

## NASOH 2022 Presentation Abstracts

### **Baker, Nicholas (East Carolina University)**

#### Masters at Sea: Navigation Aboard *Queen Anne's Revenge*

The *Queen Anne's Revenge* shipwreck offers a diverse assemblage with valuable insight into life under Blackbeard, one of the 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries most notorious pirate captains. As the wreckage continues to be raised from the sea, the ship's navigational instruments present an opportunity for a unique material culture study that reflects not only their origin and functionality in terms of broader 18<sup>th</sup> century navigation methods, but also the level of navigational skill and needs for pirates aboard *Queen Anne's Revenge*. Included in this collection are instruments such as lead sounding weights, writing slates, sectors, dividers, compass components, weights, and previously unidentified artifacts that can all be found in the Queen Anne's Revenge Laboratory or in the Beaufort Maritime Museum. Each of these instruments will be evaluated to place *QAR* in the broader context of the period from a navigational perspective as well as how they reflect the directional needs and training of Blackbeard's crew at sea.

### **Bolte, Christina L. (University of West Florida)**

#### A Glimpse of Mid-16th Century New Spain in Pensacola, Florida: The 1559-1561 Tristán de Luna Expedition

The impetus for the Tristán de Luna settlement effort to Pensacola Bay in 1559 was to secure and facilitate trade and export from recently conquered New Spain back to the motherland, and, in turn, claim all lands of La Florida for the Spanish empire. With 12 ships, 1,500 colonists, and an abundance of supplies, Luna left Veracruz in New Spain to establish a port in modern day Pensacola and create an overland route to Santa Elena on the Carolina coast. After being in Pensacola for little over a month, a hurricane struck the settlement, destroying seven ships in the fleet and most of the colony's food stores. Despite relief efforts dispatched from New Spain, two years of hunger and deprivation followed before the settlement's abandonment in August 1561. Recent research into the incorporation of 200 indigenous allies, Aztec Indians from the Valley of Mexico, on the expedition is providing a glimpse of a diverse and thriving mid-16<sup>th</sup> century New Spanish colonial culture transplanted on an extreme periphery of the empire. Additionally, the Luna settlement's artifact assemblage is distinctively New Spanish in character. Utilizing documentary research of the Luna expedition and mid-16<sup>th</sup> century New Spain, as well as a characterization of the Aztec ceramics recovered from the settlement site, this presentation will discuss how the Luna settlement can add to our knowledge of the Valley of Mexico during this period, as well as explore its significance to the development of trade and commerce as we know it today.

**Broadwater, John D. (Independent Scholar)**

Merchant Ships at War: The Sunken British Fleet Near Yorktown, Virginia

At the outbreak of the American Revolution, Britain possessed the most powerful navy in the world. However, with wars raging throughout the world, demands on the Royal Navy reached a critical stage with the new requirement to support the war in North America. Armed forces had to be transported to the areas of conflict, and even worse, the troops had to be supplied and provisioned from home ports. The result was an expansion by the Navy and Treasury Boards of their ongoing efforts to procure the required tonnage of transport vessels and victuallers. The British merchant marine network was immense, but the wars of the second half of the eighteenth century profoundly impacted commerce and trade. The government was grabbing the best merchant vessels for transport duty while warships and privateers were prowling the North Atlantic ready to pounce on vulnerable merchant ships. Dozens of British transports were sunk during the Siege of Yorktown in 1781, providing archaeologists with a resource that has been yielding information on British merchant vessels since the 1930s. The complete excavation and documentation of the British collier brig *Betsy* has shed new light on a typical working vessel and its use as a military transport.

**Carnes-McNaughton, Linda F. (Independent Scholar)**

The "Oceanic Orbit" of Artifacts Recovered from the *QAR/LaConcorde* Shipwreck

By no surprise, the majority of artifacts recovered from the 1718 shipwreck known as the *Queen Anne's Revenge/LaConcorde* could be associated with their specific country of origin or manufacturing center. This internationally diverse artifact assemblage reflects the expansion of early eighteenth-century global markets and trade. Additionally, the analysis of these artifacts provides researchers, and storytellers alike, valuable insights into accessibility of goods, preferred and desire choices, as well as inferences about ethnicity of the consumers. While some artifacts were obtained through pillage and plunder during its tenure as a pirate ship, other items represent cargo or commodities purchased or traded by the French owner and officers before and during the ship's voyage. This paper will present an overview of the multi-national origins of the artifacts from at least ten separate countries, and how their cultural affiliations neatly fit into what we know of the history of this ship and its passengers. More generally, it will highlight the dominant trade and commerce at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

**Clawson, Lucas R. (Hagley Museum and Library)**

**The DuPont Company and the Problem of Shipping during the American Civil War**

The DuPont Company, America's largest black powder manufacturer during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, faced a serious problem during the American Civil War: access to maritime trade. Around 90% of the raw ingredients used in black powder came from international sources via ships. DuPont sold their products throughout North America and the rest of the world, relying on ships to get them there. War and its attendant economic uncertainty posed numerous challenges, not the least of which were skyrocketing shipping costs if shipping could even be found. These costs directly affected every aspect of DuPont's operations.

This paper comes from a book-length work in progress that focuses on the DuPont Company during the American Civil War. One of the book's key arguments is that DuPont, despite being the nation's leading black powder maker, did not profit from the war. The American black powder industry was sensitive to all the uncertainties civil war posed, particularly concerning maritime trade. Both the raw ingredients of black powder and the finished product were essential war materials, subject to tariffs, trade embargoes, confiscation, commerce raiding, and a host of other wartime restrictions. This was especially disruptive because the industry's primary (and profitable) customers were civilians rather than government or military. My paper will explore how the DuPont Company dealt with the disruption of shipping during a wartime environment by engaging with the U.S. government, customers, and competitors to offset the effects of internecine war.

