registered Professional Archaeologist, RPA #18063, and certified Scientific Diver with the American Academy of Underwater Sciences. Mr. Gates graduated from the Maritime Studies Program at East Carolina University and the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Vermont.

Paper 3: Shipwrecked in Texas: 25 years of Wooden Ship Conservation at the Conservation Research Laboratory at Texas A&M University Chris Dorstal, Texas A&M University

The Conservation Research Laboratory at Texas A&M University has been conserving 17th and 18th century CE wooden-hulled ships since the 1997 discovery of *La Belle* (1686 CE). Over the last 25 years, several methodological changes have been implemented to keep pace with scientific advances and discoveries. This talk will detail the techniques used to conserve and curate *La Belle* and talk through the status of two other ships still undergoing conservation, one 18th century ship discovered in Manhattan, NY, and another 18th century ship from Alexandria, VA.

Bio: Chris Dostal is an assistant professor in the Nautical Archaeology Program at Texas A&M University in the United States. He is the director of the Center for Maritime Archaeology and Conservation, and the director of the Conservation Research Laboratory (CRL) at Texas A&M. His research includes the 3D recording and reconstruction of wooden ships, the conservation of waterlogged wood, and the historical archaeology of North America. He has collaborated with numerous international partners on the conservation of cultural heritage materials from underwater sites, including three recent projects in Spain: the Mazarron 2 Project in Cartagena, the Ses Fontanelles Shipwreck Project in Palma de Mallorca, and the establishment of a Conservation Laboratory at the Museo do Mar de Galicia in Vigo. At the CRL, he has directed the digitization and conservation of several wooden ships from the US, including the 18th century CE vessel discovered under the World Trade Center in Manhattan, NY, and the ships discovered below the waterfront of Alexandria, VA. Additionally, the CRL has conserved thousands of artifacts for clients like the US Army and Navy, and the US National Parks Service. He is also the co-director of the Gaspé Bay Maritime Archaeology Project in Québec, Canada and the forthcoming Philadelphia Gunboat Research Initiative.

Session 3C: Sea Power: Naval Influence Over Land Operations and Public Mind

Time: 1:45 - 3:20 pm

Chair: Faye Kerk, Independent Scholar

Paper 1: Ruling the Waters, Lands, and People: Water in the History of Central Mexico (15th to 18th Century) Martin Gabriel, University of Klagenfurt (via Zoom)

Soon after the European invaders had set foot on the east coast of Mexico in the early 16th century, they initiated contact with the Aztec/Mexica Empire that ruled most of Central Mexico. While the Mexica state can be seen as a political entity that focused on *land* (not maritime trade routes, archipelagic spaces etc.), it is quite obvious that the Mexica had deep connections with water. According to a widely-known detail of the founding myths, an eagle on top of a cactus marked the spot where the Mexica should make their new home – that the cactus was situated on an island in Lake Texcoco already makes clear that Mexica history without references to water is hard to imagine. The capital Tenochtitlán was de facto an artificial island and characterized by its countless canals as well as causeways connecting it to the surroundings areas. Water was maybe even more essential for Mexica than for European agriculture: the very effective *chinampa* system was based on the creation of artificial fields situated on the littoral of lakes or rivers (profiting from the high-quality soils); Mexica agriculture also included irrigation canals that were central to large-scale planting of vegetables.

The successful Spanish attacks on Tenochtitlán were, of course, dominated by land warfare, but included important elements of littoral or amphibious operations as well. Allied contingents, including thousands of Tlaxcalans, assisted in building small ships (brigantines) that were carried overland and then used on Lake Texcoco to conduct raids and cut off supply routes. Since the waters of the lake were salty, fresh water had to be brought into Tenochtitlán overland or by boat, a fact that undoubtedly hindered defense activities and also played a role in the outbreak of infectious diseases.

After the fall of the Mexica Empire, European policies and politics changed the situation dramatically. Destroyed dams around Lake Texcoco had been destroyed, never to be rebuild, thus adding to the problem of

flooding (while the canals were filled with the rubble of buildings). In the early 17th century, a decision was made to drain the Lake Texcoco area of water, while plans by Dutch engineer Adrian Boot to employ practices from his home country to regulate – instead of drain – were rejected; flooding, however, did not stop, for “Mexico City is still at the bottom of a basin where water naturally settles” (John F. López).

Later on, water became an important element in regard to the *mise en valeur* of regions like the Bajío (northwest of the capital) from where wheat and other crops “were shipped to markets in the northern mining centers and to the rapidly expanding Mexico City” (Clint Davis) during the 18th century – a development based on massive investments in irrigation or water storage facilities. During this era, cities also built public fountains or aqueducts to confront public health issues (that, in many cases, were connected to questions of moral hygiene, thus integrating the history of water into the larger social history of colonial New Spain).

Bio: Dr. Martin Gabriel studied history at the University of Klagenfurt (Austria). He is a lecturer in the university’s Department of History, also taught at the University of Graz, and participated in national and EU level research projects and cooperation. His focus is on global history, the history of empires (primarily Spain, Austria-Hungary, US), the social, economic, and medical history of early modern Spain’s overseas possessions, and representations of history in TV series or films. Recent publications include the book chapters *Präkolumbischer Wien und frühmoderne Schläuche? Hispanoamerika und eine globale “Frühe Neuzeit”* (In: *Zeiten bezeichnen. Frühneuzeitliche Epochenbegriffe. Europäische Geschichte und globale Gegenwart*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2023, pp. 303-322) and “To build mistake upon mistake“. *Krieg, Identität und der Anzac-Mythos in der australischen Miniserie Gallipoli* (In: *Der Erste Weltkrieg. Erinnerungskulturen in Deutschland und Australien*. 2023, pp. 293-314) as well as the peer-review journal article “Kolonialherrschaft, Pocken und Emotionen im bourbonischen Oaxaca.” *Virus – Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Medizin* 22 (2023), 173-183.

Paper 2: Mahan and the Masses: Learning and Reading Sea Power in American Popular Culture, 1890-1916 Jason Smith, Southern Connecticut State University

In seeking public support for his navalist agenda, President Theodore Roosevelt quipped to a German friend that he wished American readers had embraced the argues of Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan as enthusiastically as Europeans had. Mahan, the “prophet of sea power” whose writings included not just his seminal 1890 treatise *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, but also many other books and popular articles published during the two decades bracketing the turn-of-the-century, remains one of the foremost promoters of American empire and the U.S. Navy’s more muscular role in world affairs. That Mahan was read and appreciated within elite military and political circles in the United States is certain, but what influence, if any, did Mahanian ideas of sea power have on the American public at large?

This paper will examine that question primarily by considering what readers wrote to Mahan and his publisher as well as the ways Mahanian ideas were distilled by others, namely in the writing of American history and geography textbooks used in primary, secondary, and collegiate courses of study that linked salient historical ideas such as Turner’s frontier thesis to a seamless extension of overseas conquest. Borrowing from methods like the History of the Book and new social and cultural history that focuses on children and adolescents as important readers and agents of American global power, this paper argues that Mahan’s ideas about sea power and a larger culture of American navalism linked to it pervaded American society between the publication of Mahan’s first book and the Naval Act of 1916, in which President Woodrow Wilson called for “a Navy second to none.” Indeed, it is impossible to fully explain the passage of the 1916 act without considering the many ways the American public made sense of Mahan’s arguments about sea power.

Bio: Jason W. Smith is an associate professor of History at Southern Connecticut State University where he teaches courses in maritime history, war and society, military history, and the history of technology among others. He has published articles in a number of academic journals including the *International Journal of Maritime History*, the *Journal of Military History*, and the *New England Quarterly*. He is the author of *To Master the Boundless Sea: The U.S. Navy, the Marine Environment, and the Cartography of Empire* in 2018 from the University of North Carolina Press.

Session 4A: Roundtable: Roundtable: Publishing Maritime, Naval, Oceanographic, and Marine Environmental History for Diverse Audiences

Time: 3:35 - 4:55 pm

Facilitator: Penelope K. Hardy, University of Wisconsin

Participants: Katharine Anderson, York University; Benjamin Armstrong, United States Naval Academy; Christine Keiner, Rochester Institute of Technology; Lincoln Paine, University of Maine; and Helen Rozwadowski, University of Connecticut

Despite many transformative changes in the publishing industry over the past several years, both scholars and general readers continue to consume nonfiction books and related print and digital media in large quantities. This roundtable brings together writers and editors of nonfiction for popular audiences, scientists, and naval, maritime, and environmental historians. We will discuss the challenges and joys of writing in the context of today's rapidly evolving publishing landscape, and look forward to engaging with the NASOH membership regarding expanding the reading audience for maritime, naval, oceanographic, and marine environmental history.

Penelope K. Hardy will facilitate the discussion and share a few thoughts about co-writing the 2020 exposé of Matthew Fontaine Maury's racism for an audience of scientists. Katharine Anderson will discuss developments in "oceans history" based on the work of the "Oceans in Depth" University of Chicago Press book series. BJ Armstrong will address his work as an author and series and contributing editor at USNI and War on the Rocks and maritime professional publishing. Christine Keiner will focus on her efforts to expand public understanding of the history of oyster cultivation and invasive zebra mussels. Lincoln Paine will share his insights about Substack reviewing and writing maritime history on a grand scale for non-academic audiences. Finally, Helen Rozwadowski will discuss her decision to publish with Reaktion Books as well as her recent TED Talk and other opportunities afforded by her writing.

Bios: Katharine Anderson is Professor of Humanities at York University, with appointments to History and Science and Technology Studies. She is co-editor of the Oceans in Depths series at University of Chicago Press and has wide ranging interests in oceanic subjects in the 19th century,

including meteorology, coral and coral reefs, voyage narratives, and hydrography. She is currently working on a book about oceans in the 1920s and 1930s which examines scientific, political and cultural interests in the oceanic environment.

Captain Benjamin "BJ" Armstrong, PhD is a Permanent Military Professor and former Search & Rescue and Special Warfare helicopter pilot who has deployed to the 4th, 5th, and 6th Fleet in support of global operations. Ashore he flew as an Advanced Flight Instructor and served in the Pentagon as a strategist and a staff officer in the Office of the Secretary of the Navy. He earned his PhD with King's College London and is the author or editor of seven books and academic and professional articles in a wide variety of publications. He served on the Editorial Board of the U.S. Naval Institute, was Series Editor of the *21st Century Foundations* series with the Naval Institute Press and is a Contributing Editor with the national security and international affairs publication *War on the Rocks*. He joined the faculty of the Naval Academy History Department during the fall term of 2016 and is currently serving as Deputy to the Dean of Humanities and Social Sciences, the Admiral Jay Johnson Professor of Leadership and Ethics, and Special Assistant to the Superintendent for History and Heritage. CAPT Armstrong also serves as the Founder and Principal Associate of the Forum on Integrated Naval History and Seapower Studies, Faculty Representative to the Naval Academy Men's Swimming and Diving Team, and Director of the 2023 McMullen Naval History Symposium.

Penelope K. Hardy is an 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. She has published on topics including military-scientific partnerships in the US and UK, meteorology in interwar Germany, ocean mapping as both technical feat and imaginative exercise, and the oceanic history pedagogy. A recipient of numerous research fellowships, including from the Smithsonian Institution, the American Meteorological Society, the Huntington Library, and the North American Society for Oceanic History, Hardy is also co-founder of an

international working group examining the history of oceanic science, technology, and medicine.

