PAPER ABSTRACTS

Katharine Anderson, York University, Toronto, Canada

A Sub for Science: The Inter-war Expeditions of Vening Meinesz

The history of oceanography knows Felix Andries Vening Meinesz (1887-1966) as the Dutch geophysicist whose gravity measurements at sea contributed key evidence for plate tectonics theory as it developed decades later. But his submarine expeditions from the Netherlands to Java in the 1920s and 1930s are interesting in their own right and prompt many questions. Why did a civil engineer and geologist go to sea? How does a sub become an expeditionary vessel? How did these expeditions become a mascot for the Netherlands? If we answer these questions from the perspective of the history of science, Vening Meinesz appears as an emblem of the efforts in the first decades of the twentieth century to develop new global perspectives and methods, connecting subjects like geography, geology, physics, climatology, & vulcanology. But from another point of view, his experiences are a window into the re-ordering of the world's travel, economic and imperial networks after World War I. His expeditions garnered popular attention that compared him to a character from Jules Verne. Vening Meinesz's expeditions in the inter-war years, travelling along familiar ocean routes in an unfamiliar style, tell us how new technologies, international ideals and scientific practices changed the way that oceans were studied and imagined in the 1920s and 1930s.

BJ Armstrong, U.S. Naval Academy

Vindicating the Flag: Flags, Failed Diplomacy, and Combat in Korea

In May of 1871, a U.S. Navy squadron under the command of Rear Admiral John Rodgers arrived on the coast of Korea. The "Hermit Kingdom" had been closed for centuries, and Rodgers and Minister Frederick Low, the U.S. Minister to China, arrived planning to open the Asian market the way Matthew Perry had with Japan two decades earlier. However, the Americans discovered a kingdom that continued to close themselves off from the West. This paper examines the events of May and June of 1871, from the failed diplomatic efforts to the amphibious assault through the same area attacked by Douglas MacArthur nearly a century later, and the ultimate indecision and failure of the American efforts. This operation also has the distinction of being one of the first U.S. Navy overseas operations to bring a photographer on the deployment. The presentation will take advantage of collections from the Library of Congress that include photographs from before and after the combat operations to show American efforts in the era prior to the development of formal American Empire.

Roger Bailey, University of Maryland, College Park

"Reckless Adventurers" Filibustering Expeditions and the Navy on American Soil

In many ways, antebellum naval officers were leading agents of American expansion. They helped seize land in the Mexican-American War and sought to extend US commercial, cultural, and military influence globally. Yet the navy was also tasked with suppressing "filibustering" expeditions. These were private, proslavery groups of armed Americans who organized in or

near American ports before setting out to illegally seize territory in Latin America—usually with the goal of eventually annexing the territory to the United States. Vague instructions, poorly-defined legal powers, and distance from Washington left naval commanders with significant discretionary power in dealing with filibusters. Matters were further complicated by the sympathies of the local populations and sometimes the officers themselves. Uncertain and conflicted officers sometimes failed to intervene at all, while others managed to effectively cooperate with local authorities to undermine these expeditions before they could leave the country.

This study builds off work by scholars such as Brian Rouleau and Amy Greenberg who argue that the sea was not a boundary for American expansionism. For both filibusters and naval officers, the maritime world served as a bridge for extending the nation's influence into new lands. American ports became jumping off points over which these two groups of armed men sparred for control over American overseas expansion. By examining officers' personal writing, newspaper accounts, and correspondence with the Navy Department and local officials, this paper will identify officers' beliefs about "legitimate" expansionism and their efforts to control alternative models of expansionism on US soil.

Larry Bartlett, Texas Christian University
What is a Navy For?: American Naval Officers Debate Strategy, 1874-1890

By 1873 the U.S. Navy had become a small, decrepit force. Following a war scare with Spain, naval officers began asking Congress to fund rebuilding the Navy. This was also a period of great technological progress as steal and steam replaced wood and wind. As the nation and the Navy began the rebuilding process, debates about the types of ships the Navy needed flourished. Naval officers, politicians, journalists, and common citizens all participated in these wide-ranging debates. As one news editor pointedly wondered: "What are we going to do with a navy anyway?" In a perfectly rational world national strategy (or foreign policy) defines naval strategy, naval strategy defines missions, and missions dictate ship characteristics. Unfortunately, rationality did not always prevail. This paper will focus on the debates within the naval officer corps. As the debate evolved, a new naval strategy emerged and gradually prevailed. The Navy abandoned its traditional "forts and frigates" strategy in favor of a new strategy focused on sea control and a battle fleet. This strategy gained wide-spread acceptance in 1890 when its greatest publicist, Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, published The Influence of Sea Power on History and Congress authorized the nation's first three battleships.

Samantha Bernard, through East Carolina University and The Oakwood School
For Science! Deep sea exploration and the vessels that make it possible

The term submersible demountable tender is one of many used to describe a vessel that has been designed to assist in various tasks. None of these tenders are uniform, instead their uses vary from net tender, torpedo and mine sweeping, to sub tenders. Each watercraft is used in a unique manner and most are constructed from a pontoon or catamaran. In 1969 Westinghouse Electric commissioned Barbour Boat Works to build a submersible demountable submarine tender RV Midwife, a support vessel for the deep submersible vehicle (DSV) Deepstar-2000, in order to pursue the advancements of science and technology in association with the efforts of NOAA.

Vessels like RV Midwife were used to assist researchers in the long-standing tradition of deep sea exploration. Deep sea exploration and the advancement of the technology that makes it possible are the subject of this discussion.

Camille Myers Breeze, Museum Textile Services

Amelia Fowler and the History of Flag Preservation

Rarely do conservators have the opportunity to assess hundreds of textiles preserved by the same hands a century earlier. Even less frequently do scholarly articles and archive materials document the context in which historical treatment decisions were made and justified. In 2017, the United States Naval Academy Museum (USNA) undertook a new flag conservation initiative. Massachusetts textile conservation firm Museum Textile Services (MTS) was hired to devise and execute a pilot plan to de-install, conserve, and rehouse five of the forty-one cases of trophy flags that had been on display since 1913. Amelia Bold Fowler (1862–1923) examined the collection in 1911. With the help of her daughter Katherine Fowler Richey (1889–1949) and at least 40 needlewomen, the team completed the treatment of 172 flags in just ten months. Fowler’s technique and the impressive reach of the work she and Richey accomplished over five decades are well documented. Flags conserved by MTS in 2018 demonstrate how new research informed our treatment decisions. This evidence will reopen the discussion of just how much responsibility conservators have to preserve historical restorations.

John Laurence Busch, Independent Historian

Steaming from Local to Global: Giant Leaps for the First High Technology

In 1807, an American named Robert Fulton built and ran the first commercially successful steamboat in history. In so doing, Fulton achieved something epically important: he proved that humans could create an artificial power which could be used to alter a person’s location faster than by natural means. No other invention had ever achieved such a thing, and accordingly, steamboats may be considered the first “high technology” in history.

The practical effect of this “new mode of transport,” as some called it, was nothing short of revolutionary. And the leaps that steam vessels took—within the practical blink of an eye—were nothing short of breathtaking.

This presentation will analyze the dramatic progress of first generation of steam-powered vessels, circa 1807-1819, and early second generation steamers, into the 1820s. Of particular focus will be the different types of port cities and towns that became the connection points for this new technology, as well as the bodies of water over which they operated. Also of import will be an examination of the increasing distances that steam vessels could travel, and the effect that had on overall acceptance of the technology.

Finally, the presentation will suggest that steam-powered vessels, as the vanguard of a High Technology Age, also represent the beginning of a series of new high technologies that served to further connect the global and the local in the maritime world.

Kelly P. Bushnell, University of West Florida

Sedna Expedition Recap: The "Blue Humanities" in the Arctic

In her 2018 debut novel Split Tooth, acclaimed Inuit throat singer Tanya Tagaq writes "Global warming will release deeper smells and coax stories out of the permafrost. Who knows what memories lie deep in the ice?" More imaginatively than most, she hits directly on the shared archive of both climate scientists and scholars of the "blue" humanities studying the Arctic Ocean. It is now scientifically indisputable that the Arctic Ocean is warming as a result of anthropogenic climate change. What is not clear, however, is the role that historians and other humanities scholars can—and should—play in this discourse.

In August 2018 I served as humanities scholar aboard the Sedna Epic Expedition to the Canadian High Arctic and Greenland, which documented disappearing sea ice from above and below the surface (via diving and snorkeling) and visited communities such as Mittimatalik (on the northern tip of Baffin Island) which are already feeling the effects of climate change. I will give an overview of the objectives and outcomes of the expedition, focusing on my role connecting oceanic history to oceanic present and future both during the expedition and in my research and writing as a result of it. I will conclude with a preview of my current project, which part public history of the Arctic Ocean and part personal history of environmental colonialism therein, co-authored with Inuk Traditional Knowledge Keeper Johnny Issaluk.

Jessie Cragg, University of West Florida
Pensacola and the West Indies Squadron

Piracy, long studied and sensationalized, is considered a scourge of 18th century colonial life. The scholarship surrounding piracy focuses heavily on the early 1700s, creating an artificial conclusion with the deaths of the infamous Golden Age pirates. Pirates, however, continued to plague the Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean waters until the 1830s. The United States Navy formed the West Indies Squadron in 1822, whose primary mission was to eradicate piracy and protect commercial interests. Stationed in Key West, Florida, the squadron significantly curbed the practice of piracy in the western hemisphere. Following their militarily determined success, Captains James Biddle, Lewis Warrington, and William Bainbridge relocated the squadron to Pensacola, Florida's newly constructed naval yard. It was the first US Naval detachment permanently assigned to Pensacola. The West Indies Squadron cemented the connection between Pensacola and the Navy that still exists today. This paper explores the details of the squadron's campaign against piracy as well as their ability to operate efficiently from the port of Pensacola.

Justin H. Daley, Flinders University, Adelaide, AU and ACS Archaeological Consulting Services
Yankee Whaling Heritage: The Impact of Capitalism on Preservation / Interpretation

The 18th through 19th century New England whaling industry was the world's leading whaling enterprise. It generated considerable wealth for dozens of emerging oligarchs whose descendants found themselves in a favorable position to subsequently define the interpretation of whaling heritage. The central question posed in this research is: how did an evolving capitalist system

influence the preservation and interpretation of the Yankee whaling industry (1712-1875) in New England? This research looks at what aspects of whaling heritage have been preserved, whether there is regional variation in preservation, how interpretations have been influenced by economic circumstances, and how they have been prioritized and presented to the public. Research has revealed regional variation in resources, largely resulting from where and when the consolidation of capital occurred in these communities. Ultimately, the geographic position of each community shaped its economic future as those conducive to newer transportation networks were the most profitable. The increased need for labor for the Industrial Revolution resulted in a perceived a loss of social status of the Yankee elite which resulted in their expropriation of history through the funding of statues, monuments, artwork, and other historical outlets of interpretation. The conclusion of this research is that what survives in the historic landscape, historic literature, and the archaeological record reflects the ideologies of capitalism and its historic impact on whaling in New England. It further shows a correlation of social safety nets, emerging throughout the 20th century, and their influence on correcting this narrative.