**Cook, Gregory D. (University of West Florida)**

**The Maritime Landscape of Tristán de Luna's Failed 1559 Colonization attempt in Pensacola, Florida**

In 1559, the Bay of Ochuse, now known as Pensacola Bay, provided the backdrop for one of the earliest attempts at Spanish Colonization in La Florida. Arriving in August, the colonists were victims of a massive hurricane that hit the fledgling settlement only a month after their arrival, transforming the expedition from a well-supplied colonization effort to a struggle for survival. While Luna and the other colonists attempted to overcome the catastrophe for two years, including the initiation of several journeys into the interior what is now the southeast United States, they finally abandoned the attempt in August of 1561. Archaeological remains of this endeavor include three shipwreck sites, as well as the terrestrial settlement site located near the wrecks on Pensacola Bay. This presentation will provide an overview of the expedition, the research that has been done both on land and underwater, and the most recent developments in studying these important sites.

**Engel, Kati (Naval History and Heritage Command)**

Their Navy: Women in the U.S. Navy Serving at Sea, 1862-2022

For centuries, sailors believed a woman on board ship was bad luck. One hundred and sixty years ago, women served as nurses on *USS Red Rover*, the Navy's first hospital ship in 1862 out of necessity during wartime. Eighty years later, more than 11, 00 women served in the Navy Nurse Corps during World War II. During the Korean War, Lieutenant Commander Bernice Walters became the first female doctor to serve at sea. Although she served as an anesthesiologist on board *Consolation* in 1950, she was one of five female doctors in the Navy at the time, but the only one serving at sea. During wartime, the Navy allowed women serving as nurses and doctors at sea because of a specific need. Necessity seemed to be the only path forward for equal opportunities for women at sea.

The end to the draft and the transition to an all-volunteer U.S. military in the 1970s required military leaders to recognize the change that had to happen. In 1972, the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, authorized a pilot program to put sixty women on board a noncombatant vessel. The ship chosen was *USS Sanctuary* (AH 17). This was not the first time that women had been assigned to a noncombatant ship, but it was the first time for women in regular billets. This program initiated a new phase in the history of women serving in the U.S. Navy.

**Fiorey, Mark E. (U.S. Naval War College)**

"The Adventures of Wild Bill:" The Covert Reconnaissance of Capt. Wilfred L. Painter, Civil Engineering Corps, USNR

Advanced bases historically served as waypoints for maritime powers to project naval forces in the global oceanic commons in both peace and war. During the Second World War, the U.S. Navy established advanced bases in remote areas of the Atlantic and Pacific. From bases in Iceland to the Azores and southward to the Virgin Islands and St. Paul's Rocks, U.S. Naval warships and aircraft maintained the persistent watch over the sea lines of communications. Naval War College studies also revealed the routes along the Alaskan islands to the north, the central Pacific to Formosa, and the southern routes to Australia. While these pathways to victory became well known in postwar literature, few have acknowledged the individuals who risked all to survey and secure the strategic footholds along the island routes and remote coastal areas of Europe and Asia. Among others, U.S. Naval Reserve Captain Wilfred L. Painter of the Civil-Engineer Corps quietly won American victory in the global war at sea by scouting out advanced bases – often behind enemy lines – for the purposes of defeating the Axis enemy. For the first time, this paper will highlight Painter's central role in the American victory at sea.

### **Grady, John (Independent Scholar)**

The Deep Pockets of the Geographical and Statistical Society or How to Explore the Globe with a Pinch-Penny Congress

Public financing of naval explorations was far down the list of Capitol Hill priorities in the post Mexican War years. Congress was deadlocked over: Were the vast territories won from Mexico to be free or slave, where was the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, and was existing federal law too constrained in returning fugitive slaves to their owners.

Complicating matters was President Zachary Taylor's death, sending the executive branch in a state of flux.

Nevertheless, as perceptive as Lieutenant M.F. Maury, superintendent of the National Observatory, was at reading his time's political currents, he fruitlessly worked Congress for the money to find "the Northwest Passage."

To him, the reason to do so was obvious. "Seeing that water runs through Behring's Straits from the Pacific, as well as around the Capes, into the Atlantic, where, therefore, is the escape-current from the Atlantic?"

He was itching to act, but needed a mechanism to free up men and ships. He found it in the New York-based American Geographical and Statistical Society with its roster of shipping magnates, like William Aspinwall and financiers, like Henry Grinnell. The society declared its intention of "organizing and assisting in explorations of underdescribed regions and in voyages of discovery."

What evolved from Maury's role as its "scientific adviser" was a public-private partnership that underwrote two dramatic searches for the Northwest Passage and the United States' commitment to the successful laying of the transatlantic cable. This paper explores that dynamic.

**Grinnan, Nicole (Florida Public Archaeology Network)**

**Burgeoning Export Economies and Resource Depletion: A Case Study from Pensacola's Reconstruction-Era Commercial Fishing Operation**

Following the end of the Civil War, Pensacola, Florida, was one of the many northern Gulf of Mexico ports that experienced renewed national interest in its natural resources. The commercial fishing of red snapper (*Lutjanus campechanus*), in particular, saw tremendous growth as northern fisheries entrepreneurs extended their influence to the south. In tandem with advances in technology and infrastructure development along the northern Gulf Coast, Reconstruction-era commercial fishing operations contributed to the development of a true export economy from Pensacola. As the national appetite increasingly demanded fresh fish from the Gulf of Mexico, the city's commercial fish houses responded in kind. Keen fisheries scientists noticed resource depletion as early as 1890, however, and continued to speak out about overfishing. While the end of commercial red snapper fishing industry from Pensacola in the middle of the 20th century was a result of several factors, fishery depletion played an important role in its demise. This paper highlights the rise and fall of commercial fishing from Pensacola, providing an historical ecological perspective that considers the state of the modern red snapper fishery as a legacy of Reconstruction-era practices. Toward a more holistic perspective, evidence draws from historical records, archaeological sites and collections, and biological data.

