

# **ARGONAUTA**



**The Newsletter of The Canadian Nautical Research Society /  
Société canadienne pour la recherche nautique**

Volume XXXI Number 2 Spring 2014

# ARGONAUTA

Founded 1984 by Kenneth MacKenzie  
ISSN No. 2291-5427

## Editors

Isabel Campbell and Colleen McKee  
Jean Martin ~ French Editor  
Winston (Kip) Scoville ~ Production/Distribution Manager

## Argonauta Editorial Office

c/o Isabel Campbell  
2067 Alta Vista Dr. Ottawa ON K1H 7L4

e-mail submissions to:

[scmckee@magma.ca](mailto:scmckee@magma.ca)

or

[Isabel.Campbell@forces.gc.ca](mailto:Isabel.Campbell@forces.gc.ca)

ARGONAUTA is published four times a year—Winter, Spring, Summer and Autumn

## Executive Officers

President:	Maurice Smith, Kingston
Past President:	Paul Adamthwaite, Picton
1 <sup>st</sup> Vice President:	Chris Madsen, Toronto
2 <sup>nd</sup> Vice President:	Roger Sarty, Kitchener
Treasurer:	Errolyn Humphreys, Ottawa
Secretary:	Rob Davison, Waterloo
Membership Secretary:	Faye Kert, Ottawa
Councillor:	Chris Bell, Halifax
Councillor:	Isabel Campbell, Ottawa
Councillor:	Richard O. Mayne, Winnipeg
Councillor:	Barbara Winters, Ottawa

## Membership Business:

200 Fifth Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario, K1S 2N2, Canada  
e-mail: [fkert@sympatico.ca](mailto:fkert@sympatico.ca)

Annual Membership including four issues of ARGONAUTA  
and four issues of *THE NORTHERN MARINER/LE MARIN DU NORD*:  
Within Canada: Individuals, \$70.00; Institutions, \$95.00; Students, \$25.00  
International: Individuals, \$80.00; Institutions, \$105.00; Students, \$35.00

Our Website: <http://www.cnrs-scrn.org>

**Copyright © CNRS/SCRN and all original copyright holders**



## **In this issue of the Argonauta**

Editorial	<a href="#">1</a>
President's Corner	<a href="#">3</a>
NASOH, CNRS, NMHS 2014 Joint Conference, Erie Maritime Museum – Presentation Abstracts	<a href="#">5</a>
Notes for a speech to the Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War at St Jean Collège militaire royal de St Jean, near Iberville, October 21st, 1977	<a href="#">42</a>
Obituary—Robin Harvey Wyllie	<a href="#">51</a>
Call for Papers Second Mediterranean Interdisciplinary Forum on Social Sciences and Humanities	<a href="#">53</a>
Announcements Owen Sound and Marine Rail Museum The Edward S. Miller Research Fellowship in Naval History. RMS <i>Empress of Ireland</i> Exhibition Opens at Museum of Canadian History	<a href="#">54</a>
New Book Announcement Disparus en Mer	<a href="#">56</a>
Minutes of the Executive Council Meeting of the CNRS/SCRN at the Marine Museum of the Great Lakes, Kingston, Ontario, Saturday, 8 March 2014.	<a href="#">57</a>
Financial Highlights 2013	<a href="#">63</a>
Income Statement	<a href="#">64</a>
Balance Sheet	<a href="#">65</a>
Registration Form	<a href="#">66</a>

# Editorial

by Isabel Campbell / Colleen McKee



---

This May, many Canadian Nautical Research Society members met with their North American Society for Oceanic History counterparts at the joint conference at the Erie Maritime Museum from 14 to 17 May. Those who were unable to attend will enjoy reading the conference summaries which appear in these pages. The large number of outstanding papers on wide ranging topics was impressive and included papers from students as well as renowned scholars in the field. Congratulations to the conference organizers for a job well done.

Please note the Executive minutes from 8 March 2014 along with financial highlights for 2013. We are happy to announce that William Glover has kindly agreed to replace Roger Sarty as the editor of *The Northern Mariner* some time in 2015. Our members will have noted the high quality of the articles and book reviews in the latest double issue of *The Northern Mariner/Le Marine du Nord*. We hope our members and other scholars will contribute original substantive articles of this calibre for future issues. If you are not a member of CNRS and you are reading this editorial, please consider joining our organization and supporting its broad mandate to promote Canadian nautical research. A membership form appears on the last page and is also available on our website. Donations are also welcome.

Members are invited to the Annual General Meeting. If you did not get your invitation, please contact Winston ([winston@modelshipbuilder.com](mailto:winston@modelshipbuilder.com)) to ensure your e-mail address is accurate and up-to-date. The CNRS by-laws are available for downloading at the CNRS website. Anyone interested in by-law revision should contact one of the Executive members for further information. We hope that you will feel free to send us your views – on web-publishing, social media, future conference themes and locations, archives, museums, and access to information, or just let us know about the research you are currently undertaking. If you've recently published something, do let us know. *Argonauta* is your newsletter and we want your contributions.

In this issue, Alec Douglas contributed an introduction to and a copy of a speech by Louis Audette. Douglas, who established the official history programme for the Royal Canadian Navy and other naval historians of his generation, saw Audette as a Canadian icon, at least in part because of his role in the Mainguy Commission. Our readers may recall Roger Sarty's obituary of Audette from the April 1995 *Argonauta* which contains more details on Audette's patrician lineage and his many contributions to Canada. Audette's bilingual speech traces the importance of Canada's French and English naval heritage and traditions and reminds us all of how much has changed in Canada and in the field of maritime history.

We also are saddened by the passing of Robin Harvey Wyllie and grateful to C. Douglas Maginley who has kindly provided us with an obituary. Finally, we enclose Maurice Smith's last report as President. We owe Maurice many thanks for his long days at the helm of CNRS and also for his support of *Argonauta*. Members will continue to benefit from Maurice's kindly words of wisdom.

Safe travels to all and hoping to hear from you in our future issues,

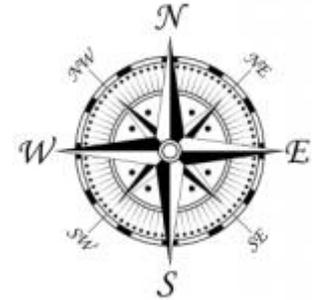
Isabel Campbell and Colleen McKee

---



# President's Corner

by Maurice D. Smith



After sailing for some fifteen years throughout the Great Lakes and at sea I finally got a shore job; initially as the project manager for the renovation and the restoration of shipyard buildings in what became the Marine Museum of the Great Lakes. For me it was a natural transition. In the maritime museum world, many of our best curators have moved from the professional mariner status into curatorship because we can combine practical sailing experience with the academic literature. I had to build a collection. Fortunately, after the 1978 conference of the International Congress of Maritime Museums at Mystic Seaport Connecticut, I found models; I hate the time-wasting business of re-inventing the wheel. The models were the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich and Mystic. They take a vertically integrated approach to collections development; artifacts, library, pictorial and archives. From these four sources of knowledge, they create exhibitions, publish research and develop outreach programmes. I discovered very quickly that a museum of artifacts only, is brain dead. In our material culture, three dimensional objects cannot stand alone.

The world of academics has its own arcane rituals but so does that of the curator and I am about to confess one of our deepest, darkest secrets. When asked by a friend, "what are you reading these days" I responded, "endnotes". All he said was, "weird". In building a collection it is important to be familiar with the academic literature and that means reading the published work of cultural and maritime historians and museologists, including footnotes and bibliographies. Why? It is an attempt to stay ahead of the curve, to get a sense of where studies are leading, and from that to exploit the full potential of the museum holdings for researchers and for exhibit development.

Naturally, it does not work as easily as that, especially when confronted by the massive work of a N.A.M. Roger or Roger Knight (I was defeated). Historians come in many flavours. Not to be forgotten is Fredrick William Wallace, (our first Canadian maritime historian) Lubbock, Panting, Fischer, Boyce, Greenhill, Pritchard, Gough, Underhill, Harland, Milner, McGregor and Douglas (he made things happen), the list is long (apologies to those I missed). Not to be forgotten is the work of dedicated historians who focus on regions and communities and those who write historical fiction. They help to bring readers on-side.

Even the smallest and most parochial of provincial museum collections are influenced by international developments. When a copy of *Maritime History as World History* fell into my hands it was simply confirmation of what those of us who concentrate

on commercial shipping have always known and what is summed up by the blurb, “seafaring has been the primary catalyst of much of world history”. Too modest a statement but I will go with it.

“Times they are a changing”. I believe there is a resurgence of interest in maritime history, from many disciplines and from many backgrounds.

This is my last President’s Report. It has been an honour and mostly fun. And to all who make the CNRS possible, I say thank you.

---

## NASOH, CNRS, NMHS 2014 Joint Conference Erie Maritime Museum – Presentation Abstracts

---

### **C.C.1 and C.C.2 Centenary Celebrations: Acquiring Canada's First Submarines from the United States on the Eve of the Great War.**

---

**ABSTRACT:** Delivered under the cover of darkness, two submarines hove to in the harbour of Esquimalt, British Columbia, quietly announcing the birth of the Canadian Submarine Service. Between 26 July 1914 and 4 August 1914, the agent of an American shipyard and those working at the behest of Premier Sir Richard McBride of British Columbia negotiated and came to terms for the purchase of the two submarines that would be the first boats in the Canadian Submarine Service. Initially commissioned by the Chileans (who later refused to pay for the vessels they had named *Iquique* and *Antofagasta*), the boats were transferred to the ownership of the Province of British Columbia by an enterprising American businessman mere hours before Britain formally declared war on Germany, launching the First Great Industrial War.

This project investigates extant literature on the acquisition of C.C.1 and C.C.2. The literature review which consists of the bulk of the essay examines certain inconsistencies found between the official record – through original archival research and a review of The Davidson Commission – and the work of a handful of the best-known scholars of the event. Particular emphasis is drawn to the efforts of Bill Lightfoot and Julie Ferguson, while the outstanding work of the late J. David Perkins is used as the median against which these two authors' work are compared and contrasted. The purpose of the presented paper is to highlight that intense confusion around submarine procurement existed at the dawn of the Canadian Submarine Service, and that this confusion has persisted through the decades to frustrate historians researching the Service today. Further, the essay focuses on the technical – the mechanical – issues of the two boats around which the Davidson Commission was established to examine: McBride's detractors argued that he paid an impressively inflated price for sub-standard vessels, and demanded that the Federal government (under Prime Minister Robert Borden) investigate charges of graft. The author argues that while the boats were certainly questionably accoutered, McBride's decision was a valid and solid one: his initiative led to the birth of the submarine service where otherwise it may have never been realized.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Ambjörn Adomeit is a civilian graduate student at the Royal Military College of Canada, enrolled in its War Studies Programme. His research currently focuses on the evolution and disposition of the Canadian submarine service during the Cold War era (1945-1995). He is working under the dual supervision of Professors Chris Madsen, PhD (Canadian Forces College), and Joel J. Sokolsky, PhD (Royal Military College of Canada). Ambjörn contributes book reviews to *The Northern Mariner* and to H-War (forthcoming); he also pursues research in the philosophy of history, the history of ideas, and historical method.

---

## **“Showing the Flag”: The New Orleans Naval Station, 1806-1815**

---

**ABSTRACT:** In April 1803, representatives of the United States and France signed a treaty selling the Louisiana Territory to the United States. Following ratification of the treaty in October 1803, Congress authorized the use of military force to maintain order. To that end, the United States established a naval station at New Orleans in 1806. The officers and men assigned to the naval station became the primary agents in establishing U.S. authority in the newly acquired territory. Among other tasks, they protected commerce from pirates and privateers, suppressed the slave trade, and chased smugglers. In none of these were they particularly successful. Serving a parsimonious government, at the end of a long and tenuous supply chain, amid an often-hostile population, the young naval officers complained that they might as well be in a foreign country. Adding to their woes, the officers despised the gunboats on which they served. Slow and ungainly, the gunboats were the antithesis of the dashing frigates all aspired to. Slow speed and suspect seaworthiness also made the gunboats poorly suited for most of the tasks the Navy was called on to perform.

Nonetheless, by supporting the civil government, enforcing national policy, and “showing the flag,” the small naval force at New Orleans made the authority of the national government real and played an important role in binding the new territory firmly to the United States.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Dr. Larry Bartlett received his PhD from Texas Christian University in 2011. His research focuses on U.S. naval and diplomatic history. An adjunct professor at TCU, he is in the process of turning his dissertation into a book. He is also NASOH’s treasurer and membership secretary. Bartlett has presented at a number of NASOH conferences and, in cooperation with Dr. Gene Smith, has an article published in *The Northern Mariner*. This is Bartlett’s third career. He previously served as an officer in the U.S. Army and spent over two decades building a successful small business.

---

## **“A Dead Failure”: The U.S. African Squadron and the Slave Trade**

---

**ABSTRACT:** On the morning of September 8, 1858, a lookout aboard the *U.S.S. Marion* sighted a suspicious vessel off the coast of Africa. The ship, which turned out to be the *Brothers*, was an American ship containing all the equipment needed for a slave voyage and, according to U.S. laws against the slave trade, this action should have cost the captain his life. Instead, a U.S. jury refused to indict the captain and crew for any violation. Citing a lack of evidence, the jury dismissed the case and all charges were dropped.

This paper will discuss the conflicting messages between Revolutionary rhetoric and government policy during antebellum America. Specifically, I will focus on the

maritime goals of the United States, particularly in terms of the constant struggle with Britain over the right of search policy and freedom of the seas. These contradictions rendered the missions of the American sailors participating in the African Squadron meaningless, and the sailors clearly knew it. The goal of the paper will provide insight into the experience of sailors on the African Squadron against the backdrop of a nation vying for a position of power on the high seas while at home was being ripped apart over the problem of slavery. Only the abolition of slavery would effectively end the slave trade to the Americas, a full seventy years after the first U.S. law against the “inhuman traffic.”

**BIOGRAPHY:** Dr. Sarah Batterson received her Ph.D. in History at the University of New Hampshire in May 2013. Her research primarily focuses on the disconnect between governmental policy and public rhetoric, especially in terms of how laws were interpreted to serve specific national goals. For example, even though the U.S. government had the strictest laws against the Atlantic slave trade and the public supported these laws, international competition and the need for the fledgling United States to assert itself on the global stage enabled the slave trade to continue, and increase, during the nineteenth century. Batterson also extends this interpretation of nation building to women’s history, the history of slavery in the United States, and institutional history. Her dissertation focused on the United States and the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, within the context of nation-building, national sovereignty, and maritime history. Currently a Visiting Assistant Professor at Misericordia University in Northeast Pennsylvania, she has taught U.S. survey courses, as well as thematic courses on women’s history, Atlantic Revolutions, Civil War history, and Anthropology and Museum Studies. One of her goals as an instructor is to impart her enthusiasm for history to her students, and encourage them to view history as a vibrant and colorful field of study, instead of dull, dusty, old library books- although she also loves those old books too. She has received several travel grants, teaching awards, has published articles in several peer-reviewed journals, and has been nominated for a dissertation award.

---

**Patrol, Privateer, Patriot, Pirate, Prize:  
Potential Identities of the Monterrey Shipwrecks**

---

**ABSTRACT:** Two hundred years ago, three vessels in convoy foundered in a storm and sank in 4300 ft. of water in the Gulf of Mexico. The dark and cold, environment, low energy physical regime, and remote location make these vessels some of the best preserved wood-hulled shipwrecks identified in the Gulf. Named the *Monterrey Wrecks* after the oil field in which they were discovered, *Monterrey A* is an armed, copper-clad vessel with an international assemblage of artifacts; *Monterrey B* is an unarmed cargo vessel with a full load of cattle products and other cargo that may have originated in Mexico or Colonial Spain; and *Monterrey C* is a large copper-clad vessel in ballast, which impacted the seafloor so violently, that all but the heaviest artifacts piled into the stern. There is no evidence that they set sail together, or even from the same port, however, goods appear to have been transferred between them. It has been proposed

that the *Monterrey Wrecks* may represent a privateer with captured prizes. One may be a commissioned vessel escorting merchants through “piratical” waters. One or more of them may have actually been pirates. In the context of political realities of the Gulf/Caribbean diaspora at this time - the War of 1812; the emergence of the United States as a Naval power; Mexican independence; revolutions in Hispaniola and Latin America; and the dismantling of the Spanish colonial empire - each of these vessels may have one or more appropriate identity, rendering both interpretation of individual vessels, and the convoy complicated.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Dr. Alicia Caporaso received her Ph.D. in Archaeological Oceanography from the University of Rhode Island in 2011, and her MA and BA in Anthropology, and BS in Interdisciplinary Engineering from the University of Nebraska. She is currently a Marine Archaeologist with the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management in New Orleans, Louisiana. Past positions include Field School Director for the Saint Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research, Cultural Resources Specialist and Environmental Compliance Coordinator for the George Washington Memorial Parkway in Washington, DC, and Instructor of Anthropology at the University of Rhode Island. Her primary research interests are in the evolution of maritime landscapes; the North American fur trade; and frontier settlement, commerce, and conflict.

---

**Muscat Dhows in Historical Perspective.  
Submitted for 2014 NASOH conference**

---

**ABSTRACT:** The proposed paper will summarize material developed in a scholarly article (not yet published) dealing with the imperial conflicts behind the Muscat Dhows ruling of 1905 at the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague. This decision has often been cited as providing the basis in international law for the practice of flags of convenience. Although often cited in the legal literature, no historical analysis of the international politics and personalities involved has previously been published. The arbitration grew out of a dispute between France and Great Britain over the practice of the French to grant French maritime flag to dhows operating out of Sur, Oman, suspected of participating in the African slave trade to the Arabian peninsula. As the paper will show, the role of U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Melville Fuller (who had written the "Separate but Equal" language in the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision of 1896) played a pivotal role in crafting key language in the Muscat Dhows case, language which asserted that *every sovereign state has the right to issue its maritime flag to nationals of other states, except where treaties prohibited such flag issuance*. In this particular case, a French-English treaty made such granting of the French flag to Omanis illegal, but the general principle had been "established" by the arbitral ruling.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Rodney Carlisle completed a B.A. at Harvard and a Ph.D. at the University of California, Berkeley. He has written numerous articles published in scholarly journals, including *Northern Mariner* as well as two major maritime monographs: *Sovereignty for Sale* (1971 Naval Institute Press) and *Sovereignty at Sea* (2012 University of Florida Press), among more than 20 other books. Naval topics have included *Where the Fleet Begins* (1998 Naval Historical Press) and *Powder and Propellants* (2002 University of North Texas Press). He is now Professor Emeritus at Rutgers University and a Senior Associate Emeritus, History Associates Incorporated.

---

### The Royal Navy Brig General Hunter

---

**ABSTRACT:** In 2001, low water levels on Lake Huron exposed several frame tips of a shipwreck buried under the sand of a Southampton, Ontario beach. Evidence gathered from a series of archaeological excavations of the shipwreck between 2001 and 2004, and the lengthy research that followed, confirmed the identity of the vessel as the War of 1812 British Royal Navy Brig HMS *General Hunter*.