J. Ross Dancy, U.S. Naval War College
British Naval Manpower after Two Decades of War

"The supply of seamen is so inadequate to the current demands of the service that… not less than six sail of the line and sixteen frigates… are lying useless because men cannot be supplied to them." Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty, sent this comment to Lord Keith, in command of the Channel Fleet on 03 September 1813. By this point, Britain had only seen fourteen months of peace in twenty-one years. In the eight years since its greatest hour at Trafalgar, the Royal Navy had grown by nearly fifty percent to its largest size during the age of sail, comprising over 147,000 men. Although we now know that Napoleon's 1812 campaign was the turning point of the war, from Admiralty's perspective in Whitehall, victory appeared far from guaranteed in the summer of 1813. In addition to the ongoing European war, Britain faced a growing war in North America. The stress on the Royal Navy was at its maximum, and though Britain could still build and supply warships, it struggled to provide them with men. Using statistical data derived from archival research, this paper will examine the manpower struggles experienced by the Royal Navy near the end of the Napoleonic Wars and how that affected maritime centres around Britain. It will examine how manpower retention functioned after two decades of war and the role that volunteering and impressment played in manning the fleets, when Britain was weary of war and at the point of greatest strain.

Anthony B. Dickinson, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland
Impacts of 'modern' industrial whaling: the Newfoundland and Labrador experience.

The post-Foyn era of industrial whaling arrived in North America in 1896 with the signing of a joint venture agreement between Newfoundland and Norwegian entrepreneurs. Hunting began in 1898 and continued through four phases of varying length, productivity, and participation until 1972 when the government of Canada imposed a (continuing) moratorium. This new maritime industry impacted coastal communities by providing alternative employment to the seasonally uncertain cod and seal fisheries, generated revenue for businesses locally, nationally, and

internationally through the provision of equipment, vessels, and supplies, produced windfall profits in the early stages for investors, and led to the depletion of whale stocks, especially blue, due to the absence of meaningful hunting and conservation regulations until the 1960s. Development of similar industries in British Columbia, Japan and California was also facilitated. Marriages between Norwegian whalers and local women provided the opportunity for the latter to experience new horizons away from the strictures of rural life.

Cheryl Doble, SUNY College of Environmental Science and Forestry, Syracuse, NY
Seeking a Sustainable Future (2019-2119)

The Vineyard Haven waterfront, much of it built atop barrier beach and filled wetland, has long been susceptible to storm-related flooding. Photographs in the Martha's Vineyard Museum archives and marks painted on the sides of buildings show ankle- and even knee-deep water in the streets during 20th-century hurricanes. In recent years, flooding has become commonplace in in less severe storms, and even in heavy rains. The ongoing impact of climate change will increase both the frequency and severity of flooding, changing—along with storm-related erosion—the contours of the harbor.

Plans for dealing the future effects of climate change are entangled with, and complicated by, ongoing discussions about maintaining the economic viability of the town in general and its working waterfront in particular, and efforts to enhance the town's appeal to tourists and other visitors while preserving what remains of its historic infrastructure.

This presentation will survey on current conditions, both environmental and social, while examining ongoing planning processes and recent studies taken by the town to understand and prepare for the ongoing effects of climate change. It will examine options being considered by the town to mitigate impact and increase resiliency. These actions—specifically the different opportunities and challenges they offer—will be considered along with their effect on the future of Vineyard Haven's historic harbor.

Skip Finley, Independent Scholar and Journalist
Whaling Captains of Color – America's First Meritocracy

Antedating the American Revolutionary War and until the early 1920's the whaling industry provided unprecedented opportunities for men of color to include 52 who were counted as Captains among 2,500 whale ship Masters of over 15,000 whaling voyages. As unlikely as it would seem almost half of these 52 men are characterized as black (free, former slaves, West Indians) who served as Captains before the end of the Civil War and the rest an admixture of indigenous people and Cape Verdeans. It is in part thanks to the Seaman's Protection Papers, Authorized by the Fourth Congress May 28, 1796, to protect American merchant seamen from impressment by the British that men can be identified with skin that was black, brown, yellow or any range of tan including colored, copper or mixed and defined as men who were Negro, Indian, mulatto or mustee: the peculiar term used for the product of relationships between black and Native American partners. These catalogued listings of Seaman's papers as the Crewlist at the New Bedford Whaling Museum and as collected on index cards at the New Bedford Free

Public Library were compared with whaling data generated by History of the American Whale Fishery, Starbuck; Addendum to Starbuck, Hegerty; and American Offshore Whaling Voyages, Lund (et al) and other sources to identify these men and their whaling careers in Skip Finley's tentatively titled new book, "Whaling Captains of Color – America's First Meritocracy", being published in the Fall of 2019 by the Naval Institute Press.

Paul E. Fontenoy, North Carolina Maritime Museums, Beaufort, NC
The First "Great Wall at Sea": Imperial China's "Modern Fleet"

Although Imperial administrators were well aware of modern naval developments, adopting them rarely seemed necessary, since China's ability to cut off Western access to trade generally sufficed to maintain control. The First Opium War (1839-1842) overturned this equation, but almost twenty years elapsed before China took significant action to create a modern fleet.

China's approach was to purchase warships abroad while hiring foreign expertise to develop the necessary indigenous infrastructure. Drawing from its experience of military operations against the Taiping rebels, China also hired Western naval officers to command and train crews for the new warships.

The first short-lived squadrons envisaged were wholly foreign-built and largely foreign-manned as well. Thereafter, like contemporary Japan, Imperial China continued both to purchase warships abroad and build at home from the late 1860s into the early years of the twentieth century, and to reduce its reliance on foreign naval officers for expertise. By the early 1890s many outside observers considered the Chinese fleet the most impressive in the region.

Nevertheless, a major issue flawed this impression. Although almost every naval officer of the Imperial squadrons and all their indigenous warships emerged from the same academy and shipyards, there were no less than four separate fleets. These operated virtually autonomously and, as operations in 1884 versus France and ten years later against Japan were to demonstrate, fleet commanders essentially declined to cooperate with their fellows even in the face of the enemy. Imperial China's impressive naval force was rendered a paper tiger.

Sean Fraga, Princeton University
Mapping Pacific Northwest Maritime Trade Networks During American Settlement, 1851–61

I argue that American settlers in the Pacific Northwest used maritime trade to establish themselves on indigenous territory and to advance expansionist goals in the wider Pacific World. I focus on ports-of-entry as links between global and local maritime trade networks. Despite important work on topics like international migration and commodity rushes, scholars have yet to fully explore the significance of maritime trade in creating the U.S. West. But absent such an investigation, our explanation of why the United States became a continental nation is incomplete, suggesting the U.S. West was primarily important for domestic reasons, not global ones. My research investigates the ideas American settlers carried west, showing how, in contrast

to earlier assumptions, their goal of forging international maritime links was foundational to American acquisition and development of the Pacific Northwest.

This paper uses digital-humanities tools to map data contained in a handwritten U.S. Customs ledger. In 1851, the United States created a new customs district covering Puget Sound, the Pacific Northwest's inland sea, as part of the nation's expansion to the Pacific Coast. The ledger covers the district's first decade, showing how how regional events—including the 1855–56 Puget Sound Indian War, the 1858 Fraser River gold rush, and the 1859 San Juan Islands boundary dispute—shaped an emerging settler society. At the same time, the ledger shows how connections across the Pacific Ocean and to Alaska and Hawai'i are intertwined with the history of the contiguous United States.

Mark J. Gabrielson, an independent historian and Harvard University.

The Global Sanitary Archipelago: Harbor Islands as Maritime Cordons Sanitaire

As early as the 15th century port cities began using near-coastal islands to temporarily quarantine or permanently isolate people as a matter of policy. Examples are off Venice, Marseille, Quebec, Vancouver, Tokyo, Darwin, Singapore, Zanzibar, Valetta, New York City and many other port cities. Municipalities used islands to protect themselves from perceived or genuinely diseased immigrants and slaves, to isolate contagious inhabitants, and to confine those with mental illnesses.

Documenting and narrating the comparative history of this global "sanitary archipelago" will yield new insights into how port cities and states used nearby islands as frontiers on the maritime world. I will examine this relationship in the context of the histories of public health and infection control. I will explore differences in societal and political attitudes towards slaves, immigrants, and the diseased among port cities and across time.

This paper will focus on three North American examples: 1) Penikese Island located 11 nautical miles south of New Bedford, MA, the site of a leprosarium (1905-1921) and a school for delinquent boys (1973-2011); 2) Hospital Island, a 3-acre island two nautical miles east of St. Andrews, NB, where the Province operated an immigrant quarantine station, a100-patient cholera hospital and a burying ground (1832-1865) and; 3) Sullivan's Island off Charleston, SC, an entry point for thousands of slaves shipped from West Africa (1707-1796).

Discussion of the comparative histories of these three "sanitary islands" will illustrate broader concepts useful in an examination of potentially dozens of other examples around the world.

Cipperly Good, Penobscot Marine Museum, Searsport, Maine

Port Paintings: Snapshots of Sea Port Commerce

Sea ports provide the global link between their region's export trade goods and foreign markets. Ports also serve as the entry point for imports needed by its service region. Without a port city, a region is a backwater, and without a supporting regional economy, a port city fails.

The port painting exemplifies the interplay between the import/export economy of a port city and the global reach those cities have on communities across the globe. On the coast of Maine, local nineteenth century merchant marine families claimed they were more likely to see their neighbors in Hong Kong than back home. These Maine families on their Maine-built ships rarely returned to their homeports. Unloading and loading freight could take weeks, providing plenty of time for the captain to commission a port painter to create a portrait of the ship, the means of his livelihood and a source of pride. These artists often pre-painted the backgrounds with local geographical landmarks and cityscapes, creating a snapshot of the port city in time.

This presentation uses a selection of port paintings, navigational charts, and Coast Pilot and Sailing Direction port descriptions from across the globe to identify the key buildings and geographic features used as aids to navigation and that were of commercial or cultural significance at the time. Archives related to the ships depicted in the paintings shed light on the imports and exports of value, as well as tell stories of a Mainer's experience in a foreign port.

Brooke Grasberger, Brown University
Wind, Sailors, and Environmental Dynamics in the Nineteenth-century Atlantic

On or near the water, traces of the wind are all around. On rough days, the grey chop and whitecaps and wheeling shorebirds speak its unsettling presence; if it is calm and sunny the water ripples gently with the wind's footsteps. The wind can shift direction suddenly, the oceans waves rise to a churn. It can fall absolutely dead, the sound of its rush through the rigging, against the sails, the hiss of the boat across the sea's surface suddenly silent. But what does it mean when the wind does those things, and what made them happen? Understanding the causes of these behaviors, knowing how to read or predict or analyze—or even induce—them, was a skill and a practice of fundamental importance to sailors of all stripes.