**Grubbs, Kevin (University of Southern Mississippi)**

**Coasting through the Age of Steam: Commerce and Continuity along the Gulf Coast**

Commerce and community intermingled along the meandering Gulf coastline in the nineteenth century. The region was rife with activity among mariners who worked and lived in the Caribbean. Short voyages between towns were interspersed with transatlantic sojourns. Sailors involved in the coasting trade kept intraregional commerce active, while their deep-sea brethren worked internationally. Despite constant depictions of maritime workers as isolated outsiders, maritime work along the Gulf Coast was an integral part of local life. Shoreline communities, familiar with the trials and difficulties of life at sea, supported maritime laborers. Coastal towns and cities formed the nodes of a far-flung trade web that connected geographically distant locales.

After the Civil War, these communities faded in the face of an increasingly industrialized seascape. The late nineteenth century witnessed the widespread use of massive steam liners, ultimately ending the long age of sail. However, this paper contends that Gulf Coast communities adapted to the industrialization of the sea while retaining distinctive workplace traditions. They created an economic space for themselves even as they participated in changes that would lead to their ever-diminishing numbers. The maritime community was not simply divided between sailing and steam labor, or between coasting and international trade. Some mariners along the Gulf Coast inculcated niche skills in industries that allowed them stable, if intermittent employment. Others sought work supporting aquatic industrialization, moving into secondary commercial roles. Maritime labor along the Gulf Coast complicates our understanding of the distinction between blue and brown water seamen.

**Hargrove, Jarvis L. (East Carolina University)**

North Carolina Emigration to Liberia in the 19th and 20th Century

In 1816, the American Colonization was formed as an organization devoted to creating an alternative for free blacks and those formerly enslaved by sending them to Africa. By 1823, segments of this population were boarded on ships to emigrate to the West African territory of Liberia, a nation whose capital was named at United States President James Monroe. Funded by money from the federal government, in 1829, the state of North Carolina became home to 11 auxiliary groups of the American Colonization Society, stretching from Rowan County in the Western part of the state to Hertford and Chowan counties in the Eastern portion. In the months and years after the creation of these auxiliary groups, in North Carolina individuals emancipated their slaves through wills arranging for the transport to Liberia. Both the free black population and those formerly enslaved began boarding ships as early as the 1840s from Craven, Pasquotank, Chowan, Bertie, Camden, Perquimans, Cabarrus, Iredell, Bladen, Hertford, Franklin, Edgecombe, Orange, Mecklenburg, Guilford, Forsyth and Wake Counties. Records for the American Colonization Society suggest more than 3000 individuals from North Carolina boarded ships and left between 1823 and 1905 for areas of Liberia.

**Harris, Lynn B. (East Carolina University)**

Jamaican Rum, Snakeroot, and Walking Canes: Exploring 18th Century Port Brunswick Cargoes

Port Brunswick primary source records in the NC State Archives contain a wealth of shipping information about incoming and outgoing cargoes during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These inventories provide data on consumer trends related to diet, health, fashion, recreation, and labor. Cargoes represent a network of global trade, class, gender, race, and environmental dimensions. For example, inventories include descriptions of women's clothing, various species of pickled fish, assorted alcoholic drinks, games, and kitchenware. More significantly, there is also data on incoming enslaved people aboard these vessels listed alongside cargoes. Analysis of the records will assess trends in the pre- and post-Revolutionary War era, and historic Wilmington's connections to popular ports in the West Indies and along the eastern seaboard of North America.

**Hoots, Michaela (East Carolina University)**

The Lifeways and Interconnection between the Three Groups of Individuals of the *LaConcorde/Queen Anne's Revenge*

As the *La Concorde* sailed the sea in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century it went through many changes. This includes its purpose of use and the individuals that sailed it. As the ship passed through the stages of a frigate, to a slaving vessel, and finally ended its life as a privateering vessel, so too did its people. The French Navy captained the *La Concorde* at the beginning stages of its life and saw its transition into a slaving vessel in which it remained for the better part of its life at sea. Then, the ship was commandeered by Blackbeard, who oversaw the ship's change into a Privateering vessel. All three groups of individuals had some form of interconnection on this ship, whether it be the Navy men with the enslaved, the enslaved with the pirates, and the pirates with the Navy men. This paper will investigate how these individuals would have interacted with each other and how the artifact assemblages from the *La Concorde/ Queen Anne's Revenge* can give insight into these possibilities.

**Hughes, Dwight (Independent Scholar)****Rebels and Aliens: Confederates on the Far Side of the World**

Towering verdant peaks sprouted from aquamarine seas as the CSS *Shenandoah*, last of the Rebel commerce raiders, approached the island of Pohnpei on April fool's day, 1865. The country they served was dying as this microcosm of the Confederacy carried the Civil War to the remotest part of the Pacific. There they encountered a courageous, resourceful warrior culture that seemed totally alien. But was it? Neither party saw into the heart of other's society. Looking back, however, we find similarities as striking as differences, highlighting by contrast fundamental issues of the conflict. The two peoples shared similar social creation myths involving persecution, flight, and struggle to carve a new society out of sacred wilderness. When successive waves of immigration led to hostility and aggression, a practice developed of merging new arrivals into a cultural unity. But as integrating customs failed under seemingly irreconcilable differences, the islanders also suffered bloody rebellion led by a semi-divine war chief against a perceived tyrannical regime. Finally, a flexible and resilient order evolved, accepting alien influences, neutralizing threatening aspects and incorporating their best features. Despite cultural differences, Pohnpeian and Southern concepts of social hierarchy, ritual interaction, reverence for land, honor, and the warrior code were more alike than they knew. While these isolated Confederates slept under tropic stars, the guns fell silent at Appomattox. This paper reviews the commonalities and contradictions of diverse peoples separated by vast reaches of ocean and seemingly impenetrable differences but inextricably linked by human nature, maritime technology, trade, and warfare.

