Maritime Animals

Telling Stories of Animals at Sea

An International Symposium

National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London
25-27 April 2019

A Kent Animal Humanities Network event,
organised in collaboration with the National Maritime Museum

Organiser: Dr. Kaori Nagai, School of English, University of K

Maritime Animals: Telling Stories of Animals at Sea

Keynote Speakers

Thom van Dooren

Voyaging with Snails: Stories from Hawai'I

Thom van Dooren is Associate Professor and Australian Research Council Future Fellow (2017-2021) in the Department of Gender and Cultural Studies and the Sydney Environment Institute at the University of Sydney, and founding co-editor of the journal *Environmental Humanities* (Duke University Press). His research and writing focus on some of the many philosophical, ethical, cultural, and political issues that arise in the context of species extinctions and human entanglements with threatened species and places. He is the author of *Flight Ways: Life and Loss at the Edge of Extinction* (2014), *The Wake of Crows: Living and Dying in Shared Worlds* (2019), and co-editor of *Extinction Studies: Stories of Time, Death, and Generations* (2017), all published by Columbia University Press. His current major research project focuses on extinction in Oceania and includes both field philosophical work and a series of public environmental humanities collaborations that are working to produce a multimedia living archive of extinction stories from around the region. As part of this work, he is exploring the ways in which diverse plants, animals, and peoples have moved around the Pacific, as well as the consequences of these movements. Van Dooren has held visiting positions at the University of California at Santa Cruz, USA (2005, 2010) the KTH Environmental Humanities Laboratory in Stockholm (2014), the Department of Anthropology at MIT (2018), the Centre for Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (2018), and has been a Humboldt Research Fellow at the Rachel Carson Center, Munich (2014-16, intermittent). Website: www.thomvandooren.org

William Clarence-Smith

From Sail to Steam: The Maritime Transport of Equids and Other Animals

William G. Clarence-Smith is Professor of the Economic History of Asia and Africa, at SOAS University of London, where he has taught since 1980. He is the author of *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (1989, 2015 reprint), *Cocoa and Chocolate 1765-1914* (2000) and *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery* (2006). He is Chief Editor of the *Journal of Global History*, published by Cambridge University Press, and a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Royal Historical Society. He is currently working on a global history of mules, the spread of the *Trypanosoma evansi* disease of equids and camels, Islamic attitudes to elephants, the Ottoman employment of animals of war, donkeys in Eastern Africa, fishing off the coast of Northwestern Africa, and the modern history of pearls and shells, sponges, and whales around the world. He has an overarching interest in the industrial processing of raw materials of animal origin, religious attitudes towards non-human animals, and Western shipping companies in the age of steamers. As co-sponsor of the Interdisciplinary Animal Studies Initiative (IASI) at SOAS, with Ed Emery, he has helped to organize a series of conferences on donkeys and mules, camels, warhorses, elephants, and sponges, held both at SOAS and abroad since 2010. In addition to further sessions on these animals, the IASI is planning conferences on oysters, fish, and buffaloes.

Maritime Animals displays

During the lunch breaks and tea/coffee breaks, we will be showing some 'maritime' images on the screen of the Lecture Theatre. This includes a selection of archival images from the National Maritime Museum collection. Also, Pandora Syperek and Sarah Wade will be curating some examples of maritime animals in contemporary art: for information, please see their article 'Curating the Sea' below. Moreover, we are delighted to screen Jessica Sarah Rinland's film 'The Blind Labourer' (details below). Jessica will be showing clips from her other films in her presentation 'Those Surrounding the Cetacean', scheduled in the 'Representing Maritime Animals' panel on April 26. Pandora and Sarah will be speaking in the same panel too.

Jessica Sarah Rinland, *The Blind Labourer* (26 minutes, 2016)

The Blind Labourer examines the similarities and contrasts within the whaling and lumber industry. It edits together archive footage of labourers in the forests, at sea and in factories, felling trees, cutting whales and developing their multiple products for society and scientific studies. Text appears as subtitles throughout the film, written in the first person by an ambiguous whaler who comes to meet a blind lumberjack, fascinated by whales. The film rejects the idea that beings can be ranked according to their relative value, and explores each micro and macro forms' effect on one other.

Jessica Sarah Rinland, *Those Surrounding the Cetacean*

The whale has been a reoccurring subject in Rinland's work as an artist. The animal and those who surround it, have informed various themes within her practice, including challenges within ecology, history, museum studies, animals within film, and environmental and cultural changes. Rinland will be presenting her films and texts which relate to this being.

Argentine-British artist filmmaker, **Jessica Sarah Rinland** has exhibited work in galleries, cinemas, film festivals and universities internationally including NYFF, BFI London Film Festival, Rotterdam, Oberhausen, Edinburgh International Film Festival, Bloomberg New Contemporaries and Somerset House Galleries. She has won awards including Primer Premio at Bienale de Imagen en Movimiento, Arts + Science Award at Ann Arbor Film Fetisval, ICA's Best Experimental Film at LSFF, and M.I.T's Schnitzer prize for excellence in the arts. She has received grants from Arts Council England, Wellcome Trust, Elephant Trust and elsewhere. Residencies include the MacDowell Colony, Kingston University, Locarno Academy and Berlinale Talents. She is currently an Associate Artist at Somerset House Studios and a Film Studies Center Fellow at Harvard University. Email: jrinland2@aol.com

Curating the Sea

Pandora Syperek & Sarah Wade

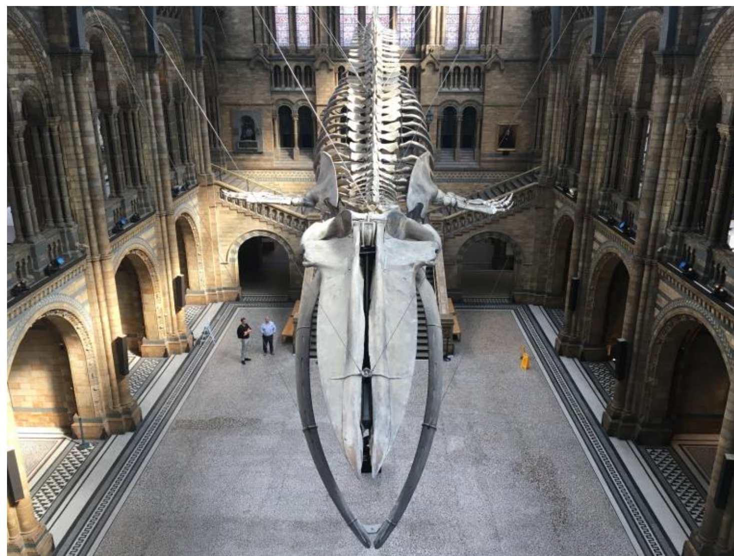
Over the past decade a wave of ocean-themed exhibitions has swelled in international and interdisciplinary contexts. Ranging from large-scale permanent displays in national museums of maritime and natural history to transient exhibitions of contemporary art, this

surge of curatorial activity corresponds to rising public and scientific knowledge about the ecological devastation of the world's oceans. Curating the Sea is a research project that examines this recent field of oceanic exhibition making and its heritage, investigating how curatorial practice can uniquely contribute to understanding the complex relationships between marine wildlife, ocean ecosystems and human activity at this time of environmental crisis. It charts and critically reflects on the recent exhibitionary turn to the sea, examining various ways art and science are brought together to address ocean ecology.

The project has so far gathered together scholars and practitioners through a symposium at the UCL Institute of Advanced Studies in April 2018 entitled *Curating the Sea: Ecological Vulnerability in Contemporary Exhibitions* and a special issue of the *Journal of Curatorial Studies* on Curating the Sea, forthcoming in Autumn 2020. In these contexts, participants have engaged with notions of ecology both in terms of the entanglements of humans and nonhumans, as well as with regards to wildlife protection to investigate multispecies ways of being and ecologies of display. We have developed a website documenting the project and acting as a repository of sources and links on ocean ecology in exhibitions and museums, cultures of display and contemporary art at curatingthesea.wordpress.com.

Maritime Animals in Recent Exhibitions

Human-animal relations and representations of maritime animals have figured frequently in recent exhibitions examining the world's oceans, as well as in historic museum displays.



'Hope', Hintze Hall, Natural History Museum, 2017. Photo: Pandora Syperek

Our project was in part catalysed by the recent display of the blue whale skeleton 'Hope' in the central hall of London's Natural History Museum, which represented a new paradigm of scientific display. Not only does Hope draw attention to human induced species loss, but she also highlights one instance when human actions have brought an animal back from the brink, thanks in part to the whaling moratorium. However, Hope also brings to the fore the complex dynamics of the display of maritime animals, or in this case, maritime animal remains. Whilst this specimen is presented in a scientific context, ostensibly to promote marine conservation, it also features as an affective, even sculptural

object, installed dramatically as if plunging into the deep. Hope is also a named individual with her own history, both in life and in her afterlife in the museum.

Subtler and less publicised marine specimens have been exhibited in conjunction with Hope; these have their own peculiar aura both as animals and as museum objects. The Blaschka glass models of marine invertebrates were purchased between 1866 and 1889 to compensate for the instability of preserving real specimens. Albeit less anthropomorphic than Hope, the models' origin story lies in the glassmaker Leopold Blaschka's drawings of jellyfish during a boat trip following a bereavement. These unlikely companions' melancholy and ethereal beauty inspired Leopold and his son Rudolf to produce intricate glass simulations. Beyond their scientific purposes, they recall the fascination with marine creatures in late nineteenth-century art and culture. More recently the Blaschka models have been displayed in several contemporary art exhibitions, including *Aquatopia* at Tate St Ives and Nottingham Contemporary (2013-14), and re-exhibited in the Natural History Museum following a century in storage, signifying renewed interest in the models' naturalcultural history, within both artistic and scientific contexts.

The Natural History Museum is only one of the big institutions putting ocean ecology at the centre of major redisplays in recent years and just one site where dichotomies of art and science are being disrupted today. In 2010 the Oceanographic Museum of Monaco renewed its founding commitment to display objects of both art and science by inaugurating a contemporary art programme, in which artworks are displayed amongst historic marine specimens and maritime artifacts. Many of the exhibitions that emerged out of this initiative had an ecological agenda. These include Mark Dion's *Oceanomania* (2011), made in the wake of both the 2010 Deepwater Horizon oil rig explosion and the 2010 Census for Marine Life, and *On Sharks & Humanity* (2014-15), which aimed to raise awareness of the plight of the sharks fished for their fins. The latter exhibition highlighted how human relations to marine wildlife are constantly in flux – once perceived as a threat to humans, sharks are now threatened by *them* – but *Oceanomania* also emphasised how these relationships are contradictory, ranging from careful scientific observation to over-exploitation.

Curating the sea involves a curious contradiction: to be put on display, maritime animals must be removed from the ocean. Of course this is true of aquaria, which have put marine wildlife on display since the parlour rooms of the nineteenth century to the museums of the present day. Yet this conflict is also present in recent works of contemporary art. Such is the case with Shimabuku's *Then, I Decided to Give a Tour of Tokyo to the Octopus from Akashi* (2000), which was recently on show as part of *Offshore: Artists Explore the Sea* across Hull Maritime Museum and Ferens Art Gallery (2017). As the title suggests, the artist caught an Octopus in Akashi, took the creature on a bullet train to Tokyo to visit key tourist sites, before returning the cephalopod to the sea. As eccentric as such an act may seem on the surface, it shows the artist thoughtfully attempting to engage with another species and share his terrestrial world with a creature of the sea. Nevertheless, it also demonstrates the power relations at work when marine wildlife is taken from its habitat to be consumed by humans, for food, natural history, art or exhibitions.

We have included further instances of maritime animals in contemporary art, exhibitions and museum display in a curated slideshow that will show during the Maritime Animals conference.

Pandora Syperek is preparing a monograph provisionally titled *Jewels of the Natural History Museum: Gender, Display and the Nonhuman, 1851-1901*. She was postdoctoral fellow at the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art from 2016-17, and holds a PhD in the History of Art from UCL. Publications include a forthcoming essay on gendering John Ruskin's mineralogy in the *Journal of Victorian Culture* and book chapters on trans-animality in Victorian insect culture and queering the Blaschka glass models of marine invertebrates. Pandora has taught modern and contemporary art and exhibition practices at Sotheby's Institute of Art, UCL and York University. She is co-editing a special issue of the *Journal of Curatorial Studies* on 'Curating the Sea'. Email: pandora.syperek.09@alumni.ucl.ac.uk

Sarah Wade's research interrogates human-animal relations and representations of animals in contemporary art and visual culture, particularly with regards to ecological concerns. She was awarded a PhD in the History of Art on this topic from University College London in 2018. Sarah has taught modern and contemporary art at UCL and curating at the Science Museum, been a co-curator of the exhibition *Strange Creatures: The Art of Unknown Animals* at the Grant Museum of Zoology (2015) and is co-editing a special issue of the *Journal of Curatorial Studies* on 'Curating the Sea'. Her postdoctoral research focuses on exhibiting extinction and artistic responses to species loss and she is currently developing a monograph proposal on these topics. Sarah has also worked with various arts and heritage organisations and is currently Research Manager at the Science Museum. Email: sarah.wade.13@ucl.ac.uk

Seafurrers: Maritime Animals blogposts

Philippa Sandall is the author of *Seafurrers: The Ships' Cats Who Lapped and Mapped the World* (2018), and co-creator of the 'Seafurrers' blog, which chronicles many extraordinary stories of cats and other animals at sea, narrated by the seafaring cat Bart. She is also preparing a new authoritative edition of Flinders' *Biographical Tribute to the Memory of Trim* with Gillian Dooley. She lives in New South Wales, where she runs her own editorial consulting agency. The above delightful logo is designed by Ky Long, one of Philippa's collaborators on the 'Seafurrers' project.