This paper examines the relationship between sailors and the wind in the nineteenth century, a time when Christian revivals on both sides of the Atlantic spurred greater concern around sailors' worldviews and spiritual capacities, when steam power began to unseat the predominance of wood and canvas, when meteorological and oceanographic science came into their own along with academic disciplines of history, folklore, religion, and anthropology. These developments tended to have a fragmenting effect: predicting a storm based on the presence of pelagic seabirds or St. Elmo's Fire becomes protoscientific, suspicion of a crewmember's relationship with the wind based on Scandanavian heritage superstitious, the Devil's inability to resist a gale folkloric. In investigating the fullness of sailors' relationships with the wind, this argument is positioned at the convergence of maritime history, religious studies, and environmental history, using the methods of each to overcome disciplinary boundaries that parcel sailors' knowledge into separate categories.

Megan Hagseth, Texas A&M University
The Sailor's Souppot: Testudines and the Maritime Community

Today the consumption of sea turtle meat, or any large *Testudinata* such as the Galapagos Islands giant tortoise, is often met with disgust and disapproval. However during the Age of Sail exploration and transatlantic trade necessitated this order of animal become a vital food source

for European mariners. While generally reported as a tasty and hearty meat, primary accounts extolling the virtues of turtle flesh are juxtaposed, sometimes by the very same writer, with allusions to its baseness and preference towards traditionally "European" sustenance such as salt pork.[1] This paper seeks to study this complex relationship between the maritime community and large *Testudinata* as a food source, and will discuss primarily the consumption of sea turtle and large land tortoise by members of both the merchant marine as well as navies, focusing heavily on the seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries. Using archaeological and archival evidence, this study will reconstruct more than simply a nutritional narrative, it identifies the cultural contexts of turtle meat use in the maritime community and lends valuable insight into social paradigms of this time period.

Penelope K. Hardy, Xavier University, Cincinnati, OH
Geology and the Deep Sea on the 1870s Challenger Expedition

Between 1872 and 1875, the British Royal Navy warship HMS Challenger circumnavigated the globe studying the ocean in three dimensions. Despite its inaccessibility for direct study, the seabed was a prime target for the naval officers and naturalists onboard, who developed technologies to draw sediment from the depths of every ocean they traversed. While naval officers aimed to delineate the hazards the bottom posed to both ships and telegraph cables, naturalists saw bottom sediment as a key to unlocking the entire geological history of the earth.

Historians of science have begun to address the importance of shipboard naturalists' efforts to sample the deep, from Helen Rozwadowski's examination of the scientific "discovery" of the deep to Alistair Sponsel's attention to naval hydrographic practice in the formation of Darwin's ideas. Building on their work, this paper considers the significant technological choices involved in bringing instruments to bear on the depths and the scientific efforts to interpret the sediment thus retrieved. The Challenger naturalists developed new technologies for the collection of the muck, ooze, and clay they found on the bottom. The sediments themselves then became tools for making biological and geological arguments about not just the nature of the bottom, but also of the vast unknown reaches between it and the surface, and of the movements of the fluid system that connected these spaces globally. Together, technology and rhetoric allowed them to reimagine both the ocean bottom and the European landmass on the vast scale of geological time.

Anna Gibson Holloway, SEARCH, Inc.
"Saved from the Sea": Ebenezer Morgan Stoddard of Norfolk

In October 1859, the schooner Onward foundered off Cape Hatteras. Her young captain - Ebenezer Morgan Stoddard - and crew were saved, and the wreck worked by a local wrecking firm. That moment appears to have shaped Stoddard's professional life. Shortly after, he embarked on a nearly 40-year career as a wrecker with that same firm, only deviating as the American Civil War commanded his skills while serving as Acting Master on the USS Kearsarge. Settling in Norfolk, VA after the war, Stoddard was always in motion – whether racing to a shipping disaster or inventing better wrecking devices. This constant work made him hugely successful, but took a severe toll on his family. Using newly discovered primary source

material, this paper will show how Stoddard used the hub of Norfolk to take on the waters of the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico – rescuing passengers, crew, ships, and cargo of hundreds of distressed vessels until the profession wore him down. When he foundered once again off Cape Hatteras in 1895, he gave up the sea and ended his days at Sailor's Snug Harbor in New York. While biographical in nature, this paper will use Stoddard's "impossible" raising of the Chilian near Baranquilla, Colombia in 1882 as its centerpiece, using firsthand accounts that give new insight into this larger than life personality.

James Holmes, Naval War College, Newport, RI
Reinventing America's Maritime Past: The War of 1812

This paper will explore the uses and misuses of maritime history through the eyes of two distinguished historians, Theodore Roosevelt and Alfred Thayer Mahan. Both wrote histories of the War of 1812 precisely to debunk the popular mythology of the war. Reducing the War of 1812 to a parable of maritime derring-do obscures the early U.S. Navy's decidedly mixed heritage. Navy frigates and lesser warships won a spate of single-ship actions, to be sure. But by 1814 the Royal Navy had imposed a suffocating blockade on New England and ultimately the entire American shoreline—cutting off seaports from oceangoing and coastwise trade as well as naval endeavors.

TR and Mahan hoped to root out the popular narrative that portrayed the war as a parable of American seamanship and heroism, conveyed in such symbols as USS Constitution and figures as Stephen Decatur. They depicted U.S. naval strategy as precisely what not to do. Americans should not assume they could neglect to maintain a navy in peacetime, then outfit a fleet of privateers to raid enemy shipping and prevail when war came. They needed to lay down a serious battle fleet to beat back blockades such as Great Britain's. In short, Roosevelt and Mahan wanted to displace the lore of the War of 1812 from popular culture and replace it with a cult of the steam-driven, big-gun battle fleet. They sought to nourish a culture centered on seagoing pursuits—and stir political support for fleet-building along their way.

Dwight Hughes is a public historian, author, and speaker
Global War, Local Impact: In the Wake of CSS *Shenandoah*

The Confederate commerce raider CSS *Shenandoah* carried the Civil War across all the seas, leaving enduring legacies in three far flung and divergent communities. Her visit in January 1865 to British colonial Melbourne split the people into contentious political factions vociferously backing North or South for reasons not connected with central war issues. These differences reflected severe consequences of the conflict even in the antipodes on politics, economics, and seaborn commerce; they echoed perceptions and misperceptions of many in Great Britain and Europe. Leaving Melbourne, *Shenandoah* visited the paradisiacal Pacific island of Pohnpe where Southern gentlemen enjoyed a tropical holiday, mingling with an exotic warrior culture that was more like them than they knew. Descendants of crews from captured and destroyed American whalers are there still. As lonely Rebels slept under island stars on April 9, guns fell silent at Appomattox. Finally, *Shenandoah* invaded the north, the deep cold of the Bering Sea. She fired the last gun of the war, ten weeks after Lee surrendered, and set the land of the midnight sun aglow with flaming Yankee whalers. Sixty seagoing colonies of New Bedford, "The Whaling

City," cruised near the Arctic Circle in June 1865. A third of them would never return; all would be imperiled, and the city's economy severely wounded. This dramatic episode highlights the decline of global whaling and its effects on a historic town and people. This paper brings local stories together on a global maritime stage, presenting both intriguing parallels and stark contrasts.

Joshua M. Jenkins, Salem State University, Salem, MA

Native Hawaiians on Massachusetts Whaling Ships: The Lost History

The fact native Hawaiians served on international whaling ships is known but surprisingly has been little researched or understood. Hawaiians, historically known as "Kanakas," represented approximately 20% of all crew members employed on New Bedford ships, however, their experiences on ships and after they left the Islands is largely unknown.

In a stroke of historical good fortune at the Hawaii State Archives, I was able to put my hands on multiple original shipping contracts from 1840 to 1860 between Hawaiians, whaling captains, and the Hawaiian government, as well as tax documents proving payments on shipping bonds from whaling captains. Continuing the research back in Massachusetts, I was able to find original crew logs at the New Bedford Whaling Museum. These logs contain entries indicating names and when Hawaiians were discharged and/or brought under employment of various Massachusetts whaling vessels.

The entire investigation into the subject came from a statement by Mark Twain in his letters from his visit to the Hawaiian Islands; he casually noted that natives were being regularly hired by whaling ships. In 1903, Katharine Coman wrote about contractual labor relations in Hawaii, and noted briefly the "brawny kanakas" on whaling crews. However, there is no real reseach on Hawaiian whaling until the 21st century. Currently, I am working to connect the names of these newly-discovered contracts in Hawaii with names on the logs in Massachusetts and begin telling the story of the lives of these men.

Jennifer Jones, East Carolina University

Ada K. Damon: Assessing an Historic Ship in a Modern Landscape

Beached shipwrecks are unique archaeological remains that carry with them implications for understanding larger cultural patterns both historically and within a modern context. The Ada K. Damon for example, an 1875 Essex-built schooner wrecked on Steep Hill Beach at Ipswich in 1909 provides insights into historically significant ship construction traditions and socio-economic patterns of trade for its era. As the remains periodically expose on the beach, it has also become part of a dynamic coastal system and a continually changing maritime landscape. An instant attraction for those of the Crane Estate, the vessel has subsequently been buried and re-exposed at various times throughout its presence on the beach, shifting with the changing geomorphology and presenting new challenges to management and interpretation. Attention to the vessel waxes and wanes with its exposure, but renewed interest in the summer of 2015 has shown the vessel still holds fascination for beach goers and regional historians alike. The modern maritime landscape places the Ada K. Damon in the center of archaeological and citizen science training, risk assessment and potential tourism use.

Michael W. Kegerreis Texas A&M University
Confederate Asymmetric Warfare at Sea: Privateers, Blockade Runners, and Cruisers

The efforts to counterbalance the enormous Union advantage at sea involved four nonstandard naval responses by the Confederacy. The ships involved were ironclads, privateers, commerce raiders, and blockade runners. The project examines the latter three types in three regards. First, it takes up the tactical effectiveness of each group of vessels. Second, it addresses the strategic effectiveness of each group. Finally, the project compares the connection between the impacts of each group on the Confederate port cities involved in the city sea connection, as well as the larger Confederacy as a whole.

The conclusion presented takes the form of two main observations. The first is that the tactical failure of the privateers drove the South to embrace blockade runners and commerce raiders. The second is to recast the debate in the literature as to the tactical/strategic effectiveness of the latter two groups of ships. Rather than approach the issue from the yea or nay view in the traditional approach as to the tactical/strategic effectiveness of the implementation of such programs, the position taken herein is that both programs require evaluation through the prism of asymmetric warfare rather than traditional naval warfare. In other words, the proper context is Guerre de course rather than Guerre d'Escadre. Properly framed, the conclusion is that blockade running was a minor tactical and strategic success while commerce raiders were a major tactical success and a minor strategic failure.