**Kegerreis, Michael (East Carolina University)****Commerce Warfare: New Insights on Asymmetric Warfare at Sea**

The rationales behind using ships/submarines for commerce warfare to support political goals vary significantly. The project examines the rationales evident in four such conflicts; the Anglo-Spanish War (1585-1604), the American Civil War, World War I, and World War II. The first step is to identify the principal rationales. The second step is to examine the traditional assessments of the efficacy of those asymmetric campaigns. Finally, the heart of the project reexamines those campaigns through the prism of a new asymmetric war theory derived from the vast recent literature on asymmetric warfare on land.

The conclusion presented takes the form of two main observations. The first is that, just as on land, the decision to use an asymmetric strategy or set of tactics arises for various reasons. The second is that choosing a campaign of commerce warfare is best analyzed, at least in part, through the lens of asymmetric warfare theory. Properly framed, the conclusion is that each campaign had at least some tactical success with wildly varying amounts of strategic success ranging from the absolute failure of Japanese efforts in World War II to the monumental success of English privateers in the Anglo-Spanish War. The project ends with a final observation on the vulnerability of the modern oceanic transportation system to devastating asymmetric attacks.

**Lees, William (Florida Public Archaeology Network) and Monica Beck (University of West Florida)**

Reconstructing the Waterborne Supply Chain of William Porter and Company, Apalachicola, Florida

From the city's beginnings in the 1820s to the Civil War, Apalachicola was one of the most important ports in the South and in the 1840s, was Florida's busiest. The William G. Porter & Company merchants in Apalachicola served a rich inland agricultural region along the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee-Flint River System (ACF) in Florida, Alabama, and Georgia. Our previous research focused on the relationships between Porter & Company with inland clients along the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee-Flint Rivers. We focused on the 1848 bills of lading that document downriver cotton shipments to Porter & Company overwhelmingly from three distinct areas around Marianna, Florida; Hudson's Landing, Georgia; and Franklin, Alabama. The driving force of this relationship was downriver cotton shipments and upriver supply of a wide range of goods and merchandise. Using the same document type, we have expanded our research by looking at their coast-wise shipping based on bills-of-lading "by sea" for 1840-3 and 1854 of goods and merchandise coming to or through Porter & Company. These coast-wise bills of lading show the far-reaching connections between Porter & Company and the ports of New York, Boston, Elizabeth City, Charleston, Havana, St. Marks, and New Orleans and help expand our reconstruction of Porter & Company's commercial landscape.

**Masters, Daniel (East Carolina University)**

Wilmington Goes to War

World War II brought many changes to North Carolina. Hundreds of thousands of North Carolinians joined the Armed Forces and went to war. Fort Bragg grew, and two new bases, Seymour Johnson and Camp Lejeune took shape. North Carolina mobilized its industries and workers to meet the logistical burden of the war. One of those industrial mobilizations was the retooling of North Carolina shipyards to build vessels for the Navy and the Merchant Marine. Built in 1941, the North Carolina Shipbuilding Company became the largest North Carolina shipyard supporting that shipbuilding war effort.

**Moir, Michael (York University Libraries)**

Requisition and Reconstruction: The Impact of Britain's Shipping Crisis upon Canadian trade during the First World War

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

**Nassif, William (South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology)**

Reconstructing the Waterfront: An Historical and Archaeological Examination of the Nineteenth Century Port of Washington, NC

The purpose of this project is to gather historical and archaeological data to illuminate potential relationships between economic and social trends in the construction of wharf structures and enhance our understanding of the multitude of factors that drive the growth and decline of port communities. Ports and harbors have long been understudied aspects of maritime archaeology. Yet, they are gateways into the historical and commercial past of regional, as well as international cultures. Therefore, this study is a unique opportunity to analyze waterfront installations within their economic context. To do this, the coastal town of Washington, NC, situated along the Tar-Pamlico River, will be used as a case study. From its early settlement through the beginnings of the twentieth century, Washington became a significant river port facilitating the shipment of eastern North Carolina's natural resources to northern ports and abroad. Over its functional life as a port, the community needed to respond to fluctuating economic trends, and those responses are present in the historical and archaeological record. Historical data from a variety of primary sources such as shipping ledgers and order forms, as well as archaeological data from three waterfront sites will be assessed for correlation.

**Nieves, J.E. (U.S. Coast Guard Auxiliary) and Pedro Panera (Instituto Universitario General Gutiérrez Mellado-UNED)**

Turn of the 19th Century Clandestine Maritime Commerce and Raids in Central and Spanish Caribbean

The Spanish Empire maintained a naval commercial monopoly with its overseas possessions. Smaller colonies such as Puerto Rico (PR) and Cuba suffered as a consequence. Sometimes years would pass before an authorized Spanish flagged vessel would arrive with goods for the civilian population. Agricultural tools, hardware, porcelain, clothing articles and other day to day civilian necessities were hard to come by. When commercial ships did arrive, they would unload their cargo on the Capital City of San Juan. Located on an islet, separated by areas of marshlands from the rest of the “big” island of PR, there was no adequate infrastructure to distribute the goods to the rest of the island. Goods would have to be re-embarked unto smaller vessels, colloquially known as “caravelones” and transported along and around the island to coastal towns. From there taken by wagon train to communities in the interior. Conversely, there was not an adequate market for the local population to sell their goods which by the turn of the 18th early 19th century were primarily cattle, sugar (molasses) and coffee.