From the very start, Philippa has been a supporter of the 'Maritime Animals' conference, and it has been wonderful to share her passion and enthusiasm for seafaring animal stories. Sadly, Philippa is unable to join us at the conference, but she is kindly going to post four 'maritime animals' stories on her Facebook Page, in the run up to the conference (April 3, 10, 17 and 24, 2019) – on bears on board, a tiger cub, a lifesaving dog and courageous award winning pigeons. https://www.facebook.com/Seafurrers/

Conference Abstracts & Profiles

Diana L. Ahmad, *Sharks, Whales, and Gobies: Travelers' Observations of Sea Life on the Journey through the South Seas, 1880s-1910s*

The story of the people who sailed the Pacific Ocean from San Francisco to Hawai`i, Samoa, and points beyond is well documented. Little, however, is known about what they thought about the sea creatures they encountered on the five day to five week journeys to their destinations. Like the emigrants who wrote about the wolves, prairie dogs, and buffalo they saw as they crossed the continental United States during the mid-nineteenth century, those who crossed the Pacific Ocean recorded their thoughts and interactions that they had with the sea creatures they discovered. They feared the sharks as the overlanders feared the wolves. The travelers thought the dolphins were as charming as many emigrants believed the prairie dogs to be. They relished the rainbow beauty of the denizens of the deep as others enjoyed the antelope and buffalo that galloped across the Great Plains. Like those who journeyed over the North American continent, those who sailed across the sea had little to distract them from the many miles of endless plains or water. As such, they looked at the sea creatures as an amusement, something to observe, over the many days. The ocean travelers soon considered the creatures to be their friends or simply admired the ocean's inhabitants that often possessed colors too numerous to count. While some passengers appreciated and admired the creatures that floated and swam beneath them, others studied the sea animals and soon published scientific observations of the ocean's inhabitants. The maritime animals most assuredly enlivened the journey to the islands of the Pacific.

Diana L. Ahmad is a Distinguished Teaching Professor at the Missouri University of Science and Technology in Rolla, Missouri. She is the author of *Success Depends on the Animals: Emigrants, Livestock, and Wild Animals on the Overland Trails, 1840-1869* and *The Opium Debate and Chinese Exclusion Laws in the Nineteenth-Century American West.* In addition to her interest in the American West, she also examines American expansion into the Pacific at the turn of the twentieth century. Dr. Ahmad earned her Ph.D. at the University of Missouri-Columbia and her M.A. and B.A. at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Email: ahmadd@mst.edu

Jakobina Arch, *Manly Whalers and Compassionate Whale-Mothers: Interpreting Human-Whale Relationships in Early Modern Japan*

Organized whaling groups using relatively small open boats began operating within coastal waters as one of the new specialized fisheries of Japan's Tokugawa period (1603-1868). The ways in which these groups brought whales and people together were important beyond the history of whaling: the variety of relationships with whales the groups made possible reflect the importance of maritime space for all of the inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago. This paper will consider two different types of storytelling involving whales to demonstrate the wide-ranging impacts of whale-human interactions in this period, one using whale parts as components of storytelling technologies, and the other focusing on actual stories and popular information about whales. First, very small parts of whale baleen were used in the construction of puppets for the theater and for

popular clockwork dolls using baleen springs, and in doing so almost invisibly shaped the culture of Japan. This example is particularly interesting in comparison to the very different influence of baleen in the construction of corsets and other clothing in America and Europe, and helps us think about the diversity of ways animal products from the sea could change cultures on land. Second, and related to the very gendered aspect of baleen products in the West, is the question of the kinds of stories that people told about (rather than with) whales. Gender divisions in whaling groups and how these shaped particular interpretations of whales and whalers provide a new perspective on society in the Tokugawa period as it operated both out in coastal waters and back on land.

Jakobina Arch is an Assistant Professor of History at Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington. Her research focuses on marine environmental history in Japan, especially in the early modern period. Her first book, *Bringing Whales Ashore: Oceans and the Environment of Early Modern Japan* was published in the University of Washington Press's Weyerhaeuser Environmental Series, focusing on the many roles of whales and the marine environment they represent in Tokugawa society and culture. She has also published two chapters in edited volumes on whaling in early modern Japan, and an article on postwar Japanese whale meat consumption in *Environmental History*. Email: archjk@whitman.edu

Stephen Berry, ***The Wonders of the Deep: Eighteenth-Century Encounters with Oceanic Wildlife***

The varied and wondrous fauna of the Atlantic captured the imagination and pen of Philip George Friedrich von Reck, a twenty-five-year-old German nobleman, sailing to Georgia in 1735. Like his fellow travelers on the English ship London Merchant, von Reck discovered that the seemingly vacant horizon of the Atlantic Ocean masked an abundance of wildlife whose sudden appearances he sought to capture in both text and image. Vivid representations of oceanic animals punctuated his journal, which documented the otherwise mundane daily life during the three-month voyage. While his comments demonstrated that he valued some sea life as potential 'delicacies' supplementing the ship's stores of salted meat, more often he emphasized the strange and sublime wonder that accompanied their appearance. Some animals produced terror such as 'grampuses' with 'their power concentrated in their tails, with which they are said to be able to destroy a ship!' or sharks, 'able to cut off a leg in one or two bites'. Other creatures von Reck noted for their seemingly mythical qualities like the 'pilot fish', the shark's constant, but never eaten companion, or the delicately winged flying fish that leapt over the ship's decks and into von Reck's sketchbook.

The eighteenth-century ships that transported European passengers across the Atlantic simultaneously exposed them to entirely new and abundant varieties of oceanic life. This paper examines the different ways in which these sea creatures appeared in voyagers' travel narratives and how they understood these surprising manifestations. It argues that these accounts combined a scientific impulse to provide accurate descriptions of previously unexperienced species with a religious worldview that interpreted oceanic creatures both great and small as signs of God's mysteries displayed through creation. It also marks how maritime laborers tempered passengers' 'new' discoveries with their practical knowledge of oceanic life born of long-term exposure.

Stephen Berry is an associate professor and chair of the History Department at Simmons University in Boston Massachusetts. A graduate of Vanderbilt and Duke Universities, his research focuses on religion and culture in maritime spaces. His first book, *A Path in the Mighty Waters: Shipboard Life and Atlantic Crossings*, was published by Yale University Press in 2015. Email: stephen.berry@simmons.edu

Anna Boswell, *Repatriating Castaways*

Tuatara lizards (*Sphenodon punctatus*) are endemic to Aotearoa/New Zealand, and they are the sole survivor of the oldest living genus on Earth. Within te ao Māori (the Māori world), tuatara are revered and feared as taonga or treasures, and as kaitiaki (guardians) of sacred knowledges and keepers of difficult places such as battle sites and burial grounds. In the ordinary course of its life, which might be a century or more in duration, a tuatara generally never travels more than 20 metres from its burrow. Yet, from the time of European settlement in Aotearoa/New Zealand, tuatara began being shipped to the northern hemisphere in order to flesh out (and, quite literally, give flesh to) the encyclopedic collections of zoos and museums. Such actions coincided with – and no doubt contributed to – a drastic decline in the tuatara population in Aoteaora/New Zealand, which has resulted in this creature's extinction on the mainland. This paper goes in search of the 109 tuatara accessioned by the Zoological Society of London between 1868 and 1895, many of whom found their way into the storerooms of the Natural History Museum in London. The paper asks what we might yet learn about these creatures' provenance and stories, about the conditions of their lives and deaths, and about their role as keepers of newly-difficult institutional places. The paper will elaborate and build on work that I am undertaking with representatives from Ngāti Koata, who co-manage Takapourewa/Stephens Island, the largest island sanctuary for tuatara in the world, and who until recently were unfamiliar with the extent of the tuatara's travel tale. Working in this context, I am concerned to understand what it means to repatriate the stories of castaway tuatara, how conservation work might serve to recuperate storytelling traditions, and how storytelling in turn functions as a form of environmental guardianship or kaitiakitanga.

Anna Boswell is a lecturer in English, Drama and Writing Studies at the University of Auckland. She talks and writes about settler colonialism in terms of ecology and pedagogy, and has been awarded a Marsden Fund Fast Start grant by the Royal Society of New Zealand for a research project examining zoos and wildlife sanctuaries in the settler south (2016-19). Anna is a research associate of the New Zealand Centre for Human-Animal Studies and a founding co-editor of *Argos Aotearoa: A Journal of Place/Politics*. Email: a.boswell@auckland.ac.nz

Cristina Brito, *Humans, Marine Animals and In-betweens: Travelling from Early Modern Seas to Contemporary Oceans*

Among the myths from the sea, the double-tailed mermaid has been one of the most profusely described and depicted. It appears in medieval and early modern European literature, bestiaries and natural history treaties as in iconography and cartography. Usually shown as a female human form in the upper body holding its two fish-like tails, it

did represent the epitome of nature's beautiful creations but also its strangeness and hybridity. With virtues and sins associated to it, love and danger enclosed in one body, it could be the reflection of the moral and human actions as well as of its (dis)conformities. Besides the symbolic meaning of the mirror, or the twinning, could these mythical beings also be the result of observations of rare (but natural) events in the sea? Here, some questions regarding early understanding of nature and natural knowledge production and circulation will be addressed, by relating the physicality of double-tailed mermaids with the real, yet highly obscure occurrences of siamese twins in sea animals. Conjoined twins have, in fact, rarely been described in wild (marine) mammals but a couple of cases in cetaceans just came to light in recent years. Even though descriptions of monsters sometimes reveal more about people's minds and perceptions than they do about the animals, the physical similarities between these two types of marine monsters, and the possibility of real observations resulting in imaginary animals, will be discussed. Moreover, aspects of the historical relationships of different peoples with the ocean and its animals will also be considered. This will allow to shed light on past and current human and non-human relationships. Histories and stories, worldviews and mythologies, do travel through time imbedding contemporary realities and having a profound influence on how peoples perceive the marine environment and act upon it.

Cristina Brito is an Assistant Professor at NOVA FCSH. She has an interdisciplinary and cross-cultural approach to her scientific interests on environmental history, history of natural history and ocean history. She also conducts research on the history of natural history, local and global perceptions about and uses of the seas, animal studies, humans and non-humans relationships, nature agency, Atlantic and ocean history. She is currently a Subdirector of CHAM - Centre for the Humanities (NOVA FCSH) for International Research, and Member of the Board of the international organization OPI – Oceans Past Initiative (2018-2020). She also coordinates a thematic line of research at CHAM (Sea and Environmental History), the UNESCO Chair on Oceans' Cultural Heritage and the H2020 RISE project CONCHA (2018-2021). Email: cbrito@fcsh.unl.pt

Charlotte Carrington-Farmer, *Shipping Horses: New England and the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*

In July 1732 Captain Crow loaded up his sloop and set sail out of Rhode Island heading for St. Christopher. Crow's cargo was primarily livestock, with sixteen horses, all of which travelled on deck. However, Crow and his horses never made it to St. Christopher. After a month at sea, they were hit with a gale off Bermuda, which overset the sloop and quickly cleared the deck of its equine cargo. Whilst the horses put up a valiant struggle, they were quickly carried out to sea and drowned. Crow and his crew clung to the sloop and were 'almost up to their middle in Water, for 36 Hours' before cutting away the mast, righting the vessel. They continued for nineteen days and were hit again by hard gales. In the 'Hazard of perishing', they met with 'divine Providence' when fellow Rhode Islander Captain Jonathan Remington took them and delivered them to safety. Crow's sloop was one of many ships that braved the dangerous aquatic highway of the Atlantic delivering horses to the sugar colonies. Planters primarily needed draught horses to turn the sugar mills to crush the cane, but they also needed them for transport and the militia. As part of the wider transatlantic sugar and slave trade, Rhode Island and the other New England

sent fish, foodstuffs, building supplies (such as timber, boards, and staves), cattle, and horses. In return, they obtained sugar, molasses, rum, dyestuffs, Spanish dollars, and Bills of Exchange from London. This paper will centre on *how* horses crossed the Atlantic, including the types of vessels used, horse care on-board, and ultimately the perils involved in making the journey.

Charlotte Carrington-Farmer is an Associate Professor of History at Roger Williams University, Rhode Island, USA. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Cambridge (Trinity Hall) in 2010. She published biography of Thomas Morton in: *Atlantic Lives: Biographies that Cross the Ocean* (Leiden and Boson: Brill, 2014.) She has published an article entitled 'The Rise and Fall of the Narragansett Pacer,' *Rhode Island History*, Winter/Spring 2018, Volume 76, Number 1, pp. 1-38. She has written a chapter entitled 'Trading Horses in the Eighteenth Century: Rhode Island and the Atlantic World,' in: Kristen Guest and Monica Mattfeld, eds., *Equine Cultures: Horses, Human Society, and the Discourse of Modernity, 1700-Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019). She has recorded podcasts for the *Knowing Animals* series and is an active member of the Equine History Collective. Email: ccarrington-farmer@rwu.edu

Timothy Cooper, *Finding Sanctuary: The Meaning of Maritime Animal Rescue*

This paper explores the phenomenon of animal rescue in twentieth century Britain. The period saw the development of a number of hospitals and sanctuaries for marine animals such as seals and seabirds. However, while the development of legally protected sanctuaries and maritime wildlife reserves have been the subject of some limited historical study, there has been no comparable work on the history of animal hospitals and rescue centres.

Institutions such as the Mousehole Bird Hospital and the Gweek Seal Sanctuary were part of a transformation of popular attitudes towards marine wildlife and injured marine animals in particular. They reveal a transformation in popular attitudes towards nature in the period. They were also idiosyncratic institutions developed by the energy and enthusiasm of particular individuals. They embodied a way of relating to, and caring for, nature, which was quite different in form from the observational approach of professionalised marine biology or ornithology. They promoted an affective politics of care which contested the predominance of ecological understandings of the vulnerability of nature.

This paper explores the alternative meanings of care for nature in these institutions, and assesses their significance in understanding the 'greening' of popular culture in modern Britain. It adopts an eco-feminist interpretive perspective to argue that much existing historiography has focussed to readily on the masculine gaze embodied in the practices of a professionalised natural history, and has neglected alternative ways of knowing and engaging with wild nature such as those constructed through marine animal rescue.