Sorna Khakzad and Wade Jeffrey, Florida Public Archaeology Network and University of West Florida
Connecting Rivers, Sea & Land: Panhandle Maritime National Heritage Area

Florida history is firmly connected to its maritime landscape. A number of interpreted shipwreck trails, maritime museums, and archaeological resources along major rivers connect Northwest Florida's land to its waterways and coastal areas. Although this region's history plays an important part in the development of the United States, the significance of these resources has not been promoted in a cohesive manner. Designating this region as a National Heritage Area can result in promoting cultural tourism, historic preservation and highlighting the diversity of heritage in Northwest Florida. In addition, it has potentials for connecting with other states and being the first exclusively NHA in Florida. This paper will explore the feasibility, challenges and benefits of creating a Panhandle Maritime National Heritage Area.

Marti Klein, California State University Fullerton
Nineteenth Century Perceptions of Yellow Fever in Veracruz, Mexico

In the first half of the nineteenth century, it was generally agreed that yellow fever (el vomito) and the north wind (el norte), afforded the city of Veracruz, Mexico more protection than did the Mexican military, including the well-defended, relatively impenetrable Castle San Juan Ulloa. This opinion was based on several factors, ranging from derogatory assessments of the Mexican

Navy to credible historical accounts of the havoc the wind and disease could wreak. The wind could cause significant damage to ships in the harbor, and hold them at sea for days or weeks, and the disease could quickly debilitate a ship's crew. Together, they were effective military deterrents.

This paper focuses on the power of perceptions of yellow fever, compared to the risk the disease actually posed. Its mortality was comparable to other diseases such as malaria. Most cases were relatively mild, and of short duration. Only a small percentage converted to the virulent, deadly form. Unlike malaria, it is not a remitting fever, and permanent immunity is conferred to those who recover. Despite this, fear of yellow fever was disproportionate to that of malaria, and to the danger it presented to most people stricken with it. This fear was palpable in the journals, correspondence, and travel narratives of military, government, and scientific visitors as they approached Veracruz harbor, spent time there, and travelled through the surrounding hot, humid lowlands. These sources provide intimate accounts of personal apprehensions, as well as predictions and assessments of military impacts.

David Kohnen, U.S. Naval War College in Newport, RI

"'Cheer Up' – There is No Naval War College:": U.S. Navy Captain Dudley W. Knox and the Fight for Education, 1919-1922

My paper examines the influence of history upon American conceptions of sea power by focusing on U.S. Navy Captain Dudley W. Knox and his associates in the months immediately following their return from overseas service in the First World War. Following the flag of Rear Admiral William S. Sims in the bureaucratic battles to "save" professional education after 1919, Knox joined forces with Captain Ernest J. King and Commander William S. Pye to assist efforts to reopen the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. Sims encouraged Knox and Pye to collaborate with King to establish the Knox-Pye-King Board to produce a report defining the course of professional education into the 1920s and 1930s. Their "K-P-K Report" required U.S. Naval practitioners to attend the Naval War College at least twice in their careers.

The rancorous relationship between Daniels and Sims worsened, which threatened the future of the Naval War College in Newport and overshadowed efforts by Knox at the Naval War College in San Diego. Ultimately, the former thrived as Sims prevailed in Congress while the latter faded from memory after Knox received a medical transfer from active service to the retired list of the U.S. Navy in the fall of 1921. Drawing from the scant records showing the existence of a Naval War College of the west coast, my paper will provide a fresh perspective on the focus of professional education in the U.S. Navy, the role of Knox, and the future function of history on the U.S. Navy of the twenty-first century.

Charles H. Lagerbom, Independent Historian

The Last Voyage of the St. Mary

The St. Mary was a Maine-built Down-easter launched in Phippsburg in 1890. She was mostly owned by her builder, Charles V. Minot. Her captain for her maiden voyage was Searsport-native Jesse Thayer Carver. Becoming a partial owner, Carver gambled his entire life savings and his economic future on her success. She collided with another vessel off Cape Horn, limped

into the Falkland Islands and was wrecked just miles from Port Stanley. The only casualty from the shipwreck was Captain Carver, perhaps by suicide. Due to interest from officials in the state of Maine in the 1970s, a shipwreck archaeology team led by Peter Throckmorton traveled to the Falklands and salvaged pieces of the vessel. Bringing home those parts of St. Mary to the Maine State Museum presented its own unique challenges. The result is that the Maine State Museum in Augusta has a section of one of the only existing Down-easter ships in the world.

Daniel Lane, Norwich University

Crowdsourcing Atlantic Commons: Documenting Derelicts in the Late Nineteenth Century

This presentation examines how late nineteenth-century American audiences understood the presence of derelict vessels in the Atlantic shipping lanes and participated in voluntarily providing the Naval Hydrographic Office with data in order to help mitigate the dangers that such drifting vessels posed to oceanic travelers. Given the narrative ambiguities often associated with accurately documenting and tracking real derelict vessels, complicated, in part, by depictions of fictional derelicts, authors and journalists found a rich derelict-themed vocabulary that could be used to frame land-based cultural anxieties. The presentation will also discuss and theorize the role of counter-narratives such as the celebration of the United States Hydrographic Office and its efforts to systemize and publicize what amounts to a nautical crowdsourcing of information sent to its offices as vessels spotted and reported derelicts on their transatlantic voyages. Through describing and analyzing the development of a technological aesthetic, in many ways as important as an artistic aesthetic arising out of written and visual derelict narratives, I will discuss how the Hydrographic Office's monthly bulletins, used by pilots and captains to minimize chance encounters with derelict vessels, became venerated narratives, with excerpts frequently republished in popular weekly and monthly magazines. Through interpreting the national implications of this surveillance collaboration, intended to provide for voyagers' safety and economic risk management, I will position the nautical commons as a dangerous marginal geography that required communal navigation.

Donald A. Laskey, Fort Delaware State Park

Confederates Defending the Delaware: Galvanized Troops at Fort Delaware

During the Civil War a community sprung up around Fort Delaware an outpost in the middle of the Delaware River set up to defend Philadelphia and the Delaware River from naval threats. The community included Americans, immigrants, freed blacks, women, and children all thrown together by a combination of fate and army needs. This paper will look at one particular group the Galvanized soldiers, men who switch sides after being captured.

The first step in a larger study, to better understand the men who galvanized during the Civil War, this will look at the role of galvanized men within the community of Fort Delaware and as members of American coastal defense. Beyond simply looking at their role with in the fort I intend to look at the demographics of these men which will hopefully suggest patterns that can be used to answer why a soldier would switch sides during the war. Coming out of the summer of 1863 all three batteries at the Fort had Galvanized soldiers a full study of these men is long overdue.

Kendra Lawrence, East Carolina University
Tools of the Trade: A Proposed Study of Shipboard Tools

The artifact assemblage from Queen Anne's Revenge represents one of the richest and most diverse shipwreck collections from the early eighteenth century. Ongoing conservation of the artifacts continues to reveal new and compelling insight in to the lives of sailors aboard this vessel. Among this collection are hand tools which include several varieties of hammers, possible gouges, files, crowbars, and a metal vise. Using archaeological, historical, and ethnographic evidence, it might be possible to evaluate these tools to determine whether they represent the kit of a shipboard carpenter, cooper, or blacksmith, or if they could comprise a composite shipboard tool kit. Provenience of the tools within the site could help to determine function and may also provide insight into the locations of shipboard workshops and storage areas. Each tool will be evaluated to determine if its form reflects the demands and constraints of shipboard life, including spatial limitations and the need for creative problem solving. Historical documents and illustrations will help to determine the application and use of each tool form. Ethnographic examples of modern shipwrights might also illuminate how these tools were used, including non-standard applications and re-purposing. This presentation will also offer an historical overview of shipboard carpentry and provide some preliminary results of the ongoing research.

Luke LeBras, East Carolina University
Refit for Active Service: Merchant Vessel Conversion and American Whaling

The period following the end of the War of 1812 saw ship owners, builders, and investors rush to reestablish the damaged United States whale fishery and "cash-in" on the nation's increasing demand for its products. While New England's shipyards supplied many of the ships needed to rebuild the fishery, the practice of converting merchant vessels to whaleships became commonplace as it was less expensive and more immediate. These vessels were essential components of the successful reconstruction of the whale fishery during the early "Golden Age" of American whaling, yet archaeological and historical research focused on these vessels is scarce. This paper examines the construction characteristics of "recycled" whaleships, the processes of merchant vessel-to-whaleship selection and conversion, and the broader historical and social contexts of these activities through the archaeological and historical analyses of *Thames,* a merchant vessel-turned-whaleship whose keel and 51 disarticulated timbers are exhibited today at Mystic Seaport in Mystic, Connecticut. Scale drawings and photogrammetric recording methods comprise the archaeological analyses while historic data have been collected from archives, unpublished reports, and academic literature. By examining this understudied area of American maritime heritage, this study provides a more complete understanding of the converted whaleship's role in in the nation's rise to dominance in the 19th century.

William B. Lees and Rachel Hines, University of West Florida and Florida Public Archaeology Network
Pensacola Bay as a Strategic Landscape Across Five Centuries

Pensacola's Bay and contributing rivers was strategic during prehistory for at least its abundant marine resources. Early Spanish exploration identified it as a premier deep water port on the Gulf, and it was selected for the short-lived Luna settlement and expedition of 1559. From that time forward, as Florida was ruled alternately by Spain, Great Britain, France, and ultimately the United States, Pensacola has remained a strategic landscape despite the small town of Pensacola's decline as a port in the modern era. During five centuries, the footprint of the Pensacola strategic landscape has changed in relation to strategic purpose which itself has changed in relation to national ownership, conflict, and military technology. Using military terrain analysis as a filter, we evaluate how this landscape has changed through both redefinition of existing military assets and the addition of new assets situated around Pensacola Bay.

Thomas Legg, West Chester University

The Transformation of a Pennsylvania Iron Furnace and Community

This paper examines the transformation of Hopewell Furnace from a small, struggling, rural, isolated business and community to a thriving one connected by land and water to cities all along the East Coast. In the early 19th century Hopewell produced pig iron for local forges. In the 1820s production shifted to cast-iron stoves, the first mass-produced durable good. Hopewell transformed. Producing finished products quadrupled revenue with only a slight increase in iron production. Work shifted from mostly low-skill manual jobs to incorporating many highly skilled moulders. As importantly, the switch in production required ties to markets in the growing cities along the East Coast. The furnace's owners now traveled extensively to make connections. When sales were made, the stoves produced at Hopewell, situated some 50 miles from Philadelphia in Berks County, followed, by land, canal, and coastal schooners. For roughly 10 years Hopewell's new business thrived. The lack of direct water transport along with the Panic of 1837, however, proved too costly for Hopewell to continue to ship its stoves to far flung markets. By the mid-1840s Hopewell returned to producing pig iron. Ties to the larger market, dependent on the maritime connections of the Schuylkill Canal and the Port of Philadelphia were cut, and Hopewell returned to the small, struggling rural, isolated business and community it had been, eventually shutting down for good in 1881. Acquired by the U.S. government in 1935, Hopewell Furnace is now a National Park Historic Site, interpreting America's 18th and 19th century iron business.