We will discuss how this naval mercantile deficit was exacerbated at beginning of the 19th century by the Spanish Empire political turmoil as Spain’s Alliance with the French Bourbons was dissolved by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic French invasion of Spain further eroded Spain’s ability to maintain political and maritime commerce control of its overseas colonies while British (later American), French and Dutch merchants took advantage of this as did many coastal raiders.

**Peebler, Anthony (Texas Christian University)**

The Anglo-American Rivalry in the Pacific and the Decline of Hawai'ian Independence, 1820-1843

Until the 1820s, the Royal Navy had remained unchallenged by a western power in its efforts to subdue and colonize the central Pacific. The arrival of the United States Navy in the Pacific signaled the dawn of a new regional rivalry. An American missionary community managed to make inroads with the Kingdom of Hawai'i, opening the nation to significant American cultural and commercial influence. The Americans, using Hawai'i as a base for trading with China and whaling in the north Pacific, upset the status quo of British domination in the area. The two sides' merchants vied for political favor in the Hawai'ian court, pressuring the King to choose sides and risk opening his nation to potential diplomatic and military retaliation.

This paper will argue that United States commercial interests successfully established a foothold in Hawai'i and convinced the U.S. government to support their efforts against their British competitors with the U.S. Navy. The Navy protected American interests from British intrusion and the increasing American influence in the islands drew an aggressive reaction from the British against the Hawai'ian government. Direct British threats to Hawai'ian sovereignty forced the Hawai'ian King to seek security from the United States, slowly surrendering the nation's economic and political independence by 1843.

**Pelham, Amber (North Carolina Department of Natural and Cultural Resources)**  
North Carolina African American Heritage Commission's *Africa to Carolina* Initiative

The North Carolina African American Heritage Commission's *Africa to Carolina* initiative serves to identify, acknowledge and mark each site in the state where enslaved Africans disembarked directly from the African Continent. The North Carolina African American Heritage Commission will create an immersive educational experience for visitors at state historic sites concerning the disembarkation of enslaved Africans in their communities, called *Africa to Carolina: Next Steps in the Journey*. During community engagement initiatives, the community members requested more information about this history. In response, the Commission applied and received IMLS funding to interpret the history of disembarkation by writing and designing an exhibition and complementary web portal. The port cities of North Carolina were “channels of change.” The project, *Africa to Carolina* explores how to transform these sites of human tragedy to sites of memory and remembrance. This project explores how sites of disembarkation can also be sites of education by creating exhibitions and digital resources on the existing site to enlighten public audiences about Black sacred spaces. This project explores the origins of the enslaved Africans, displacement of the enslaved Africans, as well as introduce the concept of systems analysis, to ensure that audience members understand the totality of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and its effects on North Carolina’s economy. Overall, this project is an example of how to safely commemorate spaces of disembarkation and create effective resources that will educate the community without harming the memory of those enslaved Africans forcefully brought to North Carolina’s docks.

**Pitt, Steven (St. Bonaventure University)**  
The Maritime Origins of Boston's 1689 Revolution

In spring 1689 revolution came to the shores of America with the news of William and Mary’s takeover in England’s “Glorious Revolution.” Bostonians seized the moment to revolt against the “tyrannical” Governor Andros and his council. Most historians have seen Boston’s revolution as fundamentally similar to England’s revolution. Boston elites plotted behind the scenes, organized the lower classes, and brilliantly carried out a bloodless revolution – a “Protestant putsch” as Stephen Saunders Webb has coined it.<sup>1</sup> This romantic vision of the revolution has persisted and even dominated historical interpretation despite its weak evidential foundation. Boston elites did not plan the revolution that occurred on April 18, 1689, nor did they gain control of the situation until damage had already been done. Rather, the evidence overwhelmingly shows that Boston’s Revolution of 1689 began in a mutiny aboard H.M.S. *Rose* Frigate, then stationed in Boston’s harbor. Ferocious conflicts flowed off the ship and into Boston, igniting revolution.

This essay traces how the Royal Navy’s introduction to the provincial town of Boston impacted local politics, economics, and culture. It then segues into an analysis of the maritime origins of Boston’s 1689 revolution, the revolution itself, and the aftermath. The results of this investigation present a hitherto unknown history of the 1689 revolution. The mutiny on the *Rose* generated the necessary political and economic ties with England that were responsible for Boston’s meteoric rise among English American ports. Boston’s seafaring community suffered the consequences of closer connections to London as politicians and merchants adopted

metropolitan attitudes and maritime policies.

**Raupp, Jason T. (East Carolina University), Jennifer McKinnon (East Carolina University), and Jeremy Borrelli (East Carolina University)**

*Ships, Lumber, and Lime: Recent Investigations at Castle Island, Washington, North Carolina*

Situated at the confluence of the Pamlico and Tar Rivers, the town of Washington, North Carolina was established in the late 18th century as an intended entrepôt for goods and materials harvested from the surrounding hinterland. Thanks in large part to the deep channel on which it sits, Washington quickly eclipsed other settlements in the region to become the center of the Tar-Pamlico trade. As the town grew, inhabitants took advantage of local resources and established shipyards, turpentine stills, sawmills, and fisheries which contributed to its prosperity. Among the developed areas was the small plot of land located in the middle of the Tar River known as Castle Island. Originally established as a shipyard, Castle Island was later the site of a large sawmill, a brick lime kiln, a depot for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and eventually a vessel abandonment area. Despite investment to transform it through the construction of extensive maritime infrastructure, the island was abandoned and eventually used as a catchment for spoil from dredging operations. Recent archaeological investigations at the now heavily vegetated site offer fresh insight into the sequence of industrial activities that took place there. This presentation provides an overview of the known history of Castle Island, discusses the results of both terrestrial and underwater surveys, and considers the local significance of this largely forgotten industrial landscape.