Christine Keiner is a professor in the departments of Science, Technology, and Society (STS) and History at Rochester Institute of Technology, and a historian of science, technology, and the environment. She has authored several articles and two books on the cultural history of natural resource use debates, unrealized projects, and marine biological invasions, *The Oyster Question: Scientists, Watermen, and the Maryland Chesapeake Bay* (University of Georgia Press, 2009) and *Deep Cut: Science, Power, and the Unbuilt Interoceanic Canal* (University of Georgia Press, 2020). She also has an appointment as Research Associate with the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute and is working on a cultural and environmental history of zebra mussels.

Lincoln Paine is a maritime historian and adjunct professor at the University of Maine School of Law. He spent fourteen years in publishing, including stints at Oxford University Press, The Free Press, and Facts On File, among others, and three years on the editorial staff of *Sea History* magazine. He has published three books, *Ships of the World: An Historical Encyclopedia* (Houghton Mifflin, 1997), *The Sea and Civilization: A Maritime History of the World* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), and *Down East: An Illustrated History of Maritime Maine* (Tilbury House, 2018), and he has written for a wide range of audiences from maritime and non-maritime peer-reviewed academic journals and periodicals. He is on the editorial boards of *The Northern Mariner* and *Mainsheet*. He participated in the “American Maritime Commons” NEH Institute at the Frank C. Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies at Mystic Seaport, and he served eleven years on the board of the Maine Maritime Museum, including two as chair.

Dr. Helen M. Rozwadowski is Professor of History & founder of the Maritime Studies program at the University of Connecticut. She has spent her career encouraging scholars and students to explore the history of interconnections between oceans and people, and she is co-editing a new University of Chicago Press book series, *Oceans in Depth*. Her latest book, *Vast Expanses: A History of the Oceans* (2018), is published by Reaktion Books, an independent publisher of innovative nonfiction. She was awarded the History of Science Society’s Davis Prize for best book directed to a wide public audience for *Fathoming the Ocean: The Discovery and Exploration of the Deep Sea* (2005). In *The Sea Knows No Boundaries* she

explores the history of 20th-century marine sciences that support international fisheries and marine environmental management. She has also co-edited three volumes on the history of oceanography, most recently, *Soundings & Crossings* (2016). Her recent work includes a virtual exhibition, "Oceans in Three Paradoxes" <https://www.environmentandsociety.org/exhibitions/oceans-three-paradoxes>, an outgrowth of a fellowship she held at the Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society in Munich, Germany. Her work has also been supported by the William E. & Mary B. Ritter Fellowship of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Science Foundation, and the Smithsonian Institution.

End of Day.

Now to the **Reception!**

Location: Issac's Pub & Grill, at Brock University

Time: 5:00 - 8:00

Friday June 21, 2024

Conference Registration opens 8:00 am

Session 5A: The Royal Navy in North America during and after the Seven Years War

Time: 9:00 - 10:15 am

Chair: John B. Hattendorf, U.S. Naval War College

Paper 1: Embracing the Enemy: Acadian Expulsion and the Wreck of the *Duke William* Sam Cavell, Southeastern Louisiana University

On 13 December 1758 the British transport, *Duke William*, sank about 100 miles east of Land's End, taking with her more than 300 souls. Those lost were former residents of Prince Edward Island, victims of the Acadian expulsion who were being deported to France after the fall of Louisbourg in the Seven Years' War. The British government justified the removal of thousands of Acadian men, women, and children as a reasonable means of dealing with dubious "French neutrals" — a policy reinforced by xenophobia and religious antagonism towards a French-Catholic enemy. Yet, amid the brutality, a story of common humanity emerged. As the *Duke William* foundered in rough seas, her English captain, William Nichols and his crew formed an extraordinary bond with their captives, one which inspired an even more astonishing sacrifice that allowed Nichols and a handful of others to survive. This paper examines Captain Nichols' account of the sinking, why it remained unpublished for nearly fifty years, and its continuing legacy.

Bio: Sam Cavell is the Assistant Professor in Military History at Southeastern Louisiana University and an Associate Fleet Professor for the U.S. Naval War College. She received her PhD in Naval and Maritime History at the University of Exeter in the UK. Her research focuses on British naval and maritime subjects in the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812. Her publications include *Midshipmen and Quarterdeck Boys in the British Navy*, contributions to *The Battle of New Orleans Reconsidered*, and *The U.S. Naval Academy: New Interpretations in Naval History*, as well as numerous journal articles.

Paper 2: Making Fewer Blunders: Wolfe, Cook, and Jervis at Quebec, 1759 Evan Wilson, U.S. Naval War College

Writing about the British assault on Quebec in 1759, the naval historian N.A.M. Rodger concluded, “No campaign better illustrates the maxim that wars are won by those who make fewer blunders.” Indeed, the British victory depended to a large degree on luck and on the mistakes made by the French and Canadian forces, but General James Wolfe’s cinematic death at the moment of victory has tended to obscure the mistakes he made as well. This paper calls attention to the role that two junior naval officers played in rescuing Wolfe from himself. James Cook’s participation in the campaign is generally known but always worth revisiting. John Jervis’s participation is less well-known but no less important. His actions during the naval phase of the campaign prevented Wolfe from dying before he even reached the Plains of Abraham, which in turn made Jervis’s reputation as an officer of considerable talents. Drawing on research conducted for a biography of Jervis, this paper will situate Quebec in his life, paying particular attention not only to his bravery under fire but also to the role that his family network played in providing him with the opportunity in the first place.

Bio: Evan Wilson is an associate professor in the Hattendorf Historical Center at the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. A recipient of the Sir Julian Corbett Prize in Modern Naval History, he researches the naval history of Britain and other countries from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. He is the author or editor of six books, most recently *The Horrible Peace: British Veterans and the End of the Napoleonic Wars* (UMass, 2023). His next book, which he edited with Paul Kennedy, is *Planning for War at Sea: 400 Years of Great Power Competition* (Naval Institute, 2024). Before coming to Newport, he was the Caird Senior Research Fellow at *the National Maritime Museum (UK)* and the *Associate Director of International Security Studies at Yale University*. He holds degrees from Yale, Cambridge and Oxford.

Paper 3: Judges of the Liberty of the Subject? Royal Navy Customs Enforcement in North America in the 1760s Ryan Mewett, U.S. Naval Academy

In the aftermath of the Seven Years War, an urgent desire to retire the greatly increased national debt compelled the leaders of the British empire

to reduce government obligations and increase tax revenues. Between 1763 and 1765, Parliament introduced new duties on sugar, stamped paper, and other necessities, as well as strengthening customs officers' ability to enforce imperial trade laws. Under the leadership of the erstwhile First Lord of the Admiralty, George Grenville, the Treasury deputed officers of the Royal Navy as customs officers, enabling them to spearhead a newly aggressive campaign to prevent contraband traders from introducing untaxed foreign produce into the North American colonies.

The naval officers' zeal for counter-smuggling enforcement resulted in large part from a pecuniary interest: the Customs Act of 1763 and the Sugar Act of 1764 included provisions granting naval personnel half of the proceeds of any illegal cargoes seized. Customs enforcement thus functioned as a sort of peacetime equivalent to the prize system—wherein captors received the proceeds of enemy merchant vessels captured in wartime—but with fellow subjects of the British crown as the primary targets. The energy with which naval officers pursued the extirpation of contraband trade matched the eagerness with which they had participated in it across the imperial periphery during the decades before the Seven Years War.

Naval customs enforcement provoked repeated disputes with other imperial officials and brought the Navy into increasingly violent conflict with colonists on the coast and in the port towns of North America, ultimately helping to spark the American Revolution. This paper will examine this period of conflict, arguing that the enforcement campaign can be seen as the culmination of a decades-long process of “professionalization” of the Royal Navy, through which the British imperial state's metropolitan political stakeholders actively worked to align naval officers' interests with their own.

Bio: CDR Ryan Mewett, USN, is a Permanent Military Professor and Assistant Professor of history at the United States Naval Academy, where he teaches American naval history and British history. He earned his PhD from Johns Hopkins University, with a particular focus on the history of Britain and its navy in the long eighteenth century (1689–1815). In 2020, his published work on the Royal Navy was recognized with the Sir Julian Corbett Prize in Modern Naval History. He is a 2001 graduate of the Naval Academy, and before selection as a Permanent Military Professor served for 17 years as a submarine officer.

Section 5B: *Canals: Bypass Surgery on the Landscape*

Time: 9:00 - 10:15 am

Chair: Michael Tuttle, Gray and Pape Inc.

Paper 1: “The proudest empire in Europe is but a bauble compared to what America will be:” The Erie Canal and the Rhetoric of International Relations Michael Laver, Rochester Institute of Technology

The morning of July 4, 1817 found an assemblage of local worthies gathered at the grandiloquently named city of Rome to hear a local judge, Joshua Hathaway, expound on a project that, until then, had been only a dream, and a crazy one at that. No less a personage than Thomas Jefferson himself, the scion of American visionaries, called this particular undertaking “little short of madness,” stating in the confident way that Jefferson stated everything, that perhaps this project might come to fruition a century hence.

Nine years after Jefferson’s pronouncement, or perhaps indictment is the right word, a ceremonial spade full of earth was dug up and overturned, and with that, the building of the Grand Canal began. In truth, many, if not most people, still did not believe that it was possible to cut an “artificial river” clear across New York state, from the Hudson River to Lake Erie. Not until years later, when well over half of the canal was built did most people start to form a mental image of a waterway that connected the Atlantic Ocean with the great inland lakes of America, which many early American writers insisted on calling “America’s Mediterranean.” This was America’s first major engineering project, and as such, the Erie Canal played an outsized role in the American consciousness, and became synonymous with the spirit of the new nation.

The Erie Canal is a triumph of American ingenuity, although early enthusiasts situated the canal in an international context. They portrayed the canal as the greatest achievement in a long history of canals across the globe, from the Chinese Grand Canal to the *Canal du Midi*. They obtained the imprimatur of foreigners, most notably William Weston, although a reaction to this deference set in as soon as construction on the canal began. No longer did publicists and canal enthusiasts cite foreign expertise to justify their venture; rather they rather ostentatiously celebrated the rise of American engineering on the canal through figures such as Benjamin Wright and Canvass White. American improvement projects were also held

up as a model of peaceful national prosperity as opposed to other powers who squandered their national wealth on war-mongering and empire building, most notably the British. And finally, Americans took great pride that foreigners, some famous, came to the United States for the Northern Tour, part of which focused on the Erie Canal.

This presentation will situate the conception, building, and early operation of the Erie Canal in the international context of the early nineteenth century world. In all phases of canal planning, the politicians and engineers framed the canal as a project that would shift the balance of power from the old world to the new world. The canal served, often in a rhetorical way, to show the increasing might of the American experiment.

Bio: Michael Laver has been a professor of history at the Rochester Institute of Technology for 16 years. He received my doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania in 2006. Michael's area of specialty is the history of East Asia as well as World History, but has recently begun a project centering on the Erie Canal, and in particular, situating the canal in the international context of the early nineteenth century. As he embarks on writing up his research on the Erie Canal he is excited for the opportunity this conference brings to engage others on this topic. Laver has published three books, the latest of which is entitled *The Dutch East India Company and Japan: Gift Giving and Diplomacy* (2020). He has many articles and book chapters about maritime history and world history in such journals as *World History Connected* and the *Journal of World History*.