The ship was lost to the U.S. Navy in the famous "Battle of Lake Erie" in September of 1813 and later sailed as a U.S. Army transport vessel with the name shortened to *Hunter*. Returning from a routine supply voyage to Michilimackinac in August of 1816, *Hunter* was caught in a violent gale and forced ashore and abandoned on the Southampton beach.

This paper documents the discovery and excavation of the shipwreck, describes the process involved in the positive identification of the wreck as *General Hunter/Hunter* and provides some details of the activities of the ship during its decade of life on the Upper Great Lakes.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Over the past few decades Marine Archeologist Ken Cassavoy has worked on numerous marine and shipwreck sites in Ontario including the Naval Slip Site in the harbor at Penetanguishene, Ontario, the *Hamilton & Scourge* wrecks in Lake Ontario and the *Marquette* schooner wreck in Georgian Bay. He also worked for a period of time on the Glass Wreck at Serce Limani in Turkey, the Molasses Reef wreck in Turks & Caicos and the Port Royal site in Jamaica. In recent years his work has centred on a shipwreck site discovered on a Lake Huron beach at Southampton, Ontario. With his colleagues Cassavoy excavated the site between 2001 and 2004 and identified the shipwreck as the British Royal Navy brig *General Hunter*.

Ken Cassavoy has a B.A. in Anthropology from Trent University and a Masters Degree in Nautical Archaeology from Texas A&M University. He is now a Research Associate in the Department of Anthropology at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario and a Research Associate with the Bruce County Museum in Southampton, Ontario.

---

## 1814: The Battle For Lake Champlain and its Archaeological Legacy

---

**ABSTRACT:** After two years of intense fighting along the long border between British Canada and the United States, the defeat of Napoleon had finally allowed the British to send reinforcements from the European theatre to allow Governor General George Prevost to invade the US. He chose the historic Lake Champlain corridor as his invasion route and the Americans would receive him on land and lake at Plattsburgh, NY. This paper will set the stage for the battles that helped bring the War of 1812 to closure and left a rich archaeological legacy on the lake bottom. Also presented will be the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum's effort to bring this story to more than 100 communities in Canada and the US through their replica schooner *Lois McClure* outreach program.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Art Cohn is Co-founder and former Executive Director of the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum and currently holds the title of Senior Advisor and Scientist. For more than three decades Art has helped coordinate the Lake Champlain archaeological research and management program. Art has received Honorary Doctorates from Middlebury College and the University of Vermont. He is Project Director for the schooner *Lois McClure* Outreach program and is Captain of the tugboat *C.L. Churchill*.

---

## Two Hundred Years Later: U.S. Navy Shipbuilding on the Lakes in 1814

---

**ABSTRACT:** 2014 marks the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the War of 1812's final year, a year that saw frenzied ship construction programs by the U.S. Navy on Lakes Ontario and Champlain. On the former lake Henry Eckford built two 20-gun brigs and two large frigates, while on the latter the brothers Adam and Noah Brown built a 26-gun corvette, a 20-gun brig, and a 17-gun schooner. Historical evidence of the design and assembly of these ships is sparse: lines exist for only one of the seven, and detailed contracts have not been found for any of them. Fortunately, three examples of Eckford and Brown warships have survived and undergone archaeological study: the brig *Jefferson* in Lake Ontario and the brig *Eagle* and schooner *Ticonderoga* in Lake Champlain. This paper will briefly describe and compare the design philosophy and workmanship evident in the three vessels.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Kevin Crisman is an associate professor in the Nautical Archaeology Program (Anthropology Department) at Texas A&M University and is currently the director of the university's Center for Maritime Archaeology and Conservation. He specializes in ships and seafaring of the early-modern era as well as lake, river, and coastal watercraft of North America. He is editor of *Coffins of the Brave*, a contributed volume on shipwrecks of the War of 1812 published by Texas A&M University Press in 2014.

---

## The War of 1812: What We Shouldn't Forget From the Forgotten War

---

**ABSTRACT:** Dr. William Dudley, former director of the Naval Historical Center, will host this Keynote Panel of historians and authors on the War of 1812. The panel will include George Daughan, Colonel David Fitz-Enz of the USMA, and William H. White.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Bill Dudley is the former director of the Naval Historical Center (now Naval History and Heritage Command) in Washington, DC, and original editor of the multi-volume *Naval War of 1812: A Documentary History*. George Daughan (*1812: The Navy's War*, and *The Shining Sea*), Colonel David Fitz-Enz of the USMA (*The Final Battle; Plattsburgh, the War of 1812's Most Decisive Battle* and *Hacks, Sycophants, Adventurers, and Heroes: Madison's Commanders in the War of 1812*) William H. White (*And Our Flag was Still There*), plus a series of War of 1812 articles in *Sea History* magazine. Of relevant historical fiction Bill White wrote a War of 1812 Trilogy (*A Press of Canvas, A Fine Tops'1 Breeze, and The Evening Gun*)

**This will serve as keynote panel discussion hosted by the National Maritime Historical Society**

---

## Lost in Transportation: Shipwrecks, Cargoes, and Entangled Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean

---

**ABSTRACT:** The demise of a merchant ship while in the process of transporting a cargo creates a temporary assemblage of artifacts that were only intended to travel as a temporary group. While this assemblage provides glimpses both of the agents behind the trade and the materials being traded, these shipwrecked items generally have been removed from their traditional associations of viewing and use that produce social meaning. These items, however, are not limited to having an economic meaning but can be reintegrated with social interpretative frameworks. In this paper, I argue that shipwrecked remains are vestiges of an entangled network of multiple productions, consumptions, and distributions in the overall *chaîne opératoire* (work sequence) of the shipwreck. Thus, an adaptation of this approach considers both the technological and social factors impacting the ship and the items on board. It is a network that draws together the landscape, the ship with her material goods, and those who produce, distribute, and consume those goods. As a case study, I explore the trade in luxury goods from the remains of five shipwrecks in the Mediterranean dating to the late Republic (147-31 BCE). At a time when Rome was undergoing major cultural and political changes, imported luxury objects played an active role in this transformation. Through this approach, I show that shipwrecked remains represent more than the distribution of goods. These objects are indicative of agents of cultural exchange rather than simple proxies of trade.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Carrie Atkins Fulton is a PhD candidate at Cornell University in the department of Classics, specializing in Classical Archaeology. She received her B.A. in Classical Archaeology and Biology from Bowdoin College, Maine, in 2006. In 2009, she completed a M.A. in Anthropology with a specialization in Nautical Archaeology at Texas A&M University. Her Master's thesis discusses ancient maritime religious practices by analyzing ritual artifacts on board the ancient ship. She is currently working on her dissertation, which investigates shipwrecked remains to explore trade networks and the social use of objects in the ancient Mediterranean. Carrie has participated in several terrestrial and underwater excavations, most recently working on the excavation of the World Trade Center Ship in New York and an on-going underwater survey off the southern coast of Cyprus.

---

**The British Prisoner of War Navigation Training School  
At Givet, France 1804-1813**

---

**ABSTRACT:** When the United States Congress consented to declare war on Great Britain on June 18, 1812, Britain had been at war with France almost continuously since 1792. In 1812 Napoleon held approximately 20,000 British service personnel and civilians in 11 prisons scattered across northern and eastern France. As many as 1,500 British naval and merchant marine ordinary seamen were incarcerated in a prison at Givet, ineligible for parole and unlikely to be exchanged before the war's end. As a mission of mercy, a British naval Captain (Jahleel Brenton) and an Anglican clergyman (Robert B. Wolfe) founded a school within the Givet POW barracks for these common men. The Givet school operated from 1804 until the prisoners were released in 1814. As many as 500 sailors were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic at Givet. Some were taught advanced navigation problem-solving methods, including how to establish a ship's longitude at sea without using a chronometer.

Based on an analysis of the only known surviving navigation workbook ("cipher book") created by a POW student at Givet, a review of other primary sources including service records at the National Archives on Kew, England, and an examination of British Napoleonic War POW memoirs, this paper will show that the prisoner of war school at Givet accomplished three missions: 1. It improved prisoner morale and quality of life; 2. It reduced the recruitability of prisoners to the French side; and 3. It produced "graduates" who returned to Great Britain with vocationally-relevant skills useful in the challenging demobilization economy of post-war Great Britain. One "graduate" of the Givet POW school was even able to establish and for many years operate a private navigation training school in St. Ives, Cornwall, England from which many merchant marine navigators later graduated.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Mark J. Gabrielson is a graduate of Princeton University (AB Politics, 1978) where he concentrated in International Affairs. Following a 33-year business career, Gabrielson is returning to academia. He is a graduate student at the Harvard University Extension School, concentrating in History. He recently has held two simul-

taneous research internships at the US Naval War College. One was in National Security Affairs with Prof. Joan Johnson-Freese and the other in the Department of Maritime History with Prof. John B. Hattendorf. He is also a USCG-licensed Master in the Merchant Marine.

---

### The British Bateau in North America

---

**ABSTRACT:** In the conflicts between Britain and France in the North American colonies, it was essential for both sides to have a vessel that could navigate the myriad of rivers and lakes in New England and Canada. The French used a type of small, flat-bottomed, plank-built craft to navigate these waterways, and a similar design was adopted by the British by the early eighteenth century. Britain borrowed the French word for “boat” to describe this particular type of vessel, and by the French and Indian war, these “bateaux” were in use by the thousands. Because of the rough terrain in Canada and the relative ease of moving troops via water, the bateau became integral to their military strategy, and they were mentioned countless times in historic sources. These easy-to-build utility craft were primarily used as troop transports, carrying about forty men each, but were also used to carry provisions, patrol waterways, and conduct reconnaissance. In spite of these facts, the bateau has yet to be studied in detail or given the credit it deserves in its important role in colonial history. Some preliminary reports of the bateaus recovered from Lake George in 1960 as well as notes and recordings of the remains taken by Kevin Crisman and Arthur Cohn provide the groundwork for understanding the construction of a typical British bateau in the mid-eighteenth century. When combined with abundant primary resources which mention these boats, the bateau can at last be properly placed in its historical context

**BIOGRAPHY:** Nathan Gallagher is pursuing a Master of Arts in Nautical Archaeology at Texas A&M University, and expects to complete the degree in May 2015. He received a Bachelor of Arts in European History from Indiana University in May 2012. His research interests include eighteenth century naval reform, cultural exchange, and comparative colonialism. He was first inspired to pursue Nautical Archaeology after seeing the *Monitor* exhibit at the Mariner’s Museum in Newport News, Virginia. Upon completion of his Master’s degree, he hopes to find employment that will utilize his interest in computer graphics archaeology.

---

### They Swim Among Us: Anguilla Rostrata Across Contexts

---

**ABSTRACT:** Weaving an interdisciplinary dialogue to include environmental science, Indigenous clan relationships, climate change response, environmental restoration, food and consumption consciousness, Nationhood resurgence and respect for the poeties of marine life, this presentation examines the current state of anguilla rostrata, the American eel. Eels have place-based significance in the spiritual foundation of

many First People, relationships that predate Contact and the recent, radical alteration of the western hemisphere.

The influence of the built environment including hydroelectric dams, culverts and diversions have led to a sharp decline in numbers and habitat. Other contributing factors include over-harvesting, lack of understanding about this important sea dweller, and the 2011 earthquake and tsunami leading to increased overseas demand for the nutritious meat of eels. Greenpeace International has called attention to the immense reduction in eel population by adding the fish to its red list.

Eel disappearance is a direct threat to the health, identity and well-being of the many waters traveled by the resilient swimmer. Eels' contribution to the cycle of life is unique in that eggs are formed somewhere in the Sargasso Sea. Specific details of their lives and development are elusive to scientists; it is known that they sprawl into freshwater streams across the eastern seaboard as far north as Iceland, from saltwater to freshwater and back to the sea again, undergoing several physical metamorphoses in the process of that journey. Across the US and Canada eels are becoming increasingly scarce and in some places absent in the waters they once traveled freely.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Kristi Leora Gansworth: She is an enrolled member of the Kitigan Zibi band of Anishinaabeg, located near Maniwaki, Quebec. Her mother is from that nation and her father is from the Eel Clan of the Onondaga nation of Central New York. She grew up in the Western New York area and moved to the Pacific Northwest, where she has learned much from Coast Salish peoples about the plight of salmon and found many parallels with eels. She received a BA in English from SUNY Buffalo, an MFA in Poetry from Goddard, and is working on a Master of Arts in Environment in Community from Antioch University Seattle where she has studied water quality improvement with foci on green infrastructure and collaborative social change involving multiple stakeholders. Her research interests include the intersections of climate-related problems we currently face alongside creative solutions, upholding Original Instructions for how to live non-destructively with all our relations. A chapbook sampling of her poems, "Dark Swimming" is globally released May 2014 via the chapbook series "Effigies II" curated by Allison Hedge Coke through Salt Publications UK.

---

### **Border Tensions: H.M. Schooners *Newash* and *Tecumseth***

---

**ABSTRACT:** While the War of 1812 ended with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on Christmas Eve, 1814, the cultural shift to a post-war mentality is not so clearly marked. Not only was word of the end of the war slow to reach the Great Lakes frontier, but also peace between the warring nations was not always easy to come by. The post-War of 1812 culture in the Great Lakes region can be viewed through the lens of two Royal Navy vessels, H.M. Schooners *Newash* and *Tecumseth*, and their short but significant careers on Lakes Erie and Huron. Construction for both vessels was ordered after the Treaty of Ghent, but they were built to serve as either transport vessels or as

effective warships, should the need arise. Their missions commonly consisted of enforcing trade regulations and safeguarding the frontier, a difficult task in an area where borders were neither clearly defined nor respected. The residual attitudes between citizens of the U.S. and Great Britain can be seen in their reactions to the presence and actions of these naval vessels, illustrating the tension that remained even after the treaty of peace. The two vessels provide an interesting platform from which to examine post-war tensions in the immediate aftermath of the War of 1812.

**BIOGRAPHY:** LeeAnne Gordon is a native of Erie, Pennsylvania. She holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in English from Auburn University and a Master of Arts in Anthropology with a concentration in Nautical Archaeology from Texas A&M University, where her thesis on the War of 1812 vessels *Newash* and *Tecumseth* allowed her to study maritime history in her home region. Her interest in War of 1812 studies was piqued by a summer spent volunteering on the U.S. Brig *Niagara*, where she also discovered a love of tall ship sailing. She currently lives in Alexandria, Virginia.

---

**A Corps of Observers at Sea: Matthew Fontaine Maury  
and Citizen-Science in the Nineteenth Century**

---

**ABSTRACT:** Matthew Fontaine Maury, head of the US Navy's Depot of Charts and Instruments from 1842 until 1861, is celebrated in navy memory as the originator of the Wind & Current charts and Sailing Directions. Originally assembled from neglected historical log books, the charts became an early example of citizen science when Maury, hoping to expand their geographical coverage and their level of detail, began to recruit mariners to contribute to the endeavor. This paper will examine Maury's use of both rhetoric and technology to turn merchant ships and naval vessels into standardized places of scientific investigation, and their officers and crews into a trained corps of scientific observers. While he stressed the utility of the charts he hoped to produce and improve in terms of increased safety and commercial advantage, he also recognized and appealed to participants' desires to be part of something greater than themselves and to make a contribution to the advancement of scientific knowledge. At the same time, he framed the modern navigator's responsibility to use technology in terms of the traditional responsibilities of a mariner. By thus encouraging every sailor to see himself as a scientific observer, Maury also encouraged sailors to see the ocean, and themselves, differently. Maury's efforts to educate and inspire sailors to do science rank alongside contemporaneous efforts to establish a naval academy as part of a broader push to encourage a culture of science in the navy in particular and amongst the general public more broadly in the mid-nineteenth century.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Penelope Hardy is a Ph.D. candidate in the History of Science and Technology at the Johns Hopkins University, where she studies the historical intersection of technology and the ocean sciences. Her dissertation examines a series of research vessels from several nations across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the cultures and practices surrounding their use. She received her M.A. in History from

the University of North Florida, where her master's thesis examined contemporary British perception of the American Civil War as total and modern war. She also holds a B.S. in Aerospace Engineering (Astronautics) from the United States Naval Academy, and she served as a surface warfare officer in the US Navy, including a stint as navigator for the flagship of the US Sixth Fleet, homeported in Gaeta, Italy. Her other historical interests include naval and maritime technologies more broadly and the history of science fiction.

---

### Remarks on a Cultural History of Inland Waterway Shipping in Contrast to Coastal and Ocean Shipping

---

**ABSTRACT:** Inland waterway shipping is often recognized as the little sister of ocean or coastal shipping and has only rarely caught the attention of professional maritime historians. While technological and economic developments in the inland waterway shipping industry often mirrored the respective developments of coastal and ocean shipping, it needs to be recognized that the social and cultural history of inland waterway navigation is pretty different to its ocean or coastal counterpart and often overlooked despite the unique social and cultural patterns that still characterize European inland waterway shipping at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The proposed paper will provide an overview on the cultural and social history of European inland waterway shipping from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present and pay special attention to the question why crews of inland waterway vessels continued social, labour and cultural patterns of the pre-industrial period into the 21<sup>st</sup> century despite the industrialization and modernization of the inland waterway shipping. Finally it will be argued that inland waterway shipping is on the one hand an integrated element of the maritime industries of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but on the other hand in cultural and social dimensions still an industry that is comparable to the small scale agriculture of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Ingo Heidbrink is Professor of History at Old Dominion University. His areas of expertise include fisheries history, Arctic and Antarctic history, theory of maritime history research and last but not least inland waterway navigation history. He got his MA in Social and Economic History (1994) as well as his Dr. phil. (1999) from the University of Hamburg and his Dr. phil. Habil. (2004) from the University of Bremen. He has worked with several maritime museums prior to coming to ODU at the beginning of 2008. Altogether he has published more than 100 maritime history related publications (monographs, edited books, peer-reviewed articles) and is Secretary General of the International Commission for Maritime History (ICMH). Besides his academic credentials he also holds a master's license for commercial vessels of all size on European inland waterways, as well as an engineer's license for inland waterway vessels and an engineer's license for ocean-going historical vessels.