**Reid, Phillip (Independent Scholar)**

*A Boston Schooner in the Royal Navy: Commerce and Conflict in Maritime British America, 1768—1772*

In the summer of 1768, a Lancashire country gentleman sold a small Boston-built schooner to the Royal Navy at Deptford Yard, east of London. For the next four years and five months, the schooner *Sultana* patrolled the Eastern Seaboard of North America, helping to enforce the Townshend Duties on North American shipping. Thanks to the Navy's penchant for documentation and the kindness of fate, a treasure trove of source material on this otherwise-ordinary vessel survives, including both her master's and her commander's logs, sailing notes and directions on several American ports and harbors, the lines and deck plan of the vessel. In fact, we even have the next best thing to *Sultana* herself—a carefully-designed and built replica, operating on the Chesapeake Bay since 2000.

I will present what I have discovered about *Sultana*'s career as an interceptor, what her activities have to tell us about British American maritime commerce in a period of strong growth and building crisis, and what we can know about her crew and their operation of the schooner in the service of a Navy called upon to police the commerce of the King's subjects in peacetime as it had never been before. *Sultana*'s career shows us how deeply and broadly connected the British Atlantic empire was, at the same time that the policies being enforced by vessels like her were starting to fracture those connections.

**Risk, James (University of South Carolina)**

**Radicalism and Reform: The Paradigm Shift of the Fresnel Lens**

There have been many radical technologies throughout history. The printing press, the cotton gin, the automobile, and the computer instantly come to mind. By comparison, the radicalism of the 19th century Fresnel lighthouse lens was more subtle. In the United States, the adoption of the French-made lens created a paradigm shift that altered the scientific outlook of the United States Light-House Establishment. It overturned the decades old established order of the United States Light-House Establishment grounded in the Jeffersonian republican ideals of civic duty, frugality, and self-sufficiency as evidenced by the employment of individuals with mechanical ability, but little or no formal education in engineering and science. The adoption of the Fresnel lens helped reshape the institution into one that was guided by America's top scientific minds and military engineers. This process not only remade the institution that was the United States Light-House Establishment, it also de-democratized science in the United States and raised engineering to a profession of respected knowledge. While the Fresnel lens was new and unusual in terms of prior technology, its adoption was also about establishing science as foundational and essential to commerce and navigation. In the first half of the nineteenth century, commerce primarily remained a maritime venture despite the inward expansion of the nation. This paper will explore the subtle radicalness of the Fresnel lighthouse lens and show that it was foundational to the paradigm shifting change in American science in the mid-nineteenth century.

**Rodgaard, John A. (Independent Scholar)**

**From Across the Sea: North Americans in Nelson's Navy**

I will explore the varied contributions of North Americans to the Royal Navy during Great Britain's wars against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. The central focus challenges the common assumption that the Nelsonic-era Royal Navy was manned overwhelmingly by British sailors and officers. Instead, Royal Navy personnel from this era often hailed from different parts of the world, with North Americans comprising a particularly significant contingent. For example, there were hundreds of Americans, Canadians and Caribbean sailors who fought under Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar.

My presentation answers the question of who were these men? It also shows that North Americans played an integral role in the Royal Navy during the Great Anglo-French wars of 1793 to 1815. Many served prior to these wars as well as the last two decades of the Georgian era. They served on the lower deck to the highest level of command. Whilst some North Americans served in relative obscurity, others achieved high rank and formed lasting friendships with some of Great Britain's foremost naval leaders of the age, to include Horatio Nelson.

I will show that the traditional American perspective of the relationship between the Royal Navy and the US Navy was not one-way; it was far more complex.

## **Runyan, Timothy J. (East Carolina University)**

### Funding America's Maritime Heritage

After a concerted effort by the heritage community led by the National Maritime Alliance, a competitive public grant program was established with the passage by Congress of the National Maritime Heritage Act in 1994. The funding source for the grant program is a percentage of the profits from the sale of obsolete vessels for scrapping by the US Maritime Administration. Between 2015 and 2018, about \$10 million was awarded for maritime heritage preservation and education projects through the grant program, which is administered by the National Park Service. Ship scrapping has proven an unreliable and inadequate source of funding and must be supplemented. Current advocacy efforts are focused on an increase to the grant program of \$10 million by a Congressional appropriation. The \$10M would be in addition to the funds generated by ship recycling. This presentation addresses nationwide advocacy efforts and challenges to the maritime heritage community to secure federal funding in the 2023 federal budget.

## **Schuler, Jillian (East Carolina University)**

### A Quandary of Shipping: Contextualizing a Salvaged Assemblage from the Battle of Yorktown, 1781

Great Britain's administration faced a series of logistical challenges at the outset of the American Revolutionary War in determining how best to transfer and supply their armies across the Atlantic Ocean. The result was a system of chartering merchant vessels to serve as victuallers and transports of troops and military materials. While the system, orchestrated by the Naval Board, succeeded in supporting the British Army in their war efforts, a shortage in chartered vessels returning to Great Britain, either due to loss or repurposing, meant that there would not be enough vessels to supply the war past 1783. Such was the case for the various repurposed victuallers and transports that made up the majority of the shipping fleet contained in York River during the Siege of Yorktown in 1781. By the time General Charles Cornwallis surrendered on October 19, the majority of Cornwallis's fleet lay abandoned in the river sediment. An environment rife with maritime material culture, the river has been subject to many formal and informal salvagings, including a joint effort by the Mariners' Museum and the National Park Service that produced a significant artifact assemblage with minimal archaeological context. In considering the history of this shipping system, this paper presents the story of this assemblage and explores a potential avenue for further contextualizing the assemblage through artifact patterning.