Antonieta Reis Leite, University of Coimbra, Coimbra. Portugal

Planning city-sea connections during the Early Portuguese Atlantic settlement process

The aim of this paper proposal is to examine the vital importance of city-sea connections, within the phenomenon of the foundation of urban and rural settlements and new communities in the Atlantic island and coastlands during the colonization process of the early Portuguese Atlantic World (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Following the chronological path linking medieval Portugal to the foundation of the captaincies system, a new administrative formula clearly rooted in medieval Portugal that was designed to colonize the Atlantic, the paper wishes to address the evolution and improvements, made along the settlement process, on the regulations on land and urban planning and how those regulations got materialized in the land, city and most

especially in coastal *scapes* of Madeira (c.1420) and Azores (c.1450) islands, as well as in both coasts of the Atlantic, namely in Brazil (1536) and Angola (1571).

Within this geographical and time frame, the paper will simultaneously explore (1) the importance of natural harbors to the foundational process of new towns and how it conditioned the urban morphological evolution of these urban sites; (2) the land grant donation system, regarding in particular the safeguard of common lands along coastal areas; and (3) the importance of the sea, as the first established "territory" of the early Portuguese Atlantic World, a world that was for a long time limited by coasts and filled with islands, that in fact constitute a net of ports and sea routes that supported the building of a Portuguese colonial empire in the following centuries.

Mirelle Luecke, Mystic Seaport Museum
Indigents and Insurrectionists: New York in the Age of Revolution

In the midst of New York City's 1805 yellow fever outbreak, the local newspaper the Daily Advertiser described the confusion which filled the city streets: "New-York resembles a city on the eve of an assault… During this alarming calamity, the city is scarcely inhabited but by a few refugees from St. Domingo." The newspaper's emphasis on the refugees' continuing presence in the city reflected larger fears that such immigrants might undermine the republican order of the city. Yellow fever outbreaks such as this one were tangible embodiments of otherwise amorphous fears about the threats to American culture that could be caused by the unprecedented, unregulated transatlantic immigration of the period.

From the 1790s to the early 1800s, black refugees from Saint Domingue mingled with poor European immigrants and joined with African American New Yorkers and other laborers, dockworkers, and sailors to engage with city politics in the streets. As one transplanted Scottish radical described his immigrant compatriots, "We had some hot characters among us, which all the waters of the Atlantic could not cool." City officials feared that the movement of such people would bring the contagion of revolution to the city. By examining the twin concerns of immigration and yellow fever, this paper shows how migration to New York not only challenged elite discourse concerning the waterfront working class, but helped to shape the changing physical organization of the space of the city.

Caroline Marris, Columbia University
'Malouin Suis': The Sea and Independence in Early Modern Brittany

The coastal region of Brittany in France has a very long maritime history which encompasses medieval fishing fleets, Renaissance explorers, 17th-century privateers and pirates, and the vital control of resources and ports in the Second World War. In the late sixteenth century, religious divisions led to a very unexpected result, almost out of its time: in 1594, the Catholic population of the port town of St Malo declared that it was an independent republic in order to separate themselves from the demands of Henry IV, the protestant who had recently ascended to the French throne. This paper-presentation will explore the liminal existence of St Malo on the edge of France, a city cut off at that time from the land by the tides for twelve hours of every day, and how the population's dependence on their marine resources and the rhythms of marine life

influenced the city's desire for independence. Maritime strength also substantially supported Malouin political ambitions and the city's ability to resist military action or a siege, leading to a very gentle treaty of re-admittance into the French royal fold later in the decade. The paper attempts to theorize the existence of a purely maritime 'state:' an entity, as the Republic of Malo was, whose emergence and survival as a political community depends to a great degree or almost entirely on maritime strength and which exists in a marine space.

Ryan Mewett, Johns Hopkins University
The Royal Navy's "Great Prejudice of the Fair Trader," 1739

British merchants and the Royal Navy shared a symbiotic relationship in the long 18th century. As overseas trade flourished and commercial networks expanded and intensified their connections throughout the Atlantic world, naval vessels secured those networks against enemy warships, privateers, and pirates. In return, the navy depended on blue-water shipping as a "nursery for seamen," and the burgeoning fiscal-military state relied on merchants' customs duties and provision of public finance as the "sinews of power" that enabled vastly increased spending and a concomitantly powerful naval establishment. A series of incidents connected to the Africa trade in the 1730s illustrate that two groups' expectations and standards for precisely how that relationship should operate had yet to be clearly agreed upon and were still under significant negotiation. Wealthy traders sought to monopolize access to naval protection through private agreements with warship captains. Those captains exploited orders to the African coast to engage in their own trade, in coordination with merchants seeking to bind their guardians' interests tighter to their own. Rival merchant groups banded together to wield political influence with the Admiralty and Parliament to protect their trading prerogatives and their profits against naval encroachment. This paper will explore the interaction between Bristol's Society of Merchant Venturers and the Board of Admiralty as they negotiated the roles and responsibilities proper to naval officers charged with trade protection in the first half of the 18th century.

Amy Mitchell-Cook, University of West Florida
Walking the Line: A Preliminary Examination of Prostitution in Pensacola's Red Light District

In the late 19th century, Pensacola set up an official red light district, convenient to both the port and downtown. Sailors, and other visitors to the district, often referred to their time as "walking the line," in reference to the main block on which several brothels existed. Research on red light districts exist for several major ports, such as New Orleans and New York, but little work exists regarding Pensacola. This paper is an initial look at the women who participated in Pensacola's brothels and their place in the larger maritime landscape.

David More, Queen's University, Kingston, ON,
Loyal Oarsmen and Sailors: Canadien Inland Mariners 1775 - 1815

Kingston, Canada, 400 km. inland from tidewater, maintains vital maritime connections dating from the 1673 establishment of a French fort. Until the advent of railways, such colonial outposts deep in the continental interior comprised a remote archipelago, connected only by water to each

other and population centers. This paper discusses French-Canadian (Canadien) mariners who were an indispensable link in the 3,000-mile transatlantic connection to Kingston through the early, crisis-strewn British regime. Thousands of Canadien bateau men provided the only connection to these inland 'islands,' transiting 100 miles of life-threatening St. Lawrence River whitewater west of Montreal, laboriously hauling trade goods, tens of thousands of tons of provisions and military materiel including 24-pounder iron cannons -- even equipping a 100+ gun ship-of-the-line. Canadiens also constructed, commanded and crewed armed sailing vessels on Lake Ontario for the British. Maritime industries were Kingston's economic mainstay, contributing a baker's dozen warships to WW2's Battle of the Atlantic, two of which were sunk in action. Canadien mariners thus midwifed the difficult early gestation of a new North American nation. Today, port-related enterprises employ hundreds in this city of 125,000 in boat building, salvage and repair, ferry operation, anchor manufacturing, tour boats, marinas, and sail making. Kingston Yacht Club (1896) annually hosts international regattas at a facility built for the 1976 Olympic sailing competition. A youth sail training square-rigger (St. Lawrence II), a Marine Museum, and local pubs -- the Pilot House and Portsmouth Tavern -- all affirm the ongoing significance of Kingston's global maritime heritage.

Jeff Noakes, Independent Historian, Second World War
A Wide-Ranging Talent: William James Roué, 1879-1970

William James Roué (1879–1970) is arguably Canada's best-known naval architect, and designer of the iconic schooner Bluenose. Born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Roué was fascinated by boats from a young age. Largely self-taught, he took classes in drafting to acquire the drawing skills he needed. Bluenose was one of Roué's early designs, although he was over 40 by the time it was built.

Bluenose's success brought new opportunities and business to Roué, including American clients. Nova Scotia's proximity to the Northeastern United States, and Roué's ability to supervise and inspect work in the province's numerous smaller shipyards, were both assets. Building on his successes of the 1920s – including the 8-Metre Norseman and the schooners Northern Light and Malay – Roué ultimately sold the family's soft-drink firm and became a full-time naval architect. In the mid-1930s, he moved to New York City to work there, before returning to Nova Scotia. During a career spanning more than 50 years, Roué created over 200 designs. They ranged from small pleasure craft to larger racing sailboats to more utilitarian vessels, including ferries, cargo vessels, and fishing boats. During the Second World War, he designed barges and tugs for the British government's Ministry of War Transport.

This paper will examine William Roué's career, focusing on its aspects outside of Bluenose, already the subject of numerous articles and books. It is based on research in the William James Roué Collection at the Canadian Museum of History as well as other archival and secondary sources.

Elizabeth Nyman, Texas A&M University at Galveston
Perils of Prediction: Natural Resources, Technology, and International Maritime Law

International maritime law has struggled to keep pace with technological advancements. The primary document in international maritime law, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, was itself a product of demand for change in the face of technological advancements in fishing and shipbuilding. However, UNCLOS itself has struggled in the face of new technological developments - for example, predictions of a deep sea mining industry have yet to materialize, but overfishing remains a problem. I examine the development of the law of the sea in the 20th century and consider what lessons might be learned from the struggle to incorporate scientific and technological advances into law, and then apply this to the ongoing negotiations for a deep sea biodiversity treaty.

Raymond E. Phillips, New York Medical College
Medicine in the Age of Sail

The talk proposed for the NASOH meeting this spring in New Bedford will focus on the many health issues of seafarers during the 16th to 19th centuries. Included are illnesses of nutrition and from water, injuries, infections (on-going and combat), and interventions of 'treatment' by the ship's 'surgeon.'

Samantha Poirier, Kirby Calhoun, Jamin Wells, University of West Florida
Northwest Florida: A Tale of Coastal Communities and Their Resilience

The landscape of the Florida Panhandle features inland waterways that travel to the southern gulf shores and are embraced by the sea. Yet, looking past the beauty of enticing white-sand beaches, one finds tight-knit coastal communities, which have overcome dubious obstacles. This description is not unlike other coastal areas of the gulf coast; however, Northwest Florida boasts accounts of resilience against a landscape ravaged by hurricanes and disease to establish a thriving and diverse cultural heritage, which influenced both the region and the nation. The Panhandle is its own entity, a culture and climate far more similar to the Deep South than the rest of Florida. Life in this region - whether human, animal, or plant - thrives on the resources provided by both land and sea. This study investigates the complex social, cultural, economic, environmental, and industrial forces, which occurred in the region, evoking overarching themes of defense, industry, innovation, and human resilience. In addition, the study acknowledges the motivations and actions of ordinary individuals, highlighting their ties with the rest of American society. Personal accounts, academic papers, scientific studies, and historic documents reveal that portions of Northwest Florida's narrative have yet to be fully acknowledged and discussed. Through this research, the narrative becomes more inclusive of the forgotten and overlooked voices pertinent to not only regional but also national development.

