

The background of the cover is a textured, aged map with a grid of latitude and longitude lines. Overlaid on the map are stylized, wavy bands of color in shades of blue, teal, and yellow, representing ocean waves. In the lower right quadrant, a detailed compass rose is visible, showing cardinal and intercardinal directions (N, NE, E, SE, S, SW, W, NW).

8TH IMHA
INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS
OF MARITIME
HISTORY

OLD AND NEW USES OF THE OCEANS

ABSTRACTS

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

The Sea, Empire and Colonialism before the Rise of Steam

RICHARD UNGER (UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA)

Abstract

From the earliest adventures of conquest, settlement and integration in and of lands beyond the continent European expansion relied on travel over the open ocean powered by wind. The grand phase of European empire building began in the fourteenth century with sailing south from Iberia. The voyages of Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus at the end of the fifteenth century led to a flood of enterprises to investigate the potential of the sailing routes, examining, exploring and expanding them in the process. The heroic tale of the age of discoveries based the narrative of success and superiority of Europeans on their conquering the sea. They made efforts to drive others from the oceans worldwide, setting up settlements around the globe to supplement that effort on the water. There is no question that European expansion from the fifteenth century on through to the nineteenth depended on the ability to sail further and faster and more reliably with larger payloads across the open ocean. That reliance on superiority to use the oceans gave a certain character to European inroads overseas.

There was considerable variety in the empires that emerged through sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There were at least two kinds of colonialism, one relying on trading posts and the other on agricultural settlement, and within those large categories variations depending on, among other things, the sea routes that connected the empires to Europe. In both cases the numbers of Europeans overseas were small and grew only slowly. All the empires that emerged in their variety were limited in the scope and extent of their ability to control the lands they might claim, quite different from the new kind of imperialism ushered in by the age of steam. It was not just European states with sailing ships that had empires. Russia expanded its borders, incorporating lands in Central Asia and so, in time, coming up against the other great expanding land empire, that of China. All empires faced similar problems and similar opportunities. The practices of those land empires give indications of what was unique in European maritime expansion, what set it apart and what were the critical characteristics of ships, shipping and maritime society that ultimately shaped empires and colonialism in the age of sail.

Seeing the Asian Seas

RILA MUKHERJEE (UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD, INDIA)

Abstract

This keynote studies the sea's historical importance to inland territorial empires by presenting a comparative study of Indian and Chinese political philosophies pertaining to the sea from c. sixth-seventh centuries.

It argues that contrary to received history, waterscapes were not absent from Asian ideas of territoriality. Cities located far inland were, and still are, defined by seas and oceans. Hyderabad in India is called Pearl City, evoking a forgotten link with the sea through the Qutb Shahi port-city of Masulipatnam. Landlocked Yunnan, now in China, used a marine product--cowrie shells--as currency despite abundant access to precious metals.

Drawing on the globe's marine dimension which has found expression in inscriptions, literature, sculptures, coins, frescoes, paintings, epigraphy, petroglyphs, photographs and models throughout history, the keynote argues that the maritime domain found expression in the Indian political realm from c.sixth-seventh centuries, reaching a height in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. A similar process was visible, but from slightly later, in China. Thereafter, China accelerated its awareness of waterscapes, as can be seen from the geographies and gazetteers appearing in the Qing period. At the same time India's understanding of waterscapes stagnated in vernacular geographies and regional visions. In India's case literary descriptions of political selfhood whereby the sea was seen as a political space, and actual control over the sea, were widely divergent.

S. 1.1 – THE PORT CITY AND ITS EVOLUTION

Chair: Antonio Iodice

(University of Exeter/University of Genoa)

The Morphological Evolution of Early Modern Maritime Cities: A comparative approach between three Euro Atlantic second tier ports

HELENA TEIXEIRA (FLUP-CITCEM)

Abstract

As a privileged place for exchange of goods, people and ideas, port cities are a crucial element in the connection between humans and the oceans.

The last decades witnessed a rise in the number of works dedicated to the study of port cities but these studies, however, tend to focus on a single city, failing to establish broad comparisons and to insert individual research objects into wider frameworks. With this in mind, an ongoing doctoral project at the University of Porto aims at bridging the gap between urban studies and Maritime history through the comparative analysis of three interconnected Euro-Atlantic second tier port cities (Bordeaux, Bristol and Porto). In common, these cities share a similar geomorphological setting with a background in international trade, a formation of socioeconomic networks, a certain level of autonomy in regard to state politics, and a relevant role in the first stages of maritime globalization.

At the time of overseas expansion, when Euro-Atlantic ports gained prominence regarding Mediterranean ones, their influence crossed international borders through maritime and commercial connections. In this paper we aim to study how this mercantile vocation changed the urban morphology of these cities, reflecting if a shared urban language emerged between them.

Keywords

Early Modern port cities; Space Morphology; Urban evolution; Comparative studies

Evolution of the first ports in the Early Modern Atlantic. An historical archaeology approach.

ANA CATARINA GARCIA (CHAM)

Abstract

This paper presents an historical archaeology approach on port systems emergence in overseas Atlantic spaces during the Early Modern age. This could be a relatively complex task, as these sites have had relatively recent colonization and/or human occupation with no coeval studies on port structures, often times under destruction actions, accelerated by current urban pressure. For this reason, we based our analyses not only in historical data, but also on different geomorphologies of coastal spaces and landscapes used in favor of port function.

Based on a comparative approach of islands and continental ports, namely Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde and Brazil, we will present a matrix that traces how spaces evolved and were characterized from the 15th to 18th centuries.

We graphically reconstructed the emergence of Early Modern Atlantic new ports structures. The objective is to apply an evolutionary matrix to each case study and understand how the different port spaces and their different structures were established since their settlement and how they evolved.

The main focus is to understand how the landscape influenced the emergence and functioning of the first port structures and how they fulfilled colonial settlements objectives. At the same time, we look for contact points and influences of the first global maritime navigation systems, circulation of people and goods on ports functioning systems.

Keywords

Atlantic, Ports, Historical Archaeology, Landscapes

Biography

Ana Catarina Garcia. PhD candidate in History-variant Archaeology at FCSH-UNL. Research Assistant from CHAM - Center for the Humanities (FCSH-Nova University and University of the Azores). Team member of the project CONCHA - Horizon 2020. MSCA-RISE 2017. "The construction of early modern global Cities and oceanic networks in the Atlantic: An approach via Ocean's Cultural Heritage". Team member of UNESCO Chair "The Ocean's Cultural Heritage", held by NOVA University of Lisbon. Team member of the Project COST- Oceans Past Platform (OPP). Scientific coordinator of the recent projects: "The location of the Germain submarine U-581. Sunk in Pico during World War II" and "Campo das Cebolas in Lisbon, Urban rehabilitation Project". Recently is evolved on environmental history research, highlighting the history of whaling in Portugal, the study of port debris in modern age or landscape and coastline studies. Worked for about 15 years in the Azores related with archaeological heritage management.

Plight of the Minor Harbours

ELIZABETH SHOTTON (University College Dublin)

Abstract

There are hundreds of local harbours, quays and piers along the Irish coast, the some dating to the medieval period. Once critical infrastructure for coasting trade and local fisheries, these structures were shorn of their purpose following the centralisation of port activities in the mid-twentieth century. Daily subjected to the ravages of the sea, these minor harbours are in danger of imminent collapse without constant maintenance and repair, the cost of which can rarely be justified by the county councils tasked with their care. While a few are repurposed as marinas, most are too small or ill-configured to suit, so are replaced by new structures, representing another form of threat to this coastal heritage.

Until the appropriation of harbour construction by the Irish government, starting in earnest in the 1840s, all small harbours were privately built by estate owners or local communities. Documentary evidence generally exists for government-sponsored harbours, providing a history of maritime engineering during this period even in the absence of the structures. Such evidence is, however, scarce for works from the eighteenth century or earlier. Given the increasing severity of storms and rising sea-levels their preservation becomes imperative, lest this important cultural heritage is taken by the sea, and demands a new purpose to justify the investment.

Sandycove, south of Dublin, is one such harbour, built in the early eighteenth century by the Earl of Carysfort for shipping stone. Though used until the nineteenth century, and remaining an official outport of Dublin Port to this day, it is rarely understood as a harbour due to substantial silting which has created a sheltered beach now used by swimmers. Just north of Dublin another former outport at Skerries has recently been intentionally allowed to silt up by the county council to achieve the same end, providing an alternative use for these local harbours that could facilitate their preservation.

Keywords

harbour, beach, coasting trade, coastal heritage

Biography

Dr Elizabeth Shotton teaches in construction technology and design studio, with an emphasis on sustainable building and development, at both undergraduate and graduate level. She holds undergraduate degrees in Commerce and Architecture as well as a PhD in Architecture from University College Dublin (UCD). In addition to teaching architecture, first at the University of British Columbia before being appointed at UCD in 2003, she is active in architectural practice and maintains her professional registration in Canada.

Elizabeth's research interests are closely linked to teaching, with a focus on the sustainable use of material resources through advances in materials, construction technologies and design processes. She is currently leading a study on Ireland's Minor Harbours, examining the evolution of maritime engineering in small harbours along the coast of Ireland from the seventeenth century to the present.

S. 1. 2. – THE INTERWAR PERIOD BETWEEN COMMERCIALISM AND SECURITY

Chair: Constantin Ardeleanu

(U. of Galati, Romania / Utrecht U., the Netherlands)

«Freeing» the trade: the function and the evolution of the Free Economic Zone of Thessaloniki during the Interwar (1925-1939)

THANASIS NASIARAS (Institute For Mediterranean Studies)

Abstract

Free ports and Free Economic Zones played a crucial role in the development of world economy, as they integrated dispersed places and seas creating transport, trade, and investment links. The aim of this article is to explore the nature and explain the function and evolution of the Free Economic Zone of the Port of Thessaloniki during the Interwar. The accession of Thessaloniki to the Greek state in 1912 redefined its political, social and economic development. The creation of the Free Economic Zone, the first one that occurred in Aegean and also one of the first in the whole Mediterranean area, was the result of Greek's state policy in order to maximize the city's trade. Our aim is to analyze the pioneering role of Economic Zone of Thessaloniki in establishing trade links find out its connectivity in regional, national and global level. Also, we will try to evaluate its function in city's trade. Our framework encompasses quantitative and qualitative tools from economic and social history, in conjunction with economic geography. Our research is based on a combination of a wide range of archival material and secondary sources.

Keywords

Free Economic Zones, ports, trade

Biography

Thanasis Nasiaras was born in Larisa, Greece in 1987. He studied history at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. After his graduation in 2010, he took his first Master Degree in Modern and Contemporary European and World History when he was specialized in social and economic modern and contemporary Greek history. The topic of his Master's thesis was related to the history of the three official defaults of the Greek State in 1843, 1893 and 1932. His second Master Degree was in Political Theory and Philosophy, when he explored the methodology and the analytical tools of political science. In this Master's thesis he tried to analyze some aspects of the phenomenon of neoliberalism, such as the role of antagonism, of state and market and finally debt. Now he is studying for a PhD at the Ionian University in social and economic history, especially in maritime history. The title of his thesis is «Thessaloniki in transition. Economic and social evolution of a port-city from the beginning

The unexpected compensations: Merchant seamen in Norwegian foreign policy after first world war

ELISABETH S. KOREN (Norwegian Maritime Museum)

Abstract

First world war had devastating effects upon the Norwegian merchant fleet and traumatic consequences for the men working onboard. Even though Norway was neutral during the war, more than 800 Norwegian ships were lost in shipwrecks caused by naval mines or submarine warfare. More than 2100 seafarers lost their lives in such incidents. It is estimated that approximately 10 000 seafarers survived the sinking of Norwegian vessels. However, the fate of these men has received little attention. This paper presents how these men were treated by the Norwegian society, and it will demonstrate that this was influenced by Norwegian foreign policy. In fact, terms set by both Germany and Great Britain shaped the Norwegian social policies to help seafarers after first world war.

In 1919, an agreement between Great Britain and Norway about the surplus of the coal trade during the war included terms regarding seafarers. Great Britain demanded that some of the surplus should benefit Norwegian merchant seamen.

Further, it is not well known that Norway in 1928 received six million marks as a compensation from Germany. The money was to be distributed among seafarers with war injuries and widows of the seafarers who died due to the U-boat campaign. Six million marks was a modest sum, compared to the damages the U-boat campaign had caused to the Norwegian fleet. However, it improved the income in the seamen's families afflicted by the war. The president of the Norwegian ship owners' association called the compensation a "blessing from above". This paper presents the agreements with Great Britain and Germany and demonstrate that the welfare of merchant seamen played a more important role in these agreements than formerly acknowledged.

Keywords

First world war, foreign policy, merchant seamen

Biography

Elisabeth S. Koren is a senior curator at the Norwegian Maritime Museum in Oslo. She has a PhD in history. Her research interests include the history of seafarers and the the social and cultural history of merchant seafaring.

By seaplane across the oceans: commercial maritime aviation and exploration during the interwar period

MARION WECKERLE (PhD candidate in History, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne)

Abstract

Invented in 1910, the seaplane was first seen as a mechanical sport machine, then as a more secure aircraft than the landplane in island, river and maritime environments, on the one hand for military purposes, on the other hand to transport mail and passengers across the seas, especially the Atlantic Ocean. During World War One, seaplanes served in the different fleets involved in the conflict (in the Mediterranean sea, the Adriatic, the North Sea, the Channel, the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea and Europe's Atlantic Coast). After the war, operating aviation for commercial purposes did not only fulfill the need to recycle available military material. Progress made in seaplane technology henceforth participated in re-shaping frontiers and possibilities of aerial transport, as a direct rival to airships and planes for transatlantic crossing (by the north or the south routes). They were also used for the exploration of extreme climatic conditions areas, like the 1925 expedition of Roald Amundsen to Arctic in a Dornier Wal seaplane. In the 1930s, giant flying boats even competed with cruise ships as luxury transatlantic means of transport. Various companies, such as the Aéropostale, the Deutsche Lufthansa and Pan Am, not only acquired available seaplanes from the aircraft manufacturers but also developed their own. They competed in technological innovations to open new and always faster lines. We propose, in this communication, to show how the main dynamics and technological challenges taking place, formed an entirely new innovative system that played a key role in the exploration of the oceans and their commercial exploitation through the air before the outbreak of World War Two.

Keywords

Maritime aviation, history of technology, seaplane, flying boat

Biography

Marion Weckerle is a PhD candidate in History of Technology at Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University. Her research relates to history of inventions and innovations, hybridizations and transfers of objects and technical knowledge in contexts of peace and war. Thus, her thesis topic deals with the analysis of the history of seaplanes from the 1910s to the 1930s in a systemic approach, and is directed by Anne-Françoise Garçon. The French Ministry of Defence and the Defence Historical Service (Service Historique de la Défense) support her PhD through a research grant. Clarinet player, she also applied these thematics to organology and historically informed music. She carried out several research missions in history of technology in the research laboratory of the Paris Museum of Music, and one on a French submarine exhibited at the Ecomuseum of Saint-Nazaire.

**S. 1. 3. – ON THE RISING TIDE OF HISTORY ENVIRONMENTALISM AND NEW
STUDIES OF MERCHANT SHIPPING**

Chair: Valerie Burton

(Maritime Studies Research Unit, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, NL, Canada)

Panel Abstract

In this panel we bring environmentalist concerns to the conference theme of “Old and New Uses of the Oceans”. All presenters, whether or not they have a track record in environmentalism, are concerned by the difference made by an environmentalist reframing of the oceans. We seek audience involvement in our plan for furthering historical concern with the ship and how it might be involved in the change-making that is so urgent in a present where the threat of environmental disaster is unabated.

Our proceedings start with the chair profiling the cultural and material themes involved in our approaches to oceanic time and space where the environmental impact of merchant shipping as a means of transport and communication is the key factor. The first presenter is the early modernist, Gisele Conceição, a researcher of knowledge-producing encounters in the Portuguese Atlantic empire. With reference to the ship as a vehicle of imperial expansion and of transcultural exchange, she re-examines scientific knowledge acquisition. Environment shifts in its reference with our second speaker: Meaghan Walker moves to the affective qualities of the virtual ship to consider how in the twenty-first century popular video games engage their audience in historicizing the socialized, politically coveted, but ultimately unpredictable ocean space of the wooden sailing-ship. Finally, an anthropologist, Johanna Markkula, is the spokesperson of an environmentally-concerned research group based in Norway that tackles container ships across their entire life cycle, from their “birth” in shipyards in Korea and the Philippines, to their working lives out at sea and in ports, to their final “death” on the ship-breaking yards on the beaches of Bangladesh. Her team adopts a life-cycle approach because it allows for the “flow” in which hidden connections between technology, labour, and health and welfare might be recovered. Presenters hope to encourage audience participation towards compiling an agenda for environmentally engaged maritime scholarship into the future

*Claire Campbell, “‘Rising with the Tide of History’: Age of Sail as Industrial Alibi’ Papers in Canadian History and Environment, no. 2 (May 2019) 1-37
<https://dx.doi.org/10.25071/10315/36212>

Biography of Chair and Facilitator

Valerie Burton is Professor of History at Memorial University of Newfoundland, St John’s, Canada and Chair of the Maritime Studies Research Unit. She was PI in grant-funded project that created website More than a List of Crew <https://www.mun.ca/mha/mlc/>, a website that makes accessible her university’s unparalleled collection of nineteenth-century British imperial merchant seafarers records to the public and to academics with a focus on method in maritime history. Her review essay in a recent *International Journal of Maritime History* is a critical account of scholarship in maritime history at Memorial across four decades prefacing work that results from the recent engagement of emergent scholars with the university’s archival holdings. In addition to publishing about maritime labour, ports, and seafaring communities, Valerie has edited collections in gender studies and post-secondary pedagogy.

New ecosystem, new knowledge: processes of knowledge constructions about marine fauna in the coastal areas of the Portuguese Atlantic Empire.

GISELE C. CONCEIÇÃO (CITCEM - University of Porto)

Abstract

Which kind of processes of construction and circulation of marine fauna knowledge can be observed in the Portuguese Atlantic Empire during the 16th and 17th centuries? In the last twenty years, from a fundamentally historical perspective, the production of knowledge has been understood by scholars of the Nature of Scientific Knowledge (NOS) as an essentially communicative practice. In this case, in historical terms, the production and circulation of knowledge would be closely linked to the establishment of communicative processes, which occur in borderlands, mobile, changeable and selectively permeable. In the Early Modern period, starting with European maritime expansion, these processes, here understood not only as the simple dissemination or transmission of ideas but as transcultural interactions that occurred in contact zones that stimulated the construction of new philosophical models that sought to understand the natural environment. In this sense, this paper aims to analyse, through the Portuguese sources, the evidence of conflict and transcultural exchanges that involved these knowledge-producing encounters.

Keywords

Old uses of the ocean, transcultural knowledge, Atlantic boundaries, Early Modern history, Environmental history.

Biography

PhD in History at the University of Porto, Portugal. Researcher at CITCEM – Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaço e Memória – U.Porto. Recently concluded a Post-Doctoral Researcher at University of São Paulo/USP. I have been working on the History of Science, especially History of Natural Philosophy and Medicine in the Early Modern Portuguese Empire. My research focus is on the processes of knowledge production, emphasizing the entanglement and dynamics of knowledge forms in their historical making.

Memento Mortem: Ecological Disaster in Return of the Obra Dinn and the Franklin Expedition to the Northwest Passage

MEAGHAN WALKER ((Department of History, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada)

Abstract

In 1803, the British East India Company (EIC) ship *Obra Dinn* went missing with all its crew between England and its rendezvous. In 1807, the ship reappeared with jury-rigged sails and no living crew. A mysterious book and a compass were delivered to the EIC office in London from Morocco, purporting to be aids for discovering the fate of the ship and its crew. In 1845, H.M.S. *Erebus* and *Terror* departed from England on an expedition to discover the northwest passage through the Arctic so an alternate route to Asia from Europe might be mapped. Three years later, the Board of Admiralty sent a search party to look for Franklin's now lost expedition.

These two cases are remarkably similar. They both arose through imperial motives, they ignored the expertise of non-Europeans then later scapegoated them, and both tragedies involved incomprehensible natural (or supernatural) forces worsened by the crew's increasing hopelessness and isolation. Still, in one aspect they diverge: while Franklin's expedition is a real historical event, the story of the *Obra Dinn* is the plot of a video game released in 2018 by independent developer Lucas Pope.

Although video games have become an increasingly important part of global popular culture few academics and fewer historians have considered them. However, as the popular and award-winning *Return of the Obra Dinn* reveals, games are significant mediums of historical memory and even historical methods. The player's task is to link the names of the ship's company to their bodies and to uncover how they died, not to the end of memorializing them but to determine the financial cost for the EIC. The *Obra Dinn* reimagines the fate of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, a similar tragedy (though yet to be gamified) where goals of imperial triumph were dashed on the ice of ecological reality and European hubris. Further, the recent discovery of the two vessels, while significant for archaeological and historical research, turns attention on the Canadian government's push to strengthen sovereignty claims over the warming northwest passage. In this respect, both stories offer a warning against capitalist and imperialist greed and future climate disaster. They also allow historians to question how imagining (or re-imagining) the past can help imagine our future, where we are increasingly fated to experience climate catastrophe.

Keywords

video game, *Obra Dinn*, Franklin expedition, global warming, imperialism

Biography

Meaghan Walker was awarded a PhD by the University of Alberta, Canada for her SSHRC-funded doctoral project about the clothing of seafarers in the Royal Navy, 1793-1815. She now holds the Ewart A. Pratt Post-Doctoral Fellowship in Newfoundland and Labrador Military, Naval and Maritime History at Memorial University of Newfoundland where she is furthering her research into the means and relations of clothing and cloth retailing in a variety of maritime contexts. Her master's work was published in the May 2019 issue of the *International Journal of Maritime History* as "In the Inventories of Deceased Merchant Seafarers: Exploring Merchant Shipping and Material Culture, 1860-1880". Meaghan is also interested in the gamification of history, especially narratives about the maritime world. In April 2019 she spoke about the *Return of the Obra Dinn* in Dr. Robert Whitaker's program *History Respawned* (<https://www.historyrespawned.com/home/2019/4/1/return-of-the-obra-dinn-podcast>).

The Container Ship: icon of globalization and environmental concern

JOHANNA MARKKULA (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo, Norway)

Abstracts

The container ship is one of the most significant icons of economic globalization, with more than ninety percent of the world's goods being transported by sea. Yet, as Campbell (2019) points out, the cultural and representational work performed by images related to ships and the sea has tended to disguise or efface environmental concerns. While Campbell's focus is on the sailing ship, in this paper we look at a different type of vessel, the container ship, and how it similarly both reveals and conceals various issues related to the environment, labour and other aspects of the maritime industries. Using ethnographic research on and around these giants of global transport, we follow the ships through their entire life cycle, from their "birth" in shipyards in Korea and the Philippines, to their working lives out at sea and in ports, to their final "death" on the ship-breaking yards on the beaches of Bangladesh. We trace both the material and representational work performed around and onboard these ships, as well as the results of this work with regards to the global environment and economy more broadly. We suggest that the container ship as an image of globalization, modernity, efficiency and industrialization often conceals the ships' entanglements with environmental and labour issues, for example with regards to pollution, health effects for workers, as well as labour inequalities in different segments of the life cycle of the ships.

Keywords

container ships; environment; maritime labour; shipbuilding; shipping; shipbreaking

Biography

The research team of "(Dis-) Assembling the Life Cycle of Container Ships", a 3-year research project (2018-2021) funded by the Norwegian Research Council, consists of Elisabeth Schober (PI), Camelia Dewan and Johanna Markkula. Elisabeth Schober is an economic anthropologist and globalisation studies scholar with research and teaching interests in maritime work, gender / sexuality, and the anthropology of energy. Her present research focuses on South Korea's shipbuilding industry and its responses to the current global crisis in the maritime world. Camelia Dewan is an environmental anthropologist and postdoctoral fellow on the project where she focused on 'Death' through the shipbreaking industry with the ethnographic case of the beaches of Chittagong, Bangladesh. Johanna Markkula is a maritime anthropologist and shipboard ethnographer. As a postdoctoral fellow in the project she researched the working lives of the ships and the people onboard them.

S. 1. 4. – 18th-century sailors' lives, skills and experiences

CHAIR: S. June Kim

(Korea Maritime & Ocean University)

Les marins de la traite : essai de reconstitution de carrière des Malouins embarqués sur les négriers (1700-1730)

PHILIPPE HRODEJ/AURÉLIE HESS (Maître de conférences, Université de Bretagne Sud/ Ingénieure de recherche CNRS)

Abstract

La traite négrière depuis Saint-Malo s'est accélérée au XVIII^e siècle, comme dans tous les ports de France. Les équipages qui empruntent cette route triangulaire ont été formés à d'autres types de navigation, la pêche en particulier. Peu ont même l'habitude de se rendre aux Antilles. Cette communication propose de retracer la carrière d'une partie de ces marins en cherchant à comprendre ce qui les amène, dans le cadre de leur expérience maritime, de leur vécu et de l'attitude de ceux qui les dirigent (commandement, armateurs), à se porter vers ce type de navigation en n'oubliant pas les situations des familles. En d'autres termes, le risque plus important lié à cette navigation, la durée de l'absence, sont-ils mis en balance avec l'intérêt d'ordre pécuniaire de ces voyages ? Des pressions s'exercent-elles sur ces gens de mer ou remarque-t-on un mimétisme (lié au phénomène de l'embarquer ensemble) qui aboutirait à un phénomène de groupe ? Un bilan sera tiré de ces navigations dans la mesure où la question de savoir si ces expériences ont pu infléchir les carrières, sera posée, tout comme celle de la légalité. Cette communication se fera en français avec des diapositives en anglais.

Keywords

GEMER, traite négrière, Saint-Malo, navigation, colonies

Biography

Philippe Hrodej. Maître de conférences à l'Université de Bretagne Sud (Lorient), auteur d'ouvrages sur la course et la piraterie, sur le commerce vers les Antilles à la fin du XVII^e siècle et porteur d'un projet portant sur les gens de mer (GEMER). J'appartiens au laboratoire TEMOS (TEmps, MONdes et Sociétés) ainsi qu'au GIS d'Histoire & Sciences de la mer.

Aurélié Hess. Ingénieure de recherche CNRS auprès du laboratoire TEMOS (TEmps MONdes et Société) et travaillant à ce titre sur plusieurs projet dont le projet GEMER portant entre autre sur la reconstitution de carrières maritimes liés aux matricules des classes.

The eating habits of seafarers in Brittany at the beginning of the 18th century. Meeting between judicial archives and underwater archaeology.

DENIS LE GUEN

Abstract

The suggested communication takes an anthropological look at the deck of the great sailing boats frequenting the ports of Brittany at the beginning of the 18th century. The seafarers who belong to their crews do various missions : fishing campaigns in Newfoundland, privater operations at the English Channel or in the Gulf of Guinea, commerce in the Caribbean or the South Seas. Nevertheless, these men share a common experience, the sea, the confinement, the danger. Their eating habits and more generally the material environment in which they operate must shed light on the functioning of modern societies.

The written sources consist mainly of admiralty funds from the main Breton ports. These courts have produced a variety of archives, some of which provide valuable data on eating habits. For example, ship sales inventories show the remaining food at the end of a campaign or the cooking utensils used during the campaign. The judicial investigations themselves are particularly interesting because they sometimes show, almost accidentally, the social implications that center around this strong moment of sociability that the meal represents : an altercation occurs during this, witnesses then describe what they eat, when the conflict does not lie in the organization of the meal itself.

Underwater archaeology resonates with these fragments of life, echoed in the archives. On the Dauphine, for example, a privateer frigate lost off the coasts of Saint-Malo in 1704, cooking utensils and leftovers provide a concrete picture of what the archives quickly outline in inventories. Archives, in turn, when describing meal scenes, add depth to these inanimate objects. They bring these men who handle them back to life, the way they cook and what they eat. Two questions then guide my intervention. What is the method for relevantly meeting such different sources ? Do the data collected make it possible to understand the ship as a microcosm of 18th century society ?

Keywords

Modern History; Eating habits; judicial archives; underwater archaeology

Biography

Denis Le Guen. Professor of history and geography, I teach in a high school in Nantes (France). Since 2018, I do a thesis at the University of Angers. My subject is about the material culture of seafarers in Brittany (1680-1720). It is based on the meeting of judicial archives and submarine

archaeology. This research work is co-directed by Florent Quellier and Sylviane Llinares (University of Angers and Lorient, STT Doctoral School, TEMOS laboratory). Elisabeth Veyrat of DRASSM and Marie-Pierre Ruas of CNRS-MNHN are part of the thesis follow-up committee. I spoke at the 4th and 5th IEHCA International Conventions in Tours in 2018 and 2019. I must also participate in the publication on the wrecks of Saint-Malo, a publication led by archaeologists Michel L'Hour and Elisabeth Veyrat.

From tacit to explicit knowledge: Changing ways to learn seamanship in the 18th and 19th centuries

Seamanship

KAREL DAVIDS (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Abstract

‘Seamanship was, and is, for the most part a practical subject’, according to John Harland (Seamanship in the Age of Sail (1984)), but the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw a momentous change in the ways seamanship could be learned. The art of seamanship was no longer only taught by seasoned sailors through hands-on instruction on board. The skills and techniques of handling and working a ship were more and more also explained in manuals on seamanship and mariner’s dictionaries, practiced in specially commissioned training ships and tested in formal examinations. This shift from ‘tacit’ to ‘explicit’ knowledge took place in navies and merchant marines of all major western seafaring nations. This paper deals with this under-researched change in nautical education, with a focus on countries around the North Sea. In what respects and how was ‘seamanship’ turned into explicit knowledge? Why did it happen? Who were the key actors in this process? Those are the central questions that will be discussed in this paper.

Keywords

seamanship, nautical education, 18th and 19th centuries

Biography

Karel Davids studied Economic and Social History at the University of Leiden, The Netherlands, where he received his Ph.D.) in 1986. From 1994, he held the Chair of Economic and Social History in the Faculty of Humanities and the School of Economics of Business Administration at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands, where he retired in 2018. His publications in English include *The Rise and Decline of Dutch Technological Leadership. Technology, Economy and Culture in the Dutch Republic, 1350-1800* (Leiden, Brill 2008), *Religion, Technology, and the Great and Little Divergences: China and Europe compared c.1700-1800* (Leiden, Brill 2013), *A Miracle Mirrored. The Dutch Republic in European Perspective* (Cambridge UP 1995) (co-edited with Jan Lucassen) and many articles on the history of technology, economic history and maritime history. His new book *Global Ocean of Knowledge 1660-1860. Globalization and Maritime Knowledge in the Atlantic World* will be published shortly.

S. 1. 5. SMALL COMPANIES IN THE EAST INDIA TRADE

Chair: Toshiaki Tamaki

(Kyoto Sangyo University)

Discussant: Lisa Hellman

(Lund University)

Panel Abstract

The Portuguese maritime adventure in the 16th century helped the Europeans to develop their own shipping in Asia. In the long run, they succeeded to import Asian goods by their own ships. Asian waters became part of the European shipping routes in the course of the Early modern period. A considerable number of European states took part in this adventure, but most studies have focused on the Dutch and the English.

Unfortunately the trading activities of other European companies have not been studied so thoroughly. Nevertheless, many of these companies and their subsequent states participated in Asian trade. They sought specific niches and often succeeded in obtaining large benefits in doing so. Sometimes these niches played an important role in European commercial history. In this panel, we will look at the East Asian trade of other European countries. This panel is a very ambitious attempt to include Asian history in order to highlighting a significant aspect of European history.

Small companies traded actively in Asian waters. If we focus only on the English and Dutch East India Companies, we lose sight of important European commercial activities and of active participants looking for very specific niche markets. We will show in this panel the importance of these small European companies on the Asian scene and how they differed from their English and Dutch competitors.

We will refer to Ostend, Danish, and French East India Companies. We will explore how they traded and what they aimed at by their trade in Asia. Sometimes they established self-organised networks appear from states' ambitions. We will shed light on new aspects of European trade and shipping in Asia and will pave the way to further studies of European expansion in Asia. We will try to explore small companies' commercial relationship from Europe to Asia, and write a global history from small companies' perspectives.

Keywords

Asia, global history, merchant networks, small companies

Small Companies – Grand Networks - the case of the Danish East India Company, the Danish Asiatic Company and beyond

BENJAMIN ASMUSSEN (Maritime Museum of Denmark)

Abstract

In 1618, a small fleet of ships departed Copenhagen, owned by the king of Denmark and Norway and the newly formed Danish East India Company. Despite pirate attacks, scurvy, hostilities from other European powers made it to Asia and established the successful colony of Tranquebar on land rented from an Indian ruler.

The story of this expedition can be viewed in a national perspective, described a successful enterprise enforced by a strong ruler. Or it can be viewed in an international perspective of networks, where the ships, sailors and traders of the Danish East India Company becomes part of a larger network, in many ways separate from the state at home.

In 1730, the story almost repeats itself. After economic hardships and closure of the old company, a new company is started by the most influential moguls of its time in Copenhagen – the Danish Asiatic Company. A first ship sails directly to Canton in China becoming parts of an even larger international network of merchants and sailors converging in the ancient trading city on the Pearl River. The result was an immense success, leading to a hundred years of highly profitable trade in China and India and a buildup of commercial networks that continued independent of the company.

In this paper a perspective of network analysis will be applied to the two Copenhagen-based trading companies in Asia from 1616 to 1840. Which networks were essential for the early success of the companies in the early 17th and 18th century and what role did networks play in the later years of the companies in both Denmark-Norway, China, India and southeast Asia in general? The paper ends with considerations of the benefits and disadvantages of trading companies from smaller nations as well with a perspective to the centuries that followed, building upon the networks established in the early modern period.

Biography

Benjamin Asmussen has been a curator of the Maritime Museum for more than ten years, making exhibitions, collecting objects, designing interactive installations and more.

He defended his PhD-thesis at Copenhagen Business School in 2018 about the traders and managers of the Danish Asiatic Company in China 1730-1840 and their networks. His primary research interests are the early modern global trade, networks across the sea as well merchants and seamen of the Oldenburg Monarchy and their connections.

Methodologically he is inspired by Historical Network Analysis, prosopography and micro his-

tory applied to the field of maritime and global history. He is also the initiator of the Business Wiki of the Oldenburg Monarchy – an online resource for researchers to share knowledge about mariners and merchants of the early modern age with a connection to the Oldenburg Monarchy (Denmark, Norway, Schleswig, Holstein, Iceland etc), available at <http://oldenburg-business.net/>

The relations between the French and the Danish East Indian Companies

PIERRICK POURCHASSE (University of Western Brittany, Brest)

Abstract

The “Compagnie des Indes”, like other large European companies, regularly used the services of other foreign companies, notably the danish “Asiatisk Kompany” in case of conflict or for more or less illegal business (repatriation of directors’ funds). From the Danish and French sources, my paper will try to show links between two theoretically competing companies.

Biography

Pierrick Pourchasse is a professor at the department of history at the University of Bretagne Occidentale in Brest.. His research deals with economical relations between France and Northern Europe in the 18th century. He is the author of “Le commerce du Nord. Les échanges entre la France et l’Europe septentrionale au XVIIIe siècle” (PUR, Rennes, 2006)

The Ostend Company and the Belgian maritime renewal

MICHAEL-W. SERRUYS (Marie Skłodowska Curie Actions – Individual fellow (Centre de recherche bretonne et celtique, Université de Bretagne occidentale, Brest, France).

Abstract

The East India Company and the VOC are still very present in the British and Dutch national identity. Above all, they have shaped their country's history and maritime destiny. How did the smaller East India companies, like the Danish, Swedish or Belgian, play a role in the maritime history of their respective nations. In this paper we will discuss how the Belgian East India Company, or Ostend Company, renewed the maritime destiny of the Southern Netherlands in the eighteenth century.

In the early eighteenth century, Ostend was the only port in the Southern Netherlands with free access to the sea (the Scheldt and the port of Antwerp being closed by the United Provinces). At that time, Ostend's maritime activities were mainly limited to coastal fishing and privateering. The takeover by the Austrian Habsburgs of the Southern Netherlands in 1713, radically changed Ostend's position. The arrival of Jacobite merchants with knowledge of colonial trade, i.e. the arrival of new actors with new practices, precipitated the foundation of a colonial trading company in the 1720s.

Even if the Ostend Company disappeared in 1731, under international pressure, this colonial episode left the Austrian Netherlands with maritime and commercial, but also with legal, financial and political know-how, managed by new actors and new skills. These actors worked increasingly to bring Brussels - the country's political and economic center - geopolitically closer to the sea. A sea that was still psychologically distant until then.

In the end, the unceasing activities of these multi-skilled actors brought about a real maritime renewal in the Austrian Netherlands, and particularly in Ostend, which would become a major port on the western or Atlantic European coast at the end of the 18th century. A function that was taken over by Antwerp in the early nineteenth century. The role of the Ostend Company for Belgium's maritime renewal was therefore of paramount importance.

Biography

Michael-W. Serruys studied Modern history at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium) and political sciences at the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium) and the Institut d'études politiques in Paris (France). He worked as an archivist at the Arenberg Foundation in Enghien (Belgium) and as a researcher at Leiden University (the Netherlands) and the Vrije

Universiteit Brussel (Belgium). In 2014, he became a member of the Royal Belgian Marine Society. His main research topics are the Austrian Netherlands' transport policy (18th century), Belgian maritime geopolitical questions, the Ostend Company (18th century). Today he is a Marie Skłodowska Curie Actions – Individual fellow at the Centre de recherche bretonne et celtique at the Université de Bretagne occidentale in Brest (France). His current research is on the social impact of environmental crises – in this case the shipworm epidemic – on maritime societies in Western Europe in the eighteenth century.

S. 1. 6. – TALES AND SONGS OF THE SEA

Chair: Anne Tove Austbø

(Stavanger maritime Museum/Museum Stavanger & University of Agder)

Oral circulations and French songs crossing the Atlantic Ocean in the Prize Papers collection (17th-18th centuries)

ÉVA GUILLOREL (Université de Caen Normandie)

Abstract

A comparison between folksongs collected in French-speaking colonial America and in mainland France shows many similarities that lead us to inquire into the processes of circulation of oral cultures in the early modern Atlantic area. The documentation provided by 19th century ethnographical surveys lends support to the idea of a basically oral transmission, although the link between orality and writing must not be neglected. However, such circulations are very hard to document. Studying the archives seized on board French ships captured by the British in the 17th and 18th centuries while crossing the Atlantic offers rich possibilities to know more about these cultural mobilities. Handwritten notebooks, sheets of songs as well as music scores and printed broadside ballads kept in the High Court of Admiralty's Prize Papers collection give a precious picture of circulations of songs on transatlantic ships, whenever they left a paper trail. The comparison between these written archives and ethnographical recordings gathered in the last two centuries allows to propose a renewed analysis on the historical sources of folksongs.

Keywords

Oral circulations, French songs, Prize Papers, early modern history, folklore

Biography

Éva Guillorel followed a university education in History, Celtic studies and Ethnology in Brittany (France) and completed a PhD in early modern History in 2008. She did postdoctoral research for three years in the United States (Harvard University) and Quebec (Université Laval) and was then appointed as a Lecturer in early modern History at the Université de Caen Normandie in 2011. In 2012-2013, she was hosted at the University of Oxford (Hertford College) as a British Academy's Newton International Fellow. Back in Caen since 2013, she specializes on early modern oral cultures in France and in French American colonies. She is a member of the Institut universitaire de France since 2018 and has started a five-year research project entitled "What singing means in the French colonial Atlantic area: Oralities, circulations, appropriations, memories (16th-21st centuries)".

The sea shanty in its economic, social and cultural context

ROY FENTON (Independent scholar, BCMH fellow)

Abstract

This paper will look critically at the existing literature on sea shanties, characterised as work songs used to maximise the efficiency of muscle power on sailing vessels. It will take a maritime historian's perspective to explore the economic reasons why the sea shanty became a significant aspect of work and life on sailing ships in the nineteenth century, to the extent that shanty singers would be engaged expressly for their ability to lead the singing during hauling ropes, raising anchors and pumping out the bilges. The paper considers how the international trades in which sailing ships participated gave rise to the music and words that characterised the genre. In particular, it will look at how shipboard circumstances threw together singers familiar with traditional British-American music, and also exposed them to elements of Black music encountered in the southern states of the USA.

The paper also explores the social role of the songs in knitting together a crew who did not know each other at the start of a voyage, typically came from disparate cultures, often spoke different languages and had varying abilities as seamen. Lastly, the paper looks at the survival of shanties, and their characteristics which has meant a strong culture has grown up of singing them for pleasure.

The subtitle, 'sex and drink and rock and roll' reflects the three recurrent themes in the lyrics of sea shanties. There were frequent references to the women that sailors had encountered, or hoped to meet. Much was made of the pleasures and dangers of alcohol. A third theme is shipboard life in general: the work, the discipline, the officers and the dangers. For instance, the shanty chorus 'rock and roll me overboard' long predates the name given to the post-war popular music genre.

The presentation will be illustrated with brief snatches of recorded shanties

Keywords

Sea shanty, sailing ship, ship's crew, folk song

Biography

Dr Roy Fenton is an independent scholar, editor and publisher with a particular interest in coastal and deep-sea cargo ships in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, on which he has written extensively in academic and popular media. He was awarded a PhD in 2005 for a thesis on the transition from sail to steam in the coastal bulk trades. He has made presentations to a number of conferences including the ICMH in 2008 in Greenwich and 2012 in Ghent, and the annual Scottish Maritime History Conferences. He is a regular participant in events spon-

sored by the British Commission for Maritime History, of which he is a fellow and Honorary Treasurer. He also has a long-standing interest in traditional music, dance and drama, and is a regular participant in folk and shanty festivals in the British Isles.

A Sensitive Atlantic Ocean: historical connections, musical instruments, practices and sustainability within lusophone communities

JORGE RIBEIRO (University of Aveiro)

Abstract

The cultural connections between interconnected communities that had a Lusophone basis from a political and historical point of view, is a fruitful issue for the understanding of musical practices in different contexts, as is the case of Portugal, the Atlantic archipelagos of Madeira, Azores, Cape Verde, or Brazil. That is why the circulation of musical instruments and practices within these communities has been a very rich field for the understanding of cultural processes that took place in the past and still are significant from the perspective of cultural contacts, symbolic and political control and social memories. It is the case of specific instruments like viola and cavaquinho for example, that travelled and spanned within many Portuguese-speaking spaces around the Atlantic Ocean establishing a visible (or invisible) presence in different cultures and regions, dating back at least from the 17th century to the present. In this connected communities many relations of creation, enjoyment and work with music are marked by the sharing of disseminated repertoires, musical instruments and provided the construction of what can be designated as “sensitive, singular and autonomous universes” or “musical ecosystems”. The sustainability of this universes has been fueled by processes of memory reactivation through dialogue, musical creativity involving the instruments and its movements around the Atlantic Ocean.

In this paper I propose to (1) examine some global questions of musical connections in a lusophone Atlantic Ocean in the construction of symbolic, material and sensitive relations between communities in Portugal, Brazil and the archipelagos of Madeira, Azores and Cape Verde; (2) to discuss, in this contexts, how musical instruments are “sites of meaning construction” and “a part of political economy attuned by, or the outcome of, a range of associated ideas, concepts and practical skills” (Dawe 2003).

Biography

Jorge Ribeiro. Degree in Musicology (Universidade Nova de Lisboa). PhD in Music – Ethnomusicology (University of Aveiro - UA). Assistant Professor (UA), and Integrated Researcher at the Institute of Ethnomusicology: Center for Studies in Music and Dance (INET-md / UA). Areas of interest: Cape Verdean music, music in Portugal, migration, postcolonial studies, music and education, music in the Portuguese-speaking world and music as intangible cultural heritage. Extensive fieldwork in mainland Portugal, Madeira, Cape Verde and Brazil. Direction and Coordination of Research Project “Sensitive Atlantic (AtlaS) - Memory and mediation of

musical practices and instruments in circulation between interconnected communities” with funding from FCT and participation in other six funded projects. National and international academic publications, including books, articles, essays, ethnographic recordings and audio-visual documentaries. Academic papers presented in 11 countries.

S. 2. 1. CHINESE DIASPORAS AND MARITIME HISTORIES, 16TH-19TH CENTURIES

Chair: Steven B. Miles

(Washington U. in St. Louis)

Panel Abstract

This panel explores the question of whether or not the history of the Chinese diaspora in late imperial times (sixteenth through nineteenth centuries) is necessarily and by definition a maritime history. We explore this question through thematic studies of regional and dialect groups in the southeastern coastal provinces of Fujian (Hokkien) and Guangdong (Cantonese), which produced the largest proportion of overseas Chinese during this period.

Exploring the involvement of Hokkien seafarers in smuggling and piracy in the sixteenth century, Harriet Zurndorfer situates this Chinese diaspora, the Ming state, and the Portuguese in global maritime history and the evolution of Eurasian slave markets. Evelyn Hu-DeHart traces Chinese migrants who traveled throughout the Spanish seaborne empire, from the Hokkien in Manila beginning in the late-sixteenth century to the Cantonese in Cuba in the nineteenth century. Focusing on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Steven Miles examines communities and patrilineal lineages in Guangdong that sent migrants both upstream along the West River basin into southeastern China and overseas to destinations in Southeast Asia, Australasia, and the Americas.

Ultimately, we arrive at different answers to the fundamental question that we pose. On the one hand, in Chinese, the closest expression of “Chinese diaspora” is “overseas Chinese” (*hua qiao*), suggesting that the history of the Chinese diaspora is essentially a maritime history. Undoubtedly, Chinese seafarers and overseas migrants were essential actors in the maritime history of the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. On the other hand, many Chinese migrants pursued similar “diasporic strategies” while targeting destinations within China and elsewhere on the Eurasian continent.

Keywords

Coolies, diaspora, maritime history, overseas Chinese, slaves

The Chinese Maritime Diaspora in the Evolving Foundation of Eurasian Slavery Markets during the 16th Century

HARRIET ZURNDORFER (Leiden University)

Abstract

Relying on members of the maritime Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia for nautical and linguistic guidance, the first Portuguese came to China in 1513 from Malacca, intending to establish trading relations in Guangzhou. But Ming dynasty officials believed these Europeans were from Southeast Asia, and purposefully “sneaking around with the local traffic”—meaning that the Portuguese did not represent a separate nation-state but were members of the same gangs who engaged in illegal smuggling and human trafficking along the Chinese littoral. After a failed attempt to enter into official diplomacy with the Ming in 1521, the Portuguese were expelled from China; however, they did not leave, instead aligning themselves with the floating diasporas of Chinese seafarers (mainly Hokkien) who lodged in coastal “pirate havens” from where they processed the expanding circulation of goods (and people) from Southeast Asia to China, and further afield to ports in Korea and Japan. During the 1530s the Portuguese, with the help of the floating Chinese diaspora, created a fixed trading emporium at Shuangyu (Zhejiang) where they traded illegally, but with great profits, Chinese silk for Japanese silver. The success of this illegal trade, however, did not go unnoticed by authorities at Guangzhou who realized the competition with neighboring Fujian and its officials shielding the law-breakers, both native and foreign, did themselves no economic good in the long run, and urged the Ming state to extend trading rights and the leasehold of Macao to the Portuguese. By 1557, now with Macao at their disposal, the Portuguese could now expand their already widespread commercial connections with Japan, exporting Korean and Japanese slaves to Macao and from there to Malacca, other ports in Southeast Asia, and even further west to Goa, and eventually Africa and Europe. The slave trade system that had already been in place.

Biography

Harriet T. Zurndorfer (Ph.D. 1977 from the University of California, Berkeley in Chinese history) is an Affiliated Fellow of the Leiden Institute for Area Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, Leiden University in the Netherlands where she has worked as a docent and researcher since 1978. She is the author of *Change and Continuity in Chinese Local History* (1989), and *China Bibliography: A Research Guide to Reference Works about China Past and Present* (1995), and has published more than 200 learned articles and reviews. From 1992 to 2000, she served as editor-in-chief of *The Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. She is founder, and editor-in-chief of the journal *Nan Nü: Men, Women and Gender in China*, published

since 1999. She also serves as one of the co-editors of the 4-volume Cambridge World History of Violence, and is a contributor to the forthcoming Cambridge Economic History of China.

Chinese in the Spanish Seaborne Empire: Joining the Pacific and the Atlantic Maritime Worlds

EVELYN HU-DEHART (Brown University)

Abstract

This paper examines the course of the Chinese diaspora, beginning with the rise of the first large Chinese community overseas, which occurred in the Spanish colony of Manila with the arrival of the Spaniards coming from New Spain in 1565. Miguel de Legazpi launched the Manila Galleon trade that exchanged American silver for Chinese silk and luxury goods across the Pacific for 250 years. From the Pacific port of Acapulco, Mexico, Chinese and Asian goods were distributed across the Americas, as well as transshipped from the Atlantic port of Veracruz to Sevilla, Spain and across Europe, the Mediterranean world, and Africa. Coming mainly from southern Fujian, the Hokkien traders, artisans, shopkeepers, farmers, fishermen, and laborers who peopled the *parián* (Chinatown) of Manila went on to populate Batavia under the Dutch, and Singapore and the Straits Colony (Malaya) under the British, spreading the Chinese diaspora across southeast Asia. In the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese labor migrants from coastal Guangdong province in south China were recruited to Spanish Cuba to complement slave labor on the sugar plantations, bonded by contract for 8 years. They were the first among tens of thousands of Cantonese men enticed to leave home for the Americas, from Peru to the Western United States and up the Pacific coast to Canada, as well as all over the Caribbean. For most of them, they crossed the Pacific in the route heavily traveled by the Manila galleons. But for the Cantonese destined for Cuba, they had to undertake a much longer and more arduous voyage across the Indian Ocean into the Atlantic, and northward to the Caribbean. The *barrio chino* (Chinatown) that these Chinese migrants built in Havana predated Chinatowns in the United States. If the Chinese diaspora in southeast Asia began in Manila, it can be said that the Chinese diaspora in the Americas began in Cuba, as trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic maritime enterprises within the Spanish Seaborne Empire.