Paper 2: *To Throw an Arm of the Sea Across the Interior: Archaeological Enquiry at the Marshall Tunnel Complex* Brendan Burke, Virginia Department of Historic Resources

One of George Washington's greatest desires was to see inland improvements of the James and Potomac Rivers to enhance communication with the Ohio River Basin. Long before Washington, Virginia's colonial governor Alexander Spotswood identified the need to expand commerce far west via water. It wasn't until the early 19th century that work began in earnest to dig a canal from Richmond towards the Blue Ridge. By mid-century, the canal was in successful operation to Lynchburg, Virginia and plans were underway to continue a Third Division through the mountains. The undertaking proved to be the most challenging in terms of required improvements, engineering, and cost. A central component of the

Third Division was a 1,900 U. tunnel designed to take canal boats through Timber Ridge and save four miles of hard canal excavating. Named in honor of canal proponent, surveyor, and Chief Justice John Marshall, the tunnel was part of an engineering complex including an aqueduct, liU lock, guard lock, quarry, and dam for slack water navigation. In December of 1856, work ceased at the tunnel site and never resumed. The vestiges of half-finished engineering projects dot the land today as a singular archaeological resource group. This paper presents recent fieldwork undertaken by archaeologists from the Virginia Department of Historical Resources to uncover the mysteries of this massive abandoned public works project. Various methods of documentation are explored to capture broad-spectrum and detailed data that can be shared offsite without threat to visitor or delicate resources.

Bio: Brendan Burke joined the Virginia Department of Historic Resources in 2021 as the State Underwater Archaeologist. He works throughout the public waters of the Commonwealth to document our shared maritime heritage. His work with maritime landscapes takes him from the waters and beaches of the Eastern Shore to inland navigations of the Shenandoah Valley. Previously Brendan was Assistant Director of the Lighthouse Archaeological Maritime Program in St. Augustine, Florida where he worked with a team of archaeologists to excavate historic shipwrecks along the First Coast. Brendan completed his graduate work at William and Mary on the Anglo-Powhatan world and was co- author of *Shrimp Boat City*, a study of boatbuilding and maritime culture in northeast Florida.

Paper 3: *If These Locks Could Talk: Visualizing Nineteenth Century Great Lakes Shipping Through the Welland Canal* Kimberly Monk, Brock University

The opening of the First Welland Canal in 1829, connecting Lakes Ontario and Erie, generated a new route for trade and navigation. Immigration led to increased demand for goods, resulting in the enlargement of the canal in 1845, 1882 and in 1931 – the fourth canal, which is in use today. Details concerning the construction and labour history of the four Welland Canals have been well documented, but what remains unexplored is the canal’s impact on nineteenth century shipping. While the monthly and annual totals were published in government records and newspapers, this affords a limited statistical report on the canal trade.

To understand economic trends, ship movements, port development and the maritime trade along the canal, these details can only be observed by exploring the Welland Canal registers.

The Welland Canal registers detail the “comings and goings” of shipping, documenting the material cultural heritage of this significant waterway. The keeper of Lock 3 – where these registers were recorded – included varying levels of detail over time. Standardized across the volumes was the date, ship name, vessel form, nationality, cargo, and the ports of transit. The keepers’ notes and drawings provide further observations, recording the experiences of these hard-working civil servants. This paper will detail results and time-lapse animations of the Welland Canal register project – to date. Focusing on the 1854, 1875 and 1882 shipping seasons, it analyzes the changing transport zones through the Second Welland Canal. By geo-visualizing the data, hundreds of sail and steam vessels can be examined within the context of the Welland Canal trade, while highlighting the Niagara region’s role as an entrepôt on the Great Lakes – Atlantic route.

Bio: Kimberly Monk is an Adjunct Professor of History at Brock University, where she teaches courses in maritime history and archaeology, and coordinates the student-led digital history project on Great Lakes Port Cities project. She is a Research Associate with the Niagara Community Observatory, focusing on the economic development of Niagara’s marine transportation sector, supported by the Wilson Foundation. And since 2018, she has led the archaeological excavations at the 19th century Shickluna Shipyard in St. Catharines <https://shicklunashipyard.com>.

Session 6A: Maritime Labor and Commerce along Borderlands and across Frontiers: the English Channel, the Columbia River, and the New York Lakes

Time: 10:35 - 11:45 am

Chair: Gene Allen Smith, Professor, Texas Christian University

Paper 1: Jersey and Guernsey Merchants and the English Channel as a Gateway to 18th Century Atlantic Trade Sidney Watts, University of Richmond

Over the past several decades, historians have challenged the notion of the English Channel as a natural barrier between two of the most powerful nations in the eighteenth century, France and Britain. The maritime border that separated France from Britain also defined them as adversaries. Jean-Louis Dubroca, a propagandist for Napoleon, wrote in 1803; "Nature has placed England and France in a geographical location which must necessarily set up an eternal rivalry between them." This assertion, perpetuated in numerous histories, has overdetermined Britain's Anglocentrism and limited its perspective as an island nation. Renaud Morieux's 2016 monograph has challenged this insular view by making the Channel the center of his object of historical analysis. His study posits the Channel as a "zone of contact" for fisherman, smugglers, and merchants.

This paper takes Morieux's thesis as a point of departure to demonstrate how eighteenth-century sea merchants of the Channel Islands operated in the narrow seas between these two powerful nations who were often at war. I focus on the rise of these middle-class merchants and their social and economic networks that helped build the Channel as a shared space for intra-Channel ventures and highly leveraged, transatlantic commerce. The migratory lives and political identity of Channel Island merchants exemplify the transnational actor who sought risks to gain immense profits during a period of Anglo-French conflict. The independent character of the merchant adventurer was forged within the political constitution of the Channel Islands. "Special privileges" conferred upon the parliamentary States of Jersey and Guernsey freed them from direct British rule and gave Channel Islander seamen many economic advantages during wartime, earlier to sail commercial routes under the claim of neutrality, later to share in joint- stock investments with privateers. Driven by winds and currents through the "narrow sea" that hugged Brittany's coast and opened to the wider Atlantic, the people of the Channel Islands profited from the shared space and widely trafficked route of the English Channel, the gateway to transatlantic trade.

Bio: Sydney Watts is an Associate Professor of History and holds a joint appointment in the Women, Gender and Sexuality Studies program at the University of Richmond. Dr. Watts has published a monograph on the butcher guild in eighteenth-century Paris, *Meat Matters*, and several articles on food history, women's history, and the history of French Revolutionary emigrants. Her current book project focuses on the Channel

Islands in the Age of Revolutions. It considers the movement of people and goods through the English Channel Islands during a dynamic era of mercantile trade, military sea power, and transatlantic migration. The islands of Jersey and Guernsey, the largest of the six Channel Islands, provide a unique locus for this borderlands history that incorporates geopolitical, cultural and environmental approaches to Anglo-French relations. These politically autonomous, Norman French-speaking islands under British rule served as a threshold to migration and a place of exile for French and English people throughout the medieval and early modern periods.

Paper 2: Fathoming the Lakes: How Maritime Labor helped Transform the Revolutionary New York Frontier Michael Gunther, Georgia Gwinnett College

Considerations of logistics and labor are not often foregrounded in military history. One of the key characteristics of combat operations in what is today upstate New York was the difficulty of transporting large numbers of men and supplies between the Hudson River watershed and the St. Lawrence River watershed. During the Seven Years' War, the War for Independence, and the War of 1812, merchants, shipwrights, artificers, and naval officers played significant roles in combat operations in New York because of their experience in oceanic navigation and maritime labor. The inland lakes—particularly Lake George, Lake Champlain, and Lake Ontario—were more fully integrated into Atlantic World commercial and political empires because of military necessity and years of dangerous toil, skill, and increasingly accurate maps and surveys of the terrain and liquid territory. What are often described as army operations thus frequently included significant naval components. It is apt and telling that the origin story of the Continental Navy lies with the work of Benedict Arnold and hundreds of lesser known men in 1776 on Wood Creek and Lake Champlain. Arnold's prewar experience as a Connecticut merchant operating as far away as Canada and the Caribbean fitted him well for his key role in the 1776 and 1777 campaigns in the War for Independence. This paper aims to synthesize biographical accounts of Arnold and lesser-known individuals, like John Bradstreet, with primary sources from officers and soldiers involved in key military operations in northern New York in era of the American Revolution. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the area was a more or less static borderland with significant Iroquois and Abenaki

autonomy, if not dominance, between the French and English empires. Constructing sawmills and taking careful soundings and surveys helped transform the region into a strategically significant military frontier and, by the 1820s, into a bordered land with increasing commercial prospects and visions for integrating the region even further into the Atlantic World through significant canal construction projects.

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. He is an associate professor of history at Georgia Gwinnett College, where he teaches courses in Colonial America, Revolutionary America, American Environmental History, and American Military History.

**Paper 3: “A Contest for Dominion on the Shores of the Pacific:”
American Merchants, the Otter Fur Trade, and Territorial Expansion in
the Columbia River Region, 1787-1818** Graeme Mack, University of
Richmond

This paper examines the social, economic, and political impacts of the sea otter fur trade along the Columbia River—thousands of miles west of the Niagara Peninsula. Shortly after Americans established national independence, otter furs became one of the most valuable commodities in the world. Wealthy Chinese elite, who paid extraordinary prices for otter pelts, prompted New England merchants to invest their capital in sea otter voyages to the Columbia River region, where they obtained tens of thousands of otter furs from Indigenous groups. As American sea otter trade generated increased profits, U.S. officials increasingly focused their attention and resources on maintaining the security of their trading vessels in the Columbia River region. This paper explores the ways that American trade with Indigenous groups in the Columbia River region shaped American-Indigenous relations and the first American territorial claims in the Pacific Northwest. Past scholarship on the sea otter trade has offered useful insights into the business’s development in the North American West. Meanwhile, literature on American imperialism in the Pacific Northwest has typically focused on American competition with European powers, such as Russia, Spain, and Britain. However, scholarship seldom

connects these two lines of inquiry and rarely accounts for the ways that the sea otter trade, U.S.- Indigenous relations, and Chinese market demands shaped American territorial claims to the Pacific coast of North America. This paper underscores the transformative nature of these river-sea connections and shipping interests on U.S.-Indigenous diplomacy and U.S. territorial expansion.

Bio: Dr. Mack serves as Visiting Assistant Professor of History at the University of Richmond. As a researcher, his work tends to focus on the early United States and its connections to the China trade. After completing his Ph.D. in the History Department at the University of California, San Diego in 2022, Dr. Mack began work on a book entitled *Seaborne Sovereignities*, which examines American merchants and U.S. officials' efforts to expand American commercial and political influence over strategically important spaces in the Pacific, and considers how the international and multiracial labor forces that served aboard their vessels both disrupted and reinforced these state-business ambitions. In addition to his Ph.D., Dr. Mack also holds a B.A. in History from the University of British Columbia and an M.A. in History from McGill University. He is a former Dissertation Fellow at the Huntington Library (2019) and the UC Institute of Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) (2019-2020). Dr. Mack's work has been supported by fellowships and grants issued by the Huntington Library, the Harvard Business School, the Tinker Foundation, the UC Institute of Global Conflict and Cooperation, the Rocky Mountain Council of Latin American Studies, the Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations, the American Historical Association, and the Organization of American Historians. Dr. Mack's conference participation has included presenting at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association (AHA), the Organization of American Historians (OAH), the Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR), the Society of Historians of the Early American Republic (SHEAR), the Western Historical Association (WHA), the Omohundro Institute (OIEAHC), the Rocky Mountain Council of Latin American Studies (RMCLAS), and Harvard's CON-IH.