Jacob Pomerantz, University of Pittsburgh
Heathish Designes: ports, labor, and conspiracy in late-seventeenth-century Barbados

In 1692, anxious planters and colonial officials in Barbados believed they uncovered an island-wide conspiracy of enslaved people seeking to overthrow English rule, kill their masters, and claim the colony for themselves. Through a frantic investigation involving torture, interrogation,

accusations, and re-criminations, white Barbadian elites reconstructed the "heathenish designes" of the alleged conspirators. Through such coercion, the dimensions and specificities of these designs emerged. Enslaved people were to rise-up on individual plantations, converge on the island's port towns, seize guns, take control of fortifications and destroy the ships anchored offshore. These plans, coercively extracted by colonial elites, relied to a great degree on the cooperation of enslaved people and Irish allies in important occupations along the waterfront of Barbados's principal port: Bridgetown. The dimensions and specificities of these designs reflected, in part, the anxieties of white planters and colonial officials about the changing social composition of the island's port towns at the end of the seventeenth-century.

This paper, drawing in part upon the records produced by this colonial investigation into the 1692 conspiracy, contextualizes this moment in Barbados's social history by tracing the entrance of enslaved Afro-Barbadians into key parts of Bridgetown's maritime economy during the late-seventeenth century. By contextualizing this key moment in the history of Barbados's slave society, we gain a better understanding of how maritime and urban labor performed by black people in port towns focused the anxieties of white planters and colonial officials preoccupied with racial demography and the maintenance of a productive, slave-based, sugar economy.

David S. Robinson, University of Rhode Island and David S. Robinson & Associates, Inc.

Ten Years Before the Dredge: Marine Archaeology in the New Bedford Harbor Superfund Site, 2009 to 2019

New Bedford Harbor has been the focus of a comprehensive environmental clean-up effort led by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency since its designation as Superfund Site in 1983. Encompassing 18,000-acres, the Site is an urban tidal estuary with sediments that are highly contaminated with polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), heavy metals, and other industrial contaminants. Remediation of the harbor floor's contaminated sediments has involved both mechanical and hydraulic dredging since 2004. Included among the Site's remediation activities have been pre-disturbance intertidal and marine archaeological site identification surveys, formalized unanticipated discovery responses, and site mitigations of historical shipwrecks, all completed within the constraints of working in a 'hazmat' environment. This presentation provides an overview of the past ten years of marine archaeological research that has been conducted in the New Bedford Superfund Site, beginning with the unanticipated discovery there in 2009 of a shipwreck that archaeological evidence indicated may have been one of the dozens of vessels destroyed by burning during the Revolutionary War British attack on the harbor's shipping and waterfront infrastructure in 1778. Subsequent discoveries of the remains of two more historical vessels (a second Revolutionary War casualty and early- to middle-nineteenth century whaling vessel), and the knowledge gained from their recovery and recordation, as well as from supplemental geophysical surveys and the documentation of small unanticipated finds made since then, together provide a glimpse into the range of submerged cultural resources and information that is obtainable through applied research in a contaminated, and presumably disturbed, urban harbor context.

Sam Robinson, University of Manchester, UK

Anticipation on the Ocean Frontier

The UN Law of the Sea (1968-1984) was intended to legislate for the new capabilities that developments in underwater science and technology had opened up for developed nations. In reality, the negotiations became a point when the superpower technological hegemony of the global ocean was challenged by the 'Group of 77' – nations that saw the negative potential of new technologies in terms of the external exploitation of their resources. Science policy was formed in response to the anticipated capabilities of such technologies which far outweighed the realities of extracting deep-sea minerals and resource exploitation in remote and inhospitable environments. Thus, the discussion of ocean science and technology within the treaty negotiations were built on anticipatory understandings of the potential exploitation of the oceans.

This paper will argue that international law-building for science and technology can be framed as an anticipatory response to claims made for potential future use. Thereby these negotiations, based on unsettling scientific futures, are themselves forms of scientific imaginaries. The navigation of potential uses of science, by diplomats, reveals the role of science communication within complex negotiations, and the importance of the distinction (and sometimes the blurring) of the real and the imagined in international relations. The Law of the Sea was a site where scientific futures were imagined in several contexts; a uniquely challenging moment in international law creation where lawmakers looked to the future rather than responding to their past or present situations.

.

Lori Sanderlin, NC Maritime Museum at Southport

Confederate Privateer in Sailor's Snug Harbor, New York

All Sailors were welcome at Sailor's Snug Harbor, New York, whether from the United States, or Germany, or any other country in the world. As "worn out and decrepit sailors" all merchantmen could find a home for their last days on Staten Island. Interestingly, a graduate student from the State University of New York (SUNY) Maritime College looking for Civil War sailors, found Captain Henry Sterling Lebby. Lebby simply stated on his application that he was a widower, a merchantman, had sailed under the US flag, and served four years in "foreign Service." Reviewing a massive database, endless Google searches, and a trip to Bermuda turned up that Lebby had been a blockade runner and privateer for the Confederacy during the Civil War. His work took him to Bermuda, Bahamas, and Europe. However, what were the circumstances that led H.S. Lebby to Sailor's Snug Harbor? Lori Sanderlin will discuss the background of Captain Lebby, the history of Sailor's Snug Harbor in New York, and the complexity of Lost Cause rhetoric to unravel the mystery of this Confederate merchantman.

Stephen N. Sanfilippo, Maine Maritime Academy

A Goddess of Our Own: Columbia and American Naval Hyper-Identity

A new breed of sailor carried a new flag to the oceans and seaports of the world during the late 18th through mid-19th centuries. This new breed of sailor was the "Columbian Tar," and he had a goddess of his own - - - "Columbia.".

This presentation analyzes the creation of an American enlightenment goddess, "Columbia," as a contra-distinction to the overthrown "Britannia." More than a nickname for the United States, or a poetic metaphor for America, "Columbia" was the divine embodiment of natural rights, constitutional liberties, the virtuous republic, and the forces that defended them. Placed into an ancient pagan setting, rather than one of American Protestant Christian "Providence," "Columbia" proclaimed a special and uniquely endowed People. The frequent use of "Columbia" in naval and shore defense ballads and anthems of the Early Republic through the Civil War created a particular form of hyper-identity of the American naval sailor. Praised as "Columbian Tars," this breed apart was the sons of the male god of war, Mars, and a female goddess, the American Athena, "Columbia." Broadside ballads and formally composed naval anthems celebrated American victories on the high seas and in coastal defense against the French, the Barbary States, the British, and the Confederacy with such lines as "And ne're shall the Sons of Columbia be slaves," "Rejoice, Columbia's Sons, Rejoice," "Ye sons of Columbia, O hail the great day, which burst your tyrannical chain," and "Columbia Tars are the true sons of Mars;" which will be performed by the presenter himself.

Donald Grady Shomette, Independent Scholar
Fleet Archaeology and Environment

Between Charleston, South Carolina, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a total of thirteen fleets have come to lie beneath waters of the region's bays, rivers and estuary systems, and along its Atlantic coastal frontier. Seven of these fleets, totaling more than 500 vessels, were scuttled or sunk as units as a result of military conflicts and encounters within the Chesapeake Tidewater, the most fought over body of water in North America. An eighth was simply abandoned en masse therein. Many of these historic remains have dramatically influenced alterations of the environments within which they exist, as their own survival, conditions and rates of devolution have, in turn, been influenced by nature itself. Modification of many fleet remains, either through commercial salvage, navigational improvements of waterways, archaeological investigation, human or natural alterations of their surroundings, or repurposing of the sites themselves have substantially impacted the survival and evolving dispositions of most. This paper will address several such historic fleet assemblages that have been systematically examined, not as individual sites but in their totality as corporate marine bodies, linked by function, mission, service or typology, such as national or state navies, or in engagements in commercial transport or other marine industries.

Margaret Stack, University of Connecticut
Dissipated and Distinguished: Narratives of Cross-Dressed Female Sailors, 1815 - 1925.

Narratives of women disguising themselves as men to go to sea were not new to the 19th century United States. In the Early Republic, however, narratives of women masquerading as men to go to sea shifted their meaning. *The Female Marine*, published in 1815, was a fictional account of Lucy Brewster, a woman who disguised herself as a man to serve aboard the USS *Constitution*, escaping from a life of prostitution in Boston. The story ended with Brewster setting aside her disguise and marrying well, framing her service to her country as a means of redeeming her feminine honor.

Conversely, over a century later, another story of a woman disguising herself as a man to go to sea appeared in the American press, with similar themes if different implications. In the 1920s a woman identified as Madeline Blair, with the help of enlisted sailors, dressed as a sailor and travelled aboard the USS *Arizona* from New York City to the Pacific, where she was eventually discovered. Like the fictional Lucy Brewster, Blair had allegedly been a sex worker. Unlike Brewster, Blair had not gone to sea seeking some kind of redemption.

This paper will compare the narratives of Brewster and Blair and explore the relationship between personal and national honor in published stories of women cross-dressing as male sailors aboard American ships in between 1815 and 1925. Though there could be virtue in this transgression, it was precarious, and the narratives implicitly connected immorality to port cities and sailors.

Bonnie Stacy, Martha's Vineyard Museum
Rise and Fall of a Seaport (1714-1914)

A compact village with a half-dozen modest streets and a population of roughly 1,500, Vineyard Haven was, for two centuries, a significant stopping point on the principal route for coastal shipping between Boston, New York, and points beyond: a route that, by the mid-19th century, served 40-50,000 ships a year. A sheltered deep-water harbor located at the narrowest point in the seaway between Cape Cod and the offshore islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, it played host to ships, and sailors from across the Atlantic world.

Citizens of Vineyard Haven offered their services to passing vessels as pilots, and catered to the needs of those that anchored in the harbor to wait for a fair tide or take on supplies. The village grew with the volume of coastal shipping, lining the shore with wharfs and boatyard, inns and taverns, chandleries and grocery stores. By 1900, it was home to a state-of-the-art U. S. Marine Hospital, a thriving Seamen's Bethel, and the Eldridge family, creators of the "Tide and Pilot Book" that still bears their name.

Early in the new century, however, Vineyard Haven's fortunes went into rapid decline. The Cape Cod Canal, opened in 1914, drew coastal shipping north through Buzzard's Bay, and Vineyard Haven was left to reinvent itself.