Biography

Evelyn Hu-DeHart is Professor of History, American Studies and Ethnic Studies at Brown University. She received her B.A in Political Science from Stanford University and her PhD in Latin American/Caribbean history from the University of Texas at Austin. She has received two Fulbright fellowships, to Brazil and Peru. She has written, edited and published 11 books and over 60 articles/book chapters, on three main topics, in 4 languages on 5 continents: indigenous peoples on the U.S.-Mexico border; the Chinese diaspora in Latin America and the Caribbean; and race relations and minority politics in the U.S. She was a founding member of

the Chinese Railroad Workers of North America at Stanford University. Currently (2018-19), she is the American Council of Learned Scholars Centennial Fellow in the Dynamics of Place, to research and write a book on “China, the Chinese Diaspora, and the Spanish Empire, 16th to 21st Centuries.”

Riverine and Maritime Cantonese Diasporas in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

STEVEN MILES (Washington University in St. Louis)

Abstract

Drawing on scholarship that questions the usefulness of the analytical divide between internal and external Chinese migration, this paper focuses on Cantonese migrants from the Pearl River delta in the southern Chinese province of Guangdong. During the eighteenth century, before the age of mass migration, many Cantonese migrants sought their fortunes upstream along the West River basin into the southwestern Chinese frontier. Consequently, when, during the nineteenth century, Cantonese migrants headed for new destinations overseas, there already existed in many delta communities and lineages a culture of migration.

By the nineteenth century, it was common for particular communities and lineages in the Pearl River delta to send migrants both upriver and overseas. The important township of Jiujiang for example, was by the nineteenth century tightly linked to the upper West River basin, from where Jiujiang residents imported rice and harvested fish fry that made the township's pisciculture famous. Jiujiang merchants were also active in such destinations as Vietnam, Cuba, and Mexico. By the close of the nineteenth century, an English-language travel guide wrote of Jiujiang that many of the township's residents had "lived in America and Australia."

In other words, residents of Jiujiang and other delta communities were part of a highly mobile population before the "age of mass migration" commenced in the mid-nineteenth century. When new, overseas destinations became available to Cantonese migrants, these destinations were incorporated into a pre-existing but rapidly expanding Cantonese diaspora.

Biography

Steven B. Miles is a professor of early modern Chinese history at Washington University in Saint Louis. He is author of *The Sea of Learning: Mobility and Identity in Nineteenth-Century China* (2006), *Upriver Journeys: Diaspora and Empire in Southern China, 1570-1850* (2017), and *Chinese Diasporas: A Social History of Global Migration* (forthcoming, 2020). He is editor-in-chief of the journal, *Late Imperial China*.

S. 2. 2. THE SEA AND FOREIGN POLICY, FROM WWII TO TODAY

Chair: Karel Davids

(VU Amsterdam)

Oceans of war and peace:

The seafarer's ambiguous role as civilians

BJØRN TORE ROSENDAHL (Centre for the History of Seafarers at War, ARKIVET Peace and Human Rights Centre)

Abstract

The oceans have in centuries been used by ships to transport people and goods. Normally, the seafarers' job to ensure that the goods safely arrive at its destination is a civilian job. However, in times of war the seafarers' role as a civilian tends to be challenged, thus changing the relationship to others operating in the same oceans.

This paper investigates how the seafarers' role as civilians comes under pressure during war. The main case is the seafarers in the merchant fleets during World War II, the Norwegian in particular. The paper builds on some of the main results in Rosendahl's PhD thesis from 2017 which explores how seafarers' services in the merchant fleet were ensured in World War II. One of the thesis' main results is that the seafarers' civilian status came under pressure in various ways during the war and this contributed to an ambiguous Norwegian policy towards them. They were sometimes treated like "seafarers" and at other times like "war sailors". This is a constructed dual terminology, used to explore the complex and shifting relationship between normality and war and being a civilian or a military person. Norwegian authorities displayed this ambiguity explicitly during the war, by categorising the seafarers in separate columns in their internal statistics; neither as civilian work nor as a part of the military.

Even though the main focus is on the time of World War II, the paper aims to examine seafarers' role as civilians in war and war-like situations, in a longer perspective. From the use of so-called privateers in earlier centuries, to the arming of ships against pirates in today's shipping, the seafarer's role as pure civilians has been under pressure and become dubious. This types of shifting and uncertain relationship between actors in the oceans has resulted in extensive consequences – in particular to the seafarers themselves.

Keywords

Civilian, World War II, merchant seafarers, Norway

Biography

Bjørn Tore Rosendahl is a historian (PhD) and the academic leader of Centre for the History of Seafarers at War at ARKIVET Peace and Human Rights Centre, in Kristiansand, Norway. From 2005 to 2011 he was Education Manager at the same institution. Rosendahl finished his PhD at Agder University in 2018, with his thesis "Seafarers or war sailors? The ambiguities

of ensuring seafarers' services in times of war in the case of the Norwegian merchant fleet during the Second World War". In 2015, he published the book "Foreign seafarers remembered. Foreign seamen killed in service of the Norwegian Merchant fleet during the Second World War". In 2018 Rosendahl edited the anthology "Allied Seafarers in the Second World War". He also initiated a national online register of all the seafarers who served on Norwegians ships in World War II: www.Krigsseilerregisteret.no. The government supported web site includes so far the personal profiles of appr. 60 000 seafarers.

Confrontation to Cooperation: Preventing Incidents at Sea

DAVID WINKLER (United States Naval Academy)

Abstract

During the Cold War the Soviet Navy challenged American dominance on the high seas – a situation being replicated in the present thanks to a growing Chinese Peoples' Liberation Army Navy (PLAN). During the early Cold War period, some of the confrontation between American and Soviet maritime forces turned violent, resulting in deaths, lost aircraft, and damaged vessels. Diplomacy had negligible effect. Then in 1971, Soviet and American naval officers, sharing bonds inherent to mariners, put ideology aside and spoke frankly about the potential dangers associated with operating in close proximity on the world's oceans and discussed measures to limit incidents that could have unfortunate consequences. As a result, in May 1972 the two nations signed an Incidents at Sea Agreement that established Navy-to-Navy channels to resolve issues stemming from these confrontations. In addition to opening communication channels to address incidents, the accord established behavioral norms for the opposing naval forces that served to minimize misinterpretations of intentions. No pointing of guns, overflights with open bomb bay, direction of searchlights at night are some of the behaviors that have been modified with telling effect. This agreement is still in effect and has served as a model for additional bilateral accords as well a framework in the Pacific and Indian Oceans involving the United States and China and other regional nations. In 2018, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) highlighted these various safety at sea arrangement at its Annual Security Review meeting and subsequent workshop. This presentation, drawn from my 2017 *Incidents at Sea: American Confrontation and Cooperation with Russia and China, 1945-2016* (Naval Institute Press), will chronicle this multi-national effort to deescalate open confrontation and the impacts of United Nations Convention of the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) on the definition of "High Seas" in the wake of allowing for nat

Keywords

Peaceful Cooperation, Conflict Resolution, Crisis management

Biography

Dr. David F. Winkler is the current Class of 1957 Chair of Naval Heritage at the U.S. Naval Academy. Previously, he served for over two decades as the Staff Historian at the Washington DC-based Naval Historical Foundation (NHF) having earned his Ph.D. from American University in 1998. He also holds an MA from Washington University and a BA from the Pennsylvania State University where he earned his commission as a naval officer through the Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps. Having served as a Surface Warfare Officer on ships operat-

ing on all but the Arctic Ocean, Winkler would retire from the Naval Reserve at the rank of Commander. In addition to his Incident at Sea monograph, he has written *Amirs, Admirals and Desert Sailors* (2007) highlighting naval operations in the Persian Gulf and *Ready Now, Ready Then, Always Ready* (2014) discussing the history of the U.S. naval reserve. He is the editor of the NHF journal *Pull Together* and writes a monthly column for the Navy League's *Sea Power*.

S. 2. 3. TECHNOLOGY AND MARINE FISHING IN THE PRE-MODERN ERA

Chair: Richard Unger

(University of British Columbia)

Panel Abstract

Those interested in technological developments in medieval and early modern maritime history have largely focused on innovations in ship design, efforts that have produced a rich scholarly literature centered primarily on improvements in the size, speed, and military capabilities of sailing vessels. But far less attention has been paid to other technologies in the more prosaic sectors of the maritime economy, such as fishing. The three papers in this session address this lacuna by offering new perspectives on the development and impact of technological innovations within marine fishing. Changes in how fish were preserved during the medieval period, for example, increased the commercial potential of herring, cod, and a host of other sea fish, significantly expanding the geographical range and profitability of what became an international trade in fish. Another paper focuses on the interaction of technology and ecosystem in tracking how fishing gear and boats adapted to specific socio-ecological conditions in one region. Environmental concerns are also evident in how increasing unease about bycatches led to the imposition of regulations about fishing techniques. We hope that these different approaches will stimulate fruitful conversation about the practical application of experience-based technologies in the expanding pre-modern maritime industry of marine fishing.

Preserving and Curing Marine Fish in Medieval Britain: Methods and Costs

MARYANNE KOWALESKI (Fordham University)

Abstract

Maritime historians interested in technological innovations and change in marine fishing during the medieval and early modern periods have largely focused their efforts on fishing gear, techniques, and ships. Far less attention has been paid to the preservation of fish, even though it played a crucial role in the commercialization of fishing because only preserved fish could be traded on anything more than a local and seasonal basis given the rapid spoilage rate of fresh fish. Although archaeologists have made great strides in understanding curing techniques in medieval Britain, documentary historians have had little new to say. Most studies, in fact, rely on a 1955 book by a food chemist (C. L. Cutting, *Fish Saving*), who describes the chemical processes that curing involves, but who relied uncritically on a few printed sources and treated the Iron Age to the Industrial Era as one period. This paper aims to redress this lacuna by bringing together data on fishing curing methods from charters, estate accounts (particularly for Durham Priory and Battle Abbey), and court disputes in Yarmouth to categorize the costs, organization, processes, and regional distribution of methods employed to cure marine fish (especially herring and cod) in Britain from the twelfth through early sixteenth centuries. Access to salt was a key factor in this industry, but other factors were also at stake in, for example, the development of the pilchard industry in southwestern England during the sixteenth century.

Keywords

Fishing; Curing; Technology; Britain; Middle Ages

Biography

Joseph Fitzpatrick SJ Distinguished Professor of History & Medieval Studies, Fordham University. Recent publications include:

“The Maritime Trade Networks of Medieval London.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade around Europe 1300-1600*. Ed. W. Blockmans et al (2017) “Port Labour in Medieval England.” In *The Sea in History: v. 2: The Middle Ages*. Ed. M. Balard. (2017)

“The Early Documentary Evidence for the Commercialization of the Sea Fisheries in Medieval Britain,” in *Cod and Herring: The Archaeology and History of Medieval Sea Fishing*. Ed. J. H. Barrett & D. C. Orton (2016)

“Peasants and the Sea,” in *Peasants and Lords in the Medieval English Economy: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. S. Campbell*. Ed. M. Kowaleski et al (2015)

“Bibliography of the Medieval Maritime History of British Isles and Ireland,” *International*

Journal of Maritime History (2014)

“The Seasonality of Fishing in Medieval Britain,” in *Ecologies and Economies in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Ed. S. Bruce (2010)

The Intersection of Technology and Marine Fishing along the Portuguese and Iberian Coast in the 16th Century

INÊS AMORIM (CITCEM/FLUP)

Abstract

The practice and effectiveness of marine fishing was affected by the nature of the ecosystem (sea, inshore, or estuarine locations; marine or fluvial species; tides and climate), access to resources, adaptive technology, and the (ir) regularity of work for natural and socio cultural reasons. This paper focuses on the relationship between technology—as evident in fishing techniques and the types of fishing gear and boats employed and the unique social ecological conditions of the Atlantic and Mediterranean position of Portugal (from 48° N to 36° N and from 11° W to the coastlines of France, which comprises the Bay of Biscay and the Iberian Coast). This region clearly differs ecologically, economically, and culturally from the rest of the Atlantic. The adaptation of fishers to these conditions in the sixteenth century can be tracked by using “foral” charters which were produced between 1500 and 1520 and detail the duties and rights for all Portuguese counties (“concelhos”).

Keywords

Fishery; Technology; Portugal; Iberia; 16th century

Biography

Inês Amorim is Associate Professor with aggregation in of History at the University of Porto and Director of the Dept. of History and of Political and International Studies. Her research and publications focus on environmental history, climate, rural history, maritime resources and conflicts, trade and work in coastal settlements, prices and credit, consumption, poverty and healthcare. She serves as Regional Representative for Portugal for the European Society of Environmental History and in 2015 created the Portuguese Network of Environmental History <http://www.reportha.org/en/about-us>. Her recent publications include: “Inter-, Multi-, and Trans-disciplinarity: New Horizons for Portuguese Environmental History,” in *Portuguese Literature and the Environment*, ed. V. K. Mendes and P. Vieira, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2019; with B. Pinto, “Portugal in the European Network of Marine Science Heritage and Outreach (19th–20th Centuries)”. *Humanities* 8:1 (2019).

Repairing tools and damage in an Early Modern fishing community (Dieppe, 18th century)

ROMAIN GRANCHER (CNRS, Framespa)

Abstract

Marine environmental historians have shown that bottom trawling became widespread in many European fishing communities from the late Middle Ages onwards, raising heated controversy over its devastating effects on marine resources. However, some communities have long opposed its use and have managed to limit its spread. This paper aims to understand the reasons for this long resistance by drawing on the case of Dieppe (France), where bottom trawling was only adopted at the beginning of the 19th century, after violent conflicts between partisans and opponents of this fishing gear. Using a micro historical analysis centred on the 18th century, it seeks to go beyond the environmental interpretation currently dominant in historiography. By relying on inquiries and petitions, but also on account books and court records, it is indeed possible to write another “lost” history of trawling (as Peter Jones remarkably did recently). This one considers its ecological impact, but it also focuses on the complementarity between gears, the seasonality of fish markets, the collective ownership of tools, the gendered division of labour, the territorialisation of fishing grounds and the forms of risk management. In the 18th century, all these aspects of the technical organisation of fishing were still governed by local customs negotiated between the actors of the community, and it was largely in defence of these customs that they opposed the introduction of bottom trawling.

Keywords

Preindustrial Fisheries; Technology ; Regulation ; France

Biography

Romain Grancher is an associate researcher in environmental history at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS). Recent publications include:

“Gouverner les ressources de la mer. Une histoire environnementale de l’inspection des pêches françaises au XVIII^esiècle”, *Cahiers d’histoire*, vol. 36, n°1, 2018, p. 45-68. “Le tribunal de l’amirauté et les usages du métier. Une histoire par en bas du monde de la pêche (Dieppe, XVIII^esiècle)”, *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine*, vol. 65, n°3, 2018, p. 33-58 [English version accessible on <https://www.cairn-int.info/>].

“Fishermen’s taverns. Public houses and maritime labour in an early modern French fishing community”, *International Journal of Maritime History*, vol. 28, n°4, 2016, p. 671-685. “Écrire au pouvoir pour participer au gouvernement des ressources”, *L’Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques* [en ligne], n°13, 2015, p. 175-212. URL : <https://journals.openedition.org/acrh/6560>

**S. 2.4. – FINANCE AND OPERATIONS OF LATE 18TH
AND EARLY 19TH-CENTURY SHIPPING**

Chair: Sarah Palmer
(University of Greenwich)

Hanseatic twilight? Lübeck's shipping networks in the latter half of the 18th century

YRJÖ KAUKIAINEN (University of Helsinki)

Abstract

Since the late 16th century, shipping in the Baltic Sea region experienced profound changes. The rising maritime powers, the Dutch Republic and Great Britain penetrated the area and the old Hanseatic masters seem to have been reduced a passive role. Important aspects of these changes are illuminated by the Sound Toll records but, in contrast, archival sources of intra-Baltic shipping are so fragmentary and imperfect that, we don't know how much the traditional Baltic shipping was affected. Fortunately, there are printed sources, newspapers which also published local shipping news, which may shed light on intra-Baltic shipping. One such paper was the *Lübeckische Anzeigen*, in which lists of shipping movements in the city's port since the early 1750s be found. As Lübeck was still overwhelmingly oriented to the Baltic, this source can open a view which differs strongly from the picture painted by the Sound Toll Registers.

Keywords

eighteenth century, Baltic shipping, shipping through the Sound, Lubeck

Biography

Yrjö Kaukiainen is Emeritus Professor of European History (previously of Economic history) at the University of Helsinki and a former President of the International Maritime Economic History Association. His research has focussed, in particular, on the history of shipping in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as the history of information transmission in the 19th century. Concerning the eighteenth century, he has published i.a. "Dutch Shipping and the Swedish Navigation Act (1724) – A Case Study," in Leo Akveld et al. (eds.), *In het kielzog. Maritiem-historische studies aangeboden aan Jaap R. Bruijn bij zijn vertrek als hoogleraar geschiedenis aan de Universiteit Leiden*. Amsterdam, De Bataafsche Leeuw 1998, p. 452-61.

From trade to war: The participation of the merchant fleet of Hydra in the formation of the Greek Navy during the Greek Revolution of 1821. Financial and operation costs.

MINAS ANTYPAS (University of Crete/School of Philosophy - Department of History and Archaeology)

Abstract

It is well known that the great development of the Greek-owned merchant fleet took place since the second half of the 18th century and culminated during the period of the Napoleonic Wars. Taking advantage of the continental blockade and the withdrawal of European merchant ships, the Ottoman Greeks' merchant fleet emerged as one of the most dynamic carriers of the eastern Mediterranean. During this period the fleet of island of Hydra in the Aegean Sea excelled. On the eve of the Greek Revolution of 1821 Hydra had a remarkable merchant fleet of about 120 ships, which was owned by a group of powerful ship-owners who were, usually, the ruling «heads» of the island.

When Hydra entered the Revolution many things had to be taken under consideration. The very operation of the ships that would constitute the revolutionary Navy would burden especially the ship-owners. Ships had to be constantly on the move to confront the Ottoman Navy. It was also necessary to ensure the flow of supplies and especially the payment of the crews. Ship-owners still had to support a series of complementary activities such as the operation of the fire-ships and a «smaller» supply fleet.

These topics concern this presentation. Based on documents from the island's archives and the Greek General State Archives I will try to examine the ship-owners' strategies for the fleet's finance and operation. Behind their constant pressure on the Provisionary Greek Government to finance the Navy, laid their goal to obtain Government's revenues. They also had to deal with the defection of sailors who, when their monthly payment was delayed, resorted to piracy and privateering. Through my presentation I will, also, try to show that the participation of the Hydriot vessels in the Greek Navy was not only for profit. Hydriot ship-owners sought, through their involvement in the war, to strengthen their position among the revolutionaries, with an eye towards the future administration of the new Greek state.

Keywords

Ottoman Empire, Greek Revolution, Hydra, naval warfare

Biography

I was born in 1990 in Athens and I'm currently living in Piraeus, Greece. In 2014, I graduated from the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens/Department of History and Archaeology. In 2017, I took a Master's Degree in Modern and Contemporary History from Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences/Department of Political Science and History, Athens. Since October 2017 I'm a PhD Candidate in the Department of History and Archaeology of University of Crete, with Gelina Harlaftis, as PhD advisor. My dissertation's title is "Society and Economy in Hydra (1815-1850). The ship-owner's group of the island and the change of its orientations during the transition from the Ottoman rule to the modern Greek state". My research interests include the development of the maritime communities of Ionian and Aegean Seas during 18th – 19th centuries and the incorporation of their ruling elites to the new Greek state, as well as the economic aspects of the Greek Revolution of 1821.

A remarkable survivor-100 Years of Graig Shipping plc of Cardiff, 1919-2019 (?)

DAVID JENKINS (Amgueddfa Cymru (National Museum of Wales))

Abstract

Craig Shipping plc, one of Cardiff's two remaining shipping companies, celebrated its centenary in November 2019. Founded as a typical tramping concern in the 'coal out, grain in' trades, it acquired its first motor ships in the early 1950s, and was the first Cardiff firm to acquire bulk carriers in the 1960s and has more recently been involved in the supervision of vessel construction for third parties in Chinese shipyards, as well as continuing to operate and manage bulk carriers. Over the century, the descendants of the principal founder, Idwal Williams, have also consolidated their hold on the company, changing from a joint-stock limited liability enterprise to a private company wholly owned by the family.

Biography

David Jenkins has been a honorary researcher at *Amgueddfa Cymru* (National Museum of Wales) since 2017 and was previously the museum's principal curator of transport. Descended from a long line of Welsh seafarers, he has written widely on aspects of Welsh maritime, transport and industrial history. He remains a research fellow at the University of Swansea, is co-editor of *Cymru a'r Mor* (Maritime Wales) and is secretary of the British Commission for Maritime History.

**S. 2. 5. RE-EXAMINING TRADE FLOWS AND MECHANISMS BETWEEN EUROPE
AND NORTH AMERICA IN THE MODERN-CONTEMPORARY PERIOD (19TH-20TH
CENTURIES)**

Chair: Henric Häggqvist
(Uppsala University) and Jari Eloranta (University of Helsinki)

Discussant: Jari Ojala
(University of Jyväskylä)

Panel Abstract

This session aims to reassess commercial flows between the 19th and 20th centuries, and institutional mechanisms of control related to that trade, especially from the point of view of what's still missing in historiographic production. After so much recent development in economic history, in particular how restrictive and effective empire's colonial policies were, we look up to know more about the initiatives or expedients utilized by merchants, captains and businessmen to circumvent regulations and barriers. Moreover, we seek to dialogue with new works that bring insights related to potential unseen commodity chains: were there global commodity chains hidden from posterity? Did smuggling create more modern looking commodity chains? How could different techniques of measurement, currencies, levels of credit access and higher taxation represent effective barriers to trade development, productivity and economic growth?

Despite the notorious development of interdisciplinary research done in this area, as observed in the works of Daudin, O'Rourke and Prados de la Escosura (2008), Dobado-González, García-Hiernaux and Guerrero (2012), de Zwart and van Zanden (2018), and the volume recently edited by Baten (2016) about Global Economy, we also seek to deepen the idea of an effective interconnection between trade flows with other economic activities related to ship-building industry, maritime insurances or credit offer, as an instrument to enable new commercial relations and access new circuits. Is there a point of contact between them? Moreover, what could be the levels of interaction? How States and Empires responded to those legal/illegal interactions? Based on this open dossier, our panel wants to put some light on these questions. This session interacts with session "Re-examining Trade Flows and Mechanisms between Europe and North America in Early Modern Period (17th-18th centuries)", as part of the same large group, broke in two different session slots.

Keywords

Trade, Commodity flows, Shipping, 19th century, the Atlantic

Re-thinking bilateral trade flows: the supply of exotic goods in the Scandinavian markets

HENRIC HÄGGQVIST (Uppsala University)

Abstract

The last years of research has vastly expanded the historical data of bilateral trade flows. The Ricardo database and the Tradhist database from CEPII has brought new knowledge on the aggregate transnational flow of goods during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Data on bilateral trade on commodity level is however more scarce. This paper aims to fill such a research gap through looking at the flow of so-called “exotics goods” in the Scandinavian markets. It looks specifically at coffee, cotton, and spirits (rum and arrack), to see which countries supplied the Swedish and Norwegian markets with these goods. By doing so it finds that the way the bilateral historical data was constructed it hides the real origin of the goods, as a large part of these three goods were re-exported from the economic powerhouses of Europe to Scandinavia rather than directly exported from the Caribbean, South America, and East India. The paper suggests that using shipping data from specific ports might be used to uncover the real origins of these goods.

Biography

Henric Häggqvist is a post-doc researcher at the Department of Economic History, Uppsala University. His research includes economic history of globalization and the welfare state, efficiency in financial markets and economic growth, and the effects of trade policy on the economy. Recent publications include “Foreign trade as fiscal policy” (Scandinavian Economic History Review, 2018).

The Norwegian Nexus – shipping in the first wave of globalization

CAMILLA BRAUTASET (University of Bergen)

Abstract

We do not have an abstract for this paper, but the participant is confirmed to join.

Biography

Camilla Brautaset is professor of history at the Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion. Her research includes the processes of globalization, especially international trade, business and maritime history. Recent publications include “Research on international trade and transport – a generational shift?” (with Jari Ojala, Scandinavian Economic History Review, 2018).

S. 3. 1. EXPLORATION AND EXPLOITATION

Chair: Evan Wilson

(U.S. Naval War College)

Op NANOOK:

The Royal Canadian Navy and the Arctic

CHRIS PERRY (Royal Canadian Navy)

Abstract

An examination of the role and impact on the arctic by the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) through the annual exercise Operation NANOOK. The paper will explore how the RCN reinforces national narratives and aids in exploration of the newly accessible arctic waters.

Keywords

RCN, Arctic, Nanook

Biography

Chris Perry retired from the Royal Canadian Navy after 27 years and is now the Royal Canadian Navy Command Historian. He holds Bachelor degrees in History and Sociology, both from the University of Victoria, and a Master's degree in War in the Modern World from King's College London.

Chris is the editor of the Salty Dips oral history publication, a member of the Royal Historical Society, and an Associate Member of the Corbett Centre for Maritime Policy Studies. He is currently working on the history of the post-Cold War RCN.

Reflection on the Economic and Political History of the Ross Sea

BJØRN L. BASBERG (Norwegian School of Economics)/**BRYAN LINTOTT** (University of Cambridge and University of Tromsø)

Abstract

After the discovery by Sir James Clark Ross in 1842, this deep cut into the Antarctic continent became significant for the further development of the region. The Ross Sea became the preferred gateway for the explorers that ventured into the continent itself, eventually reaching the South Pole. The large stocks of whales that Ross sighted, attracted whalers who employed new technology and initiated what was to become known as pelagic whaling. This development of the industry again initiated territorial claims, and from 1923 The Ross Sea Dependency was established by British Order, under the administration of the New Zealand Government.

This paper analysis the human and cultural history of the Ross Sea where exploration, science, commercial exploitation, politics and adventure are highly interlinked and interwoven. The sources are expedition accounts and the extensive literature on Antarctic history and politics. The archives of the Norwegian whaling company A/S Rosshavet, established in 1922, will be a key source. The period around the founding year and first whaling season highlights and illustrates the tension between commerce, territorial claims and international politics.

Keywords

Antarctica, whaling, exploration, politics, adventure

Biography

Bjørn L. Basberg is a Professor in Economic History at the Norwegian School of Economics in Bergen. His main research interests are within the history of technology and economic history relating to nineteenth and twentieth-century maritime industries, especially whaling and shipping and the Antarctic region in particular.

For more than twenty years he has been involved with industrial archaeology at the former whaling shore stations at South Georgia, and he has written the book *The Shore Whaling Stations at South Georgia. A Study in Antarctic Industrial Archaeology* (Oslo, 2004) about this project.

Basberg is an advisory curator at the New Bedford Whaling Museum and a trustee of the South Georgia Heritage Trust. He has been a visiting scholar at M.I.T., The National Bureau of Economic Research, Brown University, the University of Cambridge (Scott Polar Research Institute) and University of Canterbury (NZ).

Pescanova SA. (1960-1975): between private initiative and the push of the State.

CARMEN ESPIDO BELLO (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela)

JESÚS GIRÁLDEZ (Universidade Santiago de Compostela)

Abstract

This paper analyzes the first years of Pescanova SA, a pioneer in the production of frozen fish in Spain. His business strategies and the strong support of the state allowed him to gain a dominant position in the Spanish market, soon becoming the first Spanish and European fishing company. The study is considered from the perspective of the adopted strategies: the first section addresses its constitution and its vertical integration; in the second one, it attends to its multinationalization in the African countries; in the third, we observe its productive diversification and its use of marketing; Finally, we collect the main conclusions.

Keywords

food industry, multinationals, fishing, business history

Biographies

PhD in Economics (1995), Associate Professor of Economic History from 2001 at the University of Santiago de Compostela (Spain) and a member of the research group GESPIC (Business and Sectoral History Studies. Fisheries, Industry and Trade). The main research lines are linked to the study of the History of International Economic Relations, especially between Spain and Portugal and international trade of fishery products.

Her most recent posts on maritime matters are: Espido Bello, María del Carmen and Giráldez Rivero, Jesús (2015), *El bacalao en España (1850-1914): importación y política comercial*, *Historia Agraria*, nº 67, 43-78; Espido & Giráldez (2018).

Mercado internacional, mercado nacional: el bacalao en España en el primer tercio del siglo XX, *Investigaciones de Historia Económica*, 14-1, 31-42. Espido & Giraldez (2018), *La actividad bacaladera bajo el franquismo (1939-1975)*, *Revista de Historia Industrial*, 74, 137-175.

Jesús Giráldez Rivero is Associate Professor in the Department of Applied Economics, Area of History and Economic Institutions, of the University of Santiago de Compostela. He is a member of the Business and Sector History Studies Group. Fisheries, Industry and Commerce (GESPIC). His research has traditionally focused on the history of maritime fishing and related activities. Among his most important publications are *Crecimiento y transformación del sector pesquero gallego, 1880-1936* (1996), *MAPA*, and *La Artística, 1906-2006*, (2006), *LAPQ*. In collaboration with Espido Bello, he has recently published several articles on trade, market and cod production in Spain. They are currently working on the restructuring of fishery product markets in Spain in the second half of the 20th century.

**S. 3. 2. – MARITIME TERRITORIALITY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY INDIAN
AND THE PACIFIC OCEANS**

Chair: Hideaki Suzuki

(National Museum of Ethnology, Japan)

Maritime Territoriality and Anti-Slave Trade Patrol in the 19th Century Western Indian Ocean

HIDEAKI SUZUKI (National Museum of Ethnology, Japan)

Abstract

Anti-slave trade patrol led by British navies (including both the Royal Navy and the Indian Navy) is arguably the first instance in the western Indian Ocean that a specific trade was disturbed with force for a certain time scale. Trade and traffic controls have been observed in several parts of this ocean at several period. Choke point such like Hormuz Strait or Bab al-Mandeb Strait have been a place where usually local maritime powers tried to control traffic and gain profit from it. Portuguese “cartaz” is another well known example how political powers tried to control maritime trade. What is significantly different between anti-slave trade patrol and these cases is that this patrol illegalized a certain trade and did not allow to exist.

In this paper, I will show the significance of anti-slave trade patrol in the context of maritime control in the western Indian Ocean and trace the progress of this activity and clarify the driving forces behind. Furthermore, I will connect maritime territoriality in this case with British control over the western Indian Ocean which allegedly established in the late 19th century.

Biography

Hideaki Suzuki is assistant professor at National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan. He specializes Indian Ocean world history. His publications include *Slave Trade Profiteers in the Western Indian Ocean: Suppression and Resistance in the Nineteenth Century* (2017, New York; Palgrave) and he is the editor of *Abolitions as A Global Experience* (2016, Singapore: NUS Press).

Using Territoriality to Divert Human Trade: Chinese Indentured Migration to Cuba via the Spanish Philippines

MÓNICA GINÉS-BLASI (Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies/Universitat Oberta de Catalunya)

Abstract

This paper studies the alternatives which Spaniards and Portuguese explored for eluding international regulations and restrictions imposed upon the trafficking of Chinese indentured labourers and child slaves, especially when the trafficking of emigrants to Latin America became stagnant in the South China coast. I will focus on the use of South China maritime routes to disguise the transport of indentured labourers as free emigrants. This is a subject which has remained unexplored despite its potential to challenge current views on the routes used for the 'coolie trade'. The Spanish government authorized the emigration of Chinese emigrants to Cuba from Manila in 1868, a moment which coincides with a strong decline in the shipment of Chinese indentured labourers to Havana. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Chinese who went to Manila, unlike their Cuban counterparts, were recruited by Chinese and departed without contracts. Similarly, the Portuguese sold Chinese kidnapped children in treaty ports for manual labour to the Philippines and Timor. These embarkations to Southeast Asian countries were done at a small scale and using cargo ships to evade mutinies and international condemnation.

Biography

Mònica Ginés-Blasi is a Spanish historian, sinologist and art historian, currently a Gerda Henkel Foundation postdoctoral researcher. Her research deals with Chinese indentured labour migration in the nineteenth century. She has written journal articles on the trafficking of Chinese emigrants to Spanish colonies. She is a lecturer at Universitat Internacional de Catalunya (UIC), and a member of the research group ALTER: Crisis, otherness and representation, at Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC).

Respect for “Territorial Authorities”: Logics of the British Anti-Arms Traffic Activities in the Persian Gulf

ICHIRO OZAWA (Research Fellow, Toyo Bunko)

Abstract

This presentation examines the logics utilized by the British authorities when they embarked on anti-arms trade activities in the Persian Gulf and, in an attempt to complete them, negotiated with various parties, both domestic and foreign, opposing to such activities, from the end of the 19th century till the 1910s.

At the end of the 19th century, the British government, or the government of British India in particular, started its attempt to stop arms traffic through the Persian Gulf, with its center at Muscat, out of its strategic concern over the arming of the tribes in the North-West Frontier region. In so doing, the British confronted fierce opposition on the part of both domestic and foreign parties, i.e. arms production industry of Britain and the French government, with the former insisting on the protection of domestic industry and the illegality of the trade regulation, and the latter bringing forward the logic of “free trade” based on the treaty it had concluded with the Sultan of Muscat. The British government defended its activities by insisting on their legality in the lawsuits filed by the domestic arms producers, on the one hand, and in the diplomatic negotiations with the French for having them agree to the preventive measures at Muscat, until it finally achieved its goal in the middle of the 1910s, if only tentatively. This presentation deals with various logics utilized by various British authorities against both domestic and foreign opponents to the arms trade control in the Persian Gulf, and analyzes what kinds of justification were brought forward, for highlighting the theoretical background of the British rule over its “lake”, i.e. the Persian Gulf, in the modern period.

Keywords

arms trade, Persian Gulf, Britain, France, Muscat

Biography

OZAWA Ichiro is a research fellow at Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, Japan. He has conducted his research on such topics as the arms transfer from Western Europe and North America to modern Iran, and the socio-politico-military history of Iran during the Qajar period. He obtained his Ph.D. in Humanity from the University of Tokyo in 2016, with his dissertation titled “Iran during the ‘modern era’ in the history of firearms: Study of the inter-regional arms transfer and its effect on the historical developments of a specific region” (in Japanese). His principal works include “Transfer of small arms from Great Britain to Iran (Persia) in the nineteenth

century,” in *Early global interconnectivity across the Indian Ocean World*, vol. 1 (ed. Angela Schottenhammer, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), and “Persian Gulf arms trade at the end of the 19th century: Focusing on the Qajar government’s suppressive activities,” *Oriente* 59-1 (2016, in Japanese).

S. 3. 3. MATERIAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE SEA

Chair: Sam Robinson

(University of Kent)

Half hull shipmodels of the Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam, The Netherlands): studying their production, provenance and function through interdisciplinary research

TIRZA MOL (Rijksmuseum)

PAUL VAN DUIN (Rijksmuseum)

JEROEN TER BRUGGE (Rijksmuseum)

MARTA DOMÍNGUEZ-DELMÁS (University of Amsterdam)

Abstract

The maritime collection of the Rijksmuseum contains around 300 half hull shipmodels, transferred from the Department of the Navy to the Rijksmuseum from 1883 on. Despite the great number of half models in existence, little is known about their production in the Netherlands. As a result, most of the half models in the Rijksmuseum collection cannot be attributed to a specific dockyard, are not associated with actual ships, and have therefore been assigned broad production date ranges. This paper describes how systematic technical research can contribute to the knowledge about half models and their possible role in the Dutch maritime shipbuilding industry.

A half model is a scale model from the starboard or portside half of a ship hull, mounted on a wooden backboard. In the 18th and 19th centuries half models were produced on ship wharfs all over the Netherlands. They are constructed in wood, polychromed and finished with a transparent varnish. Sometimes a label is attached to the backboard, with information on the scale, name and provenance of the model.

The production of half models in the Netherlands flourished in the late 18th century, half a century after the introduction of ship-design drawings. However, it is not clear whether the models were built after the drawings, or if the drawings were made based on the models.

The aim of this research was to gain insights into the function, provenance and dating of the half models. Visual inspection and tool traces recording were used to study the construction process, and dendrochronological research was used to date the models and establish their potential production shipyard. By clustering the models according to stylistic features, materials and tool traces, as well as dendrochronological data, we have been able to attribute groups of them to specific shipyards and to connect some of them to actual ships. This paper shares the preliminary results of this fascinating research.



Halfmodel of a 68-gun ship of the line, NG-MC-272-2, h. 34,3 cm × b. 125,1 cm × d. 14,5 cm, collection Rijksmuseum, photo Rijksmuseum

Keywords

Half models; Shipbuilding; Maritime History; Dendrochronology; Museum Collections

Biographies

Tirza Mol

After completing a Master degree in psychology at the University of Amsterdam in 1994, Tirza Mol started a more practical study in cabinet making and boatbuilding. She graduated at the Wood and Furniture College [Hout en Meubilerings College] in Amsterdam with a self constructed Venetian gondola. After several years of work as a gondolier, cabinet maker and art handler, Tirza decided to join both practical and academical skills in Conservation Studies at the University of Antwerp. During her studies she did interships with the Kröller-Müller Museum and the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. In July 2017 she obtained her master's degree magna cum laude. Since 2018 she is assistant furniture and shipmodel conservator at Rijksmuseum.

Jeroen ter Brugge

Jeroen ter Brugge is curator of the maritime collections at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. He studied (prehistoric) archaeology at Leiden University, with elective courses in medieval archaeology, dendrochronology and toponymy at the University of Amsterdam and wood identification at the Rijksherbarium in Leiden. He worked as city archaeologist of Vlaardingen, archaeologist for the province of Utrecht at the State Service for Archaeological Research, director of the Fisheries Museum in Vlaardingen, head of collections and curator of the academic program at the Maritime Museum Rotterdam. He currently works on a PhD research on the Dutch shipbuilding industry between 1870-1914.

Marta Domínguez-Delmás

Dr. Marta Domínguez-Delmás is a dendrochronologist with a multidisciplinary background in Forestry (BSc, MSc) and Cultural Heritage (MA, PhD), and a long track record researching

(pre)historical wood from archaeological sites, historic buildings, shipwrecks, and art objects. Her research interests focus on how humans have used, worked, managed, and traded timber resources since ancient times. The improvement of methods for provenancing historical wood and the combination of imaging techniques and AI to retrieve data from wooden art objects are also at the core of her interests. She has made important contributions to the field of dendroarchaeology in Europe and has recently expanded her portfolio working with Egyptian coffins. Currently she works as Research Associate at the University of Amsterdam with her NWO-funded project ‘Wood for Goods’ (<https://www.nwo.nl/projecten/016veni195502-0>).

Paul van Duin

Paul van Duin has been head of Furniture conservation at the Rijksmuseum since 1989. He studied psychology in Utrecht before developing an interest in furniture conservation. From 1984-1989, he was a furniture conservator at the Royal Collection in London. His main interests are 17th-century marquetry, construction of furniture, historical interiors and Japanese lacquerwork. He was the Rijksmuseum project manager for designing and building the Ateliergebouw. He was one of the coordinators of the Science4Arts research project Climate4Wood, which seeks to establish a safe and sustainable museum climate for wooden panels. Financed by NWO, the Netherlands Science Foundation, this interdisciplinary project is a collaboration with Eindhoven University of Technology, Delft University of Technology and the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands.

The Nautical Astrolabe: a new data by maritime archaeology and social approach.

FILIPPE CASTRO (CFE NOVA FCSH University of Coimbra (Portugal))

GAËLLE DIEULEFET (Université de Nantes, UMR 6566 CReAAH (France))

BRAD LOEWEN (Département d'anthropologie, Université de Montréal (Canada))

Abstract

The nautical astrolabe is an emblematic artefact of ocean navigation in the 16th-18th centuries. Many examples survive around the world, known from archaeological excavations and public and private collections. A first synthesis, published in 2015 by F. Castro, N. Budsberg, J. Jobling and A. Passen, The Astrolabe Project, presents the inventory of 205 astrolabes found throughout the planet, from the United States to Sweden, from Japan to Italy. This synthesis enabled researchers to identify lacunae in our knowledge regarding the use, the fabrication and the commercial distribution networks of this high-seas navigational instrument over 200 years. These lacunae subsist even though historical authors described methods of calculating latitude from the height of celestial bodies, measured by nautical astrolabes, including G. Fournier in 1643 in his *Hydrographie* (Livre X).

Maritime archaeology, combined with a social approach, can henceforth bring new data on this unique instrument. From a typological perspective, the identification of well-defined groups also shows their chronological sequence. French and Portuguese workshops appear as major fabrication centres for nautical astrolabes. We may consider this vast subject from three points of view: first, we may build a chrono-typology of presently known astrolabes; second, we retrace the fabrication networks to discover how they supplied sailors with these tools; and finally, we see both the utilitarian and ostentatious dimensions of astrolabes in the instrumentum of ship's captains.

Keywords

Astrolabe, Maritime & Social Archaeology, Shipwrecks, Modern seafaring

Biography

Filipe Castro is a researcher at História, Territórios e Comunidades, Center for Functional Ecology, University of Coimbra. From 2001-2021 he was the director of the Ship Reconstructing Laboratory at Texas A&M University and is the author of *A Nau de Portugal* (2003) and *Pepper Wreck*, a Portuguese Indiaman at the Mouth of the Tagus River (2005). His main research interest is the history of Iberian shipbuilding.

Gaëlle Dieulefet is an professor in modern and contemporary archaeology in the Department of the History of Art and Archaeology at the Université de Nantes, UMR 6566 CReAAH,

France. She specializes in maritime archaeology and material culture. Her ongoing research is on the navigation routes and consumption practices of French sailors in the North Atlantic.

Brad Loewen is a full professor of historical and maritime archaeology at the Université de Montréal, Canada. His research fields cover many aspects of underwater and land archaeology and material culture. A major ongoing project investigates Basques fishers and Indigenous peoples in the maritime setting of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence.

Belinho 1 Shipwreck: A probable 16th century ship lost at Esposende, Portugal

ALEXANDRE MONTEIRO (Instituto de Arqueologia e Paleociências, FCSH-UNL)

ANA ALMEIDA (Divisão de Cultura, Câmara Municipal de Esposende)

FILIPE CASTRO (ShipLAB. Nautical Archaeology Program - Anthropology Department, Texas A&M University)

IVONE MAGALHÃES (Divisão de Cultura, Câmara Municipal de Esposende)

MARIA JOÃO SANTOS (Instituto de Arqueologia e Paleociências, FCSH-UNL)

MIGUEL MARTINS (University of Wales Trinity Saint David)

TÂNIA CASIMIRO (Instituto de Arqueologia e Paleociências, FCSH-UNL)

Abstract

In the winter of 2014 João Sá, Luís Calheiros, Alexandre Sá, and Emanuel Sá communicated the finding of an important set of ship timbers and artefacts washed ashore after a storm in Belinho beach, in the coast of Esposende. The Cultural Division of the City Hall of Esposende (CME) took care of the artifact collection, and, together with the finders visited the site regularly and collected and recorded the finds.

In the summer of 2015 a multidisciplinary team, funded by the CME and a European Union Marie Curie Grant, recorded - using CAD 3D software - and cataloged the timbers that had washed ashore until that date. Currently in course, this study aims to identify, record and analyze evidence of forest practice and its relation to the shipbuilding industry during the Iberian Age of Discoveries.

Between 2015 and 2017, successive storms resulted in more wreckage being washed ashore, creating new challenges. This situation led to the implementation of a joint project with CME's Cultural Division, the Institute of Archeology and Paleo Sciences from Universidade Nova of Lisboa, and Texas A&M University ShipLAB, in cooperation with the finders.

In 2017, both geophysical surveys carried out off the coast and recognition diving made it possible to identify and geo-referencing until 2018 an anchor, four bronze and several iron cannons, ship timbers, and artefacts in the context of the shipwreck.

It is difficult to date this site – designated Belinho 1 – at such a preliminary stage of the project. Over 700 artifacts were recovered, between fragments and complete of pewter objects, copper alloy artefacts, sheets of lead and stone cannon balls. Part of these artifacts suggests a late sixteenth or early seventeenth century data, while the armament seems to suggest a date nearer the middle of the sixteenth century.

A shipwreck record in this area was recently found in archives, the ship *Nossa Senhora da Rosa*, lost in 1577 “through Esposende”, coming from the Canary Islands to Vila do Conde with a load of wine and pitch. The Belinho 1 shipwreck seems to be larger, however, and its cargo may have originated in the North of Europe.

Keywords

Nautical Archaeology; Shipwreck; Archaeological survey; Geophysics; Age of Discoveries

Biography

Alexandre Monteiro

Alexandre Monteiro is a nautical archaeologist who specializes in post-medieval Iberian shipbuilding and teaches Maritime and Contemporary Archaeology at Lisbon NOVA University. He has conducted archaeological surveys and digs in Portugal, Australia, Sharjah and Oman and has done archival and historical research regarding underwater cultural heritage of several countries.

Ana Almeida

Ana Almeida is an archaeologist, coordinator of the Cultural Heritage and Archeology Services at Esposende City Council and of the Interpretive Center of St. Lawrence. She has a degree in History, variant of Archaeology from the University of Coimbra and a Master of Management of Cultural Heritage from the Portuguese Catholic University. Currently she is responsible for several archaeological programs and projects.

Filipe Castro

Filipe Castro is a Professor of Anthropology, holds the Frederick R. Mayer II Fellowship of Nautical Archaeology, and is the Director of the Ship Reconstruction Laboratory at Texas A&M University. He has a degree in civil engineering from Lisbon's Instituto Superior Técnico, a Master of Business Administration from the Catholic University of Lisbon, and a PhD in Anthropology from Texas A&M University. He has conducted field work in several countries and his main interests are the history of wooden shipbuilding technology and European seafaring in the late medieval and early modern periods.

Ivone Magalhães

Ivone Magalhães is an archaeologist and museologist, coordinator of the Museum Network of the Sea of Esposende and of the Municipal Museum of Esposende. She has a degree in History, variant of Archaeology from the University of Oporto and has carried out archaeological surveys on traditional vessels and shipbuilding in Ibero-Atlantic tradition in northern Portugal and Galicia.

Maria João Santos

Maria João Santos is an archaeologist researcher assistant at Instituto de Arqueologia e Paleociências of Nova University of Lisbon, with a scholarship Researcher at European RIA Project iMARECulture H2020-SC6-CULT-COOP-2016 iMARECULTURE. She is graduate in Archaeology from the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of Lisbon NOVA University (FCSH-UNL), and currently is a MA student in Archaeology at the FCSH-UNL.

Tânia Manuel Casimiro

Tânia Manuel Casimiro is an archaeologist and material culture specialist, has a degree in History and Archaeology from the FCSH – NOVA University of Lisbon, a Masters in Artefact Studies at the University College of London and a PhD in Archaeology from NOVA University of Lisbon where she works as a researcher. She has a special interest in material culture production, trade, and consumption and what commodities can tell us about past generations.

Miguel Martins

Miguel Martins is a Marie Curie Fellow within the ForSEAdiscovery Project undertaking research to contribute to: an inventory of key-construction features found in previously researched Spanish shipwrecks; analyse excavated Spanish ship timber assemblages: select a limited number of demonstration Spanish shipwreck sites for a potential survey and dendrochronology analysis; survey and sample selected sites, carry out ring-width analysis and supply subsamples to others; synthesise results and assess best practice; and, collation of archaeological information on timber usage in Spanish ships. Miguel has been working in Maritime Archaeology for some years especially within the Portuguese Heritage Agency, Nova University (FCSH-IAP) and the University Autonoma of Lisbon. In these institutions, he is linked with projects that involve developing knowledge of shipbuilding methods, recovering artefacts from underwater, recording new findings and producing data for future projects. As a maritime archaeologist, his interests are related to the development of wooden shipbuilding methods in the Iberian Peninsula. As a PhD student at the University of Wales Trinity Saint David, (UK), his research is related to the development of approaches to 3D reconstruction of past forestry practice/timber usage, by analysing timber from 15th to 18th centuries Iberian shipwrecks.

**S. 3. 4. RE-EXAMINING TRADE FLOWS AND MECHANISMS BETWEEN EUROPE
AND NORTH AMERICA IN EARLY MODERN PERIOD (17TH-18TH CENTURIES)**

Chair: Henric Häggqvist

(Uppsala University)

and **Jari Eloranta**

(University of Helsinki)

Discussant: Jari Ojala

(University of Jyväskylä)

Panel Abstract

This session aims to reassess commercial flows between seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and institutional mechanisms of control related to that trade, especially from the point of view of what's still missing in historiographic production. After so much recent development in economic history, in particular how restrictive and effective empire's colonial policies were, we look up to know more about the initiatives or expedients utilized by merchants, captains and businessmen to circumvent regulations and barriers. Moreover, we seek to dialogue with new works that bring insights related to potential unseen commodity chains: were there global commodity chains hidden from posterity? Did smuggling create more modern looking commodity chains? How could different techniques of measurement, currencies, levels of credit access and higher taxation represent effective barriers to trade development, productivity and economic growth? Despite the notorious development of interdisciplinary research done in this area, as observed in the works of Daudin, O'Rourke and Prados de la Escosura (2008), Dobado-González, García-Hiernaux and Guerrero (2012), de Zwart and van Zanden (2018), and the volume recently edited by Baten (2016) about Global Economy, we also seek to deepen the idea of an effective interconnection between trade flows with other economic activities related to shipbuilding industry, maritime insurances or credit offer, as an instrument to enable new commercial relations and access new circuits. Is there a point of contact between them? Moreover, what could be the levels of interaction? How States and Empires responded to those legal/illegal interactions? Based on this open dossier, our panel wants to put some light on these questions. This session interacts with session "Re-examining Trade Flows and Mechanisms between Europe and North America in Modern-Contemporary Period (19th-20th centuries)", as part of the same large group, broke in two different session slots.