**Smith, Jason W. (Southern Connecticut State University)**

"Oughtn't We All Feel Proud:" The Great White Fleet, the American People, and Rooseveltian Navalism, 1907-1909

The world cruise of the U.S. Navy's "Great White Fleet," 1907-1909, was a significant military and diplomatic moment in the nation's rise to world power status. Historians have left largely unexamined its social and cultural significance. In this presentation, I argue that the cruise and the fleet's port calls at Hampton Roads and San Francisco were spectacles designed to convince the public—and, by extension, Congress—of a vigorous, expensive, and expansive shipbuilding program and, more broadly, a more muscular vision for the nation in world affairs.

**Thiessen, William H. (United States Coast Guard)**

Revenue Cutter Captain "Hell Roarin" Mike Healy - Tamer of America's Final Frontier

As with so many forgotten Coast Guard stories of heroism, bravery and courage, the story of Michael Augustine Healy is unknown to most Americans. Healy's career tied him to the taming of Alaska, America's last frontier, and made him possibly the most interesting and controversial captain in Coast Guard history.

In March 1865, just a month before his assassination, President Abraham Lincoln signed Healy's commission. As the nation's first commissioned officer of African American descent, he was the first of his kind to command a U.S. vessel; first to achieve every commissioned officer rank from third lieutenant to senior captain (a rank in the late 1800s equivalent to today's flag rank); and first of his kind to sail virtually everywhere in North and South American waters, including the Bering Sea and the Arctic. Throughout his career, Healy never disclosed his racial background to others "passing" for white.

Michael Healy made a lasting impression on American history as the first man of African-American heritage to receive a U.S. sea service commission and first to command a Federal ship. As a powerful law enforcement officer in Alaska Territory, he helped shape the history of this lawless maritime frontier. During Healy's career in Alaska, he explored, policed, protected, nurtured, defended and helped preserve the humans and animals that survived in that forbidding land. This paper will explore the life and career of Captain Michael Healy, the most colorful and controversial officer in the history of the United States Coast Guard.

**Thomas, Olivia (Texas A&M University)**

Whaling and Wailing: Childbirth Onboard Nineteenth Century Whaling Ships

Whaling voyages in the nineteenth century commonly lasted several years at a time as the vessels and crews would not return to their home port until the holds had been filled with whale oil. Those sailors with wives and families at home would be separated from their loved ones until their job at sea was done. This extended separation led many a whaling wife to join her husband on his venture. On these musty, cramped ships that would be their homes for the next several years, some whaling wives brought their children along, some were pregnant when they boarded, and some conceived while at sea. Ideally, a pregnant whaling wife would be put ashore in the later stages of her pregnancy to avoid having to give birth onboard the dirty, pitching, male-dominated whaling ship, but such relief was not always possible. Childbirth in the nineteenth century was amid a shift from female-dominated midwifery to male-dominated medical obstetrics. This shift was marked by changes in training in midwifery, new obstetric equipment inventions, and in some cases more positive obstetric outcomes. Even on land, at the best of times, childbirth was still a potentially dangerous and devastating experience. Studies of women and children at sea, particularly whaling families, are relatively common, but few have specifically focused on pregnant women and women who gave birth onboard whaling ships. This paper compares typical childbirth conditions, strategies, and outcomes of the nineteenth century with those faced by whaling wives at sea.

**Thomin, Michael and Nicole Grinnan**

Sponging in 'Apalach': A Preliminary Look at Sponge Harvesting in Apalachicola, Florida

During the late 1800s a large sponge industry began in Florida. This lucrative resource was harvested along Florida's Gulf Coast after the sponge industry in Greece collapsed. While Tarpon Springs and Key West are known more widely for this industry, areas in the Florida Panhandle including Apalachicola and Carrabelle employed hundreds of workers to gather sponges from the Gulf of Mexico. Many of these workers were Greek immigrants, and these sponges were shipped across the country. Overharvesting these resources eventually led to the collapse of the sponge beds and they were closed in the 1930s. However, Greek traditions, boatbuilding, and food culture left a lasting impact on the area. This paper is a preliminary examination of the rise and fall of sponge harvesting along "Florida's Forgotten Coast."

**Toth, Michael (Texas Christian University)**

**Ships of Many Colors: American Whaling Ships as Multiracial, Multicultural Communities**

The popular image of an American whaler is of a man whose skin is prematurely and permanently aged by life at sea. Most likely he is imagined to be dressed in a fashion that is uniquely utilitarian yet global as items have been acquired as needed. He very possibly will be envisioned as Ahabesk, his eyes filled with obsessive wrath that will one day drive him, and those around him, to utter destruction. He also almost certainly is envisioned as a white man. There is a truth to this vision as many American whalers were drawn from majority white population centers in New England such as Nantucket, New Bedford, Fall River, and New London. But this whitewash of the American whaling industry is very thin indeed. "American" whalers were drawn from diverse populations across New England and the United States, as well as Europe, Africa, and Oceania. Each group within the industry moderately molded around themselves, not only bringing aspects of their own culture with them but in turn, being shaped by those of their fellow crewmates. Finally, the industry, a theoretical total meritocracy, offered non-whites opportunities for advancement and achievement not often readily available to them on land. Yet it also frequently demonstrated that skill was not a total replacement for connections, nor was it capable of overcoming all of the biases of the American mainland. In understanding the vibrantly multiracial and multicultural world of the American whaler, greater complexities in the history of American commerce are revealed.