---

## Mercantile Waterways: George Morgan's Adventure into the Illinois Country 1766-1771

---

**ABSTRACT:** After Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763, the British Crown issued the Proclamation of 1763, which limited trade and settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains. However, despite the legality of the adventure the Philadelphian merchants of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan with the aid of Indian diplomat George Croghan set out to the Illinois Country. In 1766, the trading company's youngest partner, George Morgan set out from Fort Pitt down the Ohio River. His destination was Fort Chartres, a newly acquired outpost from the previous war with France. Morgan wanted to beat his competitors to the new market. However, before he reached his destination, Morgan discovered that in order to move their cargo they would need to invest in larger bateaux. He even proposed an armed schooner to protect their property from Indian raids. The interior rivers of the Ohio and Mississippi became their lifeline to his business in the Illinois. Shortly after a few months in the Illinois Morgan determined that it would be cheaper to send his return cargo of furs down to New Orleans rather than up the Ohio to Fort Pitt. These seemingly small decisions demonstrated how important rivers were to the success of his business. Although Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan ultimately failed in the Illinois it was not due to the lack of trying. Nonetheless, their adventure into the interior of North America solely relied on the navigation of rivers, thus expanding the Atlantic World into the Illinois Country.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Timothy C. Hemmis is a Ph.D. candidate studying early American frontier history during the Revolutionary Era. His dissertation title is "Trading Identities: National Identity and Loyalty of Backcountry Merchants in Revolutionary America, 1740-1816." The project argues that personal and economic relationships before and after the War for Independence forged identities that changed with new opportunities for profit. Additionally, Mr. Hemmis has presented at several academic conferences, including the Society for Military History, and has published several encyclopedia articles including one in the upcoming *The Encyclopedia of War* entitled "The Mohawk-Mahican War, 1624-1628." Furthermore, he has several book reviews pending for *H-War*. In addition to his research, Mr. Hemmis has taught several classes, including: World History I and II and American History I, 1600-1865.

---

## Inland Waterways as Conduits of Empire. Merseyside Canals during the American Revolution, 1763-1783

---

**ABSTRACT:** Philip Bagwell described the Mersey estuary in North West England as the "cradle of the canal age". Indeed, during the eighteenth century several navigable waterways were constructed in this region. Initially conceived as a river improvement, the Sankey Brook became the first modern British canal. The Duke of Bridgewater's canal carried coal from his mines at Worsley to Manchester and the Mersey. Perhaps the most ambitious scheme was the Leeds-Liverpool Canal. Authorised in 1770, it took over forty years to complete. It linked Liverpool to manufacturing towns in Yorkshire.

Much has been written about these waterways, including their funding, disputes over routes, as well as the goods and quantities they carried. However, this paper will stress they linked Britain to its empire.

Contemporaries justified canals for several reasons, not least that they served the imperial economy. Raw materials were transported from overseas to the port of Liverpool. These items were then shipped along canals to the town's hinterland, and fashioned into manufactured goods. These manufactures were subsequently moved down the waterways to Liverpool, and sailed on ships bound for the empire. However, if empire encouraged the development of canals, it could also hinder them. The economic downturn during the American War of 1775-1783 arguably contributed to the decision to halt construction of the Leeds-Liverpool Canal. Furthermore, these waterways inspired American travellers who visited the region. This included the Philadelphia Quaker merchant Jabez Maud Fisher.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Simon Hill is a final year PhD student at Liverpool John Moores University. His research looks at the town and port of Liverpool during the American Revolution 1763-1783. It contributes to the historiography of the British Empire in two respects. Firstly, it analyses the imperial policy-making process, and tests the "gentlemanly capitalist" paradigm of P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins. Secondly, it considers the impact of warfare upon British economy and society during the eighteenth century.

To complete his studies, Simon has successfully applied for external funding from the British Association of American Studies, Royal Historical Society, and Institute of Historical Research in London. He has previously presented at conferences in the United States, including the Consortium on the Revolutionary Era in Charleston, SC, and at the British Scholar at the University of Texas at Austin. He has published a conference paper in the *Proceedings of the Consortium on the Revolutionary Era*, as well as book reviews in *Britain and the World* and *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*.

As part of his studies, Simon has taught several undergraduate and postgraduate modules at his home institution, Liverpool Hope University, Edge Hill University, and the University of Chester. His favourite teaching topics are the British Empire, the United States, as well as Chinese and Japanese history. In his spare time Simon enjoys travelling, learning Mandarin, sketching, walking, astronomy, and science fiction.

---

## **A new method of rapidly surveying submerged archaeological sites in Northwestern Michigan.**

---

**ABSTRACT:** Since 2007, the Underwater Archaeology Program at Northwestern Michigan College (USA) has been surveying submerged cultural resources both in America and Europe by utilizing sector scanning sonar equipment developed by Kongsberg-Mesotech (Vancouver, Canada). The results of these surveys have been stunning. This paper will explore the catalog of archaeological sites surveyed, the methodology of deployment and how this new equipment can contribute to the development of rapid, highly detailed, underwater archaeological survey. Building on this success, the Nautical Archaeology Society (UK), in partnership with the underwater archaeology program at Northwestern Michigan College, has been running field schools, focusing on maritime archaeology, over the past four years. These events have drawn students from across North America and Europe by providing a wide range of specialty training courses not found elsewhere in the region. This paper will also review the substantial amount of original research that has been successfully produced by these field schools both in Grand Traverse Band and along the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Dr. Mark W. Holley received a Ph.D. in Underwater Archaeology from the University of Edinburgh (United Kingdom) in 1998. His Ph.D. thesis involved the high resolution field survey of prehistoric underwater artificial islet sites located on remote islands off the west coast of Scotland. Dr. Holley has twenty years of field experience in the survey of underwater prehistoric sites, and has been principal investigator for several surveys of underwater sites in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Greece and the United States. He has worked on field projects for: Leister, Leeds, Cornell, Michigan State, Nottingham, Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities. Dr. Holley is trained as an operational/scientific diver, is a member of the Council for British Archaeology, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Fellow of the Royal Archaeological Institute and Member of the Archaeology Institute. In 2000 Dr. Holley was awarded a medal of scientific merit for the archaeological survey of Loch Awe (Scotland) by HRH Duke of Edinburgh. Dr. Holley is a senior instructor for the Nautical Archaeology Society and teaches cultural anthropology and underwater archaeology at Northwestern Michigan College (NMC). Dr. Holley is NMC'S Imogene Wise Faculty Excellence Award winner for 2011.

---

## **Surpassing the Mother Country of Improvement: The Cultural Stakes of Canal Building in the Early United States**

---

**ABSTRACT:** Canal histories in the United States have often emphasized the role of navigable canals in creating a national economy and solidifying the political bond between the states of the young federal republic. But as this paper argues, these artificial waterways also had meaning beyond their national implications for Americans, as

many canal promoters in the early US republic explicitly sought to emulate the British political economic model of canal building. This turn towards British practice represented a part of the persisting dependence of the post-Revolutionary United States on a transatlantic British cultural and economic world despite the achievement of American political independence. Advocates of improved transportation continued to look to Great Britain as the “Mother Country for every improvement in the Arts.” And they often modeled prospective canals on existing British examples, used imported technical knowledge, and drew on British capital. Americans also used the political economy of canals to demarcate the cultural boundaries and affinities of the United States, justifying the appropriation of Native American land and presenting the United States as a co-equal member of the “civilized” world of European Atlantic empires. In sum, early US canal projects reveal how many Americans seemingly embraced their British heritage through an appeal to being leaders of “improvement.” This repurposing of Britishness and the water-born commercial economy that it represented was integral to American ambitions of completing the shift of the imperial capital of North America away from London and securing a continental empire through canal building.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Daniel Kanhofer is a PhD candidate in Atlantic History at New York University. He received his BA in History from the University of Delaware in 2007. He is currently at work on his dissertation, *The “Chimerical Scheme of a Canal”: Controlling Land, Water, and People in Mid-Atlantic North America, 1720-1830*. In 2012 he co-organized NYU's "Legends of Empire" conference, which analyzed the Black Legend of Spanish colonialism in the Americas in the broader context of European, African, and native American moral discourses. He is also a past coordinator of the Atlantic World Workshop at NYU. In the 2014 academic year, he will hold a Mellon Dissertation Fellowship in History at NYU and will be an honorary fellow at the Humanities Initiative, an interdisciplinary forum for humanities scholars in New York City.

---

### COIN Theory and Asymmetric Warfare at Sea

---

**ABSTRACT:** The vast increase in the literature on insurgency/counterinsurgency that began in the 1990s and exploded after 9/11 has focused on land warfare. The implications for past work on asymmetric warfare at sea, particularly a systematic treatment of recent advances, remains unexamined. The project at hand involves just such an analysis. Rather than use the traditional historical approach of attempting to give an account of past events in isolation or by combining such an analysis with a “lessons learned” approach, the methodology used herein combines a vast amount of research in the social sciences based on traditional historical techniques with sophisticated research on group and management behaviors. The analysis makes use of an extensive review of counterinsurgency and counterterrorism studies, both within and outside history, as a foundation to identify major conclusions that reveal possible application to asymmetric warfare at sea. Commerce raiding by the Confederacy in the American Civil War and Germany in World Wars I and II and the insurgency of T. E. Lawrence during the Arab Revolt provide the primary examples of asymmetric warfare in the

analysis.

The conclusion presented is that one of the two major branches in COIN is applicable. The natural extension of this conclusion both enriches traditional historical treatments of asymmetric warfare at sea while also suggesting an area of grave threat, far more worrisome than airport security, in the current ongoing takfiri jihadist global insurgency that has escaped any significant public discussion. Ongoing acts of piracy and the attack on the USS *Cole* indicate one avenue of such activity that has the potential to grow into a much broader range of threat at sea. This broader range includes outright destruction of merchant vessels, attacks on passenger liners for either destruction and/or mass ransom, systematic attacks on private vessels, and various threats to port facilities. While port security is not addressed in light of the need for brevity, the possibilities for terrorist use of commerce raiding techniques from past conflicts in a contemporary campaign are highlighted with emphasis on the much larger impact of our current globalized economy so dependent on cheap sea transport.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Michael W. Kegerreis is currently an ABD History PhD and completed Certificate in Advanced International Affairs student at Texas A&M. I have an undergraduate degree with a double major in History and Philosophy and an MA in Military History (Counterinsurgency in the Greco-Roman World) from East Carolina University. I have an MA and PhD with a specialty in Social and Political Philosophy from Rice University. My PhD dissertation in history, currently being written, is on counterinsurgencies against Communist insurgencies in Latin America focusing on Cuba, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. The dissertation, and my ongoing further research on takfiri jihadi insurgency, ties my background in social and political philosophy to the military history of the most political form of war, insurgency. I am also expanding my research beyond counterinsurgency/insurgency to include other types of asymmetric warfare including commerce raiding at sea. I make my home in Winterville, NC near the campus of East Carolina University.

---

#### Four Pre-1850 Steamboat Wrecks in Shelburne Shipyard

---

**ABSTRACT:** While the first two centuries of boats that traveled Lake Champlain were propelled by means of sails, oars, or paddles, the third century of commercial Lake Champlain transportation was devoted to steam propulsion. Almost exactly two hundred years after its discovery in 1609 by Europeans, the first steamboat arrived on Lake Champlain. The first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a time of experiment with steam propulsion, and the construction of these early steamboats is largely unknown.

With the creation of the Champlain Transportation Company in 1826, steamboats on the lake became extremely popular. The Company took charge almost immediately by launching its first boat, *Franklin*, a successful steam propelled ferry boat that ran the lake from Whitehall, NY, to St. Johns, QC, from its launch in 1827 until its retirement in

1838. In 1837, the Company launched its second steamer, *Burlington*, which would also have a lengthy term of service on the lake. Accompanied by its sister boat, *Whitehall* (1838), *Burlington* would travel the lake until 1854.

These steamboats are thought to be three of four wrecks lying now in Shelburne Harbor, Vermont. Another contender for one of the four known wrecks in the harbour is *Francis Saltus* (1844), a competitor of the Company throughout its career. The official records do not explain the fate of *Saltus*, however an unofficial account claims it was beached in Shelburne Harbor in 1858. This proposed research will examine the historical records in an attempt to determine which hull wrecks are now sitting in this ship graveyard.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Carolyn Kennedy is a graduate student of the nautical archaeology program at Texas A&M University. Carolyn studied anthropology at Concordia University in Montreal, with an Honours in classical civilization: archaeology. She has participated in two underwater field schools, including the Sanisera Underwater Survey Field School (2011), run by the Ecomuseo de Cavalleria in Menorca, Spain, and the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum (LCMM) Nautical Archaeology Field School (2012). During the LCMM field school, Carolyn developed a working relationship with the LCMM and has since volunteered on an Asian Clam survey of Lake George, as well as crew on the historic 1862-class replica canal boat, *Lois McClure*. Through this relationship, her interests have become centered on the nautical archaeology of Lake Champlain. Her current master's thesis research focuses on the wrecks located in the Shelburne Shipyard of Lake Champlain, specifically steamboat wrecks built prior to 1850.

---

### **Common Men in Uncommon Times: Examining Archaeological and Historical Evidence to Reconstruct the Daily Lives of Civil War Sailors**

---

**ABSTRACT:** The American Civil War was a tumultuous period in history for the United States, forcing brother against brother in a battle over the secession of the Confederate States, individual states' rights, and a nationally enforced abolishment of slavery. Naval ships were very much a reflection of where they were built and supplied, as were the crews who sailed them. The life of a Civil War sailor has been marginally studied, despite the wealth of information concerning shipboard life during the American Civil War in the form of personal narratives. This study extracts the available evidence for shipboard life from these sources; consequently, it seeks to contextualize the daily lives of sailors within their societal framework and determine the extent to which these sub-cultures were a manifestation of sailors' lives ashore. The primary sources predictably reflect a standardized military lifestyle comparable among all sailors, but is there any variation between Confederate and United States shipboard conditions or patterns of behavior across both navies? Historical evidence is being supplemented with archaeologically-recovered materials in ongoing research – the study of personal effects associated with *CSS Alabama* and *USS Tulip*. The analysis of personal effects illustrates most completely the day-to-day activities of Civil War sailors because it in-

discriminately reflects the persons being studied. This study will determine whether or not the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the United States, Confederacy, or the vessel's nation of manufacture were reflected in their shipboard living conditions, associated personal effects, and personal narratives.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Stephanie Koenig grew up near the Chesapeake Bay in Maryland and developed an early fascination for sailing, marine life, and the rich national history easily within grasp on the east coast. She graduated with Honours from Stony Brook University in New York with a B.S. in Marine Science and Anthropology. During her undergraduate studies, she participated in an archaeological field school in the Florida Keys with the Maritime Archaeological and Historical Society in Washington, D.C., and later coordinated a survey project in the Chesapeake Bay that tentatively identified the 19<sup>th</sup>-century shipwreck, *Harriet P. Ely*. Her interests include new world seafaring and shipboard life, as well as the study of human dispersal from a paleoceanographic perspective, particularly the expansion of humans into the Americas. Currently, she is accumulating and researching personal narratives from American Civil War sailors as a tool for both historians and archaeologists. In her ongoing work with the Underwater Archaeology Branch of the Naval History & Heritage Command, she is studying personal effects recovered from CSS *Alabama* and USS *Tulip* to better understand life aboard Civil War-era vessels, which will serve as the basis for her doctoral dissertation in Texas A&M University's Nautical Archaeology Program.

---

**From Selling Lifeboats to Selling Beer: The Money behind  
Singlehanded Sailing, 1866-1901**

---

**ABSTRACT:** In 1896 Adolf Frietsch, an all but forgotten Finnish immigrant, left his home and family in Milwaukee for an attempt at sailing around the world alone. Aside from being the only known person to leave for a singlehanded circumnavigation from the Great Lakes, Frietsch also was the first singlehanded sailor to have a corporate sponsor sailing on the *Schlitz Globe*, for Schlitz Brewing Company. Singlehanded and shorthanded sailors like Frietsch started to cross oceans after the Civil War. However, the question must be asked, why did they go out? If asked the answer was always a love of adventure. However, these maritime endeavors were done for the sake of fame and making money. The proof of this is in the consistent set of money making activities they engaged in. These activities included exhibitions, lectures, writing, and sponsorship. In fact, almost a playbook develops where exhibitions, lectures, writing, and sponsorship were consistently applied by these sailors.

This paper looks at the application of those activities, across all of the singlehanded and shorthanded sailors between 1866 and 1901, the success, failure, and how these activities continue, sometimes even till today. In the paper an emphasis is placed on Adolf Frietsch. Besides his failed circumnavigation, Frietsch was a Great Lakes captain and did a solo transatlantic crossing from Milwaukee. Frietsch's career, 1894-99, also demonstrates how exhibitions, lectures, writing, and sponsorship were

used by these mariners.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Donald A. Laskey is a historian, currently pursuing graduate studies at Central Michigan University in Mount Pleasant, Michigan. In 2013 he graduated with Honours from Lee University in Cleveland, Tennessee, with a Bachelor of Arts in history. He has given numerous paper presentations at the undergraduate level, and is currently looking forward to his first presentation at the graduate level this March. Most of his historical work has been focused on maritime history, with an emphasis on naval history. As such he is a member of maritime history societies in both North America and Britain. Currently, his work is centered on single and shorthanded sailors of the late 19th century.

---

### The Transition between Sail and Steam on the Great Lakes, 1817-1900

---

**ABSTRACT:** Unlike the other principal regions of inland navigation in North America, the Great Lakes retained a competitive marketplace for sail long after the introduction of steamboats. Indeed, a significant proportion of the historiography of Great Lakes shipping sees the major point of transition in the late century with the emergence of the classic iron and steel hulled, bulk freight oriented “lakers.” The tonnage numbers reported by the US Bureau of Navigation tend to support that assessment, but require a much closer look. This paper examines the roots of those numbers, the customs house tonnage reports, back into the 1830s. Stepping beyond these accounts, there is a closer look at vessel movements, at the strategies of towing, and finally at the general differentials in investment patterns. Where the evidence supports it, the comparisons cross the international border through the Lakes.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Walter Lewis is a graduate of Queens University and the University of Toronto, with an M.A. in History. In subsequent years, his articles have appeared in places as varied as *The Northern Mariner*, *FreshWater*, *Inland Seas*, *Ontario History*, *Beaver*, *Horizon Canada* and the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Since 1994 he has been the co-moderator of MARHST-L, an Internet discussion group focused on Maritime History.

He is responsible for <http://www.MaritimeHistoryOfTheGreatLakes.ca>, among the leading online resources for historians of the Great Lakes. He has spoken to conference of the Canadian Nautical Research Society (including the joint meeting with NASOH in 1987), the Canadian Historical Association, and numerous other groups with historical interests. In 2013 this included speaking to NASOH, the Canal Society of New York State, the Ontario Genealogical Society, the Kingston Historical Society and passengers on three voyages of the Great Lakes cruise ship *Yorktown*. In 2008, in conjunction with Rick Neilson, he authored *The River Palace*. The following year they received the Marine Heritage Award from Save Ontario Shipwrecks. In 2011 he was named the “Great Lakes Historian of the Year,” an award sponsored by the Marine Historical Society of Detroit. In the same year he received the Henry N. Barkhausen

Award from the Association for Great Lakes Maritime History.