Keywords

Trade, Commodity flows, Shipping, Early Modern Period, Shipbuilding

Shipbuilding and Ship Trade during 18th and 19th centuries

JARI OJALA (University of Jyväskylä)

JARI ELORANTA (University of Helsinki)

RODRIGO DOMINGUEZ (University of Minho)

Abstract

What was the role played by shipbuilding industry and trade with new and used ships in the early modern Economy? In the Finnish case, for example, previous studies suggest that e.g. during the 18th Century in certain years new-built ships were the most important export items from Finland (Alanen 1957; 1964). In Iberia, Portuguese shipbuilding industry was limited by the economic strangulation of the Restoration Wars, which brought Portugal and Spain to a similar path, designing unique multi-purpose vessels for trade and defense, under a very specific craft tradition (Rahn Phillips 1992; Henderson and Fraga 2004; Unger 2018). Though these assumptions have overemphasized the role of shipbuilding (Toivanen 1983; Kaukiainen 1990;1993; Ojala 1997), this particular industry was, nevertheless, important especially during the latter part of the 18th century. This paper will discuss the shipbuilding and trade with ships in early modern context. We will especially focus on trade between North (mainly Finland and Sweden) and “South” (Mediterranean area) and on the sale of mainly used ships from North to South. An important aspect in this trade are the different methods to measure new and used ships.

Biography

Jari Ojala is a Professor of comparative business history. He specializes in economic, business and maritime history. Recent publications include “Maritime information networks between Northern and Southern Europe during the Eighteenth Century” (Istituto Datini-FUP 2019).

Jari Eloranta is a Professor of Economic and Social History. His research includes trade, shipping and economic growth in the long-run (16th-20th centuries). Recent publications include *Small and Medium Powers in Global History: Trade, Conflicts, and Neutrality from the 18th to the 20th Centuries* (Routledge 2019).

Rodrigo Dominguez is a Junior Research Associate at the Interdisciplinary Centre of Social Sciences. His research includes trade, shipping and fiscal/financial institutional policies in the long-run (15th-19th centuries). Recent publications include “Fiscal policy in Early Modern Europe: Portugal in Comparative Context” (Routledge 2019).

The German Empire and Trade with the Caribbean in the 18th century. The Business Ventures of Friedrich Romberg (1727-1819)

MAGNUS RESSEL (Frankfurt University)

Abstract

In the last years, an intensified research could unearth the manifold layers of involvement of German actors in the colonial trades across the Atlantic and especially the dense links of the economic fabric of the Holy Roman Empire to the plantation economies of the New World. After some substantial research, we now see much clearer the many connections and interdependencies between the Caribbean economies and large areas of Central and Eastern Europe as important factors of the profitability and functionality of the entire Atlantic system of the 18th century. Yet, apart from a now rather good overview, we still lack detailed studies that give us profound insights at a microscopic scale.

At the IMHA-conference in Porto, I intend to give new insights into the colonial enterprises of Friedrich Romberg (1727-1819). He was most likely the richest man on the European continent around 1785 because of his intensive involvement in the Belgian textile industries, in banking, in maritime insurance, in the Atlantic colonial and slave trade and in freight forwarding from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. My central hypothesis is that Romberg's success was due to the combined utilization of several sectors in the global economic system of the late 18th century. Operating under strong imperial protection in Brussels, Romberg vertically monopolized in his various firms sections and aspects of the exchange and refinement of continental European products and colonial goods and continuously reinvested all his winnings in new machines for his textile factories in Belgium. Romberg's activities are on the threshold of the historical change of the traditional merchant-banker towards the owner of an institutionalized and bureaucratized company. An analysis of Romberg's business ventures brings thus to the fore the functional interdependencies and dynamics of trade between Central Europe and the Caribbean in the 18th century.

Keywords

Caribbean, German Empire, 18th Century, Colonial Trades, Transatlantic Slave Trade

Biography

Magnus Ressel is a research fellow of the Gerda Henkel Foundation at the Chair of Early Modern Times at the University of Frankfurt am Main. His PhD on the relations of the North African regencies to Northern Europe in the Early Modern age was defended in 2011 at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum and the University Paris I. In 2012 he was a fellow of the Alexander

von Humboldt Foundation in Padua. He recently completed his second book on the German merchant community in Venice in the 18th century. For this, he received fellowships at the German Historical Institute in Rome and at the Institute of Advanced Study in Munich and won the Max Weber Award of the Max Weber Center (Erfurt). Indicative publications are: *Sklavenkassen und Turkish Passports: Northern Europe and the Barbary Corsairs in the Early Modern Age*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 2012 [German]; *A privileged mercantile network at the lagoon: The 'Nazione Alemana' in Venice and the German-Italian trade from 1648-1806* [German].

Quantifying the Invisible: New Estimates for Trans-Imperial Trade of British America before Independence

JEREMY LAND (Georgia State University)

Abstract

This paper takes the first steps towards quantifying and measuring the flow of goods, commodities, and ships between Britain's North American colonies and non-British destinations, including Portugal, Spain, and the Netherlands. One of the more difficult aspects of measuring early modern commerce is quantifying smuggling and other commerce that was not counted by imperial customs services. Utilizing a methodology that triangulates data from multiple destinations to estimate what is missing from the British imperial records (which dominates the historiography of the period). From there, I will add details from invoices and bills of lading that can be identified as possible smuggling to add greater depth to the contemporary data compilations by state apparatuses. What has already become clear is that trans-imperial trade was far more important to some regions of British America than direct trade with the British Isles, indicating at minimum an Atlantic economic orientation.

Biography

Jeremy Land has a Ph.D. in Economic History from Georgia State University (2019) and was conference manager of the XVIII World Economic History Congress, Boston (2018). His research includes trans-imperial trade and commodity flows between 17th and 19th centuries. Recent publications include "Trade and the new republic: American trade during the Napoleonic Wars, 1783–1830" (Routledge 2019).

S. 4. 1. – THE SEA OF GOD: RELIGIOUS MARITIME VENTURES

Chair: Margaret Hunt

(Uppsala University)

Sailors and freemasonry beyond the sociability

ERIC SAUNIER (Histémé (Caen Normandie Université))

Abstract

Born in England at the beginning of the century of the Enlightenment (1717), the masonic sociability immediately developed a privileged relationship with the cities' port, where she settled very early, at Rotterdam in 1721, at Bordeaux in 1732, at Boston in 1733. Due to these circumstances, it was rather the maritime professions that attracted it, especially naval officers. But the effects of circumstances are not really satisfactory to explain the diversity of the reasons of the particular affinities maintained between Freemasonry and the Sea. Beyond the simple taste for sociability attributed to the mentality of seafarers? What are the real causes of the tropism exerted by freemasonry on the maritime world ? What were the reasons that also made the initiation of sailors in particular stake for the development of Freemasonry? Around these two questions, and through the study of three medium ports (Le Havre, Brest and Sunderland) where this attraction seems to have been particularly remarkable, we propose a reflection on an understudied aspect of the maritime culture

Keywords

Freemasons, Lodge, sociability

Biography

Eric Saunier, Lecturer in modern history at the University of Le Havre, member of the Histémé laboratory (Caen Normandy University), member of the National Committee for the Memory and History of Slavery (2016-2019) > Specialized in modern history, studies the evolution of maritime port societies at the time of the revolutions, through three main prisms: Masonic sociability, the practice of the slave trade and ego documents. Initially, my doctoral and post-doctoral work focused on Masonic sociability. It is through this prism that I study the Masonic culture of seafarers today.

Crossing Oceans. Organizing the Jesuits' Voyage to Japan (16th-17th centuries)

HÉLÈNE VU THANH (Bretagne-Sud university (France))

Abstract

This study is intended to shed light on a hitherto little-studied aspect of Catholic missions: how the missionaries arranged for their transportation all the way to the Far East in the 16th and 17th centuries. Indeed, while there is a wealth of studies on the missionaries' activities once in the field, those rarely dwell on the time spent between Europe and their destination. Yet the sea voyage was a critical moment, spanning several months and sometimes years, before the field could be reached. The case studied here is that of the Jesuits, tied to the Portuguese Crown and present in Japan from the mid-16th century, who had to travel from Lisbon to Nagasaki, stopping at various places such as Mozambique Island, Goa, or Macau.

The point here is not to describe the conditions of life at sea or the way the missionaries wrote about it. Instead, the focus will be put on the logistics of the passage from Europe to Asia and back, by examining the material and financial aspects at play in an undertaking that demanded rigorous coordination across space and time. This contribution first demonstrates how deeply dependent on the Portuguese the missionaries were to arrange for their sea voyage: this was especially salient in the case of Japan, which was outside Portuguese control and where the entire Jesuit enterprise was tied to the Macau trade ship's yearly visit, which brought men, moneys and religious supplies necessary to sustain the mission. Second, this contribution highlights the role played by the Lisbon-based procurator for the missions, who oversaw the logistics of the missionaries' voyage to the East Indies.

Keywords

Jesuits; Japan; sea voyage; procurator

Biography

Hélène Vu Thanh is associate professor at the University of Bretagne-Sud and member of the Institut universitaire de France. Her main research interests are the catholic missions to Japan and the European religious and economic presence in Asia in the early modern period. She published *Devenir japonais. La mission jésuite au Japon (1549-1614)* in 2016 and several articles, in French and in English, in peer-review journals. She is currently working on a research project focusing on the Jesuits' and Franciscans' commercial and financial activities in the East and South China Sea.

Religion and Religious Space aboard Early Modern Portuguese Ships

AMÂNDIO BARROS (CITCEM)

Abstract

This paper will discuss the religious practices aboard sixteenth and seventeenth century Portuguese ships with a special regard to the way the ships' space was organized for religious exercise. Religiosity on board provides data to evaluate the specificity and the significance of religion and religious beliefs amongst maritime people in the Early Modern times – and most of all, to assess the gap between spiritual values, daily behaviour, and conduct of the crew and the passengers when facing situations of great misery and anxiety as in the case of a the threat of shipwreck during severe storms, or in the multiple stressful situations that emerged in the course of long voyages.

Considering the long-time spent aboard all through the lengthy crossings of the Atlantic and on the Indian Run or Route, the management of sociability depended heavily on religion; thus, religion itself had to be organized in order to function as a strong and effective element of union. The theme of religiosity aboard Portuguese ships in the age of the Discoveries has been the subject of several studies dedicated to the daily lives of sailors both on land, among their communities, and in the context of the performance of their roles on board ship.

This body of work is largely focused on the experiences documented in the Indian Run, given the relative abundance of the accounts of voyages. A good quantity of this data comes from the shipwreck literature, a very popular genre in Portugal since the seventeenth-century, in which the religious dimension occupies a large portion of the reports. Generally, they are dated from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Together with these narratives written by survivors, we are given other worthy documentary evidence, such as correspondence produced by missionaries, diaries and chronicles of navigation, which provides us with valuable data about religious practices and devotions held during the journey.

In this paper the ship is seen as a place of religion, with a close look at its religious geography. If praying and daily religious exercises could be performed anywhere, in a private or more public way, celebrations and feasts would have to be organised in accordance to the Church normative, but have to be adapt to the space available on the ship. In some cases – processions, for instance – the ship turned to be a via sacra with its stations, altars and chapels.

Biography

Amândio J.M. Barros, born in Porto. He is specialized in maritime and in maritime economic history. Phd degree in History in the University of Porto, Post-doctoral graduate in the University of Porto and University of Valladolid. Member of CITCEM (Transdisciplinary Research

Centre-Culture, Space and Memory). He was awarded with prizes (Academia de Marinha and Fundação Engenheiro António de Almeida) for his research in Portugal, and participates in international transdisciplinary research projects. His fields of interest are the mercantile and maritime communities in the late medieval and Early Modern Period during the Discoveries and Portuguese Expansion (15th-17th centuries) and he published books, book chapters and articles in Portugal and abroad. Most of his work is available in international databases and libraries.

S. 4. 2. MARITIME GOVERNANCE IN PRE-MODERN ATLANTIC EUROPE I

Chair: Richard Unger

(University of British Columbia)

Panel Abstract

In pre-modern times the law of nations was preoccupied with the creation and management of regimes to govern the oceans and seas, which cover three-fifths of the planet's surface. This session aims to contribute to understanding how oceans and seas have been used over time in terms of governance in pre-modern Atlantic Europe. Thus a broader perspective is taken than the common 'law of the sea'-perspective which focuses often on legal doctrine with its traditional emphasis on freedom of the seas as a key objective of law of the seas regimes. Governance being a wider notion than government, the former explicitly involves interaction between formal (governmental) institutions and those of civil society, which in its maritime context includes first of all maritime communities. To these communities belong the coastal towns and villages and the communities aboard ships. How did princes and states in pre-modern Atlantic Europe claim and aim for control over maritime spaces and/or over their subjects while these were at sea? How did formal and informal institutions interact to control maritime activities? How and to what extent were claims over sea spaces enforced? How were regulations concerning the sea developed and how and to what extent were they enforced in practice? By focusing on different maritime spaces and coastal areas of Europe's Atlantic coast, this session will allow to get insights in similarities and differences between different regions and regimes of maritime governance.

Keywords

maritime governance, law of the sea, institutions, sea spaces, power

Maritime governance in the late medieval Low Countries: Ius naufragii ('right of wreck') in Flanders and Holland

LOUIS SICKING (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam/Leiden University)

Abstract

In the Middle Ages shipping accidents were fairly common. As the level of production of material goods was low shipwrecked property represented an important economic asset. The customs and rules adopted to determine the status of this property are indicated as the so-called 'ius naufragii' or right or law of wreck in English. No less than five competing interest groups can be distinguished: merchants, ship-owners, salvagers, landowners, and civil authorities. The rules regarding (ship)wreck reveal who held political power and what their priorities were. Like many legal-historical subjects, the study of the 'ius naufragii' has for a long time focused strongly on doctrine: what did legal scholars write about it over time? More recently, more attention has been paid to the question of how the right of wreck developed in practice or rather how the rules were applied in time. This paper aims at analysing and comparing the development of right of wreck in practice by zooming in on developments in the Low Countries in the late Middle Ages, more particularly in the counties of Flanders and Holland. Besides regulations of central and regional authorities, including the Burgundian rulers of the Low Countries, administrative sources concerning the practice of the right of wreck will be studied in order to determine whose interests prevailed; those of the landowners and coastal dwellers or those involved in the goods that were washed ashore. Thus a contribution can be delivered to the debate about the role of institutions to a society's economic performance in general and more particularly about the role of maritime governance.

Biography

Louis Sicking is the Aemilius Papinianus Professor of History of Public International Law at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and lectures medieval and early-modern history at the University of Leiden. He directs the international research project Maritime Conflict Management in Atlantic Europe, 1200-1600, co-financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). His main research interests are in maritime and colonial history and the history of diplomacy and international law.

Sovereigns of the Sea? State-formation and maritime empire in early modern Britain

RICHARD BLAKEMORE (University of Reading)

Abstract

Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, Britain became a powerful maritime empire, both in Europe and through the expansion of commercial and colonial activities around the globe. The growth of a maritime empire transformed Britain's economy, society, and culture – and it also had profound political and legal implications for the British state. Historians have usually treated British state-formation and its imperial history as two separate stories, but I will argue in this paper that they must be considered together, and that maritime governance was essential to them. Indeed, from the first sixteenth-century vision of an 'English empire' (meaning a dominion over the three separate kingdoms of the British Isles and Ireland) to the formation of the United Kingdom and its efforts to exert greater control over its colonial territories and its seafaring subjects, Britain is best defined as an imperial state. This imperial state was a composite and unstable political system, incorporating many authorities and agendas, and defined as much by external and internal conflict as by any harmonised rule. Nevertheless, there is a discernible trend towards greater coordination and centralisation of power within this system, and the question of maritime governance was central to that trend. The conceptual and practical ways in which Britain's rulers sought to control maritime space and seaborne activities shaped the imperial state itself, and redefined the very idea of 'Britain'. Moreover, this was not restricted to the ruling class; seafarers and maritime communities also participated in, and in some ways influenced, the imperial state. My paper will thus examine how Britain sought to impose maritime governance, and how maritime governance shaped Britain, from several different perspectives.

Biography

Richard Blakemore is a Lecturer in the History of the Atlantic World at the University of Reading, having previously studied, taught, and researched at the universities of Aberystwyth, Cambridge, Exeter, and Oxford. His particular interests are in the social history of seafaring, trade, and empire in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. He has published on navigation, maritime social history, the British civil wars, English trade to West Africa, and piracy in the Atlantic.

**S. 4. 3. POLITICS, SCIENCE, RELIGION: NEW HISTORICAL INSIGHTS ON THE
MAKING OF EARLY MODERN THALASSOCRACIES**

Chair: Fabiano Bracht
(FLUP-CITCEM)

Panel Abstract

The panel will provide papers dealing with cutting edge pieces of research on the rise of early modern oceanic powers. The speakers will face different aspect relating to the building of European thalassocracies which so far have been neglected by historiography. Among these the importance the importance of Portugal as a reservoir of technical and scientific knowledge for navigation, and its consequent centrality for espionage by emerging maritime powers, such as France, England, and the Netherlands. Another feature dealt with in this panel will be the role of religious missionary orders in the making of Early Modern oceanic expansion. Recent historiographical trends and the so called 'Jesuitomania', in fact, have shadowed the role played by Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and other congregations. Last but not least, the panel will analyze how nautical rutters became tools for the technical and scientific domination and rationalization of oceanic spaces. These instruments, in fact, were real scientific cutting edge products, and soon became fundamental political objects on which depended the supremacy on the seas of the rising colonial powers.

Keywords

Diplomacy; Religious Orders; Rutters; Thalassocracy; Science

Spying on the Global Sea: French maritime and cosmographical espionage in Portugal (1557-1561)

NUNO VILA-SANTA (Universidade de Lisboa)

Abstract

The fifteenth-century Portuguese and Spanish maritime expansion gave rise to an unprecedented run within Europe about global Oceanic knowledge. Influential maritime players, such as Tudor England and Valois France immediately revealed their interest in accompanying details of Iberian expansion. This often meant a work of collecting useful information on maritime routes, cartography and geographical knowledge, prompting espionage missions, entrusted to classical spies, merchants or even to official ambassadors' secret activities. Michel de Seure and Jean Nicot, the French ambassadors to Portugal between 1557 and 1561, provide clear examples of this activities. Sent to Lisbon in challenging times for French-Portuguese relations, both engaged in maritime and scientific espionage activities. In this communication, I will attempt to show the connection between the maritime espionage that both undertook from Lisbon (i. e. sending details on important Iberian fleets departing and arriving from the Americas or Asia) and the scientific espionage (the acquisition of nautical rutters and important cosmographical books). I will also debate the impacts of this active gathering of "secret" Sea knowledge, as it was perceived by the Portuguese Crown, in the Valois's maritime plans and in the broader French-Portuguese maritime rivalry. Finally, I will also compare this French espionage in Portugal to its Spanish counterpart, in order to discuss the importance of the circulation of maritime knowledge between open maritime rivals. Do Seure and Nicot's espionage in Portugal relate to a sixteenth-century globalization process on Sea knowledge? Had this maritime knowledge become a sort of Global knowledge all along the sixteenth century? Why did Valois France, after all its previous maritime experience during Francis I reign, need to resort to Seure and Nicot's strategies to acquire Iberian cosmographical knowledge? These will be some of the questions I will attempt to answer.

Biography

Nuno Vila-Santa is a researcher from CIUHCT (Faculty of Sciences of the University of Lisbon) and a post-doctoral fellow from the RUTTER project founded by the European Research Council. He holds a BA, MA and PhD from Nova University of Lisbon, in Early Modern History and History of the Portuguese Expansion. His studies core at Asia in the second half of the sixteenth century in the political, religious, military, social, economic and cultural fields. He won the Lusitania Prize from the Portuguese History Academy in 2015 with the book on D. Luís de Ataíde, viceroy of India (1568-1571; 1578-1581). His more recent works include a 2021 book on Francisco Barreto, governor of India and Mutapa (1555-1558; 1569-1573) and studies on the circulation of Portuguese cosmographical knowledge to sixteenth century Europe, including reviewing proposals on Jan Huygen van Linschoten's Itinerario, Jean Nicot and João Pereira Dantas embassies during the 1550s and 1560s.

A life-or-death matter: When a rutter becomes an ‘instruction’

JOSÉ MARIA MORENO MADRID (Universidade de Lisboa)

Abstract

Transoceanic routes were the backbone of the Early Modern maritime empires. The long distances they covered, as well as the enormous amount of people and goods that circulated through them regularly, soon posed multiple problems that were difficult to solve. Imperial institutions developed and tested different mechanisms aimed at controlling them. Regarding the route itself, the instructions for captains and pilots were the most interesting. They usually included a rutter, penned by a recognized cosmographer or pilot, which was then imbued with legal power. From this it follows that the indicated route had to be faithfully observed, or infringers could risk severe punishment. How did these documents, different in essence from the “regular rutter”, work? How was the process from the time they were “conceived” until they were used on the high seas? And finally, were they really effective as a control mechanism for long-distance voyages? These are the questions on which this presentation aims to shed some light.

Biography

José María Moreno Madrid is a doctoral candidate in History and Philosophy of Science at the University of Lisbon, within the framework of the ERC Project “RUTTER: Making the Earth Global” (grant agreement No. 833438). Among his recent publications are: *Atravessando a Porta do Pacífico. Roteiros e Relatos da Travessia do Estreito de Magalhães, 1520-1620* (Lisbon: ByTheBook, 2020) and *Desenhando a Porta do Pacífico. Mapas, Cartas e Outras Representações Visuais do Estreito de Magalhães/Drawing the Gateway to the Pacific. Maps, Charts and Other Visual Representations, 1520-1671* (Lisbon: ByTheBook, 2021), both written in co-authorship with Henrique Leitão.

Brothers of the World: Notes for a Comparative Reassessment of Missionary Orders in Early Modern European Oceanic Expansion

DAVID SALOMONI (Universidade de Lisboa)

Abstract

The historiographical tendency of recent decades also known as ‘Jesuitomania’ has partially obscured the historical role of other religious orders. In particular, this primacy has been important in the history of early globalization and the role of the Jesuits in navigation, exploration, and the so-called Age of Encounters. However, recent historiography feels the need to use the tools developed for Jesuit history in the comparative evaluation of the role of other religious orders. This paper wants to outline some methodological reflections on the historical experience of other religious orders: Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Theatines, in the process of the first globalization. I will focus in particular on a little studied aspect, namely the travel and navigation experiences of the missionary fathers who left for the East or West Indies.

Biography

While studying for Bachelor’s Degree in Early Modern History at the University of Parma, I attended a year (2008-2009) at Sorbonne-Paris 4 University focusing on Early Modern Political European History. In 2013 I received a Master’s Degree in Social and Political Late Medieval History. In 2017, I was awarded a PhD both at Roma 3 University (Italy), in “Cultura, Educazione, Comunicazione”, and at Université d’Avignon et des Pays de Vaucluse (France), in Medieval history. In the same year I received my first post-doctoral position at Roma 3 University, with a project focusing on the history of the schools belonging to early modern religious orders, while in 2019 I was awarded an A. Mellon Fellowship in History of Science, at the University of Oklahoma History of Science Collections to deepen the teaching of science in 17th century Florentine piarist schools. At present I am post-doc researcher in History of Science at the University of Lisbon.

S. 4. 4. – 20TH-CENTURY NATIONAL SHIPPING INDUSTRIES

Chair: Per Kristian Sebak

(Bergen Maritime Museum/Museum Vest)

The origin of modern ocean-going shipping in Korea, 1910-1945 : colonial legacy or internal growth

S. JUNE KIM (Korea Maritime & Ocean University)

Abstract

Koreans controlled 1,641 vessels and 86,092,836 deadweights in January 2021, placing Korea as the world's seventh-largest shipowning country. Considering that there were only 3 ocean-going vessels with 5,582 gross tons at the time of liberation in August 1945, it was an extraordinarily swift development. Some have argued that the Japanese colonial rule caused this rapid growth of Korea's economy. This paper analyzes the actual situation of ocean-going shipping from 1910 to 1945 to confirm the origin of the modern shipping industry in Korea. After reviewing the arguments on the role of colonial rule for the development of the shipping business during the colonial period in Section I, Section II reconstructs the development process of Chosen Yusen as a sole ocean-going shipping company during the colonial period. Section III demonstrates marine education for cultivating human capital for the shipping business. This paper might help one understand that the colonial rule itself cannot bring about the development of the ex-colonial country after liberation.

Key Words

colonial modernization, Korea, shipping, marine education

Biography

The author is an associate professor of Korea Maritime & Ocean University and a master mariner. After working in the merchant marine for three years, he studied history at Korea University in Seoul from 1993 to 2002, where he was awarded a doctorate for his dissertation on the 'English shipping industry during the industrial revolution'. He worked at the maritime museum in Korea Maritime University from 2002 to 2007, at Korea Branch School of Netherlands Shipping and Transport College from 2007 to 2009, and at Mokpo Maritime University in 2012. He has worked at the KMOU since October 2017. His research interests lie in the field of maritime history, especially in the history of English shipping, and the history of navigation.

The ship-owning business group of Andreadis, 1952-1975

ANGELOS DROUGOUTIS (University of Crete & Centre of Maritime History, Institute for Mediterranean Studies-FORTH)

Abstract

The paper focuses on the business group of the shipowner Stratis Andreadis in the second half of the 20th century. Originally engaged in shipping and being the offspring of a traditional ship-owning family from Chios, Andreadis after the end of World War II and the destruction of almost all of the Greek merchant fleet, acquired two Liberty ships with the guarantee of the Greek State. This was the beginning of his fleet that during the 1950s grew significantly, as he came to own 12 cargo vessels and tankers, with a total capacity of 220,000 dwt. He held a highly important position among Greek shipowners as he had a leading role for two decades in the Union of Greek Shipowners as its President and hence held special connections with all Greek governments during the period under examination.

From the 1950s to the 1970s he expanded his investment on land business, diversifying in banking, industry and tourism in Greece forming a vast and powerful business group for Greek standards. In the 1950s, he gained the control of Commercial Bank of Greece and then the Ionian and Popular Bank, with government's support. He invested in the chemicals and food industries, as well as in the Hilton Hotel during the 1960s, while his fleet continued its growth, reaching 18 ships in 1970, with a total capacity of 600,000 dwt. His close involvement with the Greek dictatorship during 1967 – 1974, meant that in 1975 the Karamanlis government nationalized the Commercial Bank and, consequently, all the companies of the business group that were dependent on it.

The aim of this paper is to study Andreadis' business strategy and to show that through a network of shipping and offshore companies he managed to control most of his Greek land-based operations, placing his group in a prominent position within the Greek economy and Greek shipping. The paper is based on primary archival material on Bank records, ships and shipping companies databases, the Press, as well as secondary bibliography.

Biography

I was born in Athens in 1993. I graduated from the department of History and Archaeology of the University of Crete in 2015 with honors and I received my M.A. in Contemporary Greek and European History from the same department in 2018 with honors. Since March of 2019 I am PhD candidate in Economic and Social History in the department of History and Archaeology of the University of Crete. My thesis subject is "Chiot shipowners between the world shipping and the Greek economy (1945 – 1975). The case of the Andreadis Group". I have also received the first scholarship for a "ph.D. in Maritime History 2019-2022" of the Centre of

Maritime History of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies – FORTH, Greece. My interests focus on economic and social history, maritime history, business history and history of economic theories. I also work on classification of historical archives of Greek industrial business.

S. 5.1. – VISUAL AND WRITTEN REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEA

Chair: Tirza Mol

(Rijksmuseum)

Ancient Thalassography: The Role of the Ancient Maritime Records for the Discovery of Terrae Incognitae

ERKAN KURUL (Akdeniz University)

Abstract

With the title of “Ancient Thalassography: The Role of the Ancient Maritime Records for the Discovery of Terrae Incognitae”, this presentation aims to examine the ancient written sources concerning historical maritime activities on the Oceans and in the Mediterranean Sea. It also focuses upon the evaluation of Greek and Latin texts within a complementary synthesis within the scope of ancient maritime literary studies. In the context of this evaluation, particularly in the case of the ancient sources, navigation records are analysed, i.e. periplus and periegesis texts. Finally, a part of the presentation will focus upon terminological evaluations, concerning the naming of the Oceans and the Mediterranean Sea. In consequence, the scope and focus of the above-mentioned study aims primarily at determining the areas and the limits of Ancient Thalassography (= the maritime written tradition). Further, it aims to determine the contribution of thalassographic investigation to the field of maritime research into antiquity. It also states that current ancient maritime studies can be supported from philological-based data, in addition to the material culture remains obtained as a result of archaeological and underwater research.

Keywords

Thalassography, Periplus, Periegesis, Terrae Incognitae

Biography

My name is Erkan Kurul and I am working as a research assistant (Ph.D.) in the Mediterranean Civilisations Research Institute at Akdeniz University in Antalya, Turkey.

I study ancient maritime history and culture, specifically thalassography, focussing on ancient-medieval maritime written sources.

A part of my thesis concerns the “Thalassographic Sources of the Ancient-Medieval Periods” and “Ancient-Medieval Maritime Culture.” I am able to use three languages in my studies; Ancient Greek and Latin, as also English.

My educational background is listed below;

PHD: Mediterranean Civilisations Research Institute, Department of Ancient Mediterranean Studies, Akdeniz University (2016-)

MA: Mediterranean Civilisations Research Institute, Department of Ancient Mediterranean Studies, Akdeniz University (2013-2016)

UNDERGRADUATE: Department of Classics, Akdeniz University (2007-2012)

Picturing Seafarers – New perspective on the maritime crew portrait ca. 1870-1940.

ANNE TOVE AUSTBØ (Stavanger Maritime Museum/Museum Stavanger)

Abstract

This paper examines the genre of the maritime crew portrait ca. 1870-1920, the harbour photographers who photographed them, and museum collections of the seafarers.

Surprisingly, the visual representations of ship crews and seafarers in photographs known as “crewvphotos” have not been systematically mapped or analysed in international research literature. Nevertheless, such images were a widely spread commercial product in the last decades of the 19th Century and the beginning of 20th. The portraits were sold by numerous photographers in the major harbour cities internationally. The seafarers brought the images with them home as souvenirs. Today, such images are seldom found in major photographic collections. However, some images were later collected in maritime museums of European coastal nations.

The paper study such images through the prism of maritime museum collections and answers the following questions: How were seafarers represented in such images, what were the original use contexts, and how have the meanings of the images changed over time? Who were the photographers and how did they work? Why have maritime museums collected the portraits? How can they be understood and re-conceptualized today?

Biography

Anne Tove Austbo is curator museum at Stavanger maritime museum/Museum Stavanger and her research is mainly focused on maritime history c. 1700-1950 and on museology.

From sea-work to sea-tragedy. Memories and visual representations of Nazaré

DÓRIS SANTOS (Art History Institute (IHA/NOVA-FCSH))

Abstract

In the Portuguese village of Nazaré, a traditional fishing economy generated an identity based on the relationship with the sea, that attracted many writers and artists. Many Portuguese and foreign artists painted, photographed and filmed its boats, people and ancestral customs, contributing to define a “Nazaré identity paradigm”, consolidated throughout the 20th century. In turn, this art gallery also fed the exotic vision about the community, emphasizing its uniqueness as a “world apart” in post-World War II industrialized Europe. Very incited by tourism, Nazaré was often evoked to materialize the Portuguese connection with the sea.

More than the sea itself, these artists represented the “Sea-Work”. They focused on the common man, working in the beach, individually or inserted in ethnographic groups; the relation with the sea is always orderly, even when the danger of shipwrecks is evoked. The latter dramatically marked this community life; until the 1980s, the fishermen faced the strong waves in their little boats and the tragedy was always imminent.

This “Sea-Tragedy”, always so present in the discourses about Nazaré, was a theme widely explored by the fine arts; but it mainly oscillated between the praise of the fisherman’s heroic character and the restrained pain of their women waiting on the beach. In the 1940s-50s, these themes were exploited by the propaganda of Salazar’s dictatorial regime.

But, beyond this official view, we can find authors that aimed at social denunciation through art. If the portraits by Eduardo Malta satisfied an official vision, and Lázaro Lozano’s triptychs invoked the sublimated pain of women, the dramatic blackness of Manuel Filipe drawings denounce another Nazaré – the Nazaré of hard work and terrible shipwrecks.

However, even this more social compromised neo-realist tendency, although unofficial, is part of an artistic pantheon that endures the eternal chimera about the “Nazaré of the Fishermen”, that remains nowadays.

Keywords

Nazaré; Shipwrecks; Painting; Identity; Memory

Biography

PhD Student in Art History - Museum Studies and Artistic Heritage Specialization (NOVA-FCSH, Lisbon). PhD project: “Art, museums and maritime memories. Contributions to the study of visual culture of fishing communities” [Advisor: Raquel Henriques da Silva].

Master in Museology and Heritage (NOVA-FCSH, 2006), with the dissertation “Museum José Malhoa. How do you make an art museum? Image and discourse (s)”.

Degree in History, variant Art History, by FLUC (Coimbra, 1997). Also has degree in Educational at the same course (1999).

Coordinator in Dr. Joaquim Manso Museum (Nazaré Museum), previously assuming its direction, since 2009. Researcher at the Art History Institute (IHA/NOVA-FCSH, Museum Studies).

Educational Animator and Curator at José Malhoa Museum, Caldas da Rainha (1999-2009). Teacher, Coimbra (1998-99).

Author of several publications and papers about art history, history and museum studies.

<https://www.cienciavita.pt/3E1F-B2A1-9C16>

Images of Ocean, the discourse of photography on the sea

CRISTINA FERREIRA (Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Porto)

Abstract

Photography can be primarily a particular way of understanding the sea and the ocean, and a general way of understanding the world. At a time when there is so much talk about taking care of the seas, respecting the fauna and flora that inhabit them, it is urgent to take a careful and critical look at this part of our planet. In this reflection we propose to create images about the ocean, specifically about our, the Atlantic. Thus, part of this work will be a set of images about the maritime landscape that is - to us Portuguese - so familiar. Through photography, we seek to create images that sensitize and alert to the urgency of preserving a resource so essential to the maintenance of human life. The universe of photographic language is used to freeze the sea in time, fix its colour, understand how it moves, and contemplate its grandiosity. For example, exploring how the shutter speeds, the various levels of depth of field, the multiple exposure, the focused and the blurred, the analogue nature of the film or the pragmatism of the digital, among other aspects, can change the perception we have about the ocean. Since the theme of the sea and the oceans has accompanied the 180-year history of photography, the works of some photographers such as Emílio Biel, Michael Kenna, Sebastião Salgado, Hiroshi Sugimoto, David Doubilet, to name a few, will also be revisited. All of them with different ways of looking at the ocean, using a language that is peculiar to them, both in the aesthetic options and in the technique. The way in which these images captured the poetry, sometimes drama and action, of our oceans both on the surface and in the depths will be discussed. Images are a universal language that has the power to alter behavior, win hearts and change minds.

In this way we will seek to create visual metaphors for a changing sea by telling stories in the form of images that add meaning to the oceans.

Keywords

Photography, ocean, image, history

Biography

Graduate of the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Porto, with a master's degree in Art and Multimedia and a PhD in Art and Design by the same institution. Teacher of higher education at FLUP (2002 - 2005) and at FBAUP (2006 - to the present) where she is Assistant Professor in the Design Department. She develops research work in the area of Communication Design, Photography and Image Narrative and Documentary. She teaches curricular units in the scientific areas of Design and Visual Communication, Photography and Multimedia Com-

munication. Orients research work ranging from Editorial Design, Communication Sciences, Photography, Street Art, through visual literacy in health. Member of the research center ID+ and collaborator of the research center i2ADS. She is part of the LACLIS internal panel (Creation Laboratory for Health Literacy of the University of Porto). Coordination and artistic direction (in partnership) of the Communication and Public Relations Office of FBAUP.

S. 5. 2. – STEAM LINERS AND CRUISERS

Chair: David Winkler

(United States Naval Academy)

The Conditions for Establishing Steamship Lines in the Russian Baltic Provinces and Finland from 1837 to 1870

TEELE SAAR (University of Tartu/Estonian Maritime Museum)

Abstract

The transportation networks of the Russian Empire's Baltic provinces and the Grand Duchy of Finland differed from transport networks in other European provinces of the Empire because of their long coastline. On the one hand, the long coastline allowed the Baltic and Finnish regions to connect with one another, and on the other hand, it formed the gateway to Europe for the whole Empire. The main aim of my paper is to examine how the establishment of steamship lines and companies was organized and regulated in the Baltic provinces and the Grand Duchy of Finland. The paper focuses closely on the coastal steamship lines that connected the coastline that now forms present-day Estonia with other regions, as well as lines that connected the mainland with islands. The main network of coastal steamship lines was formed by the 1870s and this remained the same until World War I. In the 19th century, Russian economic policy fostered the development of certain economical fields like transport or industry by charing to the entrepreneurs the privileges or other benefits. In this paper, I will analyse the extent to which economic policy was orientated towards the encouragement of the establishment of passenger steamship traffic on the Baltic Sea.

Keywords

steamship, Baltic Provinces, passenger, regulations, Finland

Biography

PhD student at University of Tartu, Institute of History and Archeology.

Main field of reserch: Passenger Steamboat Traffic in Estonia before the First World War.

She had worked as researcher and collection holder at the Museum of Hiiumaa (2006–2011), and a researcher at the Estonian Maritime Museum (2011–2012 and 2016 until today).

She was the Head of the Research Department of the Estonian Maritime Museum in 2013–2016.

LEAR of the ARROWS project 2012–2015 In Estonian Maritime Museum (funded by EU).

From a journey to a voyage, the birth of Ocean cruises. The French Lines and the transformation of the Sea as a touristic destination

FRANÇOIS DREMEAUX (University of Le Havre Normandie/University of Hong Kong)

Abstract

Over a period of three quarters of a century, this paper aims at analysing a drastic change in the use of the Ocean: from a dreaded route to a cherished destination in itself. Tourism, a predominant social phenomenon of the 20th century, as well as leisure more generally, have transformed the human societies' relationship with the Sea along with the economic activities of shipping companies.

Thanks to unreleased archives, French shipping lines companies (mostly from Compagnie Générale Transatlantique and Messageries Maritimes) offer a relevant prism on these mutations and its different steps.

A necessary but often feared passage until the end of the 19th century, travels on liners became, during the first two decades of the following century, a social marker and a source of prestige. After the era of great migrations, especially transatlantic ones, the elites culturally seized this means of transport. Liners 'Ile-de-France' and 'Normandie' were pertinent examples.

The next stage was due to the combination of societal, economic and technical phenomena: development of mass tourism, mimicry between social classes, increased safety on board, cultural reconception of the sea, etc. It has transformed the view on the oceans and its use for leisure. After the 1940s, the liner, a means of transport supplanted by aviation, was no longer used to travel from point A to point B. It quickly became the destination itself: cruises were born.

In less than a century, the ocean has changed, from the passengers' point of view, from an uncertain place of transit to the very object of the presence on board. For decades, French companies were pioneers in more than one respect in this field; a page of history that could be illustrated from the liner 'France' (1912), nicknamed "Versailles of the Seas", symbol of a call to a new clientele, to the dashed hopes of 'France' (1962) and its cruises around the world and 'sea walks' in the West Indies, before it became 'Norway' in 1974.

Keywords

Tourism; Cruises; French Lines; Merchant Navy

Biography

Dr. François Drémeaux is a Research Engineer at the University of Le Havre Normandie (France) and a Visiting Assistant Professor at the University of Hong Kong. He also teaches at Sciences-Po Paris (Le Havre campus). He studied the evolution of the French community in Hong Kong before extending his work on French nationals abroad outside the imperial process. His research currently focuses on Social History of the Merchant Navies in Europe and he is leading a project on the Normans' networks in global maritime trade (1851-1974).

Seafarers on ocean liners during the transition from sail to steam: evidence from Belgium, 1850-1900

KRISTOF LOOCKX (PhD)

Abstract

The growth of shipping in the nineteenth century had widespread consequences for all aspects of the maritime industry. Most studies of the transition from sail to steam demonstrated that productivity growth and the increase in international trade was a result of technological change and declining freight rates. However, the impact of the transition from sail to steam on the nature of maritime labour has received less attention. Exploring this relationship can shed more light on the ways in which the composition of crews, quality of labour and nominal characteristics of seafarers were subject to change in a time when steam became a cost-efficient technology and replaced sail as the dominant mode of water transport. Based on the rich Antwerp seamen's registry, which recorded seafarers' individual careers on Belgian merchant vessels, Belgium serves a case study. Particular emphasis is put on transatlantic passenger travel, which was a crucial part of the unprecedented growth of shipping during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although Belgium was a small maritime nation, it is an ideal case to examine the impact of the transition from sail to steam on maritime labour, particularly because the Belgian fleet almost exclusively consisted of sailing ships in the middle of the nineteenth century and steamships at the end of the century. Moreover, Belgian-flagged steamers played an important role in transporting thousands of Europeans to the Americas, which provides the opportunity to integrate the often neglected victualling department. The paper highlights how the emergence of steamships renewed the meaning of seamanship. This is linked to changing patterns in recruitment and the shipping industry's urge for more efficiency.

Keywords

transatlantic ocean liners, maritime labour, Belgium, nineteenth century, from sail to steam

Biography

Kristof Loockx is a PhD candidate at the University of Antwerp and the Vrije Universiteit Brussel in Belgium. He holds a Master's degree in History from the University of Ghent. His PhD dissertation examines the impact of the transition from sail to steam on seafarers' migration trajectories and careers on Belgian merchant vessels during the nineteenth century.

**S. 5. 3. NEW STEPFAMILY IN MARITIME HISTORY RESEARCH: THE PORTIC
TRUPLE OF HISTORIANS, INFORMATICIANS AND GEOMATICIANS TO QUERY
AND VISUALIZE 18TH CENTURY SHIPPING AND TRADE.**

Chair/Discussant: Maria Fusaro
(University of Exeter)

Panel abstract

This session aims at presenting a new research project (Agence Nationale de la Recherche, 2019-2023) called PORTIC (PORTs & Information and Communication Sciences and Technology. Querying and visualizing eighteenth-century shipping and trade dynamics in the digital era). PORTIC will enable different users (such as professional historians, students, teachers or genealogists) to query online, on a user friendly web-site, the content of two databases, Navigocorpus and Toflit18, to visualize the results as charts, maps, graphs, and to export pertinent data. The two databases are the results of previous research projects financed by the French Agence Nationale de la Recherche: Navigocorpus (2007-2011) contains among others approximately 20,000 ship entrances in Marseille (1749 to 1799, sample years), and 50,000 clearances from French Atlantic ports in 1787 and 1789. Toflit18 (2013-2017) contains the French balances of trade for the 18th century (products, quantities, values at national level, and for 1789, at local level). In cross-referencing their content and in offering a set of powerful tools to test hypothesis through visualizations, PORTIC will hopefully results in a major instrument for maritime historians to produce a renewed understanding of French costal, national and international maritime trade and fishing. Although PORTIC is still at its beginnings, we will concretely illustrate in this session the kinds of visualization we aim to implement and discuss their pertinence.

“I’ll be back!” Navigocorpus, ten years after

SILVIA MARZAGALLI (University Côte d’Azur)

Abstract

From 2007 to 2011, a team of historians created Navigocorpus, a database conceived to collect data on maritime trade from different kind of sources, without loss of information, and to preserve them for future research. If we managed to produce a powerful tool, to collect information for over 100,000 ship voyages, and to secure the database future existence through the French CNRS’s Very Large Research Facility HumaNum, the complexity of the database has discouraged since its larger use among scholars.

The rapid evolution of Digital Humanities over the past years, more particularly of interactive visualization tools, has led us to promote now a new research project, called PORTIC, to create a user-friendly interactive interface for visualizing Navigocorpus’ content. Though PORTIC has already introduced over 25,000 new voyages in the database and will also produce new historical insights in cross-referencing them with the French balance of trade, one of its major challenges will consist in its capacity to produce visualizations reflecting the very nature of many historical data, which, according to informaticians, are “imperfect” because of the missing, contradictory and uncertain information provided by historical sources. Most charts, maps, graphs, tend either to eliminate uncertain data, or to convert them in certain ones. “Imperfection”, however, is in some instances extremely telling for historians, and PORTIC aims at taking its “imperfect” nature into account within the visualizations. This paper presents the challenges of a truly close interdisciplinary project, and the general philosophy shared by the team: “be realistic, demand the impossible”.

Biography

Silvia Marzagalli is full professor for Early Modern History at the University Côte d’Azur in Nice, and honorary fellow of the Institut Universitaire de France. Her research deals with merchant networks, shipping and trade, and consular information in 18th and early 19th century Atlantic and Mediterranean worlds. She is presently working on a book on US shipping in the Mediterranean and editing an Atlas of shipping and trade in France at the eve of the French Revolution. Former PI of Navigocorpus, and current PI of PORTIC, she has increasingly been attracted by the possibility of renewing historical methodology through intensive recourse to Digital Humanities.

Representing shipping in 3D-graphs, or how to help historians to understand their data

GÉRALDINE GEOFFROY (University Côte d'Azur)

Abstract

When dealing with thousands of data and hundreds of ports, historians need adequate tools to visualize their database content and conceptualize their object. Graph representation is a matter of links to connect objects. It can serve visualization goals as charts and histograms do, but presents a plus over conventional descriptive statistical tools in that it is well-fitted to represent complex and multi-dimensional structures by offering the possibility of mixing and linking in the same graph entities of several kinds. In addition, data network, combined with the calculation of graph-specific metrics and graph-specific algorithms, also provides an alternative methodology for research, particularly for the search of data patterns which would remain invisible without graph modelling.

This paper demonstrates that 3D-graphs can be particularly useful to explore the pertinency of sub-categories, without pre-imposing them on the data itself. We will test 3D visualizations by linking the register port of ships clearing French ports at the eve of the French Revolution and their destination, to cluster trade patterns among different areas of the French coasts. In our graph, nodes represent the characteristics of the recorded voyages (ports, ships, captains, flags, products, dates, etc...). We elaborated a projected simplified subgraph where each travel is represented by a link between the port of departure (node A) and the port of destination (node B) by taking the ship's homeport into account (node C). On this projection we apply spatialization layout and community detection algorithms which will allow to map clusters of more connected ports, as well as centrality algorithms that will reveal the position (e.g. the importance) of each port in this flow set.

Biography

Géraldine Geoffroy is data librarian at the University Côte d'Azur and in charge of many research -projects connected with big data. She is member of the PORTIC team, and in charge of 3D visualizations to detect communities and cluster within the Navigocorpus Database.

First tries of Shneiderman's mantra for visualizing shipping data: can we do better than with dad's Excel?

CHRISTINE PLUMEJEAUD (CNRS)

Abstract

The famous Schneiderman's mantra to visualize data ("overview first, zoom, then details on demand") proves to be a complex task when applied to historical digitalized sources, which present missing, uncertain, imprecise or doubtful data. However, handling this imperfection is a richness for those who understand that data is never given, but always built. To address the challenge of visualizing 18th-century shipping data stocked in Navigocorpus, we choose to provide two possible entries. The first one offers a view of aggregated data, thus a progressive understanding of global and local flows of ships clearing French ports in the late 18th century. The second one responds to the needs of those who seeks individual details on captains and/or ships (visited harbors, tonnage, flags, etc.), and takes the possible different spellings into account. Both provide a mix of charts, maps, and interactive panels to query data in a Web interface, using a data driven concept for development and libraries (d3.js, vue.js, openlayers.js). The aggregated categories we constructed raised some specific difficulties for visualizing data. For example, when showing results according to the nature of the ship-adventure (fishing, coastal, or long distance trade), it is still quite delicate to include the incomplete and rather uncertain nature of this information (due to missing registers or a non-verified declaration of a future event, i.e. the ship is recorded as "bound to Newfoundland" but without positive proof it ever arrived there). We also want to create interactive tools to improve the database content by mixing human and computer expertise. Through the detailed view, users can compare two captains (or ships) that have been assumed as different ones in the database. They might know that in fact information refers to same person (or vessel). We will work towards the possibility of correcting the database accordingly.

Biography

Christine Plumejeaud is research engineer at the CNRS and one of the PIs of PORTIC, a French ANR project aiming at creating an interactive query and visualization of 18th-c. trade and maritime shipping data. More generally, her work consists at providing a better handling of data in different disciplines, such as ecology, biology, geography, history and geosciences. Her skills address the field of computer science and geomatics, as well as the edge of data science analysis through spatio-temporal analysis and statistics. After a master's degree in applied mathematics in 2000, she worked for six years for a start-up. In 2006 she graduated at the LIG laboratory at Grenoble. Her PhD (2011) was considered in the geomatic community

as particularly valuable for long-term and sustainable information systems for socio-economic statistics. As post-doc at the French National Mapping agency she built and analyzed a spatio temporal database, through the digitalization of ancient topographic maps.

**S. 5. 4. – COLONIAL SYSTEMS AND SLAVE ROUTES - FROM EARLY MODERN TO
MODERN TIMES**

Chair: Diogo Andrade Cardoso
(FLUP-CITCEM)

The African atlantic slaving ports (1450-1850): an attempt of definition

GUY SAUPIN (CRHIA-Université de Nantes)

Abstract

The historical research about slaving trade usually uses the term of atlantic slaving port in the period of zenith in the eighteenth and beginning of nineteenth century. What difference with the Portuguese “rios dos escravos” in the first century of expansion? As interface land-sea in charge of load and unlading and warehouse for exports (slaves, gold, ivory, gum, spices, hides, wax, supplies...) and imports (textiles, metallic tools, weapons, spirits, tobacco, decorative goods...), the new port of black Africa can be defined through three complementary approaches.

A material entrance includes the natural site, the required equipments, the constructive types and the effects of first urbanisation. A social entrance is interested in the actors' diversity and their agency (Africans, Europeans, Americans, Euroafricans, Afroamericans) in their social position and into an ethnic and cultural hybridity. A politic perspective characterizes the port policy and the control of terms of exchange into the institutional variety of politics and the insertion in an ancient urban African network.

All in all, it is necessary to define the structural specificities of an African urban harbour in atlantic hybridity, hub of globalisation, in a differentiated typology.