Timothy Cooper is Senior Lecturer at the University of Exeter. His research explores popular attitudes towards science and nature, often in place-located contexts. He is presently working on the history of everyday encounters with oil pollution in the twentieth century. Email: t.cooper@exeter.ac.uk

Helen Cowie, *'The Seal and his Jacket': Science, Politics and Conservation in the Fur Seal Fisheries of Alaska, 1850-1914*

The Pacific fur seal was heavily hunted in the nineteenth century for its coat. Every year, thousands of seals were culled on the Pribylov Islands in the Behring Sea and their skins shipped to London, where they were prepared and processed. They were then distributed to consumers in North America and Europe as shawls, pelisses, gloves and jackets. By the mid-nineteenth century, the fur seal industry was a global business, employing men and women in Alaska, San Francisco and London. It was also a highly fragile and contentious enterprise whose existence was threatened by the uncontrolled exploitation of the natural resource upon which it was built.

Examining the Alaskan seal fisheries from an environmental history perspective, this paper looks at the measures taken to protect seals from overfishing and positions their management within a wider raft of conservation initiatives. I discuss the humanitarian objections to the fur industry and show how the seal industry was bound up with complex commodity chains and international diplomacy. The paper focuses in particular on the important role played by scientists in the framing of conservation policy, showing how the observations of men such as Henry Elliott and David Starr Jordan informed government policies and lent weight to proposed conservation measures. I also show, however, how zoologists could arrive at different conclusions about the ecology and behaviour of the fur seal, supporting competing national agendas and complicating conservation efforts.

Helen Cowie is senior lecturer in history at the University of York. Her research focuses on the history of animals and the history of natural history. She is author or *Conquering Nature in Spain and its Empire, 1750-1850* (Manchester University Press, 2011), *Exhibiting Animals in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Empathy, Education, Entertainment* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) and *Llama* (Reaktion Books 2017). She is currently working on a project entitled 'Fashion Victims: Animal Commodities in Nineteenth-Century Britain', funded by the Leverhulme Trust. Email: helen.cowie@york.ac.uk

J. Keri Cronin, *Cruelty at Sea: The Visual Politics of the Live Export Industry in the Early 20th Century*

This paper focuses on the controversy surrounding the live export of horses for slaughter from England to continental Europe in the early years of the 20th century. The transportation of 'worn-out and diseased' horses by sea became a focal point for the reform work of people like Ada Cole, a Norfolk woman who worked tirelessly to draw attention to the conditions these animals faced on their journey. The standards governing the live export of horses on the eve of the First World War were lax, and reformers like Cole were shocked to discover that these animals received neither food nor water on their voyage, rarely had any shelter on the boat to protect them from the elements during transport, and routinely died on the journey.

Specifically, my research considers the visual politics surrounding these issues. I consider, for instance, Cole's use of imagery to both raise awareness of the treatment of these animals and to lobby for legislative reforms. Her innovative use of photography, paintings, and film did much to bring attention to the treatment of animals in the live export industry. Further, the politics of 'bearing witness' are brought in to sharp focus in

this case study. For instance, those who profited from the live export industry sought to maintain the status quo and fought hard against the making and distribution of these images. Cole's writings recount instances of being 'roughed up' when visiting the docks with her camera in order to take pictures of the arriving ships full of horses in places like Antwerp.

Some of the questions that this research raises include: How do ideas about what constitutes 'humane' and 'cruel' activities get articulated through visual means? How do images function in this context and what kinds of expectations do viewers have of them? Why do certain types of images have more currency than others when it comes to reform movements? How do ideas about 'witnessing' get complicated through different types of visual material? What is the legacy of people like Ada Cole in terms of the visual politics of the live export industry today?

J. Keri Cronin is a historian of visual culture at Brock University's Marilyn I. Walker School of Fine & Performing Arts. Her most recent book, Art for Animals, considers the role of visual imagery in late 19th and early 20th century animal advocacy campaigns. Email: keri.cronin@brocku.ca

Nancy Cushing, *Sheep from Cowes: Using a Shipboard Journal to Reconstruct Human-Animal Relations*

Australia is now the world's largest exporter of live animals by sea but the sheep and cattle at the centre of this trade are relative newcomers to the continent, only having been introduced since 1788. While accounts of the shipboard experience of animals exported en masse are notoriously difficult to access, occasionally more careful records were kept of the ancestors of these animals as they undertook outward intercontinental voyages to begin new lives as exotics in the Antipodes. This paper will focus on one cargo of French merino sheep which departed from the English port of Cowes for Sydney, New South Wales in 1826. Drawing on a daily 'Journal of Occurrences' kept during the four and half month voyage by James White, the man charged with ensuring their safe arrival, it will explore the extent to which spatial, logistical and emotional relationships between humans and other animals can be reconstructed using this type of evidence. It will be argued that despite being sparing in words and personal revelation, White's journal does document a co-dependent but asymmetrical relationship with the sheep, in which his investment was related to income and career while they risked their lives. Although White deployed all of the strategies available to him to ensure their survival, one quarter of the sheep died en route, demonstrating the inherent risk of moving large animals over such long distances. In what could be read as a tribute, but was more accurately a means of extracting value, the fleeces of the dead sheep, along with those of the living, were discharged by White in Sydney.

Nancy Cushing is Associate Professor in History and Assistant Dean Research Training at the University of Newcastle, Australia. An environmental historian most interested in relations between humans and other animals, she is co-author, with Kevin Markwell, of *Snake-bitten, Eric Worrell and the Australian Reptile Park* (UNSW Press 2010), co-editor of *Radical Newcastle* (New South 2015) and co-editor of *Animals Count: How Population Size Matters in*

Animal-Human Relations (Routledge 2018). Current projects include a history of meat eating in colonial Australia. Email: nancy.cushing@newcastle.edu.au

Sue Diamond, *The Sailor Zoo and Animal Husbandry on Whale Island Portsmouth 1895-1940*

In the late 19th century the Royal Navy expanded its gunnery school at HMS Excellent in Portsmouth Harbour and moved it to a shore side establishment. This establishment gradually became home to many animals both working animals and seafarer's pets and donations including 'exotic' wildlife such as bears and lions. In addition a very large aviary was developed and the collection became known as the Whale Island or 'Sailor' Zoo. In addition to the zoo collection, farming on Whale Island commenced in 1913 with the farming of chickens followed by a large dairy herd and pig farm. This farm provided food for the sailors living in the naval establishment and produce was sold locally- the money used to cover the costs of feed and sundries needed for the zoo inhabitants. The zoo and the farm were an integral part of naval life at HMS Excellent and were also a source of interest and civic pride to the wider community who were able to visit on open days. The sailors involved with the homing and farming of animals demonstrated thoughtfulness and a caring attitude towards them, not just as zoo exhibits and pets but as companions who may, like them, need a respite from the harsh conditions of a seagoing life.

It is a story of animal husbandry that provided a valuable food source for sailors particularly during the two world wars. The story of animals on Whale Island demonstrates that farming and animal husbandry, undertaken by a combination of civilians and sailors, was a fully sustainable, non-wasteful, economical and caring method of food production that contributed to the welfare of the sailors nutritionally, physically and psychologically. This research includes information from archive material at HMS Excellent and an interview with one of the last remaining sailors who worked on the island assisting with the zoo and farm.

Sue Diamond (sue.diamond@port.ac.uk) lectures at the University of Portsmouth.

Victoria Dickenson, *More than Whitecoats: the Seal as Culture and Commodity*

Since the 1960s the seal hunt has been imagined as the relic of a barbarous past, those who perpetrate it scarcely better than brutes. The seal itself has come to be defined as a round-eyed, black-nosed ball of soft white fur – hapless baby seal, global flagship image of environmental activists. This image belies the long and often unsettling history of seal-human interaction, from the shore-based hunts of the Mediterranean littoral to the massacres of the great elephant seals by the globe-girdling 19th-century oil fleets, and the 'great hunt' of the early 20th century Newfoundland sealers who steamed each spring 'into the fat'. The seal hunt was so integral to the life of the Greenlanders that 18th-century missionaries translated the 'daily bread' of the Lord's Prayer as 'give us our daily seal.' Those who live by the sea have a very different notion of the seals who throng the foreshore or whelp among the ice floes. They are the 'dread-eyed' predators of the deep who drown sailors and vomit their blood, the despised rivals of fishing fleets, and the enemy in the bloody 'war against the seals' chronicled so well by Briton Cooper Busch

(1985). Their forced intimacy is reflected in another narrative of seal, not as commodity but as embodiment of the uncanny, the child of ocean, the shape shifter, the selkie of the islands, or the long-haired Sedna, who releases the seals to the Inuit. Tracing the ways in which we have depicted our encounters with one of the most familiar of marine mammals, this richly illustrated presentation uncovers the history of an animal-human relationship that has shaped our economies, our cultures and our mythologies.

After a career in museum curation and management, **Victoria Dickenson** is now Adjunct Professor, Rare Books and Special Collections at McGill University in Montreal. Her research focuses on visualization and knowledge, cultural and natural histories, and understanding of ideas around place and culture. She is currently leading a project examining the unpublished drawings of birds and mammals compiled by the 18th-century naturalist Taylor White in the Blacker Wood Collection at McGill. She is the author of two books in the renowned Animal series (2013 and 2016) and one in the Botanical series (in press) for Reaktion Books (London UK). Email: victoria.dickenson@gmail.com

Fernando do Campo, *To Companion a Native Companion: The Transportation of Non-human Animals for Colonial Affect during the 19th Century*

The colonial project is rarely discussed via non-human narratives. There exist archives and histories of animals that were mobilized and transported across colonial territories, predominantly on water. My research focuses on nineteenth century non-human species introductions; in particular birds, and how we can re-think the colonial period via non-human narratives.

My talk will focus on the convict ship the Tottenham and its voyage departing from Sydney to Calcutta on March 19th, 1819. I will present recent archival findings as well as a discussion about the ways that artistic and curatorial methodologies can approach the 'archive' through speculative fiction, anthropomorphism and artistic research. I will speak directly about The 1818 Project, Newcastle Regional Gallery, NSW, Australia. This exhibition invited eight contemporary artists to reconsider narratives of migration and coloniality in relation to three paintings by convict forger-turn-artist Joseph Lycett commissioned in 1818. One of these paintings by Lycett, Inner View of Newcastle, accompanied Captain James Wallis to his new posting in Calcutta aboard the Tottenham. My series of paintings made for this exhibition (exhibited in Newcastle September-November 2018) speculate on the ways that we can represent colonial affect across non-human entities. Animals such as Black Rat and House Sparrow would have been in dialogue with this painting, and we can also speculate on Laughing Kookaburra and Brolga (who's colonial name was Native Companion) also being on board.

These artworks utilize speculative fiction, curatorial methodology and painting as a way of re-narrating the history of colonial animals. This paper will consider ways of thinking about non-human animals 'post-colonially' and offer a series of artistic methodologies for recovering the shipboard experiences of animals. I will discuss the 'colonial affect' that conditioned the colonial mobilization of birds and what re-visiting their histories can add to the ways we re-think coloniality today.

Fernando do Campo is an artist, curator and associate lecturer at UNSW Art + Design, Sydney. Since 2015 he also produces work as the HSSH (House Sparrow Society for Humans) He is a Sir General John Monash Foundation Scholar, completing an MFA at Parsons School of Design, The New School, New York in 2016. Fernando has received grants from the Australian Regional Arts Fund, Arts Tasmania, Ian Potter Cultural Trust, Australia Council for the Arts, and The New School. He is a PhD candidate at MADA, Melbourne and represented by Praxis Gallery, Buenos Aires & New York. Email: f.docampo@unsw.edu.au

Gillian Dooley, *'The sporting, affectionate, and useful companion of my voyages': Matthew Flinders and Trim*

In January 1807 the British explorer Matthew Flinders had been detained by the French governor on Mauritius for more than three years. He was frustrated but keeping himself busy: 'When not otherwise occupied, I have lately employed myself … in translating into French the history of my cat Trim, which I wrote out for the purpose.'(Matthew Flinders, *Private Journal*, 150). There can't be many cats in history who have been described in such affectionate detail as this ship's cat. Flinders' *Biographical Tribute to the Memory of Trim* has been published several times since its discovery in the archives in the 1970s and Trim now has his share of portraits and statues – it seems hardly proper nowadays to depict Matthew without his faithful Trim somewhere nearby.

In this paper I will explore what Flinders' *Tribute* tells us about Trim, and about the place of cats and other non-human animals on the *Investigator* and Flinders' other ships. I will also discuss what the *Tribute* tells us about daily life on board a voyage of exploration, and what we discover about Flinders himself from his account of Trim's short but eventful life.

Gillian Dooley is an Honorary Senior Research Fellow in English Literature at Flinders University, South Australia. She is the co-editor with Anthony J. Brown of Matthew Flinders' *Private Journal* (Friends of the State Library of S.A., 2005), and with Philippa Sandall is preparing a new authoritative edition of Flinders' *Biographical Tribute to the Memory of Trim.* In 2014, she presented the Royal Society Matthew Flinders Memorial Lecture in Melbourne, and she gave a public lecture in the Joseph Banks Lecture Series at Greenwich in September 2017. She also writes on authors including Jane Austen, Iris Murdoch, V.S. Naipaul and J.M. Coetzee. Email: gillian.dooley@flinders.edu.au

Lea Edgar, *Beloved Member of Our Team: The Sled Dogs of The St. Roch*

The current historiography is in the nascent stages of examining the relationships between sailors and animals on ships. Mäenpää in her 2016 paper proposes three purposes for animals on board ships: nutrition, catches and leisure activities, and pets. Dogs are principally viewed as pets or mascots across the literature. Less acknowledged, though, is the relationship between sailor and sled dog—a necessity for Arctic exploration and survival.

My research aims to contribute to the burgeoning literature by examining the connection between the human and dog crew of the renowned Royal Canadian Mounted Police ship *St. Roch* (1928-1948). The police patrols and exploration conducted by the crew relied heavily on the canines on board. Were the sled dogs – most likely a unique Canadian

Inuit breed called Qimmiq – merely working animals, treated as pets or companions, crewmembers, or some combination of all of the above? To fully appreciate the scope of the relationship between animals and humans at sea, we need to understand the experience of Arctic sled dogs and those who worked with them.