Session 6B: Maritime Business 1: Trade on the Great Lakes and Mississippi

Time: 10:35 - 11:45 am

Chair: Michael Moir, York University

Paper 1: Navigating Progress: The Impact of Steamboats on Trading in the Mississippi River Andi Esters, Haifa International University

This research delves into the transformative impact of steamboat technology on trading activities along the Mississippi River during the 19th century, encapsulated in the abstract "Navigating Progress: The Impact of Steamboats on Trading in the Mississippi River." The introduction of steamboats marked a pivotal moment in the history of riverine transportation, reshaping commerce, connectivity, and economic development along the sprawling waterway. Through a multidisciplinary approach, this study aims to elucidate the multifaceted consequences of steamboat navigation, ranging from technological advancements and trade efficiency to the social, cultural, and environmental changes brought about by these innovative vessels.

The primary objective is to examine the technological revolution heralded by steamboats thoroughly. By scrutinizing the intricacies of steamboat design, propulsion mechanisms, and their integration into the Mississippi River's navigation system, the research seeks to illuminate how these vessels represented a paradigm shift in riverine transportation. Furthermore, the study aims to analyze the practical implications of steamboats on trade efficiency and connectivity. Steamboats, with their enhanced cargo capacity and ability to navigate against the river current, substantially increased the speed and volume of goods transported along the Mississippi, fostering a more interconnected network of river towns and cities.

Assessing the economic implications of steamboat trade forms another key facet of this research. By investigating changes in trade volumes, market accessibility, and the expansion of commercial opportunities for river communities, the study provides insights into how steamboats catalyzed economic development along the Mississippi. Additionally, the research explores the social and cultural changes engendered by the increased presence of steamboats on the river. The heightened accessibility of goods, the rise of river-based communities, and

the cultural exchange facilitated by bustling river traffic all contribute to a nuanced understanding of the profound societal impact of steamboat navigation.

An essential aspect of this study is an examination of the environmental consequences of increased steamboat traffic. The potential alterations in river ecosystems, impacts on local flora and fauna, and efforts to mitigate environmental concerns form crucial components of the research. Understanding the ecological repercussions of steamboat navigation is paramount for a comprehensive evaluation of their legacy in the context of sustainable and environmentally conscious riverine transportation.

In conclusion, "Navigating Progress" aspires to contribute to the broader understanding of the transformative role played by steamboats in shaping trading activities on the Mississippi River. By exploring the technological, economic, social, and environmental dimensions, the study sheds light on how steamboats served as catalysts for progress, connecting communities, fostering economic growth, and leaving an indelible mark on the historical narrative of riverine trade in the 19th century.

Bio: Andi Esters, a scholar deeply engaged in maritime history, investigates the maritime dynamics of the Spanish Empire, focusing on trade networks in Southeast Asia and the impact of Spanish colonial trade on the region. Her research spans topics such as maritime archaeology of shipwrecks and the influence of the porcelain trade on global maritime networks. Additionally, she explores Louisiana's maritime history, uncovering its role in trade, exploration, and cultural exchange along the Gulf Coast and the Mississippi River. Through comparative analysis, Andi sheds light on historical trade practices and the enduring legacy of maritime history in both Southeast Asia and along the Gulf Coast and Mississippi River.

Paper 2: The Canadian Sailing Fleet and Lake Ontario's International Trade Benjamin Ioset, Institute of Nautical Archaeology

Throughout the nineteenth century, Lake Ontario possessed the smallest commerce among the Great Lakes, largely because of the restrictions to continuous navigation imposed by the Niagara Escarpment and the rapids of the St. Lawrence River. Whereas the ports of Kingston and Oswego had

formerly served as the eastern terminals of trade, the opening of the Erie Canal effectively bypassed the Lake. While the openings of the Welland, Oswego, and Saint Lawrence Canals resulted in a restoration of the lake's former role as the eastern terminus of forwarding trade, yet this trade never approached a controlling percentage of eastbound trade. Lake Ontario's comparative isolation from competition from larger steam vessels, its smaller scale of economy, the short distances of local transport, and comparatively high freight rates all conspired to create unique conditions that were favorable for local sailing commerce.

While American investment in shipping was heavily focused on domestic trade with the Upper Lakes, Canadian investment was more evenly divided between the canalling trade and local forwarding within the confines of Lake Ontario and the Upper Saint Lawrence. With the close proximity of the Canadian and American shores, this trade took on a uniquely international character not present elsewhere within the Great Lakes. In the heyday of this international commerce, the value of Oswego's trade via the Welland Canal was dwarfed by the value of its international commerce with Canadian ports on the opposite shore. While this trade initially focused on the export of Canadian grain and lumber to Oswego, by 1900, it had become almost entirely reliant on the transport of a single commodity, anthracite coal.

This paper will recount the historical development of Lake Ontario's internal trade and the role of local sailing commerce in integrating Canadian lakeshore communities into regional and international markets between 1850 and 1931. Furthermore, it will discuss those aspects of this trade that contributed to its continuation and viability well into the twentieth century.

Bio: Dr. Benjamin Loset is a professional maritime archaeologist presently employed within the cultural resource management sector and a Research Associate with the Institute of Nautical Archaeology. He holds a PhD in Anthropology, with a specialization in nautical archaeology, from Texas A&M University. His doctoral dissertation, "The Two-Masted Schooner *Katie Eccles* and the Decline of Sail on Lake Ontario," focused on the last generation of sailing vessels operating on Lake Ontario, telling this story through the historical and archaeological study of *Katie Eccles*, built in 1877 and which operated on Lake Ontario until 1922. His present research

focuses on the maritime history of commercial sail on the Great Lakes, and the history and archaeology of wooden shipbuilding on the Great Lakes.

Paper 3: Dispersing the Fog: Data Mining and Canadian Great Lakes Business History, 1900-1960 M. Stephen Salmon, Steamer Consulting, and Evan Salmon, Steamer Consulting

The Canadian Great Lakes Database (CGLD) currently being developed by Steamer Consulting, an Ottawa based historical research firm, is designed to explore the relationship between the financial and operational factors that confronted Canadian Great Lakes shipowners during the pre-Seaway period. The interplay of investment costs, cargo flows and international competition determined the profitability and indeed the very survival of the firms engaged in Canadian Great Lakes shipping before the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959.

The CGLD is being constructed from the bottom up beginning with a listing of the ships and barges, (including Canadian, British, American and the Norwegian registered vessels), engaged in Canadian and trans-border bulk and package trades on the Great Lakes, 1900-1960. Individual voyage data is available for the vessels of two fleets, Paterson Steamships, 1924-1960 and Algoma Central, 1945-1960. Voyage patterns can be partially reconstructed for some ships of other fleets as well. Commodity flows can be traced on a macro level for the more significant cargoes including grain, coal, iron ore, and pulpwood. These and other commodities will be analysed on the voyage level for the Paterson and Algoma fleets and for some of Canada Steamship Lines' vessels. Individual grain shipments from Fort William and Port Arthur are being compiled for all vessels participating in the trade. Iron ore and coal shipments to Hamilton and Sault Ste. Marie are also being collected. Efforts are being made to collect the more fragmented records of pulpwood shipments.

The CGLD also includes financial data. Financing individual steamship companies generally included options ranging from mortgages, bonded debt, to share issuance, and private corporate/ family financing. Financial records exist for at least some shipowners. Whether individual firms could deal with these costs depended on their success in managing their vessels. Annual earnings, and costs for a range of federally incorporated firms are available while individual monthly earnings have been collected for Paterson (1926 - 1960) and Algoma vessels

(1939-1960). These can be used to estimate freight rates for specific commodities. They are also useful for making estimates of tonnage transported by individual steamship companies. With many Canadian shipowners carrying high fixed costs, survival depended upon net earnings that at least matched their financial overhead. During the Great Depression, generating enough income to meet these fixed financial costs became a matter of life and death. Some managed to limp through the 1930s, others did not survive.

Bios: Stephen Salmon retired from Library and Archives Canada after 34 years' service in 2012. From 1989 to 2012 he was LAC's Senior Business Archivist. He is the CEO of Steamer Consulting which specializes in maritime archival research. Stephen has published in scholarly journals worldwide. He has also presented numerous papers at conferences in Canada and internationally on a variety of historical and archival topics. Stephen is a founding director of the Canadian Business History Association.

Evan Salmon graduated from Carleton University in 2010. He is an experienced archival researcher specializing in maritime history. He is the Senior Research Associate at Steamer Consulting. He is the co-developer (with M Stephen Salmon) of the Canadian Great Lakes Database which is being used by Steamer Consulting to analyse the development of twentieth century Canadian Great Lakes shipping. Among his other endeavours, Evan started Incatiammentum Game Studios in 2016. IGS provides niche art services to the gaming industry.

Paper 4: Ship Repair and the Welland Canal, 1831-2024 Walter Lewis, Independent Scholar

Most scholarship has focused on the construction of the succeeding Welland Canals, while most of the region's shipyard histories focus on the production of new vessels. However, alongside the canal were a succession of drydocks servicing vessels capable of transiting the locks. Every iteration of the canal had at least one such facility on property leased from the Welland Canal Company and later the Canadian government. This paper reviews the relationship between the repair and construction activities of the shipyards, and between the yards and those operating the canal, along with some of the technologies that the location made possible that were and remain unique within the world of Great Lakes shipping.

Bio: A graduate of Queen's University and the University of Toronto, Walter Lewis has served on the editorial boards of both *FreshWater* and *The Northern Mariner*. In 1990 he took up scuba diving as part of the research for *The River Palace*, co-authored with Rick Neilson of Kingston and published by Dundurn in 2008. His articles have appeared in places as varied as *The Northern Mariner*, *FreshWater*, *Inland Seas*, *Ontario History*, *Beaver*, *Horizon Canada* and the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. His website, MaritimeHistoryOfTheGreatLakes.ca is recognized as a key resource for those doing research in the history of the Great Lakes. He has presented at meetings on CNRS a number of times since 1984 and is currently a member of the executive council of both CNRS and the Association for Great Lakes Maritime History.

Session 6C: Violence, Accidents, Accusations at Sea and the Cannes to Resolution

Time: 10:35 - 11:45 am

Chair: Kevin Grubbs, University of South Mississippi

Paper 1: Whaleships as Breeding Grounds of Violence Michael Toth, Texas Christian University

In 1824, during her fourth whaling voyage, the whaleship *Globe* was the site of a moment of extreme violence. Samuel B. Comstock, a 22-year-old boatsteerer, instigated a mutiny, killing Captain Thomas Worth and three ship's officers and taking control of the vessel. Soon after, William Humphries, who had participated in the mutiny, would be hanged on accusations of plotting to steal the ship. Finally, nineteen days later, members of the crew executed Comstock himself, under the belief that he had planned to destroy the ship and them with it, most likely to hide his misdeeds. While mutinies were distinctly uncommon onboard whaling ships, violence was not. Instead, it was weaved into the nature of the industry. The floating factories of death that were whaling ships served to inculcate whaling men into a culture of violence and death and provided numerous forms of kindling for the eruptions of violence among the crew. Understanding the culture of violence around whalers and whaling ships is crucial to understanding the story of whaling itself.

Bio: Michael Toth is a PhD Candidate 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 the Summer of 2019 through the Summer of 2022 and as the NASOH Treasurer since the Summer of 2023. He also has worked on digitizing the Oscar Monnig Meteorite Collection Papers at TCU Special Collections and served as an Assistant Editor (with Anthony Peebler) to Dr. James C. Bradford and Dr. Gene Allen Smith on the forthcoming *The Selected Papers of John Paul Jones*.