Key Words

Slaving port, Black African harbour, Atlantic hybridity, African port agency

Biography

Guy Saupin

Professeur émérite d'histoire moderne

CRHIA-Université de Nantes

The Seaborne Europeans: Encounters in the West African Coast during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

FERNANDO MOUTA (FLUP-CITCEM)

Abstract

During the first years of expansion along the west African coast south of Cape Bojador, Portuguese men-at-arms attacked and kidnaped locals hoping to profit from selling them as slaves or through ransoms. It was the expected after centuries of fighting the Islamic civilization in the Iberian Peninsula. This strategy worked until the Portuguese suffered the first military defeats by the poisoned arrows of warriors in the river Senegal. The deaths of well-known servants of Prince Henry, the Navigator, was a shock to the Portuguese crusader mentality. But the human mind is well-equipped to overcome reality crashes. It didn't take long for the Portuguese to adapt and refocus their expansionist efforts into establishing commercial relations with the newly encountered leaders and communities. Trade would be the new language of enduring peace, as soon as the difficulties of the first contacts, especially in communication, could be overcome. Religious conversions and peace agreements (embodied in the construction of castles and factories) would follow, but only if these initial endeavors proved profitable. The establishment of commercial, diplomatic and cultural relations in the West African coast enabled a renewed centrality to a peripheral region. Using published and well-known sources for the centuries under scrutiny, they are studied in an entirely new way. We start by identifying any interaction between Africans and Europeans. Then, the agents involved, the type of interaction, the place where this happened, and the possible relationship between the parties involved are recorded. This myriad of possible encounters is simplified into a typology of interactions. Finally, this typology allows us to present models of interaction that intend to portrait the arrival of the seaborne Europeans and how Africans received these newcomers. This encounter of civilizations, only made possible by the new sea routes travelled by European ships, is the focus of this presentation.

Keywords

West African Coast; Commerce; Cooperation; Conflict

Biography

Fernando Mouta was born in Luanda, Angola, on November 2, 1974, but always lived in Porto, Portugal. He holds a degree in Marketing and Advertising and graduated in History by the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto (FLUP) in 2015. He holds a master's degree in Medieval Studies since 2017, a specialization in African Studies since 2018, and

completed a PhD course in 2019, all from the same institution. He is currently enrolled in the PhD program at the University of Porto under the thesis entitled “Commerce, cooperation and conflict in the West African coast (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Beyond the trans-atlantic slave trade”. He is a researcher of CITCEM since June 2017 and has been awarded a scholarship from the Portuguese Foundation of Science and Technology (FCT) to complete his PhD research project.

The configuration of the maritime colonial state: port system evolution in the French West Africa (1895-1960)

DANIEL CASTILLO HIDALGO (University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria)

CÉSAR DUCRUET (UMR 8504 Géographie-Cités, CNRS)

Abstract

The construction and consolidation of the colonial state in West Africa was fostered by the expansion of seaports which articulated the extraverted economic systems (Debie, 2010; Castillo and Ducruet, 2018; Young, 1994). However, it was a progressive process where planning of infrastructures was accompanied by institutional reform, military issues and the important pressure exerted by the entrepreneurial imperial lobby. This paper deals with an analysis of port system evolution in the French West Africa from its constitution up to its dissolution. We build on quantitative individual port data we contrast with connectivity indicators (Lloyd Index) in order to evaluate how the maritime networks and concentration and dispersion trends evolved, attending to institutional and historical endowments. We also investigate the cumulative effects of port concentration in major seaports and the way how the regional economic structure gravitates around them. This paper forms part of the research grant: Empirical Studies on Structure and Evolution of Maritime Networks (18KK0051) funded by the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science.

Keywords

Port Systems, French West Africa, Institutions, Clustering, Colonialism

Biography

Daniel Castillo Hidalgo is Assistant Professor on Economic History at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. He broadly published on maritime and economic issues in Senegal and West Africa during the contemporary period. His research interests focus on the development of port communities in Senegal as well as the spatial evolution of port systems in the African continent in the long run. He is co-editor with Ayodeji Olukoju of *African Seaports and Maritime Economics in Historical Perspective* (May-June 2020, Palgrave).

César Ducruet is geographer and Research Director for the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) at the research laboratory UMR 8504 Géographie-Cités (Sorbonne University). His research interests include network analysis, urban & regional development, and spatial analysis, through the looking glass of ports and shipping networks, with a special focus on Europe and Asia. He is currently Principal Investigator of the EU-funded ERC Start-

ing Grant “World Seastems” (2013-2019) research project analysing the evolution of global shipping networks since the late nineteenth century, and published two edited books on Maritime Networks (2015) and Shipping Data Analysis (2017) in the Routledge Studies in Transport Analysis. He has published more than 50 articles in peer-reviewed journals and 30 book chapters in the last 15 years or so.

S. 5.5. MARITIME GOVERNANCE IN PRE-MODERN ATLANTIC EUROPE II

Chair: Roberto J. González Zalacain

Discussant: Louis Sicking

Panel Abstract

In pre-modern times the law of nations was preoccupied with the creation and management of regimes to govern the oceans and seas, which cover three-fifths of the planet's surface. This session aims to contribute to understanding how oceans and seas have been used over time in terms of governance in pre-modern Atlantic Europe. Thus a broader perspective is taken than the common 'law of the sea'-perspective which focuses often on legal doctrine with its traditional emphasis on freedom of the seas as a key objective of law of the seas regimes. Governance being a wider notion than government, the former explicitly involves interaction between formal (governmental) institutions and those of civil society, which in its maritime context includes first of all/mainly maritime communities. To these communities belong the coastal towns and villages and the communities aboard ships. How did princes and states in pre-modern Atlantic Europe claim and aim for control over maritime spaces and/or over their subjects while these were at sea? How did formal and informal institutions interact to control maritime activities? How and to what extent were claims over sea spaces enforced/invigorated? How were regulations concerning the sea developed and how and to what extent were they enforced in practice? By focusing on different maritime spaces and coastal areas of Europe's Atlantic coast, this session will allow to get insights in similarities and differences between different regions and regimes of maritime governance.

Keywords

Maritime Governance, Middle Ages, Early Modern Period, Atlanti World

Governing the Castilian ports in the Middle Ages

ANA MARÍA RIVERA MEDINA (UNED (Spain))

ENRIQUE RUIZ PILARES (University of Cádiz)

Abstract

During the Middle Ages the crown warns the importance that the ports of its coastline represented for its economy by initiating a policy of foundations and refundations of the coastal towns that are executed in two stages between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Spanish historiography has investigated political strategies to a greater extent, offering various studies on regional coastal or port realities. This proposal is intended to offer a comparative view of the various management models in the main Castilian port systems. In the first place, the one that makes up the ports located on the Basque and Cantabrian coast; and secondly, those that are organized around the Guadalquivir estuary (Seville-Cádiz) based on the hypothesis that these systems are structured independently, although they converge as far as maritime traffic is concerned by offering two port management models differentiated by the greater or lesser performance of the official instances, local oligarchies, the creation of mercantile institutions, the control of space and their functionality.

Biographies

Ana María Rivera Medina is a professor of Medieval History at the Universidad de Educación a Distancia (Spain) where she obtained a PhD in Medieval History (2010). She also holds a PhD in American Modern Age History (1987) from the University of Seville and is the author of several scientific publications and her current fields of interest and work are Urban and Maritime History. She is currently a Senior Visiting Fellow for the ERC-funded AveTransRisk-Project and member of Spanish and European research networks and groups, among others: “La Gobernanza de los puertos atlánticos, siglos XIV-XXI”, “Gis d’Histoire Maritime & Sciences de la Mer”, “Castilla y el mar en la Baja Edad Media”, CITCEM – Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar “Cultura, Espaço e Memória”.

Enrique Ruiz Pilares. Lecturer in Medieval Studies at the University of Cádiz (UCA). PI of the research project “Society-environment interaction in the Guadalete river basin in the Middle Ages (GUADAMED) (2020-2023)” co-financed by the European Union under the 2014-2020 ERDF Operational Programme and by the Department of Economic Transformation, Industry, Knowledge, and Universities of the Regional Government of Andalusia. He is a member of the Seminario Agustín de Horozco of Ancient and Medieval History (UCA) and Institute of Medieval Studies (IEM) at Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. His main line of research is the study of urban society, both in terms of power relations and economic activities. His research is characterised by the use of prosopographical methodology and the application of GIS.

The governance of slavery from the northern Portuguese ports at the beginning of the Early Modern Period

AMÂNDIO BARROS (CITCEM)

Abstract

The presence of the slave in the Northern Portuguese seaport societies was already noted during the 15th century. As a result of the Portuguese navigations across the Atlantic, the use of slaves in domestic services, in the cities' workshops and as men of arms at the service of nobles was effective and was debated by the municipal ordinances.

But it would be in the sixteenth century that this phenomenon had to develop and, in a way, mark the port life. Slavery became a lucrative business, and the seafarers in the Northern Portuguese ports devoted themselves to it, along with their growing interests in the Atlantic, namely the island's pastel trade and sugar mill economy, in the Archipelagos of Cape Vert and São Tome, and in Brazil. On the other hand, the games of political influence and the solidarity of interests between the Iberian maritime communities made possible the slave trade into the Spanish Indies, which became an interesting business segment for these ports and merchants.

This study aims to reflect on the effects of slave trade in the life of these ports. The issue is relevant since almost nothing is known about the so-called secondary ports and their participation in this process. The analyses have so far been centered on the imperial ports (Seville and Lisbon), leaving out a significant part of the dynamics of this traffic, precisely the one organized by and from the ports. Based on local documentation, this study will provide unpublished data and records that answer various questions about the trade: agents, ships, logistics, port administration, reflection on possible seaport space modifications and involvement in routes, relations with central authorities, capitals invested, slave transference, geography of slavery, etc.

Biography

Amândio J.M. Barros, born in Porto. He is specialized in maritime and in maritime economic history. Phd degree in History in the University of Porto, Post-doctoral graduate in the University of Porto and University of Valladolid. Member of CITCEM (Transdisciplinary Research Centre-Culture, Space and Memory). He was awarded with prizes (Academia de Marinha and Fundação Engenheiro António de Almeida) for his research in Portugal, and participates in international transdisciplinary research projects. His fields of interest are the mercantile and maritime communities in the late medieval and Early Modern Period during the Discoveries

and Portuguese Expansion (15th-17th centuries) and he published books, book chapters and articles in Portugal and abroad. Most of his work is available in international databases and libraries.

S. 5. 6. MALE AND FEMALE 19TH-CENTURY LABOUR REGIMES

Chair: Valerie Burton

(Maritime Studies Research Unit, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, NL, Canada)

Women doing business in Iberian Ports during the First Globalization

LUISA MUÑOZ ABELEDO (University of Santiago de Compostela)

Abstract

This contribution analyzes women's participation on business and commerce in some principal Spanish fishing and ports at the end of the nineteenth century. The study different and varied sources: trade directories, newspaper advertisements, industrial and commerce taxes (1878, 1899), to know the kind of business women did in different Spanish Atlantic (A Coruña, Cádiz), Cantabric (Bilbao) and Mediterranean (Barcelona) ports as well as Portuguese (Lisboa and Porto). The paper link those sources with demographic sources (nominative population census) and commercial letters from different companies to discover how important was female business participation in local economies, in which economic sectors were located, and if there was social mobility in their professional lives. Taking as example commerce, this research shows that women owned different type of establishments: few widows were wholesaler and owned department stores, but a lot of married as well as single women owned grocer's shops, clothing stores, and taverns. The study reveals the activities of lower middle-class women in business, especially in commercial enterprise, women who have largely been ignored in Spanish economic history literature, just few historians incorporated women as entrepreneurs and managers (Gálvez, 2004; Fernández and Gálvez, 2007; Solà, 2008). Some family businesses in commerce and services were managed by women. Thus, they were actively participating not only as workers for local factories but also as entrepreneurs, acting in housing market, as moneylenders. Measuring this participation can be done throughout the rate of new business owners along the study period. Business women contribute to economic modernization and urban growth in those Spanish Ports creating employment through their participation on different local business.

Keywords

Businesswomen, ports, trade directories

Biography

Ph.d in Economic History from the Autonomous University of Barcelona and assistant professor in the History Department at the University of Santiago de Compostela. I had been a visiting researcher at several foreign universities (British Columbia University-Canada, Center for the History of Business, Technology and Society- United States, University of Porto-Portugal, Center de Recherches at Histoire Internationale et Atlantique -Université de Nantes). My main lines of research are the history of work and business from a gender perspective and living standards in maritime communities. I participated in the project "Reconstruction of the

rate of Spanish female activity, 1750-1980”, Ministry of Science and Innovation (HAR2009-11709). I was the principal IP of the project “Reconstruction of the taxa of feminine activity in the Galician economy: 1850-2009”, Xunta de Galicia (10SEC210031PR) and of the MINECO project “Salaries, activity and living standards in Galicia (1850-1950)” (HAR2013)

Goan stewards at sea between empires and states, c.1890s-1960s

FRANCES STEEL (University of Wollongong)

Abstract

From the early nineteenth century, there was significant emigration from the Portuguese colony of Goa to British India, particularly to Bombay. The vast majority of Goan migrants entered shore-based professions and service industries, while a small and significant proportion engaged as stewards on British ships from the 1890s, principally those of the P&O, to the extent that British shipmasters labelled Goa 'a land of servants'. By the 1950s, the proportion of migrants from Goa serving on ships as compared to shore-based occupations was estimated at over one-third. In the 1960s, other companies, such as the Orient Line, adopted a 'Goanisation' policy, recruiting Goan stewards in preference to Europeans for the first time. Despite this long-standing employment at sea, there is a relative invisibility of seafarers in historical work on the Goan diaspora. Many contemporary accounts positioned Goan crew as in-between, holding themselves somewhat apart as not Indian, but more European. They typically wore western dress, spoke English and were Catholic. In this paper I tease out this 'betweenness', to consider the ways in which Goan stewards might historically be at once between the Portuguese and British empires, Goa and India, Goa and the diaspora, and land and sea.

Keywords

Goans, P&O, Orient Line, stewards

Biography

Frances Steel teaches and researches Pacific, colonial and transnational history at the University of Wollongong in Australia. Her recent publications include the edited volume *New Zealand and the Sea: Historical Perspectives* (Bridget Williams Books, 2018) and with Julia Martínez, Claire Lowrie and Victoria Haskins, *Colonialism and Male Domestic Service across the Asia Pacific* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2019).

S. 6. 1. – CULTURAL HERITAGE AND COMMUNITY INTERACTION

Chair: Alice Semedo

(FLUP/CITCEM)

Shellfish farming and fishing in the Galician Rias.

The case of Carril, a century-old history

ANGEL I. FERNANDEZ-GONZALEZ (Universidade de Santiago (Spain))

Abstract

For a long time, due to the abundance of nutrients and their physical configuration, the Galician Rias have been and are an optimal space for the growth of fish and shellfish, captured through harvesting and fishing. The objective of this work is the study of the socio-economic evolution, in the last three centuries, of this activity, with special attention to bivalve molluscs: oysters, mussels, clams, etc. We will examine, from the demand side, what have been the explanatory factors of its rise, constantly increasing since the end of the 19th century. And we will also show the changes that have occurred in the field of supply: species, production, techniques, customary and legal regulations on the use of resources, etc. A general and long-term vision that will be complemented with the study of a peculiar case, that of the port of Carril, one of the few Galician coastal villages that for centuries has practiced bivalve semi-cultivation in intertidal parks of private use.

Keywords

Shellfish harvesting and farming, Galicia, economic history

Biography

Associate Professor of Economic History at the Faculty of Economic Sciences of Santiago (Spain) since 1998. I have been part of several research projects related to the history of fisheries and maritime industries. I have published several articles on the history of aquaculture in Galicia and Spain for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as three stories of Galician companies in the canned fish sector, collected in the book “Las familias de la conserva: el sector de las conservas de pescados a través de sus sagas familiares” [Canning families: the sector of canned fish through their family sagas] (2011). My last work has been a communication presented to the International Conference: Transitions in Agriculture and Rural Society. The Global Challenges of Rural History (Santiago, June 20-23, 2018), entitled “The management of common resources - beaches and waters - in the Galician Rias. Three centuries of history”, which has won the award for the best communication.

Shipwrecks as legal spaces: considering underwater cultural heritage for marine spatial planning in 'Bahia da Lagoa' (Algoa bay), south Africa

JACQUES D. MAHLER-COETZEE (Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth, South Africa)

Abstract

Algoa Bay (33° 50'S 25° 50'E), on the Indian Ocean coast of South Africa was first recorded by Bartholomeu Dias in 1488 as Angra da Roca (later, Bahia da Lagoa). At least 230 significant shipwrecks occur in the vicinity.

The maritime environment, including underwater cultural heritage (UCH), is an increasingly contested space, globally and in South Africa. Indeed, "the ocean...has multiple usages that may conflict with one another."

South Africa's new Marine Spatial Planning Act 16 of 2018 (MSPA) dictates that existing laws "must be consistent with the approved marine area plans" and that the MSPA prevails where there is conflict with other legislation. While MSPA mentions UCH, the effect on contrary provisions in national heritage legislation is unclear.

Using the lens of historically significant shipwrecks, this paper therefore critically examines the governance and representation of UCH as a complex, juristically-constructed space in the context of the Algoa Bay Marine Spatial Planning Pilot Project (ABMSPP).

It is hoped that this work will contribute to necessary discussions around harmonizing UCH governance within MSP regimes in the region and elsewhere.

Biography

Jacques Mahler-Coetzee is a member of the *Eastern Cape Ocean Sciences Community of Practice*, currently researching Aviation & Underwater Cultural Heritage Governance for the South African National Research Foundation-funded *Algoa Bay Marine Spatial Planning Pilot Project*. An Attorney, Jacques is also a Senior Lecturer (Medical Jurisprudence/ Bio-Ethics), *Nelson Mandela School of Law, University of Fort Hare*, East London, an Instructor (Leadership), *East London School for Legal Practice*, and serves on the *Frere & Cecilia Makiwane Hospitals' Ethics Committee*. His Master of Laws (*University of Cape Town*) focused on Historical Shipwrecks. His doctoral work (*Nelson Mandela University*, Port Elizabeth), considers sustainable regulation of Surfing as an important vector for Tourism and Coastal Development in Africa. Jacques is a trans-Atlantic Sailor, Scuba Dive Master (Wreck Speciality), Tour-guide, Student Aviator and Surfer.

From the deck of the whaling ship to the metropolitan Museums: an epistemological study of “the vanguard[s] of ocean science” in eighteenth-century zoological publications.

CÉLINE STANTINA (McGill University)

Abstract

The historiography of marine science of the past 20 years has presented the 19th century as the age when naturalists started taking the sea to seek the oceans' biological and geological deepest secrets. Some authors have emphasized the role played by seamen and more precisely whalers in this process; Rozwadowski (2008) calling them the “vanguard of the ocean science.” But whalers did not wait for natural philosophers to come onboard in the 19th century to improve, experience and share vernacular knowledge about cetaceans for generations among their communities, knowledge which had been pivotal to the success of whaling fisheries.

Meanwhile, far away from the hazards of the sea, 18th-century European armchair naturalists were absorbed by the tedious task of classifying the living. A scan of the scientific institutions' collections to which they belonged, show that among the growing assemblage of the world's naturalia, cetacean natural objects were quite scarce. The Muséum d'histoire naturelle of Paris, for example, only counted a couple of ribs, baleen plates and parts of sperm whale skulls at the end of the 18th century.

By studying a set of natural history publications, as well as scientific correspondence; this presentation will examine the pivotal role played by whalers in the construction of cetacean zoological knowledge in the long 18th century and how these “vanguard[s] of ocean science” made new uses of the sea as a terrain of scientific observations, long time before scientists decided to colonize the decks. It will present two worlds with different codes and goals, that connected at the initiative of natural philosophers seeking this vernacular knowledge based on years of empirical expertise; worlds that sometimes, quite interestingly, failed to connect. I believe that paying a closer attention to the vernacular knowledge of whalers will enrich the historiography of marine science especially as it pertains to the less explored 18th-century.

Keywords

Whaling, Zoology, Science, Whalers, Knowledge

Biography

Céline Stantina is a History PhD candidate at McGill University, interested in History of science and zoology. Her master's thesis, at l'Université de Montréal (2016-2018) focused on the

work of Lacépède *Histoire Naturelle des Cétacées* (1804) and vernacular maritime knowledge. This research work principally mobilized sources in the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle of Paris, equally for the naturalists' thick correspondence than for the physical contemporary collections. Her current research aims to examine the trajectories of cetacean natural objects and of vernacular maritime knowledge to help exemplify the way powerful scientific institutions tried to mobilize different strata of individuals in order to build systemic networks of exchange. The goal of this research is to take a step back from sources generated in these institutions, and to analyze further how knowledge is "produced" on the field, in that case: the ocean. Logbooks and correspondence are the prime sources of this study.

S. 6. 2. MARITIME MIGRATION

Chair: Fernando Mouta

(FLUP-CITCEM)

Migration Business and the Shipping Sector

IOANNIS LIMNIOS SEKERIS (Panteion University / IMS-FORTH)

Abstract

Migration, apart from the movement of population within and between countries, consists also a vital sector for business interests. The flourishing of various businesses during periods of intense migration flows is known, as well as the proliferation of transport companies, among other businesses; resulting in the functioning of a migration business.

In the 19th century and for 2/3 of the 20th century, sea transport was the main, if not the only, way for overseas transportation. Shipping lines were established and emerged through their involvement in migration. After WWII, with a greater tendency for globalisation and in the Cold War climate, European emigration was set as priority for the Western allies. In 1951 the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration was founded in order to assist in part of the European emigration. ICEM's main service was the organisation and funding of the transportation of emigrants overseas. Thus, its relation with transport-interests was close and the success of its mission depended on their availability.

Following Broeze's categorisation for man's relation with the sea, my paper will concentrate on the category of the "use of the surface of sea for transport". I will discuss the role of the shipping lines in migration business both in the 19th-early 20th centuries and in the post-WWII period. I will highlight the way of their involvement and the level of their dependence on migration traffic; the technological transformations on the shipping business, and its enlargement. I will focus on the post-WWII era when ICEM was involved in migrants' transportation. I will highlight the way that member-states tried to expand the business-cycle of their carriers, and also the competition and coalitions between states and companies. I will stress the relation between migration, politics and shipping sector; and I will explain how ICEM assisted the Cold War policies of the Western Bloc, along with the enhancement of the shipping sector.

Keywords

Shipping sector, Migration, Migration Business, International Organisations, ICEM

Biography

Ioannis completed his BA in 2010 (honours) and his MA in 2013 (honours) at the University of Crete. Since 2015 he is Ph.D. candidate at Panteion University of Athens. His Ph.D. thesis is on "International organisations, migration and private sector: The case of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, 1951-80". Ioannis has worked on history research projects: in 2013-15 "Migration Management and International Organizations: A history of the establishment of IOM"; 2019-present "Migration and strategies of development in the periphery of the "Western World" during the early Post-WWII period". He has contributed three

papers at the volume edited by Lina Venturas (2015), *International Migration Management in the Early Cold War: The ICEM*, and has published a peer-reviewed article on *Journal of Transport History*, 36:1 (2015), pp. 97-115. He also has presented papers in various international conferences and workshops, with the last at the 22nd EBHA Congress in Ancona Sep. 2018.

The ocean as a route of migration to and from Brazil in the first half of the 17th century

DIOGO ANDRADE CARDOSO (CITCEM/FLUP)

Abstract

First with a narrow stream of migrants in search of a redwood deal and after the establishment of the sugar economy as a place to settle and start a new life, along the entire period of the colonial Brazil, and well after that, Europeans travelled to this territory, inside it and left it behind to return to Europe or to move to other continent.

It is well established that the West Coast of Africa, particularly Angola, was a point of contact with Brazil as a slave supplier region. But the Portuguese America was also a place of contact with other European political entities, such as the United Provinces of the Netherlands and the nearby Castile Indies, this contact more studied on a Spanish standpoint.

The present paper aims to approach this topic from a new perspective. Resorting to the inquisitorial processes focusing individuals that were in Brazil in the 17th century, a very complete source of information concerning singular trajectories but that also offers a broader set of data on related subjects this theme will be looked at in a more in-depth way.

It is our goal to present the most frequent places of departure in Europe, the destinations of the migrants in Brazil, the routes they followed to get there and interpret the fluctuations occurred during this period. This approach will also look at to the different kinds of mobility, trying to understand what caused them and what led the migrants to continue their movement to other territories before or even after settling in Brazil.

Using this historical source, often neglected to this kind of exercise concerning Brazil, we intend to demonstrate the individual journeys of these migrants, establish the importance of the African connection with concrete cases, test the fluidity of the Spanish American border from a new angle and prove that the European competition promoted the circulation of people inside the northwest captaincies, invaded by the United Provinces, and between the two continents.

Keywords

Migration; Brazil; 17th century

Biography

I am a PhD candidate in History in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto and a researcher at the Transdisciplinary Research Center «Culture, Space and Memory» (CITCEM), currently developing a project on Portuguese migration to America in the 17th century.

My degree in History is also from the University of Porto, and the M.A., with a major in Early Modern and Discoveries History, is from the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of

the New University of Lisbon with a dissertation entitled “Networks of Overseas Emigration between 1560 and 1651. The study case of Vila do Conde”.

All my publications and papers presented in conferences concern the subject of migrations to the overseas in the Early Modern Period, trying to determine the conjunctures and circumstances that repelled the migrants from their place of departure, that led them to a certain territory and their professional and familiar profile.

The Many Worlds of the Edwin Fox, 1853-1905: Maritime History, Microhistory and Global History

ADRIAN SHUBERT (York University)

BOYD COTHRAN (York University)

Abstract

In this paper, we apply a micro-historical approach and digital techniques such as ArcGIS to Maritime history to elucidate the process of globalization between 1850 and 1914. Specifically, we use the career of one British merchant vessel, the Edwin Fox, to demonstrate how such an approach can cast new light on the complexities of these developments; help identify new patterns of global interaction; and provide a more intimate understanding of the human agencies and the human costs involved in this pivotal period of globalization.

Built in Calcutta in 1853, the Edwin Fox was neither large nor fast, and had none of the prestige of the great tea and opium clippers that captured the public imagination in the mid-nineteenth century. Yet the life and career of this undistinguished ship coincide with a pivotal era in globalization: the years between 1860 and 1890 that Jürgen Osterhammel calls the “inner focal point” of the 19th century.

The Edwin Fox participated in many of the developments that made these years so crucial: the intensification of trade around the globe; the spread of industrialization to many regions; the great thrust of Western imperialism; the unprecedentedly large migrations of people, both free and forced; the large-scale dispossession of Indigenous peoples and their replacement with settler populations; the integration of settler colonies into imperial markets; and environmental change on a massive scale. Its decks provide a unique and powerful vantage point from which to observe these large processes as well as to demonstrate the potential of marrying micro-history and digital history to Maritime history.

Keywords

Globalization, micro-history, digital

Biography

Adrian Shubert is University Professor in the Department of History at York University. His scholarship has been focused on the social, cultural and political history of Spain in the 19th and 20th centuries. His major publications include *Espartero. El Pacificador* (2018), *Death and Money in the Afternoon: A History of the Spanish Bullfight* (1999) and *A Social History of*

Modern Spain (1990) . With Arthur Haberman he is co-author of *The West and the World since 1500: Contacts, Conflicts, Connections*, the principal textbook for senior year History courses in Ontario high schools. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and has been named a Commander of the Order of Civil Merit by King Juan Carlos of Spain.

Boyd Cothran is Associate Professor in the Department of History at York University and the co-editor of *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*. He is a historian of the 19th-century and the author of *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence* (University of North Carolina Press, 2014), which received the 2015 Robert M. Utley Prize for the best book in military history from the Western History Association and was a finalist for the Best First Book in Native American and Indigenous Studies from NAISA. More recently his research interests have gone more global in scale. He is currently finishing an edited volume titled *Women Warriors and National Heroes: Global Histories* (under contract with Bloomsbury) and working on two book length projects that combine global history and micro-history.

**S. 6.3. – GENERAL AVERAGE, INSURANCE, AND THE GOVERNANCE OF
MARITIME COMMERCE IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE**

Chair & Discussant: Louis Sicking

(Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam & Leiden University)

Panel Abstract

The governance and management of commercial conflict has long been seen as a key for good institutions and economic growth. In this type of studies, the governance of maritime commerce has however been largely overlooked, particularly when it comes to the governance of disputes on insurance, shipwreck, and maritime trade losses. This panel proposes to look in-depth at the governance structures underlying maritime commerce in various commercial cities across early modern Europe (Antwerp, Amsterdam and Paris), offering case studies of how the governance of two major instruments of risk management – insurance and GA – was organised. These studies shed light on institutional arrangements regarding enforcement and conflict management of maritime commerce, contributing to debates over third-party enforcement, private conflict resolution and the role of the state at various governmental levels. It shows the heterogeneous paths and effects of various forms of governance of the same instrument.

Keywords

Conflict resolution, cities, GA, governance, insurance

Colbert's Experiment in the Parisian Laboratory: Capital, Risk, and Marine Insurance in Early Modern France

LEWIS WADE (University of Exeter)

Abstract

Far from being a niche instrument, marine insurance was a powerful yet volatile tool of early modern economic development. States and municipalities grappled to come to terms with it, hoping to harness its power in pursuit of their own economic interests. This paper analyses the interests of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's eminent minister, in the French marine insurance industry. Through analysing two little-known projects, I explore Colbert's motivations for intervening in the industry, situating these projects in the context of broader fiscal and commercial reforms that are often studied separately. Marine insurance, I argue, was a nexus in these reforms: through analysing Colbert's interventions, we can better understand his desire to institutionalise and mobilise the Parisian capital market in service to the maritime sector, bringing new players into marine insurance while also responding to the scope for conflict that could arise from this.

Third Party Enforcement in an Informal Setting: General Average in Amsterdam (Late Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)

SABINE GO (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam & University of Exeter)

Abstract

Managing the risks inherent to long-distance trade has always been of pivotal importance to merchants, ship owners and entrepreneurs. Marine insurance and General Average were some of the tools applied by these parties to deal with these risks. However, marine insurance was a complex, relatively new method where risks was transferred to a third party. General Average, although having an impressive lineage, was a generally accepted default rule, but not confirmed or acknowledged ex-ante by parties involved. With both these instruments there was the issue how to enforce obligations of one's counterpart of a transaction. Insurance disputes were adjudicated by the principal court of the city, the Eschevin court; GA conflicts were handled informally by 'wise' men. However, at the request of merchants, fearing that unwanted behaviour would harm the city's reputation as mercantile centre in general and their interests in particular, the authorities founded the Chamber of Insurance and Average in 1598. From then on, third party enforcement was to guarantee that all parties involved in either insurance or GA would honour their commitments. Even though the two concepts were completely different, the enforcement of both converged from the late sixteenth until the end of the eighteenth century- only to go their separate ways again in a most peculiar way in the nineteenth century.

The Governance of General Average and Insurance in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp: Towards Generalised, Open-Access Institutions?

GIJS DREIJER (Leiden University & University of Exeter)

Abstract

Sixteenth-century Antwerp is nowadays seen by economic historians as one of the first cities in northern Europe to move towards generalised, open-access institutions. This paper will test this claim by looking at the governance systems of General Average and insurance, two risk management instruments for maritime commerce, the latter of which has sometimes been neglected when looking at the city's institutional structure. Antwerp's general trajectory was indeed towards generalised, open-access institutions, but this was a road with many obstacles, which this paper will discuss, including the changing role of the central government and multiple interest groups trying to influence the trajectory on issues of maritime risk management and commerce. Contrary to expectations, sixteenth-century Antwerp moved from a relatively light-touch approach on regulation and governance to heavy-handed oversight in the 1560s, before returning to a largely unregulated governance market structure on insurance and General Average in the 1570s and 1580s. This paper will analyse these various phases and in a final section compare Antwerp's trajectory to Amsterdam, which formed the Chamber of Insurance and Average in 1598 (see Sabine Go's paper).

S. 6. 4. – GLOBAL COMMERCIAL NETWORKS IN THE EARLY MODERN ERA

Chair: Margaret Hunt

(Uppsala University)

“The Basques and the route to Flanders from the Mediterranean peninsular ports of the Crown of Aragon (1470-1500)”

INAZIO CONDE (Universidad de Cantabria)

Abstract

This paper aims to examine, using some documents from the Archives of Valencia and Barcelona, a long distance route linking the Mediterranean ports to Flanders. Although Venetians had developed their own system known as *mude*, there were —as we try to illustrate here— other ways to provide food commodities to Northern markets. We especially focus on the role of Cantabrian ship masters at the end of 15th century, whose ships were chartered by Italian, Valencian or Barcelonian merchants. These masters, whether they are from the Basque Country or from Cantabria, spent long stays in the Mediterranean area, not only transporting salt or wool between the Iberian Peninsula, Italy and the Mediterranean islands, but also establishing a Mediterranean-Atlantic connexion. One of the most valuable sources to measure and quantify this trade is by analyzing the freights —where the quantity and the nature of the cargo is specified— in addition to prices, conditions, deadlines and stops of the route. This will allow us to answer some of the unknown facts concerning this trade, such as who the main charterers were, even if the main goal is to determine which ports they frequented in the route to Flanders.

Keywords

Biscayan, trade, Middle ages, Mediterranean, Flanders

Biography

Graduated in History at the “Universidad de Cantabria”, including an Erasmus stay in Paul Valéry III- Montpellier and a collaboration in the “Departamento de Ciencias Históricas”-, he completed the Master “Del Mediterráneo al Atlántico. La Construcción de Europa entre el mundo antiguo y medieval”. He is currently working on a doctoral thesis studying the Mediterranean-Atlantic trade in the Late Middle Ages and the role of Cantabrian ships and masters in Valencia and Barcelona in 15th century. As well as receiving a FPU (University staff training grant) at the Universidad de Cantabria, he also takes part in the research group called “La gobernanza de los puertos atlánticos en la Edad Media”, specialized in maritime and economic history. In 2019, he has also participated in 2019 Lleida Medieval Meeting with a paper entitled “Los consulados castellanos en la Corona de Aragón. Un estado de la cuestión”, as well as in the Atelier doctoral of San Gimignano in 2018 and in the Nájera Interna.

The Malacca-Okinawa Trading Networks during the Portuguese Period

DAYA WIJAYA (CITCEM, University of Porto, Portugal & History Department, State University of Malang, Indonesia)

Abstract

Using Eurasian sources, this study will analyze the Asian reconfiguration after the Portuguese invasion of Malacca in 1511, seen from Malacca and Okinawa as the transit ports for Asian merchants from the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea and vice versa. Both seaports experienced reciprocal profits during the 15th-century Chinese world order, but the Portuguese invasion had disturbed and expelled the Malays from Malacca (Souza, 1968), forcing the Okinawans to alternate their regular trade. Hence, the Portuguese extended their commercial networks continually and succeeded to establish the triangle of Malacca, Macau, and Nagasaki (Boxer, 1963; 1986; 1991; 1993). Thus, they limited the Okinawan trading world by joining their commercial route to Patani and Luzon (Smith, 1968; Sakamaki, 1963). This study will specifically explore the Malacca and Okinawa trading networks by identifying the seaports' networks reconfiguration (by conquest, diplomacy, privateering) and the business circuits (flows of goods, trade routes, and mercantile activity including prices and volumes of goods), as theorized by Pinto (2016). This study also considers various factors determining commercial stability in the South China Sea, for instance, geo-economic, political, and logistical changes.

Keywords

Ryukyu Kingdom, seaports networks, business circuits, tributary trade

Biography

Daya Negri Wijaya. Gained his BA in History Education at State University of Malang, Indonesia (2011), his second BA in English Literature at Brawijaya University, Indonesia (2016), and MA in History at The University of Sunderland, United Kingdom (2013). He is a lecturer in History Department, State University of Malang (2014-...). His responsibility is to teach European History and Intellectual History. Recently, he is pursuing his Ph.D. in History at the University of Porto, Portugal, where he is trying to understand the essence of colonial history and taking "Portuguese Malacca and Asian Trading Networks" as his dissertation topic. His research interest is on colonial history. He can be contacted at dayawijaya15@yahoo.com or daya.negri.fis@um.ac.id.

Maritime Supplies of Horses and the Exercise of State Power in the Mughal Empire during the Seventeenth Century

AASIM KHWAJA (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Abstract

In the seventeenth century, the maritime trade across the entire arc of the Indian Ocean underwent great expansion, abetted by two unrelated developments: the march of the Mughals to Gujarat and arrival of different European trading companies. They reconfigured the pre-existing situation and presaged the dawn of a new era. In this context, the present article by focussing on one of the most vital strategic assets of the time, the horses, seeks to serve as a corrective to the tendency to articulate the Mughals as a primarily land-driven power which, by and large, remained inert to maritime developments. It is argued that the centrality of ensuring steady supplies of horses for discharging critical functions of the state ensured sustained interests of the Mughal authorities to exhaust different channels of horse delivery. But, as the recurrent conflagrations along the western and north-western borders of the empire kept the situation in a state of precariousness and precluded optimal utilisation of overland routes for requisite deliveries of horses, the maritime channels presented themselves as an obvious alternative and in course of time emerged as cords that bound the exercise of state power by the Mughals, creation of trade opportunities and the developments in the maritime space.

Keywords

Mughals, Horses, European, Trade, Maritime

Biography

I am a PhD scholar at the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. I obtained my Master's Degree in Medieval History from the same institution in 2013, securing highest grades over the four semesters. I followed it up by submitting my M.Phil. dissertation on the 'Asian Empires and the Politics of Trade in the Western Indian Ocean Region during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in 2015. Presently, my doctoral research deals with an examination of the maritime policies of the Mughal Empire and the determination of the extent to which the Mughals responded to maritime challenges and opportunities. In this context, I am pleased to note that one of my articles titled, 'Mughals and the "Maritime Dynamic": A Study of the Mughal engagement along the Maritime Frontier in Gujarat, c. 1572-1759' has been accepted for publication in the forthcoming issue of the International Journal of Maritime History (Vol. 31, No. 2, May 2019).

S. 6. 5. – THE PORTUGUESE AND WAR AT SEA IN ASIA THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

Chair: Renu Abraham

(O. P. Jindal Global University)

Panel Abstract

It is well known that the Portuguese empire in Asia in the 16th and 17th centuries had an important naval component. Consisting of several positions in East Africa and Asia that were for the most part small coastal enclaves, it depended to a crucial extent on its fleets for supplies and defence. Naval force was also a significant factor behind the predominant position that the Portuguese were able to gain in important parts of Asian maritime trade. When this essentially thalassocratic empire entered a period of contraction and decay in the 17th century naval decline was inevitably part of the process. This panel will bring together three papers dealing with different aspects of Portuguese naval history in Asia during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Keywords

European overseas expansion; Naval Warfare; Portuguese in Asia

Sending Warships from Europe to Asia – Shipping Logistics in the Dutch-Portuguese War in Asia in the 17th Century

ANDRÉ MURTEIRA (CHAM (NOVA))

Abstract

This paper will focus on the shipping logistics of the naval warfare in Asia between the Portuguese and the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in Asia in the 17th Century. While it was a conflict carried out mostly in Asian waters, most of the full-rigged round ships employed by both sides were built in Europe and sent to the East by way of the Cape of Good Hope route. Both sides were therefore heavily dependent on the supply of shipping from the Atlantic. The Dutch were much more successful at this massive transfer of naval resources from the Atlantic to Asia, making them the best-armed side in terms of full-rigged round ships. As a consequence, from a certain point on the simple imbalance of naval resources between the Portuguese Estado da Índia and the VOC was enough to determine alone the outcome of the conflict. I propose to look at the roots of this difference by relating them to the problems that afflicted the shipping of the Portuguese route to Asia (the *Carreira da Índia*) in the period.

Biography

André Murteira is a member of Centro de Humanidades (CHAM), from the New University of Lisbon, Portugal. He has a MA in History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion by the New University of Lisbon on the subject of Dutch privateering against Portuguese navigation between Europe and Asia from 1595 to 1625. His MA dissertation was the basis for his published book, *A Carreira da Índia e o Corso Neerlandês, 1595- 1625* (2012). He has recently finished his PhD in History by the New University of Lisbon on the subject of Dutch privateering against Portuguese navigation in Asia in the first quarter of the 17th Century (2016). He benefited from a grant from Fundação Oriente (Portugal) to do his MA and from another from Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia – Ministério da Educação e Ciência (Portugal) for his PhD. He is interested in the maritime history of the Portuguese in Asia in the 17th Century and in the history of Dutch-Portuguese conflicts in Asia in the same period.

Reassessing Portuguese naval warfare in Asia (16th century)

ROGER LEE DE JESUS (CHAM (NOVA) and CHSC (University of Coimbra))

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to reassess Portuguese military superiority in naval warfare in the Indian Ocean during the 16th century. Portuguese presence in the region had an important naval dimension since the beginning due to the quick escalation of the first clashes between the newly arrived Europeans and local powers. This paper will attempt to evaluate the impact of Portuguese warfare in Asia through the analysis of both military conflicts and political relations between the Portuguese Estado da Índia and local powers. It will also consider the adaption to Asian warfare on the part of the Portuguese, and the evolution of their use of gunpowder weapons and European-type ships. Ultimately, it will try to understand how the Portuguese managed to impose their presence through naval warfare and how that reflected in the policies they carried out during the 16th century.

Biography

Roger Lee de Jesus is a PhD student in the University of Coimbra. His current research examines the governance of the “Estado da Índia” by D. João de Castro, the governor and viceroy between 1545 and 1548. He aims to understand the Portuguese “Estado da Índia” not only as one part of the Portuguese Empire, but also as an important connected space. He is interested in the history of Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean, from political to military history, especially in the implementation of European institutions and warfare in the Portuguese “Estado da Índia” (16th century).

S.7.1. – THE SEA AS A LEGAL REALM

Chair: Pierrick Pourchasse

(Université de Bretagne Occidentale)

«The Sea as well as the Land is liable to the Laws of Proprietie»: The dominion of the sea and its uses in the intellectual construction of the early modern State.

ELEFThERIA ZEI (University of Crete)

Abstract

During the 16th and 17th centuries, European maritime states sought to assert economic sovereignty of maritime and oceanic regions included in the orbit of their commercial activities (*mare clausum*). Thus notions such as *territorium* and *dominium* defining territorial aspects of sovereignty since the Late Antiquity, were being invested with new legal significance extended to embrace maritime or littoral regions of States (*territorio maritimo*, *dominio maris*). The case of the Venetian Maritime State not only tells the story of the legal and political debate concerning the dominion of the sea in the early modern times, but it also shows how this debate contributed to the intellectual construction of the modern State. The annexation of the Adriatic Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean to the Venetian dominium being of contention between Venice and the European states since the early formation of the Venetian *Stato da Mar*, the relevant diplomatic debates upon commercial rights or bans on navigation in the above seas nourished a rich European (Italian, British, Dutch) legal literature and a legal jargon, which the Italian-Venetian political thought shifted into a political context towards the end of the 16th century. While Venice faced severe threats in its maritime regions, an Italian literature upon the art of governing, («*ragion di stato*»: G. Botero, G. Palazzo) integrated the dominion of the sea in the intellectual machinery of the modern State, a turn also reflected upon 17th century Venetian cartography of the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly that of the Aegean «*Archipelago*».

Biography

Eleftheria Zei has graduated from the Faculty of Letters of the University of Athens and has continued her graduate studies at the University of Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne), where she obtained her doctorate thesis on the Aegean between Latin and Ottoman domination. Since 2003 she teaches Modern History at the University, and since 2008 she is Assistant Professor at the Department of History & Archaeology of the University of Crete. In her research and her main publications she explores modern insular societies of the Mediterranean and the Greek Archipelago, treating questions of insularity and social history of the islands.

The Sailing-ship Owners in Austria-Hungary: Ownerships, Inheritance and Dissolution

MATEO BRATANIĆ (University of Zadar)

Abstract

In the period from 1867 to the commencement of World War I the Austria-Hungary, known also as the Dual Monarchy, undertook numerous activities to support the maritime merchant business on its east Adriatic coast in order to advance the trading activities on the global market. Simultaneously, the shipping business moved from sailing-ship family owners to steamship companies which prevailed in ships' number and tonnage by the early 1880s. The remaining 38 years of Dual Monarchy existence saw the steady decrease in the sailing ships and their trading business.

This paper would link to present the analysis of the several key elements in ownership of the sailing-ships during the period of rise (up to 1880s) and the fall (to the end of WW I), including the following: types of ownership, the owners, their background and how they succeeded in business, distribution according to the place of origin, partnerships, female inheritors (widows and sisters), business by proxy and children as shipowners. Finally, in the period of dissolution of sailing-ships I would like to explore the strategies of expenditure, decommissioning and closure of shipping businesses. Also, I would like to explore potential owners who tried to move to steamship business without the help of state or corporate support.

Keywords

sailing-ship owners, dissolution of sailing-ship business, transition, Austria-Hungary, merchant business

Biography

Mateo Bratanić is associate professor of maritime history and modern history at the University of Zadar. His research interest mostly lays in the transition from sailing ship to steam ship era and the modernity of the second half of 19th and early 20th century and how it influenced eastern Adriatic societies. Currently he is researching for a book about the fall of sailing ships business on the east Adriatic in the period of Austria-Hungary. He is also interested in the British perspective on Dalmatia during the long 19th century. He wrote several articles and a book about maritime transition of the island of Hvar in the 19th century.

He is teaching several courses on Maritime History at the Department of History University of Zadar including: Maritime History of Croatia, Shipping on the eastern Adriatic Coast during 19th century etc.

The Defence of British Trade in the Northern Irish Sea, 1692-1748

KAYOKO YUKIMURA (Graduate School of Humanities, Kobe University, Japan)

Abstract

French privateering renewed under the reign of Louis XIV considerably confused British maritime trade, which triggered the development of British convoys (escort ships) and cruisers system. Patrick Crowhurst, *The Defence of British Trade 1689-1815* (Folkestone, 1977) has explained how this naval service developed in Britain and its dependencies. However, as his work more focused on London and major English yards, much remains obscure as to how this new system was accepted and employed by people in remote areas. Particularly, no naval historians have discussed how different ‘kingdoms’ within the British Isles—Ireland and Scotland—accepted, or even could contribute to the protection of trade system managed by the Royal Navy in London.

To answer this question, this paper, based on documents of the Admiralty, Dublin government, and a Whitehaven coal trader (the Lowthers), shows how merchants and ship owners at English, Irish and Scottish ports in the northern Irish Sea employed the embryonic convoys and cruisers service provided by the Royal Navy to defend their shipping from French privateers. Firstly, this paper explains the history of naval convoys and cruisers in Britain, as well as the trade pattern in the northern Irish Sea. Then by analysing the cases of sharing naval warships among ports in the northern Irish Sea during the French wars in 1692-97, 1702-14, and 1744-48, it will be demonstrated that merchants and ship owners who wished safe voyages of their ships off the Irish coast relied on convoys and cruisers sent not only from English naval bases but also from Dublin, where the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had a command authority of some small warships given by the Royal Navy. The findings in this case study will reveal the initiative of the Dublin government in the local protection of trade system during the French privateering wars, which has never been considered in British naval history.

Keywords

Ireland, British History, Royal Navy, Commercial History

Biography

Kayoko YUKIMURA is a Japanese researcher of early modern Irish history. Her main research interest is the relationship between Ireland and the Royal Navy during the Second Hundred Years’ war (1689-1815). Her Ph. D. project analysed the Irish aspects of British maritime wars from 1692 to 1713, and she earned Ph. D. from the University of Dublin by a dissertation, ‘The Impact on Ireland of French Maritime Warfare, 1692-1713.’ During her postdoctoral career in Japan, she develops research on a naval yard at Kinsale. This study earned papers such as ‘Ire-

land and the Royal Navy during the Second Hundred Years' War' [7th IMEHA International Congress of Maritime History (Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia), 27 June-1 July 2016] and "French Prison' in Kinsale?: Prisoners of war at sea in eighteenth-century Ireland' [2018 annual conference of the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society (Waterford City Hall, Waterford, Ireland), 8 June 2018].

S. 7. 2. – CONNECTING EMPIRES AND MARITIME ROUTES

Chair: Teele Saar

(Eesti Meremuuseum)

Between the Mediterranean and the Ocean: Genoa and Venice (Thirteenth-Fifteenth Century)

NICOLA CAROTENUTO (Graduate Student (DPHil), Faculty of History, U. of Oxford)

Abstract

The Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean are two communicating liquid surfaces. Yet, the vast majority of the existing studies focuses on their connexion after the ‘Age of discovery’ and the sixteenth century. I will explore the role of the ocean for Venice and Genoa between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century, highlighting the significance of the Atlantic coast of Portugal and Spain for the commercial ventures of the two Italian cities. I will argue that there was a profound interconnexion between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean during the Late Middle Ages.

Since 1291, when the Vivaldi brothers set sail for ‘the Ocean Sea towards the territories of the Indies’, Genoese and Venetians have constantly travelled along the route connecting their ‘old sea’ with the Ocean. In my paper, I will explain how Spain and Portugal were crucially important for Venetian and Genoese ships headed towards Northern Europe. I will thus consider the economic importance of this sea-lane for Genoa and Venice. As the crucial passing point towards England, Flanders, Portugal and Spain, the ocean was a vital avenue of late medieval traffic. I will also use signed treaties and commercial documents to reconstruct the routes and precise the typologies of items traded along this sea route.

I will use an interdisciplinary approach based on maps, geographical descriptions, treaties, chronicles, and commercial sources to reconstruct the links between old and new seas. I will argue that the Atlantic Ocean was a crucial crossing point for both Genoa and Venice. I will try to reconstruct the actors, the chronology, and the typologies of goods traded along this route. I will use a *longue durée* approach to understand how the knowledge of the Atlantic ocean evolved over time in Genoa and Venice, from discovery travels to commercial enterprises, and cartographical representation. In short, I will reflect on the connexions between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean over a long time span.

Keywords

Ocean, Mediterranean, Merchants, Genoa, Venice

Biography

Nicola Carotenuto is a second-year Dphil (PhD) student at the University of Oxford. He has previously studied at the University of Pisa and at Scuola Normale Superiore (Pisa). He has also been an exchange student at the École Normale Supérieure (Paris). He is currently study-

ing the networks of medieval traders across the Mediterranean in the fourteenth century. He has participated to several conferences both in Europe and in the US. A complete list of his past conferences and papers can be found on Academia ([https://oxford.academia.edu/ NicolaCarotenuto](https://oxford.academia.edu/NicolaCarotenuto)).