My paper will primarily reflect on the first-hand written and audio-visual sources from the crew of the *St. Roch*. The paper will explore how the dogs were fed and housed, their primary tasks on and off board, how the crew referred to and interacted with them, whether the evidence shows emotional bonds with the animals, and how the mainly Caucasian crew's treatment of the dogs differed from the traditional Inuit-Qimmiq relationship. I suggest that these dogs fall outside of the conceptual framework put forward by Mäenpää and existed as at minimum working animals and at most fellow crewmembers of the *St. Roch*.

Lea Edgar is the Librarian & Archivist at the Vancouver Maritime Museum, home of the famous Canadian arctic patrol vessel *St. Roch*. She holds master's degrees in library and information sciences and archival studies from the University of British Columbia. Lea writes a history column for the magazine *BC Shipping News* and recently co-authored the publication 'Telepresence-enabled archaeological survey and identification of SS Coast Trader, Straits of Juan de Fuca, British Columbia, Canada' in *Deep Sea Research Part II*. Lea has always been drawn to the human stories in maritime history. Now she is eager to unearth animals' experiences of our nautical past. Email: archives@vanmaritime.com

Margery Fee, *Animals Control the Hunt: Polar Bears in Indigenous Stories*

Polar bears provide an example of how exotic animals brought south by boat have been worked into the dominant Euro-North American discourses of class, race, gender and sexuality. These discourses are quite different from those of Inuit and most other Indigenous peoples. Although Indigenous peoples in the North American Arctic have taken part commercial hunting for hundreds of years, their involvement has not invariably destroyed their traditional beliefs about the proper relationship between other-than-human animals and humans. Cheyanne-Arapaho scholar Kim Tallbear notes, 'Our stories avoid the hierarchical nature-culture and animal-human split that has enabled domineering human management, naming, controlling, and "saving" of nature'. The paper will compare representations of and attitudes towards polar bears in European works and Indigenous ones. Among the works analysed will be the stories and illustrations for crewman Gerrit de Veer's account of the William Barents expeditions in the late 1500s; those of an encounter between Horatio Nelson and a polar bear in 1773; a novella by James Hogg, *The Surpassing Adventures of Allan Gordon*, 1837, featuring a polar bear called Nancy; and the polar bears in Landseer's controversial painting *Man Proposes, God Disposes* (1864). In all these representations, the bears are vicious man-killers and boats feature as refuges, however precarious, and as a sign of civilization, however threatened.

A primary difference between southerners and Indigenous hunting cultures in North America is that many Indigenous people believe that humans do not control the hunt: animals do. Unlike those explorers and whalers who saw polar bears from afar and above on their ships, Indigenous hunters encountered them on the ice-edge as powerful relatives

offering themselves as food out of reciprocal obligation. Their viewpoint contrasts with the dominant one that sees humans as outside of nature and superior to animals.

Margery Fee, PhD, FRSC, is a Professor Emerita of English at the University of British Columbia. She held the David and Brenda McLean Chair in Canadian Studies (2015-2017) to work on early Indigenous oral and literary production. Recent publications are *Literary Land Claims: The 'Indian Land Question' from Pontiac's War to Attawapiskat* (Wilfrid Laurier UP, 2015) and *Tekahionwake: E. Pauline Johnson's Writings on Native North America* (Broadview, 2016) co-edited with Dory Nason. Her book, *Polar Bear*, is forthcoming in November 2019 from Reaktion Books. She is a co-investigator for The People and the Text project, led by Deanna Reder (thepeopleandthetext.ca). Email: Margery.Fee@ubc.ca

Jane Flynn, *'A Weapon in the Hands of the Allies': Transporting British Army Horses and Mules during The Great War*

Between 1914 and 1918 The British Army transported by sea over one million horses and mules from around the Globe to every theatre of The Great War. The horses and mules were purchased in the United Kingdom, North America, Canada, South America, South Africa and China. Yet more accompanied the forces of Australia and New Zealand to Egypt and the Indian divisions of the British Army to France. Every horse and mule represented a considerable financial investment; it being estimated that a total £67.5 million was spent on their purchase, training, and delivery between 1914 and 1918. Each of these thousands of horses and mules was also vital to the war effort. It was essential that this precious cargo be protected from avoidable harm.

It is credit to the personnel involved that this expensive living 'weapon' was successfully shipped, over great distances, in such numbers, and with such a high degree of success. In addition, astutely devised military regulations ensured that losses were minimised. First-hand accounts enable us to examine how, and how successfully, these Army regulations were implemented. At the War's end, and when the authorities involved were allowed time to look back on their achievements, it became clear that this command of the world's horse and mule supply had been a decisive factor in the War's outcome. The horse and mule were, indeed, 'a weapon in the hands of the allies'.

Jane Flynn received her PhD from The University of Derby in 2016. She is a teacher, book restorer, historian, and writer with research interests in myth, memory, and horse-human interactions in work and war. She blogs on www.janeflynn-senseandsentimentality.com and hosts the Facebook group 'Horses and History'. Jane is currently working with Routledge on her book, *Soldiers and their Horses: Sense, Sentimentality, and The Soldier-Horse Relationship in The Great War* (forthcoming, 2020). It will be published in their Studies in Cultural History series. Email: j.flynn.1916@gmail.com

Philip A. Homan, *'Far from Good Sailors': American Horses and Mules for the Anglo-Boer War in South Africa, 1899-1902 – An Equine Middle Passage of the Transatlantic Horse Trade*

Taking seriously historiography's 'animal turn', South African historian Sandra Swart has used horses in the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902 – the last fully horse-powered war –as a case study for writing equines into history. Their death in the war was an equicide, which

Major-General Sir Frederick Smith, British Army Veterinary Department officer in South Africa, called 'a holocaust'. The Royal Commission on the War in South Africa concluded that 'the chief cause of the loss of horses [and mules] in the War was that they were … brought from distant countries… [and] submitted to a long and deteriorating sea voyage ….' Indeed, as it was said in a standard history of the war, 'horses are far from good sailors'.

More equines were shipped from the United States for the Anglo-Boer War than from England, Ireland, and the British colonies combined. From October 1899 to June 1902, 109,878 horses and 81,524 mules were shipped from New Orleans in 65 different British steamships making 166 voyages at the rate of five per month for each of the 32 months of the war. It was one of the largest global maritime transports of animals in history.

Conditions on the steamers were terrible, paralleling those on the slave ships in the transatlantic slave trade. The sickness, shipwrecks, and burials at sea endured by the horses and mules, which Smith called 'this flotsam and jetsam of human passions and strife', are worth remembering.

South African historian Johan Wassermann has studied the relationships between New Orleans and Durban resulting from these shipments. No scholar, however, has studied the experiences of these horses and mules in themselves. Therefore, by telling the story of these animals at sea, this paper will use this overlooked 'equine Middle Passage of the transatlantic horse trade' as a case study of 'Maritime Animals'.

Philip Anthony Homan is a professor at Idaho State University, Pocatello, Idaho, USA. He is also a PhD student in ISU's Department of English and Philosophy. He is using animal studies and the history of the transatlantic slave trade to study the maritime shipment of American horses and mules from New Orleans to South Africa for the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, in what he calls the equine Middle Passage of the transatlantic horse trade. Email: homaphil@isu.edu

Sandi Howie, *Aubrey's Ark and Maturin's Menagerie*

This presentation surveys the maritime animals featured in Patrick O'Brian's nineteen novels on the post-Napoleonic era British Royal Navy. This series traced the fictional naval life of Jack Aubrey who rose through the ranks from Master to Admiral, and of Aubrey's close companion and surgeon, Stephen Maturin. O'Brian uses Captain Aubrey's explanations to his companion Dr Maturin, a man whose milieu was not the sea, as a narrative device to inform the reader of the finer detail of naval matters. In turn, Maturin is the scientist-naturalist expert provides the commentary on the many birds and animals encountered in the course of their travels round the globe.

This account considers the fish, fowl, and many-legged animals who appeared in the books. The wildlife mentioned largely served the purpose of adding colour to the scene for the human action. Animals of all sorts feature conspicuously in the narrative as 'vittals' or as pests, and, in straightened circumstances, sometimes as both. Various creatures were borne on board as pets, scientific specimens or as gifts, their activities providing a welcome diversion for a crew stuck in the doldrums. Mention is also made of the role of Jemmy Ducks, the seaman charged with responsibility of the livestock at sea, and of the particular

knowledge of the former whalers (pressed into service) of the behaviour of marine birds and animals.

O'Brian is acknowledged as a skilled historic researcher and vivid portrayer of naval life but little is recorded of his sources concerning the animals mentioned in his tales. For the most part, O'Brian offers a credible account, only occasionally introducing his readers to a species unknown to modern day science. This paper briefly surveys the contents of Aubrey's Ark and Maturin's Menagerie.

Sandi Howie is studying for a PhD in History at the University of Aberdeen. Her research into professional veterinary identity in late nineteenth-century Scotland is supported by the Donald Withrington Scholarship in Modern History. A Geography graduate, and a former Landscape Architect, she has published on the social history of veterinary medicine. Patrick O'Brian's novels have long provided sea-sick Sandi with the vicarious excitement, at a safe and comfortable remove, of a life at sea. Email: sandi.howie@abdn.ac.uk

Barbora Hunčovská, *Horse and Soldier on the Ship: Human-Animal Experiences of First World War Maritime Horse Transports*

While horses and mules were absolutely essential for the war effort of all parties of the Great War, most of the armies very soon found themselves short of suitable animals due to their enormous losses. Therefore horses and mules had to be exported from other continents and transported to the battlefronts on transoceanic ships. These transports began shortly after the outbreak of the war and were crossing the oceans throughout all its duration.

The paper will present the experiences of these animals on board and their interactions with soldiers who cared for them, with focus on the British Army. The animals were tied in stalls inside the ship for several weeks. They were often scared and many suffered from enormous stress, evidenced by the fact that heart attack was among the most common sources of death for horses on board. Diseases and deaths were frequent. After weeks spent on board, all horses had to rest for several weeks before they were strong enough for service. Ships carrying horses were also targets of German torpedoes – thousands of horses perished due to the attacks.

Soldiers that were responsible for the animals were in daily contact with them. It was often dangerous to handle raging horses and could result in serious injuries for the men. Soldiers' memories include putting down unmanageable and scared horses, horses breaking out from their stands, or animals who went 'berserk'. Most often however, the soldiers recall the pervasive and unbearable smell.

The author uses a wide range of written and visual sources of British, ANZAC and other origin, including biographical documents such as diaries and letters, official documents and regulations.

Barbora Hunčovská is PhD student of 19th century history at the Institute of Czech History, Faculty of Arts, Charles University. In her master thesis she focused on the First World War soldiers' relationship with war horses in sociocultural and anthropological perspectives. She also writes about the wider aspects of the use of horses in the First World War, namely the horses' living conditions and experiences. She specialises on animal history, military and

sociocultural history of the First World War, historical anthropology and the history of Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary. Email: barbora.huncovska@ff.cuni.cz

Aaron Jaffer, *Mad dogs, Englishmen and Lascars: Animals and Indian Ocean Seafaring*

'Lascars' were sailors from the Indian Ocean who served aboard European vessels. This elastic term covered a wide range of Muslim, Hindu, Christian and Sikh men hired by captains at many different ports from Aden to Singapore. As Britain expanded across the region during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, its merchant ships employed tens of thousands of lascars for both long-distance voyages to Europe and intra-Asian trade. Scholarship on lascars has flourished in recent years yet many of their beliefs, customs and shipboard routines remain unknown. Issues surrounding animals are one aspect of their seafaring lives that feature prominently in diaries, logbooks, official correspondence, newspaper reports and other surviving European documents. Common causes of friction included the presence of certain animals aboard ship, the use of animal products for medical purposes and which meats lascars would or wouldn't eat. This paper will use these episodes to explore both confrontation and accommodation between European seafaring traditions and those of the Indian Ocean.

Aaron Jaffer is Curator of World History & Cultures at Royal Museums Greenwich. He gained his PhD from the University of Warwick and has written about many different aspects of Indian Ocean seafarers employed by the British. He worked on RMG's new permanent galleries (Pacific Encounters, Tudor & Stuart Seafarers, Polar Worlds and Sea Things) and convenes the museum's Maritime History & Culture Seminar. He has also worked on projects at various museums, including The Fitzwilliam Museum, Chatsworth House and the River & Rowing Museum. Email: AJaffer@rmg.co.uk

Cam Sharp Jones, *A Grog Drinking Penguin and a Pet Opossum: Animals on Joseph Dalton Hooker's Expedition to Antarctica*

In 1839, Joseph Dalton Hooker set sail bound for Antarctica aiming to collate a treasure trove of new scientific data that would make his name as a botanist. Acting as Assistant Surgeon on the HMS Erebus as part of Captain James Clark Ross's Antarctic Expedition (1839-1843), Hooker was a prolific correspondent and documenter of this scientific voyage of discovery, recording the landscapes, botanical specimens and data collected as part of the journey.

The letters, journal and notebooks that survive from Hooker's time on board the Erebus not only provide details of Hooker's botanical discoveries but also the numerous encounters with native wildlife as well as those fauna that accompanied the sailors whilst at sea. These included a huddle of penguins, a tame opossum, cats, pigs, goats and numerous birds caught at sea, alongside marine animals caught in the tow nets.

This paper will explore Hooker's accounts of animals onboard the HMS Erebus as both practical cargo and companions at sea. It will also address how animals are situated by Hooker as scientific specimens within his documents and whether distinctions were made between domestic animals on board and scientific discoveries. Finally, the paper will

reflect on how and why these animals were illustrated and textually described by Hooker and the rare case study his archives provides to repopulate the HMS Erebus with its animal population.