Paper 2: Chow-Chow Water: A British-Russian Collision in China in 1880 Rashed Chowdhury, Independent Scholar

On 31 May 1880, the British steamship *Breconshire*, belonging to a shipping company owned by David Jenkins, MP, ran into the Russian steamship *Moskva*, which belonged to the government-sponsored shipping company known as the Voluntary Fleet. The collision occurred on the Yangtze River at Hankou (modern Wuhan) in China, and caused a crack in the hull of the *Moskva*, as well as some loose rivets, which necessitated repairs. The captains of the two ships exchanged accusations regarding the crash: the captain of the *Moskva* accused the *Breconshire* of having caused it, while the captain of the *Breconshire* accused the crew of the *Moskva* of having failed to prevent it. The case was brought before a consular court, and the judge, who was the British consul in Hankou, ruled on 3 June that neither party had been responsible; according to him, the fault lay with something called “chow-chow water”.

Based on documents obtained at the Russian State History Archive in St. Petersburg, this paper will examine not only the contents of the case, but also its context: what were British and Russian ships doing in the interior of China in 1880? Why is it that a dispute involving Britons and Russians in China would be settled by a British consul rather than a Chinese court? And, last but not least, what exactly is chow-chow water? In attempting to answer these questions by examining this particular collision on the most important internal waterway in China, this paper seeks to enhance our understanding of international trade, international law, diplomacy and extraterritoriality in the late nineteenth century.

Bio: Rashed Chowdhury is an independent scholar. He obtained a PhD in history at McGill University, and completed a postdoctoral fellowship at the Indian Ocean World Centre at McGill University. He has taught at McGill and the University of Manitoba and was most recently an Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Manisa Celal Bayar University in Manisa, Turkey. His research interests include Russian, British and Ottoman imperial history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His publications include a book chapter entitled “Russian Medical Diplomacy in Ethiopia, 1896 to 1913”.

Paper 3: A Case of Liability: The Loss of the steamer *Waubuno* and the Sensational Lawsuit it Inspired Douglas Hunter, Independent Scholar

The loss of the 135-foot side-paddlewheel steamer *Waubuno* on Georgian Bay on 22 November 1879 has been a source of speculation since debris from her loss was first sighted two days later. Everyone on board disappeared, between twenty and twenty-eight passengers and crew (and a horse and a dog); none of the bodies were ever recovered. The discovery of her hull in March 1880—upside-down, missing her engine machinery, main deck, and superstructure—in a bay with an impassible entrance several miles inshore from open water—only deepened a persistent mystery.

How and why the *Waubuno* met her end has engaged writers ever since her loss. And yet one of the most critical collections of evidence has never been probed. In January 1880, Emma Fisher, the widow of Parry Sound North Star publisher and editor Baptist Noel Fisher, sued the *Waubuno*’s owner, the Georgian Bay Transportation Company, for \$20,000, alleging fault under the common-law *duCes* of a common carrier and entitlement to compensation for a loved one under Lord Campbell’s Act. The company countersued to secure an injunction, claiming it was entitled to protection under the Imperial Merchant Shipping Act limiting its non-fault liability to fifteen pounds sterling per registered ton of the vessel, or \$8820, for also possible claimants, while also refusing to admit to any liability. The company lost on appeal, and the case went to trial in January 1881. When the jury could not reach a verdict, a second trial was held in March 1881. It too ended without a resolution. Because there was never a decision, a case that dominated legal coverage in the Toronto press never entered case law.

In researching my forthcoming book, *The Devil's Wind*, I examined the judgment and appeal court rulings of the company's countersuit and transcribed some 60,000 words of testimony in the *Toronto Globe* alone for the two trials. Both sides were represented by leading counsels of the day, and divided neatly along political lines, Liberal/Reform on the plaintiff's side, Conservative on the defendant's side. The trials were a sensation. unusually long for the time, and involved dozens of witnesses for both sides. Testimony was given by an array of figures: carpenters, caulkers, the *Waubuno's* builder, vessel captains and crew, company officials, steamboat inspectors, insurance inspectors, and more.

More than providing a broader and deeper understanding of the lost vessel and the day she was lost, the testimony illuminates a long list of subjects of interest to any student of Great Lakes shipping, in particular the much maligned "canaller" steamers of the *Waubuno's* era. We hear testimony about maintenance, repairs, navigation, construction, meteorology, inspection, loading, insurance ratings, and such eye-opening matters as how much rot was considered acceptable in a passenger vessel. The case is also blighted by witness theft, evidence tampering, and perjury. My presentation will give an overview of some of the insights this remarkable legal cause provides and places it in the context of a calamitous period in Great Lakes shipping when Canadian vessels operated with scarcely any restrictions and minimal oversight.

Bio: I hold a PhD in history (York University 2015) and was a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Waterloo. My dissertation, "Stone of Power," won the Canadian Association of Graduate Studies Prize in 2016 as the best dissertation in humanities, social sciences, and art history. It was published as *The Place of Stone* by the University of North Carolina Press (2017). I am the author of more than twenty books with trade and academic publishers, including *Yacht Design Explained* (1998), of which I was co-author. My recent books include *Beardmore: The Viking Hoax that Rewrote History* (2018), a finalist for the Wilson Book Prize in Canadian History, and *Jackson's Wars: A. Y. Jackson, the Birth of the Group of Seven and the Great War* (2022), a finalist for the Defoe Book Prize. My manuscript for *The Devil's Wind* is currently with my editor at McGill-Queen's.

Lunch: 11:45 am - 1:00 pm

Session 7A: Sailors Ashore in the Antebellum and Civil War United States

Time: 1:00 - 2:15 pm

Chair: B.J. Armstrong, U.S. Naval Academy

Paper 1: 'That Strange and Very Ancient Custom': Tattooists in American Sailortowns during the Nineteenth Century Cori Convertito, Key West Art & Historical Society

The Royal Navy inadvertently sparked the trend of tattooing amongst European and American sailors when it commissioned the three voyages of Captain James Cook to the South Pacific in the 1770s. During these voyages, Cook and his crew encountered the indigenous population and witnessed, firsthand, the traditional practice of tattooing. They were not the first Western sailors to observe the practice, but they were the first to systematically record the process in written form and to partake in the exotic ritual.

Once embraced as part of European and American sub-cultures, tattoos became a widespread and fashionable adornment for sailors. Before long, a small number of tattooists occupied space in sailortowns, anticipating the influx of young men on shore leave with money in their pockets and considerable free time. These tattooists were not always with a fixed address in the seaport— there were those who wandered the dockyard areas, pubs, markets and street corners where sailors were likely to congregate.

It will be demonstrated that tattooing was a favored form of entertainment among sailors that can be viewed as a collective custom. Through their tattoo experiences, sailors bonded while also fashioning a visual system of communication that was carried from port to port throughout the world. This paper will briefly investigate several of the most prominent port cities such as New York, Boston and Philadelphia after which it will make a careful analysis of the practice of tattooing sailors in these areas. It will conclude with a biographic snapshot of several prominent tattooists that refined the tradition growing it beyond the sub-cultures.

Bio: Dr. Convertito is the Chief Curator and Historian for the Key West Art & Historical Society and is the Executive Director of The Society for the History of Navy Medicine. She also serves as an instructor in American

History and Humanities at the College of the Florida Keys. She received her doctorate in maritime history from the University of Exeter in the UK where she was awarded the Boydell & Brewer Prize for the best doctoral thesis in maritime history. Her publications include chapter contributions to the U.S. Naval Academy's *New Interpretations in Naval History*, *Transactions of the Naval Dockyards Society*, and *Maritime History and Identity: The Sea and Culture in the Modern World*.

Paper 2: Bearing Off a Toe of Michael Angelo: Henry Wadsworth in the Mediterranean, 1802-1804 Abigail Mullen, U.S. Naval Academy

When 17-year-old Henry Wadsworth arrived in the Mediterranean as a midshipman on board the USS *Chesapeake* in 1802, he was able to dedicate a fair amount of time to learning about the cultures of the places he visited. He spent days and even weeks on shore in ports such as Livorno, Palermo, and Valletta, and in each place he imbibed the local culture through attendance at operas and the theater, visits to local historical sites, and other types of cultural activities. He did not go into these experiences without any knowledge of what he might find, however. He had received a classical education at Phillips Exeter Academy before becoming a midshipman, and he obviously was familiar with many historical texts and guidebooks that helped him situate what he was seeing in the Mediterranean.

This paper argues that Henry Wadsworth's experiences reflect an eagerness to engage with the culture of the places he found himself in, but his high-minded ideals about culture were often subordinated to his youthful brashness and social immaturity in terms of how he related to the cultural experiences he had. He saw himself as more cultured and more refined than most of his peers on board ship, and he held American culture in high esteem, frequently comparing it to what he was experiencing abroad. But he also reacted to cultural experiences in ways that highlight his immaturity and the fact that, despite his grand words, this was really his first journey far from home.

This paper will also ask how these experiences of Wadsworth and others gave them a broader understanding of the world the navy was entering into, while simultaneously giving the people of the Mediterranean region a closer look at these young American officers. Did their cultural interests and experiences make an impression on the people around them?

Bio: Abigail Mullen is an assistant professor in the history department at the US Naval Academy. Her book, *To Fix a National Character: The United States in the First Barbary War, 1800-1805*, will be released from Johns Hopkins University Press in 2024. She holds a PhD in history from Northeastern University. Her current project is a narrative podcast about the life and death of Henry Wadsworth.

Paper 3: Apostles of Union: US Naval Officers and the Secession Crisis Roger A. Bailey, American Battlefield Trust

When the American Civil War broke out in 1861, half of Southern naval officers—roughly 1/4 of the officer corps—resigned to take up arms on behalf of the Confederacy. As the Union began to fray, a small number of these men intrigued to advance the Southern cause while still serving as federal officers. Yet the vast majority of future Confederate officers did not. Unionism was pervasive in the US officer corps, and dozens of the most prominent members from both the North and South actively tried to preserve the Union in the year before the Battle of Bull Run.

In peacetime, the navy had undertaken major efforts to professionalize with the adoption of its own academy, journal, observatory, exam system, and a host of other reforms. The service's newfound standing increased that of its personnel. Many naval officers became public figures in the antebellum era with national reputations as Mexican War heroes, explorers, diplomats, scientists, and best-selling authors. They also had uniquely far-reaching social and professional networks that spanned the country's North, South, and West. This paper will examine the hitherto unstudied ways that these prominent officers sought to leverage their public influence to counteract secessionism as they encouraged brother officers to remain loyal, lobbied elected officials, tried to broker political compromises, and participated in the 1861 Peace Convention in Washington.

This paper will build on scholarship by Charles Dew, William Dudley, and several historians of the US Army, and draw on officers' personal correspondence and publications to analyze their behavior on the eve of secession. I hope to reveal how military professionalization can have broader societal impact, as well as the limitations of this influence (which ultimately manifested by spring 1861 as the officer corps broke apart and open warfare overtook the country). More broadly, the paper will

demonstrate how the country's growing maritime empire indirectly affected the outbreak of the American Civil War—through the role played by US naval officers.

Bio: Roger Bailey is the Copie Hill Civil War Fellow at the American Battlefield Trust. Prior to that, he served as 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.