For a global history of maritime policies.

The example of France in the 18th century between reform and modernization

SYLVIANE LLINARES (Université Bretagne Sud)

Abstract

If we refer to the questions about the validity of the concept of maritime history, then we must also question the relevance of the definition of a so-called maritime policy. Indeed, this definition implies the mobilization of several historical fields, and ultimately refers to a whole series of historical glances focused on the “maritime fact”. However, no one is thinking today of denying the existence of a maritime policy of the States. The current context of the 21st century strongly prompts a new consideration of the political history of the “maritime fact”. It presents a challenge to the historian because of the complexity of the sources and methods it must mobilize. It calls for the implementation of transdisciplinarity to better understand the interaction between environmental, economic, social and cultural systems. Nevertheless, the time has come for the necessary gathering of all the actors also suggests to the historian a return to his own temporalities, from where he can to question the mature action at the center of power and the processes of change in the use of the sea and the coastline territory. The aim of this communication is therefore to reflect on the conceptual frameworks used by historians to define and analyse maritime policies in Europe in the modern era. From the example of France in the 18th century, we will see that it is possible and even necessary to conceive the idea of a comprehensive policy implemented by the secretariat of state of the Navy which acts as a large ministry of the sea and which connects all maritime activity. At the heart of the modernization and adaptation processes there is the royal state, which collects information to think about its political action and whose reform objective then becomes systemic.

Keywords

maritime policy, state, power, XVIIIth, France

Biography

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Director of the French Scientific Interest Group of Maritime History - CNRS INSHS

<http://temos.cnrs.fr/llinares-sylviane>

www.histoire-sciences-mer.org

Publications:

https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/search/index/q/*/?authIdHal_s/sylviane-llinares

Connecting Empires: Steamship and Mobility in the Black Sea (1830s-1850s)

CONSTANTIN ARDELEANU (The Lower Danube University of Galati/New Europe College, Bucharest)

Abstract

In 1829 the Russian–Ottoman Treaty of Adrianople opened the Black Sea to international trade and shipping. This marked a new stage in the integration of the region's staples into the global market. A concurrent phenomenon is however less studied in a comparative and global perspective: the coming of steamship in the Black Sea. Already in the early 1830s several steamship companies were established and, with generous subsidies from interested governments, opened connections between Istanbul and Odessa, Istanbul and Vienna (via the Danube), Istanbul and Trebizond, Odessa and Danube, etc. In less than a decade the main port-cities of the Black Sea were regularly connected via steamships, which allowed for a growing mobility of persons, goods, capital and ideas.

This paper aims to look comparatively to the early ventures of Russian, Austrian and British steamship companies that completely changed the economic and political relevance of the Black Sea, with transportation brought into the age of predictability and with tens of thousands of travellers hurrying to little known regions. Based on a variety of archival and literary sources, the paper will extend the comparison to other maritime regions and explore the role of state authorities in encouraging innovation in transportation. It will also look at how steamship mobility accelerated processes of standardization in, for example, customs or quarantine regulations.

Keywords

Black Sea, steamship, navigation, port-cities

Biography

Constantin Ardeleanu is Professor of Modern Romanian history at the Department of History, Philosophy and Sociology of “The Lower Danube” University of Galați, where he teaches courses on modern and contemporary Romanian history and the economic development of the Danubian, Black Sea and South-Eastern European areas. During the past years, he has been a Long-Term Fellow of the New Europe College, an Institute for Advanced Study in Bucharest, where he coordinates the “Pontica Magna” Fellowship Program. He has recently been a research fellow at Utrecht University, within the ERC project “Securing Europe, Fighting its Enemies. The Making of a Security Culture in Europe and Beyond, 1815–1914”. This resulted in the completion of the monograph, now in print: *The European Commission of the Danube. ‘An Experiment in International Administration’, 1856–1948*, Brill, 2020.

**S. 7. 3. GENERAL AVERAGE AND JETTISON IN SOUTHERN
EUROPE (16TH-18TH CENTURIES)**

Chair: Maria Fusaro
(University of Exeter)

Panel Abstract

The concept of jettison already dates from Roman, and potentially, earlier times. Even if the principle was well-known in medieval and early modern Europe, and indeed in the Islamic world and China as well, the application varied widely across jurisdictions. Jurists differed, for instance, on who should make the decision to jettison goods, how calculations should be made, and whether human jettisons (e.g. of slaves) should be allowed. Jettison became, during the fifteenth and sixteenth century, included in the broader principle of General Average (GA), which redistributed extraordinary losses in maritime ventures, but despite this well-known fact no (comparative) studies have been made to date of this subject during the early modern period, while GA and jettison formed a major element in risk management in both the Mediterranean and in other parts of the world. This panel thus studies the development of jettison during the early modern period in Southern Europe. By comparing the application of jettison in early modern Genoa and Seville, as well as the subject of human jettison in a broader framework, it aims to provide answers on how jettison was regulated and how practice differed across jurisdictions. Since GA procedures and calculations were extremely complex and many parties were involved, a study of jettison can shed new light on political, economic and social developments.

Keywords

Jettison, GA, slavery, Mediterranean

Jettison in the Spanish Carrera de Indias during the 17th and 18th centuries

MARTA GARCÍA GARRALÓN (University of Exeter & UNED Madrid)

Abstract

The relationship between jettison and general average (GA) plays a powerful duality and its research draws interesting insights in Maritime History at large. Jettison is the best known of GA acts, and deserves a special scrutiny from researchers, not only from a legal perspective, but also from an economic and even a navigation point of view. Known as alijación or alijamiento in Spain, this practice consists in the act of lessening the burden of a ship by throwing the cargo off board.

From a legal perspective, jettison in the commercial maritime context of the Carrera de Indias turned out to be the most frequent circumstance that led up to a declaration of caso fortuito and/or avería gruesa (fortuitous case and general average). Which was the most common cargo to be thrown to the sea? Which was the order of precedence followed when throwing the cargo? What was the standard operating procedure followed by the maestre and the crew in such adverse situations? These are some of the issues raised by this phenomenon. The economic impact of jettison also offers a new approach worthy of examination. In a strictly commercial framework, the merchants' response and their behaviour following these events had a significant effect on their business dealings. Moreover, we must also keep in mind the role of royal employees in the Spanish ports when processing the statements given by the maestres as a result of jettison.

Last, but not least, the usual form of navigation within the Carrera de Indias was in convoys. Fleets of ships sailed together escorted by defence ships reinforced with special artillery and marine brigades. Decisions adopted by the high command of the fleet, the general captain, were decisive at the time of a jettison and had relevant consequences for both merchants and ship owners.

Biography

Dr Marta García Garralón is a Research Associate working on the AveTransRisk Project. Marta focuses her research on Spanish General Average (GA) during the Modern Period. The Spanish case is singular and interesting because it provides an opportunity to extend the scope of the Project's research onto a global scale, as its analysis will show how the Mediterranean GA tradition was transformed in the Atlantic Ocean during a crucial period of maritime expansion. This provides a window onto the institutional and judicial development of Iberian courts in relation to maritime legislation, contributing both to the centre/periphery debate on these

issues, and to the comparative element which underpins the Project at large. She also works at Centro Asociado Madrid UNED, where she focuses on the study of institutions linked to the sea, nautical education, seafarers' association and the maintenance and development of eighteenth century ports across the Spanish Empire through the harbour-masters.

Jettison and risk in the Western Mediterranean from the Genoese observatory (1590-1640)

ANTONIO IODICE (University of Exeter / University of Genoa)

Abstract

The way in which the unfolding of events always manages to escape the constraints of current legislation, is a fascinating problem when goods are jettisoned. Even the jurists between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries had to admit that, in case of emergency, precise and detailed rules were of little use. It was necessary to act quickly: the safety of the journey relied on the speed of execution of the captain's orders and on his common sense. The Genoese statutes of 1590 concerned jettison, the most common situation at the origin of a declaration of maritime average (whether it was a General Average or a Particular Average). However, the statutes were a little vague on details, probably on purpose. Partly they referred to the legislation of the Consolat de Mar made in Barcelona but, above all, the progressive refining of the matter was up to the collegial discussions of the local magistracies and to the interpretation of the jurists. In the common practice and in the legal discussion concerning the jettisons and the averages that the captains declared in Genoa, we find references to most of the European context. From the extensive documentation held in the Genoese State Archives, it is possible to get an idea of the criteria followed in the approval of a case. I will therefore concentrate on what were the limits for the approval of a jettison and to whom it was up to decide them. How did the crew proceed during a jettison? What was accepted and what was excluded? How was it possible to check the authenticity of the captain's claims once arrived in port? This is a complex and multi-faceted subject but the comparison with similar realities in the panel can help to shed light on its legal framework.

Biography

Antonio Iodice is a PhD student within the ERC project directed by Maria Fusaro AveTransRisk. He is enrolled jointly at the Exeter University and the University of Genoa, under the supervision of Luisa Piccinno. Antonio Iodice is doing his research on General Averages in Genoa during the Early Modern period. He has achieved his Master's double degree at the University of Rome "La Sapienza" in partnership with the University of Grenoble "Pierre Mendès-France". In 2018, he finished his PhD studies in Modern History at the University of Naples "Federico II" in partnership with the Aix-Marseille Université.

The jettison of slaves in law and practice

JAKE DYBLE (University of Exeter / University of Pisa)

Abstract

“He asks whether, if something should be thrown overboard at sea, it should be an expensive horse or a cheap little slave. Here our estate inclines us in one direction, our humanity in another...”

Cicero never gave a definitive answer to his own question, posed in Book III of *De Officiis*. His equivocation is typical. The throwing of human cargo into the sea was a moment of crisis, both physical and legal, which brought into urgent consideration the slave’s dual identity as thing and person. An act in extremis in every sense, it provided jurists with a severe challenge, but, as with all extreme scenarios, it can provide special insight into historical values and assumptions, the ways these conflicted, and the ways that they played out in the reality of the high seas. The most famous example of human jettison is that of the *Zong*, the British slave ship which threw more than 100 slaves into the Atlantic as part of an insurance scam. Its role within the history of slavery, or, more accurately, of within the history of abolition has garnered it with significant scholarly and popular attention. But while the abolition movement was one important context for the ensuing legal case, another was an ancient if somewhat confused accumulation of precedents, precepts, and practices on slavery and jettison. This paper digs deeper into this history, examining how human jettison was approached, in theory and in practice, across the Western European jurisdictions.

Biography

Jake is a doctoral student based jointly at the University of Exeter and the Università di Pisa. His work within the ERC funded AveTransRisk project focuses on the development of general average in the Tuscan city of Livorno during the early modern period. This cosmopolitan free port will provide insights into the way that differing cultural attitudes interacted to shape maritime law, both in theory and in practice. The presence of large numbers of international operators at Livorno also presents an opportunity to explore the relationship between merchant communities and increasingly intrusive and formidable European states. More broadly, Jake is interested in the interplay between commerce and the world of ideas. This interest runs in both directions, encompassing not commerce’s entry into the lexicon of European political thought, but also the way that prevailing assumptions, debates and forms of knowledge shaped commercial institutions themselves.

S. 7. 4. WAR, SAFETY MEASURES AND DEFENSES, 19TH-21ST CENTURIES

Chair: Chris Perry

(Royal Canadian Navy Historian)

The British Navy and the Problems of Peace, 1815-20

EVAN WILSON (John B. Hattendorf Center for Maritime Historical Research)

Abstract

Britain's naval supremacy in 1815 provided the foundation for its "victorious century." However, the actual state of the Royal Navy in the immediate postwar period was dire: problems with manning, logistics, leadership, and most of all the physical state of the fleet undermined Britain's ability to project power. Compounding these issues was a domestic political environment in which the public tolerance for naval spending was exhausted while the debt incurred by the war was the highest in British history. Britain eventually emerged from a difficult period of demobilization mostly unchallenged, because no other power was sufficiently strong to counter it. Nevertheless, there were significant threats in the period after 1815, and this paper explains why Britain was unable to respond to them effectively.

Biography

Evan Wilson is an assistant professor in the John B. Hattendorf Center for Maritime Historical Research. In 2018, he won the Sir Julian Corbett Prize in Modern Naval History. His first monograph examined British naval officers in the late-eighteenth century, and his current project follows soldiers and sailors home after the Napoleonic Wars. He is the editor of four books and has published articles in a number of journals, including the *English Historical Review* and the *Naval War College Review*. Before coming to Newport, he was the Caird Senior Research Fellow at the National Maritime Museum (UK) and the Associate Director of International Security Studies at Yale University. He holds degrees from Yale, Cambridge and Oxford.

The evolution of Norwegian maritime safety regulations 1850 – early 1900s – motives, formation and response

PER KRISTIAN SEBAK (Bergen Maritime Museum/Museum Vest)

Abstract

The period 1850 to 1914 saw major transitions in Norwegian shipping. In the beginning of the period, the sailing-ship fleet grew to become among the four largest fleets in the world. At the same time, the steamship was steadily introduced; at first primarily for mail and passengers and by the turn of the century heavily involved in mainly worldwide tramp shipping. However, safety regulations concerning the quality of the ships as well as for the well-being of the passengers and crew largely did not keep up.

Nevertheless, the period from 1850s to 1914 saw much of the foundation for Norwegian maritime safety regulations. This was a slow process facing many obstacles and did not fully materialise before the Norwegian Maritime Safety Act and the government agency of the Maritime Marine Division (Sjøfartskontoret) was introduced in 1903 to regulate all Norwegian shipping. Using mainly parliamentary reports, newspapers and company archives, the paper will focus on how these maritime regulations came about, the motives behind them, who and what prevented safety regulations from being enacted, how the shipping companies responded and the challenges of implementation. The regulations will also be put in a wider international context.

The paper is part of an ongoing project by the author dealing with safety at sea during the period 1850s to ca. 2000.

Keywords

Safety, shipping disasters, shipping-companies, maritime policies

Biography

Per Kristian Sebak is the director of the Bergen Maritime Museum in Norway. He defended his PhD at the University of Bergen in 2012. His thesis compared the three Scandinavian transatlantic passenger lines and their role in relation to transatlantic migration during the period 1890s–1930, including migration policies. He has published several books and articles concerning maritime history (particularly transatlantic), Jewish migration history and the Holocaust.

Submarine Cables. New and old uses.

New and old threats

AUGUSTO SALGADO (Portuguese Navy Research Centre (CINAV) and University of Lisbon History Center (ULCH))

Abstract

Since the 19th Century, that submarine cables make part of our daily life, even if we are not aware of them. Even on the age of satellites, and with costs as a significant concern, most of the information nowadays, including the World Wide Web, still goes through them.

In case of war or tension, they are one of the most important targets to be attacked. Disruption of submarine cables occurred numerous times during World War I, and several times in Portuguese waters.

In this paper, we will look at those situations, mainly those that occurred in Portuguese waters, by either side of the contenders, pointing some fewer known events, and clarifying others.

We will also look at the importance of submarine cables nowadays, as quite recently, a Soviet naval vessel stationed itself over a submarine cables hub, and alarm bells started to ring all over the Western World. As can be easily understood, a disruption on those cables could lead to immense chaos. Someone in Russia must have been reading WWI Naval History, but not in the Western Navies.

Keywords

Submarine cables, naval warfare, U-Boats, communications disruption

Portuguese Navy Research Centre (CINAV) and University of Lisbon History Center (ULCH)

Biography

Captain Augusto Salgado was born in 1965 and graduated from the Portuguese Naval Academy in 1988. He has a PhD in Maritime History by the Faculdade de Letras, in Lisbon, since 2009. He teaches Naval History in the Escola Naval (Portuguese Naval Academy), in the Master's and PhD courses of Maritime History, a member of the Academia de Marinha and of the Portuguese Military History Commission. His field of study is the Portuguese Naval History, mainly sixteen century onward and has published several books on this subject, plus several papers. He is also a keen underwater archaeologist enthusiast since 1996 and underwater photographer for over 30 years. Currently he is the co-coordinator of the project "The U-35 operations in the Algarve (1917)" that won the National Archaeology Society (UK) award "Adopt a Wreck Award 2015" and coordinator of a History and Archeology of Contemporary Conflicts Research Program (HistArc), at CINAV.

S. 7. 5. – MODERN TECHNICAL INNOVATION AND ITS RESPONSES

Chair: Sam Robinson

(University of Kent)

The maritime business community of Kasos island from the era of sailing ships and to the dawn of steamships (19th century)

DIMITRA-CHRYSOULA KARDAKARI (PhD Student, Center of Maritime History, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS-FORTH))

Abstract

The subject of the proposed paper is the study of the maritime communities of the islands of the Aegean Sea through the analysis of the maritime history of Kasos. The relatively unknown small island of Kasos in the southeast Aegean had an important maritime business community, during the “Age of Sail” and one of the very few that later was able to make the transition from sail to steam. Kasos since the end of the 18th century had an economic development equivalent to that of the Aegean islands of Hydra, Spetses or Psara as well as an equal participation in the formation of the Greek Revolutionary Navy during the Greek War of independence in 1821.

However, its non-inclusion in the Greek state in the 19th century obscured the island’s importance in the political and economic history of Greece. The aim of the present paper is to bring out the importance of the maritime history of this small but internationally oriented place. An island that despite its adherence to the political dominion of the Ottoman Empire was part of a wider circle of islands that formed a vital part of the Greek-owned fleet and influenced the economic and shipping activities of the Greek state.

My research focuses on the systematic use of archival material from the Greek General Archives of Syros and Athens, along with archives on Kasiot ship owners from the Archives of the National Bank of Greece and other private archives. My theoretical approach is that of maritime history through the three main disciplines of economic, social history, in conjunction with economic geography.

The aim of the proposed paper is to investigate the operation of the maritime business in the small, but internationally oriented island of Kasos, both during the “Golden Age” of sailing ships and the dawn of steamship technology.

Keywords

Maritime business community, Shipowners, Kasos, Aegean Sea, 19th Century

Biography

Dimitra Kardakaris was born in Corfu in 1991 and is a graduate of the Department of History at the Ionian University. Her diploma thesis titled “The rise of the Greek-owned shipping in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea in the 18th century. The action of Greek privateers

under the Russian flag. The case of Ioannis Varvakis “ was awarded by the Academy of Athens -Kaftatzoglio Award-in February 2013.

Since April 2014, she has been a PhD candidate of the department with the thesis “The Kasos ship-owners business group, late 19th - mid 20th century. The evolution of Greek shipping business from local to global “.

She has received a scholarship for the period 2014-2015 from the Fondation Le Cedre, Elias S. Kulukundis and A.S.M Carswell, in 2016-2017, 2017-2018 from the Leventis Foundation and in 2018-2019 from the Institute for Mediterranean Studies-FORTH through the programme which is financed by Niarchos Foundation “ARCHERS”.

Distortion, illusion and transformation: the evolution of Dazzle Painting, a camouflage system to protect Allied shipping from Unrestricted Submarine Warfare, 1917 – 1918.

CAMILLA WILKINSON (University of Westminster)

Abstract

In October 1917 the War Cabinet was notified in Admiralty Memorandum 2256 ‘Dazzle Scheme of painting ships’¹ that artist Norman Wilkinson’s camouflage proposal to paint the entire external surfaces of vessels in highly contrasting asymmetric patterns would be applied to merchant and some naval vessels with the aim of disrupting the crippling effects on British commerce from Unrestricted Submarine Warfare waged by Germany in January of that year.

The narrative is one of the dogged determination by a team of marine artists that felt compelled to frustrate commercial warfare waged at sea. During the final 18 months of the war 1800 patterns were designed for over 2400 ships. Dazzle Patterns had to be devised at speed and the artists of the Dazzle Section drew on a variety of sources in order to create distortion. The scheme depended on feedback from observation and seamen’s reports. In this way a series of illusory devices were developed both in the United Kingdom and in the United States of America.

Close reading of the surviving archives of design material and documentation concerning the 14-18 War Dazzle camouflage scheme provides a means to re-interpret the visual language of the designs that have been read (or misread) and popularized through contextualization in art history and association with notions of avant-garde spatial practice since 1919. Testing and representing this argument has been achieved through drawing research methodologies as well as textual and archival research.

vimeo.com/287048415

This narrative could be a straightforward story of success, except that one hundred years on, whilst the designs still shock (and delight) the concept for Dazzle Camouflage remains confused and its success as a camouflage scheme unproven.

Keywords

Dazzle Camouflage, First World War, Merchant Seamen, Unrestricted Submarine Warfare, Art

Biography

Camilla Wilkinson is a Senior Lecturer and Studio Leader in the Department of Architecture at the University of Westminster where she has been a faculty member since 2011 teaching at graduate and undergraduate levels.

Camilla is currently writing a paper on 14 – 18 War camouflage system Dazzle Painting. As well as archive research and academic references, she is using practice-based techniques of drawing and animation as a research tool. Camilla has developed reciprocal areas of research between her architecture Design Studio and subject Dazzle Camouflage with particular emphasis on time and space, concept development, and the values of courage and failure.

https://issuu.com/clarehamman/docs/more2018_digital/70

Public Lectures

Wilkinson, C (Keynote, 2018) Dazzle Camouflage: Origin and Development of Visual Distortion and Devices, Study Day Great War, Unknown War, University of Southampton

Wilkinson, C (2017) Dazzle Camouflage: War and Space, 14-18 NOW Dazzle Doughboys and Darin.

Sailors and innovation in the 1960's French navy

JEAN-MARIE KOWALSKI (Ecole navale/Paris-Sorbonne)

Abstract

In the early 60's, French CNO Adm Cabanier asked the Navy and the Naval dockyards to design a new towed array sonar and to test it on board the Duperré destroyer. This was the very beginning of the « Cormoran » French towed sonar program. It was actually a strategic challenge for the Navy to have the ability to investigate a reliable acoustic path in order to improve the sonar capabilities and detection ranges. The Cold war made it necessary to get new reliable anti-submarine assets. In 1965, the Navy decided to turn the Duperre destroyer into an experimental ship until 1971. This paper will address the question of the role played by naval officers and their interactions with civilian and military engineers in a highly innovative program during an era of significant change in the organization of procurement and naval dockyards. Two main sources will help us conduct this research. First, the collection of the reports sent by commanding officers to the Navy headquarters provides us with valuable information about their perception of the program, their propositions, their anticipation of HR issues, new skills and training needs, but also their opinion about the military capacities of their ship. On the other side, the dockyards, corporate and procurement agency archives put into relief the efficiency of the program management processes. The comparison between both sources highlights how the different items of this program were successfully coordinated.

Keywords

Innovation, cold war, science, technology, dockyards, procurement, operations research

Biography

Jean-Marie Kowalski is associate professor at the University of Paris-Sorbonne (ancient history) and at the French Naval Academy (Brest). He is in charge of the department of humanities and conducts research in the field of naval operations. His latest publications are « Histoire des opérations et formation des officiers de Marine », in Hervé Drévilion and Dominique Guillemin, *Histoire des opérations militaires, sources, objets, méthodes*, Service Historique de la Défense, Paris, 2019, p. 77-86 ; « French Naval Operations » (with Pr. Olivier Chaline) in *The American Revolution, a World War*, David K. Allison and Larrie D. Ferreiro (ed.), Smithsonian Books, Washington, 2018, p. 52-66 ; *Images des Américains dans la Grande Guerre*, Rennes, PUR, 2017.

S. 8.1. VESSELS AS ENTITIES

Chair: Amândio Barros

(U.Porto-CITCEM)

The last voyages of the brig Novo Abismo: A Portuguese slave ship from the mid-19th century

MATTHEW HOPPER (History Department, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo)

Abstract

The British Royal Navy captured the Portuguese brig Novo Abismo in 1840 off the coast of West Africa as it was preparing to embark African captives to Pernambuco, Brazil. Although there was only one captive aboard at the time of its seizure, the brig was condemned as a slave trader because it was clearly outfitted for the slave trade and contained documentation confirming that it had made multiple slaving voyages between Angola and Pernambuco, including a voyage that successfully delivered 444 slaves only a few months earlier.

At the time of its capture, the Novo Abismo was carrying a massive cache of documents including detailed correspondence about the slave trade between Angola and Brazil. Officials only needed to open a small handful of the hundreds of letters found aboard this ship to prove its guilt, so most of the rest of the correspondence has remained sealed with wax to this day in the records of the High Court of Admiralty in London. Unsealed documents reveal that some of Angola's most infamous slave traders were involved in the last voyages of the Novo Abismo. The correspondence reveals intriguing details about the methods used for procuring enslaved Africans, the specific commodities used in exchange, how slave traders avoided detection of authorities, and the specific marks used in the branding of slaves. Letters also reveal the numbers of slaves purchased on behalf of individual merchants in Brazil and how specific brands were used to track the number of captives who died at sea and remit merchants for lost "property."

This paper draws on previously unused sources from the High Court of Admiralty's "prize papers" to trace the final journeys of the Novo Abismo from Brazil to Africa and illustrate some of the horrifying and personal aspects of the transatlantic slave trade including the methods for the enslavement, branding, and transportation of more than 400 enslaved Africans to Brazil.

Keywords

Slavery, slave trade, Portugal, Angola, Brazil

Biography

Matthew S. Hopper is Professor of History at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo. His book, *Slaves of One Master: Globalization and Slavery in Arabia in the Age of Empire* (Yale University Press, 2015), was a finalist for the 2016 Frederick Douglass Book Prize. He received his Ph.D. in History from UCLA (2006), M.A. in African Studies from UCLA (2000) and M.A. in History from Temple University (1998). He was a postdoctoral fellow at the Gilder Lehrman Center at Yale University (2009), a Member at the Institute for Advanced Study,

Princeton (2015), and the Smuts Visiting Research Fellow in Commonwealth Studies at the University of Cambridge (2016). He has held fellowships from the Social Science Research Council and Fulbright-Hays, and his writing has been published in *Annales*, *Itinerario*, and the *Journal of African Development*. He is currently writing a history of liberated Africans in the Indian Ocean world.

What's in a name? English ship names from the late thirteenth to the mid-nineteenth century

PETER SOLAR (CEREC, Université Saint-Louis and Faculty of History, University of Oxford)

CRAIG LAMBERT (Humanities, University of Southampton)

AIDAN KANE (JE Cairnes School of Business and Economics, NUI Galway)

Abstract

Other than persons, pets and places, ships and boats are among the few things to which humans have long assigned names in order to distinguish one exemplar from another. In this paper we analyze the names of almost 200,000 merchant ships that operated in England from the late thirteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. Our maintained hypotheses are that these names will reflect the attitudes and aspirations of the owners who named them and that these owners are representative of the well-to-do citizens of English port towns. The ship names trace out a number of social and cultural trends. They show the rise from the late thirteenth century in the use of names with religious associations and their subsequent decline from the sixteenth century. The seventeenth century saw a rise in names drawn from nature and in the eighteenth century names drawn from classical history and mythology became more common. Throughout the centuries most ships were named after persons, but the nature of these personal names changed in several ways. Male forenames were more common in the middle ages, but by the eighteenth century female forenames predominated. From the sixteenth century diminutives were more widely used, indicating greater informality in family relationships and they were often conjoined, as in Betsy & Peggy. From the eighteenth century naming after identifiable individuals became more common, perhaps reflecting the social aspirations of their owners.

Keywords

ship names, England, shipowners, saints

Peter Solar (CEREC, Université Saint-Louis and Faculty of History, University of Oxford)

Biographies

Peter M. Solar, now retired from teaching, has published on a range of topics in the economic history of Britain and Ireland during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His work on maritime history includes papers on Irish shipping in the nineteenth century, the East India and slave trades, tonnage measurement and safety at sea.

Craig Lambert is an Associate Professor in Maritime History at the University of Southampton. He has published widely on naval logistics during the Hundred Years War and on maritime communities, c.1300-c.1600. He recently brought to completion a project funded by the

Arts and Humanities Research Council which produced a searchable database of medieval and Tudor ships: www.medievalandtudorships.org

Aidan Kane is a lecturer in economics at NUI Galway. He has specialized in the construction of long-run databases for Irish economic history, especially for 18th public finances, trade, and exchange rate data.

Shipping Productivity and the Eighteenth-Century British Slave Trade

KENNETH MORGAN (Brunel University London)

MARTIN EJNAR HANSEN (Brunel University London)

Abstract

This paper uses data from the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database (www.slavevoyages.org), supported by contextual material, to examine shipping productivity in the eighteenth-century British slave trade. Between 1700 and 1807, British ships took over 3 million enslaved Africans from seven regions of west Africa for sale in transatlantic markets - a greater number than any other nation. The eighteenth century was also the era when Liverpool became the leading British slave trading port (measured by the number of ships in the trade and the number of Africans shipped). The hypothesis behind the paper is that the economic performance of the British slave trade was characterised by efficiency gains as merchants, captains and crew became familiar over time with handling vessels in a highly risky, complex and commercially important branch of British overseas trade and shipping. In the paper, shipping productivity will be measured in four ways, both in relation to the British slave trade as a whole and to the three leading slave trading ports – London, Bristol and Liverpool. First, calculations will be made about the total length of voyages over time to determine whether efficiency gains were made in relation to reducing the time, and therefore the costs, of voyages. Second, a similar exercise will be undertaken for turn-around times at the three nodes of the triangular trade in Britain, west Africa and the Americas. Third, the number of slaves loaded in west Africa in relation to ships' tonnages will be examined to explore whether vessels were loaded to capacity. Fourth, estimates of slaves loaded in west Africa and delivered in the Americas will be analysed to determine whether efficiency gains were made over time in reducing mortality on the Middle Passage. The paper will examine whether productivity trends varied according to slave supply areas. The paper will provide conclusions on productivity trends in the shipping of the eighteenth-century British slave trade.

Keywords

Britain, shipping, productivity, slave trade

Biography

Professor Kenneth Morgan is Professor of History in the Division of Politics and History at Brunel University London, and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. He holds a DPhil in Modern History from the University of Oxford. He has published widely on eighteenth-century British shipping and trade and on broader aspects of maritime history. His books include *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (CUP, 1993), *Slavery, Atlantic Trade*

and the British Economy, 1660-1800 (CUP, 2000), Slavery and the British Empire: From Africa to America (OUP, 2007), A Short History of Transatlantic Slavery (I. B. Tauris, 2016), and Matthew Flinders, Maritime Explorer of Australia (Bloomsbury, 2016).

Dr Martin Ejnar Hansen is Senior Lecturer in the Division of Politics and History at Brunel University London. He holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Aarhus, Denmark. He has a broad research focus, and in recent years has published research articles on historical topics such as the Weimar Republic, the Danish Constituent Assembly, and museum visits in Britain, all using quantitative research methods and databases.

S. 8. 2. – FISHING INDUSTRIES AND THEIR DEVELOPMENTS

Chair: John Goodlad

(Independent Researcher)

Novel wealth: the riches of North Atlantic fisheries, AD 1500-1700

POUL HOLM (Trinity College Dublin)

Abstract

The role of marine wealth in human history is underappreciated. An illustration of this is the historiography of the early-modern Atlantic which has been dominated by a fascination with the gold and silver obtained by primarily Spanish expansion into Latin America. In contrast, the extent of economic impact of Atlantic marine wealth across time remains patchily understood. However, I show that the value of the North Atlantic cod and North Sea herring landings between 1551 and 1650 roughly equalled the value of gold and silver imported from Latin America. This finding has important implications for our understanding of Atlantic history.

Keywords

Atlantic; fisheries; minerals; economic history

Biography

Poul Holm is Professor of Environmental History, and Chair of the Oceans Past Initiative, OPI, a global network of some 200 associate historians, archaeologists and marine scientists aiming to understand human impact on ocean ecology. Poul's doctoral thesis examined shipping and fishing in southern Scandinavia between 1550 and 1914. He has published on fisheries history and marine environmental history; coastal communities and culture; and Viking settlements in Ireland. He is Chair of the Humanities Class, Academia Europaea.

Paul Friedrich August Wurthmann: A Pioneer of German Steam Deep-Sea Fishing

HEROLD HEIKO (Independent Scholar)

Abstract

On February 7, 1885, Friedrich Busse sent the first German steam trawler fishing in the North Sea from Geestemünde. This date marks the beginning of industrial steam deep-sea fishing in the German Reich. Within a couple of years, steam trawling gained more and more importance. It became one of the major economic sectors in the Lower Weser region before World War I.

Paul Friedrich August Wurthmann ranks among the pioneers of German steam deep-sea fishing, but he is essentially forgotten. He was born in 1837 in Elsfleth, a small town on the shores of the Weser river and an important German commercial shipping harbor in the 19th century. Wurthmann became a sailor and later captain of the Oldenburg merchant navy. In the early 1880s, he started a second career ashore and became CEO of the “Union,” the largest tugboat company on the Weser river. In 1888, he commissioned the 10th and 11th German steam trawler, the converted tugboats “Diana” and “Reform.” At the same time, he founded the influential Steam Trawling Association Lower Weser together with a few other fishing shipowners.

When Wurthmann’s term as CEO of the “Union” ended in the summer of 1893, he founded his own deep-sea fishing company. He was turned towards technological innovation and equipped all his trawlers with the latest available engines and fishing gears. The “Eva” was one of the first German trawlers to use a treeless trawl. In 1899, the “August” took part in the German Sea Fishing Association’s expedition to the Bear Island. In 1907, a few years after his death, Wurthmann’s trawlers became the basis of “Norddeutsche Hochseefischerei AG,” one of the large capital companies and a big player in the German fishing business for decades.

The paper aims to show and analyze Wurthmann’s role as pioneer of German steam deep-sea fishing, and his impact on shaping the emerging trawling industry in the late 19th century. It includes research results of my ongoing academic study on Wurthmann’s biography.

Keywords

Fishing, Trawling, Germany

Biography

Dr. Heiko Herold is a historian and publicist specialized in naval and maritime history. He studied Early and Modern History, Economic History and Media Science at Düsseldorf University. Since 2011, he works as Public Affairs Specialist at the U.S. Consulate General Hamburg. He will give his presentation as an independent scholar.

S. 8. 3. – Maritime Capitalism: Colonial Companies of Investment, 1600-1800
Chair/Discussant: Cátia Antunes
(Leiden University)

Panel Abstract

Merchant Capitalism stands at the core of development of capitalism as a phenomenon in the Western World. Historians locate the birth of merchant capitalism to the Italian city states of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. After the significant contribution Venice and Genoa provided to the development of this phenomenon, followed by the development of long distance maritime firms integrated in the Iberian overseas maritime expansion, chartered companies, turned joint stocks, re-defined the core of what merchant capitalism had been traditionally onto a form of abstract and anonymous source of capital gains and accumulation anchored in the internal dynamics of European colonial empires. This session proposes to analyze what we hypothesize was a third wave of merchant capitalism in Western Europe, that of maritime capitalism.

We define maritime capitalism as the moment in history where businessmen turn their attentions to the maritime sector, not as shipbuilders, commercial companies or joint stock endeavors, but rather as a sector of activity bound to capital accumulation and financial advantages derived of maritime risk alone. Under the guise of maritime investment in trading companies, entrepreneurs in Europe took the opportunity for risk venturing onto maritime investments that would yield higher returns than other business and investment opportunities in their countries. This new form of investment transformed commercial companies into maritime entrepreneurship in- and for itself as their investors became merchants, investors, owners of public debt, state contractors and ultimately maritime entrepreneurs.

The papers in this session address the specific case of the Dutch and Genoese maritime investors in the fleets of the Genoese East India Company (17th century), as well as the transnational investors of the Ostend East India Company (beginning of the 18th century) and the case of the Portuguese companies for Brazil in the second half of the 18th century

Keywords

Maritime Capitalism; Companies; Maritime Investment

Companies of convenience

GIORGIO TOSCO (European University Institute)

Abstract

In this paper I look at the institutional resources that were available to Dutch and Italian investors in overseas trade. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Italian merchants and policy-makers alike were extremely interested in the Dutch chartered companies of trade. In the Republic of Genoa, eventually, two joint-stock chartered companies were established, and in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany similar projects were made. Meanwhile, some Dutch investors looked at the Italian states as possible providers of flags of convenience, and played a crucial role in the establishment of one of the Genoese companies. In addition, some of these enterprises relied on collaboration with the Portuguese Crown. By comparing all these actors and their relationship to their own state institutions, as well as to foreign ones, I intend to investigate the different ways one could cross national borders in order to enter overseas trade.

Biography

Giorgio Tosco is a PhD candidate at the EUI in Florence. He expects to graduate in January 2020.

State, private trade and foreign aid: the case of the Ostend Company (1715-1735)

GIJS DREIJER (University of Exeter)

Abstract

The Ostend Company (also known as the Generale Indische Compagnie or GIC) was a chartered company, established by the Habsburg Emperor Charles VI in the wake of the War of Spanish Succession. Even if its directors were mostly from the Southern Netherlands and the charter formally prohibited colonial settlements, the GIC did not solely function as a normal colonial company. It functioned as an organisational nexus for merchants, investors and supercargoes from Scotland, England, the Dutch Republic and France whose respective chartered companies prohibited risky investments and private trade. The lean structure of the GIC and the quick accumulation of knowledge about the Asian trade enabled the Company to challenge the established Dutch, English and French Companies, mainly so in the tea trade. For the state, local merchants and foreign investors, the establishment of the GIC was advantageous. For the state, it gave them diplomatic leverage, the ability to build up a maritime fleet and tax income; for the local merchants, it gave the opportunity to participate in the flourishing Asian trade, whereas their trade was formerly limited to the trade with Spain; and for foreign investors, the GIC offered an opportunity to continue a lucrative private trade without the interference of the established chartered Companies, as well as offering protection. The combination of these particular circumstances and the combination of motives and skills led to a highly valuable company. Despite its short period of existence, the GIC influenced the eighteenth-century European-Asian trade in multiple ways. This paper will study the complex interplay between the imperial centre in Vienna, the Company's headquarter in Antwerp and the merchants in Asia itself to show how merchant capitalism, state formation and European-Asian trade worked in tandem.

Biography

Gijs Dreijer is a PhD candidate at the University of Exeter. He researches maritime averages within the project AveTransRisk, under the leadership of Maria Fusaro.

The Portuguese financial market in the eighteenth century. The investment portfolios of their investors

TOMÁS DE ALBUQUERQUE (Instituto de Economia e Gestão, University of Lisbon)

Abstract

Recently, there has been renewed interest in the study of the financial market. Studies on the institutions, role of the state, market products and investors are perfuse. Recent studies such as Carlos, Fletcher and Neal (2015) and Smith (2018) analyse the English India Company's shareholders' investment portfolios to further understand their composition and weight of each financial product. Carlos et al (2015), concluded there exists an increase of investments on financial products, but the majority of portfolios aren't diversified. They say that 80% of financial investments are only in the company.

Conversely, financial development is deeply related to the economic growth, and the enforcement of institutions that protect the property rights diminish risk and boost investment. Considering this institutional factors, historians have considered the country's political constitution and have pointed out parliamentary regimes, for checks and balances on the monarch's power, developing earlier capital markets.

However, a comparative study of how markets work between countries with different political framework, is still missing. I propose to study the Portuguese case, based on the shareholders of the Portuguese colonial companies in the eighteenth century.

I will focus on the shareholders with ten or more shares, and build their portfolio investments looking at company shares, short time loans and public debt. I intend to understand the composition of these portfolios and how diversified they were. I expect this comparative approach will tell us which were the critical differences between Portugal and other more developed financial markets.

Biography

Tomás Pinto de Albuquerque PhD candidate ISEG-University of Lisbon, with a project thesis titled - Portuguese Brazilian Chartered Companies, 1755-1780: shareholders, capital and Dynamics of Governance. I intend to know whether or not there was a capital market in Portugal, in the eighteenth century. In this sense, I use a data base created from the stock books of two Portuguese colonial companies (Companhia Grão-Pará e Maranhão e Companhia Pernambuco e Paraíba). I managed not only to identify a group of investors, but also track the cross-reference of the shares, which constituted a secondary market. My goal isn't only proving there exists a market, but understand how it works, looking at the agents, the different skins of financial products, circulation of information and different types of investment strategies.

S. 8. 4. – GENDERING THE SEA

Chair: François Drémeaux

(University of Le Havre Normandie/University of Hong Kong)

Masculinities Cast Adrift: How the Atlantic Ocean Re-Shaped the Masculinity of British Sailors, c.1660-1760

HARRY BRENNAN (University of Glasgow)

Abstract

Sailors carried goods and wealth across the Atlantic, tying Britain to the rest of the world. The lifeblood of oceanic trade, they formed human links connecting the nodes of imperial trade. The experience of seafaring in the age of sail was harrowing, dangerous, and life-changing. More than anyone, their lives were directly shaped by the Atlantic Ocean. Seafaring placed the lives of mariners at the mercy of the weather, the “enemy” (pirates and privateers), and other men at sea.

This talk explores how the experience of seafaring reshaped sailor’s identities - specifically, how it reshaped their masculinity. It explores sources produced by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century “British” seamen, using research and ideas taken from an ongoing doctoral research project (‘Lives Lived ‘at such a distance’: How Distance Shaped Masculinity and Femininity in the British Atlantic, c.1660-1760’).

The Atlantic ocean changed how men could speak, dress, and act. It marked their bodies in ways all contemporaries recognised, as the records of wealthy male passengers demonstrate by comparison. The ocean created a distinct space for sexual fluidity and ambiguity, distancing sailors from the heterosexual norms of Britain and its colonies. Sailors’ masculine identities were re-shaped by the compressed, hierarchical life aboard ship and the trauma of shipwreck. Though life at sea was dominated by masculinity, this maritime influence on masculinity had a wider effect on the Atlantic world. In particular, it dictated how women on shore, the families of these men, could live.

Keywords

masculinity, mariners, Atlantic, early modern

Biography

Harry Brennan is a doctoral researcher at the University of Glasgow, working on a thesis titled ‘Lives Lived ‘at such a distance’: How Distance Shaped Masculinity and Femininity in the British Atlantic, c.1660-1760’. Studying history at Cardiff University in the 2010s, he developed an interest in early modern history, global history, and gender history. Hailing from Britain and Ireland, he lives in Edinburgh where he spends his spare time gardening and drinking coffee.

Women and Children on the move across the seas.

ROSA CAPELÃO (CITCEM)

AMÉLIA POLÓNIA (U. Porto/CITCEM)

The Carreira da Índia established an annual link between Lisbon and the city of Goa (India), via the Cape Route circumnavigating the African continent, linking the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans. First used by Vasco da Gama (1497-1499), it remained in use for more than three centuries. By approaching the study of social interactions at sea, the paper will examine the presence of women and children on board of the Carreira da Índia ships, an issue that has been neglected so far.

Women and children were among the contingents of migrants who travelled across the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans in the early modern period. Those women could be prostitutes, adventurers, convicts, single and married women, or widows. The paper will pay particular attention to the presence of those women who traveled as stowaways. The presence of children on board, including children as sailors, and their daily circumstances, are also under inquiry, even if constrained by a lack of available data.

This mobility took place at a time when society was extremely vigilant, controlling not only the lifestyle of its members but also their movements. This control meant that not everyone who wanted to travel was allowed to do so. It also meant that gender conditioned the circumstances and behaviors during those long maritime journeys. The paper will therefore pay attention to the control of behaviors and interactions and how women and children responded and adapted to daily life on board. The organization of daily activities, the management of free time, the moments of leisure, the expressions of religiosity, as well as of violence, fear, and laughter, emerge in these maritime contexts.

The – mostly European – sources used include travel books, chronicles, administrative correspondence, and letters from missionaries. We are aware of the fact that we envisage these universes through the gaze of European men, who in their narratives attributed to women and children a subordinate and peripheral position.

Biography

Rosa Capelão

PhD in History by the University of Porto, Portugal, in 2011 with the thesis «The Cult of Relics in Portugal in the XVI-XVII centuries. Context, Regulations, Functions and Symbolism».

Researcher at CITCEM, the Transdisciplinary Research Centre «Culture, Space and Memory», U. Porto. Member of the COST ACTION “Women on the Move” (CA 19112).

Current lines of research: women as agents of medical practice in the XVI-XVII centuries in Portugal; women as intermediaries in the Portuguese Overseas Empire; production and circulation of medical knowledge in the Iberian Empires; Intercultural encounters in the Portuguese Overseas Empire; the role of beliefs and emotions in healing processes.

Amélia Polónia

Full professor at the Department of History, Political and International Studies of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Porto Scientific Coordinator of CITCEM (Transdisciplinary Research Centre Culture, Space and Memory), Vice-President of the International Maritime History Association.

Amélia Polónia is the U.Porto dean of EIMAS (European Interdisciplinary Master African Studies), the director of MAF (Master in African Studies, U. Porto), was a member of the Erasmus Mundus PhD program TEEME: Text and Event in Early Modern Europe (<http://www.teemeurope.eu/>), and is currently a member of MOVES - Migration and Modernity: Historical and Cultural Challenges, a Marie Skłodowska-Curie European Joint Doctorate.

S. 9.1. – WOODEN SHIPBUILDING

Chair: Ana Rita Trindade
(CSIC)

Bezaisen or Domestic Merchant Vessels from the 16th to 19th Century in Japan

AKIFUMI IWABUCHI (Tokyo University of Marine Science and Technology)

NORIKO NAGAI (Tokyo University of Marine Science and Technology)

Abstract

Japan has a long history of wooden vessels. At the beginning of the 17th century, the Tokugawa shogunate closed the country to foreigners and banned to build ocean-going vessels. As the national distribution-related economy advanced, contrariwise, the business culture of domestic merchant vessels was greatly evolved across the whole extent of Japan. The bezaisen (弁才船) typed merchant vessels, which were originally started to be built during the 16th century in western Japan, drove out other styles of domestic vessels, and its type became the standard form of freighter. In the early days every bezaisen was designed for both sailing and rowing, whereas later it was only for sailing to reduce the number of crewmen. The bezaisen's hull was becoming larger and larger and its sailing speed increased toward the end of the 18th century before the Western typed merchant vessels introduced to Japan. Since 2010 the Asian Research Institute of Underwater Archaeology and Tokyo University of Marine Science and Technology have researched upon a wreck of bezaisen off Hatsushima Island, eastern Japan. Although the shipwreck has been noticed by islanders since the 1980s, its destruction has been avoided partly because they have stayed away from the wreck site which the ghost of samurai is said to haunt. It lies on the seabed at a depth of about 20 metres and its visible surface relics consist mainly of rooftiles, which are concentrated in 5 square metres, stacked orderly up, and tied solidly each other like rocky reefs. Seen from the above, these relics or quasi-rocky reefs create the U-shape. There is a cramped rectangular sandy area at inside of the U-shaped relics, under which a part of its wooden hull is buried. This bezaisen, sailing from western Japan, is estimated to have sunk at the beginning of the 18th century, judging from the shapes and patterns of its cargos of rooftiles and grinding bowls; all of the rooftiles were made by the purveyor to the shogunate.

Keywords

Wooden Vessel of Bezaisen, Rooftile, Underwater Archaeology, Japan

Biography

Akifumi Iwabuchi is Professor of Maritime Anthropology and Nautical Archaeology at Tokyo University of Marine Science and Technology, which is a member institution of the UNESCO UNITWIN Network for Underwater Archaeology. He is the ICOMOS-ICUCH National Representative for Japan and the Vice-President of the Japan Society for Nauti-

cal Research. He received his PhD from the University of Oxford in 1990. His publications include *The People of the Alas Valley* (Clarendon Press, 1994) and *Cultural Heritage under the Sea* (Kagaku-Dojin, 2012).

Biography

Noriko Nagai is a PhD candidate at the graduate school of Tokyo University of Marine Science and Technology, which is a member institution of the UNESCO UNITWIN Network for Underwater Archaeology. She received her MA from Tokyo University of Marine Science and Technology in 2018. Her publications include 'The Interpretation of a Submerged Site off Hatsushima Island' in *Journal of the Japan Society for Nautical Research* No. 73 (2018) and others.

“Building England’s ‘wooden walls’: royal forests and the navy, 1660-1670.”

SARA MORRISON (Brescia University College @Western University (London, Ontario))

Abstract

The Restoration navy drive drew outlying royal forests into the orbit of London’s navy dockyards on the River Thames. Two case studies of midland forests are central to this study: the Gloucestershire Forest of Dean and Sherwood Forest in Nottinghamshire. Both were remote forests in the heart of midland England. Why were these outlying forests drawn into navy building operations during the 1660s? How was it achieved within a chaotic localized pre-industrial economy?

During the first Anglo-Dutch war (1652-1654) the Commonwealth relied on New England and Scottish timber supplies during a Dutch blockade of the Baltic. After 1660, the navy board planned future timber supplies for wars against the Dutch or other invaders. Fears of timber scarcity for naval use focused attention on timber oaks within royal forests. In the 1660s the navy board established a local shipbuilding industry in the Forest of Dean to build frigates. Located on the River Severn it was ideally situated to launch new vessels sailing to the Thames dockyards. Sherwood Forest’s navy drive in the 1660s was a little different. This landlocked forest in midland England lay within fifteen miles of navigable water on the tributaries of the River Trent. Navy commissioners transported large oaks overland by cart to river wharfs; shallow barges sent cargoes along tributaries of the River Trent; from the Humber estuary, small coastal boats navigated rough North Sea waters, hugging the eastern coastline towards navy yards at Deptford, Chatham and Woolwich.

Keywords

Restoration navy; English royal forests; shipbuilding

Biography

Dr. Sara Morrison is an Associate Professor at Brescia University College, Canada’s only women’s college, affiliated to Western University in London, Ontario, Canada.

I am completing a book on The Stuart Royal Forests. An environmental history.

Recently, I have published articles on “Good Stewardship and the challenges of managing the Stuart royal forests” (2014) and also on red deer in eighteenth century Sherwood Forest, entitled, “Bambi in Sherwood Forest and the great deer escape, 1703-11” (Springer, 2017) Most recently I contributed a chapter on early modern woodland conservation entitled “Conserving the ‘vert’ in early modern Sherwood Forest” to R. Keyser and A. Downing (eds.) *Nature’s Roots* (Berghahn Books forthcoming.)