Cam Sharp Jones is Visual Arts Curator at the British Library. Prior to this she held positions at the British Museum as Project Curator and in the Archives of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew as Project Officer for the Joseph Hooker Correspondence Project, supported by Sir Hugh and Lady Stevenson. Email: cam.sharp-jones@bl.uk

Sari Mäenpää, *'To kill an albatross is unlucky': Finnish Sailors and Wildlife aboard the last Windjammers in the Early 20th Century*

In this paper I will look at the Finnish deep-sea sailors of the early 20th century, focusing on their relations to animals onboard sailing ships. My main interest is to explore what the sailors' relationships to animals reveals about the ships' hierarchy and sailors' mutual relations.

I identified the three most important tasks of animals in the ocean-going sailing ships: animals as *nutrition* (as sources of fresh food during long voyages), animals as *catches and pastime activity* (hunting and observation of nature were popular pastime activities onboard) and animals acting as *pets*.

Numerous maritime history accounts, such as memoirs, diaries and photographs, contain a vast amount of references to different animals that seafarers had contact with. The main sources for this study are sailors' memoirs, maritime literature (including so-called 'auto-fiction') as well as diaries. At the time when sailing ships were disappearing from the world's oceans, it was fashionable to travel on them and to write a book about one's experiences.

This Finnish swan song of ocean-going sailing ships was a peculiar episode, and an appealing one for the wider audience and for contemporary sailors. I have also found old photographs taken aboard sailing ships where the presence of animals is striking. Pets were often held very close to men's bodies and even large animals frequently sit on their laps.

As I concentrated on seafarers' pets in my recent article (*IJMH* 2016), this time I will focus on seafarers' relationships and attitudes to 'nature'. I will do this by looking at autobiographical accounts of how they perceived the wildlife and how they saw themselves as part of 'nature'. I will argue that by seeing themselves as closer to nature than the landlubbers and steam-ship sailors, they romanticized themselves as representing the last wild and free adventurers and explorers where domesticity and women were conspicuously absent.

Sari Mäenpää: I have a PhD in maritime history from the University of Liverpool. I am now employed as curator of collections at the maritime Centre Forum Marinum in Turku Finland. I curated an exhibition on maritime animals in 2009-2010 and published an article on companion animals on board Finnish sailing ships in *The International Journal for Maritime History* in 2016. I am currently working on another exhibition on maritime animals due to open in 2020. Last year, I was awarded a grant from the Kone Foundation for a project on 'Our vital neighbours', in which the concept of neighbour relations is expanded to cover the relationships that human and social actors have with non-human living beings. Email: sari.maenpaa@forum-marinum.fi

Jolene Mathieson, *From Sea Animal to Sea Monster (and Back Again?)*

Beyond or outside human conceptions of time and scale, the ocean is a hypermaterial realm that challenges and sometimes even denies the terrestrial and horizontal modes of knowledge production and meaning-making to which humans are so accustomed; and this is especially true of the deeper regions of the sea. A complex environment of jutting rocks, vast trenches and hydrothermal vents, of extreme pressure and non-prismatic light, the deep sea remains an elusive realm for scientific inquiry. However, the deep sea and especially the creatures who thrive there have long served as a source for the literary imagination: Jules Verne's *Twenty-Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* (1869) and John Wyndham's *The Kraken Wakes* (1953) are just two of many prominent examples that adapt and sensationalize marine science to narrativize and represent deep-sea animals as 'the mucosal aliens in our midst'. It is within this context, and with a view to the ontological shift of the Earth System and its inhabitants in the age of the Anthropocene, that I am interested in literary representations of sea animality and the tropes of monstrosity that so often accompany them. For this paper, I would like to offer a close reading of Liam O'Flaherty's short story, 'The Conger Eel' (1925), within a theoretical framework of Anthropocene care à la Timothy Clark's *Ecocriticism on the Edge* (2105) and speculative animal empathy à la Vilém Flusser and Louis Bec's *Vampyrozeuthis Infernalis: A Treatise* (1987, 2012).

Jolene Mathieson, lecturer and research fellow at the University of Hamburg, teaches courses on poetry, aesthetics, and ecology. She is currently finishing a project on the metaphysics of ekphrasis in the UK and the US during the long nineteenth century, and has recently published an article in *Poetics Today* on ekphrastic digital poetry. Email: jolene.mathieson@uni-hamburg.de

John McAleer, *'As pretty a thing as I have ever seen': Animal Encounters and Atlantic Voyages in the Age of Sail*

During the course of long voyages through the Atlantic Ocean – on their way to Africa, Asia and Australasia – British travellers experienced a variety of novel natural phenomena: the heat of the tropics, storms off the Cape, the beauty of shipboard sunsets, and unfamiliar constellations in the heavens. But it was the maritime animals that shared their shipboard space and inhabited the waters of the surrounding Atlantic that elicited the most sustained and detailed commentary from sailors and passengers. Animals were an integral part of these voyages. They travelled with passengers, as pets, curiosities and even speculative investments. The sea surrounding the ship was a veritable menagerie, encouraging travellers to speculate about the nature of the ocean and its inhabitants. They marvelled at strange creatures, compared them with familiar species, and collected them as specimens. Edward Terry, sailing to India in the seventeenth century, described whales 'of an exceeding greatnesses', which 'appear like unto great rocks'. For Lieutenant Bramston, travelling to South Africa in 1852, the sight of three dolphins swimming alongside HMS *Megaera* as it approached the Equator, 'now close under her sides and then darting off' leaving 'a train of fire behind them', was 'as pretty a thing as I have ever seen since I have been on board'. As well as inspiring wonder and fear, encounters with maritime animals marked the journey from domestic and familiar to strange and unknown, expanding mental horizons in the process. As Minnie Wood remarked on seeing a dolphin in 1856,

‘unless you see them you can have no conception of what a pretty appearance they have in the water’. Drawing on a wide range of first-hand accounts, this paper explores the role played by maritime animals in marking the passage of travellers through the Atlantic in the Age of Sail.

John McAleer is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Southampton. His work focuses on the British encounter and engagement with the wider world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, situating the history of empire in its global and maritime contexts. He was previously Curator of Imperial and Maritime History at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. John’s current research focuses on sea voyages and the route to India through the Atlantic Ocean. Email: J.Mcaleer@soton.ac.uk

David J. McCaskey, *Holy Mackerel!: Chub Mackerel, the Naga Expedition, and American Cold War Power in Southeast Asian Waters*

From 1959 to 1961, the international crew and researchers of the American oceanographic research vessel R/V Stranger studied the marine life and physical conditions of the Gulf of Thailand and the South China Sea off of the coast of South Vietnam. The Naga Expedition was just one of a series of efforts on the part of the United States to cooperate on developing resources with local governments in Southeast Asia. The purpose of the project, born out an agreement between the US, South Vietnam, and Thailand in 1958, was ‘to investigate the marine resources potentially available to [South Vietnam and Thailand] and to lay a foundation for later development’. Although the expedition was manned by scientists and oceanographic researchers from several countries, commercial exploitation and American diplomacy were the real goals.

The scientists and crew of the R/V Stranger were trying to conduct an exploratory survey of the region’s marine resources. The Naga Expedition was engaged with universities in both Thailand and South Vietnam to chart the physical oceanography and species distribution patterns in the Gulf of Thailand and the South China Sea to help develop major commercial fisheries in the region as well as to provide local scientists with American training and oceanographic modes of knowledge production. One of the main fisheries that these countries were interested in developing was that of the chub mackerels of the genus Rastrelliger. The expedition collected eggs and juveniles and mapped their seasonal distributions to determine the best times and places to catch the largest amount of adult fish.

This project maps out the development of American soft power in Cold War-era Southeast Asia through fisheries research and marine science by tying together American strategic, commercial, and academic interests with those of Thailand and South Vietnam. Through the bodies of the chub mackerel lying on the deck of the R/V Stranger, American ideas of marine science and capitalist commercial exploitation were extended into Southeast Asian waters.

David J. McCaskey is a PhD student in the History Department at UCR. He is researching the history of fisheries, fishery science, and government in Vietnam. David completed his BA in History at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in 2013 and then completed his MA at SUNY UB in 2017. His current research studies the history of marine science and fisheries management in postcolonial Vietnam, with an emphasis on the relationships between people, marine life, and

the sea. His broader academic interests include Southeast Asia, environmental history, postcolonialism, and science and technology studies. Email: davidjmccaskey@gmail.com

Cindy McCreery, *A Parrot in every Port: Animals Ashore and Aboard the Flying Squadron, 1869-70*

The journal of Marcus McCausland, midshipman aboard the frigate HMS Liffey of the 'Flying Squadron', illuminates the multiple roles played by animals aboard Royal Navy ships in the mid-Victorian period.

In 1869-70 the 'Flying Squadron' sailed around the world to reassure anxious colonists, as well as allies, that Britain still ruled the waves despite the increasing withdrawal of imperial troops and ships from colonial territories. Aboard each of the squadron's six warships sailed dozens of officers, hundreds of sailors and a fluctuating number of live animals. Along with supplies of fresh fruit and vegetables, animals destined for food were loaded aboard the ships at many of the fifteen ports visited by the squadron. Ports such as Bahia (Brazil), Hobart (Tasmania) and Yokohama (Japan), also provided exotic specimens, which were collected as souvenirs of the countries visited during the cruise. Like the men themselves, the animals lived aboard the warships for months and sometimes years. Yet even more frequently than human casualties (and the cruise of the 'Flying Squadron' saw a relatively high number), many animals were injured or died during the voyage.

McCausland details animals' various, often contradictory roles aboard the squadron's ships as well as ashore: as food (fresh meat, egg and milk producers), as personal companions and ship mascots, as exotic 'curios' to be collected and later sold or traded, as well as hunting trophies. Through his sketches as well as personal anecdotes, McCausland demonstrates animals' importance for his and his fellow crewmembers' emotional and psychological well-being.

While McCausland's journal reflects one junior officer's experience, by detailing the widespread 'consumption' of animals aboard the various ships of the squadron it helps us to better understand the role of animals aboard Victorian Royal Navy warships and, more broadly, in maritime communities around the globe.

This paper will be accompanied by a PowerPoint presentation displaying images of men and animals from the 'Flying Squadron' voyage as well as other Victorian Royal Navy warships.

Cindy McCreery is Senior Lecturer in the Department of History at the University of Sydney and teaches units on the history of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Britain and Europe, as well as the nineteenth-century British empire. Her publications include *The Satirical Gaze: prints of women in eighteenth-century England* (Oxford, 2004), as well as journal articles and book chapters on British and colonial cultural and naval history, including Prince Alfred as the first global British royal tourist (c.1867-71). With Robert Aldrich she has co-edited three volumes on monarchy and colonialism: *Crowns and Colonies: European Monarchies and Overseas Empires* (Manchester, 2016), *Royals on Tour: Politics, Pageantry and Colonialism* (Manchester, 2018), and the forthcoming *Monarchies and Decolonisation in Asia* (Manchester, 2020). She is developing a new project on late nineteenth and early twentieth-century global voyages and the making of modern monarchy. Email: cindy.mccreery@sydney.edu.au

Lucy Mercer, ***Resurrected Memories of Mediterranean Marine Life in Andrea Alciato's* Emblematum Liber *(1531)***

The Renaissance jurist Andrea Alciato's emblem book the *Emblematum Liber*, itself the progenitor of the form, presents emblematic representations of a Mediterranean seascape that remains as a solid background whilst also undergoing visual transformations through various editions and reprints. As half of Alciato's some 212 emblems were direct translations of the *Planudean Anthology*, the emblem book is also in some senses a project of reactivating dormant material memories of fauna and flora from antiquity: ekphrastically re-presenting allegorical representations of dolphins, oysters, coastal birds, a variety of fish species and so forth. This paper will present my ongoing PhD research into the ways in which the *Emblematum Liber* both serves as a transcultural carrier that replicates and enacts through its three-part form ancient material memories of *seen* marine life, whilst at the same time muting their ability to 'speak' (or of being represented naturalistically) through a detachment of signified to signifier. Despite being filtered through systems of representation, what remains in the *Emblematum Liber* are agglomerated residual traumatic memories of interspecies encounters, anthropocentric guilt (of for example, trapping dolphins in nets), and appreciation (as in the saving of Arion by dolphins).

Lucy Mercer is studying for an AHRC funded PhD at Royal Holloway in 'Speculative Emblematics'. She is a poet, publishing in *Oxford Poetry, Poetry London, Poetry Review*, and *The White Review* amongst others. In 2017 she was the winner of The White Review Poet's Prize. She is a contributor to the reader E*cocriticism, Ecology and the Cultures of Antiquity,* ed. Christopher Schliephake (Lexington Books, 2016) and most recently presented a paper on emblems at the UEA Creative-Critical Reinventions Conference (May 2018). Email: lmerceronline@gmail.com

Keith Moser, ***Rethinking Language Within the Larger Biosemiosic Web of Communication Through Maritime Encounters in Michel Serres's Late Philosophy***

In his vivid depictions of maritime encounters with organisms like dolphins, whales, shrimp, and krill, the sailor-philosopher Michel Serres encourages us to think harder about the essence of communication in his late philosophy. Alluding to research conducted by marine biologists like Vincent Janik, Jessica Flack, and Laela Sayigh that forces us to reexamine the complexity of other-than-human semiosis, Serres reveals, 'Le bruit de fond énorme des crevettes et du krill couvre les rumeurs de la mer […] Notre écoute sous-marine détecte, par exemple, calcule, entend et négocie le bruit de fond énorme des crevettes et du krill, comme les messages que s'échangent baleines entre elles et dauphins entre eux. Nous interceptons le murmure des fourmilières' (*Hominescence* 144-145). Adopting a biosemiotic, interdisciplinary approach, this investigation of Serres's biocentric reworking of language highlights the profound linguistic and philosophical implications of his recent texts such as *Le Mal propre* (2008), *Biogée* (2010), *Yeux* (2014), and *Le Gaucher Boiteux* (2015). Delving into the principles of modern science and the rich field of biosemiotics, Serres compellingly posits that we have underestimated the sophistication of the 'signs' being exchanged all around us by other sentient and non-sentient beings. Specifically, the radical paradigm shift that Serres proposes urges us to (re-)conceptualize language within the larger biosemiosic web of communication in which it occurs.