Session 7B: Cold war Politics: Physical and Political Lines of Division

Time: 1:00 2:15 pm

Chair: Richard Goette, Canadian Forces College

Paper 1: The American Indictment: Canada’s Search for Nuclear Attack Submarines, and the United States’ Opposition Ambjörn Adomeit, Western University

When the Canadian Maritime Command (MARCOM) started searching for replacements for its aging *Oberon*-class diesel-electric hunter-killer submarines (SSKs) in the late 1970s, it first homed in on the possibility of acquiring nuclear powered submarines (SSNs) from the United States (CASAP). In the 1980s, Minister of Defence Perrin Beatty dropped all efforts to replace the “O”-boats with brand new SSKs and attempted to launch a full-fledged SSN procurement programme (CSAP). Beatty argued in the 1987 White Paper on Defence, *Challenge and Commitment* was that SSNs were the only way that Canada could responsibly patrol its huge coastline. Beatty focused his point on the fact that the Arctic was too large for SSKs to patrol on their own – in fact, they could not even patrol under the Arctic ice – and the air force was too restricted in its own resources to conduct more than periodic flybys. Unfortunately for Beatty’s aspirations toward an SSN fleet, the United States was adamant that before Canada should invest in its shipbuilding industry so that it would be able to service its own SSNs ... something Canadians did not want to do. The Reagan administration wanted Canada to be able to fly its own flag and not have to rely on the United States, and

Canadians did not want to spend tax dollars on a defence asset they did not understand. Adomeit uses documents released since the end of the Canadian Submarine Acquisition Programme (CSAP) in the late 1980s to explain *why* the Department of National Defence wanted a functional SSN fleet, and answers the *why* of the *how* of Canada managed to lose its bid for SSNs.

Bio: A civilian graduate of the Master of Arts in War Studies programme at the Royal Military College of Canada, Ambjörn Adomeit is currently an MA (History) student at the University of Western Ontario. His MA thesis at RMC was entitled *A Fleet of its Compromises: The Canadian Cold War Submarine Posture, 1949-1990*, and was co-awarded the CNRS' Jacques Cartier MA Prize in 2019. His current M.A. cognate research pursues the purchase of Canada's first two submarines, C.C.1 and C.C.2 in 1914, pursuing in its turn the first paper Ambjörn presented to CNRS (in 2013).

Paper 2: The Coldest Part of the Cold War: Locating the Lomonsov Ridge Wes Cross, Independent Scholar

For many decades following Canadian Confederation the High Arctic held little national interest beyond being part of a national mythology. It was not until 1925 that the first substantive legislation was enacted claiming jurisdiction over the area. However, post Second World War Soviet exploration and research in the region began to raise concerns - especially the 1948 discovery of the Lomonosov Ridge, an underwater mountain range that extended 1,200km from Siberia's continental shelf through the center of the Arctic Basin.

As the Cold War deepened the Arctic gained increasingly significant importance. Geopolitics, defense concerns, and sovereignty claims underscored the need for a far better understanding of the region. The Lomonosov Ridge loomed as a particular concern since it could weaken the historic Canadian sovereignty claims unless the Ridge could be proven to reach the Canadian continental shelf. The risks were large involving economic, political and security issues if the claim was compromised.

As a result, the Canadian government mounted an expedition in 1972 to determine the location and extent of the Ridge. Of necessity this was very much a home-grown effort and would require devising a methodology and establishing research equipment on the shifting ice pack extending from Ellesmere Island to the pole. Two government geologists were

selected to carry out this pioneering work in a tight time frame and using existing resources available in a collaborative arrangement between the Department of Mines, Energy and Natural Resources and the RCAF. It was an adventure that would be the first step to acquire vital data as well as serve as a research and technology test bed for much larger joint Canada/US missions that would follow in subsequent years.

Bio: Wes Cross is a co-founder of the McGill Remembers Roundtable created in 2005 to raise awareness of military and social history contained in institutional archives. In this role he has presented on a range of topics and served as an advisor on several initiatives. A graduate of Concordia University, Wes is a recipient of a Minister of Veterans Affairs Commendation for his work on the development of historical material and public engagement. He currently serves as president of the James McGill Society.

Paper 3: A Most Improbable Project: Canada's Victoria Class Submarines in "retrospect" Paul Mitchell, Canadian Forces College

The announcement that Canada would purchase the Royal Navy's abandoned Upholder class submarines was greeted as "The Deal of the Century". The \$800 million dollar agreement preserved Canada's submarine capability at an enormous cost saving. However, the national mood quickly turned sour after a deadly fire aboard HMCS Chicoutimi, and lengthy delays in getting the boats operational. In the more than two decades since they were acquired, combined, the four submarines have spent only six years at sea. Many point to defects in the submarine's design as a factor. However, the actual cause of this lack of readiness is found more in the conflict between Canada's "natural" strategic behaviour and naval professional ambition.

This paper will illustrate the problems experienced by Canada's submarine fleet as a failure to properly invest in the necessary infrastructure to support the generation of material capability. This failure lead to inadequate numbers of sea days to generate sufficient numbers of personnel. These two factors exist in a feedback loop, making it difficult to escape. The basic problem, however, is a state that is largely disinterested in military capability, outside the industrial and economic benefits they generate. Lacking explicit strategic guidance, services will attempt to

preserve as much capability as a hedge against an uncertain future but lack the funding to ensure it can be used.

Bio: Dr Mitchell holds a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) from Wilfrid Laurier University, a Master of Arts in War Studies from King's College London, and a Doctorate from Queen's University at Kingston. Following the completion of his doctoral studies, he worked as a post-doctoral fellow at Dalhousie University in Halifax in the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, where he assisted with the production of the Canadian Navy's "Adjusting Course" strategy. He also worked as Directing Staff at the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre on their Maritime Peacekeeping course in 1996 and 1997. He has worked at the Canadian Forces College since 1998, first as the Deputy Director Academics, and later as its first Director of Academics (DAcad). As DAcad, Dr Mitchell oversaw the development of the Master of Defence Studies degree following accreditation of the Command and Staff Course by the Ontario Council of Graduate Studies in 2001. Between 2005 and 2007, Dr. Mitchell was an Associate Professor at Singapore's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University and also taught at the Singapore Armed Forces Training Institute's Command and Staff College. He served again as Director of Academics between 2015 and 2021.

Dr Mitchell was awarded the Literary Award by the United States Naval Institute and the Surface Naval Association for his paper on Network-Centric Warfare and Small Navies in 2003, the first non-American and the first civilian to be so recognized. He was published in the International Institute for Strategic Studies' prestigious Adelphi Paper series with his Network-Centric Warfare: Coalition Operations in the Age of US Military Primacy. He was made an "honorary graduate" of the National Security Programme in 2016. In 2018, he was recognized for his efforts to integrate design thinking into Professional Military Education by the International Military Design Conference. In 2023, he was awarded the Canadian Forces Medallion for Distinguished Service for his contributions to Professional Military Education.

Session 7C: Maritime Business 2: Impact of Technology, Trade, Land and Ship Building

Time: 1:00 - 2:15 pm

Chair: Thomas Malcomson, Independent Scholar

Paper 1: Up the River with a Paddle; Shipping Merchandise into the Interior along the Apalachicola and its Tributaries Monica Beck, University of West Florida, and William Lees, Emeritus, University of West Florida

At past NASOH gatherings, we have used archives of the William G. Porter & Company to look at the maritime relationship of a single merchant with clients within the Apalachicola- Chattahoochee-Flint River System (ACF) and also coastwise. Porter & Company was one of the numerous merchants in Apalachicola that operated from the early 1830's until the late 1860's and their over 30 years of business and personal correspondence, financial records, and ledgers have survived and are housed in the Emory University Archives. Using these records we have previously looked at shipment of produce, mainly cotton, from the interior to Apalachicola in 1848, as well as coastwise shipment on the Gulf and Atlantic coasts in 1843. We will now look at Porter's relationships with clients in the ACF by examining Bills of Lading for merchandise shipped upriver, also in 1848. Although looking only at the records of one merchant, we are building out an increasingly specific understanding of the nature of the riverine trade on the ACF and its geographic footprint. The view from merchandise shipments upriver goes beyond the cotton growers and factors and provides more texture to the pattern of life along these rivers.

Bios: Monica Beck is an Adjunct Instructor in the Anthropology Department at the University of West Florida. She earned her Master of Arts in Anthropology, specializing in Historical Archaeology, and a Certificate of Graduate Study in Museum Management from the University of South Carolina. Her archaeological, academic, and public education research has focused on plantations, industrial mills, and colonial and antebellum riverine towns.

Dr. William Lees holds an M.A. and PhD. in Anthropology (Historical Archaeology) from Michigan State University and retired from the University of West Florida in 2023. His research has focused on the nineteenth century in the west and southeast, ranging from agricultural economies to

Civil War and Indian Wars conflict and memory. Recently, Ms. Beck and Dr. Lees conducted archaeological and historical research at the Orman House Historic State Historical Park in Apalachicola. Their research has expanded to include other merchants in the port city. Both Ms. Beck and Dr. Lees have long-standing research interests in the antebellum plantation economy in the southeastern United States.

Paper 2: Sand Mining's Eroding Influence at Point Pelee Mary Baxter,
Western University

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Great Lakes teemed with commercial sand suckers, a specialized form of boat or barge used to dredge sand and gravel from shorelines, riverbanks, and waterbeds. Sand and gravel are the main ingredients of concrete, and with the rapid expansion of lakeside cities and towns and the roads that joined them, the demand for these materials was insatiable.

To the residents of the cities they supplied, these sand suckers were undoubtedly a “useful enterprise,” as Charles E. Hughes, U.S. Secretary of State in 1921, called them. Yet in the waters where they operated and where they frequently crossed international borders, these vessels became menacing purveyors of shoreline erosion, a process that in turn threatened to destabilize communities both literally, with flooding, and politically, as frustrated residents demanded governments intervene and as different governments jockeyed for jurisdiction.

My Master's thesis, completed in 2023, looks at the effects of this sand sucker activity on the environment and communities from the 1910s to 1930 in three locations in the Erie basin—Point Pelee, Pelee Island, and the St. Clair River. For this presentation, I would highlight the impact of this activity at Point Pelee, which had been a naval reserve until the Canadian government made it into a national park in 1918.

Its generous deposits of sharp-angled sands made Point Pelee a popular destination for sand sucker operators who operated alongshore and in its waters from the late 1800s to the early 1970s. Many local residents blamed the activity for generating ongoing problems with erosion along the Point. Over the years, natural scientists would debate the impact and try different methods of conservation. This debate in turn helped to prompt a shift in understanding of Great Lake ecology from atomistic to holistic.

The presentation would touch on some of the point's history, discuss the situation that arose and how the various players responded. It will also look at the measures undertaken to curb the activity and prevent erosion. It will wrap up with some thoughts and questions about what these activities might tell us about how people conceived of the Great Lakes at this time and how these beliefs affected the evolution of the legal and ideological frameworks used to govern these waters.

Sand suckers' transnational practice tells us much about how Canada and the United States and these countries' constituent jurisdictions negotiated border and trade relationships on the Great Lakes in the early 1900s. This activity also tells us a lot about efforts to industrialize the Great Lakes ecosystem and how this ecosystem, in turn, responded to the activity and shaped the industry.

Bio: Mary Baxter is a Western University history Ph.D. student and a journalist. She has worked as a staff writer for *TVO Today*, an editor and writer for *Better Farming* magazine, and the publisher and editor of *Morelmag.ca*, a non-profit online general interest magazine that she developed to serve southwestern Ontario. Her writings on agriculture, the environment, rural issues, culture, and history have appeared in several Canadian media publications, including the *Financial Post*, *Reader's Digest* and *Broadview Magazine*. Mary has earned several awards for her journalism from organizations such as the Canadian Association of Journalists, the International Federation of Agricultural Journalists and the Ontario Library Association. In 2024, she received a gold Canadian Online Publishing Award for best multicultural story, consumer business to consumer division. She holds an honours B.A. in English literature from the University of British Columbia, an M.Phil. in Anglo-Irish literature from Trinity College, University of Dublin and an M.A. in history from Western University.