Underwater salvages in Caribbean Sea in the modern period (XVI-XVIII centuries).

VARGAS VELASQUEZ YAJAIRA (UBS-TEMOS / IPSO-FACTO Scop.)

Abstract

During the modern period, Europeans from Spain, France, Holland and England frequented the Caribbean Sea. The main motivation for these trips was the desire to appropriate natural resources (pearls, gold, silver, emeralds, among others) and establish settlements to control these strategic places. The European expansion in America is well documented by the historical archives. The topics covered mainly concern navigation, trade, cargoes, ships and artillery in the Spanish colonies. On the other hand, the technical approach to salvage methodologies appears neglected.

The purpose of this study is to analyze a list of shipwrecks that occurred in the Caribbean Sea. They involve different nationalities: Spanish, French, Portuguese and English. Some case studies will be presented in this paper to examine the shipwrecking and recovery process of ships and cargoes by highlighting the technology applied by each country during these maritime missions. Understanding this fact should contribute to a better interpretation of the written sources used for the research of underwater archaeological sites.

Studies show that diving was implemented very early in the Mediterranean as a war strategy. Later, divers were mobilized to recover the lost cargoes. Some researchers have highlighted the existence of organized Spanish groups working to save gold shipments.

The analyzed data show that, out of 480 recorded marine losses, only 50 shipwrecks provided the opportunity for a rescue, while only 47 shipwrecks attest to a total loss of life and property. Of the remaining 259 wrecks, we have no indication of a possible salvage operation. Rescues are often carried out in stages and can take several decades. From the XVI to the XVIII centuries, there was in this respect a clear evolution in the techniques used in the field of diving methods, equipments, boats, or tools.

Keywords

Salvage, shipwreck, Caribbean Sea, XVI-XVIII centuries.

Biography

Yajaira Vargas holds an Anthropology degree obtained in 2006 From the Central University of Venezuela and a Master in Maritime and Coastal Archaeology in 2017 from Aix-Marseille Université. Professional diver class I B, since 2011 she has participated in underwater archaeological research in France, Greece and Venezuela. Yajaira has worked in ancient maritime port structures, submerged caves, palafittes, amerindian cemeteries, modern maritime wrecks and urban land excavations. Currently, Yajaira Vargas develops a PhD project, in the frame-

work of a CIFRE agreement between TEMOS-UBS , IPSO FACTO SARL Coop, Arkaeos and the Department of Underwater and Archaeological Research (DRASSM – MMC), financed by Brittany Region. The subject focuses on shipwrecks and cargoes recovery in the modern era in the Caribbean Sea. His research concerns the navigation, the evolution of techniques and materiel culture in modern transatlantic societies.

S. 9.2. – WINDS, WEATHER AND SHIPPING

Chair: Cristina Brito
(CHAM/NOVA-FCSH)

Following the monsoon winds: Travelling and trading in the western Indian Ocean in the 16th century

ANA CRISTINA ROQUE (University of Lisbon)

Abstract

Over the centuries, shipping between Africa and the East, as well as the establishment and growth of coastal cities and ports on the shores of the Indian Ocean, have responded to the particularities of the monsoon system. The seasonality of the monsoons shaped the human and economic geography of the Indian ocean, it is an essential feature of its dynamics and, ultimately, is the main responsible for the coastal development of the East African coast.

Following the monsoon winds, ships connecting the different Indian ocean shores transported goods and people and stimulated the circulation and exchange of ideas, knowledge, and technology. However, depending on the monsoon winds also highlighted possible weaknesses of the communities given their irregularity as well as people's capacity to develop strategies to overcome difficulties. Therefore, traveling and trading in the Indian Ocean stimulated learning, teaching, and sharing, promoted knowledge exchange and new experiences, induced new perceptions and perspectives on nature, their potentialities and possible uses.

This process was marginal and previous to the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century and was the base of a long tradition of traveling and trading in the Indian ocean zone. A tradition unknown to the Portuguese, but which they soon apprehended and used in their benefit. Focusing on the different types of circulation and transfer within the Portuguese eastern empire, this paper addresses the role of the Indian ocean as a platform providing and facilitating epistemic intercontinental exchanges and aims at discussing the role of traveling and trading in this process.

Considering travel and trade in the broadest sense, we will mainly use 16th-century Portuguese documents attesting to the different traveler's perspectives and to the diversity of goods in circulation in the coastal African markets, both framed by the need of traveling safe using the monsoon winds.

Keywords

Indian Ocean, East African Coast, Trade, Monsoon winds, 16th century

Biography

Researcher at the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon, Assistant Director of the Center for History (CH-ULisboa) and Vice-Coordinator of the research group Building and Connecting Empires. She worked at the University Eduardo Mondlane and at the IICT (Lisbon) in projects concerning the CPLP countries. She regularly organizes national and international meetings and has authored and edited more than 50 publications on the History

of Mozambique. She currently leads the project Empires: Nature, Science, and Environment. Recent publications include “From local herbal medicines to western drugs: implementing health services in Mozambique”, In BALA, P. Learning from Empire: Medical Knowledge and transfers under Portuguese Rule. CSP, 2018:217-229, and “The Sofala Coast in the 16th Century: between the African trade routes and Indian Ocean trade”. In WALKER, I. et al, Fluid Networks and Hegemonic Powers in the Western Indian Ocean, Lisbon, 2017:19-36.

Seasonality in Dutch and Chinese Shipping for the Japan Trade at Nagasaki in the Early Modern Period

RYUTO SHIMADA (The University of Tokyo)

Abstract

Seasonality is a key element in the historiography of maritime trade in Asia during the early modern period. This paper examines the links of monsoon season, ship navigation and economic and social life at port city in maritime Asia, by taking an example of the case of Nagasaki in Japan from the mid-seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century.

The port of Nagasaki was a gateway of Japan during the period of the so-called Tokugawa regime. Basically the foreign trade was largely under the control of the government, and in Nagasaki only vessels of the Dutch East India Company and Chinese junks were permitted to call at Nagasaki for trading business. Dutch vessels came from Batavia (currently Jakarta), while Chinese junks came from coastal areas of the mainland of China but also from Southeast Asia. On the other hand, the Japanese were prohibited from going overseas from Nagasaki.

The paper is divided into two parts. The first part is on the trading routes and seasonality of Dutch vessels and Chinese junks. Captains of each Dutch and Chinese vessel had to submit reports to the Japanese authorities. These reports included the information of the place and date of embarkment. Combining these reports with Dutch documents, the paper gives a data set of seasonal movements of Dutch and Chinese shipping for the Japan trade in the China Sea region.

The second part of the paper is on the seasonal changes in the life of urban people in the port city of Nagasaki. As trading season was limited in Nagasaki, urban social life had to change. The paper reorganizes annual calendar of economic and social events from the point of view of seasonality of maritime shipping under monsoon winds.

Keywords

Seasonality, Nagasaki, Chinese Junk, Dutch East India Company

Biography

Ryuto Shimada obtained PhD from Leiden University in 2005, and since 2012 he has been Associate Professor in Maritime Asian History, the University of Tokyo. His publication includes *The Intra-Asian trade in Japanese Copper by the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006); "Economic Links with Ayutthaya: Changes in Networks between Japan, China, and Siam in the Early Modern Period," *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction*, 37(3), 2013; and "Invisible Links: Maritime Trade between Japan and South Asia in

the Early Modern Period,” in: A.J.H. Latham and Heita Kawakatsu (eds.), *Asia and the History of the International Economy: Essays in Memory of Peter Mathias* (London and New York: Routledge), 2018.

Assessing Historic Changes to Weather in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans Using Portuguese and American Maritime Archival Sources [c. 1500-1950])

TIMOTHY WALKER (University of Massachusetts Dartmouth)

CAROLINE UMMENHOFER (Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution)

Abstract

In climate research, long datasets are invaluable. They help establish baseline climate variability and dynamics against which to measure anthropogenic departures, are used to train models, and illuminate interconnections between different components of the climate system. Unfortunately, pre-twentieth century instrumental data from regions beyond Europe and North America is sparse. A growing field of scholarship addresses this gap by interpreting historical maritime records. One of the richest troves of maritime weather information is contained in the archives of colonial port, hospital, and agricultural administrative records -- and thousands of ships' logs -- in which institutional officials and ships' officers routinely recorded systematic weather information, either on land or over the course of their voyages. Researchers of this project intend to tap as-yet unexamined troves of climate data: Portuguese maritime and colonial records from the Atlantic and Indian Ocean regions, and U.S. whaling ship logbooks for voyages through the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Our particular focus will be the North Atlantic ("Azores High") and Indian Ocean (Mozambique to Goa) regions. For example, the Portuguese Historical Navy Archives (Arquivo Histórico da Marinha) in Lisbon are invaluable for climate reconstruction.

This collaborative research project (Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution & University of Massachusetts Dartmouth) builds on the success of the Atmospheric Circulation Reconstructions over the Earth (ACRE) and Old Weather projects. We recover, quantify, and analyze climate records from Portuguese Navy and colonial archives. Thus, climatologists and historians working together can push the instrumental climate record back over 500 years, through the Little Ice Age, to the late 1400s, with a much broader geographical distribution than is currently available. The proposed presentation will describe this research project, our methodologies, and initial findings.

Keywords

Climate, history, maritime, archives, logbooks

Biographies

Timothy Walker (Ph.D., Boston University, 2001) is Professor of History at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, and an Affiliated Researcher of the Centro de História d'Aquém e d'Além-Mar (CHAM); Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Walker was a visiting professor at the Universidade

Aberta in Lisbon (1994–2003) and at Brown University (2010). In 2018 Walker was appointed a Guest Investigator of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, drawing historic climate data from archived Portuguese colonial and maritime documentation. Teaching and research fields include Early Modern Europe, the Atlantic World, the Portuguese empire, history of medicine, maritime history and European global colonial expansion.

Caroline Ummenhofer received a Joint Honours B.Sc. in Marine Biology and Oceanography from Bangor University, UK, and in 2008 a PhD in Applied Mathematics, specializing in climate modeling, from the University of New South Wales, Australia. Since 2012, she holds a faculty position in the Physical Oceanography Department at Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, USA. She won several awards, including the Uwe Radok Award by the Australian Meteorological and Oceanographic Society, Eureka Prize for Water Research and Innovation by the Australian Museum, and AGU James B. Macelwane Medal. Her research focuses on how the ocean affects the global water cycle and extreme events, such as droughts and floods, and their impact on human and natural systems, particularly around the Indian Ocean.

**S. 9.3. – SHAPED BY THE SEA: HISTORIES OF OCEAN SCIENCE,
MEDICINE AND TECHNOLOGY**
Chair: Peter Cole
(Western Illinois University)

Panel Abstract

Historians have deeply considered the role of the oceans as conduits for global connectivity and the transfer of ideas (see Lambert, Martins & Ogborn 2006; Armitage, Bashford & Sivasundaram, 2018). Oceanic or maritime frameworks have become a popular way to consider differences and similarities which transcended national boundaries. Some historians have gone further, focusing on the role of ships themselves as ‘scientific instruments’ and ‘mobile spatialities’, in which knowledge was not just moved but also produced (Dora, 2010; Sorrenson, 1996). However, ocean histories and human geographies of the sea, have also called for us to consider the sea as more than just an empty or horizontal space which needed to be crossed (Blum 2010; Peters & Anderson 2014).

This panel considers the sea as a dynamic, material environment which fundamentally shaped embodied human experiences, scientific practice, and the production of knowledge and geopolitical imaginations. It draws together different approaches in the history of science, medicine and technology, considering conceptions of health, the development and use of experimental scientific technologies, and the relationship between modern science and diplomacy. The three individual papers span the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, and, in turn, explore the way the physicality of the ocean environment shaped mental disorder at sea, the use of photography in scientific expeditions, and the construction of imagined geopolitical and scientific futures.

Acknowledgements: This panel builds on a workshop of the same title organised by the speakers in June 2019, held at the University of Manchester and supported by the Institute of Historical Research, the Society for the Social History of Medicine and the British Society for the History of Science.

Keywords

Science, Medicine, Technology, Environment, Mobility

Minds at Sea: climate, mobility and mental disorder in the British Royal Navy 1740-1820

CATHERINE BECK (Institute of Historical Research, University of London)

Abstract

The understanding of insanity in the British Navy and experiences of mental disorder at sea were fundamentally shaped by the ocean environment and the contingencies of sea-service. Sailors were globally mobile but paradoxically confined to the tight space of the ship and the systems of social control required to sail it. The global mobility of sea-service dislocated sailors from kinship networks ashore which sufferers relied upon for care outside the asylum, while the tight space of ship caused surgeons to remove or restrain those they considered to be insane who they feared would disrupt the ship or endanger the crew. However, naval surgeons also widely attributed derangement to factors caused by the ocean environment and ship's mobility through it, such as movement between hot and cold climates, or exposure to sunstroke, scurvy and nostalgia. Exposure to the wide variety of factors thought to disturb the body and mind created a context in which mental disturbance was an expected part of life at sea to which everyone was vulnerable. The mobility and tight space of the ship which could isolate sufferers also created close-knit shipboard communities, where messmates cared for one another especially in times of mental and emotional distress. The contingencies of sea-service which made functionality of each individual sailor a priority also moulded a culture of practical tolerance, sympathy and care towards mental disorder, difference and disability.

This paper uses surgeons' logs, courts martial and hospital records from across the global extent of the British Royal Navy to explore the complex relationship between insanity and the sea in the long eighteenth century. It investigates the way that the physical effects of the ocean environment intersected with the space of the ship, to shape experiences of mental disorder and surrounding cultures of stigma or acceptance.

Biography

Dr Catherine Beck is a social historian of the maritime world in the long eighteenth-century. She completed her PhD at UCL and the National Maritime Museum in 2017, on patronage and the Royal Navy between 1775 and 1815. In her postdoctoral research she has returned to her MA background in the history of medicine. She recently finished a one-year project at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London entitled 'Disordered Minds and Nervous Bodies: Insanity in the Royal Navy 1740-1820'. Her work re-examines responses to mental disorder, difference and disability at sea and the effect of the ocean environment on experiences and conceptions of seafarer insanity.

Making the Ocean Visible: Photography on the Challenger Expedition 1872-1876

ERIKA JONES (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich)

Abstract

This paper explores how the ocean shaped expedition photography in the second half of the nineteenth century. In particular, the paper considers how photography was used to make the ocean visible on the Challenger Expedition (1872-1876), a collaboration between the Royal Society and the Royal Navy to study the deep sea. Along with a six-person scientific team, an official photographer travelled on board HMS Challenger. Over 800 photographic images were produced during the voyage, yet Challenger photography has been largely dismissed in the historiography as a nascent technology unsuited to ocean science. This paper offers an alternative interpretation. Tim Cresswell and Peter Merriman argued that mobile practices create ‘spatial stories’ of how we experience the world and ‘involve a range of embodied engagements and an array of technologies and infrastructures’ (2011). By exploring expedition photography as an embodied mobile practice, the paper brings greater coherence to the Challenger collection of photographs as a project of the Royal Engineers that was profoundly shaped by the sea. In the second half of the nineteenth century, photographers on military and scientific expeditions advanced techniques to photograph distant places and to quickly produce copies for distribution. Giving attention to the importance of ship-space and ocean travel to this endeavour, the paper explores how HMS Challenger was an important experiment in this regard. Not only did the ship transport photographers and their equipment around the world, but the ship also carried a mobile photography darkroom and workshop where the photographs were produced and replicated. An examination of Challenger photographs in the albums of John Hynes, Assistant Paymaster, provides evidence of how the ocean became visible through photography during the expedition, and reveals many of the local labours, environments, and people involved in a global scientific study of the sea.

Biography

Dr Erika Jones is Curator of Navigation at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. She completed her PhD at the Department of Science and Technology Studies, University College London and the National Maritime Museum in 2019. Her thesis explored how technologies and practices on the Challenger Expedition (1872-1876) were used to make knowledge of the oceans. Her research explored the development of oceanography in the late nineteenth century by examining the mobility of scientists, ships, instruments, natural history specimens, and material images associated with the voyage. This approach to the history of science produced an alternative narrative of the Challenger Expedition and provided opportunities to cross boundaries of discipline, time and geography.

Ocean Futures: science, sea and the nineteen-sixties.

SAM ROBINSON (University of Kent)

Abstract

How humanity perceived the oceans fundamentally changed in the 1960s. Promoters of ocean exploitation envisaged wonders such as rare mineral extraction, and the stationing of divers in underwater habitats from which they would operate seabed machinery not connected to the turbulent surface waters, and submarine exploration of watery worlds. Their dreams coincided with others' fears that nuclear weaponry would be placed on the seabed. Less developed countries feared that they lacked the technological capability to extract minerals from the seabed and that other nations would exploit their resources. Scientific imaginaries caused uncertainty in the international community, especially in the "Global South," which led the UN to call 'Law of the Sea' conferences to mediate emerging geopolitical tensions caused by the potential exploitation of technology. These conferences became a site where lawmakers projected futures rather than responding to past or present dilemmas. Diplomats' negotiations, with their basis in anticipation of the potential future uses of science and technology, reveal the role of scientific imaginaries within complex negotiations. Here, we see the impact of the distinction (or blurring) of the real and the imagined on the balance of relations between Global North and South, most especially insofar as the Group of 77 strove in the Law of the Sea negotiations to avoid increasing global imbalances of resources and power. This paper's analysis of such scientific diplomacy provides a valuable example of the power of ocean imaginaries to have a global impact.

Biography

Dr Sam Robinson is Lecturer in History of Science and Technology at the University of Kent. He completed his PhD at the University of Manchester in 2015 having previously studied at the University of Aberdeen and has held post-doctoral research fellowships at the University of York, Aberystwyth University and the University of Manchester. In 2018 he published, *Ocean Science and the British Cold War State* (Palgrave), work that was based on his PhD Thesis. Sam has research interests in the history of oceanography, the Cold War, politics and science, future imaginaries, and the historical development of Science Diplomacy. He is currently working on the place/role of marine science & technology within the UNCLOS negotiations 1967-1982.

S. 9. 4. – Oceanic Rutters as Tools for Globalization

Chair: Luana Giurgevich

(CIUHCT, FCUL)

Discussant: Juan Acevedo

(CIUHCT, FCUL)

Panel Abstract

Our panel will explore different aspects of the historical impact of the nautical specialised literature encompassed by the umbrella-term “rutter”. Starting from an identification and characterisation of the genre, and taking into account the social environments and mechanisms which fostered its development, we will present specific examples from the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, of how through their use in practical contexts they are simultaneously acted upon and become agents of a kind.

We want to trace the long and deep history of nautical rutters’ textual tradition, building up from its earlier manifestations and including the different nautical genres covered by the generic “rutter” (roteiros, regimentos, livros de marinharia, etc). Oceanic rutters were products of long-distance, multicultural networks and of continental-scale voyages, and they had a complex relationship with the contexts in which they were produced and used.

We shall take into account the problems raised and brought to light by the different and overlapping traditions of printed, manuscript and oral nautical instructions.

The production and circulation of the oceanic rutters was part of a collective and organised effort to gather, process, and disseminate information and knowledge on a large scale. The information and knowledge they contained became crucial not only for shipowners, sailors and pilots, but also for the activities of merchants, cartographers and philosophers.

Despite a robust literature focusing on very technical nautical aspects, oceanic rutters have received little attention in the history of science. This panel highlights the importance of oceanic rutters as historical sources, showing how they are able to provide new insights on globalization and cross-cultural encounters.

From our perspective, oceanic rutters are not an endpoint in the consolidation of knowledge, but a vital text in constant transformation, the primary driver of a set of new developments.

Keywords

nautical literature, circulation of knowledge, globalization, cross-cultural exchanges, early modern history

Tracing a New Textual Tradition: The Oceanic Rutter (15th – 17th c.)

LUANA GIURGEVICH (CIUHCT, Faculdade de Ciências, Universidade de Lisboa)

Abstract

By the end of the 15th century, the Oceans emerged as the loci of a new textual genre: the oceanic rutter. The standardization of long-distance voyages made necessary the development of more effective navigational tools, able to adapt themselves to novel sailing conditions, and to Worlds never seen before. Oceanic rutters represented a special way of making sense of the maritime space among the varied range of nautical technical documents which proliferated in the early modern period. This paper proposes to examine the evolution of this specialized textual genre through the study of the different stages of text production, transmission, and reception. In a history of global interactions, oceanic rutters will be analyzed mainly as social objects of cross-fertilized cultural traditions.

Biography

Luana Giurgevich is a post-doctoral researcher of CIUHCT, University of Lisbon, within the ERC Project RUTTER “Making the Earth Global”. Presently, her research focuses principally on maritime technical literature and scientific textual genres. Her main publication is the book *Clavis bibliothecarum. Catálogos e inventários de livrarias de instituições religiosas em Portugal até 1834* (2016), co-authored with Henrique Leitão, which resulted from a six-years research project on scientific books and religious libraries. Since 2020, she is responsible for the website “A Sea of Books. RUTTER Virtual Library”.

Scaling Up Nature: The Construction of a Global Perspective of Nature through 16th-century Oceanic Rutters

FABIANO BRACHT (CITCEM, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade do Porto)

Abstract

In 16th-century Europe, as a direct result of the overseas expansion, there was an increasing influx of knowledge about the natural world from different parts of the globe. Over the last thirty years, historiography has explored the role of various historical agents, physicians, chroniclers, and missionaries who, through their writings, produced knowledge about nature, the environment, and drugs of America, Africa and Asia. However, given that high prices and distribution bottlenecks hampered their circulation, those printed travel accounts, chronicles, and medical treatises may not be sufficient to explain the wide dissemination that information about nature and the environment achieved during the first decades of the 16th century. It is thus imperative to focus on other categories of historical sources, cheaper, more accessible, easier to reproduce and circulate. The textual genre that most effectively fulfils these specifications is undoubtedly the oceanic rutter. Essentially practical documents that could easily be transmitted from hand to hand, oceanic rutters (and ship's logbooks) are technical documents that collect and analyse critical information for the successful accomplishment of oceanic navigation. Aside from the knowledge needed for long-distance navigation, such as distances, latitudes, currents, tides and winds, these rutters also contain substantial information about the natural world. Therefore, it is possible to hypothesise about the importance of nautical routes for the global circulation and accumulation of knowledge about nature during the 16th-century. This paper aims to explore this hypothesis from the evidence contained in the Portuguese sources.

Biography

PhD in History at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto; research interests include History of Medicine, Pharmacy and Natural Sciences within the construction and circulation of scientific knowledge; researcher at Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar «Cultura, Espaço e Memória» (CITCEM), Faculty of Arts, University of Porto; team member of the ERC Rutter Project in History of Science.

The Cross-Cultural World of Arabic Nautical Literature

JUAN ACEVEDO (CIUHCT, Faculdade de Ciências, Universidade de Lisboa)

Abstract

It is well known that Arab navigators and Arabic nautical literature had a pivotal role over many centuries throughout the Indian Ocean, acting as the expert intermediaries par excellence in trade, exploration and pilgrimage. I will show how deep and prolonged the presence of other cultures was in Arabic nautical literature, both linguistically and technically, and how all related activities were deeply enmeshed with a host of other Asian cultures, from Chinese to East African peoples, including Persian, Gujarati, Sinhalese, Javanese and other languages, and eventually Portuguese and other European languages. The resulting characterization is that of a centuries-long, truly multicultural endeavour which acted as an integrative force, permeating all human affairs and making possible the constitution of an Indian Ocean cosmopolis.

Biography

Born 1971; studied Classics (+Hebrew) at Universidad de Los Andes, Venezuela; specialised in Arabic-English bilingual typesetting (Islamic Texts Society, Cambridge, UK); Comparative Religion (The Matheson Trust, London); 2018 PhD in Comparative History of Philosophy, Warburg Institute, University of London; presently post-doctoral research in Lisbon for the ERC Rutter Project in History of Science. <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5330-9672>

**S. 9. 5. – DEEP BORDERS AND MARITIME HINTERLANDS: THE GULF OF GUINEA,
SOUTH CHINA SEA AND INDIAN OCEAN**
Chair: LISA HELLMAN
(Lund University)

Panel Abstract

Borders are fluid – sometimes physically, but more often intellectually, economically and emotionally as definitions about belonging, sovereignty and power ebb and flow. Rather than treating “potential” borders (such as politically, ethnically, or religiously imagined borders between continents, states, empires and communities) as absolute or fixed, this panel will instead interrogate how specific sites (such as ports, transport nodes or customs facilities) can be assessed not as the physical edges between distinct areas but the contact zones between them. In turn, we can understand these spaces as interlocutors between distinct networks on either side of the border, forging connections in areas such as trade, diplomacy and migration. In this way, we can ask broader questions about how states, empires, and smaller sub-national units are shaped by their relationships with the edges of their perceived places in the world while also examining how individuals and communities navigates the spaces in between such zones of control.

The three case studies will consider these themes in locations where “deep borders” in the hinterlands of maritime borders can reveal the impact of exchange both as points of maritime contact but also the ongoing distribution of this impact through extensive inland zones. In doing so, they will contribute to the continuing adaptation and development of maritime history as a methodological approach that can inform our understanding of global systems and exchanges – economic, political and cultural.

Keywords

borders, empire, hinterland, global

Beyond the Edge of the World: Responses to Globalisation in the Akan Goldfields

EDMOND SMITH (University of Manchester)

Abstract

Between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Akan goldfields became intricately linked into commercial webs that spread from Africa across the world. To the north, Wangara Arab merchants travelled south from Timbuktu to Bitu to trade for the precious commodity, and to the south Portuguese and other European traders sought to build new trading posts through which to access the trade. In the eyes of both groups, the Akan heartland lay beyond the edges of their worlds. Lying between these two expanding commercial and imperial zones, the Akan sought to carefully manage both borders, maintaining their independent productive and commercial practices while taking advantage of the opportunities each group offered. In this paper, the Akan response to their changing borders will be examined to offer a new perspective on both the history of early modern economic cultures in West Africa and how patterns of integration and exclusion were shaped by African practices of border making.

Biography

Edmond Smith (PhD University of Cambridge 2016) is Presidential Fellow in Economic Cultures at the University of Manchester, with research interests in early modern global cross-cultural trade. They have published articles on investment practices, international law, and labour relations in the *Economic History Review*, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* and with W. Pettigrew in *Journal of Social History*. Their current project concerns the emergence of globalising commercial cultures in West Africa, the Middle East, and South-East Asia.

A Land-Sea Divide in the Medieval Indian Ocean World

RENU ELIZABETH ABRAHAM (O. P. Jindal Global University)

Abstract

Some historians consider the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean to have transformed what was essentially an open sea (*mare liberum*) into a closed sea (*mare clausum*). They see the transformation reflected in the use of cannons on ships, the introduction of the cartaz system, the network of forts along the littorals, the patrolling of the seas, and the establishment of the Portuguese Estado da Índia with its headquarters in Goa. In sharp contrast, the pre-Portuguese era Asian rulers are seen as passive, even averse to sea matters, while deriving profits from maritime trade through custom duties. This state of affairs is deemed to have continued even after the advent of the Portuguese.

Against this literature, my paper argues for continuities in the Indian Ocean world from before and after the arrival of the Portuguese. The paper proposes a land-sea divide in the way Asian rulers engaged with the sea, typically entrusting maritime trade and defence to an array of sea nomads, traders and pirates. The paper contends that the arrival of the Portuguese did not signal a break from the existing pattern. Rather, the Portuguese traders fit into the pattern by doubling up as privateers for the littoral polities. The paper brings together existing case studies on Asian maritime powers, as well as sheds new light on some old evidence pertaining to the medieval rulers of the Malabar Coast.

Keywords

Maritime Policies, Indian Ocean, the Portuguese Empire, Calicut

Biography

Renu completed her Erasmus Mundus Joint Doctorate degree in Text and Event in Early Modern Europe (TEEME) at the University of Kent and the University of Porto in 2020. She is currently employed as Assistant Professor in History at the Jindal School of International Affairs (JSIA), Sonapat. She is a native of Kerala.

Setting the Western Indian Ocean World: Seasonality Perspective

HIDEAKI SUZUKI (National Museum of Ethnology, Japan)

Abstract

How do we set maritime sphere of history is one of the fundamental questions for those who work in maritime history. This paper focus on the 19th century western Indian Ocean which stretch between western coast of the Indian sub-continent and eastern coast of African continent, and argue the western Indian Ocean “world.” The western Indian Ocean as space and the western Indian Ocean “world” are differentiated. The latter indicates the web of flows of human beings, trading items, information, belief, though and money. In addition, this network cannot be fully understood as static model, but as dynamic model. To capture its dynamics, this paper focuses on seasonality of human activities found in that network. Human activities here includes sailing, trading, land-transport, agriculture etc. These various activities engaged each other and flows of the network activated.

Biography

Hideaki Suzuki is assistant professor at National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan. He specializes Indian Ocean world history. His publications include *Slave Trade Profiteers in the Western Indian Ocean: Suppression and Resistance in the Nineteenth Century* (2017, New York; Palgrave) and he is the editor of *Abolitions as A Global Experience* (2016, Singapore: NUS Press).

S. 10. 1. – BIODIVERSITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY

Chair: Inês Amorim

(CITCEM-FLUP)

The shipworm epidemic in the Austrian Netherlands in the 1730s. The social effects of an environmental crisis on a coastal and maritime society

MICHAEL-W. SERRUYS (Marie Skłodowska Curie Actions – Individual fellow (Centre de recherche bretonne et celtique, Université de Bretagne occidentale, Brest, France).

Abstract

Like many other European harbours, the port of Ostend (Belgium) had to face the devastating effects of the shipworm epidemic of the 1730s. Shipworms, despite their name, are actually not worms, but voracious wood scavenging molluscs. These animals, up to 60 cm long, use their shells to dig holes and eat their way into submerged wood. Although shipworms were known by the Europeans since Antiquity, they only appeared occasionally in North Western European waters.

But due to changing environmental conditions (temperature, salinity, ...) the shipworm population exploded along the West-European coast in the 1730s. Within a few years numerous harbour infrastructure, like quays, docks, bridges, locks, but also dikes were damaged beyond repair. The impact of the shipworm's destruction was wide-ranged and the Low Countries (both the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands) were particularly hard hit by this ecological disaster, as the shipworm attacked the wooden dikes and locks that protected these low-lying lands. In recent years, the shipworm epidemic has been well covered in Dutch literature, although little information has been given on how harbours and port cities dealt with this crisis. In this paper we propose to look how a medium-sized harbour along the North Sea, in casu Ostend, coped with the shipworm infestation.

In the proposed paper we will focus consecutively on the shipworm, the outlook of the port of Ostend, how the environmental conditions favoured the shipworm infestation and how the different authorities tried first to remedy, and later to counter further epidemics. In doing so, many changes (political, technological, management) were implemented that had a profound impact on the outlook of the port of Ostend in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Keywords

Environmental history – Harbour infrastructure – Ostend – Port history – Shipworm

Biography

Michael-W. Serruys studied Modern history at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium) and political sciences at the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium) and the Institut

d'études politiques in Paris (France). He worked as an archivist at the Arenberg Foundation in Enghien (Belgium) and as a researcher at Leiden University (the Netherlands) and the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Belgium). In 2014, he became a member of the Royal Belgian Marine Society. His main research topics are the Austrian Netherlands' transport policy (18th century), Belgian maritime geopolitical questions, the Ostend Company (18th century). Today he is a Marie Skłodowska Curie Actions – Individual fellow at the Centre de recherche bretonne et celtique at the Université de Bretagne occidentale in Brest (France). His current research is on the social impact of environmental crises – in this case the shipworm epidemic – on maritime societies in Western Europe in the eighteenth century.

Whales, manatees, sea turtles, and their products, as early modern oceanic teleconnections

CRISTINA BRITO/NINA VIEIRA (CHAM, FCSH NOVA)

Abstract

Whales, manatees and sea turtles are amongst the most valued aquatic megafauna by European explorers of the Atlantic in the early modern period. Along the west coast of Africa, the Portuguese America or the Caribbean Seas, these animals and their products were perceived by Europeans as important resources for the subsistence of the first colonies, the onboard food supply and as global commercial commodities. Their appropriation and extractions was dependent on knowledge – mostly traditional and acquired from local expertise transformed into European expertise travelling via ecological teleconnections across transatlantic routes. Whales were useful providers of meat and lighting fuel in Iberia since medieval times and it was their abundance in the southern seas that triggered their exploitation since the early 17th century. It was not an easy enterprise to catch a whale but the profit from the massive beast was worthwhile. Manatees and sea turtles were completely unknown to and had never been exploited by Europeans. Manatees, also known as sea-cows, fish-woman or fish-ox, are large herbivorous that provide meat and fat. Sea turtles are oviparous reptiles that lay hundreds of eggs in each nidification and are a rich source of animal protein. They are both slow movers and can easily be grabbed and captured. Coastal pre colonization indigenous societies in Africa and in Americas knew these animals, their habits and occurrence; they relied on the animals' meat, oil and eggs, processes and uses that were learned and used by the settlers. In this paper we intend to highlight the early modern exploitation of marine living resources and to map their past occurrence and use in different cultural and environmental contexts. We will present a cartographic narrative constructed upon interdisciplinary approaches, within the humanities for the ocean, where historical agents are equally peoples and the animals.

Biography

Cristina Brito is Assistant Professor at the History Department at NOVA FCSH, Lisbon. Prior to that position, she has been awarded a Research Contract by FCT (IF/00610/2015) at CHAM — NOVA FCSH to investigate 'Cow-fish, ngulu-maza or iguaragua? Local and Global Knowledge Production, Changing Perceptions and Practices on Marine Animals in the Atlantic, 1419–1758' (2016–2019). She has an interdisciplinary, comparative and cross-cultural approach to her research. Her scientific interests include early modern marine environmental history, local and global perceptions about and uses of the seas, Atlantic and oceanic histories, animal studies and nature agency. She is currently a member of the Board of OPI – Oceans Past Initiative (2014–2019), a Sub-Director of CHAM - Centre

for the Humanities where she also coordinates a thematic line of research (Environmental History and the Sea), the UNESCO Chair on Oceans' Cultural Heritage and the H2020 Marie Curie RISE project CONCHA (2018-2021).

Nina Vieira has a Bachelor's degree in Biology from the University of Évora (2003/2008) and a Master's degree in Marine Ecology (2008/2010) with a dissertation titled "Cetaceans Occurrence and Behavioral Patterns off the West Portuguese Coast". She is presently conducting her PhD research on "The taxonomy of Portuguese whaling between the 15th and the 18th century: An Atlantic history of the sea, whales and people" with the support of FCT. She is a research assistant at CHAM, NOVA FCSH and a founding member of the Association for Sea Sciences (APCM). She has been involved in national and international projects conducting research in history and ecology (OPP, OPI, CONCHA, UNESCO Chair of the Oceans). Her main research interests are the ecology and conservation of cetaceans, understood through the history of the relation between humans and those animals, their exploitation, their economic interest and the cultural and environmental impact of that relationship over time.

S. 10. 2. – MARITIME POLICY BETWEEN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES
CHAIR: GELINA HARLAFTIS
(IMS-FORTH)

Diplomacy and trade between Naples and the United States (XVIII –XIX Century)

SALVATORE BOTTARI (University of Messina, IT)

MIRELLA MAFRICI (University of Salerno, IT)

Abstract

This paper focuses on diplomatic and commercial relations between the Kingdom of Naples and the United States between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After gaining independence, the United States sought to establish relations with European countries to which they exported tobacco, timber, rice, indigo and other products. Among them was the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

Attempts to initiate contacts with the Bourbon government began in 1784, but the failure to conclude a trade treaty in the years 1784-1785 due to the concerns of important Bourbon government members such as Ferdinando Galiani and John Acton, did not prevent the Kingdom of Naples from recognizing the new State and to accredit in 1796 a consul in Naples and in the early nineteenth century a consul in Messina and one in Palermo.

With the Napoleonic occupation the arrivals of American ships in Sicily, where Ferdinand IV of Bourbon and Maria Carolina had taken refuge, were diminished by the tension between the English and the Americans, to cease altogether at the outbreak of the conflict between the two countries.

In the Kingdom of Naples, on the other hand, where Giuseppe Bonaparte first settled, then Giacchino Murat, the American ships continued to arrive until 1809, when they were seized by order of the King, who sold ships and cargoes. Hence the start of a long dispute between the two countries that began on the return of the Bourbon, dragged on for about twenty years. Through archival material found in the Italian and American archives, the authors of this paper intend to reconstruct the first commercial and diplomatic contacts between the United States and the Kingdom of Naples.

Keywords

Trade, Diplomacy, USA, Naples, Sicily

Biographies

Salvatore Bottari is Associate Professor at the University of Messina (IT), where he teaches Modern History. Among his publications are: *Nel Mediterraneo dal Mare del Nord: la presenza commerciale inglese nella Sicilia del Settecento* (Rome 2012); “Per sollievo e beneficio di questo Regno: Carlo di Borbone e il governo economico della Sicilia”, in J. Martínez Millán, C. Camarero Bullón, M. Luzzi Traficante (eds.), *La Corte de los Borbones: crisis del modelo cortesano* (Madrid 2013); *Alle origini della Questione d'Oriente: il conflitto russo-turco del*

1768-1774 e la diplomazia degli stati italiani (Rome 2018); “Merchants and Trade between Naples, Sicily and England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 102 (2018); “British Maritime Networks of Commerce and Power: The Case of Messina in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century” in L. De Michelis, L. Guerra, F. O’Gorman (eds), *Politics and Culture in 18th Century Anglo-Italian Encounters* (Newcastle 2019).

Prof. Mafrici has a specialty in early modern and modern history of Southern Italy and the Mediterranean. She has taught modern history and Europe history for decades at the Universities of Reggio Calabria and Salerno. Her research focus is the diplomatic and political history of Southern Italy and the Mediterranean, in particular the relationship between Naples, Ottoman Empire and Russia. Among her many publications are *Mezzogiorno e pirateria nell’età moderna (secoli XVI-XVIII)* (Naples, 1995); *Il re delle speranze. Carlo di Borbone da Madrid a Napoli* (Naples, 1998); *Fascino e potere di una regina. Elisabetta Farnese sulla scena europea (1715-1759)*, (Cava de’ Tirreni, 1999); *Rapporti diplomatici e scambi commerciali nel Mediterraneo moderno* (Naples 2005); *Sguardi mediterranei tra Italia e Levante (XVII-XIX secolo)*, ed. with C. Vassallo (Malta, 2012); *Storie connesse. Forme di vita quotidiana tra Regno di Napoli e Spagna in età moderna*, ed. with R.M. Delli Quadri (Napoli, 2018).

Restoring a navy of war: the parliamentary debate in France, 1814-1830

GAËTAN OBEISSART (University of Lille (France), IRHIS laboratory)

Abstract

At the end of the First Empire, the French navy is bloodless. We discuss or even doubt its usefulness. Do we turn our back to the sea ? No, France keeps interests. Nevertheless, there is a paradox : on one hand, the maritime world, encouraged by the bourgeoisie and a nascent Saint-Simonism, wishes to preserve and reinforce external economic and commercial links ; on the other hand, a questioning on the place of the armies in the nation and the state, the emergence of a new system of values where one intends to solve problems at international congresses or on the benches of parliaments. What place is there for the naval, both solicited and decried ? Political actors wish to assign missions to this tool. So, a navy for what ? What naval policy ? The Charter of 1814, experiments within this new constitutional universe make deputies major players in the debate on the French naval policy development : they vote the Ministry of Marine and Colonies budget. During plenary sessions in the House, during budget discussions in particular, many talk, respond to the minister's request for funds, comment on the report of the Finance Committee, discuss a particular proposal. The reading of the minutes of meetings, in particular those relating to the discussion of the finance laws, reveals a political will of the parliamentarians as for the use of the fleet. What are the modalities of the debate ? Which members speak ? What do we say or do not say ? What are the topics discussed ? In which areas do you want to spend money ? What naval policy do they consider for France ? In front of them, what are the positions held by the members of the government ? It is in this context of the French parliamentarianism beginnings, of budgetary arbitration and the questioning of the naval tool that I wish to focus on these particular actors of the debates on the development of the French naval policy at the time of the restored Bourbons.

Keywords

Naval history, parliamentary history, history of restored Bourbons (1814-1830)

Biography

French, 30 years old, History and Geography teacher in a middle school in Maubeuge (north of the France). PhD student and junior lecturer at the University of Lille. In September 2019, I start my 4th year of research. Under the direction of Sylvie Aprile (Paris Nanterre University) and Jean Martinant de Préneuf (University of Lille/Defense History Service), I am working on the debates on the elaboration of French naval policy between 1814 and 1830 : a military navy for what ? What missions for it? What place is given to it in the French military system ? The actors (from local to international, natural or legal person, individual or group), the weight of

each and the networks, the terms of the debate, the process of deliberation and decision-making, the question of inheritance/modernity links, the influence of the British model, here, in a few words, the heart of my work in this thesis.

The British Fiscal-Military State and its Naval Policy: British Power Projection in Spanish America during the War of Jenkins Ear, 1737-1740

SHINSUKE SATSUMA (Hiroshima University)

Abstract

The ocean is a place not only for maritime trade, but also for war and plunder. In the 18th century, European powers competing for colonies and markets often fought wars at sea or projected their power through the sea. In particular, in Britain, which was gradually transforming into a 'fiscal-military state', maritime war was often regarded as a lucrative, effective method of warfare. This was especially the case in wars against Spain, whose trade with its colonies depended entirely on maritime trade. This paper examines British policy on the interception of silver fleets and colonial conquests in Spanish America during the period of the War of Jenkins Ear, and reveals the economic considerations behind the policy.

The concept of the fiscal-military state proposed by Brewer in 1989 was recently reappraised by several historians, such as Storrs, Graham and Walsh, from the perspectives of European as well as British history. Rodger also recently proposed viewing Britain as a fiscal 'naval' state, emphasising the role of the navy in Britain's economic development. Thus, the scope of study of the fiscal-military states has expanded considerably. However, some issues must still be addressed. One of them is how economic consideration affected political decision-making in the British fiscal-military state.

While the financial aspect of the fiscal-military state has been examined by historians, the decision-making process that governed its use of naval force, and the economic considerations that influenced that process have not been fully explored. Thus, researchers must bridge the gap between political and diplomatic history and the study of the fiscal-military state. By examining the debates over naval operations and their impacts on policymaking in mid-18th-century Britain, this paper reveals the political and diplomatic constraints combined with the economic concerns under which the British fiscal-military state needed to operate when exerting its naval power.

Keywords

Britain, navy, maritime war, Spanish America, silver

Biography

Shinsuke Satsuma is Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Integrated Arts and Sciences at Hiroshima University, Japan. He is the author of *Britain and Colonial Maritime War in the Early Eighteenth Century: Silver, Seapower and the Atlantic* (Woodbridge: Boydell &

Brewer, 2013) and *Kaizoku no Daieiteikoku: Ryakudatsu to Koueki no Yonhyakunen* [The British 'Piratical' Empire: Four Hundred Years of Plunder and Trade] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2018). He has also published several book chapters and articles both in Japanese and in English. His research interest includes 18th-century British maritime history, naval history, and political history.

**S. 10. 3. – COMMODITY CHAINS AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF EARLY MODERN PORTS**

Chair: Cátia Antunes
(Leiden University)

Discussant: Tamira Combrink
(Leiden University)

Panel Abstract

The principle of commodity chains dictated terms of trade, political economy and maritime developments during the globalization wave that characterize European maritime expansion overseas after 1415, and more intensely after 1500. Even if the research in commodity chains is turning out to be a generous field of research with the publication of the Oxford History of Commodity Chains expected in 2021, historians have yet to lay the link between the development of commodity chains and the impact of such dynamism on ports worldwide and vice-versa. Particularly in a period when colonial exchanges were structured around- and for commodity chains, in an attempt to if not integrate, at least bring closer production outlets and consumption markets, ports became essential bolts in the development, maintenance and transformation of global commodity chains. This panel will look at how different commodity chains influenced the development of ports and how ports adapted and transformed flows and circulations of commodity chains, with specific focus on Amsterdam, Canton, Seville, Cartagena de las Indias and Luanda.

Keywords

Commodity Chains, Ports, Asia, Africa, Europe

Fueling the machine: The role of Iberian slaving ports for the integration of South Atlantic commodity chains (16th-17th centuries)

MIGUEL RODRIGUES (European University Institute)

Abstract

This paper seeks to explore how the commercial integration between Spanish American and Luso-African ports supported the development of slavery-based commodity chains in the South Atlantic, and how the slave trade contributed for expansion of Iberian colonial outposts on opposite sides of the Atlantic in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. While the advent of plantation economies and the connections between the North Atlantic and Brazil with West Africa have been broadly explored by the Atlantic scholarship, the presence and economic impact of African slaves in Latin American ports has received far less attention. Recent research on transatlantic slave ventures however, has showed that during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the shipment of African slaves to the territories of Spanish America not only rivalled, but in fact surpassed the trade to Brazil (Bryant 2014; Borucki, Eltis, Wheat, 2015).

Slave-based commodity chains were far from limited to Brazil's sugar production in the Iberian Atlantic. Slavery sustained several production chains across Spanish America, which in turn invigorated the economic activity and life at its ports. The transformation of the port of Cartagena into the biggest commercial center and slaving station in the South Atlantic was a direct result of the integration of the Portuguese and Spanish colonies through slave trading ventures. This inter-relationship would in turn, help finance and transform the Portuguese's own colonial ports in Africa, particularly Luanda, due to the growing investments in slavery-based commodity chains. This paper will shed some light in the role of trans-imperial commercial ventures between south Atlantic Iberian slaving ports. By focusing not only in Luanda and Cartagena, it will explore how slavery and slave-based chains and respective agents impacted and transformed the port cities in the South Atlantic.

Biography

Miguel Rodrigues is a PhD candidate at the European University Institute in Florence and is expected to graduate in October 2019 with a PhD dissertation that encompasses the trade in enslaved Africans from the Angolan and Loango Coasts onto Latin America.

Bargaining for grain and timber: how Seville's trade with Northern Europe expanded during the Eighty Years' war

GERMAN JIMENEZ MONTES (University of Groningen)

Abstract

This research studies how Seville's trade with Northern Europe expanded in the context of the Eighty Years' war, despite Spain's commercial war against the Dutch Republic, allowing the city to ensure access to strategic Baltic commodities, such as grain and timber for ship-building. The paper first studies Seville's capacity to influence the Habsburg policy-making on international trade through the negotiation of the city's fiscal contribution to the Royal Treasury. Secondly, it analyzes how Seville consolidated a market of Baltic commodities by collaborating with a group of Dutch and Flemish migrants to whom the city outsourced the taxation of sales of imported timber and grain. Thirdly, it explores how the rising demand for grain and timber in Andalusia led to an unprecedented growth in shipping between Andalusia and the Baltic ports, and to foreigners' increasing investment in the extraction of Western Andalusian salt

Biography

German Jimenez Montes is a PhD candidate at the University of Groningen, The Netherlands. His dissertation is part of the FP7 Program For Sea Discovery Research Group and his supervision falls under the responsibility of Dr. Jan Willem Veluwemkamp.

Canton and the impact of long-distance commodity-chains on its port, its hinterland and the wider Southeast Asian economy (1700-1800)

CHRIS NIERSTRASZ (Erasmus University Amsterdam)

Abstract

The port-city of Canton has mainly been studied from the perspective of western long-distance trade. Historians have especially focused on how western traders dealt with the Chinese authorities and local merchants. In such stories, it is often taken for granted that China supplied whatever foreigners wanted. At best, it remains unexplained more often than not how China changed to meet the exigencies the new demands of long-distance trade. This presentation wants to break beyond these boundaries by linking new archival research on long-distance commodity chains to developments in Canton. What impact did this trade have on Canton itself and on its Chinese hinterlands? What do the exports of tea tell us about transformation in the production process of Chinese commodities? And what does intra-Asian trade from south-east Asia to Canton tell us about changing consumption and production patterns in Canton and its hinterlands?

Biography

Chris Nierstrasz is Assistant Professor at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. He has published extensively on the history of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and how the company influenced flows and circulations of commodity chains in Asia and globally.

**S. 10. 4 – COERCIVE SEAS – REVISITING EARLY MODERN COERCED MOBILITIES
IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC**

Organisers:

LISA HELLMAN

(Freie Universität Berlin)

MATTHIAS VAN ROSSUM

(International Institute of Social History)

Panel Abstract

Studies of bondage, such as slavery, serfdom and coerced labour have a significant and enduring intersection with maritime history. The sea served as an arena for coerced labour in and of itself, but also as the realm for immense flows of forced migrations, especially in the early modern era. The sea as a space of coercion offer an opportunity to consider coerced labour regimes across the globe not as separated from one another: the maritime sphere will let us explore the connections between societies in the past, and understand the links and transfers between different coercive regimes.

Recent studies on the slavery in the Mediterranean, Central Asia, the Indian Ocean and Indonesian Archipelago worlds indicate that slave trade was also widespread outside the Atlantic world. Commodified forms of slavery existed side by side with forms of non-commodified bondage, by which it was influenced and with which interacted, most importantly *corvée*, caste- and debt-based slavery (Van Rossum 2020). Similar to these different regimes of coercion, however, there were also various forms of coerced mobility, or forced relocations, existed as well, as the example of prisoners of war indicates clearly (Turner & Peters, 2016). Slave trade was not the only form of coerced mobility, but existed alongside for example deportation, repopulation, tribute and kidnapping. This paper takes a broad and comparative view of such mobility, including traded slaves, coerced maritime labour and forced relocation.

Building on meetings in Amsterdam (2016), Kalmar (2017) and Lyon (2019), this panel is part of a network of scholars that aims to further the study of coerced labour and relocation in Asia. This panel explores patterns of maritime coerced mobility in early modern Asia and the Pacific, and hopes to deepen our understanding of the variety of coerced Mobilities in the past, and to reconsider the role of these coerced mobilities had in *connecting* and *shaping* regimes of coercion in the early modern maritime sphere. This panel thus aims to detect characteristics, differences and commonalities through in-depth analysis of coerced migration, and the way in which such diverse maritime systems and networks overlapped and affected each other.