---

**“Captain Henry May and Fred Jane’s 1898 Naval War Game”**

---

**ABSTRACT:** At the turn of the last century, the maritime illustrator and publisher Fred Jane introduced a simple board game simulating various aspects of naval warfare to complement and boost sales of his annual book *All the World’s Fighting Ships* (precursor to *Jane’s Fighting Ships*) giving details and profiles of the latest warships. The commercial enterprise tapped into growing public interest in a naval age, provided an authoritative knowledge source, and engaged professional naval officers to consider tactics and strategy in a more serious manner, which eventually grew into a business empire in the defense information and analysis field. The naval war game itself evolved in complexity and scope, both as entertainment form and realistic representation of sea battle of utility to professionals. The German, Russian, and Japanese navies ordered and played Jane’s naval war game, though enthusiasm within the Royal Navy was mostly unofficial. The game’s expanded rules, by 1906 serialized in *Jane’s Fighting Ships*, have been republished and referenced in numerous works. The shorter 1898 naval war game rules are lesser known and harder to find. In preparing his first iteration, Jane improved upon previous tactical games created by British naval officers, including the intellectually-inclined Philip Colomb, and solicited assistance from naval professionals wherever possible. Henry May, who became director of the war course and later commandant at the Royal Naval College in Greenwich, undertook substantial revisions of the game rules and tables while his warship underwent refit in Esquimalt dockyard on Canada’s Pacific coast. The interaction between Jane and naval officers like May added credibility to the boxed game with counters, strikers, and optional small warship models that catered to professional and popular audiences. This research note introduces and annotates the 1898 rules for playing Fred Jane’s naval war game, based on Henry May’s original copy.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Chris Madsen is a Professor in the Department of Defence Studies at the Canadian Forces College and Royal Military College of Canada in Toronto. During sabbatical leave 2014-2015, he will be a visiting scholar in the Urban Studies Program at Simon Fraser University, where he will collaborate on a Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada community partnership project with the City of New Westminster and the International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 502. He teaches an elective course in maritime wargaming on the Joint Command and Staff Program, from the which the research note to be presented derives. Dr. Madsen has been a member of the CNRS executive for several years

---

**“Harbors to Make Greater Chicago”: Chicago, Lake Calumet and the Re-Visioning of the City, 1908-1921**

---

**ABSTRACT:** Chicago is usually considered a railroad city. But like all Great Lakes cities, it was originally a port city. Waterborne traffic in the Chicago River belched smoke over the bustling downtown, tied up traffic in the heart of the city, and was ines-

capable in everyday life and everyday imagery. When Chicago's civic leaders addressed the question of how to improve the harbour in 1908, therefore, they had to re-evaluate the role that the harbour should play in the cultural, as well as the economic, life of the city.

Because the Chicago River was so central to the city, the debate over the harbour was also a debate over what the city should look like. In 1908, pictures of the city celebrated the smoke, crowding, and industry the harbor brought downtown. But by 1921, well before anything was built, images of Chicago began celebrating a beautiful, refined city center that barely showed the harbour.

This paper seeks to understand that change in city image by examining Chicago's 1921 decision to build a new port in Lake Calumet, on the urban fringe. It draws on sources ranging from picture postcards, newspaper commentary, and business propaganda to municipal documents and engineering maps to examine the shifts in public discourse and visual culture surrounding the relationship of the port to the city. In so doing, it explores the process by which maritime needs were negotiated in Chicago's urban development, a process that tried, paradoxically, to maintain the port while it effectively erased maritime images from the city's cultural landscape.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Elisabeth Meier has pursued a long-term interest in maritime history on both fresh and salt water. She graduated from the University of Chicago in 2013 with a concentration in American and maritime history. Her bachelor's thesis, from which this paper is drawn, won the department's Anna M. and George N. Barnard prize for the best research paper in American history that year. Since graduation, she has worked for Mystic Seaport in varying capacities, including research for upcoming exhibits. She is currently a deckhand and educator aboard the Sultana Foundation's replica eighteenth century schooner.

---

### Connected by Water: A Case Study of Krishnapatnam Port

---

**ABSTRACT:** The revival of Krishnapatnam port (which is located in Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh, South India) is part of the Economic Reforms initiated by the Government of India during the 1990s. The Krishnapatnam port in Nellore district is located in what is historically known as the Coromandel Coast, which includes the coast line from Kanya kumari in Tamil Nadu to Pulicat lake in Andhra Pradesh. This paper will highlight the need to explore maritime history and preserve maritime heritage, discussing the potential of this historical port and its contribution to present and future generations in terms of providing employment and generating wealth. It uses rich archival data and face to face interviews.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Poornima Nannam is pursuing a doctorate at the Centre for Regional Studies, University of Hyderabad, India, (Broad area of the PhD: *Maritime History-Ports*). Poomima holds a Masters of Philosophy in Regional Studies from the Univer-

sity of Hyderabad, India, July,2010- Dec.,2011. (Title of MPhil Dissertation: *A Study of Krishnapatnam Port from Medieval Times Till 2010 in Terms of Trade and Commerce* ) and a Master of Arts in History from University of Hyderabad, India (2005 – 2007).

**Please note** Poornima Nannam has been unable to travel to the conference. This information is therefore provided simply to inform our readers of her research topic.

---

***Silting at the Dock of the Bay: Mud, Mudslinging, and the Fight for San Francisco's Waterfront, 1853-1863***

---

**ABSTRACT:** John Downey had a tough decision to make. After taking over as California's governor in 1860, he inherited a political crisis. On his desk rested the much-maligned Bulkhead Bill that awaited his signature or veto. The Bulkhead Bill had been at the center of political wrangling for several years and called for the construction of an enormous seawall to wrap around the entire San Francisco waterfront. The bill's most controversial feature allowed a handful of businessmen to monopolize all waterfront transactions for fifty years as compensation for building the expensive seawall. Downey added to the controversy. While he openly sided with opponents who questioned the necessity of a bulkhead, Downey had once vowed never to use his power of veto. Few knew how he would decide. On the surface, the bulkhead fight appears to be a dramatic take on a familiar western storyline involving boosters and boomers. Under the surface, however, the bulkhead debacle was at its core about mud and how sedimentation had changed the underwater landscape of San Francisco Bay, causing problems for shippers. In the mid-nineteenth century, few Americans had a clear understanding of the way waterways functioned in terms of hydrology, bathymetry and ecology. Proponents of the bulkhead sought to fill these scientific voids. Bulkheaders argued that mud "oozed" out from underneath the city, "pushing out" the soft stratum of mud from below the waterfront into the bay—only a bulkhead would protect shipping. Conversely, opponents believed that bay currents brought in the silt and that the proposed seawall was just an excuse to monopolize waterfront revenue. The fate of San Francisco's prized commercial property rested with Governor Downey and his ability to assess competing and hastily constructed environmental theories. His dilemma is our gain, for it highlights the often-overlooked interconnections between political and environmental history.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Derek Lee Nelson is a fourth year doctoral candidate at the University of New Hampshire. He received an MA in History at Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA in 2010 and a BA with a concentration in history and environmental studies at The Evergreen State College, Olympia, WA in 2006. His current research interests lie in marine environmental history and urban environmental history, with a special geographic emphasis on the American west coast littoral. Broadly conceived, his teaching interests are in modern U.S. history, North American environmental history and historical food systems. His dissertation committee has accepted his proposal to research and write on the history of marine invasive wood-borers.

---

## Rivers in American History

---

**ABSTRACT:** Rivers are among the most vital, complex, abused, and misunderstood natural resources on earth. The role of rivers in the development of the world's earliest civilizations is a staple of grade-school education, but thereafter it all but vanishes from historical consideration. Except for those who earn their livelihoods directly from or on rivers, or who live in vulnerable flood plains, people generally think of them as little more than adornments to the landscape or barriers to be crossed by bridge or ferry. Looked at on maps, they are benign ribbons of blue whose paths are difficult to trace, when cartographers bother to show them at all. This is no less true in the United States than anywhere else, which is regrettable, because rivers have channeled the historical destiny of this land since it was first settled many thousands of years ago.

This paper aims to examine the multifarious roles that rivers have played, and continue to play, in the development of what is now the United States. Bucking a trend among historians and popular authors that tends to see individual rivers in isolation, or to focus on only one aspect of river history—navigation, industrialization, environmental revival—this paper attempts to examine rivers in their totality to give people of a variety of interests and backgrounds the tools with which to understand why rivers are so important to our national life and how they came to be that way.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Lincoln Paine is a maritime historian, author, editor, and curator whose books and articles include *The Sea and Civilization: A Maritime History of the World* (2013), *Down East: A Maritime History of Maine* (2000), "Beyond the Dead White Whales: Literature of the Sea and Maritime History" (2010), and *Ships of the World: An Historical Encyclopedia* (1997). In 2012, he curated an exhibit of materials from the Norman H. Morse Collection of Ocean Liner Materials at the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Research, University of Southern Maine in Portland.

A graduate of Columbia College, New York City, before turning to history he spent fourteen years as a non-fiction and reference book editor. He is completing a doctoral dissertation ("Maritime Enterprise and Institutional Change in Medieval Eurasia") at Leiden University in the Netherlands.

He serves on executive committee of the New England Regional World History Association (NERWHA) and the boards of the Maine Maritime Museum, in Bath, Maine, and of The Telling Room, a nonprofit writing centre for children and young adults in Portland, Maine.

---

**"A Large and Prosperous Freight Line:"  
The Canada Interlake Line and Its Antecedents**

---

**ABSTRACT:** Portrayed recently as an adjunct to the formation of Canada Steamship Lines, as less than a functioning shipping firm, and a creation of stock promoters, the Canada Interlake Line was on the contrary the product of two shrewd businessmen who owned, operated and managed an ever growing number of steamships on the Great Lakes. Commencing operations in 1907 with a single, modern steamship of 2,200 gross tons, Roy Wolvin and Joseph Norcross grew their shipping business in six short years into a fleet of 26 vessels that encompassed nearly 50,000 tons. By 1913, Canada Interlake Line had become the largest Canadian steamship line engaged solely in transporting freight on the Great Lakes. The complicated history of these business developments reveals the importance of examining the large picture when seeking historical explanations, and that antecedents often reveal more than may be expected.

**BIOGRAPHY:** James Pritchard is professor emeritus of history at Queen's University. He is an award-winning author of several books of maritime history. The most recent, *A Bridge of Ships: Canadian Shipbuilding during the Second World War*, received both a John Lyman Book Award and the Keith Matthews Prize for 2011.

---

**Fishing at the Rapids: Resource Procurement  
at the Draper Park Site (20SC40)**

---

**ABSTRACT:** The Draper Park site (20SC40) is located in Port Huron, Michigan at the foot of Lake Huron and the mouth of the Saint Clair River. Excavations here in the 1970s under the direction of Donald Weston and in 2013 by Rob Richardson and John Gram have uncovered a seasonally occupied Late Woodland fishing station. The site is located on a glacial beach ridge, and adjacent to both the rapids at the mouth of the St. Clair River and a slow moving tributary creek. Numerous activity areas, storage and refuse pits, and hearths have been discovered. The majority of the ceramic assemblage belongs to the Wayne Tradition, although the Princess Point Tradition is also represented. This paper will focus on the fishing activity and will discuss the species exploited, seasonality, and fishing technologies used.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Rob Richardson has been involved in the archaeology of the Port Huron area since the 1980s. As a student, he worked on the Thomas Edison Boyhood Home site (20SC106) for four seasons and another two at Fort Gratiot (20SC41). Both of these sites are within ½ mile of Draper Park. Educated at the University of Houston, he is currently a professor at St. Clair County Community College where he teaches both networking and anthropology.

---

## Victuals and Libations in the U.S. Navy During the Age of Sail and Early Steam

---

**ABSTRACT:** For the United States Navy, from its inception to today, the forgotten weapon is food. For a ship to fight, sailors must eat and a ship's hold replete with barrels of food and liquids is as vital as the ship's cannon. During this period, the ship's commanding officer was responsible not only for filling the warships manifest to the best of his ability but also the crews safety and health. In order to meet these responsibilities, the sailor's diet played a significant role in meeting all three of these goals. In an era devoid of scientific knowledge regarding the merits of nutrition, the commanding officer relied on experience and observation to ensure his ship's company was healthy and able to meet the demands of life at sea in order to meet the call to action.

In "Victuals and Libations in the U.S. Navy During the Age of Sail and Early Steam," I will provide fresh insight based on numerous unpublished letters, diaries and journals that will shed new light on the health of the navy as a result of a balanced diet including the importance of the fledgling steam navy in providing distilled clean water on the overall health and subsequent readiness of the fleet. Provisioning the fleet is a vital contribution to understanding our nation's fledgling naval history.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Commander Dennis J. Ringle is a retired naval officer and senior adjunct of history at Henry Ford Community College. CDR Ringle received his Bachelors degree in Biology from Wayne State University and an M.A. in Business Management and Supervision from Central Michigan University and an M.A. in History from Eastern Michigan University. CDR Ringle was also awarded a Mechanical Engineering certificate for significant multiple tours as assistant engineer and engineering officer in four ships. In addition to serving in the engineering department on four ships, CDR Ringle also served as Instructor, United States Naval Academy; Staff Officer, Pacific Surface Fleet; Executive Officer, University of Michigan ROTC and Executive Officer, USS COOK (FF 1083). Following his retirement, Mr. Ringle was the Senior Naval Science Instructor, NJROTC unit at Monroe, H.S. for ten years.

Mr. Ringle is author of [Life in Mr. Lincoln's Navy](#). This book is listed in the U.S. Navy's "Required Professional Reading Program." He is also working on editing for publication the Clements Library's letters and journal of Assistant Purser Thomas C. Dudley who sailed with Commodore Matthew C. Perry in his epic voyage to Japan in the mid-nineteenth century.

---

## The British Raid on Essex: The Forgotten Battle of the War of 1812

---

**ABSTRACT:** On April 7-8<sup>th</sup> 1814, a British raiding force of 136 officers, sailors and marines rowed six miles up the Connecticut River from warships anchored in Long Island Sound to attack the shipping in Essex, then known as Pettipaug. By the time it

was over, twenty-four hours later, they had put the torch to twenty-seven vessels including six newly built privateers. It was the largest single loss of American shipping during the war and had major economic effects. It was big news at the time, covered by over ninety newspapers across the nation. Yet it was quickly overshadowed by the burning of Washington, the attack on Baltimore, the Battle of New Orleans and the end of the war. Two hundred years later as the bicentennial of the War of 1812 approached the British raid on Essex might as well never have happened. But it did.

Beginning in 2010 new research on both sides of the Atlantic uncovered the true scope and scale of the battle, which included over 500 American militia, soldiers, sailors and marines. Major archaeology funded by the American Battlefield Protection Program reinforced the extensive documentation and located a new wreck in the Connecticut River. In 2012 Essex was named Connecticut's first War of 1812 Battle Site and by May of this year it will have been placed on the National Register of Historic Places as a battle site of national significance. This is the previously untold story of the raid on Essex, and the struggle to force state and national recognition of the forgotten battle of the War of 1812.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Jerry Roberts is the official battlefield historian and special project coordinator for the National Park Service funded British Raid on Essex Project. He has directed research on both sides of the Atlantic for the past six years, including the extensive archaeology carried out along the river over the past year. As a result, Essex has become the State of Connecticut's first War of 1812 Battle Site and will become a federal battle site in May 2014. Roberts has distilled this research into a new book, *The British Raid on Essex, the Forgotten Battle of the War of 1812*, which has just been released by Wesleyan University Press. He has also written all of the educational materials for schools and a comprehensive system of historic site markers and battle site tours. Roberts served as the Vice President in Charge of Exhibits at the Intrepid Sea Air Space Museum in New York and, more recently, Executive Director at the Connecticut River Museum in Essex. He has written several books and dozens of articles for magazines and newspapers. He has written and appeared in several documentaries and has designed over sixty museum exhibits. He lives with his wife and two children overlooking the Connecticut River where he continues to write about adventures large and small.

---

### ***Niagara, Then and Now: What's the Same, What's Different***

---

**ABSTRACT:** On September 10, 1813, nine small ships — six of them, including *Niagara*, constructed at Erie — defeated a British squadron of six vessels in the Battle of Lake Erie. The *Niagara* was a two-masted, square-rigged sailing vessel. In 1813, she had a crew of 155 men and boys who manned her sails, 18 carronades and two long guns. The current *Niagara*, the third reconstruction of the original vessel, was launched in Erie in 1988. This paper examines what was known from the archeological record regarding the construction of the *Niagara*. The archaeological record will be

compared with what was conjectural in building the present *Niagara*. The authors will address how the original and reconstructed are alike, how these vessels differ, and why.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Walter Rybka grew up watching the comings and goings of ships in New York harbor and was fascinated by them from the outset. His parents took their four children to museums of every sort but the historical ones interested him the most. He began sailing as a deckhand on South Street Seaport Museum's 1885 gaff schooner *Pioneer* in 1971. In 1977, after six seasons in *Pioneer*, the last two as captain, Rybka joined the staff of the Galveston Historical Foundation effort to restore the 1877 iron barque *Elissa*. This was a seven year project to rebuild the ship from a gutted shell to a functioning sailing vessel. During the 3rd year he became the Restoration Director (by the "last-man-standing method of promotion"). From 1982 through 1990 he sailed as one of *Elissa's* officers whenever underway and divided the rest of his time between sailing for various educational programs, such as S.E.A. and Nautical Heritage Society, and consulting on ship restoration projects for museums. In 1991 he was hired by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission to develop a sailing program for the replica of an 1813 warship, the U.S. Brig *Niagara*. He also had a lead role in researching the interpretation of the ship and developing the exhibits for the Erie Maritime Museum, opened in 1998. Since 2001 he has been responsible for both the sailing program and the museum, and still sails as relief captain about 30 days per season. Rybka has a 1972 BA from Macalester College in Speech, a master's license for auxiliary sail 1,600 grt, Oceans. He has written numerous articles for Sea History over the years, training manuals for *Niagara*, and is the author of "The Lake Erie Campaign of 1813; I shall fight them this day".

---

### His Majesty's Transport Schooner *Nancy* (1789-1814)

---

**ABSTRACT:** The schooner *Nancy* was launched in 1789 and operated in the Fur trade up till the start of the War of 1812. With the declaration of war she was pressed into service, first in the Provincial Marine, and later into the Royal Navy itself. The schooner was a vital life line for the British garrison at Michilimackinac throughout 1814. In August of 1814 she was trapped in the Nottawasaga River (Georgian Bay, Lake Huron) by a powerful American Naval Force. After a brief fight she was burned in place to avoid capture while her captain and crew escaped into the wilderness.

The remains of the burned schooner were raised in the 1920s and have been on public display since that time, though never examined in great detail. This paper will present a brief history of the vessel and a more in-depth look at *Nancy's* design and construction based on an archaeological documentation carried out in the late 1990's.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Chris Sabick joined the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum in 1998 as an intern, served as the Director of Conservation from 2000-2013, and took on the Roll of Archaeological Director in 2013. He earned a B.A. in history and anthropology from

Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, and a M.A. in anthropology from the Nautical Archaeology Program at Texas A&M University. His thesis work focused on the history and construction of the War of 1812 Great Lakes Schooner *Nancy* (1789-1814).