Paper 3: Collingwood and the transition from wood to steel shipbuilding in Canada, 1883-1916 Michael Moir, York University

The opening decades of the twentieth century were a period of dynamic growth for Canadian shipping on the Great Lakes due to the rapid expansion of agricultural production in western Canada. The cities of Fort William and Port Arthur at the head of Lake Superior became the world's largest grain handling ports as shipments rose from about 68 million

bushels in 1900 to almost 1.5 billion bushels in 1917. Since moving bulk cargoes over long distances was far cheaper by water than by rail, there was an urgent demand for additional tonnage on the Great Lakes. Steel shipbuilding flourished on the American side, but the industry was in its infancy in Canada as capitalists preferred to invest in Canadian railways and manufacturing. While most vessels operating in Canada were built in Britain due to lower costs of labour and steel or bought second-hand from the United States, investors in Collingwood, Ontario were determined not to lose out on the profits to be made from building vessels for the grain trade, and established the first major steel shipyard on the Canadian side of the Great Lakes in 1900. The activities of this shipyard after 1916, when the company was purchased by Joseph Norcross and Roy Wolvin of the Canada Steamship Lines, are well documented through public archives and trade magazines. Corporate documents for the period before the takeover, however, do not appear to have survived, creating a significant void in our knowledge of the activities of Collingwood's entrepreneurs at a time when they were establishing their shipyard and lobbying the Dominion government for policies to promote the development of steel shipbuilding and ship repair. This presentation will explore the results of a research project undertaken in 2023-2024 to address this gap through a review of newspapers published in Collingwood from the 1880s to the First World War, when the shipping crisis dramatically altered the nature of shipbuilding in Canada. This period was marked by the industry's transition from working with wood to steel, and the project will yield insights into the demand for new vessels, the importance of the marine sector in the town's economic development initiatives, the development of shipyards on the Great Lakes, the recruitment of skilled trades and other labour, working conditions in the shipyard, the relationship between local development and national economic policies, and a fundamental question that is still debated more than a century later: why build ships in Canada?

Bio: Michael Moir's career as an archivist began 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. His research interests include Canadian shipbuilding between 1890 and 1939, and the management of ports and harbours. He was elected to the Council of the Canadian Nautical Research Society in 2015, served as President from 2020 to 2023, and is currently Secretary and Chair of the Nominating Committee.

Session 8A: Material Culture and the Maritime Landscape

Time: 2:30 - 3:45 pm

Chair: Amy Mitchell-Cook, University of West Florida

Paper 1: Visualizing the Submerged Slipways, Wharves and Docks of Point Frederick Robert Banks, Independent Scholar

Point Frederick is separated from Kingston Ontario by the Cataraqui River. The shoreline has been altered by landfilling that began in the early 20th century. Navy Bay separates Point Frederick from Fort Henry to the east. More of a peninsula than a “point,” Point Frederick lies within a military reserve designated by the British in 1783. Today, it is the location of the Royal Military College (RMC) of Canada.

Before the Europeans, Point Frederick was a place of Indigenous seasonal hunting and fishing, likely due to proximity with travel routes. Located where the north channel of the St. Lawrence River joins Lake Ontario, its strategic advantages were appreciated after the Revolutionary War. The British military completed a dock and two storehouses on the peninsula for their Provincial Marine in 1784. By 1789, this was upgraded to a dockyard. Construction of armed vessels was underway by 1792 when Lieutenant-Governor John Simcoe visited. So began five decades of shipbuilding that included gunboats, transports, warships, and steam-driven gunboats. These vessels had significant roles in the settlement of Upper Canada, and influenced the course of Canadian history.

Today, there is little evidence on the grounds of RMC of the early history of Point Frederick. The story is different in the surrounding waters. During the War of 1812, the dockyard was expanded by the Royal Navy which built powerful warships for the conflicts on Lake Ontario. Shipwrights and carpenters built progressively larger wharves and slipways. Slip #1 was the original Provincial Marine slip of 1792. Starting in 1813, three more were added in sequence along the shore to the south of the original slip.

In his 2008 inventory report of submerged cultural resources surrounding Fort Henry, Jonathon Moore included the Royal Navy slipways. He also described a submerged Commodore’s wharf and an unidentified slipway along the west shoreline.

While conducting historical research in 2020, this author and two associates photographed Point Frederick during aircraft overflights. On both days, the calm air and clear water resulted in ideal conditions for

imaging submerged structures. Additional aerial images were made in September 2023 using drone technology. Once again, the conditions were ideal and submerged structures were visualized in remarkable detail.

The resulting images were reviewed in the context of historic evidence that included maps, computer models, images, primary/secondary sources and archival documents. Submerged structures identified by Jonathon Moore (et al.) were imaged from above. New observations included structures related to the original Provincial Marine slipway (Slip #1), a submerged dock related to the Naval Cottages, and a submerged dock related to the Admiralty House. A likely explanation of Moore's "unidentified" slipway was made.

The presentation will include 3D computer model depictions, drone video images, and aircraft photo images each placed in the context of the history outlined above and other details that emerged from recent research. This trove of submerged treasures, in effect an underwater museum, provides us with the physical evidence of long ago activities that altered the trajectory of Canadian history.

Bio: Robert (Bob) Banks is the author of *Warriors and Warships: Conflict on the Great Lakes and the Legacy of Point Frederick* (Dundurn Press, 2023). Dr. Banks attended the Royal Military College (RMC) of Canada where he studied engineering. He then became a Canadian Air Force pilot flying single-engine jet and multiengine aircraft. After two flying tours, he attended the University of Toronto and received a Doctor of Medicine (MD) degree. After internship, he practiced general medicine, re-qualified as an air force pilot, and became the designated flight surgeon of the Canadian Forces *Snowbirds*. During post-graduate research and training, Dr. Banks discovered a new cause of pilot loss of consciousness in flight. He later led a team that investigated the injuries and deaths of crew members during the loss of the *STS-107 Space Shuttle Columbia*. Highly published in science, his lifelong interest in Canadian history is expressed in additional publications about Canadian naval and air force squadrons, historic buildings, and a dramatic wartime escape. In 2022, Dr. Banks was named to the RMC Wall of Honour.

Paper 2: Gaspé Maritime Archaeology Project Carolyn Kennedy, Center for Maritime Archaeology and Conservation

Gaspé, located in Québec, Canada, has been a hub of maritime culture in North America for centuries, and continues to be an important commercial fishing port today. Historically, Gaspé has been home to indigenous fishermen, Basque whalers, and robust French and British cod fishing communities, each with their own unique shipbuilding heritage. In the summer of 2019, researchers initiated a long-term study of the maritime history and archaeology of the region, starting with a survey of Gaspé Bay for shipwrecks and other submerged cultural heritage. After a pandemic-caused hiatus, research resumed in the summer of 2022 including more extensive surveying of both Gaspé Bay and Malbay and documentation of a wreck located in the tidal zone of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence River at Cap-des-Rosiers. This paper discusses the results of the 2022 field season, including details of the ship construction of the Cap-des-Rosiers wreck and the remote-sensing findings.

Bio: Carolyn Kennedy (Ph.D. Texas A&M University 2019) is interested in the hull designs and technology of historic ships in northeastern North America. Carolyn has recorded historic vessels in Lake Champlain, Virginia, and Toronto. A native of Montreal, Carolyn is co-director of the Gaspé Maritime Archaeology Project. Carolyn also serves as Associate Director of the Center for Maritime Archaeology and Conservation, and teaches courses in artifact conservation, ship reconstruction, and historical archaeology.

Paper 3: Arnold's Bay Project: Material Culture and Connections from a Colonial Battlefield in Lake Champlain Cherilyn Gilligan, Lake Champlain Maritime Museum

A little-known battlefield from the American War of Independence lies in Arnold's Bay in Panton, Vermont. In October of the 1776 campaign season, British troops made their way south from Fort St. Jean in a last attempt for the year to defeat the American fleet on Lake Champlain. The warring fleets met at Valcour Bay on October 11th and the overall skirmish ended at Arnold's Bay on October 13th. This paper explores the battlefield site on land and in-water, where General Benedict Arnold burned five vessels to prevent their capture and escaped with his remaining soldiers by land to Crown Point and Fort Ticonderoga. This ongoing archaeological investigation conducted by the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum was funded by the American Battlefield Protection Program and the Museum

worked in collaboration with Stockbridge-Munsee Community, Abenaki leaders, and partnered with the Advanced Metal Detecting for the Archaeologist (AMDA) group.

Bio: Cherilyn Gilligan is the Assistant Director of Archaeology at the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum in Vergennes, Vermont, United States. Ms. Gilligan is an archaeologist with more than 15 years of experience in the field and lab and a member of the Register for Professional Archaeologists (RPA #17453). She received her Master's in Applied Archaeology in 2017 from Indiana University of Pennsylvania with a focus on zooarchaeology and colonial New England archaeology. In 2018, Ms. Gilligan began learning underwater archaeological techniques with LCMM and is an archaeological diver for projects on Lake Champlain.

Session 8B: Pilots, Diplomats, Deserters: French Global Trade and Local Infrastructure

Time: 2:30 - 3:45 pm

Chair: Faye Kert, Independent Scholar

Paper 1: Navigating the Ganges: Foreign Knowledge meets Local Hazards Margaret Schotte, York University

The “last mile” is often the most challenging stage of any process. The phrase is now frequently used to describe the expensive step when a delivery company has to get a package to a customer’s home. In maritime history, we might instead consider the final stage of a voyage, whether into a harbour, or up a river to a suitable trading destination.

When French merchant ships reached India after arduous six- to nine-month voyages, they had to sail upriver from the coast to reach their trading factory at Chandernagore, in West Bengal. A short time later, the ships retraced their route, now heavily laden with luxury goods, raw materials, and provisions for the long trip back to Europe, or further east to other Asian ports. To ensure they navigated the river safely, the company relied on men who were familiar with the Ganges and its tributaries, and their significant hazards.

Both the Ganges and the Hugli River, the tributary that passes Kolkata (Calcutta), were shallow rivers with shifting sandy shoals and tidal patterns. The seasonal monsoons also had an effect on river travel, as the river’s speed changed dramatically over the year.

The company hired specialized pilots—some Asian, some European—to guide their ship. This paper will attempt to uncover some of these men, including Jean-Pierre Verléé, a young man from Brittany who had a successful career in West Bengal, beginning as “a pilot on the Ganges.” To supplement the few records that survive about the careers of pilots based in India, I will assess how the Company compensated pilots in other ports, such as their headquarters at Lorient.

The paper will also examine the geography of these rivers, as understood by the French mariners. I will analyze a manuscript map of the Hugli River alongside several logbooks from the 1750s in order to better understand where ships stopped along the river, when they took aboard local pilots, and what hazards they encountered. Some forty company employees drowned in the Ganges over the course of the century: what led to their deaths so close to land?

Archival documents show that the French understood little of the cultural and religious significance of the Ganges, but they clearly recognized that they needed help from experts to safely travel the “last mile” on this powerful river.

Bio: Margaret Schotte is an Associate Professor of History at York University, where she teaches early modern history of science and culture, and history of the book and information. She is the author of *Sailing School: Navigating Science and Skill, 1550-1800* (Johns Hopkins, 2019), a comparative study of maritime expertise and training that won the NASOH John Lyman award. She has served on the CNRS council since 2016. She is currently leading an international team that is analyzing and mapping issues of race, labour, and mobility in 18th-c. French East India Company records.