A slave economy in the East Indies: Seaborne transportation of slaves to the Banda Islands

HANS HÄGERDAL (Professor of history at the Linnaeus University)

Abstract

The Banda Islands were famously conquered by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1621, wiping out much of the indigenous population. As Banda was the home to the vital trading items nutmeg and mace, the VOC devised a plantation system on the island that was worked by slave labour - a rare Asian parallel to the slave system of the West Indies. The paper discusses the sources of unfree labour in Banda in various parts of Asia, and offers a network analysis on the way the Dutch built up routines of purchase and forced transportation in eastern Indonesia.

Keywords

Banda Islands, VOC, slavery, shipping

Biography

Hans Hägerdal is a Professor in History at Linnaeus University, Sweden. His main field of research is early colonial encounters in Southeast Asia. He has in particular studied early-colonial societies in Timor and Maluku, addressing problems of resistance and adaptation to colonial structures.

Free and Unfree Labor in Portuguese Shipping on the China Seas

JAMES FUJITANI (Associate Professor in the Department of Modern Languages at Azusa Pacific University)

Abstract

This paper examines the Portuguese ships that traded in East Asia during the sixteenth century. There is much mystery surrounding their crew compositions. Many sources indicate that Europeans made up no more than 20% of the personnel. However, they give relatively few details as to who made up the other 80%. Some sources suggest that these were slaves, while others suggest that they were free Asian sailors. This ambiguity flows into a larger debate over the nature of European maritime expansion. While some scholars say that Europeans tried to take over the Asian trade routes using forced labor, others say that Europeans integrated into the trade networks by partnering with local merchants. This paper helps shed light on the question. Through a careful examination of both Chinese and Portuguese sources, it offers fairly precise estimates of the ships' crew compositions. It is clear that most ships had both slaves and free sailors. However, it is less clear how work was divided among them.

Keywords

Portugal, China Sea, Trade, Ship Crews, Slavery

Biography

James Fujitani is Associate Professor in the Department of Modern Languages at Azusa Pacific University. He studies the history of East-West relations, in particular during the sixteenth century. His research topics include Portuguese diplomacy with Japan and China, Jesuit missions to East Asia, and trade, piracy, and slave trafficking in the China Seas.

The middle passage in the European slave trade on Madagascar (17th-18th centuries)

RAFAËL THIEBAUT (International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam)

Abstract

The Transatlantic slave trade counts as one of the best researched forms of forced migration in the Modern age. And while the slave trade in the Indian Ocean has received considerable attention in the last decades, much remains to be done. We see that the volume of this commerce is at the heart of the recently created Exploring the Slave Trade Project. On other elements of the slave trade, however, little is still known.

Madagascar was an important slaving reservoir for different European East India Companies. During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Dutch, French and English vessels traded slaves on the Big Island and disembarked them in different locations like Cape Colony, Sumatra, Mauritius, Bombay, Ceylon and even the Americas. While closely resembling the Transatlantic slave trade, the Madagascar slave trade is quite particular both in its organization and in its execution.

In this paper, we propose to study the maritime aspects and the middle passage of the European slave trade on Madagascar during the Early Modern Age. Thanks to an extensive archival research, we have been able to extract information on the slave ships used, the composition of crew and cargo, the age-sex ratio, the mortality, desertion techniques and shipboard revolts. Compared to the Transatlantic slave trade, and other forms of (forced) migration, we can better understand this phenomenon.

Keywords

Slave Trade, Madagascar, Middle Passage, Indian Ocean, Forced Migration

Biography

Rafaël Thiébaut defended his thesis « Traite des esclaves et commerce néerlandais et français à Madagascar (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles) » at the Université Paris 1 under joint supervision with the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam in November 2017. Currently, he is a postdoctoral researcher at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam and he works on the larger research project « Resilient Diversity: the Governance of Racial and Religious Plurality in the Dutch Empire, 1600-1800 ».

**S. 10. 5. – NEW SCHOLARSHIP ON DOCKWORKERS:
AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE**

Chair: Jordi Ibarz Gelabert
(University of Barcelona)

Panel Abstract

With global perspectives and case studies on France, the United States, South Africa and Senegal, the panel will explore new scholarship on a category of maritime workers reputedly particularly inclined to strike, unionize, and engage in other forms of collective action. Papers will be presented by: Raquel Varela, professor at Universidade Nova de Lisboa and fellow of the International Institute for Social Research (Amsterdam) ; Peter Cole, professor at Western Illinois University and research associate at the Society, Work, and Development program at the University of the Witwatersrand; Daniel Hidalgo, University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria ; John Barzman, professor at Université Le Havre Normandie, listed here as a discussant ; and chaired by Jordi Ibarz (Barcelona). As it has been for millennia, port transport is an essential aspect of mobilizing the resources of the seas as it is the literal and metaphorical link with the human population living on land. Scholarly attention has focused on technological and organizational change, and in the last twenty years on the waterfront workforce which loads and unloads ships. Groundbreaking new research has been produced that focuses on single ports, national networks, comparisons of ports and international solidarity. Although the customs of contemporary dock workers derive in part from ancient, medieval and early modern times, they underwent considerable change and expansion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the growth of ship size, specialization and tonnage carried, and especially with the container revolution. The panel aims to stimulate the necessary syntheses which this new scholarship has made possible. Case studies concern international networks, ports on the US West Coast, in Portugal, Senegal, South Africa, France and elsewhere. The panel will be chaired by Jordi Ibarz (University of Barcelona).

Keywords

ports, labor, cargo handling, international networks

The International Dockers Council and International Federation of Transportworkers

RAQUEL VARELA (FCSH-UNL)

Abstract

In the last fifty years, the International Federation of Transportworkers (ITF) and, more recently, the International Dockworkers Council (IDC) were faced with the question of how to maintain their stated internationalism when faced with globalization, social dumping and solidarity struggles. Various events raised the question of « open borders » as mainstream official policy, « no borders » as a radical left solution, or closure of national borders, often combined with racism and xenophobia, as a perspective defended in some cases. We examine indications of the emergence of a Marxist policy of trade unionism, which does not defend free circulation as a state policy for itself, nor the closure of national borders, but promotes an effort to defend free movement of workers from the point of view of international solidarity, carried out in concrete struggles. In this paper, we present evidence that higher paid workers in richer countries, if they want to save themselves from social dumping, can, together with the poorest workers, promote common forms of struggle to prevent competition between them. We analyse the development of this debate as it underpinned the role of IDC in the internationalist labour movement of dockworkers after 2008 crisis in Europe.

Biography

Raquel Varela is a researcher and university professor. Starting Grant from the Foundation for Science and Technology / New University of Lisbon / IHC and Fellow of the International Institute for Social History (Amsterdam). As visiting professor at Universidade Federal Fluminense, she was responsible for the Global History of Work. A professor at ISEC, in Labor Relations, she coordinates the international project « In The Same Boat? Shipbuilding industry, a global labor history » at ISSH Amsterdam. She is author and coordinator of 30 books on labor history, Welfare State, History of Portugal, Europe in the XX Century, social movements, and global history. Several are translated into German, English and French. She has published 61 articles in journals with scientific arbitration in history, sociology, education, economics, social service and political science indexed by ISI Thompson, CAPES Qualis A, Scopus, among others. She is also author of 75 chapters of books published

Dockworker Power: Race and Activism in Durban and the San Francisco Bay Area

PETER COLE (Western Illinois University)

Abstract

The paper will probe the three main contributions of my new comparative history *Dockworker Power: Race and Activism in Durban and the San Francisco Bay Area*. First, in the decades after World War II, organized dockworkers (in unions and outside them) stood at the forefront of black freedom struggles in their respective port cities and countries, both built on racial capitalism. To do so, black, white and other peoples organized, where ordinary people possess their most power, arguably, at work. Be it named social movement unionism (in SA) or civil rights unionism (in US), such potential only has been realized occasionally, yet Durban's all-black and San Francisco's diverse dockworkers consistently fought for racial equality. Second, this paper will discuss dockworkers' responds to containerization, a revolutionary technological process with the potential to eviscerate worker power—but which did not. Dockworkers managed to survive, those with stronger unions more able to do so, offering a telling example of how organized labor can face automation, sure to become more intense. Though containerization resulted in an explosion in trade, particularly in shipping, maritime, labor, and other historians have insufficiently examined given its tremendous impacts. Third, this paper will discuss dockworker activism in transnational social justice struggles. Alternately described as black or labor internationalism, Durban and San Francisco Bay Area dockworkers possess long histories of stopping work to assist black and worker struggles in other countries. This book also is the first global North/global South comparison of port workers. Hopefully, it contributes to IMHA conversations on how maritime workers and their organizations can shape our world.

Biography

Peter Cole is Professor of History at Western Illinois University (USA) and Research Associate in the Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP), University of the Witwatersrand (South Africa). He previously wrote *Wobblies on the Waterfront: Interracial Unionism in Progressive-Era Philadelphia*, edited *Ben Fletcher: Life and Times of a Black Wobbly* and co-edited *Wobblies of the World: A Global History of the IWW*. He tweets from @ProfPeterCole

Social radicalism and workers unionism at the waterfront: the case of colonial Dakar

DANIEL CASTILLO HIDALGO (IATEXT-University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Spain))

Abstract

This communication analyses the configuration of specific social movements and unionism at the Dakar waterfront during the colonial Age (Cooper, 1990 and 2000; Person 1986). It builds from the conception of social radicalism proposed by Alice Mah (2014) in order to study how social claims and workers' unions operated from the early 20th century up to the last stages of the Colonial State (Thiam, 1993; Young, 1994). Thus, we observe how dock unions were located at the head of the political struggles in a number of key events which heavily affected the institutional colonial structure (Callebert 2017; Castillo & Wélé, 2018). Our research is mainly built from original documentation from the National Archives of Senegal and the French Overseas Archives (i.e., official reports on social and economic affairs; labour inspection). Thus, we aim to prove the existing linkages between waterfront radicalism and social advances in the colony and how the labour unionism struggled the functioning of the colonial state, chiefly during the interwar period.

Biography

Daniel Castillo Hidalgo is Assistant Lecturer at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. He broadly published on maritime and economic issues in Senegal and West Africa during the contemporary period. His research interests focus on the development of port communities in Senegal as well as the spatial evolution of port systems in the African continent in the long run. He co-edited with Ayodeji Olukoju, *African Seaports and Maritime Economics in Historical Perspective* (2020, Palgrave).

Technology and culture : four configurations of port labor in Le Havre 1792-today

JOHN BARZMAN (University of Le Havre Normandy/UMR IDEES 6266 CNRS)

Abstract

What can the long perspective add to the history of port labor ? A case study of the port of Le Havre from the French Revolution (1790s) to today (2020) is due for publication in 2020. It allows the researcher to distinguish four configurations of technology, culture and labor organization that refer to ships, port equipment, goods transported and culture. In a first configuration (1790s to 1830s) wooden, relatively small and inexpensive sail ships were loaded and unloaded by registered trades and labor contractors using rudimentary equipment. In a second (1830s to 1880s), large sail ships and early steam ships stimulated the emergence of a “new large technical system” (enclosed dock) which reorganized professional customs. In the third (1880s to 1960s), more expensive steel ships, driven by steam, then diesel engines, required shorter turn-around times in harbor, and mechanization of cargo-handling operations. But the vast but irregular increase in the volume of goods traded led to an explosive growth of the workforce, with strikes that eventually (1928) built a strong and stable trade union. In the fourth period beginning in the 1970s, specialized bulk carriers (oil tankers, grain carriers, for example), then container ships carrying general goods led to a decrease of the number of dockers, but not to the disappearance of the strong union, which had created a strong and enduring (so far) culture of solidarity among its members and their families. Inspired by the collective undertaking which led to “Dock Workers. International Explorations in Comparative Labour” (2000), the paper will summarize essential elements that can be compared in different ports.

Keywords

ports, labor, cargo handling, international networks

Biography

BA: Harvard College, MA: U. Wisconsin Madison, PhD: UCLA, HDR: Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne. Professor Barzman has studied the history of social movements, port societies, and dock labor. Among other works, he contributed in various capacities to Dock Workers. International Explorations in Comparative Labour History 1790-1970 (2000), Environnements portuaires/Port Environments (2003) and a chapter on France to Raquel Varela's Global Encyclopedia of Dockers (forthcoming 2020). His *Les dockers du Havre de la Révolution à nos jours de la brouette au portique* is due to be published in 2020. Former member of the Editorial Board of the International Journal of Maritime History.

**S. II. 1. – EUROPEAN SHIPBUILDING AND SHIP REPAIRS OVERSEAS:
THEORETICAL APPROACHES AND THE CASES OF AFRICA AND THE PACIFIC
(PART 1)**

Chair: Catia Antunes

Discussant: Erik Odegard

Panel Abstract

European countries used their overseas settlements for shipbuilding and ship repairs during the Early Modern period, a phenomenon that has deserved little attention by current historiography. This lack of interest is particularly strange as European shipbuilding and ship repairs overseas were particularly important for the development and maintenance of the European presence overseas. However, it carried further, deeper and longer term implications for Europeans and non-Europeans alike. Shipbuilding and ship repairs overseas imposed a great demand on local natural resources (timber, tar, and pitch, iron for nails), manufactured goods (sails, furniture), specialized and general labour. Shipyards, dockyards, harbours and wharfs were spaces where European, African, 'American' and Asian knowledge and know-how were used, exchanged and adapted to meet diverse demands and circumstances. This panel (part of a twin-panel proposal) looks into the theoretical implications of overseas shipbuilding and repairs, having the specific cases of the West Coast of Africa and the Pacific as cases in point, whilst the twin-panel will concentrate specifically on Asia.

Keywords

Shipbuilding; Ship Repairs; Overseas; Africa; Pacific

Theoretical Insights into Overseas Shipbuilding and Ship Repairs

CATIA ANTUNES (Leiden University)

Abstract

European overseas shipbuilding and repairs contributed significantly to the efficiency of the European empires during their maritime expansion overseas, as well as during their imperial moment. This paper will address the direct and indirect theoretical implications of looking at empire building from the perspective of shipbuilding, with particular emphasis on the deployment and economic efficiency of empire, the management of diversity (especially workforces), the exploitation of localized natural resources and the circulation, adaptation and renewal of maritime knowledge.

Biography

Catia Antunes is professor of Global Early Modern Economic Networks: Merchants, Entrepreneurs and Empires at Leiden University, The Netherlands.

European and African Shipbuilding and Repair in Precolonial Western Africa: An entangled history of Challenges and Strategies

FILIPA RIBEIRO DA SILVA (International Institute of Social History)

Abstract

Port-to-port navigation and transportation in shallow river estuaries along the western coast of Africa posed challenges to Dutch and other European merchants and military in what concerned shipping capacities, ship design and shipbuilding. To cope with these challenges, Dutch, Portuguese, English and other 'nations' of merchants present in the various coastal regions of the African continent, had to adopt a variety of strategies ranging from the transport of pre-fabricated boats of small dimension to the coast on board heavier ships, recruitment of personnel specialized in ship repair and building, to the acquisition, either temporary or permanent, African boats and resort to recruitment of African boatmen, and in this way be, at least in part, dependent on African shipbuilding techniques and African navigational skills to operate in the African commerce.

In this paper I will analyse and compare the different strategies and policies adopted by European private merchants, commercial companies and States active in various regions of western Africa (i.e. Senegambia, Sierra Leone Gold Coast, Slave Coast, Ivory Coast, Loango Coast, and the Angolan Coast) in terms of ship building and ship repair, and in what regarded the use of African shipping skills to overcome the difficulties posed by African geographical, social and politico-military aspects.

The analysis is based on notarial acts from the Amsterdam Notarial collection housed at the City's Archive. This source will be complemented by information obtained in travelogues, journals of voyages, and collections of correspondence exchanges between European merchants and their commercial agents based in Africa, between officials of the Portuguese Crown and central institutions, and between officials of private commercial companies on African ground and headquarters in Europe. The analysis of these source materials is done on the basis of the most relevant secondary literature so far published in the field.

Biography

Filipa Ribeiro da Silva is Senior Researcher at the International Institute of Social History and specialist in the comparative history of European exchanges in Africa.

The Concepts of Ton and Tonnage (tonelaje y tonelada) in the Spanish Pacific: a Technological Interpretation of the Manila-Acapulco Galleons

IVAN VALDEZ BUBNOV (Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico)

Abstract

This paper presents the results of original research on the concepts of ton and tonnage in the Spanish shipbuilding industry in South East Asia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. It focuses on the fundamental principles of shipbuilding technology: the volumetric systems of measurement in use in the Spanish Pacific, and the peculiarities of the systems for measuring cargo capacity in the Manila-Acapulco trade route. The historiography of transpacific commerce implicitly assumes that these systems were equivalent to those in use in the Spanish Atlantic world. This paper aims to demonstrate that the Spanish shipbuilding industry in Asia operated with different technical considerations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that the process of imperial standardisation begun in Peninsular Spain in the 1590s finally reached the Philippines in the mid-eighteenth century.

Biography

Ivan Valdez-Bubnov is a PhD graduate of Queen's College, University of Cambridge and associate professor in Global History at the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico.

**S. II. 2. – POLITICS AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE TOWN-PORTS
OF NORTHERN PENINSULA IN THE MIDDLE AGES**

Chair: Jesús Ángel Solórzano Telechea

Discussant: Iñaki Bazán Díaz

Panel Abstract

The aim of this panel will be to expose our analysis about the expansion of the forms of the medieval urban government and forms of political and social organization from the centers of power to the peripheries of the Peninsula, located in the townports of the maritime borders of the kingdom of Castile. The relationship between the center and the peripheries was based, on the one hand, on the transfer of given models, such as the charters of Logroño, Sahagún and Estella, but also, on the other hand, on the constant modifications and adaptations to local needs and conditions during the Late Middle Ages, which represented a new urban governance model of a “polycentric nature”. These processes led to the formation of new forms of urban governance in the Peninsula peripheries, in which the ports were a model at local and regional level. We will expose the similarities and differences in the development of the governance of the medieval town-ports in the peripheral regions of Northern Peninsula in relation to those of the interior and if they were the result not only of common models, but also of the similarities between local political, social and economic conditions between the town ports of the European Atlantic facade in the Middle Ages from a political, economic and legal perspective.

Keywords

Middle Ages, Politics, Governance, Ports, Northern Peninsula,

Politics and governance in the town-ports of Northern Peninsula in the Middle Ages

JESÚS ÁNGEL SOLÓRZANO-TELECHEA (University of Cantabria)

Abstract

Speaker will expose the analyses of the politics and governance in the town-ports of Northern Peninsula in the Middle Ages

Biography

Main Publications:

1. Jesús A. Solórzano Telechea; Beatriz Arízaga Bolumburu; Michel Bochaca (Eds.), *Las sociedades portuarias de la Europa atlántica en la Edad Media*. Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Logroño, 2016.
2. Jesús A. Solórzano Telechea; Beatriz Arízaga Bolumburu; Louis Sicking (Eds.), *Diplomacia y comercio en la Europa Atlántica medieval*. Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Logroño, 2015.
3. “Integración económica, competencia y jerarquización de los puertos atlánticos del Norte de España (siglos XIII-XV)”, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 48/1, 2018, pp. 213-242.
4. “Por bien y utilidad de los dichos maestros, pescadores y navegantes”: Trabajo, solidaridad y acción política en las cofradías de las gentes de la mar en la España atlántica medieval”, *Medievalismo*, 26, 2016, pp. 329 - 356.
5. “Medieval Seaports of the Atlantic coast of Spain”, *International Journal of Medieval History*, 21/1, 2011, pp. 81-100.

Naval Commerce Institutions in the Biscayan Gulf: the familial companies at the end of the Middle Ages

JOSÉ DAMIÁN GONZÁLEZ ARCE (University of Murcia)

Abstract

Speaker will expose the analyses of the naval commerce Institutions in the Biscayan Gulf and the familial companies at the end of the Middle Ages

Biography

Main Publications

José Damián González Arce, *Gremios y cofradías en los reinos medievales de León y Castilla. Siglos XII-XV*. Región Editorial, Palencia, 2009.

José Damián González Arce. De conjunto de rentas a impuesto aduanero. La transformación del almojarifazgo durante el siglo XIV en el reino de Murcia. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*. 42/2, 2012, pp. 669-696.

José Damián González Arce. “El comercio de los puertos vascos en la primera mitad del siglo XVI a partir de los contratos de fletamento”, *Investigaciones Históricas*, 33, 2014, pp. 37-62.

José Damián González Arce. “Los flujos comerciales del puerto de Bilbao con la Europa atlántica (1481-1501)”. *Cuadernos Medievales*, 19, 2015, pp. 82-110.

José Damián González Arce. “Transporte y envío de flotas comerciales hacia el norte de Europa desde el Cantábrico oriental (1500-1550)”, en *Espacio, tiempo y forma*, 24, 2011, pp. 51-88.

Legal instrumentation in Asturian town-ports at the end of the Middle Ages

MARÍA ÁLVAREZ FERNÁNDEZ (University of Oviedo)

Abstract

Speaker will expose the analyses of the legal instruments in Asturian town-ports at the end of the Middle Ages

Biography

Main publications:

1 Artículo científico. María Álvarez Fernández. (1/1). 2017. “Del Oviedo medieval. La ciudad y sus campos (siglos XIV-XV) En la España medieval. Universidad Complutense de Madrid. 40, pp.433-463.

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S. 11. 3. – SEALIT I: THE SEALIT RESEARCH PROJECT
Chair: Gelina Harlaftis (IMS-FORTH)

Panel Abstract

Seafaring Lives in Transition, Mediterranean Maritime Labour and Shipping, 1850s-1920s (SeaLiT) is an international research project funded by the ERC Starting Grant 2016. SeaLiT started in February 2017 and has a duration of 5 years. The project is hosted at the Institute of Mediterranean Studies, of the Foundation for Research and Technology Hellas, Rethymno, Crete. In the project also participate as partners the Universities of Barcelona, Genoa and the Centre for Cultural Informatics/ICS/FORTH, Heraklion. The project explores the transition from sail to steam navigation and its effects on seafaring populations in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea between the 1850s and the 1920s. In the core of the project lie the effects of technological innovation on seafaring people and maritime communities, whose lives were drastically altered by the advent of steam. The project addresses the changes through the actors, seafarers, shipowners and their families, focusing on the adjustment of seafaring lives to a novel socio-economic reality. It investigates the maritime labour market, the evolving relations among shipowner, captain, crew and their local societies, life on board and ashore, as well as the development of new business strategies, trade routes and navigation patterns. The project offers a comparative perspective, investigating both collectivities and individuals, on board the ships and on shore in a number of big and small ports from Barcelona up to Odessa, in the Black Sea.

In the Panel SeaLiT I will be presented:

- An overview of the objectives, questions, topics, methodology and ultimate goals of the project
- A challenging and innovative interdisciplinary engagement between historians and IT experts, on methods and tools not used up to now in the historical research with the adoption of semantic data technology, and
- How the transition from sail to steam affected the state policy towards maritime labor in Spain in the end of the nineteenth century.

Keywords

ERC Research Project, Transition from sail to steam, Mediterranean and Black Sea, Interdisciplinary collaboration of IT experts and Historians

Seafaring Lives en route. Objectives, work in progress and perspectives in Mediterranean Maritime History.

APOSTOLOS DELIS (Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FORTH)

Abstract

Seafaring Lives in Transition, Mediterranean Maritime Labour and Shipping, 1850s-1920s (SeaLiT) is an international research project funded by the ERC Starting Grant 2016. The project explores the transition from sail to steam navigation and its effects on seafaring populations in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea between the 1850s and the 1920s. In the project, participate research assistants, PhD students, Post Docs as well as senior scholars. The broad categories of research topics include: a) maritime labor, b) maritime communities and ports and c) shipping with emphasis on the passenger steam navigation.

SeaLiT is based on unexplored sources that have hitherto not been systematically used in Mediterranean maritime history. SeaLiT researchers have collected so far a very wide array of categories and of types of sources from several archives and libraries of Mediterranean and Black Sea countries written in different languages such as Greek, Russian, Ottoman, Italian, French and Spanish.

In this vast amount and typology of archival material, we can distinguish two broad categories in terms of processing: those containing qualitative and those containing quantitative data. For this latter category CCI/ICS/FORTH has designed a system that is composed of the following parts: data entry, post processing of digitized data, mapping to the semantic schema, “research space” semantic network database.

In a new interdisciplinary engagement between historians and IT experts, on methods and tools not used up to now in the historical research the project’s aim is to offer typical outputs of academic work as well as innovative research tools:

- A collective volume
- Six Ph.D. dissertations
- An open access archival and bibliographical corpus, and,
- An open access Semantic Network Database.

Biography

Apostolos Delis studied Ancient History in the Universities of Siena and Bologna (BA), Maritime Archaeology and History in the University of Bristol (MA), and he took his PhD thesis in 2010 in the Ionian University. In 2010-11 worked as a post doc researcher in the University of Nice and from 2012 in the Institute for Mediterranean Studies/ FORTH. In September 2016, he won the ERC Starting Grant 2016 “Seafaring Lives in Transition. Mediterranean Mari-

time Labour and Shipping during Globalization, 1850s-1920s”. He is author of a monograph on Mediterranean Wooden Shipbuilding, and he has published in journals and collective volumes such as *European Review of Economic History*, *Urban History*, *International Journal of Maritime History*, *History of Technology*. His research interests lie in the maritime economic and social history, history of technology of the sailing ship, the shipbuilding industry, port history and the institutions of shipping business.

Advanced IT Tools for Historical Research with Archival Material

PAVLOS FAFALIOS (Center for Cultural Informatics, Institute of Computer Science Foundation for Research and Technology - Hellas (FORTH))

Abstract

Historical research using archival sources typically starts with a research hypothesis and the formal structure of the data that needs to be extracted and transcribed from the sources. Current practice is nearly exclusively using spreadsheets or simple relational databases to organize the data as rows with multiple columns of related parameters. This form offers itself for direct quantitative analysis under varying parameters, which may consequently be used for the scholarly interpretation of causes and impacts. The problems of this practice are the high dependency of the transcribed data on the initial research hypothesis, the lack of representation of the details from which the registered relations are inferred, and the difficulty to revisit the original sources of transcribed facts for verifications, corrections or improvements. The CCI has been developing in cooperation with the SealIT project a highly advanced and innovative tool set for a more effective support of such kind of research that allows for (1) a much richer representation of source transcripts, as publishable, reusable resources in their own right; (2) direct connection of data to provenance and digitized images of sources at all stages of data processing; (3) complete, consistent management of the scholarly disambiguation of the identity of referred entities (places, persons, things) and multilingual terminology within and between sources; and (4) the integration and concatenation of facts from many sources into a coherent “semantic network” for seamless exploration and quantitative analysis even of indirectly related facts. The development is based on continuous validation by the SealIT partners. The implementation process has finished steps 1-3 and is in the final stage 4, currently prototyping the semantic network and customizing it for the research questions of the SealIT project. CCI is committed to support these tools as Open Source solutions in the long term.

Maritime Labour in Spain: Workforce in time of transition, 1850-1920

JORDI IBARZ / ENRIC GARCIA DOMINGO (T.I.G./University of Barcelona)

Abstract

At the end of the XIX Century, as transition from sail to steam consolidated, the features of the workforce in Spanish maritime industries changed at different levels. For instance, the organization through *Matrícula de Mar*, an Ancien Régime seamen's register, aimed to control sea workers as a source to man the Navy, switched to *Inscription Maritima*, a new way of organizing workforce in order to provide men to the navy through a new and more rational military service. From the geographical point of view, the origin of most of the seamen also changed, as people from some regions (Catalonia, for example) almost disappeared from the merchant marine and remained only in the fishing fleet. Other changes affected professions, migrations, etc. Using the Catalan maritime community as a field of research and a set of different sources, both civil and military, in this paper we will discuss about the general configuration and characteristics of maritime workforce of Catalonia in a time of technological and social changes.

Biography

Jordi Ibarz (Barcelona, 1962) is a professor of Modern History at the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Barcelona and member of the research group "Work, Institutions and Gender". His main research interests are on labour history, especially that referring to dock workers and glass workers.

Enric García Domingo (Barcelona, Spain, 1962) has a degree in History (Universitat de Barcelona) and a Doctorate in Modern History (Universitat de Barcelona), and he is interested in Maritime History in a broad scope. His dissertation topic was on labour in the Spanish Merchant Marine in the transition from sail to steam, 1834-1914.

**S. II. 4. – MARITIME HERITAGE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY
IN SCANDINAVIA, C 1800-2000**

Chair: Leos Müller

(Department of History, Stockholm University)

Abstract

The Scandinavian countries are maritime countries. The sea has played a great role in their economic development, in their political history and cultural identity. Danish and Swedish navies were key components of their state-building processes. Fishing, sea-borne trade, cross trades, shipbuilding, and shipping have been and are important economic sectors. The sea is embedded in the construction of modern national identities in Scandinavia—but in different ways. The proposed panel will discuss the different trajectories of the connection between the maritime past/heritage and national identity in Sweden, Denmark, and Finland. The focus of the panel is the period between the mid-to-late 19th century and present, a period in which modern Scandinavian identities appeared based on national historical narratives and when the maritime sectors of the countries went through revolutionary changes. We will specifically look at the connections between modern national identities and shipping sectors, navies and mariners.

Biography

Leos Müller is professor of history and head of the Centre for Maritime Studies, Stockholm University. He has published widely on Swedish maritime history in the eighteenth century, e.g. *Consuls, corsairs, and commerce. The Swedish consular service and long-distance shipping, 1720-1815* (2004) and *Sveriges första globala århundrade. En 1700-talshistoria* (2018). His most recent research interest concerns the roles of naval warfare, privateering and maritime neutrality in shaping international order and early modern global trade. He has long experience of collaboration with maritime heritage sector in Sweden.

Denmark as a maritime nation: Narratives, interests and identities through 250 years

ANDERS RAVN SØRENSEN (Copenhagen Business School. Center for Business History)

Abstract

The paper aims to analyze how the narrative of Denmark as a maritime nation has developed from the late seventeenth century until today. While the narrative of Denmark as an outreaching, explorative maritime nation has long historical roots, this narrative was – after the loss of Norway in 1814 and the nationally traumatizing Prussian wars in the middle of the nineteenth century – dwarfed by a stronger narrative of Denmark as a small, inwards looking agricultural nation. The paper shows how maritime organizations and actors have continuously used and reproduced the ideas of Denmark as a maritime nation in order to strengthen the legitimacy and economic power of the industry. The paper argues that the maritime narrative have gone through ups and downs (often correlating with periods of increased globalization) and that the recent decades' shift from an inwards looking agricultural narrative to an externally oriented and reactive maritime one, must be understood as a consequence of increasing cultural and political globalization. Furthermore, the paper investigates the political and economic legitimacy that are potentially conferred upon certain industries because of their entwinement in historically routed narratives.

Keywords

Maritime identity, narratives, Denmark, industry legitimacy, uses of history.

Biography

Anders Ravn Sørensen is assistant professor at the Department of Management, Politics and Philosophy at Copenhagen Business School. His research interests focus on maritime history and historical sociology. He has published in international journals such as *American Historical Review* and *National Identities*.

Swedish naval officers and Swedish national identity in the early 1900s

ANDREAS LINDEROTH (Swedish Naval Museum, Karlskrona)

Abstract

The historical and social sciences have shown a relatively great interest in the formation of the Swedish national identity. It has been analyzed from many different perspectives. But maritime matters have been quite absent from this research. This paper tries to open a window into this almost unknown field of Swedish national identity formation by looking into how Swedish naval officers regarded Sweden and Swedish national identity in the early 1900s. What kind of Sweden and Swedes did they want? How did they promote the forming of a Swedish national identity? The main source is the journal “Vår flotta”, for the years 1905-1920. The journal tried mainly to promote and popularize the interests of the Swedish navy, but also those of the Swedish merchant fleet.

Keywords

national identity, Swedish navy, naval officers

Biography

Andreas Linderöth is a historian working as a research coordinator at the Swedish Naval Museum, Karlskrona. His research focuses on naval history, especially the Swedish navy in the 19th and 20th centuries.

National Narratives of Nordic Mariners

MICHAEL BENNEDSEN HANSEN (PhD Fellow, Copenhagen Business School)

Abstract

International shipping went through fundamental technological and institutional changes in the later part of the 20th Century. Containerization, out flagging and International Ship Registers changed global trade, but also challenged old practices, national identity and maritime culture on the ships. The Nordic countries, all old maritime nations, were front and center in this development, forcing them and the Nordic Shipping Companies to adapt to an increasingly globalized industry. This paper explores how this transformation of shipping is being remembered and narrated by the Nordic mariners experiencing the changes first hand on the new container ships. Through oral history and narrative theory, the paper investigates how the mariners apply meaning to their identity as *Nordic Mariners* in specific *national companies* in a time of globalization.

Keyword

National identity, narratives, oral history, globalization, containerization

Biography

Michael Bennedsen Hansen is currently a PhD Fellow at *Copenhagen Business School*, at the *Center for Business History*. After graduating in History and Religious Studies from *Copenhagen University*, he taught for several years at the upper secondary level at *Copenhagen Adult Education Centre*.

A New Nation in a Global World. National identity, Naval Diplomacy, Trade and the Portrayal of Finland in the International Missions of the Frigate Suomen Joutsen (1931 - 1939)

ANDREA RIZZI (Independent researcher, Ph.D. Italian Studies)

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyse the role of maritime identity and identity-making, in promoting the international perception of the Finnish republic, using the case-study of the Finnish frigate *Suomen Joutsen*. The Scandinavian nations developed their own merchant and naval fleets down through many centuries, the Finnish case distinguishes itself due to its size in the 1900s. During the steam era, Finland, without a powerful naval fleet, chose to be represented in international waters by an elegant white sailing ship, the school-ship *Suomen Joutsen*, thereby inaugurating a decade of cruises which were useful for getting the country known in the world. In contrast to the navies of great powers, which displayed prestige and power, the *Suomen Joutsen* was presented as an ambassador of Finland abroad, as a symbol of a small but proud nation which had recently become independent. The first missions, from the middle of the 1930s, served to “fly the flag” with a display of national products on board, it was possible to establish commercial contacts with peripheral markets and also to promote the many and varied production sectors in the country.

The rituals and ceremonies of the naval diplomacy meant that political and diplomatic authorities of the nations visited were brought on board the ship, the characteristic traits of Finland were presented to the international press, contact was made with the recently established consular network and, finally, greetings were brought to the Finnish community abroad who had emigrated between 1860 and 1930.

Hence, the international cruises of the *Suomen Joutsen* functioned as the fundamental channels of political and commercial promotion of the young Finnish nation, before the tragic Finnish-Russian war of 1939-1940.

Keywords: frigate *Suomen Joutsen*, Finnish navy, diplomatic relations

Biography

Andrea Rizzi is an Independent researcher. After graduating in history, he recently completed his PhD in Italian Studies at the University of Turku on the Italian-Finnish relations, 1929-1935. His research focuses on topics relating to International history, especially regarding the political and cultural role of Italy in Northern Europe, and Naval and Maritime history in the 20th century.

**S. II. 5. – AS THE TIDE TURNED. THE SWINGING RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN NAPLES AND THE OCEANS**

CHAIR: Sylviane Llinares
(Université Bretagne Sud)

Panel Abstract

The growing importance of a global perspective among historians in recent decades has encouraged scholars to investigate seas and oceans, as they are considered fundamental gateways for global flows of goods, people and ideas. The present panel aims to examine the changing role played by the oceans in the economic expansion strategies of a Mediterranean port city, Naples, between XIX and XX century. For a long time, the role of the oceans in the history of Naples has been neglected by scholars. Until now, Historians have mainly focused on the importance of transatlantic routes for the growing emigration departing from Naples and headed to the American continent. Nevertheless, for Neapolitan economic and political élites ocean wasn't only an empty space to cross, but a new opportunity for economic initiatives. The concrete ways by which the city tried to exploit the oceans, anyway, changed throughout time. The panel is intended to underline the institutional, political, economic and technological factors that have determined opportunities and limits of the complex relationship between Naples and the Oceans over time.

Keywords

Global trade, Liner shipping, Mediterranean Sea, Southern Italy, Imperial policy

From the Mediterranean Sea to the Oceans. Naples, the Orient Line and the Australian Mail Service

DOMENICO MARRAZZO (University of Naples, Federico II, Italy)

Abstract

The present paper aims to investigate the role played by the Australian mail service in the economic development strategy of Naples between 1881 and 1914. After the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, Italian maritime cities like Genoa and Venice tried to regain their ancient role as marketplaces for trades between Europe and the Far East, encouraging steam navigation companies to call at their ports. Naples looked at the transoceanic trade through the Suez Canal as a way to redeem itself from a long period of economic stagnation. In 1880 the Orient Line, a British steam navigation company, started to call at the Neapolitan port, and when the company managed to sign a contract with the British government for the Australian mail service, Naples became an important hub on the route between Great Britain and Australia. Neapolitan merchants and politicians supported the Orient Line in every way, as they considered the Australian mail service an opportunity to foster the city trade and increase tourist traffic. Nevertheless, in spite of all the efforts the Orient Line played a marginal role in Neapolitan export, showing that a direct lane wasn't a sufficient condition for making trade arise.

Biography

Domenico Marrazzo is a third year Ph.D. in Late Modern History at the University of Naples Federico II, under the supervision of Professor Marco Meriggi. His doctoral research is focused on the role of foreign trade promotion, port infrastructure and liner shipping in Naples economy between the Italian Unification and the First World War. He is particularly interested in the role played by the global commercial connectivity network in the economic history of Southern Italy. His main fields of inquiry are maritime, institutional and economic history. Has presented a paper titled "Oltre il Mediterraneo. Napoli e la rotta del Sud America nelle convenzioni del 1877" at the AISPE-SISE conference "Institutions and socio-economic changes. Italy and Europe in the international context in a historical perspective", online, 4-6 November 2021.

From Oceans to Mediterranean Sea. Naples, the interwar period and the Italian Fascist Empire

DARIO SALVATORE (University of Salerno)

Abstract

The paper wants to investigate the process of involution of the oceanic relations of the city of Naples, which starts from the first post-war period and reaches up to the fascist imperial policy. The contribution aims to demonstrate how Italy undertook a Mediterranean policy, even before the affirmation of fascism. The Italian state began a project to turn Naples into a large commercial emporium to increase Italian influence in the Mediterranean basin. In the first post-war period, efforts were made to intensify the network between Naples and the ports of the Mediterranean through trade fairs, commercial museums, and commercial trips to the Middle East. During the Fascism, the discourse became more militarist and less mercantilist with the idea “mare nostrum”: the port of Naples must be the platform for Italian imperial policy. First of all, Naples must intensify relations with the Italian colonies in the Mediterranean (Libya and Rhodes) and in the Red Sea (Eritrea and Somalia). When Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935 and formed the fascist empire, the city of Naples obtained the title of “port of the empire”. The long and consolidated transoceanic relations of the city were defeated in this long process. The Italian state adopted a strategy of import substitution (called “autarchy” by fascists) which cut off some of these relations. Fascism saw especially imports as a factor of weakness and risk, therefore it made some economic choices to limit imports and facilitate integration with the colonies. For instance, the use of coral from the colonies was encouraged, while Japanese coral was discouraged. The struggle for food self-sufficiency (“wheat battle” for the fascists) cut the supply lines from the Black Sea and Australia. In fact, the wheat used to make pasta came from these markets.

Biography

Dario Salvatore is a third year Ph.D. student in Economic History at University of Salerno. Dario holds a bachelor's degree in History and a Master Degree in Historical Science, both from Federico II (University of Naples, Italy). His Ph.D. dissertation focuses on the role of Naples in colonial trade during Fascism. His main research interests are related to maritime history, Economics and colonialism.

Papers presented:

AISPE-SISE Conference 2021, Institutions and socio-economic changes. Italy and Europe in the international context in a historical perspective, online, 4-6 November 2021.

Paper: Sulle ali di Vittorio Veneto: Napoli «porto dell'Oriente» nel primo dopoguerra

Competence Centre for Regional History, Prefascismi regionali. Esercizio e ricezione del potere fascista nel contesto interregionale, Bozen, Italy, 12-13 November 2021.

Paper: Ripartire dal porto. La negoziazione difficile tra fascismo e forze economiche a Napoli dal 1921 al 1925

The Neapolitan “Armada de l’Oceano” (Ocean see fleet) (1623 – 1707)

MARIA SIRAGO (Nav Lab Laboratorio di Storia Navale)

Abstract

The kingdom of Naples, included as a state among the Spanish countries, since the time of its conquest (1503) had become a powerful military support base for Mediterranean war operations providing its own team of galleys; then galleons and vessels were built in the ports of Castellammare and Baia at the end of the 1500s. Between 1582 and 1583 a first navy unit took part in the expedition of the Azores and then in 1588 also in the one against England. A few years after the defeat, in 1594, the Spanish monarchy decided to create a permanent combat structure, called the Ocean Sea Armada, made up of vessels of Asientists, usually Genoese. From that moment on also for the kingdom began the oceanic “adventure”. In fact, after setting up numerous galleons and vessels, in 1623, the Neapolitan capital was ordered to set up its own Ocean Sea Armada made up of 8 vessels and a “petaccio” or support vessel which remained in service throughout the seventeenth century by participating in the Spanish war operations, both Mediterranean and Oceanic.

Keywords

Ocean see fleet, galleons and vessels, the Kingdom of Naples

Biography

She was permanent State teacher of literary subjects at “Liceo Classico Jacopo Sannazaro” in Naples (1897 -2017), then she retired on 1st September 2017. She has been studying maritime history in its different aspects, carrying out, in particular, studies on the Southern Italy port system, on Southern Italy Navy in Spanish, Austrian and Bourbon periods, on merchant ships, on maritime insurances, on trade, on naval schools and on fishing systems. As a result of these studies, she has published various essays and six monographic studies.

Latest book *La flotta napoletana nel contesto mediterraneo (1503-1707)*, Ed Licosia, Oliastro Cilento (Salerno), 2018.

**S. 12. 1. – EUROPEAN SHIPBUILDING AND SHIP REPAIRS OVERSEAS:
CASE OF GREATER ASIA (PART 2)**

Chair: Catia Antunes

Discussant: Matthias van Rossum

Panel Abstract

European countries used their overseas settlements for shipbuilding and ship repairs during the Early Modern period, a phenomenon that has deserved little attention by current historiography. This lack of interest is particularly strange as European shipbuilding and ship repairs overseas were particularly important for the development and maintenance of the European presence overseas. However, it carried further, deeper and longer term implications for Europeans and non-Europeans alike. Shipbuilding and ship repairs overseas imposed a great demand on local natural resources (timber, tar, and pitch, iron for nails), manufactured goods (sails, furniture), specialized and general labour. Shipyards, dockyards, harbours and wharfs were spaces where European, African, 'American' and Asian knowledge and know-how were used, exchanged and adapted to meet diverse demands and circumstances. This panel (part of a twin-panel proposal) looks into the of overseas shipbuilding and repairs having the case of greater Asia at heart, whilst the twin panel will look at the theoretical proposals and implications of this debate and at the African and Pacific cases.

Keywords

Shipbuilding, Ship Repairs, Overseas, Asia

Shiprepair and Short-sea shipbuilding in ‘Dutch Asia’, a strategic asset of the VOC?

ERIK ODEGARD (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

Abstract

Although the Dutch East India Company (VOC) built or purchased a number of ocean-going ships in Asia, the vast majority of its large Indiamen were built at its own yards in the Netherlands. This was different for the legion small vessels which facilitated ship-to-shore transfer of people and products, and which connected smaller outpost to regional company headquarters. This paper will therefore examine the many smaller yards where the company built its lighters and coastal craft. Additionally, these facilities provided repair facilities and craftsmen for the repair and maintenance of the larger Indiamen when necessary. The paper argues that the dispersed network of facilities provided the company with crucial flexibility in the organization of its Asian shipping. But how did these facilities organize labor? Did they local products or European imports and to what extent did VOC firemen reflect on the various merits of Asian and European shipbuilding traditions? The paper will examine evidence from the VOC facilities at Kharg in Persia; Cochin, Negapatnam and Chinsurah in India; Colombo, Galle and Trincomalee in Sri Lanka as well as Malacca and Batavia. This broad approach, will allow me not only to study the interaction of European and Asian shipbuilding traditions, but also variations in the use of local ship types by the VOC. In addition, this approach allows for an appreciation of the geographic scale of the network, which I hypothesize was a key asset for the VOC.

Biography

Erik Odegard is assistant professor at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam. He is a PhD graduate at Leiden University and his research focuses on the management and cross-familial networks in the construction of the Dutch Empire. He has also been a fellow of the Maritime Museum in Amsterdam and the Head of Research at the Mauritshuis (museum for the study of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau Siegen, governor of Dutch Brazil)

Maritime Trade in the Persianate World

EDMOND SMITH (University of Manchester)

Abstract

In the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, opportunities stemming from increasing global, maritime trade presented the Safavid and Mughal empires with a dilemma – how could they best take advantage without weakening their ambitions in the Eurasian interior. In this paper, three approaches undertaken by rulers within the Persianate world will be considered. First, possibilities for direct, state-backed naval development. Second, regulatory frameworks to attract maritime trade. Third, the employment of European maritime actors. Drawing on little-used Persian material as well as records from English and Portuguese archives, this paper will show how maritime trade was understood in the Persianate world, and question traditional interpretations of these imperial polities as uninterested, misunderstanding, or oblivious to the changing commercial world around them.

Biography

Edmond Smith is lecturer at the University of Manchester. His current work investigates the concept of commercial culture in the Early Modern world.

Shipbuilding overseas as means of empire building. Labor relations and transference of knowledge in the Portuguese State of India shipyards (1500-1600)

AMÉLIA POLÓNIA/LILIANA OLIVEIRA (CITCEM - University of Porto)

Abstract

Shipbuilding always was an essential element of creating overseas empires. It requires raw material supply, technology, and manpower. With Portugal expanding overseas, building and repairing ships in the various Portuguese possessions became crucial. Initially, it was viewed critically by the metropolitan authorities, as they feared a loss of control. Soon, however, logistical needs and crown and private enterprise combined to provide shipbuilding facilities overseas. Shipyards in India, particularly in Goa and Cochin, were developed to meet the challenges and needs of a formal and informal “empire”. The Ribeira de Goa replicated first the Ribeira das Naus of Lisbon, but soon individual shipyards took over specific functions. Crown control, initially tight and systematic, proved difficult to maintain.

Indian woods were known for their hardness and durability and were shipped to Europe to build ships for the Indian Route. Experts labour mobility from Portugal to overseas possessions was soon followed by that across the Indian and Pacific oceans, with local experts joining Portuguese shipbuilders. The scope of the operation also required the recruitment of local shipbuilders. In general, and for its financial resources, industry soon relied on a cooperation of state and private initiative, much as at home. Balances between local inputs and Portuguese shipbuilding standards are open to debate. Discussion on the levels of transference of knowledge and the social and environmental impacts of such endeavours are state of the art topics. This paper will provide some inputs to these ongoing debates.

Biography

Amélia Polonia, Associate Professor, U. Porto, vice-president of the International Maritime History Association and director of the Transdisciplinary Research Centre Culture, Space, Memory. She co-edited *Beyond Empires. Global, Self-Organizing, Cross-Imperial Networks, 1500-1800* (2016), *Seaports in the First Global Age: Portuguese agents, networks and interactions (1500-1800)* (2016); *Connecting Worlds. Production and Circulation of knowledge in the First Global Age* (2018) and authored *The environmental impacts of the historical uses of the seas in the First Global Age* (2014) and *Brokers and Go-betweens within the Portuguese State of India (1500 - 1700)* (2016).

Liliana Oliveira is a member of CITCEM and a PhD student in History at FLUP, where she is currently developing the project *Logistics and Empire Building. Shipbuilding in the*

Portuguese State of India (1500-1640). In 2016, she was awarded the Honourable Mention of the Almirante Teixeira da Mota Award by the Portuguese Navy Academy.

S. 12. 2. – “The Last Ice Age”: The trade in natural ice as an agent of modernisation and economic integration in the 19th and early 20th century

Chair: Professor Per G. Norseng

(Project Manager Norwegian Maritime Museum/ Emeritus professor University of South-Eastern Norway)

Discussant: David Atkinson

(University of Hull)

Panel Abstract

The panel will present results from an on-going international research project, funded by the Research Council of Norway and managed by the Norwegian Maritime Museum in partnership with the University of Hull, Old Dominion University in Norfolk, VA, and the University of South-Eastern Norway.

Our point of departure is the shipping of natural ice from Norway in the 19th and early 20th century. In the peak years, this annually employed thousands of people in coastal communities and hundreds of ships. The significance of these local businesses in wider geographical, economic, technological and cultural contexts remains to be systematically researched. Literally speaking the project aims at following the ice from Norwegian lakes and ponds to its markets, in Norway and overseas, and investigate the Norwegian ice trade as part of an extensive international trade in ice and a logistic revolution with far-reaching implications for production, transport, marketing and consumption of fresh foods, cold drinks, etc. in Europe and North America, prior to the proliferation of modern cooling technology. The investigation is divided in four discrete, yet related strands:

Strand 1 focuses on production and the role of climate and environmental factors as well as on technological developments, manpower, and property relations involved in the production process.

Strand 2 investigates the ‘supply chain’ that linked centres of ice production with markets that tended to grow in scale and scope in line with improvements in sea and land transportation and growing urban populations.

Strand 3 analyses the contribution made by natural ice in the improvement of food supplies, health conditions and standards of living, with Britain as the primary case.

Strand 4 investigates the impact of natural ice on societal taste, fashion and aesthetics, and the role of this commodity in driving the cultural and technological developments that shaped modern urban life.

The paper gives all contributed to a Forum on “The Last Ice Age” in the *International Journal of Maritime History* vol 34:1 2022.