---

**Inspecting the Inspectors: A Historical Perspective  
of United States Coast Guard Station New York**

---

**ABSTRACT:** In early October of 2013, the archaeology and historic preservation staff at Michael Baker International undertook a study at the United States Coast Guard (USCG) Station New York on Staten Island. The purpose of this study was a survey of historic buildings and ancillary structures, as well as an assessment of the archaeological potential of the boat basin in order to create a permanent record of the Station – a major node connecting the nation’s sea and inland waterways. Prior to its use by the USCG, this property served as a quarantine facility for the State of New York. As the country expanded and experienced a rapid population surge, quarantine operations were handed over to the US Public Health Service, and finally the Centers for Disease Control.

The project area encompasses approximately 8.3 acres of land, with the boat basin adding another 3.8 acres immediately off shore. The study included photographic documentation, historical background research, a review of relevant buildings and structures records (including photographic and written documentation), and an assessment of the potential for underwater archaeological resources within the Station New York boat basin.

In tracing the history of this coastal facility, which once served as a clearing house for the nation’s largest city, this paper and presentation provide a historical framework within which to view the shifting mindset of immigration and waterborne commerce policy from the turn of the 20th century.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Brian Seymour is an archaeological field supervisor with Michael Baker International, headquartered in Pittsburgh, PA. In 2009, he concluded his MSc in maritime archaeology from the University of Southampton (UK), having graduated with Distinction. His specialization in that field allows him to work both on land and underwater on historic and archaeological research projects with specific interest and attention to human/aquatic connection. He has excavated shipwreck sites in five countries including the US, UK, Italy, Israel and Ukraine, and conducted underwater assessments and surveys in river, lake, and maritime settings in the US and Haiti. Mr. Seymour is also well acquainted with 3D computer modeling, comparative mapping, CAD, GIS, and Photogrammetry, skills which awarded him a research fellowship with the *H. L. Hunley* Project in Charleston, SC. Throughout his graduate studies and professional experience he has presented original work in both academic and industry settings.

---

## A Determination Worthy of a Better Cause: Naval Action at the Battle of Roanoke Island 7 February 1862

---

**ABSTRACT:** On 7 February 1862 a joint Union Army-Navy force commanded by Brigadier General Ambrose Burnside and Flag-Officer Louis Goldsborough assaulted Roanoke Island North Carolina. Burnside landed some 10,000 troops on the island while Goldsborough's gunboats bombarded Confederate batteries and gunboats. The island fell the following day and opened a Union occupation of eastern North Carolina which would last the rest of the war. This paper presents the results of an anthropological/archaeological study of the naval action during this battle. The study was intended both to produce a more detailed explanatory account of the naval action during the battle than has previously been attempted and to refine a set theoretical and methodological constructs for battlefield archaeology. A revised account of the battle and the results of a remote sensing survey of the battlefield are included.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Lucas Simonds received his bachelor's degree from Southern Adventist University in 2011 with a double major in Classical Archaeology and International Studies with a German Emphasis. He is currently an M.A. Candidate in the Program in Maritime Studies at East Carolina University. His thesis research focuses on the naval action at the Battle of Roanoke Island. Lucas has worked on a number of archaeological projects including the Khirbet Qeiyafa excavations in Israel, the Joni Wreck Survey in Albania, a number of field schools both terrestrial and maritime, and his own thesis project. Although his primary interest lies in the classical Mediterranean, Lucas has a passion for maritime history in general, and is equally comfortable working on multiple time periods. Lucas hopes to graduate with his M.A. in May 2014 and would like to work as a maritime archaeologist in some capacity.

---

## Fighting for Freedom: The Slaves' Chesapeake Gamble during the War of 1812

---

**ABSTRACT:** For eighteen months during the War of 1812 the British Navy terrorized the Chesapeake coast of Virginia and Maryland. British raiding parties looted farms and plantations, requisitioned tobacco and valuables, and liberated and evacuated slaves. From their operational base on Tangier Island, Britain introduced a racial element to the war that almost destroyed the social fabric of the United States. Former slaves donned red coats and marched with British marines during 1814 attacks against Washington and Baltimore.

Not all slaves joined with the British, as many sided with the Americans. This presentation will share three vignettes of individual slaves/free blacks to understand the trials and tribulations African Americans experienced during the war.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Dr. Gene Allen Smith is a Professor of History at Texas Christian University, in Fort Worth, and during the 2013-14 academic year he will hold the "*Class of 1957 Distinguished Chair in Naval Heritage*" at the U.S. Naval Academy. He is author or editor of eight books, and numerous articles and reviews on the War of 1812, naval and maritime history, and territorial expansion along the Gulf of Mexico. His most recent book is *The Slaves' Gamble: Choosing Sides in the War of 1812*.

Since 2002 he has also served as the Director of the Center for Texas Studies at TCU, and since April 2008 as Curator of History at the Fort Worth Museum of Science and History.

---

**Commissioner Barrie, the American threat and  
a British postwar response to the War of 1812**

---

**ABSTRACT:** A British postwar response to the War of 1812 was the construction of a 'storehouse' at the Royal Navy Dockyard, Kingston, Ontario. Anticipating further hostilities, war supplies were moved from Montreal and other locations through difficult waters upstream. The Navy Board appointed Commissioner Barrie in charge of the base and of the construction of this remarkable stone structure (still in use) in the middle of a wilderness. Barrie, a veteran of the Napoleonic Wars used his considerable leadership skills to 'tack' his way to the objective. He was also an astute administrator fully aware of the political landscape in which he had to work. Research resources include those from the National Archives, Kew and the recently located 1819 dry dock drawings from the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. Commissioner Barrie, through the 1820s had considerable influence in the development of British North America.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Mr. Smith was a professional sailor, in sail for thirteen years. He has a British Marine 'ticket' and has served as navigator and master. His sailing experience includes the Great Lakes, the eastern seaboard of United States, the West Indies, the North Sea and the Baltic. In 1977 he was recruited to assist the Marine Museum Board of Directors to develop their site on the Kingston waterfront and 'build' the collections. Twenty-three years later he retired as the Executive Director of the Marine Museum of the Great Lakes. The museum now has extensive collections, a museum ship and is well on its way into its next level of development. Mr. Smith is the Curator Emeritus of the Marine Museum of the Great Lakes and continues to serve the museum in that capacity. He is currently mentoring new staff and working on projects for the museum. Mr. Smith has served as President of the Ontario Museums Association, and the Kingston Visitor and Convention Bureau, Canadian representative on the Council of the International Congress of Maritime Museums, and President of the Kingston Historical Society. He is currently President of the Canadian Nautical Research Society and is still active in the fields of marine history and museums (delivering papers on obscure subjects). His book, *Steamboats on the Lakes: Two Centuries of Steamboat Travel Through Ontario's Waterways* was published by James Lorimer and Company in 2005. His manuscript *The History of Canada Steamship Lines* was delivered to CSL in 2013 and he is now working on the Annette Brock Davis journals, about her year as crew in sail aboard the barque *L'Avenir*. His wife Ruth is keen sailor and the two boys, Romney and Tarragon are both graduates of art schools.

---

## Great Lakes Geology and Hydrography: 1820s Keys to Knowledge, Peace, and Stability

---

**ABSTRACT:** Despite the alarming frequency with which invading armies had ventured in both directions across the Great Lakes frontier during the preceding century, an English visitor travelling in the United States in the 1820s declared that boundaries involving large lakes or impenetrable mountain ranges serve nearly as effectively as do oceans in maintaining peacefulness between quarrelsome nations. Why should this claim have been plausible at the time? Demilitarization of the Great Lakes was still a work in progress at that moment, as prescribed by the Treaty of Ghent (which concluded the War of 1812). This paper will examine how the sciences of geology and hydrography were mobilized to support the monumental task of mapping, investigating, and pacifying the Great Lakes region. In a sense, a joint international scientific expedition in physical geography was entrusted to define an extensive but stable natural boundary through “the middles” of four extremely large lakes. Dr. John Bigsby, a naturalist who belonged to the British Army’s medical staff stationed in Canada, was appointed to serve as Assistant Secretary for the Boundary Commission that was established per the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> articles of the Treaty. Major James Delafield, an amateur mineralogist, served in a comparable capacity for the Americans. The immense wealth of scientific knowledge, coupled with the politically acceptable compromises which resulted from their collaborative enterprise, seemed to fully confirm the Enlightenment idea that natural science might rationally resolve all problems of human societies.

**BIOGRAPHY:** David Spanagel is an Assistant Professor of History at the Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Worcester Massachusetts. He earned his Ph.D. in the history of science at Harvard University in 1996. David's first book *DeWitt Clinton & Amos Eaton: Geology and Power in Early New York* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014) harks back to an era when mere literacy and curiosity were sufficient to engage in scientific discourse. The book details how circumstances in geology, geography, and politics fostered the rapid development of the Erie Canal network, a technological achievement which, in turn, enabled a particularly innovative and fruitful examination of Earth's history by anyone living or travelling in New York. The book also explores how geological debates penetrated into contemporary cultural activities such as literature, landscape painting, and religion. His next major project will explore the question of how geology, geometry, and diplomacy competed as approaches to resolve boundary disputes in North America during the first half of the nineteenth century. This conference paper opens up an important episode in that history, and illuminates one of the key examples that fueled contemporary visions of how scientific knowledge might foster peaceful international relations.

---

**Prairie Schooners and Waves of Grain: *Thalassic Metaphor*  
in North American Inland Encounters**

---

**ABSTRACT:** The association between prairie and sea is deeply ingrained in North American rhetorical tradition, and is a salient feature of poetry, travelogue, correspondence and even diaries across centuries of American writing. What drew travelers and settlers alike to use myriad iterations of the metaphor? Although it became an institutionalized trope, the metaphor of prairie/plains-as-sea demonstrated an exceptionally long shelf life and was unusually wide-spread in its application. This paper examines the draw that the sea had for these inland voyagers, and complicates the distinction between frontiers on land and at sea. It argues that the affinity between prairie/plains and sea extends beyond the visual similarities to also reflect underlying beliefs about the symbolic nature of the sea. It demonstrates that thalassic metaphor allows writers to express simultaneously the thrill of potential, the challenge of adventure, and the fear of the unknown. This use of thalassic metaphor provided a framework for understanding a new environment, as well as indicating a means to establish greater control over their surroundings. This paper combines both historical and literary analysis, focusing on literature and song, as well as personal letters and diaries. It uses these individual voices to recount an experience that shaped an entire culture, and was shaped by it. Ultimately, this paper argues that for many, the pioneering experience was the direct inheritor of the seaborne Age of Exploration. This conceptual crossroads between prairie and sea was central to the way in which westward exploration, expansion and settlement was - and is still - understood.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Rebecca Shimoni-Stoil is a graduate student in the History Department at Johns Hopkins University. Her primary area of interest is sub-political ideology and its cultural manifestations, with a particular focus on identities in decline and national sentiment. Rebecca has recently completed a multi-year project on the New England whaling industry, and has now begun to study American agrarians' perceptions of their role in American culture and politics. Rebecca holds a BA from University of Chicago, and comes to academia following years of work in journalism during which she covered internal security and later parliamentary politics for the Jerusalem Post. Rebecca presented her work on the whaling industry last year at NASOH, and conversations during the bus trip to the Presque Isle lighthouses formed the basis for this project, which attempts to blur the boundaries between frontiers at sea and on land.

---

**“We All Live By Wrecking:” Marine Salvage, Capitalism,  
and US Expansion in Key West, Florida (1821-1860)**

---

**ABSTRACT:** The extant scholarship on shipwreck salvage, or wrecking, suggests that this shadow economy of the sea was a commonplace, profitable, but troublesome activity in the Age of Sail. Yet wrecking took a completely different meaning in the amphibious borderlands of the Florida Keys, where the frequency of shipwrecks led to the

creation of a permanent community of specialized mariners in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. My paper argues that Key West inaugurated a transition from pre-industrial, customary, and largely illegal forms of wrecking associated with plunder and piracy, to a modern, organized salvage industry policed by state authorities.

Wrecking, moreover, permitted the emergence of an American community in the area and proved instrumental to US regional expansion. The profits generated by salvage operations fueled the development of a capitalist economy, which turned Key West into a prosperous settlement and bustling seaport. As the labour of the wreckers made long-distance shipping safer, it also became a major concern of US geopolitics. American authorities regulated wrecking as a means to secure the laws of property at sea, to impose their sovereignty on their Southern frontier, and to project their influence over the waters of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Yevan Terrien is a PhD candidate in Atlantic History at the University of Pittsburgh, where he works under the supervision of labour and maritime historian Marcus Rediker. A French national, he has studied and taught in France and the US. His research focuses on the global history of the Gulf South in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Terrien completed his MA at the University of Texas at Dallas, and his thesis on a French settlement in the Texas-Louisiana borderlands was published in the journal *Atlantic Studies* in 2013. His dissertation explores the politics of mobility, forced migration, and desertion in early Louisiana. Terrien's second project investigates the history of shipwreck salvage, or wrecking, and the impact of this amphibious activity on coastal communities like Key West, Florida.

---

**Warwick: A Preliminary Rigging Reconstruction  
of an English Galleon from 1619**

---

**ABSTRACT:** *Warwick*, an English race-built galleon belonging to Sir Robert Rich, arrived at Castle Harbor, Bermuda on October 20, 1619. Its mission was to bring settlers, supplies, and Captain Nathaniel Butler from England to the newly established plantation colony at Jamestown, Virginia. At the end of November, a hurricane drove the ship into shallow reefs and steep cliffs where it sank.

*Warwick* was fully excavated under the direction of Dr. Piotr Bojakowski and Dr. Katie Custer between 2010 and 2012. Excavations revealed the bottom of the ship's hull, which is tentatively estimated to be a total length of 80-86 feet, a depth of 9 feet, and a beam of 23 feet. Artifacts recovered include a gunport lid, an iron grenade, ceramic sherds, barrel staves, ship ballast, brick, coal, wood fragments, and leather, among others. Eight deadeyes, five rigging blocks, and four chainplates were also raised. This paper presents a hypothetical rigging reconstruction based on these archaeological finds, analogous shipwrecks that have been excavated, sixteenth and seventeenth-century ship treatises and dictionaries, and ship iconography.

Further, applications of rigging reconstructions to seafaring life will be discussed because a large part of understanding past humans is to study their activity. For sailors, adjusting and maintaining the rigging were some of the main activities performed on board. Sailor physiology and rigging reconstructions may provide new perspectives on shipboard life.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Grace Tsai graduated in 2011 from the University of California, San Diego, with dual bachelor degrees in psychology and anthropology (with a concentration in archaeology). She is currently a second-year PhD student in the Nautical Archaeology Program at Texas A&M University. Her interests lie in shipboard life, ship construction and rigging, osteology, and human physiology. Her current dissertation research involves using rigging reconstructions and experimental archaeology to determine how living and working on seventeenth-century English ships change human physiology.

---

**“Our Field of Fame:” John Quincy Adams  
and American Naval Exploration of the Pacific**

---

**ABSTRACT:** In his First Annual Message to Congress in 1825, President John Quincy Adams requested appropriations for an American naval vessel to explore the Northwest coast of the North American continent. Adams, an accomplished diplomat and continental expansionist before his presidency, framed his proposal as part of a larger presidential plan to lift the United States to the rank of a great and powerful civilized nation. His suggestion soon took on a life of its own; exploration boosters like Jeremiah Reynolds and the extensive whaling and sealing interests of the United States shifted the proposed expedition’s emphasis from the Pacific Northwest to the South Seas and Antarctica. Though the first legislative push for American naval exploration of the Pacific failed in 1829, the second, beginning in the mid-1830s, would eventually succeed. The result would be the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842. This paper explores the origins of Adams’s proposal and how it evolved into a project of larger proportion. It suggests that Adams’s familiarity with the navigational and diplomatic hazards of Northwest Coast through Boston China traders, his specialization in geopolitical and foreign relations, and his commitment to scientific nationalism merged in his proposal for an American naval exploring expedition to the Pacific. Even when other actors piled on their own agendas to the expedition, the fundamental commercial, geopolitical, and nationalistic impulses to Pacific exploration remained intact.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Michael Verney is an ABD doctoral student at the University of New Hampshire. He studies American maritime and naval history and the history of U.S. foreign relations broadly conceived during the Early American Republic. He earned his B.A. in history at the University of Massachusetts Amherst in 2008 and his M.A. in history at the University of New Hampshire in 2011. He is the author of an article in *The Journal of the Early Republic* entitled "An Eye for Prices, an Eye for Souls: Americans

in the Indian subcontinent, 1784-1838." He has been a member of NASOH since 2009, when he received a certificate from the Frank C. Munson Institute at Mystic Seaport. His dissertation is on American naval exploration across the globe before the Civil War.

---

**“Owners, Shippers, Masters of Vessels are Hereby Warned,” Timber Thievery and other Smuggling in Florida Waters during the Early Republic.**

---

**ABSTRACT:** Obtaining the sparsely populated Florida territory in 1819 not only secured a strategic location for the United States, but also added to the growing problem of illicit trade in the Gulf of Mexico. This paper examines maritime smuggling in Florida waters from 1810 – 1840, but focuses on the illegal timber trade as a case study. Upon gaining Florida, the United States inherited some of the best live oak and cedar forests in the American Southeast. Although there had been regulations against harvesting on public land under the Spanish, the chaos and void of law caused by the cession of the territory led opportunists to help themselves to this valuable wood supply. Often these smugglers took vessels laden with wood originally set aside for the U.S. Navy to British ports, where likely it was used to build ships for the recent enemy. Naval officers and Revenue-Marine captains were given specific orders to stem the destruction of public lands. While these efforts successfully condemned some smugglers’ cargoes, conviction for this crime rarely came in the territorial courts. This paper addresses the smuggling problem and efforts by the United States government to halt the activity at sea and through the court system in the territories, while connecting these problems to the immediate maritime community surrounding early American Florida.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Daniel Vogel is a doctoral candidate at Texas Christian University. His dissertation, advised by Dr. Gene A. Smith, examines illicit maritime activity in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea from the end of the Seven Years War to the Texas Revolution. He is currently an Adjunct instructor for TCU’s history department and for Dallas County Community College. His Master’s and Bachelor’s degrees were earned at Edinboro University of Pennsylvania, where he worked with Dr. Ronald Spiller. His thesis was on the War of 1812 on the Great Lakes. Dan has presented at numerous conferences on both maritime topics and on other academic interests such as Victorian era vacation culture and representations of piracy in popular culture. He grew up in Erie, PA, where his love for maritime history began with an elementary school field trip to the U.S. Brig *Niagara*.

---

**Reconstructing the Story of *Linnet*: From the War of 1812 to the Role of Maritime Heritage Today**

---

**ABSTRACT:** The Royal Navy Brig *Linnet* was the first 1812 warship built on Lake Champlain and the last ship to surrender during the Battle of Plattsburgh Bay. The 1995 archaeological excavation yielded few artifacts and an extremely damaged hull,

but also led to the discovery of community lore surrounding the shipwrecks in the Poughkeepsie River near Whitehall, New York. This paper will include a reflection on the excavation, artifacts, archival research and reconstruction of *Linnet* from a maritime archaeology tradition, but will also consider the role of shipwrecks and maritime heritage in the Inland Seas today. Not only are these shipwrecks of historical and archaeological interest, but they provide a unique opportunity through which we can reconnect modern society to our collective regional past. This shared maritime heritage is an important part of current efforts to map, study, understand and protect the cultural ecosystem services provided by the largest freshwater system in the world. The need for maritime heritage research, education and stewardship will also be explored in connection with NOAA's Sanctuaries and Reserves in the Great Lakes.