Moreover, this unconventional philosopher of science issues a rending, urgent plea demonstrating why this last bastion of human exceptionalism in the form of language is not only scientifically inaccurate, but it is also emblematic of the kind of outdated, anthropocentric ideology preventing us from taking action in defense of an imperiled planet in the Anthropocene epoch.

Keith Moser is Professor of French and Francophone Studies at Mississippi State University. He is the author of five full-length book projects. His latest monograph is entitled *The Encyclopedic Philosophy of Michel Serres: Writing the Modern World and Anticipating the Future* (2016). Moser has also contributed nearly sixty essays to peer-reviewed publications representing many divergent fields including French and Francophone studies, environmental ethics, ecocriticism, ecolinguistics, biosemiotics, social justice, popular culture, and Maghrebi/Harki literature. Email: kam131@msstate.edu

Derek Lee Nelson, *Shipworms and Atlantic History*

Throughout the early modern era, shipworms earned reputations as some of the most feared organisms in the sea, riddling ships from the inside out and sending an unknown number of seamen plunging into the abyss. From the earliest voyages of Columbus to the dramatic Dutch Crisis of the 1730s, 'shipworms' (shorthand for roughly seventy different species of wood-boring marine bivalve mollusks) shaped how explorers, traders, and naturalists navigated and thought about the Atlantic Basin. My research, drawn from the opening chapter of my dissertation, 'Shipworms and the Making of the American Coastline', traces a multi-cultural and multi-environmental discourse that emerged during the age of sail as seamen adapted to the Atlantic and its novel species. Atlantic history is a thriving field and has done much to undo the historiographical hegemony of the nation-state. But as historian Jeff Bolster noted some years ago the actual Atlantic Ocean has factored very little in this literature. Studies on the environmental history of seafaring are sorely needed and my research on shipworms tries to fill some of these gaps. For almost three hundred years, shipworms frustrated Spanish, English, and Dutch navigators in all sorts of ways: seamen recorded encounters with borers in logbooks and exchanged best practices for keeping borers out of their ships; naturalists debated shipworm ecology and disseminated rumors about purportedly shipworm-resistant trees; captains timed their journeys back-and-forth across the Atlantic to avoid the seasons when shipworms were most active; and many people contemplated whether or not exotic shipworms from India had invaded the Atlantic. Without a fuller accounting of shipworms, Atlantic history is somewhat hollow, like a bored out plank. By shining a light on these long forgotten species, I hope to make a modest contribution to both maritime and marine environmental histories.

Derek Lee Nelson is an environmental scholar interested in coastal and marine histories. He specializes in the role that marine invasive species have played in the evolution of everything from shipping technology to coastal infrastructure to cultural attitudes about the sea. His most recent work examines the history of marine wood-boring mollusks known colloquially as teredo, or shipworms, which spread around the globe during the Age of Sail. Derek looks forward to sharing his research on shipworms with the participants of the 'Maritime Animals' conference. Email: dekesn@gmail.com

Sophia Nicolov, *Whose Whale?: Sperm Whale Strandings on Britain's North Sea Coast*

Until the cessation of Britain's whaling industry in the 1960s, human interaction with sperm whales was dominated by those that took place from the decks of whaling ships. The nature of those whaling encounters can be seen as predominantly industrial and even in the case of Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*, which conveyed a transcendental vision of the sperm whale as a sublime force of nature, the encounter was nevertheless from the heart of the whaling industry. Such was the intensity of the global harvesting of whales that the naturally occurring sperm whale strandings on Britain's North Sea coast reduced to a point of rarity by the mid-twentieth century. With the end of worldwide industrial whaling in the second half of the twentieth century, in the 1980s sperm whale strandings began to increase and have been one of the main ways that people in Britain encounter this marine species. Beached cetaceans have long been the subject of human laws, ownership and management. Much of the legal framework surrounding whale strandings emanates from the management of wrecks on Britain's coastline and whale bodies are reconceptualised as maritime objects. Members of the public might assume that stranded whales are ownerless because these animals are wild. This has encouraged 'beachcombing' involving the illegal removal of sperm whale teeth for keepsakes and trade. The tradition of scrimshaw from the era of whaling has left powerful associations in the publics' mind about the cultural value of this species' teeth. Not only is this behaviour illegal as defined within the limits of maritime and coastal laws, regulations and norms, but it is also perceived by the public as a form of plunder and pillage, conjuring up associations with wrecking. When sperm whales strand, these animals are transformed legally and culturally from a marine species to maritime entities.

Sophia Nicolov is a PhD candidate based in the School of English at the University of Leeds and in the Environment Department at the University of York. Her current project investigates whale strandings in the east Pacific and is highly interdisciplinary, combining environmental humanities with marine conservation sciences. She is part of a wider interdisciplinary doctoral network exploring species extinction. She previously researched human responses to sperm whale strandings in Britain since 1980. Her chapter 'Recovered Species? The Eastern North Pacific Gray Whale Mortality Event, 1999-2000' was published in the edited collection, *Around the World in 80 Species* (Routledge, 2018). Email: ensn@leeds.ac.uk

Dominic O'Key, *'A species always threatened by disaster': W. G. Sebald's* The Rings of Saturn *and the Natural History of the Herring*

This paper addresses W. G. Sebald's maritime preoccupations in *The Rings of Saturn* (1995). In doing so, I argue that Sebald utilises natural history discourses in order to balance the histories of North Sea fisheries against the politics and ethics of industrial aquaculture. My paper begins by considering *Rings'* overt oceanic thematics, and discusses how Sebald's narrator uses his frame narrative to reflect on both the Suffolk coastline and wider networks of seafaring history; throughout the book, the narrator comments extensively on Joseph Conrad's sea voyages, the Sailors' Reading Room in Southwold, and even the Maritime Museum in Greenwich. I then turn to a seemingly innocuous scene – Sebald's narrator orders fish and chips at a Lowestoft hotel – and trace how Sebald turns this scene

of eating into a long reflection on the declining herring industry. What begins in the text as a comic reflection on joyless British cuisine that ironises the author-persona's overdetermined melancholia becomes the catalyst for a critical natural-historical analysis that describes the North Sea as a space of surplus and scarcity, of (over-)fishing and pollution, and of acidification and extinction. By noticing this link between the inedible battered fish and the endangered herring, I highlight how Sebald's maritime focus in *Rings* does not limit its concern to the realm of the human. Indeed, Sebald's work uses the figure of the herring ('a species always threatened by disaster') to think through the knotted ethico-political problems of human industry and animal pain. By thinking of *Rings* alongside Theodor W. Adorno's concept of 'natural-history' [*Naturgeschichte*] and what Elizabeth DeLoughrey recently describes as the 'oceanic turn' in the humanities, I suggest that Sebald develops a natural-historical style, a formal register that envisions the human and nonhuman as mutually constitutive.

Dominic O'Key is a doctoral candidate in Comparative Literature at the University of Leeds. His thesis interrogates the concept of the creaturely through the fiction of W. G. Sebald, J. M. Coetzee and Mahasweta Devi. Dominic is an editor of the cultural studies and critical theory journal, parallax, and a co-director of the Leeds Animal Studies Network. Email: en10dok@leeds.ac.uk

Jimmy Packham and Laurence Publicover, *Dredging up the Deep: The Decontextualized Sea-creature in Nineteenth-century Writing*

'Almost rather had I seen Moby Dick and fought him, than to have seen thee, thou white ghost!', exclaims Starbuck when *Moby-Dick*'s whalers chance upon a giant squid in the mistaken belief that its shadowy form on the ocean's surface belongs to a whale. Pulled up to the surface and exposed to the human gaze, this animal unsettles Herman Melville's mariners, and, more curiously, it sits uneasily in Melville's prose, as its shape and benthic life seem to exceed comprehension and elude efforts to find a suitable place for it within linguistic description. As a result, the squid floats on the surface 'with no conceivable token of sensation or instinct'.

This paper engages with the issues writers of the nineteenth century faced in their efforts to come to terms with the animals of the deep, with particular focus on the writings of Melville and the voyage diaries of Charles Darwin and professional seafarer Edward Beck. As deep-sea creatures are dredged up – often onto shipboard – for interrogation at surface level, these writers encountered a deformed or decontextualized version of the deep. We also glimpse the tactility of this mediated encounter with the deep via the material traces of these animals, including preserved skin, in the voyage diaries. This paper is interested in the processes of decontextualisation these animals undergo for what it tells us about human efforts to comprehend and give sensible expression to the underwater world. The difficulty of recognising the sentience or life of these creatures or of giving clear expression to them, it argues, resonates with a broader difficulty of properly coming to terms with the deep itself.

Jimmy Packham is a lecturer in North American Literature at the University of Birmingham. His research looks at Gothic literature and at maritime writing, particularly in haunted or peculiar voices. With Laurence Publicover, he maintains a particular research interest in literary and cultural representations of the deep sea. He has published work on the Gothic poetry of the deep sea, the voice of drowned sailors in Moby-Dick, the role of the coast in contemporary British Gothic fiction, and is currently completing his first monograph for the University of Wales Press: *Gothic Utterance: Death and the Voice in Nineteenth-Century American Gothic*. Email: j.packham@bham.ac.uk

Laurence Publicover is Senior Lecturer in English at the University of Bristol. He is the author of *Dramatic Geography* (Oxford University Press, 2017) and of several articles on English Renaissance drama, maritime culture, and their intersection. He is in the process of co-editing, with Dr Susann Liebich, a volume of essays on reading, writing, and performing at sea, and is also working on human encounters with the deep sea – both literal and imaginative – in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Email: L.Publicover@bristol.ac.uk

Alexandra Paddock, *Swallowed by a Whale! – a Medieval Whale and a Victorian 'Jonah'*

This paper will revisit nineteenth-century accounts of James Bartley (1870-1909), a 'modern-day Jonah' who allegedly survived swallowing by a whale, though he suffered blinding and bleaching by its gastric acids. I compare the contemporary witnesses to this story with the eerily similar account of *De Quodam Piscatore Quem Ballena Absorbuit, 'Of a Fisherman who was Swallowed by a Whale'*, a tenth century Latin poem based on a Rochester local folk tale about a fisherman named Within. The narrative of Bartley's ordeal has been well-examined, notably by Edward Davis, who indicates its likely fictionality. Nonetheless, the similarity to this much older narrative (which, though fictional, makes similar claims to its own veracity) has not yet been explored. Approaching them as literature, I argue that these two instances, separated by nearly 900 years, represent a glimpse into an ancient oral cache of whale stories, and the deep time survival of cetacean plot-lines, positing these storytellers as literary arbiters between epic, travel narrative, devotional narrative and science fiction. The tantalising question of whether there could have been a historical Jonah figure lies beneath these stories, but I argue that the quite literally visceral engagement of Bartley and Letaldus (author of *De Quodam Piscatore*) with the whales of their narratives goes much further than this. The whale's belly becomes a dangerous world *inside* the abyss of the sea, a survival of the medieval idea of whale jaws as the mouth of Hell, even as the stories themselves strive for markers of experiential verisimilitude.

Alexandra Paddock is a postdoctoral researcher for LitHits, a public engagement project on the value of literature based in the University of Oxford. Her doctoral thesis examined perception and the natural environment, with a particular focus on animals and medieval poetry. Email: alexandra.paddock@ell.ox.ac.uk

Ming Panha, *'A tangled skein': Capitalist Violence and Nonhuman Resistance in 'The Lion's Mane' By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*

In 'The Lion's Mane' (1926), the mysterious death of Fitzroy McPherson, a science master at a coaching establishment in Sussex, leads Holmes to reflect not only about the murderer,

but also the idea of humanity. As the story goes on, Holmes keeps calling the murder inhumane, and there appear characters represented as subhuman, according to the Darwinist hierarchy, of the British Empire. Maud Bellamy, McPherson's fiancée, can be seen as a New Woman, represented as primitive and closer to animals in Darwinist patriarchal discourse, while Ian Murdoch is a racialised man who has been accused of murdering Fitzroy McPherson, despite no obvious evidence. In the end, the true culprit is revealed as the jellyfish, which is dramatically eliminated by Holmes. Ian Murdoch is forgiven and accepted into human society once again, while the jellyfish has to pay the cost for 'humane' reconciliation.

In this paper, I will argue that the death of Firzroy McPherson reveals the maritime history of capitalist violence against the 'nonhuman'. As Holmes compares the injuries from the jellyfish to the injuries caused by a cat o'nine tails, a whip used as punishment for sailors and slaves, the picturesque seaside town, 'giving great view of the Channel', in Sussex is revealed as a space rife with histories of capitalist violence against the human and nonhuman. Also the jellyfish can be seen as a part of resistance of coastal ecologies, against consumerist desire to commodify the rock pool organisms for aquaria. Though the nonhuman resists, only the nonhuman which paradoxically resist to support the anthropocentric, capitalist system are praised and acquiesced from their 'crimes' of resistance. As the true culprit is revealed, the violence exposed seems easily forgotten and forgiven, and the human-animal divide has been maintained.

Ming Panha is a scholarship grantee from Thammasat University, Thailand, and now studying his PhD in English literature. His PhD research focuses on interspecies relationship between dogs and humans in Sherlock Holmes fictions by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. He is now organising Anniverse Sheffield, a discussion group commemorating anniversaries concerning nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century literary works, at University of Sheffield. Email: mpanha1@sheffield.ac.uk

Robert McCracken Peck, *Animals Engaged in the Search for Sir John Franklin*

When Sir John Franklin and the crew members of HMS Erebus and HMS Terror disappeared during their search for the Northwest Passage in the early 1850s, the Royal Navy dispatched dozens of ships in an attempt to find and rescue the missing seamen. In their efforts, they employed a number of ingenious methods, ranging from the distribution of printed messages by hot-air balloon, to the creation of special metal clothing buttons called 'rescue buttons' or 'postal buttons' on which the names of recue vessels, their locations, and the locations of provision caches appeared in bold relief. These were given to indigenous people so that they would be worn by them and later spotted by the lost explorers.