Keywords

Ice trade, shipping, food logistics, dietary changes, new technology

Nature's Factory': The system of Norwegian natural ice production 1850-1920

EYVIND BAGLE (Norwegian Maritime Museum)

Abstract

Eyvind Bagle centers on how trade in a particular commodity, in this case natural ice sold as refrigerant from Norway to the UK and Europe between 1850-1920, was contingent on particular qualities of coastal societies. It reports from a close-up study of the ice trade as it transpired from two separate localities on the south-eastern coast of Norway; Kragerø town on the Telemark coast, and Nærsnes/Røyken parish in the inner Oslo fjord. The aim is to portray how the production and sales of Norwegian natural ice developed from a somewhat random and seasonally restricted activity to an all-year “industry”, with an intricate social network forming across the seas. A part of the research is to look at how the supply side marketed natural ice, as demand increased and new technologies promised to free markets from the “tyranny of nature”.

Biography

Eyvind Bagle, cand.hilol. (MA) in history, head of the Department of Research and Exhibitions, Norwegian Maritime Museum, presently PhD student, Faculty of Humanities, Sports and Educational Science

Two shipping conferences in the natural-ice trade

KNUT M. NYGAARD (University of South-Eastern Norway / Oslo Metropolitan University)

Abstract

A conference in shipping can be understood as a cartel-like association of competing shipping companies. The purpose is to ensure stable framework conditions in the form of “sensible” stable freight rates. Conferences were first used in the second half of the 19th century by liner shipping companies. In tramp shipping, conferences became relevant at the beginning of the 20th century. This article tells the story of two conferences in the tramp shipping segment transport of ice, both of which were active in the early twentieth century. Two groups of shipping companies, inspired by international developments, were established. One grouping was organized as most conferences were, while the other was organized more broadly. The former was a conference for shipping companies with wooden steamships, while the latter was for shipping companies with sailing ships. We follow the development of these two organizations in relation to the Norwegian export of natural ice. The article assesses the significance of ice freight for Norwegian shipping during the early twentieth century, the extent to which the two conferences were able to establish minimum rates for the transport of ice and why the two conferences developed differently.

Biography

Knut M. Nygaard PhD, has a broad national and international working experience, and has been director of museums and libraries. His main research interests are within maritime economic history. His Diploma theses in economics, his MA theses in history, and his PhD theses, are all within this field. Nygaard is currently doing research in the international research project “The Last Ice Age”: The trade in natural ice as an agent of modernisation and economic integration in the 19th and early 20th century.

Ice Wars: Imported Norwegian natural ice versus artificially manufactured French ice in Northern France 1890-1920

EFFIE DOROVITSA (Blaydes Maritime Centre, University of Hull)

Abstract

Norwegian natural ice blocks were regularly shipped to numerous French ports, mainly in Northern France, between 1870 and 1920, where they largely served to satisfy demand from both the fisheries and tourism sectors. The peak of this trade overlapped chronologically with the emergence of refrigeration technology in France in the last decade of the nineteenth century. This paper accounts for the antagonism between Norwegian natural ice and the French manufactured ice during that period. It showcases how the two products got embroiled in heated debates over their hygienic qualities and safety for consumption, driven by the new realities and reforms in the field of public health.

Employing a diverse set of primary sources and drawing from Fischler's (1988) notion of neophobia, the fear attached to a newly introduced food product, this paper argues that frozen food was deemed impure and taboo in nineteenth-century French culture, thus enabling Norwegian natural ice imports to retain their popularity in the French market long after the introduction of refrigeration technology. A propagandist campaign on behalf of the French artificial ice industrialists to eliminate Norwegian ice imports on protectionist grounds further failed to halt the influx of the 'crystal blocks of ice' from the Scandinavian country. As this paper demonstrates, this self-interested propaganda, ultimately collapsed under the weight of the growing needs of the local economies which heavily relied on Norwegian natural ice for the smooth operation of their fisheries and leisure industries.

Biography

Effie Dorovitsa is a second year PhD student of Maritime History at the University of Hull and is based at the Blaydes Maritime Centre. Her research interests lie in the intersection of Maritime History with Cultural studies and how they could inform one another. She has received her BA and MSc degrees in History from the University of Athens and the University of Edinburgh respectively. She has lectured in History and Ethnology in various Colleges and was also employed in secondary education as well as in the cultural/heritage sector.

**S. 12. 3. – SEALIT II: MEDITERRANEAN SHIPPING
AND LABOR IN TRANSITION**
Chair: MARIA FUSARO
(University of Exeter)

Panel Abstract

The transition from sail to steam and the industrialization in shipping were among the main phenomena that affected traditional sectors such as shipbuilding, maritime trade and shipping, as well as the auxiliary trades. The advent of steam navigation introduced new types of professions both on board and ashore, and a new type of organization for shipping enterprises. The purchase and management of a steamship demanded a more developed corporate venture and stronger connections with more distant (often outside the Mediterranean, e.g. London) and complex sources of shipping finance. Passenger steam navigation companies needed agents and offices in ports, and a type of staff previously unknown to the shipping industry. As far as labour is concerned, new types of maritime professions like engineers, stokers, boiler-makers, catering and hotel personnel (in the case of passenger lines), rendered obsolete the art of seamanship accumulated over many generations in the sailing ships. New and more distant trade routes altered the rhythms of communication between the seafaring families and their male members working on ships. Seafaring families were often impelled to emigrate from smaller communities to greater ports and maritime centers in order to acquire access to capital and resources, and secure more effective management of their businesses. Of this dynamic world in transition in the Panel SealIT II will be presented:

- How part of the maritime population of Galaxidi, a traditional port engaged in sailing shipping, was integrated in the industrialized port of Piraeus in late 19-early 20th centuries.
- How industrialization in shipping changed the recruiting methods in maritime labor through the case study of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company, and
- How and why the Austrian Lloyd shaped the new maritime labour landscape of Trieste and Adriatic Sea, leading the transition of the Habsburg shipping from sail to steam.

Keywords

Passenger Steam Navigation, New maritime professions, Industrialization of shipping, Emigration.

Maritime labor in Greece and seafaring professions during the transitions from sail to steam, 1850-1914.

ALKIVIADIS KAPOKAKIS (PhD student, University of Crete-IMS/FORTH)

During the 19th century, seafarers represented one of the largest and most dynamic part of the labour force in the Greek kingdom. This particular relevance is reflected by the establishment of the Seamen's Pension Fund in 1861, the first state insurance institution for workers in Greece. The Seamen's Pension Fund represents a focal point for the study of maritime labor: for the first time, through this source, we have records of Greek seafarers and practitioners (fishermen, boatmen, sponge divers).

The labor force of the Greek merchant marine was coming primarily from small and barren Aegean islands, which, from the 18th century, had turned to sea and maritime trade as the only way of revenue. On these islands gradually emerged strong maritime communities, with skilled captains, sailors, fishermen and shipbuilders. The emergence of new technologies in navigation, such as the steam, and the creation of new business networks, caused significant changes in the traditional maritime communities of the Greek kingdom and its seafaring populations. In this respect, the purpose of this presentation is to describe the changes that took place in the field of maritime labor. Our approach focuses mainly on two aspects: firstly, the social and professional development of seafarers, and, secondly, the geographical distribution of seafarers.

This paper is based on the comparative study of quantitative data derived from three categories of sources: the civil registers of specific maritime communities for specific years during 1860-1890, the register of maritime workers from 1860-1900, and the official reports of the Seamen's Pension Fund for retired, unemployed and disabled seafarers. These statistical data will be examined in parallel to other research field, such as the state policy, the labor relations, the education and the insurance system for seafarers.

The transformation of traditional maritime communities and the emergence of maritime centers in Greece in the age of steam

KATERINA GALANI (Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FORTH)

Abstract

The paper addresses the transition from sail to steam in Greece from the point of view of small-scale maritime communities. Through the case study of Galaxidi, a maritime community that failed to adapt to technological innovation, we investigate the demise of a traditional community, the disruption of the established social and economic relations and their impact on social hierarchies drawing upon notarial records and private archives.

The economic stagnation of Galaxidi in the early 20th century caused waves of migration towards the newly established port of Piraeus in search of better working opportunities. The port of Piraeus, built from scratch during the second half of the 19th century, remains to the present surprisingly under-studied despite its role as a national and international port. The “Greek Manchester”, as Piraeus has been described in the literature, welcomed the introduction of steam both in industry and transportation. So far, emphasis has been placed on its industrial development; The paper, through the use of demographics (censuses), port and city planning, municipal regulations and local press, traces its gradual consolidation into a maritime center that attracted not merely Galaxidiots, but migrants from the maritime communities across the Aegean and the Ionian seas.

The decline of maritime communities came along with the concentration of services in maritime centers. A critical example is the nautical and technical education in Piraeus. The introduction of steam-shipping and the employment of Greek seafarers in a globalized labour market required the upgrade of the curriculum, the introduction of hands-on training in the novel technology and the systematization and certification of nautical education. A series of laws and institutions (both private and public schools) appeared from the early years of the Greek Kingdom to verify the importance of the maritime industry in the political agenda of the time.

Biography

Katerina Galani studied history and archaeology at the University of Athens. She continued her postgraduate studies in Economic and Social History (M.Sc) at the University of Oxford, Wolfson College. In Oxford, she also completed her doctoral thesis on British Shipping during the Napoleonic Wars which was awarded the Frank Broeze Prize by the International Maritime Economic History Association in 2012.

Currently, she is an Adjunct Lecturer in Economic and Social History at the Ionian University and the Hellenic Open University. Her research interests involve trade, shipping and banking

in the Mediterranean and Western Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. She has participated in research projects on maritime, financial and economic history and she has several publications in peer-reviewed journals and collective volumes. Her first monograph, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars; The untold Story of a Successful Adaptation* was published by Brill in 2017.

Restructuring of recruitment methods of seafarers of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company, second half of the 19th-beginning of the 20th century

ANNA SYDORENKO (Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FORTH)

Abstract

My paper revolves around the creation and establishment of a different methods of recruitment for the crews of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company (RSNT). The impact of the RSNT on the Odessa shipping world was reflected by the fact that any change within the company had also a broader effect on the Russian maritime labour system. During the long period of transition from sail to steam navigation, the recruitment methods went through a dynamic phase of changes. Since the first years of its activity, the company had to solve three principal and interrelated issues: the limited availability of maritime labour force; the absence of specialized seagoing personnel, qualified to work with the new steam technology; the lack of a recruitment pool able to guarantee the RSNT a constant “supply” of crews. Thus, the different models and approaches in the recruitment of both officers and lower ranks of the crews will be analyzed chronologically, pointing out the impact of technological transformation, the main goals of the company and the maritime labour policy of the Russian Empire.

Biography

Anna Sydorenko studied Political Science at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. She completed her Ph.D thesis at the Ionian University entitled: “The economic development of the Crimean port-cities, second half of the 19th, beginning of the 20th century. Evpatoria, Sevastopol, Theodosia”.

She has received a three-year scholarship 2013-2015 in the research project: THALIS, “The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774-1914. A development, convergence and linkages with the global economy”, (<http://blacksea.gr/>), financed by the Greek National Strategic Reference Framework, the E.U. and the Greek Ministry of Education. From 2008 to 2010, she participated in the research project “Economic and Social Development of the Azov Port-Cities and the Greeks in the Long 19th century” under the supervision of Professor Gelina Harlaftis and Dr. Evridiki Sifneos (INR/NHRF). She is currently a postdoctoral researcher in the ERC project SeaLiT coordinated by Dr. Apostolos Delis (IMS/FORTH).

An engine for the Empire. The leading role of the Austrian Lloyd in the transition from sail to steam in the Habsburg monarchy.

MATTEO BARBANO (Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FORTH)

Abstract

The history of Austrian Lloyd is one of the brightest examples of the massive impact that the new steam navigation technology had not only on shipbuilding industry, but also in re-defining several crucial aspects of a Mediterranean city: Trieste. Due to steam, it became a pivotal point for the mobilization of passengers, goods and mails along an axis that, from 1893, reached its maximum extension, with lines to Brazil and Japan.

The aim of this paper is to point out the influence of the Company on the new maritime labour landscape generated by the advent of steam in the main Adriatic port of the Hapsburg Empire. To reach the objective, the path of analysis will cross three main aspects, fundamental for the comprehension of the long transition from sail to steam. The first one is the involvement of the old Adriatic maritime communities in the rise of a new Triestine maritime workforce. The second is the role of the Company in the reshaping of the Austrian waged sea labour due to the near monopoly of the steam shipping held by the Lloyd till the end of the nineteenth century. The third, and last, is the relation between the presence of Company in Trieste and the development of a new educational system, able to guarantee a recruitment pool of specialized seagoing personnel to be employed in steam navigation.

Biography

Matteo Barbano (Genoa, 1986) studied Modern and Contemporary History at the University of Genoa. Since 2012 he has been a member of Laboratorio di Storia Marittima e Navale (NavLab), coordinated by Prof. Luca Lo Basso. In 2016 he completed his PhD thesis at the Department of History, Philosophy and Antiquities (DAFIST), Genoa University, with the title: “Within the Straits: the English, Tangier and Barbary (1661-1684)”.

Currently he is a post-doc researcher engaged in the project “Seafaring Lives in Transition. Mediterranean Maritime Labour and Shipping during Globalization, 1850s-1920s” (SeaLit) co-ordinated by Dr. Apostolos Delis. In this context, his studies are focused on maritime labour in the Adriatic sea, and in particular on the activity of the Austrian Lloyd from its foundation till the end of the Long Nineteenth Century.

S. 12. 4. – 18TH-CENTURY SHIPBUILDING AND ITS POLITICS
Chair: Ana Rita Trindade
(CSIC)

International relations in 18th century naval shipbuilding

IDA JORGENSEN (Ph.d. student)

Abstract

Europe in the 18th century was the very definition of political instability. Numerous wars fought, alliances forged, then broken: a general tension that caused all nations to be on their toes. Also in the shipbuilding trade the tension was felt, and not only in terms of the quantity of ships built, but also the quality: the need to defend territories and the fear of being out-matched by the enemy created an arms race that shaped the European naval shipbuilding.

In a competitive situation like the political relations between European nations in the 18th century, historians tend to take a national perspective, and study each nation in isolation. The political system, the administration, the economy, the social circumstances, etc., all studied in order to assess the strength of each nation in the competition.

This paper would like to take a different approach:

The conflictive situation in 18th century Europe and the subsequent arms race created international relations, some open, some clandestine, but relations that has been slightly forgotten as they fit poorly into the notion of nations against nations, national pride and loyalty, and especially in naval history, where the navy is the very symbol of the nation.

However, the naval shipbuilding trade was one of the more important areas for international relations. While the ships were the technological most advanced machines in the preindustrial era, they were designed and constructed based highly on old traditions and a trial and error approach that was costly and where failure and success was hard to explain. If something worked, it was copied, and this was not only within the national borders. The British captured and copied French prizes, the French conducted industrial espionage in Britain. Furthermore, the Scandinavian navies enjoying long periods of peace were also browsing the market for shipbuilding knowledge; Sweden hiring English shipbuilders, and Denmark taking the prize for being the most active.

Keywords

Naval history, shipbuilding, International Relations, maritime archaeology, technology transfer

Biography

Ida Christine Jorgensen, born 1989 in Denmark, MA in history from University of Copenhagen (2014), MA in maritime archaeology from University of Southern Denmark (2016), ph.d-bursary student at University of Portsmouth (2018-2021). General interest in naval history, shipbuilding, international relations, technological history, 18th century Europe, 18th century

colonies. Previous conference presentations include International Symposium of Boat and Ship Archaeology (ISBSA), 2018, British Commission for Maritime History's New Researchers Conference and International Colloquium of the Governance of the Atlantic Ports' conference in 2019.

The Spanish Navy and the management of timber supply for shipbuilding: the case of Cadiz in the Early Bourbon period (1717-1759)

ANA RITA TRINDADE (Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas)

Abstract

The reorganization of the Spanish Navy, as part of the early Bourbon Reforms undertaken in the first half of the 18th century, included a broad plan of war fleet increase, based on the revitalization of the national shipbuilding industry. In this context, the constitution of an effective timber supply network became a strategical action, which combined the direct state control with the contract system (the Asientos). Based on the analysis of vast quantitative and qualitative data from the Spanish Archives, this presentation focuses on the case of the Maritime Department of Cadiz and on how the Spanish Navy managed the timber supply from different origins, according to the specific needs of each ship element used in the construction and repair of war vessels in the Arsenal of La Carraca and the shipyard of Puntales. In a protectionist logic oriented to the cost reduction, the Navy prioritized the consumption of Andalusian forest resources, a truly regional system of timber supply, which articulated woodlands, roads, waterways, river and maritime shipping hubs and shipyards. These were mostly used in the crafting of the hull structure and planking and were combined with smaller amounts of material brought from the Northern regions of the peninsula. The privileged access to the highly resistant species of tropical timber from the colonial territories of the Caribbean region originated a frequent traffic through the fleets of the Carrera de Indias. Under the control of the contractors, the Baltic trade played an important role in this system, since it was the source of vital elements such as masts, spars and the mass-produced planks. More than a so-called “floating forest”, each of these vessels was the reflection of the economic, political and administrative strategies of the Spanish Empire.

Biography

Ana Rita Trindade is an archaeologist and is currently preparing her PhD. dissertation in History about the same subject of this presentation in the Pablo de Olavide University, Seville, Spain. This research was also the result of her participation in the Marie Curie Actions Initial Training Network project ForSEAdiscovery - “Forest resources for Iberian Empires: Ecology and Globalization in the Age of Discovery” (grant agreement no. PITN-2013-607545-GA-607545), hosted by the History Institute of the Centre for Human and Social Sciences, Spanish National Research Council - CSIC, from 2014 to 2017.

William and Francis Warden, Master Shipwright's at Lisbon's Royal Shipyard. English design in Portugal's 18th century's shipbuilding

NUNO SALDANHA (IADE-Faculdade de Design, Tecnologia e Comunicação/Universidade Europeia. Centro de História da FLUL)

Abstract

Portuguese naval shipbuilding, in the first half of the 18th century, was characterized by the hiring of foreign masters. After an initial hesitation between French and English shipbuilders, it would be the “English School” to dominate, naturally motivated by political circumstances. Until recently, the names of the master builders who worked at the Lisbon shipyard (Arsenal Real) were unknown, despite the numerous references of the time to the famous “English builder”. The results of our research revealed that they were two English masters, William and Francis Warden, active between c. 1715 and 1763. We also know that there were several master-shipwrights in the royal shipyard at Lisbon for much of the eighteenth century, including Josiah Radcliffe, William Warden, and Francis Warden. Thus, the English techniques soon entered Portuguese shipyards. The outcome of this situation was very important, not only in the design of warships as also in improving the construction techniques, in line with the more developed European shipbuilding. For example, in 1714, Lisbon shipyards start to lay ships at sea in a new way, after the idea of “an Englishman”, as also, in 1721, it was adopted the English technique of “bending the planks for the hull of the ships”.

This new practice of English Shipbuilding was also exported to Brazil, as evidenced by the passage of masters (and ship plans) from the Ribeira das Naus of Lisbon, to the shipyard of Bahia, where similar methods were used to build ships on both sides of the Atlantic.

Keywords

Shipbuilding, Naval Architecture, 18th century, Naval History

Biography

Historian of Culture with several books and articles published in several magazines, catalogs and dictionaries, on Visual Culture (Iconography, Art History), Criticism and Art Theory, Shipbuilding and Naval Architecture History.

He holds a PhD in Historical Sciences from Universidade Católica Portuguesa and a M.A. degree in Cultural and Politic History from Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Assistant Professor at IADE- Faculdade de Design, Tecnologia e Comunicação/Universidade Europeia. Associate researcher at UNIDCOM / IADE and CHAM / U.N.L.

In the area of museology, he was Chief Curator at Galeria Rei D. Luís/Palácio Nacional da Aju-

da, Management Advisor at Museu Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva, Director at Casa-Museu dos Patudos, and Curator of several exhibitions.
Academic of the National Academy of Fine Arts

S.12. 5. – THE AGE OF STEAM

Chair: Gelina Harlaftis

(IMS-FORTH)

Sigval Bergesen, Stavanger – A strategic ship-owner for a new shipping era?

LIV RAMSKJAER (Norwegian Museums Association)

Abstract

In the later part of the 1800s both the shift in technology, and change from sail to steam, and the general economic development challenged the shipping companies and their trades and the need to make changes grew. During the last decades of the 19th century new types of ship-owning companies and new ship-owners and new types of shipping companies and ship-owners appeared in the shipping industry along with changes in organizing and ownership in shipping. This challenged the public opinion on how shipping companies were normally run.

The startup of the Sigval Bergesen Company in 1887 is one of several examples the development of a new type of ship-owner. The shift from sail to steam, from part-company to limited companies and from the single ship company to the multi-ship company was key elements in this development. This paper will examine the founding and startup strategy of the ship-owner Sigval Bergesen and the strategic choices in developing the shipping company primarily in the first formative decades. Central questions will be: How did he establish the firm? What role did different types of chartering, as time charter, play in the construction of the shipping company? How did Bergesen make use of the networks and possibilities in the general economy and technological development? What was the strategy in building the company? Which factors influenced the choices? What were the key success factors in building a new ship-owning company?

Keywords

ship-owner, Bergesen, multi-ship company, time-charter, trades

Biography

Liv Ramskjær is Secretary General of the Norwegian Museums Association since June 2013. She was earlier Senior Adviser in the section of museums in Arts Council Norway (2007-2013), and Chief Curator at The Norwegian Museum of Science and Technology, Oslo (1996-2007). Ramskjær is an historian and has contributed to books dealing with maritime history and history of technology, business and industry. Topics of earlier works are Norwegian shipping, history of electricity, development of chains for distribution of gasoline. Presently she is studying the production and utilization of plastic materials in modern Norway, 1945-1990. Her latest articles on this topic from 2011 is dealing with the earliest years of the development of the Norwegian plastic boat industry and on packaging, marketing and consuming goods wrapped in plastic in the 1960s Norway.

Consequences Imponderable and Incalculable: Gender, Steam, and Seapower in the Second British Empire

JULIA STRYKER (University of Texas at Austin)

Abstract

“Space is killed by the railways,” Heinrich Heine wrote in 1843, but the annihilation of space observed by nineteenth century commentators applied no less to steamships and the sea than to railways and the countryside. The spread of steam technology shrank the great Atlantic “to half its breadth” and dried “the great lakes of the world” to ponds. As this annihilation was more than metaphysical, its drying-up of oceanic space was more than metaphorical: steamships altered the oceanic landscape by transmuting life at sea to something much more like life on land. Increased regulation of shipboard life partially accomplished this, but the perceived annihilation of the previous way of life – exclusive to sailing ships – completed it. For the British Empire, as steam helped power the expansive imperialism of the late-nineteenth century, it finalized a century-long process through which shipboard space became an extension of imperial space.

This extension of imperial space shifted the foundations of the empire. The Second Empire began a maritime empire, built by iron men and wooden ships. The death of the Age of Sail initiated a cultural crisis that would see the sea recast from a male-dominated but ultimately natural environment into an exclusively masculine crucible for a specific kind of British virtue. Thus the mythology born of this crisis wrote women out of maritime history. Women had, however, always gone to sea – much as had men – as necessity dictated. The nineteenth century would see women to go to sea in ever-greater numbers, and with ever-greater visibility. What changed was not their presence, but how their presence became problematized, not only by a legal regime increasingly concerned with propriety, but by a national imaginary challenged by a change in its foundational technology. Examining women’s work at sea, its cultural impact, and legal scaffolding reveals the Second Empire’s shift from a maritime to a terrestrial empire.

Keywords

19th Century, Britain, Gender, Technology, Empire

Biography

Julia Stryker is a PhD student at the University of Texas at Austin. Her interests include Britain and empire in the nineteenth century, gender, labor, and culture, and the digital humanities. Her current research examines women working at sea in the nineteenth century.

“Clydebuilt”: the transformations of Glasgow’s shipbuilding trade in the second half of the 19th century

TRI TRAN (University of Tours)

Abstract

“Clydebuilt” is a well-known phrase denoting precision marine engineering, associated with some of the most famous vessels of the 19th and 20th centuries built on the river Clyde in Scotland. This paper, focused on a leading Clydeside shipyard, will attempt to analyse the complex professional relationships forged during the 19th century between the men who built the ships, ie the skilled workers in the engineering and shipbuilding trades, and the industrialists who ran the shipyards. The argument of this paper, which deals with one of Britain’s most famous shipyards, that of J. & G. Thomson, later John Brown, is that beyond the pay and conditions granted to the men, the yard’s management used several strategies in order to increase the support and productivity of their workforce.

Keywords

Britain; Glasgow; shipbuilding; John Brown; engineering

Biography

Tri TRAN (PhD, Habilit.) was educated at the Sorbonne University, Paris, and holds a PhD from this institution. He is currently Associate Professor in British history at the University of Tours (France). He has published a book about British several papers about British maritime history in *Revue d'Histoire Maritime*, *The Mariner's Mirror*, and has given talks at major international maritime conferences, such as the 2013 Conference “Navy & Nation, 1688-Present”, hosted by the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, UK, and the 2016 IMEHA International Congress of Maritime History, at Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia.

S. 13. 1. – SCANDINAVIAN PRIZES IN THE HCA PRIZE PAPERS

Chair: Silvia Marzagalli
(University of Côte d'Azur)

Panel abstract

Between 1650 and 1810 Danish and Swedish vessels played an important role as European and global carriers. Exploiting wartime opportunities, they often sailed under neutral flag. It was profitable but risky business. About 3,500 Scandinavian vessels were taken prizes by the Royal Navy and British privateers, their papers seized and eventually archived in the HCA Prize Papers collection.

This panel focuses on the Scandinavian Prize Papers in HCA collection. We ask what do the prize cases tell us about Sweden's and Denmark's early modern shipping? We provide examples of how the Prize Papers are employed in studying Scandinavian encounters with global trading and maritime networks. We show how the Prize Papers can be exploited in studying of global knowledge production, communication, and adaptation in Scandinavia.

Panel participants

Professor Margaret Hunt, Uppsala University, Professor Pierrick Pourchasse, Université de Bretagne occidentale, Brest, Professor Leos Müller, Stockholm University, Commentator: Dr. Jelle van Lottum, Senior Researcher, Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands, Amsterdam.

Times and Tides: Temporality in the Scandinavian Prize Papers

MARGARET HUNT (Uppsala University)

Abstract

In early modern Europe (circa. 1500-1800) religious conflict, competing systems for computing the length of the year, the growing popularity of practical or applied mathematics, and a strong taste for prediction, both empirical and religious (and occult) all gave rise to new uncertainties about time, and, by extension, space. This was especially pronounced in maritime contexts, where more quantitative techniques for ascertaining time and positioning vied with older, experientially-based and sometimes even magical methods, and did so in contexts where a mistake could have deadly consequences. On top of this, sailors who travelled outside Europe often encountered elaborate but, to them, entirely foreign temporal and chronological systems, not to mention the displacement of traditional "natural" markers for computing both time and positionality, such as stars. This paper aims to chart the diversity of the temporal regimes ordinary sailors lived with, and also to examine how these men sought to use them for their own purposes. The seized papers in the Prize Papers collection contain a significant amount of material bearing on these questions. Printed almanacs, where the tension between solar and lunar calendars was typically a central theme, appear in large numbers, some of them heavily marked up. Sailors have left reams of personal notes on time, tides, the celestial bodies, astrology, etc. and it is also clear that many of them –even lower-level sailors – were trying to teach themselves mathematics. And of course ships logs, which also appear in massive numbers in the seized papers, are centrally about time, place, tides and the weather. Scandinavian sailors are an interesting group to study for two main reasons. First, the Scandinavian countries (especially Sweden) probably had the highest vernacular literacy rate in the world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Second much of the instruction at every level was home or occupationally based. This means that the Scandinavian Prize Papers, and the humble collections of personal papers they contain, can bring us quite close to the mental structures of ordinary sailors and thereby illustrate the practical implications of polytemporality in a converging and at least partially modernizing world.

Keywords

Temporality. The Great Convergence. Popular literacy and numeracy. The History of Navigation. Early modern oceanic travel.

Short Biography

Margaret Hunt is Professor of History at Uppsala University. She is the author of *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England 1680-1780* (winner of the 1997 Mor-

ris D. Forkosch Prize of the American Historical Association); *Women in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (2010) and (with Philip Stern), *The East India Company at the Height of Mughal Expansion* (2014). She has also written numerous articles and book chapters on gender, sexuality, the Royal Navy, maritime history, the British East India Company, literacy and numeracy, and the history of printing.

Patterns of Scandinavian cross trades in HCA Prize Papers in the French Revolutionary Wars

LEOS MÜLLER (Stockholm University)

Abstract

Scandinavian tonnage did play an important role in carrying trade in the Anglo-French wars of the eighteenth century. Wartime neutrality provided Swedish and Danish carriers with a competitive advantage suitable especially in cross-trades, and the Scandinavian cross-trades rose rapidly. We have a fairly good overall picture of the expansion of Scandinavian shipping based on administration documents, but we lack knowledge of exact patterns of cross trades and the reasoning behind these patterns. The official records (e.g. ship passport documents, muster rolls) provide only vague and often incorrect information about vessels' shipping patterns. Prize papers collection includes a vast amount of interrogatories that can provide details about the seized vessels' shipping patterns. The questions related to visited ports were crucial in the court's decision in legality of seizure. The paper will analyse a representative number of cases of Swedish and Danish vessels taken by the Navy and British privateers in the French Revolutionary Wars, looking at their cross-trade patterns.

Keywords

neutral flags, cross trades, shipping patterns, prize papers, seamen's interrogatories, 1793-1801

Short Biography

Leos Müller is Professor of History and Head of the Centre for Maritime Studies, Stockholm University. He has published widely on Swedish maritime history in the eighteenth century, e.g. Consuls, corsairs, and commerce. The Swedish consular service and long-distance shipping, 1720-1815 (2004) and Sveriges första globala århundrade. En 1700-talshistoria (2018) His most recent research interest concerns the roles of naval warfare, privateering and maritime neutrality.

Danish grain for Revolutionary France and British seizures of Danish flag, 1793-1794

PIERRICK POURCHASSE (Univesité de Bretagne occidentale)

Abstract

During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, France must import grains from Northern Europe because of poor harvests and the disorganization of the country. The British government chose to stop all the traffic destined for the supply of France to starve the enemy. The owners of neutral ships from Denmark or Sweden decided not to apply British rules which were contrary to the rights of neutral navigation in time of war. So many neutral ships loaded with grains were seized during the Revolutionary years. The study of the Prize Papers allows us to measure the scale of the traffic and to study the strategy of the neutrals to turn away the British blockade: falsified documents, incorrect destinations. The British knew these means but could not seize these ships that seemed to be in order without provoking diplomatic incidents. The solution was to buy grain and compensate shipowners.

Biography

Pierrick Pourchasse is Professor of Modern History, Université de Bretagne Occidentale, Brest. His field of research is economic and maritime history (18th-19th centuries), especially long-distance trade, Scandinavian merchant marines and northern Europe in the Age of the French Revolution.

S. 13. 2. – THE HISTORY OF MEDICAL OF THE SEA AND PORT
Chair: Fabiano Bracht
(FLUP-CITCEM)

Oceans, Ships, and Maritime Environments in Eighteenth-Century Medical History

ELINA MAANIITTY (University of Helsinki)

Abstract

In this paper, I will examine the role oceans, ships, and maritime environments had in medical science in the eighteenth century.

In the age of sail, maritime voyages could last months or even years, requiring careful planning of the crew's nutrition and other health-related needs. Furthermore, a sailor's profession was a risky one, and diseases and accidents were often the crew's companions on the high seas. The paradox of isolation and mobility made ships unusual environments for diseases, as the crew was both residing in a small area with only a very limited amount of human contact and being constantly exposed to varying weather conditions, pathogens and other factors that affected its health. Thus ships were also peculiar working milieus for physicians and barber-surgeons, who were in charge of the crew's wellbeing.

The work of ship doctors and surgeons can be seen as a central predecessor of modern occupational medicine. These medical professionals had to be able to perform operations, treat both wounds and misplaced joints, prepare medicines and maintain collections of pharmaceutical supplies in conditions that were far from ideal or stable. Simultaneously, the ship environment made it possible for physicians to make careful, long-term observations of individual sailors, which in turn enabled them to monitor the progress of certain diseases, the effects of medicines and treatments, and the role of nutrition in overall health. This led to significant advances in the field of medical science, one of the most famous being the treatment of scurvy with citric juices. Ships and seafaring also had an important role in the development of epidemic prevention measures, such as quarantines. Furthermore, ship doctors often worked as botanists and natural scientists during long journeys and expeditions, striving not only to scientifically describe new species but also to find plants and other natural substances that could be used for medicinal purposes.

Keywords

maritime medicine, healthcare at sea, epidemic diseases, eighteenth century

Biography

Elina Maaniitty is a doctoral student in the University of Helsinki. She is writing her doctoral thesis on medical knowledge and the prevention of epidemic diseases in Sweden and Finland during the long eighteenth century. She is particularly interested in themes such as demogra-

phy, mortality, maritime history and historical epidemiology, and has published several articles on these topics. She has also written about the history of prostitution.

British ship surgeons, transoceanic mobility, and the emergence of tropical hygiene in the early nineteenth century

MANIKARNIKA DUTTA (University of Oxford)

Abstract

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, naval surgeons played an important role in expanding the knowledge of tropical diseases and hygiene. The tropics were widely considered detrimental to the health of Europeans. The image of the Orient as a dangerous and deadly place generated a number of presuppositions that informed much of the early writings on tropical diseases in Europe. This partisan line of thought slowly changed over the nineteenth century as physicians and surgeons from European countries travelled to their tropical colonies and through their study of diseases at the location of prevalence challenged and revised existing ideas. Surgeons working on ships that connected empires with their colonies were in the best position to produce knowledge about tropical diseases. Transoceanic voyages offered them the perfect platform for observing the impact of various geographies and climates upon the health of people of various races and ethnicities. A study of the use of ships as a mobile laboratory and doctors' chamber enables us to recenter the history of tropical hygiene from being a discipline developed in specific sites of imperialism (e.g. London, Calcutta) to an epistemology rooted in systematic observations carried out in a territorially fluid setting (e.g. any route between England and India). Thus, in its examination of the work of naval surgeons in the first half of the nineteenth century from a global history perspective, this presentation traces the importance of systems of transit in the emergence, circulation and validation of the knowledge of tropical hygiene and medicine. To do so, it will study treatises written by British naval surgeons and physicians, articles in medical journals, and reports of medical assemblies and conferences.

Keywords

Tropics, naval surgeon, disease, hygiene, colonies

Biography

Manikarnika Dutta completed her MSc in the History of Science, Technology and Medicine on a Wellcome Trust Master's Studentship at the University of Oxford. She has recently defended her DPhil thesis "Health and Welfare of European Seamen: Sanitary Regulation in Colonial Indian Port Cities(1800-1900)", that was a part for a Wellcome Trust-funded project at the same institution. Her research examined the health and sanitary regulation of European seamen in colonial Indian port cities, integrating the history of health, imperial governance,

maritime exchange and public policy in the British Empire. She has won the 2018 Taniguchi Medal from the Asian Society for the History of Medicine for her essay. Currently, she is pursuing research at the Rockefeller Archives, New York where she has been awarded a research stipend to work on the history of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health Calcutta, an international crossover study.

**S. 13. 3. – SEALIT III: MEDITERRANEAN MARITIME
COMMUNITIES IN TRANSITION**

Chair: Apostolos Delis

(Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FORTH)

Panel Abstract

The panel focuses on the effects of technological innovation on the socio-economic structure and mentality of maritime communities across the Mediterranean. The transition to steam affected the lives of entire maritime communities in a holistic way. Embedded in the pre-modern economy of the sailing ship, these communities were now ushered by the steamship in a novel and more demanding socio-economic system. This system affected the means and modes of production (e.g. professional and technical skills, capital investment, business organization), as well as social stratification.

These developments led to the decline of old as well as the rise of new ports and maritime centers in the Mediterranean. On the whole, they almost altered the existing culture around shipping and seafaring life. Therefore, research will pay particular attention to the ways of adjustment, resistance, the success or failure of seafaring people and communities to integrate and operate in a new economic environment introduced by merchant and liner shipping and which promoted economic and social integration to a degree never before attained in the Mediterranean. The case studies that will be presented in the Panel SeaLiT III are all ongoing research of PhD dissertations of the Universities of Genoa, Crete and Barcelona and include the case studies of:

- the maritime community of Camogli in Liguria, that had not been able to industrialize its fleet
 - the small port of La Ciotat in Provence, that became an important center of industrial ship-building in southern France,
- And
- the maritime district of Barceloneta, which was integrated in the industrialization of the port of Barcelona in the nineteenth century, but with profound social transformation.

Keywords

maritime communities and ports, maritime labor, emigration and immigration,

Transformation without transition: the evolution of the maritime community of Camogli (1830s-1890s)

LEONARDO SCAVINO (NAVLAB/University of Genoa)

Abstract

In addressing the transition from sail to steam in navigation through the evolution of a maritime community which failed its transition, the present paper aims to underline the wider set of transformations triggered by a mere technological improvement. In this regard, the case of Camogli may contribute significantly to the intended analysis, due to its own history in which, after it had faced an extraordinary growth during the “golden age of sail” (1830-1870), had to reassess its activities in relation to steam competitiveness. Indeed, in the period when steamers were first deployed in deep-sea navigation, the ship-owning elites of Camogli, despite their outstanding importance in the international shipping market, lacked the instruments to make the transition, due to their inability to access maritime credit. Unable to invest in steam technology but willing to maintain their position within the international shipping, the maritime elites of Camogli adopted different measures to counter the steamships’ growing influence. First, they redirected the routes, from the Mediterranean to the oceans, to establish themselves in liminal traffics of low-value bulk commodities, such as rice, timber, nitrates and guano, whose freights were lower than what steam technology could afford at the time. Secondly, in order to sustain the increasing costs of maintenance of maritime business, the ship-owning class clustered more than before, thus promoting capital concentration which inhibited upward social mobility.

The extension of routes, the neglect of customary mechanisms to manage maritime credit, ownership and labor, together with the admission into the international labor market, altered dramatically the social and economic status of the community and its inhabitants, leading the way to serious transformations in onboard and ashore labor and social relationships – a wide range of arguments which are at the core of the proposed paper.

Biography

Leonardo Scavino (Genoa, 1993) is a PhD candidate in the Department of History, Philosophy and Antiquities (DAFIST) at the University of Genoa, and a member of NavLab, coordinated by Prof. Lo Basso, since January 2017.

His main research interests involve the Mediterranean maritime history, and, particularly, the economic and social relations between Western and Eastern Mediterranean (including the Black Sea). Within SeaLiT project, he focuses on a specific seafaring community located in the Ligurian area, Camogli, and he studies its maritime, economic and social evolution from 1850s to 1920. He holds a Master’s degree in Historical Sciences (University of Genoa, 2017) and a Bachelor degree in History (University of Genoa, 2014).

The port of La Ciotat in the second half of the nineteenth century: from a traditional maritime community to an industrial shipbuilding centre.

KALLIOPI VASILAKI (Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FORTH)

Abstract

La Ciotat, a small port situated between Marseille and Toulon, famous for its skilled captains and sailors, experienced an important technological breakthrough with the introduction of steam in navigation. In 1851, the French shipping company of Messageries Nationales (later Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes) with postal, passenger and commercial lines, purchased the shipyards focusing on the construction of a modern and competitive fleet. The introduction of steam power had a profound impact on La Ciotat, concluding, inter alia, to alterations of its maritime community. In this regard, this paper aims to describe the impact that the introduction of new technologies had on the maritime community of La Ciotat in the period between 1851 and 1914. The mutation process of its character will be examined through two main aspects: the demographic trends and the evolution of urban space.

In a first step, the analysis will be focused on three primary sources all interconnected between them: the nominative lists of the inhabitants of La Ciotat the years 1831, 1851 and 1911, the registers of the seafarers in La Ciotat the second half of nineteenth century, and the registers of workforce entries in the shipyards of Messageries Maritimes from 1851 to 1911. The data of those sources are elaborated in the framework of the ERC research project SeaLiT: Seafaring Lives in Transition, Mediterranean Maritime Labour and Shipping, 1850s-1920s. In a second level, the paper will examine the qualitative sources related to port infrastructures and urban transformation. Both levels of analysis may contribute to explain how the transition to steam in French Mediterranean and the transformation of La Ciotat's port into a modern shipbuilding centre affected its maritime community in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Biography

Kalliopi (Popi) Vasilaki is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History and Archaeology at the University of Crete and a Ph.D Fellow of the ERC STG 2016, SeaLiT project in the Institute of Mediterranean Studies (IMS/FORTH), since July 2017.

Her research focuses on the study of the maritime communities in French Mediterranean, in particular in the ports of La Ciotat and Cassis, from 1850 to 1920.

She holds a Master's degree in History (School of Advanced Studies in Social Sciences/Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 2012), and a Bachelor degree in History and Archeology (University of Crete, 2010).

The Ottoman port of Chania, Crete, during the transition from sail to steam (1830-1913)

PETROS KASTRINAKIS (PhD student, University of Crete-IMS/FORTH)

Abstract

My research aims to explore the role of the port of Chania in the economy of Crete and its position in the Mediterranean in the period of the transition from sail to steam navigation in the nineteenth century. The port was already vital in the 18th century for the exportation of olive oil and soap to Marseille and to the capital of Ottoman Empire Istanbul. The research focuses on various issues such as the population structure of the port-city, the distribution of professions, the commodities, the port infrastructures and its workers, the commercial linkages and the shipping mechanisms along with the role of the Cretan Muslims, as captains and ship-owners being involved in the internal trade of the Ottoman Empire at that time. The research is based mostly on Ottoman sources coming from the Ottoman archive of Chania in Crete and the President's Ottoman Archives in Istanbul (*Cumhurbaşkanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri*).

The current proposal focuses on the transformation of the role of the port in the 19th century through the study of the registers held by the local customhouse in Chania and consist of information concerning the ships arriving at Chania, their captains, their cargos and their destination, in cross reference with the information from the British and French consular reports. The paper will also examine the orders from the central Ottoman state concerning infrastructure works in the port, on the impact of the technological change on the local communities (christian, muslim, jewish) and the way it affected their investment in shipping and commerce. In that case, the local ottoman mixed court registers and commercial court registers can offer us information concerning the shipping and merchant activities of the communities through disputes between ship-owners and merchants and between captain and the crew. In the same way, the petitions of the communities to the local government for establishing steamship companies can also provide us information about how the introduction of steam power affected the activities of local communities in the island of Crete.

S. 13. 4. – NATURE’S YIELD: COMMERCE AND SCIENCE

Chair: Juan Acevedo

(CIUHCT, Faculdade de Ciências, Universidade de Lisboa)

Sargassum harvesting and tithing in NW Portugal: actors and conflicts (17th century - 1832)

ANA ISABEL LOPES (CITCEM, Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto)

Abstract

Since the 13th century, the harvesting of sargassum for agricultural purposes, subsistence or trade, has been documented in northwestern Portugal, enabling communities on the border with Atlantic Ocean, to combat the sterility of soils so often affected by drift sands. With the intensification of agriculture from the mid-19th century, the collection of sargassum led to large groups of people settling seasonally (and later permanently) on the dunes between May and September, settling in stone huts with all the necessary tools to minimise the irregularity of maritime and agricultural wages. These large groups of “sargaceiros” attracted the attention of 20th century ethnographers who described their clothing, tools and buildings, or of historians who analysed their “deviant” behaviour. However, we still do not know how this resource, whose tithe was abolished with the definitive establishment of liberalism, was taxed, which institutions and communities were involved, and what conflicts this might have caused.

Based on the analysis of the ordinances on the harvesting of sargassum and tithes drawn up by the local religious institutions and the requests of the communities to the Parliament, it will determine how the tax on this resource was managed and how it evolved in the Early Modern Age and in the first years of the implementation of liberalism. Second, it will use this historical documentation to examine whether there was conflict between institutions and communities, as well as between neighbouring communities, over ownership and revenue from this maritime resource. The aim of this communication is to revive, from a local perspective, the memory of a widespread practise throughout the Atlantic region, which in many cases has been lost in recent decades, but also to understand how maritime resources were exploited in the past and to analyse the relationship between maritime resources, territory, communities and institutions.

Keywords

Sargassum; Maritime resources; Exploitation of resources; Taxation

Biography

Ana Isabel Lopes is a PhD student in History at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto, funded by a scholarship (DFA/BD/4817/2020) from the Foundation for Science and Technology (Portugal). She holds a Bachelor's degree in History and a Master's degree in History and Heritage (specialisation in Local and Regional Studies) from the same institution. Her studies focus on drift sands and its effects, as well as the responses of communities and their institutions, and the exploitation of maritime resources on the northwest coast of Portugal during The Early Modern Age.

Circulating Knowledge: Arabic Texts in Portuguese Nautical Literature

INÊS BÉNARD (Centro Interuniversitário de História das Ciências e da Tecnologia, Faculdade de Ciências-UL)

Abstract

Historians today generally agree on the level of knowledge circulation taking place in 16th century Indian Ocean. European sailors would look for Arabic pilots from the moment they would reach the east coast of Africa. They would request not only practical help and advice, but also information on sea routes and geographical depictions. Even though a considerable amount of the information provided was transmitted orally, Portuguese sources do mention valuable written descriptions and charts. What I propose with this presentation is to look at Arabic nautical texts as objects of intercultural transmission of knowledge. Having been produced under different contexts and in different languages, the Portuguese needed to translate and interpret these descriptions in order to use them not only for navigation per se, but also for scientific and political decisions. The presentation will thus be mainly focused in Portuguese accounts of Arabic texts, but constantly using navigational treatises by Ibn Mājid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī as references.

Keywords

Navigation; Rutters; Arabic Nautical texts; Indian Ocean; Circulation of knowledge

Biography

Inês is a PhD student at the University of Lisbon and a member of the ERC project RUTTER “Making the Earth Global”. Her research topic is circulation of knowledge between Atlantic and Indian Ocean navigational practices. She is currently focused on Arabic and Portuguese nautical texts.

The Cod Hunters

JOHN GOODLAD (Independent Researcher)

Abstract

This paper is based on my PhD and my published book of the same name. It chronicles the nineteenth century cod fishery undertaken by the Shetland fleet of cod smacks. Fishing at Greenland, Iceland and Faroe, these smacks split and salted the cod on board. The salt cod were then dried on Shetland beaches before being exported to Spain where the “Shetland cure” was in demand for making the best quality baccalau dishes. The paper examines the reasons why the fishery began, how it came to dominate the Shetland economy and why it suddenly disappeared. Not only fish - the paper will explore the hitherto neglected smuggling trade from Faroe to Shetland undertaken by the cod smacks

Keywords

Dried salt cod, Shetland, Faroe, the Basque country

Biography

John is a seafood industry professional - currently working for a large seafood investment fund. Always fascinated by fishing history he undertook a PhD about the Shetland cod fishery. This was the basis for his book *The Cod Hunters*. Following on from the success of this book he has written *Salt Roads* which will be published by Birlinn in September 2022.

S. 13. 5. – MODERN SHIPBUILDING AND ITS PORTS

Chair: Jeremy Land

(Georgia State University)

Globalization and the maritime city in the second half of the 20th century: The case of Bergen, Norway

STIG TENOLD (NHH/Bergen Maritime Museum)

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to show how globalization influenced the development of the maritime industries in Bergen, a city on the western coast of Norway, in the last decades of the 20th century. The main footprints of the maritime industries were found within four arenas, with the status in 1973 as follows:

- A large number of shipping companies that owned and operated ships transporting cargoes for foreign interests. Although the companies traditionally had acquired both investments and labour locally, the demand for shipping was in practice totally detached from the local economy.
- A shipbuilding industry that constructed ships for local and non-local customers, including a yard that was the city's biggest private employer in the early 1970s.
- An auxiliary industry built up to support the maritime activities, consisting of brokers, ship equipment producers, banks, insurance companies, etc.
- A port that originally primarily served three different markets; the local/ regional market, the domestic Norwegian market along the coast and some international activity, mainly general cargo liners.

The paper analyzes how these four arenas changed in the last decades of the 20th century, and to explain the basis for the transformation. In short, the development differed. The shipping companies became larger and more dependent upon foreign inputs, while at the same time becoming increasingly detached from the local labour market in connection with the employment of seafarers. Shipbuilding more or less disappeared, although some ship equipment producers have been able to improve their position. The auxiliary industries were strengthened and increasingly targeted an international customer base. Finally, the activity in the port changed; local and regional connections were challenged by land-based methods of transportation, while the international activity changed towards oil exports and cruise shipping.

Keywords

Shipping Norway Port

Biography

Stig Tenold is professor of economic history at the Norwegian School of Economics in Bergen. He has published widely on modern maritime history. His latest book is *Norwegian Shipping in the 20th Century – Norway's Successful Navigation of the World's Most Global Industry*,

which was published by Palgrave MacMillan in early 2019. He is also the editor, with Niels P. Petersson and Nicholas J. White, of *Shipping and Globalization in the Postwar Era: Contexts, Companies, Connections*, which is due for publication very soon.

Making freezer trawlers: the Rise and Fall of Astilleros y Construcciones, S.A.

CARMONAXOÁN (University of Santiago)

Abstract

In the early sixties the Spanish fishing fleet first reached the fishing grounds of the Southern Hemisphere. Its rapid expansion in those waters led to a strong development of the freezer fleet and an important change in fish consumption habits in Spain. The new type of fishing required new types of boats and gear and some shipyards specialized in the construction of the new freezer trawlers. The most important of them was Astilleros y Construcciones, S.A. , which began building Pescanova ships and soon expanded its client portfolio to a large part of the biggest Spanish fishing companies of the sixties and seventies, and some foreign ones.

Keywords

shipbuilding, fisheries, freezer trawlers, naval engineering

Biography

Position: Full Professor in Economic History at University of Santiago de Compostela

Current Investigation: Fishing, cannig and freezing. Frontier, organization, institutions and technology (Spanish Ministry of Industry and Technology, HAR-HAR2017-88128-R)

Book in press: Joaquín Davila y compañía. Cien años de liderazgo en el sector marítimo.

Main books:

-El atraso industrial de Galicia, Barcelona, 1990

-El empeño industrial de Galicia (con Jordi Nadal Oller), A Coruña, 2005

-La Sociedad General Gallega de Electricidad y la formación del sector eléctrico en Galicia