**BIOGRAPHY:** Dr. Erika Washburn is the Manager of the Lake Superior National Estuarine Research Reserve. An anthropologist specializing in the application of social science to challenges at the intersection of society, water and coastal systems, she completed her Anthropology Master's degree through Texas A&M University's Nautical Archaeology Program. Her thesis focused on the excavation, reconstruction and history of the Brig *Linnet* from the War of 1812. Erika holds degrees in marine biology and archaeology from Boston University, with training at the Woods Hole Marine Biological Lab and in the terrestrial archaeology of ancient landscapes and coastal areas in Greece. The recipient of a Fulbright and a National Estuarine Research Reserve Social Science Fellowship, Erika completed her Ph.D. at the University of New Hampshire, for which she was awarded NOAA's 2010 Walter B. Jones Award for Excellence. Her professional experience includes serving as a coastal conservation planner for the Michigan chapter of The Nature Conservancy, Lakewide Management Plan Coordinator for NOAA in the Great Lakes, and as Archaeological Director for the Great Lakes Historical Society. Erika's professional experience includes academia, nonprofits, and Federal agencies, including the EPA's Office of Wetlands, Oceans and Watersheds and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

## An introduction to Audette's speech

by Alec Douglas

---

Louis Audette, who died in April 1995, was a man of parts, that is to say, a man of the world and a gentleman. In 1977 he agreed to deliver the banquet address at a meeting of the Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, held at the Collège militaire royal de St Jean, near Iberville. He spoke on the 21<sup>st</sup> of October, Trafalgar Day. Horatio Nelson featured in his remarks: so did Pierre le Moyne D'Iberville. Having reminded us of the traditions that illuminate Canada's naval past, he recalled his own remarkable experiences of naval warfare during the Battle of the Atlantic. What he had to say was memorable and instructive, and it deserves to be repeated at regular intervals for those of us who strive to understand and interpret our naval heritage. Roger Sarty, one of the official historians tasked with writing about the RCN in the Second World War, remembered Louis Audette in the April, 1995 issue of *Argonauta*. What he said in that tribute reflected accurately the affection and respect that so many of us relatively young historians held for Louis.

### Notes for a speech to the Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War at St Jean Collège militaire royal de St Jean, near Iberville, October 21st, 1977

By Louis Audette

---

Perhaps I may be allowed to forego the frequent but brazenly untruthful denial a speaker so often makes of the kind things said about him by way of introduction. However, be assured that if I eschew this challenge to your Chairman's judgment, it is not without a silent prayer that I shall not lead you to make it later.

There is a curious concatenation of date and place in tonight's dinner which requires a preliminary observation. The date is the 172nd anniversary of the battle of Trafalgar which forever confirmed Lord Nelson as Britain's greatest sailor. The place, St Jean d'Iberville, of course brings to mind the man who is beyond doubt Canada's greatest native sailor: Pierre LeMoyne d'Iberville. Because Nelson may be less well known to those who read more in French and d'Iberville, less well known to those who read more in English, I propose to deal with Nelson in French and with d'Iberville in English.

Il y a 172 ans et six semaines ce soir que l'amiral Lord Nelson, qui avait déjà perdu un bras et l'usage d'un oeil au service de son souverain, quittait les délices de son manoir à Merton pour rejoindre la flotte anglaise en Méditerranée. Il quittait avec l'approbation de sa bien aimée Lady Hamilton, veuve depuis peu de Sir William Hamilton, le mari complaisant qui avait complété le bizarre ménage à trois qui avait existé avant sa mort. Lady Nelson, inutile de l'ajouter, n'était pas consultée et Horatia,

fille illégitime de Lady Hamilton et de Nelson, était trop jeune pour donner son avis. Son départ marquait à la fois l'apogée et la fin d'une carrière brillante. Au large du Cap Trafalgar, le 21 octobre 1805, Nelson gagnerait bien la bataille contre l'amiral de Villeneuve qui, accablé de reproches par Napoléon, s'y était pourtant engagé contre son gré, mais Nelson y perdrait aussi la vie dès le début du combat. Sa victoire et sa mort faisaient de lui peut-être le marin le mieux connu des deux derniers siècles.

Reconnu pour sa vanité, Nelson avait tout de même de très grandes qualités pour justifier sa réputation. Ses exploits antérieurs lui avaient valu l'élévation à la pairie britannique à titre de vicomte. Il gagnait la confiance et l'affection de ses officiers en partageant toujours avec eux les stratégies et tactiques qu'il comptait employer. Quant aux simples marins, il était leur idole - et à bon droit - car il partageait ses projets avec eux aussi. En plus, au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle - époque peu humanitaire - c'était l'un des rares officiers à se préoccuper des besoins et des intérêts de ses hommes. Par dessus tout, c'était un grand marin. Un tel homme possédait alors - et conserve encore aujourd'hui - un attrait immense. C'est l'une des grandes figures de l'histoire navale dont nous célébrons l'anniversaire ce soir.

The other great figure was Pierre LeMoyne d'Iberville, one of the famed eleven sons of Charles LeMoyne de Longueuil, father of the most brilliant family in a single generation that Canada has yet known. If circumstances allowed Nelson to play his role a hundred years later and on a greater stage than LeMoyne d'Iberville, the two men nevertheless had curiously similar problems in their private lives. As Nelson had Lady Hamilton - with all the complications of their illegitimate daughter, of the Hamilton woman's husband and of Nelson's wife - so d'Iberville had Mademoiselle de Belestre by whom he too had the problem of a child without benefit of marriage, at least without the complication of double adultery but nevertheless in a colony in which sexual mores were exceedingly strict as opposed to the looser mores of the England of 1800. However, be assured that I pass no judgement nor do I scorn. Notwithstanding our own permissive times, we must remember that a passion which is irresistible is not irremissible.

Again like Nelson, d'Iberville's career was one of brilliant achievements in warfare - in Canada, on the New England coast, in the Hudson Bay of unsettled sovereignty and elsewhere. In his final years, it was he who established Louisiana. The peak of his naval career came in 1697 when Louis XIV decided to reconquer Hudson Bay and its fur market. To implement the great monarch's purpose, d'Iberville, with five ships, set off for the Bay where he had his great moment of naval glory on September the 5th, 1697.

At Port Nelson, separated from his other ships and alone in *Pélican* with 42 guns, d'Iberville met up with three British warships. They were the *Hampshire* with 50 guns, *Dering* with 32 guns and *Hudson Bay* with 32 guns. The odds against him were daunting, indeed overwhelming - three ships to one and 114 guns to 42. Even better men than he might have taken flight. But not d'Iberville.

Without hesitation, he immediately attacked *Hampshire* his most powerful opponent who narrowly escaped boarding. At the same time, *Pélican* kept firing broadsides at *Dering* and at *Hudson Bay*. All the while, the three English ships kept firing at *Péli-*

*can's* rigging in order to cripple her. This fierce battle and the devastating cannonades continued for three harrowing hours. *Hampshire* then closed *Pélican* and Fletcher, her Captain, summoned d'Iberville to surrender. Upon his refusal to yield, Fletcher toasted him from his bridge and d'Iberville, not to be outdone in the amenities of 18th century warfare, also raised a glass to his opponent. The fighting then resumed and Fletcher fired his heaviest broadside at *Pélican*. D'Iberville answered by a broadside aimed at *Hampshire's* waterline in order to sink her. His tactic was effective as *Hampshire* spun around and sank. *Hudson Bay* then hauled down her flag in surrender and *Dering* took to flight. This colourful naval action is perhaps best summarised by your historian colleague, Nellis M. Crouse, in his book *LeMoyne d'Iberville*, in the following terms:

"The capture of Port Nelson in 1697 brought to an end d'Iberville's activities in Hudson Bay. His action off Hayes River earned him unending applause, for it was indeed a great feat of seamanship. With one ship he had sunk an English man of war, captured another and put to flight a third, an achievement perhaps unparalleled in the long history of Anglo-French naval warfare... It placed him on a footing with the great naval captains of France."

It is curious that in Canadian seafaring circles today, d'Iberville's name is commemorated only by the civilian Department of Transport through its icebreaker *D'Iberville* but not by the great naval officer's less imaginative - or perhaps less well informed - naval successors.

This evening I pay the unreserved tribute due to these two great sailors who both belong to our past - because of the date, to Nelson, and because of the place, to Pierre LeMoyne d'Iberville, beyond doubt Canada's greatest native sailor, though he may be less well known except among the better read historians.

I am delighted, and indeed honoured, to be with the members of your Committee who are ensuring that the history of the Second World War will become known at least to that rather small segment of our population which actually reads the printed word. I come as a septuagenarian - practically snatched from beneath the undertaker's covetous eye - and also - with more relevance - as one who fought at sea through the long and harrowing years of the Battle of the Atlantic. It is of this battle that Churchill wrote "The only thing that really frightened me during the war was the U-boat peril... The Admiralty, with whom I lived in the closest unity and contact, shared these fears."

Though there is a distinct possibility that Churchill may have been unaware of it, I too shared his fears - for the very simple reason that I saw so many ships go down, so many men die and so many vital cargoes lost. Your endeavours lead you to look upon the broader aspects of the war, at the strategic, the overall outlook. As officer-of-the-watch and later as Captain in warships, the side of the Battle of the Atlantic was the tactical one, and, consequently, I come to speak of the more intimate and personal side of the war and, even more, of the men who fought it.

When war broke out, the older hands not only brought about the required metamorphosis from peaceful civilian to bloodthirsty warrior. Much more importantly, they successfully instilled into the new sailor the spirit of the sea. It is by virtue of this spirit that the sailor has only part of himself that he can - or even seeks - to call his own.

The other part of himself he has given fully and unconditionally to his ship. He knows full well that, before any other consideration in life, come the happiness and safety of his ship because in them lie his own safety and that of his shipmates. This spirit takes deep root in the sailor's heart and engenders in him an intense loyalty to his ship and his shipmates. His feeling on this score manifests itself most markedly when he deems one or the other to stand in any jeopardy from an outside source.

This same spirit of the sea moves men to give their best efforts, to give of themselves, in the most trying circumstances. After days and nights of the famed wolf pack attacks, men groggy with fatigue would carry on cheerfully and men deathly seasick would stick to their jobs in stuffy, smelly and overheated stations - and those of you who have known the death wish of the seasick know what heroism that spells.

I remember one outstanding incident when the destroyer *Saugenay* was torpedoed in early December 1940. It was the middle of the night and many men had been killed or wounded by the torpedo explosion. It took some time to find out who they were but there could be no doubt about the presence of the enemy. Being a gunnery officer at the time, I was charged with the after guns as much of the ship's bows had been blown away and fire was raging around the forward guns.

Not having any idea of who was dead or alive, I called for volunteers to man the guns until a little sorting out could be done. Among these was a young lad, not a gunnery rating, who took on the job of passing up shells - and, because of what is coming, I stress that these were heavy, hard, cold metal shells. This he did until the fire forward suddenly burst into particularly bright flames and, by their light, I was able to observe his hands and face were shockingly burned by the original torpedo explosion. Naturally I ordered him to go below for medical care.

Some time later, there having been much to do in the interim, I found the lad sitting at the top of the vertical ladder leading down from the gun platform to the main deck and sobbing quietly like a hurt child. I chided him for not having gone down for medical help as I had told him to do. He silenced me most effectively when he explained through his tears - and such tears are devastating - that his hands were far too painful for him to climb down the ladder. I had him lowered to the upper deck by a line. Yet this was the man who had volunteered for this job of passing up shells to the gun - and had stuck to it until I interfered.

There can be no doubt that the sea takes from the sailors something intangible and gives it to the ship herself - and that something intangible is her soul. Heretical as it may seem, ships do have souls, personalities of their own, and because of this they inspire a very real love which no landsman will ever understand. My intensely courageous fellow with the burnt hands knew that love.

There is a strange fascination to life on board ship which arises inevitably from living at such close quarters with so many men - and nowadays, for all I know, women too, which could only add to it. You become involved in their lives and their problems to a degree impossible elsewhere. However, this proximity, interesting as it was, could involve you in incidents whereby our friend and sailor, in his off moments, disturbed the serenity of his superiors.

There was a case in Glasgow, early in the war, when my former legal career and my new naval career were brought together in a manner far from satisfactory to me. One of my lads called Murphy was hauled up in Court on a charge of having broken a large plate-glass window. Happily the owner of the window rejoiced in the very un-Scottish name of Guglielmo Tettrazzini and the incident occurred at a time when Italy's stock was at an all-time low. As soon as I heard of Murphy's jeopardy, I rushed off to Court but - most unfortunately - when I arrived in the courtroom, his case was already well under way. Thus I was deprived of the inestimable and completely essential benefit of a pre-trial consultation with my unwelcome and impecunious client. The presiding magistrate, observing my uniform and the somewhat sickly smile bestowed upon me by the accused, realized that we were shipmates and very kindly asked me if I had come to speak on Murphy's behalf.

I had to admit that I had so come and I then promptly led off into an impassioned eulogy on what had a fine fellow Murphy was, how we could never win the war without him on board and on how he could never have broken Signor Tettrazzini's wretched plate-glass window, even by the remotest accident. My plea was obviously having very little effect on the magistrate who kept looking as though he were about to interrupt me. Would that he had done so before he did. This, of course, only spurred me on to further outbursts of forensic eloquence in a case about which I unfortunately knew nothing whatsoever until finally the magistrate leaned forward and said to me: "I beg your pardon, but are you fully aware that the accused has pleaded guilty to the offence charged".

I, of course, was not aware of the accused's guilty plea or of anything else connected with the case but I was young enough to be embarrassed. The courtroom spectators, and even Murphy himself, the wretch - all chuckled at my discomfiture. So, on a much lower pitch, I quickly urged that all I said be considered in mitigation of sentence. This was to prove a singularly prudent move on my part because, when the fine was imposed Murphy, as usual, had no money and I had to pay to get the body out of Glasgow's gaol.

If the lack of pre-trial consultation with Murphy led to one of the darker moments of my legal career, to retrieve my reputation as a lawyer perhaps I may be allowed to turn to another sailor-in-trouble yarn which casts a brighter light on my legal ingenuity - it might even bring me consultations.

In the autumn of 1943, I was finishing a refit of my ship *Amherst* in Charlottetown and my ship's company asked me to approve a ship's dance before we sailed away. So a ship's dance there was. Among my sailors was a nineteen-year-old lad called Blake. At the time he was not yet fully familiar with the perils of over-indulgence in alcohol. This inexperience led him to a condition of alcoholic exuberance in which he stole - or perhaps I should only say that he "took" - not just a mere automobile but, rather, a large roomy bus. He drove his bus through the streets of Charlottetown to the alarm and dismay of those citizens who had not already gone to bed and headed for the Hillsborough Bridge - an unusual bridge at the time in that railway and vehicular traffic both used the same right of way - you simply did not engage on the bridge if you saw a train coming. Blake engaged on the bridge in gleeful abandon and lost control

of the bus half-way over, jamming it securely across the bridge. The bus was badly damaged, so was the bridge, and all traffic across it, rail and vehicle, was suspended for fourteen hours - a matter of considerable inconvenience to those who depended on the use of the bridge. Blake was marched off to goal and earned the then minimum sentence of seven days for drunk driving which, in calm retrospect, does not seem entirely unreasonable.

However, I hated the idea of a nineteen-year-old in gaol. Smugly perhaps, I thought he would be in worse company than in the ship. The civil authorities were very understanding towards my representations for his release to continue fighting the war, they even agreed to surrendering him to me providing I undertook to punish him severely in the ship. This was all very well but there was a serious hindrance to it all: I could not legally punish Blake a second time for an offence for which he had already been punished by the civil court.

I mulled over the issues and finally inspiration came. I made a few quiet, discreet suggestions and, a little later, I held Requestmen, a naval ceremonial at which men bring forward their varied requests to their Captain. All the officers were duly present as I really needed witnesses to what I was about to do. Then up came Blake with two civil policemen standing by at a discreet distance and looking a bit bewildered by what they did not understand. Then, perhaps for the only time in naval history, Blake as a requestman solemnly asked for 14 days no 11 and 30 days no 12, two very unpleasant naval punishments and, no less solemnly, I granted his request. Thus, I was able to get Blake out of gaol and had it all taken down by the civil authorities. However, I did not succeed in avoiding a great deal of paperwork with the naval shore authorities about such unprecedented goings-on.

Not all incidents for a ship's Captain had the lighter side of the two I have related. Command at sea in wartime involved a dreadful loneliness when new and unforeseen circumstances cropped up and there was no one from whom to seek guidance or advice. In November, 1942, I was captain of one of the escorts of Convoy SC-107, one of the most ill fated of the war - fifteen ships out of a total of forty-two were lost to the enemy. For four consecutive nights and days, thirteen submarines - operating under the unexpectedly gentle name of "Group Violet" - carried out relentless wolf-pack attacks until everyone was worn-out from constant presence at action stations and lack of sleep.

On the last night of these attacks, I was stationed on the port side of the convoy when *Daleby*, a ship on the port column of ships, was torpedoed. Shortly afterwards, I got a good asdic contact on what I now have reason to believe was the submarine U-89 and I naturally prepared to attack. A heavy sea was running and there was complete darkness, I started to close the U-boat for a depth charge attack at high speed. My ship's company was not only tense and ready but also, because of all the death and destruction in the last few days, angry and eager. It was the classic setting for an attack upon a U-boat - or so I thought.

Then, suddenly, I was struck by the stunning realization that my submarine contact lay dead ahead beneath a group of about forty survivors from *Daleby* whose flashing lights on the shoulders of their life-jackets could be seen in the water. Like all Cap-

tains, I had daydreamed or lain awake at night a thousand times conjuring up every possible situation and applying to it my judgement on the action to be taken. However, the cruel dilemma before me was one I had never dreamed up. To continue my attack on the submarine meant death, maiming or, at best, prolonged physical agony for the unfortunate men from my depth charge explosions. They were our men too, the very men I was trying to protect. There is no question that my mind fairly spun under the weight of the decision which was to be made - and made within seconds.

The men on my bridge were fully aware of the harsh crisis and quite happy, indeed, that the decision was mine to make and not theirs. Shocked by the situation, they all stared at me and waited to see what I would do. I, of course, had no one to whom I could turn and, above all, I could not possibly delay. I gave orders to press on with the attack. Obviously the mere giving of such an order would tear anyone asunder, but I decided that the destruction of a U-boat, firmly held by asdic, must take priority over the lives and safety of these few unhappy men when weighed against the safety of the remaining ships and hundreds of men in them, to say nothing of the safe landing of the desperately needed cargoes. I am still quite certain that I gave the right order. Nevertheless it took an enormous toll at the time.