Charles Swift, United States Naval Academy Museum
The Presentation of the Naval Academy's Trophy Flags

By presidential order the United States Naval Academy has been the repository of United States Navy trophy flags since 1849. The bulk of the collection is flags from the War of 1812, which represent some of the most important battles fought by the US Navy during that war: the jack of the Guerriere, defeated by the Constitution, several flags from the Battle of Lake Erie, and a British Royal Standard, captured in York, Canada. Other flags represent lesser known battles and conflicts—the Quasi War with France, the Second Barbary War, and military actions in 19th century China and Korea. This presentation will outline the history of some of the trophy flags and focus on the 1911-13 flag preservation project led by CDR William Carey Cole and

executed by Amelia Fowler, best known today for her preservation work of the Star Spangled Banner as well as the 2017-18 flag preservation project overseen by the Naval Academy Museum.

Johnathan Thayer, Queens College, City University of New York.
Sailors Ashore: Sailortowns as Portals to National and Global Reckonings

This presentation will draw from a long narrative of confrontations between merchant seamen and shoreside people and institutions in U.S. port cities from the 1830s through World War II. Merchant seamen, because of their persistent transience, bluewater masculinity, and extreme multiculturalism, have persistently been perceived as inherently alien, and therefore constantly posed challenges to the boundaries of the state and civil society. Merchant seamen provoked these challenges through a series of encounters and negotiations with runners, crimps, and boardinghouse keepers; shoreside and waterborne police units; evangelical waterfront preachers; titans of industrial wealth and philanthropy; labor unions; and local and federal judicial systems. All of these encounters originated along the piers, back alleys, and boardinghouses of the nation's urban sailortowns, within which battles over the shape of U.S. citizenship were waged, incited by the subversive threats posed by sailors at the parameters of U.S. legal and civil society.

Through the lens of U.S. sailortowns, this presentation will argue for an interpretation of the history of these urban-maritime borderlands that re-presents them at the center of nineteenth and twentieth-century histories of law, labor, philanthropy, immigration, and war.

William H. Thiesen, Historian, Coast Guard Atlantic Area
United States Coast Guard Operations in the Rum War of Prohibition

The story of maritime law enforcement during Prohibition is truly a Coast Guard story. Called the "Noble Experiment" by President Herbert Hoover, Prohibition was ushered into American history on January 16, 1920, one year after ratification of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution.

Enforcement of this federal law fell on the Treasury Department and the Coast Guard was charged with interdicting the flow of illegal liquor on the high seas, along the coasts and the inland waterways of the United States. From the middle 1920s through the early 1930s, the Coast Guard undertook this mission with its usual dedication employing all of the tools at its disposal. The Service used new technology, such as radio, modern cutters, high-speed watercraft and aircraft. In addition, the Service established an intelligence office and an aviation branch to fight the "Rum War."

This paper will provide an overarching history of U.S. Coast Guard operations during Prohibition arguing that the Coast Guard emerged from Prohibition a very different sea service than when it started. It rapidly grew in ships, aircraft, missions and personnel. These missions brought greater experience to personnel at all levels and in many new and different endeavors. The Coast Guard's growth and development during the Rum War would greatly benefit the Service in its greatest challenge--World War II.

Mike Thomin, Florida Public Archaeology Network and University of West Florida

Panton, Leslie, & Company Shipping in the Age of Revolutions

A robust body of scholarship has examined the fur trade in North America from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. Many important works analyzed the fur trade through a variety of frameworks including world economic systems, gender and labor relations, diplomatic interactions, cultural exchanges, and processes of ethnogenesis among many others. While some scholarship has included the important role that maritime activities played in the fur trade, the coasts and seas have received only cursory attention in the works that examined the deerskin trade in the Gulf South. This paper attempts to orient the deerskin trade in the Southeast through a maritime history perspective by using the Panton, Leslie, & Company as a case study, including the important role of coastal vessels for their trade, and how seaborne wartime activities during the Age of Revolutions impacted the company's ships that were the key to their deerskin operation. Much of the company's history depended on the partners' ability to deploy a fleet of company vessels.

Mike Thomin, Della A. Scott-Ireton, Nicole Grinnan, Florida Public Archaeology Network and University of West Florida

From Sealab to Seagrass: Maritime Heritage in the Florida Panhandle National Maritime Heritage Area

The development of the Florida Panhandle Maritime National Heritage Area is tied, of course, to the maritime development, history, and culture of the region. A requirement for creating the NHA is to demonstrate the heritage resources that contribute to the nation's heritage as a whole. The Florida Panhandle is rich with these resources, both cultural and natural, many of which have already been recognized as of national, as well and state and local, significance. Recognized maritime heritage resources include lighthouses, fortifications, shipwrecks, museums, and prehistoric sites that have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places and as National Historic Landmarks, as well as included in the National Park system. Existing maritime heritage trails on Panhandle rivers also contribute and illustrate the maritime links between coastal and inland communities. This paper will describe some of these resources and how they are incorporated into the NHA nomination to illustrate the uniquely maritime character of what will become the nation's first National Maritime Heritage Area

Michael Toth, Texas Christian University

Nantucket Whalers in the Economic and Political Early Republic

In the spring of 1803, a petition was sent by the people of Nantucket to Congress asking for their assistance in perpetuating their whaling trade. Of particular concern was the inability of their increasingly large whaling vessels to safely cross the sandbar into the harbor. The petitioners stressed the importance of whaling for the economy of the United States and asked that Congress grant them "the nett revenue collected in Nantucket" so that they might fund the necessary construction to create a permanent channel for deep draft vessels. Congress would not end up

funding any such project until 1880, but in its' response indicated an appreciation for the economic contributions of, and an interest in finding a financial encouragement for, American whalers.

Much emphasis has been placed on the importance of whaling to the American economy, particularly in regions and professions directly tied into the various aspects of the industry. Less, however, has been discussed as regards the political maneuvering and debate around the industry. During the period of 1785-1825 there is a consistent pattern of American whalers being placed under economic pressures, or at least perceiving such a condition, and sending letters to Congress seeking to encourage governmental aid for their plight. The responses of Congress to these issues are directly reflective of the political, and economic discourses of the period, from efforts to promote global free trade to desires to run the federal government in a fiduciarily parsimonious manner.

Tri Tran, University of Tours (France).
Connecting London and the high seas: Trinity House deep-sea pilots and the 19th c. Transport Revolution

The growth of Britain's coastal and international trade from the 16th century was enabled by the expansion of shipbuilding, shipping and support services such as sea pilotage. British pilots and the Corporation of Trinity House ensured strict rules were established for the guidance of ships and smaller vessels involved in the coastal and international trade. Based on corporate and government archives, this paper will explain the history / evolution of sea pilotage between London and the high seas, its economic significance for both trade and local maritime communities, since the 16th century.

Sandra P. Ulbrich, independent maritime historian and researcher
The Truth about a New London Slaver

Studies of slave resistance have often cited two uprisings on the brigantine Hope of New London, Connecticut, as examples of Middle Passage desperation. Indeed, the crew gave credence to the insurrections aboard the Hope in the West Indies and in New York. However, a recently discovered deposition of a Boston sailor, pieced together with supporting documents from the acting New York governor and from creditors of the vessels' owners, unravel the true tale of this 1764 voyage. The story expands to illustrate not just slave resistance but the response of sailors against the abuse of their captain. Intrigue also sets the stage for a Spanish takeover of the Hope after a betrayal by a Danish agent. In a twist of plot, a Boston court convicted the only honest sailor who provided the deposition. Discussion will include a very brief mention of British colonial maritime law during this period, the sites of Africa visited by the Hope, the commonness of abuse among slavers with reference to Thomas Clarkson's doctoral dissertation, the circulation of a fabrication in the press, the role of New York and Boston authorities, and the demise of the owners of the Hope.

Michael Verney, Drury University, Springfield, M)

Selling Empire: Publishing Naval Imperialism in the Early American Republic, 1842-1860

This paper turns to the metropolitan and business side of the global American empire in the mid-1800s by investigating the publication of naval imperialism for the literate public in the early republic. When the U.S. Navy's first voyage of discovery, aptly named the United States Exploring Expedition, or "Ex Ex," returned from its circumnavigation of the globe in 1842, it found its reputation in tatters. Charles Wilkes, the commander of the Ex Ex, shouldered the majority of the blame on account of his cruel and petty leadership style. Enraged at his negative reception, Wilkes set out to shine luster on the Expedition by publishing its scientific results and a historical narrative of the voyage. He soon found allies in Congress, who wanted to use the publications to bolster the U.S.'s international reputation as a civilized, advanced power in European capitals, and in the publishing industry, who sensed an opportunity to reap the pecuniary benefits of U.S. naval imperialism. This paper argues that by publishing fine and popular works about the Ex Ex, Wilkes and his political and commercial allies influenced the national narrative about global imperialism in the early republic. By the 1850s, the literate middle-class was far more willing to embrace global empire through naval exploration than they had been in 1842. The result was a reinforcement of overseas adventurism and white supremacy in the final decade of the early republic.

A Bowdoin Van Riper, Martha's Vineyard Museum
Tourist Town, Working Waterfront (1919-2019)

It was clear, by 1920, that Martha's Vineyard's future was tied to summer tourism. Oak Bluffs had been a popular summer resort since the end of the Civil War, and resort hotels had saved Edgartown from financial ruin after the collapse of the offshore whaling industry. Vineyard Haven followed them between the world wars, reorienting itself to serve the needs of seasonal "summer people," short-stay tourists, and transient yachtsmen.

The transformation from schooner port to tourist town brought a parallel transformation in the waterfront. Beach Road, built along a low sandspit once occupied only by a marine railway and lifesaving station, became the town's heavy industrial district. Coal and lumber yards, along with two separate oil tank farms, rose along the beach, interspersed with marinas, motels, and diners. Spoils from harbor-dredging projects turned tidal wetlands into commercial lots and a large park. Particularly in the three decades following World War II, redevelopment all but erased what remained of Vineyard Haven's nineteenth-century waterfront. Two large grocery stores, a municipal parking lot, and a new firehouse erased most of the 18th- and 19th-century structures that had survived a devastating fire in 1883. The Seamen's Bethel was displaced by a new ferry terminal, with concrete and steel slips replacing the old wooden wharf and freight shed. The Marine Hospital, closed in 1952, became a summer sports camp. Town leaders embraced the town's "working waterfront," but many residents saw it as a grim jumble of unattractive buildings that discouraged tourists from lingering.

Evan Wilson, U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI

Coastal Communities, Patriotism, and Impressment in Britain: The Sea Fencibles, 1803-1810

The Sea Fencibles were a volunteer force that aped the military volunteers on land. First created in 1798, they were greatly expanded in 1803 to defend against the invasion threat posed by Napoleon. Recruited and organised by the navy, the Fencibles were fundamentally local operations, for only inhabitants from within each district were to be enrolled: those with families were particularly encouraged. They spread around maritime regions, and concentrated in coastal towns. Some historians have seen them as little better than the "Dad's Army" of the Napoleonic period, unlikely to be of any real use in the event of an invasion. They were also exempt from impressment, meaning that those who joined likely did so simply to avoid more arduous naval service. Other research suggests, however, that the motivations of Fencible volunteers were more complex. They served as morale-boosters for coastal communities and in some cases demonstrated military value. Their knowledge of local coastal conditions combined with their enthusiasm for meeting the French on the beach made them a useful auxiliary force that boosted, rather than drained, manpower resources. Unlike previous work on the Fencibles, this paper relies on both Admiralty reports and newspaper accounts. In doing so, it offers a reconsideration of the Sea Fencibles as a patriotic volunteer force that waxed and waned in conjunction both with the Admiralty's enthusiasm for the project and the threat of invasion.