The most unusual attempt at communicating with the Franklin survivors, however, involved the capture and release of (wild) Arctic foxes, to which special collars and tags were attached in the hope that the information imprinted on them would give the stranded seamen the directional information they needed to find relief or rescue. The effort was unsuccessful, for the foxes did not travel as far from the ice-bound rescue vessels as their captors believed they would, and, more importantly, because Franklin's men had already perished by the time the experiment was undertaken. Nevertheless, this represents one of

the few recorded examples of the use of wild animals in communication with lost maritime explorers.

In this presentation, I will discuss this little-known event in zoological history and show images of the people, ships, and animals involved, and the few surviving artifacts that were used in the fox tagging effort. Although the ice-bound foxes were not technically at sea, their use in the Franklin rescue efforts constitutes an aspect of maritime history in which animals were actively engaged.

Robert McCracken Peck is a naturalist and historian with a special interest in the intersection of science, history, and art. As Senior Fellow of Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia (now part of Drexel University), he has chronicled historical and contemporary scientific research expeditions in South America, Africa and Asia. He has lectured and published widely on subjects dealing with the history of science, the history of exploration, and the history of art, and guest-curated art and science exhibitions throughout the United States. Peck's most recent books include: *The Natural History of Edward Lear* (2016), *North By Degree: New Perspectives on Arctic Exploration*, co-edited with Susan A. Kaplan (2013), and *.A Glorious Enterprise: the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia and the Making of American Science,* co-authored with Patricia T. Stroud (2012). Email: RMP89@drexel.edu

John Radcliffe, *Rudyard Kipling and the Mysteries of the High Seas*

In the 1890s and early 1900s Rudyard Kipling was the most popular writer in the English-speaking world, best-selling poet, story-teller, novelist, he enriched our language with more memorable expressions than any other writer of his day. From *Plain Tales from the Hills* and *Barrack-Room Ballads*, to the *Just So Stories* and the *Jungle Books*, he is still widely read. His characters, like Kim and Mowgli, are still familiar to new generations, some eighty years after his death, recreated by Hollywood, argued over by scholars, relished and celebrated by adults and children. He made many sea voyages, to and from India and South Africa, across the Atlantic and Pacific, down to Australia and New Zealand. He was fascinated by ships and sailors and the sea, and wrote vividly of them, from Viking adventurers to fishermen on the Grand Banks, from fresh-faced gun-boat commanders to grizzled engineers.

As the liners of the great steamship companies, P&O, Cunard, Royal Mail, crossed the seas in calm and in storm, he often wondered about what lay below, in the depths. In 'The White Seal', he wrote a spell-binding account of a search through the world's oceans for beaches where no men ever came; '*he saw huge things nosing about in the shoal water and browsing on the heavy fringes of the weeds*'; in 'The Deep Sea Cables', he wrote of *'… the dark … the utter dark, where the blind white sea-snakes are'*: in 'In the Matter of One Compass' he wrote *'The Sea-egg ripples down the rock/ An orange wonder dimly guessed/ From darkness where the Cuttles rest/ Moored o'er the darker deeps …'*. And in 'A Matter of Fact' he describes an underwater earthquake, which tosses great ships about like matchsticks, and hurls a huge blind sea monster up to the surface from the depths.

For Kipling, the idea that there were great depths below, full of strange life, was a source of fascination, and fearful apprehension. As with the night sky above, there were mysteries in the deep sea to be wondered at.

After reading history at Cambridge, **John Radcliffe** spent his working career as a BBC producer, making current affair programmes for overseas, history programmes for schools, and computer literacy for everyone. In the 1980s he was head of the BBC OU production centre. He has a lifelong interest in the works of Rudyard Kipling, a writer he finds enduringly fascinating and enlivening. In his retirement he has created the Kipling Society web-site. Since 2002 he has been General Editor of the on-line New Readers' Guide, which provides notes on the whole corpus of Kipling's published works, poems, tales, articles, and speeches, the work of many hands in many countries. Email: johnrad@btinternet.com

Herman Reichenbach, *Wild Cargo: A Century of Shipping Animals at Carl Hagenbecks, Hamburg, 1848-1954*

The second half of the nineteenth century and the first two-thirds of the twentieth were the heyday of the wild-animal trade. Of once countless dealerships anchored in ports worldwide, only the firm of Carl Hagenbecks has survived into the twenty-first century, albeit solely as a zoological park. The premier animal dealers of the world during the later nineteenth and early twentieth century, Carl Hagenbeck, father and son, were dependent upon sea transport to import and export exotic mammals, birds and reptiles to and from their menagerie, later zoo, in the north German port city of Hamburg. Originally, animals were simply purchased from seamen, fishermen or whalers in the nearby harbour that had been brought as by-catch or pets, but over the years the Hagenbecks met professional animal catchers and collectors at other ports in Europe. From the 1870s onwards, Hagenbecks organized their own expeditions to five continents to supply the growing international market for wild animals in zoos, travelling menageries and circuses. Although transport within Europe was usually by rail, until the development of air cargo in the 1950s animals from overseas came by sea. After the First World War, Hagenbecks did not regain the pre-eminence as animal dealers that they had once enjoyed, but the animal trade and a circus, and with that maritime animal shipments, flourished, interrupted by the Second World War, into the 1950s.

After a brief career as a zookeeper, **Herman Reichenbach** read Chinese studies and the history of science at the University of Hamburg. From 1973 into 2016 he was science writer, fact-checker and information specialist at the Hamburg-based Gruner + Jahr newspaper and magazine publishing group, occasionally contributing to various journals papers as well as over 50 book reviews devoted to the history of science. In 1978 he was a founding board member of the GSM, the German Society for the Conservation of Marine Mammals. Since June 2017, Reichenbach is Honorary Editor of the Archives of Natural History, published by Edinburgh University Press for the Society for the History of Natural History. Email: Herman.Reichenbach@t-online.de

Andrea Ringer, *The Big Top at Sea: The Circus and Animal Trade Market on Oceanic Voyages*

During the height of popularity for the U.S. circus, shows like the Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey traversed the American countryside via railroad. People in small towns across the U.S. waited for the tented city to pull up to their doorstep with 'never-before-seen' animals from places around the world. Even when the shows did not venture across the ocean, they remained incredibly transatlantic and transpacific. The animals employed

by the shows were some of the most well-traveling beings on earth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These animals found themselves in networks of traders and trainers that spanned across every continent. Elephants made their way from makeshift zoos in colonial Kenya, to holding pens tin Germany, to center ring sawdust pens in the United States. Other animals, such as tigers, polar bears, and various birds, found similar fates. Even after their individual journeys to circuses were complete, entire shows would venture across the ocean in a single season. Immigrant ships were refitted for these circuses and giraffes and gorillas had to contend with new workplace dangers, like seasickness. This paper takes a labor perspective and asks questions about circus animals as workers, their experiences in and between shows as they crossed oceans, and their impact on American mass culture.

Andrea Ringer is an assistant professor of history at Tennessee State University. She specializes in the Atlantic World, with a focus on the history of transnational workers. Her current project asks questions about the circus as a workplace and the history of its migrant laborers. She has presented parts of this larger work at labor conferences in the U.S. and Australia. Using her degree in public history, she has also worked as a museum assistant at the William J. Clinton Presidential Library, created digital and museum exhibits at the Arkansas Studies Institute and the Arkansas Arts Center, and organized academic conferences and colloquiums. Email: alringer@memphis.edu

Ian Robertson, *Rats for Dinner? Did Midshipmen Eat Rats?*

Writers of historical naval fiction such as C. S. Forester and Patrick O'Brian have featured the idea of rats, with which the wooden walls were notoriously infested, being eaten on board by Midshipmen during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. They have painted a picture of day to day life in the Royal Navy of the time which also addresses issues related to the social and cultural values prevailing then. It is within this framework that it is necessary to look at the historical contemporary evidence to support or debunk these fictional accounts.

Whilst the question 'Did Midshipmen eat rats?' may appear a simple one the underlying issues are many and varied. Who were the midshipmen, often referred to as 'young gentlemen', and what was their position on board? What were their messing arrangements and what factors influenced their eating patterns? Within this is to be borne in mind the daily food ration allocation for every crew member regardless of rank which, in turn, raises the question regarding why it was felt necessary to supplement this. Is there a shift in the perception of rats from being foes because of the damage they caused on board to their being regarded as a source of food themselves? If they were eaten then who caught them and how were they cooked?

The road to find an answer to the question, 'Did midshipmen eat rats?' will take you through examples from fiction which have assumed almost folkloric properties. Contemporaneous evidence will be presented showing the availability of rats for eating in Tahiti and the West Indies and a hypothesis will be put forward to establish the possibility of different types of rats being obtained by trade with the native or slave populations of the West Indies.

Ian Robertson is a Doctoral student at the University of Greenwich and an independent researcher having gained an MA in Maritime History at the Greenwich Maritime Institute. He has been a Merchant Navy steward, a musician, an expert witness in child protection, had responsibility for assessing child care training programmes in Romania for the International Red Cross, a lecturer and freelance trainer. His research interests focus on the 'wooden world' of the late 18th and early 19th Centuries with an emphasis on de-anonymising 'Jack Tar' in his various guises through their often untold stories. Email: marobertson1@virginmedia.com

Lynette Russell and David Haworth, *Whaling Ships and Galapagos Tortoises: From Food Sources, to Ship Mates, to Family Pets*

During the nineteenth century thousands of Galapagos tortoises were captured, stored, and transported on ships as a food source. Many ships transported very large hauls, including the *Isabella Hood*, which in 1831 took 335 tortoises in just 4 days. The New Bedford Whaling Museum Archive lists over 13,000 tortoises taken in three decades from 1830. Tortoise remains have even been found in archaeological sites associated with the Californian goldfields. It is hardly surprising that the species was near to extinct within 120 years.

This paper combines perspectives from maritime history with the environmental humanities to reflect on the stories of individual tortoises known from the historical record, and considers their lives both on and off sea. When the New Bedford whale ship the *Niger* returned home in the 1840s they discovered a Galapagos tortoise alive among the casks in the ship's lower hold. He had been secreted there for over two years. What became of him is unclear; however, also in New Bedford in the early 1860s, the whaler Howland kept two tortoises in his garden which he allowed children to ride for amusement. Others, less fortunate, were destined for the dinner table, with their meat and eggs highly regarded. On board ships they provided a respite from the drudgery of 'salt horse'; meanwhile 'Turtle soup' and 'Terrapin stew' were served in restaurants across California. Finally we will consider the life of Lonesome George, and his status as the last Pinta Tortoise. Lonesome George was shipped from his home island to the Darwin Research Station on Santa Cruz Island, where after nearly five decades of attempting to mate him with very closely related tortoises, George died and was taxidermied.

Lynette Russell is Professor of Indigenous Studies (History) at the Monash Indigenous Studies Centre, at Monash University. Her work is deeply interdisciplinary and collaborative, and her research outputs are focused on showing the dynamism of Aboriginal responses to colonialism; their agency and subjectivity. A widely published author specializing in Aboriginal history, Lynette has held fellowships at both Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and is an elected member of several learned academies. Email: lynette.russell@monash.edu

David Haworth is a Researcher at Monash Indigenous Studies Centre, while also completing a doctorate in English Literature at the University of Melbourne. His thesis looks at depictions of non-human artfulness and creativity. David's Masters thesis won the 2013 Percival Serle Prize. He has secured several grants to conduct research at the Natural History Museum in London and the Museum of Natural History in Paris. He has published and presented on such topics as inter-species animal friendships, the 'feral' or animal-reared child, talking animals in fairy tales, and the artfulness of scientific illustration. Email: david.haworth@monash.edu

Felix Schürmann, ***The Ship Transport and Conservation Introduction of Chimpanzees to Rubondo Island (1966): Politics for and through Animals in the Decolonization of East Africa***

In mid-1966, the German animal conservationist Bernhard Grzimek had eleven chimpanzees transported by ship from Antwerp (Belgium) to Rubondo, an island located in the south-western corner of Lake Victoria (Tanzania). Collected from various zoos in Europe, the animals first were conveyed with a cargo vessel to Dar es Salaam, then send by truck to Mwanza, and finally brought to the island on a boat. Chiefly driven by Grzimek's fear that this species would soon become extinct, the 4-week operation was the first conservation introduction of primates. It proved for the first time that chimpanzees raised in captivity are able to survive and reproduce in nature. Its success gave rise to further conservation introductions of primates on islands, mainly in West Africa.

My presentation will describe this extraordinary voyage and the chimpanzees' situation on-board ship in its specific circumstances and analyse it within its historicalpolitical contexts: During the transitory phase between late-colonial and post-colonial rule in East Africa, Grzimek and other conservationist campaigners and bureaucrats sought to create facts that would be difficult to reverse for the new African elites. Their (paternalistic) politics for animals were also (instrumentalising) politics through animals to secure lasting influence beyond the decolonization moment.

Felix Schürmann is leading research on the history of maritime cartography at the Gotha Research Centre of the University of Erfurt. He specializes in modern African, maritime, and global history and is the author of 'Der graue Unterstrom: Walfänger und Küstengesellschaften an den tiefen Stränden Afrikas, 1770–1920' (Frankfurt a. M./New York: Campus, 2017). Email: felix.schuermann@uni-erfurt.de

Rachael Squire, ***From Porpoises to Plankton: The Role of Animals in Shaping the US Navy's Sub-Marine Living Projects during the Cold War***

From 1964-1968, the US Navy conducted three experimental undersea living projects known as Sealab I, II, and III. Pushing the boundaries of territorial expansion and the limits of the human body, the Sealab experiments saw groups of men, or aquanauts as they were known, live in undersea habitats on the sea floor to demonstrate the feasibility of living and working in the sub-marine environment. The projects were an extraordinary demonstration of a Cold War imaginary that framed America as a nation without limits, free from the constraints of terra firma. The success of the projects relied on the ingenuity of numerous actors such as scientists, doctors, divers, and engineers to 'master' and 'conquer' the 'hostile environment' of the water. Yet it was also predicated on interactions with, and attempts to master, the array of animal life that populated the sea. This paper will address this often neglected facet of the project by considering the role of animals – from the training of large mammals such as porpoises to the managing of microscopic organisms such as plankton. In doing so, the paper seeks to provide a novel insight into the US Navy's engagement with the sea and into the shaping of public sub-marine imaginaries during the Cold War.