By a providential stroke of luck for the poor devils in the water, just after I had given orders to press on with the attack, my asdic broke down for a short time. Though I was prepared to carry out a precision attack and kill certainly most of our survivors, it was unthinkable to drop depth charges among them by mere rough guesswork about the evasive tactics of the U-boat. Consequently, I countermanded the attack and then had to divert my attention to efforts to avoid killing the same men either by running them down with my ship or by overwhelming them with the ship's wash - in total darkness, not quite as simple a task as it might seem.

The same stricken ship, *Daleby*, was to give me further torment that night. Though on fire aft and down by the head, she did not sink for some time. I screened the rescue ship while she picked up survivors. Indeed my standing orders formally forbade me to stop my ship in such circumstances. However, while screening the rescue ship I had occasion to steam close to *Daleby* and I saw that there were still three men on board who called piteously to be rescued. I informed the rescue ship but she refused to send her boat in the rough seas. Her stand was realism - or perhaps more accurately, pussillanimity - beyond what I could accept when it meant certain death for three men. Perhaps I was still under the spell of my brush not with death but for me killing others, but in any event, against all orders, I decided to stop my ship and send away my own boat to effect the rescue. When there was a call for volunteers to man the boat, I was much moved that everyone sought to go.

My suspension of the screen placed the rescue ship in jeopardy as well as delaying my return to my station with the convoy. In pitch darkness. Without the use of any lights at all, my boat was lowered in heavy seas and headed for *Daleby*. I resumed the screen of the rescue ship and spent a very anxious hour or so wondering if I had sent my boat's crew to their deaths for the rescue of three unknown men. I ran the double risk of not finding my boat in the vastness of the ocean and the darkness and of running it down in the dark. Everyone kept a good lookout and, in due course to my in-

tense relief, I found my boat, stopped my ship again - and, with all three survivors on board.

This was no simple evolution. Corvette boats were small. The ship was rolling and pitching heavily. I had to find the best heading to avoid too much roll and to provide some kind of lee for my boat in the heavy sea without any lights while lowering and hoisting the boat. The decisions, the orders - right or wrong - may have been mine that night but, mark you, the final stress, the final courage in their execution was not mine but that of my men.

There was at least an amusing sequel to the forbidden rescue effort. A few days later in Liverpool, I mentioned the incident to the famed U-boat killer, Captain Johnnie Walker, then Captain(D) in Liverpool, and sought his views on my action. He criticized me harshly for having stopped my ship and then quietly looked up at me and said: "But I would have done the same, Audette."

If there were trying moments, there were also days and months of great satisfaction. It is impossible to live at such close quarters with a group of men under your command without becoming deeply involved in their daily lives. Involvement of this nature inevitably begets a very real affection for them which is often reciprocated as is the case with all affection in life. Because the Navy provides that any man may see and consult privately with his Captain on personal problems, there were naturally some rather odd moments. I remember the day when one of my men sought to see me on such a personal problem. It was highly personal and, whatever may be said of its solution, it was simple in nature: his girl sought to marry him on the grounds that she was pregnant. As he was a fine looking chap, I am inclined to the view that they may both have enjoyed any actions which - I am informed - are likely to lead to such a situation. However, my sailor laboured under the disquieting impression that he was not entirely alone in such activities and was consequently somewhat reluctant to commit matrimony. I finally urged that he take steps to verify the truth of the alleged pregnancy. These steps established that the acquiescent lady was not pregnant and my sailor finished the war as a single man. I never knew whether his moment of anxiety served to temper his later moments of passion.

These were the men who fought the Battle of the Atlantic and the men of whom you write. But they were not alone on the seas. Over 50,000 merchant seamen lost their lives in the same battle and they too were splendid fellows. Over 5,000 allied merchant ships were sunk. Master Hitler lost 784 of his U-boats. The U-boats alone sank 148 allied warships. But these are just statistics, mere figures, to see men injured, maimed or killed, to watch and even to hear them die - because men in pain do not always die silently - gives to such figures a devastating reality. Indeed, to watch a ship die is also overwhelming. Earlier this evening, I advanced the heresy that ships had souls. This may be why I was always deeply moved at seeing a ship go down. Nor was I alone in this. Time and again, I have seen the men - particularly the Captains - from a sinking ship burst into tears when faced with the sombre and somewhat awe-inspiring spectacle of their burial at sea.

In speaking of the Battle of the Atlantic and of those men who fought it, it would be sadly amiss not to add a word about the gallant men of the Air Force. Their patrols

served to keep the U-boats down by day, thus preventing them from successfully shadowing and keeping visual contact with the convoys. This action was of enormous help to the men in the surface escorts when darkness had come - the usual time for U-boat attacks on the ships. They too fought and died that the same battle would be won.

Your work, your learned papers and your books all lead you into the broader aspects of the war. Beneath it all, there were the men of whom I spoke. They were mostly young, generally with scanty education, many bruised and hurt by the Great Depression, but I do know whereof I speak when I say to you that they were nevertheless splendid men. I saw them, I worked with them, I admired them and, indeed, I loved them. Were there men who did not, they were lesser men than I. At the risk of falling into the poet Horace's sneering category of "laudator temporis acti" and at the risk of betraying a prejudice of old age, I cannot help but wonder if the sons and grandsons of these same men - after some forty years of spoon-fed prosperity - would do as well were they called upon to do it tomorrow. Equally I do pray that they will not be called upon to do so.

En terminant, Monsieur le président, qu'il me soit permis de reprendre la douce langue de mon parent, Pierre LeMoynes d'Iberville - je suis persuadé que Lord Nelson ne m'en voudra pas dans les circonstances. Je suis vivement reconnaissant pour l'occasion qui m'est donnée de m'adresser à ce groupe d'historiens distingués et, par la même occasion, de partager avec eux quelques aspects plutôt personnels de la bataille de l'Atlantique et de ses combattants. De tout coeur, monsieur le président, je vous dis ma gratitude pour votre aimable invitation ainsi que pour la courtoisie et le bon accueil qui m'ont été accordés.

Louis Audette

---

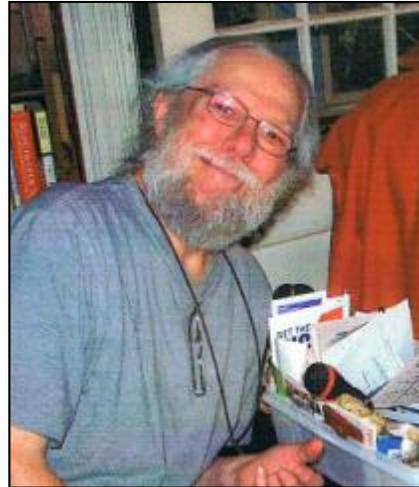
# Obituary

---

## Robin Harvey Wyllie

Canadian nautical historians lost a respected colleague when Robin Wyllie of East LaHave, Nova Scotia, died on Thursday, March 13<sup>th</sup> 2014. Robin was born in London, England, in 1936. In 1967 he and his wife Pat came to Canada where he worked for Air Canada; but his avocation was historical research, especially in the related fields of coastal shipping and the tools that were used in the “hands-on” economy of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Before the construction of good roads and railways, many small, usually wooden, steam ships provided essential links to the outside world for the coastal communities of the Maritime Provinces, while larger coastal passenger liners vessels connected Halifax, Yarmouth and Saint John with Portland and Boston. No one had really collated this information but Robin, who had been very interested in British coastal shipping, took a similar interest in these passenger and cargo steamers and set out to do so. He published his research, illustrated with his own sketches. It is fair to say that had he not done so, much of this information would have been lost. Fortunately, his files on coastal shipping together with many albums of photographs of these ships are, at his request, being donated to the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic at Halifax to constitute a permanent record.



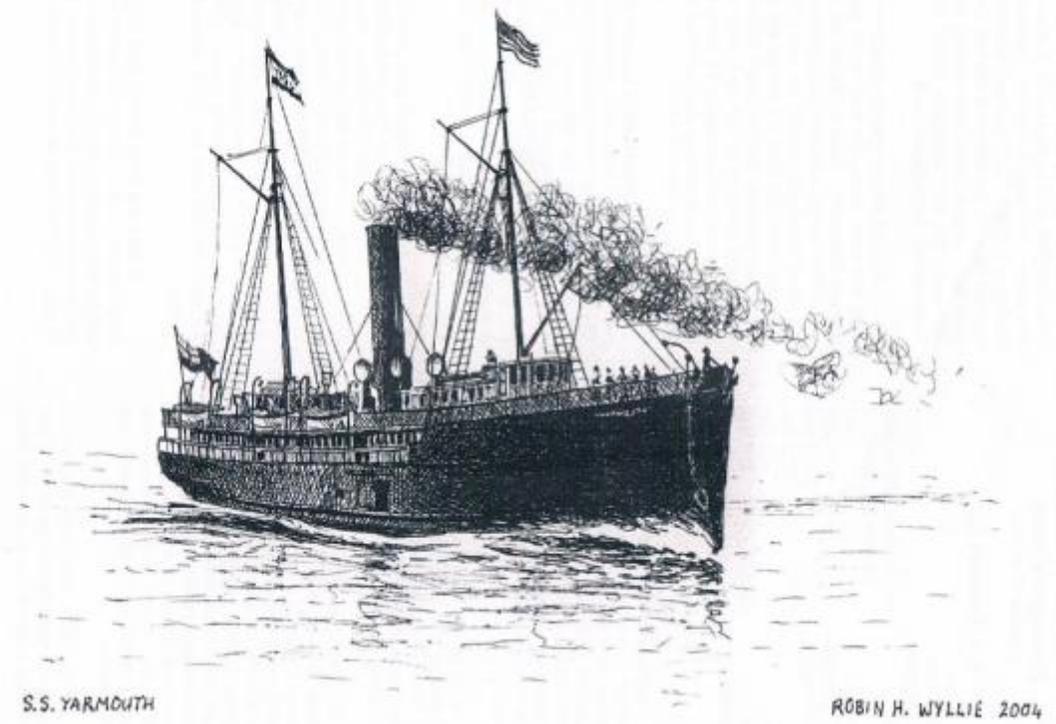
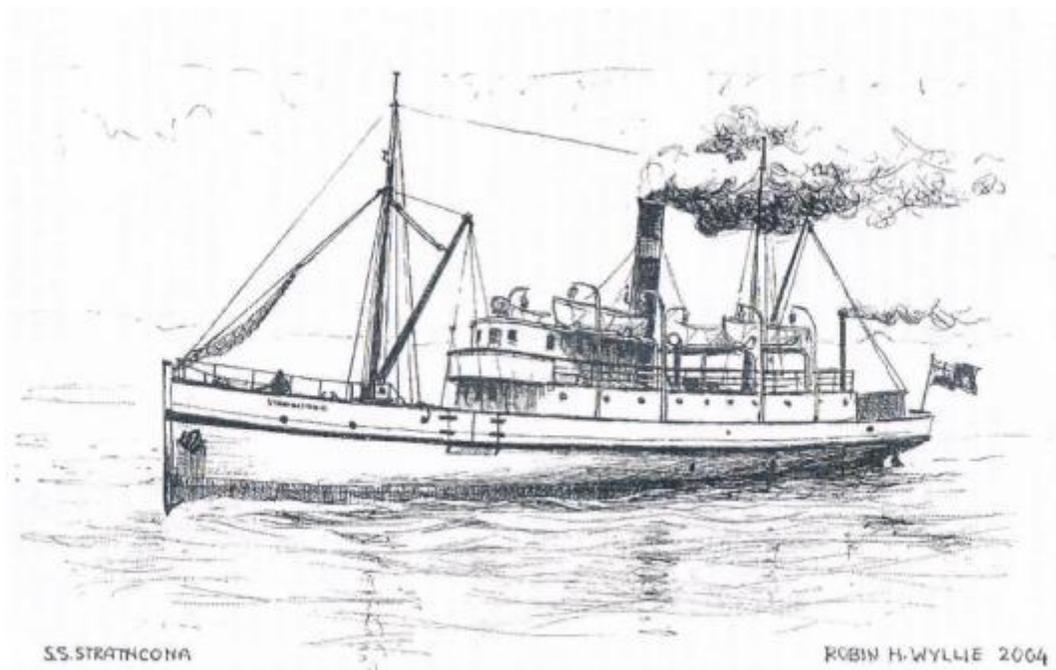
Robin Harvey Wyllie



Robin was also an expert on hand made tools and those produced by the early small-scale industrial enterprises. From shipbuilding tools such as adzes and broad axes his interests broadened to include blacksmithing and furniture making implements and crooked knives. Provenance was always important to him and on inspecting an item he could very often identify which 19<sup>th</sup> century tool maker had created it. Much of his tool collection has been on display at the Nova Scotia Museum of Industry at Stellarton, the Fisheries Mu-

seum at Lunenburg and the Maritime Museum at Halifax. Robin's and Pat's house looking out on the LaHave River was filled with Nova Scotia folk art, early handmade tools, nautical pictures (he was also an accomplished marine artist), ship models, books and Pat's collection of objets d'art. Pat had predeceased Robin, passing in 2013. He leaves two surviving sons and six grandchildren.

C. Douglas Maginley, Mahone Bay NS.



## Call for Papers

### **Second Mediterranean Interdisciplinary Forum on Social Sciences and Humanities,**

Almeria, Spain 26-28 November 2014

---

Submission DEADLINE: 15 October, 2014

“Distinguished Researchers,

We have the pleasure of inviting you to submit your scientific work for the 2nd Mediterranean Interdisciplinary Forum on Social Sciences and Humanities, MIFS 2014 which will be held at the University of Almeria Campus in Almeria, Spain.

All accepted papers will be published as a special publication with an ISBN number. The author will be also sent a printed copy of the publication after the forum finishes.

The papers will be also published in a special edition of one of the most prominent scientific journals in Europe, The European Scientific Journal (ESJ). The authors of the accepted papers are not obliged to present their papers, publishing only is also an option. Submission languages: English and Spanish. All the presentations will be made in English. MIFS 2014 is a joint summit event organized by: European Scientific Institute (ESI), University of Almeria, Spain and the University of The Azores, Portugal and Center for Legal and Economic Studies, Portugal. Along the quality scientific schedule, vivid social programme for the participants will be provided. Supporting the concept of interdisciplinary we welcome submissions in all academic fields.

We are expecting you in Almeria.

Sincerely,  
European Scientific Institute, ESI  
University of Almeria, Spain  
University of the Azores, Portugal  
Center for Law and Economic Studies, CEJE, Portugal”

## Announcements

---

### **Owen Sound and Marine Rail Museum.**

“After a long and at times bitter fight the Owen Sound Marine and Rail Museum has been saved. Some of the artifacts are gone and the building is in need of some TLC. The initial lease of the Canadian National RR station is only for 2 years, but that has not slowed down the team of enthusiasts who are at work getting ready for a July 1 Grand opening. Citizens may have a peek during the City Doors Open program on May 31.”

The website is [www.waterfrontheritage.ca](http://www.waterfrontheritage.ca) and contains newsletters.

From Scott Cameron via Maurice Smith.

---

### **The Edward S. Miller Research Fellowship in Naval History.**

The Naval War College Foundation intends to award one grant of \$2,000 to the researcher with the greatest need and can make the optimum use of the research materials for naval history located in the Naval War College's Archives, Naval Historical Collection, Naval War College Museum, and Henry E. Eccles Library. Further information on the manuscript and archival collections and finding aids are available on request from the Head, Naval Historical Collection, Naval War College. E-mail: [eve-lyn.cherpak@usnwc.edu](mailto:eve-lyn.cherpak@usnwc.edu) This information can also be found on the website of the US Naval War College <http://usnwc.edu/archives>

The recipient will be a Research Fellow in the Naval War College's Maritime History Department, which will provide administrative support during the research visit. Submit detailed research proposal that includes a full statement of financial need and comprehensive research plan for optimal use of Naval War College materials, curriculum vitae, at least two letters of recommendation, and relevant background information to Miller Naval History Fellowship Committee, Naval War College Foundation, 686 Cushing Road, Newport RI 02841-1207, by 1 August 2014. For further information, contact the chair of the selection committee at [john.hattendorf@usnwc.edu](mailto:john.hattendorf@usnwc.edu) Employees of the U.S. Naval War College or any agency of the U.S. Department of Defense are not eligible for consideration; EEO/AA regulations apply.

---

## RMS *Empress of Ireland* Exhibition Opens at Museum of Canadian History

---

The Museum of Canadian History has curated an exhibition called "Canada's Titanic - The *Empress of Ireland*". This is the story of the collision with the collier ship *Storstrand* on the night of May 29, 1914 and the subsequent sinking and loss of over 1,000 lives. The artefacts are from the *Empress of Ireland* collection which was recently acquired through the donor-supported National Collection Fund. The collection includes navigational instruments, personal items such as jewelry and a silver pocket watch, as well as china, silverware and the *pièce de résistance*, the ship's 200-kilogram fog bell.



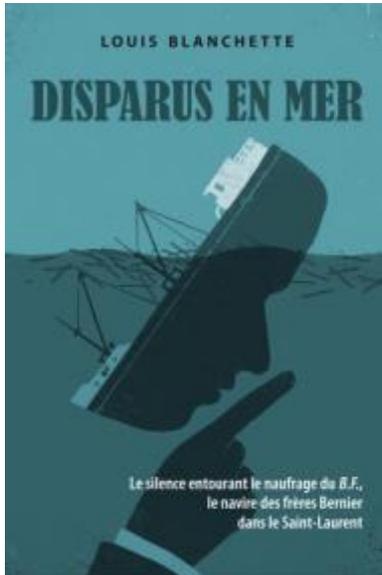
Image credit: *Fog bell from the Empress of Ireland* Photo Frank Wimart, IMG2012-0281-0002-Dm © Canadian Museum of Civilization

The exhibition runs from May 30th, 2014 to April 6th, 2015. Please visit <http://www.historymuseum.ca/event/canadas-titanic-the-empress-of-ireland/> for more information on the exhibition and to find out the opening hours of the museum. Readers might also like to visit <http://www.empress2014.ca/seclangen/home.html> or <http://www.empress2014.ca/accueil.html> the website devoted to telling the story of this tragic event.

From Museum of Canadian History website.

## New Book Announcement

---



Auteur: Louis Blanchette,

Titre : ***DISPARUS EN MER***

Sous-titre : Le silence entourant le naufrage du B.F., le navire des frères Bernier dans le Saint-Laurent

ISBN 978-2-9802958-3-6 / 224 pages, avec photos et cartes. Infographie et impression professionnelles.

Prix en librairie : 25\$ (+ TPS).

Disponible dans les librairies de Rimouski, Mont-Joli, Matane et Sainte-Anne-des-Monts.

Prix par la poste : 32\$ (frais de poste et manutention inclus).