Joseph W. Zarzynski, French & Indian War Society at Lake George, Inc.
Wreck by Arson—Demise of 1909 Half Moon Replica Ship

In 1909, to acknowledge the 300th anniversary of explorer Henry Hudson’s 1609 Half Moon cruise to the New World searching for a northwest passage to Asia, the Dutch constructed a replica of the historic ship-of-discovery. The reproduction was built in Amsterdam and transported from the Netherlands to New York aboard a steamship for the 1909 Hudson-Fulton Celebration. The Half Moon, with another replica vessel, the Clermont, Robert Fulton’s 1807 steamboat, then participated in a parade of warships in New York harbor. The Clermont reproduction commemorated the centennial (actually 102nd anniversary) of the first commercial application of a steam paddleboat. The 1909 Half Moon was a gift from the Netherlands to New York state. For several years the craft was anchored in the lower and mid-Hudson River. Then in 1924, the city of Cohoes, New York, located north of Albany, was awarded the vessel. The Cohoes area marked the northernmost extent of the Half Moon’s 1609 voyage up the Hudson River. In the mid-1920s, the Half Moon was moved from the waterway and placed in a Cohoes park. It was soon victimized by suspicious fires until finally wrecked in 1934. The presenter reviews the history of the emblematic watercraft, including its strange demise and destruction, and also examines this experiment in early maritime cultural tourism.

David Zimmerman, University of Victoria, BC
Anything but Peaceful: Victoria and Esquimalt in the Aftermath of VJ-Day

The Second World War dramatically effected Canadian port cities, particularly those with major naval bases. On Canada’s west coast, the threat of being in an active war zone receded after the end of 1942. Most citizens of Victoria, the provincial capital of British Columbia, and the

adjoining naval base town of Esquimalt, anticipated a rapid, peaceful, and orderly transition to peacetime routine in the weeks after Japan's surrender in August 1945. Instead, the months after VJ-Day were anything but peaceful and orderly. The Royal Canadian Navy had made few plans for the massive demobilization that would see the navy shrink in a matter of months from 100,000 personnel to just 7,500 by mid-1946. The area was flooded with sailors waiting to be demobilized. Officials struggled to find adequate housing and "acceptable" way to entertain bored and restless young men anxious to return to their families. While there was no rioting like that occurred in Halifax after VE-Day, naval and civilian leadership needed to bring order to near chaos.

Added to these burdens was the need to provide assistance to returning British and Canadian Prisoners-of-War, many of whom where it precarious ill-health after their ordeals at the hands of the Japanese military. The British troops needed to be restored sufficiently to health so they could continue their journey home via a six day transcontinental rail journey.

This paper will explore the tumultuous demobilization on Canada's west coast.

ROUNDTABLE ABSTRACT

Revisiting Neptune's Garden: Science, Technology, and Environment in Oceanic History

Chair: Helen M. Rozwadowski, University of Connecticut, Avery Point

In 2004 the publication of The Machine in Neptune's Garden: Historical Perspectives on Technology and the Marine Environment (Science History Publications/USA) demonstrated the importance of the history of science and technology for understanding the marine environment in historical terms. At this fifteen-year anniversary of the volume's publication, the proposed roundtable examines how knowledge about the ocean--and proximate places such as bays and estuaries--has animated and strengthened connections between people and their coastal and marine environments.

This roundtable brings together scholars who were involved in the preliminary meetings leading to the volume with others who have joined the enterprise. Helen Rozwadowski, a co-organizer of the original series of "Maury" workshops from which the book sprung, discusses the argument articulated in her recent book Vast Expanses, that writing ocean history must involve attention to questions of how, by whom, and why knowledge about the ocean was created. Christine Keiner will reflect on the formative role of the workshop in her career and the rewards and challenges of doing marine environmental history. Katharine Anderson, co-organizer with Rozwadowski of a 2014 workshop extending the Maury tradition, will reflect on how the marine environment and the marine observer retain a central role in the larger history of knowing and sensing the ocean. Penelope Hardy, a participant in the 2014 workshop, explores the parallels between nineteenth-century scientists using the ocean bottom to make arguments about terrestrial geology and present-day students needing to understand connections between themselves and the global ocean.

This Roundtable is sponsored by the International Commission of the History of Oceanography

Panelists: Christine Keiner, Rochester Institute of Technology; Katharine Anderson, York University, Toronto, Canada; and Penelope K. Hardy, Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio.

ORGANIZED SESSION ABSTRACTS

Trade Protection and Manpower in Eighteenth-Century Britain

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

The British merchant sea trade and the Royal Navy shared a mutually beneficial relationship throughout the age of sail. Warships protected commerce across the British Empire, and merchant ships proved to be a nursery for seamen, training the manpower necessary to man Britain's "wooden walls" during times of war. From trade protection early in the century, to the relationship between the Admiralty and maritime communities raising militias, and finally to the strain of two decades of war at the end of the age of sail, the relationship between the Royal Navy and the nation it protected was not always as smooth as our collective memory has portrayed. This panel explores the relationship between the Royal Navy and the British maritime world during the eighteenth-century.

Participants: CDR Ryan Mewett, USN, Johns Hopkins University; Evan Wilson, U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI; J. Ross Dancy; U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI

Science, Technology, and Oceanic History

Chair: Helen Rozwadowski, University of Connecticut, Avery Point
Organizer: Penelope K. Hardy, Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio

Recently, historians have worked to remind us that the oceans themselves are historical places. Historians of science and technology in particular have demonstrated the importance of these fields in understanding the historical ocean as both physical location and as projection of humanity's terrestrial concerns. The papers in this panel examine historical efforts to define and imagine the oceans through various scientific and technological lenses, on scales from the disciplinary to the international.

First, Penelope Hardy examines nineteenth century British efforts to sample the deep sea, using bottom sediments as tools to imagine the ocean basin and thus inform debates about Europe's geological past. Katharine Anderson examines the submarine as research vessel in the work of Dutch geophysicist Felix Andries Vening Meinesz, demonstrating how both science and society reorganized on the international level in the wake of World War I. Sam Robinson considers science and technology in Cold War-era negotiations around the UN Law of the Sea; in imagining potential future exploitation of the sea, negotiators envisioned both the real and the imaginary ocean though a scientific and technological lens. Finally, Elizabeth Nyman examines

how the international legal framework struggles to contend with the varying results of such predictions, when some techno dreams fizzle and others deepen in unexpected ways.

Together, these papers elucidate important roles that scientific and technological understandings of both the physical seas and imagined oceans have played in our collective past, thus elucidating the central role of oceanic history even in the most terrestrial of modern concerns.

This panel is sponsored by the International Commission of the History of Oceanography.

Participants: Penelope K. Hardy, Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio; Katharine Anderson, York University, Toronto, Canada; Sam Robinson, University of Manchester, UK; Elizabeth Nyman, Texas A&M University at Galveston

(Re)Making Vineyard Haven: Maritime Heritage Meets Rising Seas

Organizer A. Bowdoin Van Riper, Martha's Vineyard Museum

Once among the busiest harbors in New England—a port of refuge and resupply for schooners and brigs in the coastal trade—Vineyard Haven is now the principal year-round port of resort island whose population swells from 15,000 to over 100,000 each summer. This panel, sponsored by the Martha's Vineyard Museum, explores the evolution of the Vineyard Haven waterfront and the town's current struggle to balance historic preservation, maritime heritage, and economic viability in age of accelerating climate change.

Participants: Bonnie Stacy, Martha's Vineyard Museum; A. Bowdoin Van Riper, Martha's Vineyard Museum; Cheryl Doble, SUNY College of Environmental Science and Forestry, Syracuse, NY

War, Wrecks, and High Tech in the Nineteenth Century Maritime Commons

Organizer: Dwight Sturtevant Hughes, Public Historian, Author, and Speaker

Participants: John Laurence Busch, Independent Historian and Author; Dwight Sturtevant Hughes, Public Historian, Author, and Speaker; Anna Gibson Holloway Museum Services Director and Maritime Historian, SEARCH, Inc.

Florida Panhandle Maritime National Heritage Area

Chair: Sorna Khakzad, University of West Florida

The result of two-year study highlighted that the maritime landscape of the Florida Panhandle—its rivers, coasts, bays, and sounds—helped develop the United States' national defense, industry, economy, tourism, and innovation into what it is today. Due to the national significance

of the cultural, historical and natural resources in this area, the University of West Florida decided to conduct a feasibility study to evaluate the potential of designating the Florida Panhandle as a National Heritage Area (NHA). In this session, the outcome of the feasibility study, and the progress of defining and exploring the national significance of Panhandle maritime cultural landscape will be presented.

Participants: Sorna Khakzad and Wade Jeffrey; Mike Thomin, Della A. Scott-Ireton, and Nicole Grinnan; Samantha Poirier, Kirby Calhoun, Jamin Wells; All affiliated with Florida Public Archaeology Network and University of West Florida.

The USNA Trophy Flag Collection and the 1871 Korea Expedition

Chair/Commenter: Claude Berube, U.S. Naval Academy Museum, Annapolis, MD

In the autumn term of 2017, the U.S. Naval Academy Museum began a preservation project in the Naval Academy's Mahan Hall. For a century, the building has been the home of the U.S. Navy's trophy flag collection, with captured battle flags from the War of 1812 and the Spanish-American War lying behind glass encasements in the lobby area as well as the auditorium. Sitting in the auditorium, Midshipmen have been surrounded by the naval and national ensigns of HMS Guerriere, Java, and the prizes of the Navy's first claims to glory. As the conservation team began opening sealed cases that had not been touched since the World War I era, they discovered there were more artifacts hidden behind the flags at the front of the cases. These included a collection of flags, lances, and pikes captured by the United States Navy and Marine Corps during a landing operation in Korea in 1871. Largely forgotten by history, this attempt at diplomacy degenerated into an amphibious landing and two days of combat, which despite tactical success resulted in almost nothing strategically. This panel will examine the history of the U.S. Navy's Trophy Flag collection, the history of the 1871 expedition, and the history of flag conservation, to demonstrate how artifacts, operational naval history, and public history all intertwine at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis.

Participants: BJ Armstrong, U.S. Naval Academy; Charles Swift, U.S. Naval Academy Museum Camille Breeze, Museum Textile Services