**Watkins-Kenny, Sarah C. (East Carolina University) and Lynn Harris B. (East Carolina University)**

**Exploring the Potential of Marine Art as a Research Tool for Investigating Cask Assemblages Found on Historic Shipwrecks Identified as Slave-Trade and Pirate Ships**

Casks were carried on ships of all types for over 2000 years as containers for provisions and supplies for those aboard or for trade cargo. When found on a historic shipwreck cask remains, especially if fragmentary and heavily corroded, may not seem as interesting or as significant as for example cannon or the ship's bell. If present cask remains, however, can provide data for evidence for shipboard life and its context in the Atlantic world. Contemporary marine art can be a valuable resource for data (visual and qualitative), that together with evidence from the historic and archaeological record, has the potential to enrich our understanding of historic shipwrecks in a global context; including of those identified or suspected to be slave-trade or pirate vessels or both. In this talk we explore this potential through comparing contemporary illustrations depicting casks on slave-trade vessels such as *La Marie Seraphique* and *Marquis de Bouillé*, with historic and archaeological evidence for casks found at three shipwreck sites off the coast of North America - *Henrietta Marie* (1700); *Whydah Galley* (1717), and *La Concorde/Queen Anne's Revenge* (1717-1718).

**Whitehead, Hunter (Coastal Environments, Inc.), Miguel Gutierrez (Independent Scholar), and Hope Bridgeman (Coastal Environments, Inc.)**

Beached Shipwrecks Along Mustang and North Padre Islands, Texas

Historic maritime activity along the Texas coast is extensive; Europeans have navigated the region the last ca. 500 years since initial Spanish exploration in the early 1500s. During this period, exploration, maritime shipping, fishing, shipbuilding, and tourism activities increased relative to coastal and port development. Notable shipwrecks discovered in Texas include the Padre Island Spanish fleet shipwrecks of 1554, and the French shipwreck *La Belle* found in Matagorda Bay. However, hundreds of documented and oftentimes undiscovered shipwrecks lie within state waters and along Texas beaches. This paper discusses some of the documented shipwreck discoveries and local wreck lore on Mustang Island and North Padre Island including the Bob Hall Pier Wreck which was found by local shipwreck hunters after Hurricane Beulah in 1967. Also discussed is the *Lake Austin* wreck which was discovered on the beach of Port Aransas in 1966 and later burned as a potential navigation hazard.

**Wolters, Timothy S. (Iowa State University)**

From *Periplus* to *MapAnalyst*: Portolan Charts in the Era of Digital History

Portolan charts, medieval sea charts that likely originated in the thirteenth-century, have long fascinated historians. Since the latter 1700s, their vibrant illustrations and webs of rhumb lines have made them prized possessions for museums and libraries around the globe. Indeed, nearly two hundred pre-1500 portolan charts survive today. One of the first scholars systematically to study these charts was polar explorer Adolf Nordenskiöld, who in 1897 published *Periplus*, an Essay on the early History of Charts and Sailing Directions. This seminal work established the framework within which all subsequent generations of scholars have studied portolan charts.

For nine decades following the publication of *Periplus*, maritime historians debated the origins and impressive accuracy of portolan charts through methodologies that ranged from archival research to cartographic overlays to toponymic analysis. Starting in 1987, scholars began to explore the history of portolan charts through computer-aided analyses. These analyses frequently required researchers to write their own computer programs, a difficulty that persisted until 2006 when cartographer Bernhard Jenny publicly released a software application specifically designed to quantitatively analyze old maps. Since then, numerous scholars have used *MapAnalyst* to investigate the portolan chart. This paper starts by laying out the analytical framework established by Nordenskiöld, explores the revisionist interpretations that arose through adoption of early computer-aided analyses, and concludes by examining how *MapAnalyst* has shaped twenty-first century scholarly understandings of the portolan chart. More broadly, the paper posits that the portolan chart is an ideal lens through which to consider the promises and perils of digital history.

**Zarzynski, Joseph W. (The French & Indian War Society at Lake George, Inc.)**

**"Home is Where the Anchor Drops": A Lake George, NY Anchor, Grapnel, and Grappling Iron Inventory**

In 2021, a maritime archaeologist directed an inventory and condition assessment of Fort William Henry Museum's anchors, grapnels, and grappling irons. These artifacts, 17 in total, were recovered over the years from the 32-mile-long Lake George in upstate New York. The 2021 project was completed by a team of volunteers, most with experience in archaeological projects. The museum opened in 1954 and is a replica of a French & Indian War (1755–1763) fort that once stood at the south end of Lake George. The British garrison was built in 1755 and was destroyed in 1757 by French soldiers and their allies, numerous Indigenous Peoples. In 1967, an arsonist fire destroyed part of the replica fortification. Damaged were some colonial-era artifacts as well as historical documentation about the facility's material culture. Over 2021–2022, the museum has been undergoing renovation of its collections' repository. Thus, the 2021 archaeological recording was timely in updating information about the museum's naval and maritime collection. The artifacts inventoried and studied included: colonial British admiralty anchors, 18<sup>th</sup> century salvage grapnels, steamboat-era anchors, and salvage grappling irons. The latter may have been employed in the 1759 salvage of dozens of sunken British bateaux and in the 1960s during a state-sanctioned recovery of three 1758 British bateau-class shipwrecks.