Contact : Louis Blanchette <[info@histograffediteur.com](mailto:info@histograffediteur.com)>

---

**The Canadian Nautical Research Society**  
**Société canadienne pour le recherche nautique**  
Canadian charitable organization 11921 9525 RR0001  
[www.cnrs-scrn.org](http://www.cnrs-scrn.org)

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
Robert L. Davison  
Secretary  
Email: rdavison@wlu.ca

**Minutes of the Executive Council Meeting of the CNRS/SCRN at the Marine Museum of the Great Lakes, Kingston, Ontario, Saturday, 8 March 2014.**

**Present: 11 Members of Council**

President: Maurice D. Smith  
1<sup>st</sup> Vice President: Chris Madsen  
2<sup>nd</sup> Vice President: Roger Sarty (acting as Secretary)  
Past President: Paul Adamthwaite  
Treasurer: Errolyn Humphreys  
Membership Secretary: Faye Kert  
Chair of the Editorial Board: Richard Gimblett

**1. Calling to Order**

The President welcomed members of council to the Marine Museum of the Great Lakes and Kingston. He called the meeting to order at 1015hrs.

**2. Agenda**

The agenda for the meeting was circulated to members of council and the President Maurice Smith asked if there were any additions to be made. 1<sup>st</sup> Vice President Chris Madsen asked that the future of prizes be added to the agenda. This was placed under the heading of new business. Moved by Richard Gimblett, seconded by Faye Kert. **Carried.**

**3. Financial Report and Analysis**

Treasurer Errolyn Humphreys gave her report beginning with a recap of the Society's finances. The news is cautiously good: "We're out of the Intensive Care Unit (critical condition), but still need to be vigilant."

Our total assets as at 31 December 2013 were \$23,470.07 compared to \$15,079.30 at 31 December 2012. The increase of over \$8,000 is the result of the decisions last year: a) to publish *Argonauta* online instead of printing and mailing; b) to end the cash component for prizes; and c) special contributions by members of about \$1,950. The last item comes with the caution that we cannot rely on such generosity

from the membership in coming years.

In discussion Errolyn explained that our position as of March 2014 is about the same as for 31 December 2013. The main recent operating costs are for the delayed double number of *The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord* (nos. 3 and 4 of 2013) and mailing costs of books for the book reviews for *TNM/MN*. These are being covered by receipts in January to March 2014 of about \$4650 in membership renewals and NA-SOH's subsidy of approximately \$2000 for the double number.

Chris Madsen started discussion about the investment account; can we increase it from the current level of about \$7500? Earlier in the 2000s it was \$25,000 and sometimes as high as \$28,000. Rich observed that the high levels initially reflected the fact that Memorial University of Newfoundland covered printing costs for *TNM/MN* and *Argonauta* prior to 2000. As we rebuilt after the loss of MUN's support, there were delays in production of *TNM/MN* so that funds from subscriptions accumulated that were then drawn down as we increased production rates to come back onto schedule in 2008.

Paul observed that the Canadian Revenue Agency watch that charitable organizations do not violate their status by building up excessive assets. The purpose of a charitable organization is to deliver services on a not-for-profit basis. General rule is that reserves not committed to specific programmes should be sufficient for about six- or nine-months' operations, and in that light our recent reserve level of approximately \$8000 is about right.

Maurice asked what should be our target for the investment account (that is, our reserve). Discussion reached consensus on \$10,000 as Council's goal for the investment account.

Errolyn said we would not be in a position to judge how much additional money can be put in the investment fund this year until September.

Paul moved, Faye seconded acceptance of Treasurer's Report. **Carried.**

**Action:** Errolyn to examine the financial position in September 2014 and seek advice, via e-mail to Council, about what amount (if any) can be put into the investment account this year.

#### **4. Membership Report**

The Membership Secretary, Faye Kert, gave an account of the state of the membership. Membership reduced because Faye has been cutting off people who have not renewed in some years. Current level is 208 individual and institutional members, plus 16 complimentary mailings. Make up of the 208 is 140 who have renewed on time, and 68 who have not yet paid but are in good standing.

In discussion Paul noted that Faye should have help with the membership secretary duties, not least so we can make a greater effort to recruit new members. Consensus was that we should seek to bring membership up to 250 within next two years.

Chris noted potential for cooperation with Naval Association (formerly Naval Officers' Association), which is very good at keeping in contact with its membership, not

least through its publication *Starshell*. Rich noted that NOA was source of a good deal of our membership, but there may be a challenge in naval personnel's tendency to be most interested in current events. Still, Naval Association maintains about 900 members with publication and contact all through the web. Discussion noted that we could offer the "President's Corner" feature in *Argonauta* and the editor's introduction to each issue of *TNM/MN* to *Starshell* for publication. We could offer space in *Argonauta* for a Naval Association representative to do a regular column. Chris noted that *Starshell* includes some strong articles; we could reprint some in *TNM/MN* or team up to produce a combine issue of *TNM/NM* that would feature reprints of substantial articles from *Starshell* to give them wider circulation.

Rich asked for the table of contents for *TNM/Lmn* nos. 3, 4 for the Naval Association President -- then noted that they were already available on-line.

Faye noted possibilities for promotion of *NTM/MN* through the Canadian War Museum.

Paul noted the need to work through faculty members to reach students. Another good way is through 'H-Net,' which is very popular with students. We do notices for each new issue of *Argonauta* and *TNM/MN* on H-Net. If we do an issue of *TNM/MN* with material on marine art, illustrated by colour plates, we could do promotion with the Canadian Society of Marine Artists.

Maurice noted we need an updated brochure, in both pdf form and hard copy, as a 'leave behind' for conferences and other opportunities.

**Action:** Faye to circulate to Council a list of tasks for which she needs help.

On that basis we can do a call for volunteers in *Argonauta*.

Arrange for posting of notices about each new *Argonauta* and *TNM/MN* on H-Net.

Produce updated version of brochure.

## 5. Conferences 2014 and beyond

Chris reported that about 30 papers have been received by the NASOH organizers of the joint NASOH-CNRS conference being held at the Erie Maritime Museum, Erie, PA, 14-17 May 2014. NASOH is handling registrations, which will be \$299, and a reduced rate of \$229 for NASOH and CNRS members.

For future conferences following possibilities discussed:

2015 – Ontario. If at Trenton, Richard Mayne might be able to help organize. Ottawa and Niagara Falls area are other options

2016 – New Westminster, British Columbia. Chris suggested holding at the Fraser River Discovery Centre, with August proving to be the best month for a west coast gathering.

2017 – Halifax, possibilities for commemoration of centenary of Halifax Explosion in cooperation with Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, and the Navy.

## 6. *Argonauta*

Council was gratified by Co-Editor Isabel Campbell's extremely encouraging report, and noted *Argonauta* issues are now reaching 58 pages in length. Council extends thanks to Isabel and the team, Colleen McKee, Jean Martin, and Winston "Kip" Scoville, a new volunteer who has also been deploying his computer skills to assist Faye's membership work.

## 7. Decisions in respect to *The Northern Marine/Le marine du nord*

Rich presented his report as Chair of the Editorial Board, and a report by Paul, Executive Editor, both of which focused on the future of the journal after 2014. Bill Glover has offered to return as Articles Editor in 2015 provided that the journal continues in hard copy format, and that there are articles ready for the early 2015 issues to assist in the transition. The Editorial Board will manage the transition from Roger's departure at the end of 2014. Paul has offered to serve as Articles Editor *pro tem* between Roger's departure at the end of 2014 and any period in 2015 before Bill is able fully to take up duties.

Chris asked if the Articles Editor job can be split up to reduce the burden. Paul and Roger explained that there are two main components, peer review and revision of the manuscripts. Peer review in fact has the main requirement for academic history experience and knowledge of the community; much of the manuscript preparation is standard editorial work. Peer review could be the focus for the incoming Articles Editor while Paul carries on with production of issues based on material prepared with Roger's help before his departure. Rich agrees that there is potential to make the Editorial Board more fully involved in peer review to ease what has been one of Roger's most time consuming tasks, while also speeding the process, which has been a source of production delays. This is an area in which the Chair of the Editorial Board could work with the incoming Articles Editor. One important additional product of fuller collaboration of the Articles Editor with the Editorial Board could be more active recruitment of articles. Chris stated "The print journal has had its day. The most prudent and economical course is to go electronic. The increases in postage and existing printing costs represent a significant expense for the society, representing upwards of 60-70% of our resources. Those costs go down significantly if *The Northern Mariner* is electronic. There are also advantages of longer articles, ability for colour photographs and illustrations, and multi-media aspects once the electronic journal becomes more sophisticated. At present, we are merely a society supporting a journal and we need to rebalance to a wider range of activities to engage members going into the future."

Chris noted that the success of *Argonauta*'s transition from print to online publishing is promising for a similar change for *TNM/MN*. He moved that '*The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord* cease to be a print journal and become a paperless electronic journal available on the CNRS web page and e-mailed to members.' Paul seconded (reluctantly, to ensure that the matter could be properly voted upon). Vote: 3 against, 1 for, 1 abstention. **Not carried.**

Chris noted that with the reduced costs resulting from online publishing of the journal would allow a substantial reduction in membership fees and still provide more funding than is presently available for other purposes, such as regional discussion meetings (as the Society for Nautical Research in the UK conducts), a return of cash value for prizes, and other enhancements to the awards programme. These and other new activities might reverse the long-term decline in membership.

In discussion there was consensus on the need to move to online publishing of the journal, but in the longer term. One issue is that the journal is produced in partnership with NASOH and any significant change must be worked out in concert with them. Another concern is that we might lose a substantial number of current members if we shift to publication on the web open to all for free. The main tangible “product” members receive, now that *Argonauta* is available online, is the hard copy of *TNM/MN*. The latter has for several years already been available online for everything but the most recent eight numbers. Despite large numbers of web visits and downloads, the on line feature has not attracted new members. After a long gestation period, moreover, the contract with EBSCO (under which we have made pdf version of all our journal content available to them as part of their subscription package) is finally producing revenue (approximately \$500 so far).

Errolyn advised that the Society needs a new business plan to assess the factors involved in the future production of the journal, enhancement of other activities, and initiation of new activities.

Discussion noted that the business planning exercise should assess a proposal from the University of Liverpool Press for production of the journal, revision, renewal (or not) or revision of the contract with EBSCO which runs to March 2015.

**Motion:** Faye moves, Paul seconds “that CNRS proceed with the development of a business plan and that business plan include examination of sources of revenue, expenses, membership, publications, awards, and conferences. This planning to begin with e-mail exchanges as soon as possible, and convene a meeting of Council and anyone else who wants to participate in the fall of 2014. Chair to be decided.” **Carried unanimously.**

## **8. Nominating Committee**

Paul, as Past President, submitted his report.

He puts forward:

President -- Chris Madsen  
1<sup>st</sup> Vice-President – requests assistance of Council  
2<sup>nd</sup> Vice-President – Roger Sarty  
Treasurer – Errolyn Humphreys  
Secretary – Robert L. Davison

Membership Secretary – Faye Kert  
Past President – Maurice D. Smith  
Councillor – Isabel Campbell  
Councillor – Richard O. Mayne  
Councillor – Barbara Winters

The nominating process will be completed 20 April 2014.

At the AGM Paul will propose that the bylaws of the Society be amended to reflect practice by increasing the Executive Council from 9 members (as in the existing by-laws) to 11 (that is, 6 officers other than the President and 4 Councillors.)

## 9. New Business

Discussion about increase to membership fee from existing \$70 concluded that this should be considered in the new business plan.

Discussion of awards, raised by Chris, concluded that this should be a high priority item in the business plan. Errolyn noted that our extra revenue this year is \$1700, but that the cost of the cash component of awards in the past was \$2500. Paul suggested that the Awards Committee should consider naming awards for sponsors, “Air Canada Award for Best Article in Maritime History.”

## 10. Adjournment

Being no further business to conduct the President asked for a motion to adjourn the Executive Council meeting. Faye moved and Chris seconded that the meeting be adjourned. **Carried.**

Respectfully Submitted

(Roger Sarty for)  
Robert L. Davison, Ph.D.  
Secretary, CNRS/SCRN  
17 March 2014

## FINANCIAL HIGHLIGHTS 2013

### **INCOME STATEMENT:**

For the year 2013, the organization realized a slight increase in Member revenue. The combined decrease of \$2,090 in Individual-domestic and Sponsoring revenues was offset by the increase of \$2,594 in Institutional and Supporting memberships.

CNRS did not sponsor a conference for the 2013 year and as such there is neither a record of revenue or expense to be reported in these categories.

The reduction in Publication expenses can be attributed to the combination of a variety of factors:

Reduction in Mailing & Distribution due to online provision of Argonauta as well as the combined printing and mailing of 2 editions of TNM.

Reduction in printing expenses – Online version of Argonauta resulted in \$2.4K decrease as well as moderate savings from the double printing of two editions of TNM.

There were no prizes awarded in 2013 which resulted in a \$3.1K reduction in expenses

### **BALANCE SHEET:**

Reductions in expenses resulted in an increase in cash on hand. To reconcile this amount note the following:

Cash on hand	\$11,377	
Accrued Receivables (monies owing to CNRS in transit)	<u>2,584</u>	
<b>Total Available to cover Disbursements</b>	<b>\$13,961</b>	
Liabilities	<u>\$(9,635)</u>	
<b>CNRS FINANCIAL POSITION (as at January 1, 2014)</b>		<b><u>\$ 4,326</u></b>

#### Notes:

*Memberships Fees Received in Advance are considered liabilities in the 2013 year as they relate to revenues to be earned in 2014. Until 2014, the amounts are considered repayable to subscribers in the event that CNRS is unable to honor subscriptions.*

*The Accrued Liabilities of \$5,469 is comprised of amounts owed by CNRS for printing of the final edition of TNM and the related mailing expenses for which the amounts were known but invoices were not yet received.*

# Income Statement

<b>Other Expenses</b>			
Other Expenses	0.00	48.34	(48.34)
Digital	<u>212.18</u>	<u>143.40</u>	68.78
<b>Total Other Expenses</b>	<u><b>212.18</b></u>	<u><b>191.74</b></u>	<b>20.44</b>
<b>Membership Expenses</b>			
Memberships / Subs	<u>30.00</u>	<u>30.00</u>	0.00
<b>Total Membership Expenses</b>	<u><b>30.00</b></u>	<u><b>30.00</b></u>	<b>0.00</b>
<b>Sales Tax Expense</b>			
GST/HST Paid	729.60	1,492.55	(762.95)
GST Rebate	<u>                    </u>	<u>(1,402.09)</u>	1,402.09
<b>Total GST Expense</b>	<u><b>729.60</b></u>	<u><b>90.46</b></u>	<b>639.14</b>
<b>Total Sales Expense</b>	<u><b>729.60</b></u>	<u><b>90.46</b></u>	<b>639.14</b>
<b>TOTAL EXPENSE</b>	<u><b>9,134.58</b></u>	<u><b>22,747.36</b></u>	<b>(13,612.78)</b>
<b>NET INCOME</b>	<u><b>1,747.41</b></u>	<u><b>(8,403.56)</b></u>	<b>10,150.97</b>

# CNRS

Comparative Balance Sheet

	<u>As at 12/31/2013</u>	<u>As at 12/31/2012</u>	<u>Difference</u>
<b>ASSET</b>			
<b>Current Assets</b>			
BMO Operating Account	11,377.18	4,957.34	6,419.84
BMO Cash Reserve Account	0.00	0.00	0.00
Investments	7,606.50	7,961.10	(354.60)
Accounts Receivable	1,902.09	2,160.86	(258.77)
GST Receivable	0.00	0.00	0.00
Accrued Receivables	2,584.30	0.00	2,584.30
<b>Total Current Assets</b>	<u><b>23,470.07</b></u>	<u><b>15,079.30</b></u>	<b>8,390.77</b>
<b>TOTAL ASSET</b>	<u><b>23,470.07</b></u>	<u><b>15,079.30</b></u>	<b>8,390.77</b>
<b>LIABILITY</b>			
<b>Liabilities</b>			
Accounts Payable	431.06	839.96	(408.90)
Membership Fees Received in Advance	3,734.50	4,632.60	(898.10)
Accrued Liabilities	5,469.09	0.00	5,469.09
<b>Total Liabilities</b>	<u><b>9,634.65</b></u>	<u><b>5,472.56</b></u>	<b>4,162.09</b>
<b>TOTAL LIABILITY</b>	<u><b>9,634.65</b></u>	<u><b>5,472.56</b></u>	<b>4,162.09</b>
<b>EQUITY</b>			
<b>Members' Equity</b>			
Current Earnings	1,747.41	(8,403.56)	10,150.97
Retained Earnings	14,022.74	19,606.07	(5,583.33)
Unrealized Gain/Loss (OE)	(2,048.12)	(1,693.52)	(354.60)
Gain or Loss on Exchange	113.39	97.75	15.64
<b>Total Members' Equity</b>	<u><b>13,835.42</b></u>	<u><b>9,606.74</b></u>	<b>4,228.68</b>
<b>TOTAL EQUITY</b>	<u><b>13,835.42</b></u>	<u><b>9,606.74</b></u>	<b>4,228.68</b>
<b>LIABILITIES AND EQUITY</b>	<u><b>23,470.07</b></u>	<u><b>15,079.30</b></u>	<b>8,390.77</b>



## The Canadian Nautical Research Society

200 Fifth Avenue  
Ottawa, Ontario, CANADA K1S 2N2  
<http://www.cnrs-scrn.org>

CNRS membership supports the multi-disciplinary study of maritime, marine and naval subjects in and about Canada.

Members receive:

- **The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du nord**, a quarterly refereed journal dedicated to publishing research and writing about all aspects of maritime history of the North Atlantic, Arctic and North Pacific Oceans. It publishes book reviews, articles and research notes on merchant shipping, navies, maritime labour, nautical archaeology and maritime societies.
- **Argonauta**, a quarterly newsletter publishing articles, opinions, news and information about maritime history and fellow members.
- An Annual General Meeting and Conference located in maritime minded locations across Canada such as Halifax, Vancouver, Hamilton, Churchill and Quebec City.
- Affiliation with the International Commission of Maritime History (ICMH).

Membership is by calendar year and is an exceptional value at \$70 for individuals, \$25 for students, or \$95 for institutions. Please add \$10 for international postage and handling. Individuals or groups interested in furthering the work of the CNRS may wish to subscribe to one of several other levels of membership, each of which includes all the benefits of belonging to the Society. CNRS is a registered charity and any donation above the cost of basic membership to the Society is automatically acknowledged with a tax-receipt.

	Canadian	International	
Individual	\$70	\$80	Benefactor \$250
Institutional	\$95	\$105	Corporate \$500
Student	\$25	\$25	Patron \$1000 or above

**Please type in or print clearly and return with payment (all rates in Canadian \$).**

**NB:** CNRS does not sell or exchange membership information with other organizations or commercial enterprises. The information provided on this form will only be used for sending you our publications or to correspond with you concerning your membership and the Society's business.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Email: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Payment by Cheque  Money Order  Visa  Master Card

Credit Card Number \_\_\_\_\_ Expiry date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_