Paper 2: Finding Ports in the Storm: The French East India Company, Diplomacy, and the Winter Monsoon Christina Welch, College of Wooster

The sea road outside of Pondichéry—headquarters of the French East India Company’s territories in India—was at its best in August and September, with favorable currents and gentle swells allowing safe passage to ships of all sorts. At least, such was the advice of the *Oriental Navigator* in 1794. It is thus no surprise that the French Company’s captains setting off from Europe (or elsewhere) generally sought to time

their arrival in that window. Rarely, though, could such ships for any quick return. Trade, repairs, and other affairs could rarely be conducted with sufficient rapidity to avoid the onset of the winter monsoon in October. Captains, ship owners, and colonial officials alike thus faced a constant problem: where could these ships "winter," taking shelter from inclement winds until they could make their way westward once more?

This question was more than a matter of logistics. Colonial officials, captains, and investors alike frowned at the prospect of a ship and its crew sitting idle for months, taking up scarce space in Pondichéry's port, and eagerly sought to turn the reality of "wintering" into an opportunity for profit and advancement. French ships regularly ventured east from Pondichéry ahead of the winter monsoon, taking advantage of favorable currents to cut across the Bay of Bengal to the busy markets of Aceh or Mergui, seeking to engage in "country" (intra-Indian Ocean) trade. Ensuring that ships would be welcome upon their arrival meant extending the French Company's diplomatic networks along these same routes, expanding their political involvement further through the Indian Ocean. Other ships "wintered" closer to Pondichéry itself, where they could be incorporated into the French Company's local strategic outlook. Ships could be sent to ports to shore up vulnerabilities, but doing so also left large, valuable vessels isolated from reinforcement when the weather turned and British fleets began patrolling the region again.

This paper will explore the phenomenon of "wintering" in two ways. Making use of data compiled through the "Sailing with the French" project, it will map where French Company ships calling at Pondichéry "wintered" the monsoon, focusing on how the sheltering ports changed over time. It will also connect these data to contemporary military and diplomatic correspondence, exploring how a practical navigational concern was woven into broader colonial policy. This preliminary analysis contributes in turn to a broader effort to reconceive of the French East India Company not merely as a disappointed also-ran in a game of empires, but as a force that shaped the flow of power and people across the Indian Ocean in complex ways.

Bio: Christina Welsch is an Associate Professor at the College of Wooster (Ohio). Her work examines the role that soldiers and other military actors have played in shaping (and resisting) colonial policies and ideologies. Her first book, *The Company's Sword: The East India Company and the Politics*

of Militarism, 1644-1858 (Cambridge, 2022), on the Company's southerly Madras Army, was awarded the Jon Ben Snow Prize for best book in British history (pre-1800) from the North American Conference on British Studies in 2023. Her second project, currently being developed in collaboration with Margaret Schotte, is engaging in a comparative study of the colonial military networks of the British and French.

Paper 3: Digital Harbours: Ship Desertions at Cap-Français and New Perspectives on Colonial Saint-Domingue Matt Robertshaw, York University

As the capital of colonial Saint-Domingue, conveniently situated on a harbour at the foot of an easy-to-spot mountain, Cap-Français was a key link in the patterns of mobility in the eighteenth-century Caribbean. The town's colonial history is well documented; Moreau de Saint-Méry wrote hundreds of pages on life in the town, leading one historian to conclude that "we know more about Cap-Français on the eve of Revolution than any other colonial urban community of the time." We know much about its inhabitants (both free and unfree), its infrastructure, its cultural institutions, its climate and economy. But while the flow of goods is well documented, we know less about the people who passed through the harbour in both directions.

Cap-Français was a dynamic town, bustling with ideas, civic organizations, and cultural activities. But for all this dynamism, the diversity and fluidity of its population are not fully appreciated. While French Enlightenment currents and African cultural influences are evident, the town was also host to a constant flux of people from throughout and beyond the Atlantic World. These diverse individuals and their movements back and forth through the Cap-Français harbour have not been adequately analyzed. Such an analysis promises to shed new light on this important colonial town, which, by the end of the nineteenth century was the site of nothing less than a turning point in world history—the formal emancipation of Saint-Domingue's enslaved population during the Haitian Revolution.

By making use of the growing database of the "Sailing with the French" research project, we can get a better sense of the individuals and groups who disembarked and embarked at Cap-Français between 1718 and 1787. From this period, we have records of over 1,700 people who crossed through the Cap-Français harbour on 112 different voyages and for

a variety of reasons. Intriguingly, more than 15 percent of these individuals (271 people) deserted at Cap-Français. Were they passing through to other parts of the Caribbean or of the colony? Or did they stay in Cap-Français? The high number of desertions is puzzling, particularly when one considers a more chilling statistic: nearly 10 percent of those arriving in Cap-Français on French East India Company ships died there.

This paper looks at the composition of the group of 1760 people arriving in and departing from Cap-Français on French East India Company ships—who were they, where did they come from and what were they looking for?—in an attempt to build new perspectives on the realities of life in this important colonial town in the decades leading up to the revolutions in France and Haiti.

Bio: Matt Robertshaw is a PhD candidate in History at York University studying the connections between Haiti and the later French colonial empire. He has been a member of the “Sailing with the French” research team since 2021. He teaches digital humanities and history courses at Laurier University and the University of Guelph. He has published several academic articles on language politics in Haiti and won various distinctions for his academic work including the Article Prize for Emerging Scholars from the Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies and the SSHRC Doctoral Scholarship to Honour Nelson Mandela. He has experience in digital media, broadcasting and podcasting and produces video essays at Sleeper Hit History on YouTube. He also plays in an award-winning band, The Relative Minors.

End of Papers for Friday

Those going on the **Port Dalhousie Walking Tour** you will depart at 4:30. If we are not on a bus, directions will be provided.

Dinner on your own. Enjoy your Friday evening in St Catharines!

Saturday June 22, 2024

Session 9A: Maritime History: Using a Different Lens

Time: 9:00 - 10:15 am

Chair: Evan Wilson

Paper 1: Wetlands and Ontario Archaeology *Allanah Macdonald, Archaeological Services Inc.*

Wetlands are a resource rich ecosystem. Their waterlogged, nutrient dense soils give fruit to a wide variety of plants which subsequently provide shelter and food to all manner of animals, birds, reptiles, and fish. Having access to a wetland area is beneficial for both harvesting and hunting purposes, as well as just being a natural good source of water. Frozen Wetlands also make excellent traveling routes and would cut significantly down on time from having to skirt the edges of a wetland. In the past they were used for camping spots in winter, following the deer that were seeking shelter and food within wetland tree groves. There would have also been a social/cultural side of human interaction with wetlands, it's not only about logistics. And these aspects don't just belong to one time period. Wetlands have been used to varying degrees all the way up to today. But they are logistically hard to physically assess for archaeological potential, so often we don't and we find other ways. So what are we doing to assess wetlands, what could we be doing more of, where can we look to improve our methods, and what could be hiding within the muck?

Bio: Allanah Macdonald, BA, MA, is a Field Director at Archaeological Services Inc. in Ontario's CRM Industry and the current Vice President of the Ontario Marine Heritage Committee. I earned my Bachelors of Near Eastern and Classical Archaeology at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, and my Masters in Marine Archaeology at the University of Southern Denmark in Esbjerg, Denmark. She has been working in archaeology since 2014 and has conducted both terrestrial and underwater excavations and recordings at various locations such as Denmark, Germany, Croatia, Scotland, and Ontario. Ever the advocate for assessing saturated landscapes, Allanah hopes to broaden our understanding of how best we can assess wetland areas while still keeping it feasible.

Paper 2: Railroads as Maritime History in Lake Superior National Marine Conservation Area Lisa Sonnenburg, Parks Canada, and Liam Giffin, Parks Canada

Transportation in a maritime context is often thought of in terms of shipping and watercraft. However, at Lake Superior National Marine Conservation Area (LSNMCA), our submerged cultural resources also include remnants of rail transport, which was intricately linked to the shipping, forestry, mining, and fishing industries. In addition to now submerged infrastructure, the rugged terrain and weather conditions along the north shore of Lake Superior has led to numerous train derailments. As there are several areas in LSNMCA where the rail lines are very close to steep shorelines, these accidents can send train cars and associated debris into the lake. Here, we will present some examples of our rail-related submerged cultural resources, the story behind their discoveries and how we are documenting and presenting these finds to the Canadian public.

Bios: Dr. Lisa Sonnenburg completed her undergraduate degree at Lakehead University, followed by a MSc. and Ph.D. at McMaster University researching submerged landscapes in the Great Lakes. She was awarded a SSHRC Postdoctoral Fellowship and went to the University of Michigan, where she did research on the submerged caribou hunting structures in Lake Huron. For the next five years, she worked in the private sector as a project archaeological and a research coordinator. She is currently with Parks Canada as the Cultural Resource Management Advisor at the Lake Superior National Marine Conservation Area in Nipigon, Ontario.

Liam Giffin serves as Visitor Experience Product Development Officer at Lake Superior National Marine Conservation Area. Coming from a Parks Canada family, Liam has lived his life among Canada's heritage places, learning from storytellers, historians, and community members. Since joining Parks Canada in 2009, Liam's professional output has been focused on connecting the lived experiences of citizens of Ontario's heritage waterways with the cultural landscapes as they exist today. Currently based in Nipigon on Lake Superior, Liam creates ways for Canadians to explore a historic landscape, guided by the stories of those who came before.

Paper 3: the BR1 Books for Reference Catalogue- ADM 234/1048 (1968) Samuel McLean, Independent Scholar

In the 20th Century, the Admiralty produced thousands of different documents, including textbooks, historical analyses, technical manuals and other documents specific to different aspects of the Royal Navy's existence. After 1942, the lowest security levels (Unrestricted and Restricted) of these publications was contained within the Books for Reference (BR) Series. In order for these documents to be ordered and distributed to the fleet and establishments, the Admiralty also produced a catalogue, which was given the reference number BR1.

In my paper, I would be presenting an analysis of the documents contained within the BR series in 1968. This is an interesting period as it is a time of immense technical change, where the fleet still had quite a bit of Second World War technology, while the new influx of guided missiles and more advanced weaponry was in active service with the fleet. Also, this catalogue was produced only four years after the Admiralty, Air Ministry and War Office departments had been combined into the Ministry of Defence.

I will be presenting a breakdown of the documents contained within the catalogue to illustrate how the Admiralty Publications provide context for many changes, insight into the communication of information to the fleet and establishments, and a look at the publications in the BR series as a whole. This will include how the documents were sourced from various departments, restrictions upon their provision, and a look at the currency of the information being distributed.

Bio: Dr Samuel McLean completed his PhD at King's College London in 2017. In his dissertation, he explored how the Royal Navy was defined through the creation of policies and procedures as well as expressions of identity between the Restoration in 1660 and the replacement of the *Articles of War* in 1749. Sam is currently the General Editor for GlobalMaritimeHistory.com, and his current projects focus on the development and use of databases to make the information within Admiralty records more accessible to researchers. Documents currently available include ADM8 (Deployment Records from 1673-1692) and ADM 10/15 (Officer Lists 1660-1689). In the future it is hoped to include other documents including ADM 25 (Half-pay lists), and ADM 107 (Lieutenant Exam results). Sam is also a professional mariner. He has sailed aboard the brigantines *STV Pathfinder* and *TS Play-fair*, crewed in the CCGS *Griffon*. He subsequently spent three years working on ship-assist

Tugboats on Lake Ontario. He achieved his Chief Mate 150 GT certificate in 2023 and currently works as a mate aboard the City of Toronto's ferries.

Paper presentation portion of conference ends.

AGMs occur separately for **NASOH** and **CNRS** rooms to be decided.

Starts at to 10:30 am to 12:00 pm

Lunch 12:00 to 1:00

Car Pool leaves for **St Catharines Museum and Canal Centre tour at 1:30 pm**. Pick up location to be decided.

Cars return to Brock by 4:30 pm.