Rachael Squire is a Lecturer in Human Geography in the Department of Geography at Royal Holloway, University of London. Her research has recently centred upon the sub-marine geopolitics of the Cold War via the US Navy's Sealab experiments, including the role of animals in the projects. More broadly, Rachael is interested in concepts relating to territory, terrain, embodiment, and the geopolitics of inhabiting extreme environments. Email: Rachael.Squire@rhul.ac.uk

Patricia Sullivan, *Maritime Animals at Work*

Patricia Sullivan, founder and CEO of the Museum of Maritime Pets, will present an overview of the types of maritime pets from earliest times to the present and their various functions. She will discuss their importance to maritime exploration and its role in the development of civilization.

Sullivan will focus on working animals and companion animals, discuss various animal species and review their multiple functions: birds, cats, dogs, horses and sea mammals.

Seafaring animals have had varying roles, depending on the nature of the voyages they accompanied in times of exploration, colonization, commerce and war. Some maritime animals work not on ships, but alongside them on canals, riverways and tundra. Sullivan will review these, as well as discuss the transition from working animals to companions and mascots. She will also examine those animal species who live in their natural habitats on the water and along the shores who have long socially interacted with man.

Patricia Sullivan, the Museum's founder and Chair, has been involved with humane and cultural causes for over forty years. A long-time history museum administrator, she also has extensive business experience with start-up and existing non-profit organizations as a founder, administrator and Board member. These included land conservation, historic preservation and urban planning organizations.

In addition, she started and ran several for-profit enterprises, all of which were animal related. She is passionate about the human-animal bond and the long partnership of animals and man, particularly at sea. Sullivan is a strong advocate for animal causes throughout the world.

Sullivan has curated exhibits and authored catalogs, and served as an Advisor and Evaluator for the American Association of Museums. She also served as a consultant to the Gannett Foundation (Newseum) and the U.S. Bureau of Engraving and Printing (The Mint) to develop operational and curatorial plans for these major national museums. In 2006, she combined her museum and animal interests by founding the Museum of Maritime Pets, Inc., a non-profit organization with a world-wide following.

Sullivan earned her BA in History and her MA in History and Museum Studies from the George Washington University. Email: psullivan@museumofmaritimepets.org

Melanie V. Taylor, *Hidden in Plain Sight: Visual evidence of the medieval trade in exotic birds and animals*

Before 1498 the Venetians and Genoans were the dominant traders with the Arab tribes who monopolised the maritime and land trade routes with the Far East. We are taught that Columbus 'sailed the ocean blue' in 1492 and in 1522 Magellen's fleet circumnavigated the

world. However, in 1999 the discovery of a wreck of a 9th century ocean going Arab dhow off Belitung Island, Indonesia and the re-discovery of a collection of 10th century Arab coins found on a beach in 1944 near Darwin, Australia, proved conclusively that a maritime trade route with the Far East existed centuries before Marco Polo 's adventures of the late 13th century.

In 1498 the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama discovered the route to India via the Cape of Good Hope. Parrots are depicted in classical and medieval bestiaries and on a 14th century genealogy roll appear with other birds and animals native to east Africa and the islands off that coast. An illustration from the 1332 best seller, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (Harley MS 3954) deserves reconsideration as to what these bagpipe playing animals could be, and an Indian ring-necked parakeet appears in a Flemish 15th century altarpiece.

Angels with wings showing identifiable feathers from exotic birds from India, the Indonesian archipelago and possibly Australia, appear in Books of Hours and other 15th century altarpieces and margins of many illuminated manuscripts contain visual references to monkeys. Specifically, a South American Capuchin monkey appears in a portrait miniature of a Tudor queen.

This paper will discuss the requirement for a re-evaluation of visual evidence of the trade in exotic birds and animals in the light of the discoveries of the 9th century Arab wreck, 10th century Arab coins, and the New World.

Melanie V. Taylor: Alumna of UK Universities of Kingston & Kent, holding a BA in the History of Art, Architecture & Design and MA in Medieval & Early Modern studies. My research is in the derivation of symbols in the margins of Flemish illuminated manuscripts and paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; currently researching visual evidence of trade from this period. Have taught adult education groups both art history and medieval history and have run my own independent art history group for the past eleven years. For amusement I write novels and short stories. Email: melanie.v.taylor@gmail.com

Ana Trias-Verbeeck, *Marine Specimens from Barcelona to Abroad: The Salvador and the Maritime Popular Culture in Catalan and Balearic Coasts around 1700*

The sea and its living organisms have historically best been known by seafarers and people living and working in or close to it: voyagers, fishermen, coastal folks, pirates... They became an important source of information for learned naturalists coping with the marine part of their Natural History treatises.

Moreover, we think that these characters – the sea related people- have played a considerable role not only as a source of knowledge but as an active intermediate in the production of written works and the creation and growing of natural and curiosity cabinet collections. This kind of collections has to be framed in the cultural and scientific practices in Early Modern Europe.

Precisely this is the period of the major scientific activity of the cabinet of curiosities hold by the Salvador family in Barcelona from 1598 to 1855. For five generations the Salvador built and maintained, besides their commercial activities, a library, an herbarium and a collection of specimens in the back of their drugstore in the very center of Barcelona, becoming a meeting point for naturalists of different origins and interests.

Through the well-preserved collection and documentation about the Salvador collection at the Botanical Institute in Barcelona, we aim to assess the connections they had with fishermen living in Catalan and Balearic coasts, providing information and samples not only for the Salvador's collection but also for exchange them with the foreign naturalists corresponding with the Salvador, such as the Jussieu family in Paris, Hermann Boerhaave in Leiden or James Petiver in London.

Ana Trias-Verbeeck is a PhD candidate in the History of Science programme (UAB-UB). Member of the research group 'From the Cabinet of Wonders to the Popular Anatomical Museum' at IMF-CSIC (Barcelona) and collaborator of the Museu Balear de Ciències Naturals (Mallorca). With the Salvador's cabinet materials as a central focus, her research aims to untangle the origin, exchange and outreach of marine aspects in Natural History and how 'sea knowledge' was perceived and collected in Early Modern period. Former member of the World Register of Marine Species data management team. She contributed with a chapter on 'The humanization of the sea' in the book Cuerpos mostrados (México, Siglo XXI, 2019) and another is currently in press for a volume on Art and Science. Email: tribeeck@gmail.com

Stephen Vrla, Linda Kalof, and Cameron Whitley, *From Commodities to Agents: Exploring the Roles of Animals in Maritime History through* National Geographic *Imagery*

In this paper, we explore the roles of nonhuman animals in maritime history by analyzing images of animals at sea in a random sample of one issue of *National Geographic Magazine* per year between 1888 and 2011. Through our analysis, we find that animals have played passive and active roles on ships and shore. Passively, they have played two well-studied roles: catches and cargo. As catches, animals like whales and fish have been caught, killed, processed, and sold to meet the needs of humans for food and oil, and as cargo, animals like horses and reindeer have been transported from one port to another. Actively, animals have played numerous roles, including some that have received little scholarly attention: partners, competitors, crewmembers, dockworkers, spectacles, and stowaways. For example, as partners, birds have helped humans find catches, and as competitors, they have competed for those same catches. As crewmembers, dogs have kept humans company on voyages, while as dockworkers, cattle have helped load and unload cargo. As spectacles, dolphins have entertained humans and themselves by swimming alongside ships, and as stowaways, ants have used ships to spread across the world, leaving ecological disaster in their wake. Our findings indicate that animals have played significant but overlooked roles in maritime history, and that these roles warrant further scholarly attention. In particular, animals' roles as partners, competitors, crewmembers, dockworkers, spectacles, and stowaways warrant further attention, as a clearer understanding of them can help rewrite the history of animals at sea from an anthropocentric narrative in which animals are mere commodities to a biocentric one in which they are themselves agents. Our findings also demonstrate the potential of animal imagery to help rewrite this history, and they suggest many paths for further research.

Stephen Vrla is a Dual Major PhD candidate in Sociology and Curriculum, Instruction, and Teacher Education at Michigan State University, where he has also earned Graduate Specializations in Animal Studies and Environmental Science & Policy. His dissertation focuses on incorporating nonhuman animals and the environment into deliberative democratic theory and education. More broadly, his research interests include humane education, human-wildlife conflict mitigation, and cultural representations of nonhuman animals. Email: stephenvrla@gmail.com

Linda Kalof is Professor of Sociology and Founding Director of the graduate specialization in Animal Studies at Michigan State University. Her research interests include the cultural representations of animals and the history of animal iconography which has been supported by the National Science Foundation. She has published 12 books, including *Looking at Animals in Human History* (Reaktion 2007) and *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies* (Oxford University Press, 2017). She is editor of *The Animal Turn* book series for MSU Press, and she is currently working on a second edition of *The Animals Reader* (Berg/Bloomsbury 2007). Email: lkalof@gmail.com

Cameron T. Whitley received his Ph.D. in sociology from Michigan State University with specializations in Environmental Science and Policy (ESPP); Gender, Justice and Environmental Change (GJEC) and Animal Studies. His work is guided by trying to understand how our relationships with others (including animals) inform our environmental attitudes and behaviors. His past published work has explored sustainability practices, support for plant-based diets, perceptions of environmental risk, social drivers of climate-induced migration, support for new energy technologies (like hydraulic fracturing), the place of women in conservation networks, and the importance of imagery (animals in particular) in promoting pro-environmental attitudes and behaviors. Email: cameron.whitley@gmail.com

Silja Vuorikuru, *Dogs on the Titanic: Aino Kallas' Short Story 'Luomakunnan huuto' (1914)*

My presentation focuses on the short story 'Luomakunnan huuto' ('The Cry of Creation', 1914), written by the Finnish-Estonian female writer Aino Kallas (1878–1956). 'Luomakunnan huuto' was published in the short story collection *Seitsemän*. *Titanic-novelleja* ('Seven. Short stories about the *Titanic*', 1914). This collection is an exception in Kallas' literary oeuvre as well as in contemporary Finnish literature because all its stories describe the shipwreck of the *RMS Titanic* (1912).

'Luomakunnan huuto' is a fictitious story about the dogs on the *Titanic*, their agony during the disaster and their loss of confidence in people. The focalizer and the first-person narrator of the story is the pet dog Bella, who desperately seeks its owner as the ship sinks.

What are these dogs of the *Titanic*? What kind of historical roots does 'Luomakunnan huuto' have? It is known that there were numerous animals aboard the *Titanic* and that only few survived.

What kind of figure is the figure of the dog in 'Luomakunnan huuto'? Both in mythologies and in literature, the dog is connected to death: a dog has been described, for instance, as an intermediator between the worlds of the living and the dead. In 'Luomakunnan huuto', the relationship between a pet dog and its owner allegorically describes the relationship between mankind and God: the dog's loss of confidence in its owner can be interpreted as an allegory of a denial of faith. This theme can be compared with the frequent themes of *Titanic* fiction. 'Luomakunnan huuto' is also a heavily

symbolic text, inspired by the Literary Symbolism of the late nineteenth century. Thus, the theme of a loss of faith can also be connected to the cultural atmosphere of the turn of the 20th century.

'Luomakunnan huuto' – and *Seitsemän* – are also fascinating examples of Finnish stories about the *Titanic*. The early fictitious Finnish interpretations of the disaster of the *Titanic* have many specific thematic elements because the years between 1870 to 1930 were the years of the Great Migration of Finns to North America.

Silja Vuorikuru: My particular research interest is the literary works and the life of Aino Kallas, whose oeuvre nowadays is a part of the literary canon of both Finland and Estonia. Kallas lived in London from 1922–34, when her husband Oskar Kallas worked as the Estonian ambassador in London. Four works of Kallas have been translated into English.

My doctoral thesis (2012) deals with the intertextual relationship between Aino Kallas's oeuvre and the Bible. I have also published a biography of Aino Kallas (2017, Estonian translation 2018). Currently, I am researching on early Finnish texts (from the 1910s and 1920s) concerning the sinking of the Titanic. Among these are both literary works of famous Finnish authors (including Aino Kallas) and texts written by amateur and popular writers (in particular, broadside ballads about the *Titanic*). Email: silja.vuorikuru@helsinki.fi

Roger S. Wotton, *Ships and Mythical Animals*

Animals (and plants) have long been known to colonise the hulls of ships and there are many ways of limiting the effects of their colonisation. Among the commonest animals that attach to hulls are barnacles, forming dense and rough masses that create frictional resistance to the flow of water and thus affect ship performance. They do not stop ships as one type of animal was thought to do in ancient times. These were remoras, or suckerfish, that are found commonly in oceans and which have a modified dorsal fin that allows them to attach to other fish. The notion that they have the power ascribed to them by sailors is clearly far-fetched.

So far, we have considered animals on ships, yet many strange marine animals have also been sighted from ships. Among these are mermaids and mermen; the kraken; and sea serpents. Descriptions of these animals vary between observers, but they were held to be real by many sailors. We can provide explanations for the origin of all of these mythical animals, but we are aware that our knowledge of marine life is limited and exciting new discoveries may yet be made.

Roger S. Wotton is Emeritus Professor of Biology at UCL. His research focussed on the metabolism of organic matter in aquatic systems and he devised, and edited, two editions of the book *The Biology of Particles in Aquatic Systems*. Roger was awarded two Faculty Teaching Prizes and a Provost's Teaching Prize by UCL, and a DSc by the University of Reading. On retirement, Roger wrote *Walking with Gosse* and continues to make regular posts on his blog. He gives talks on subjects ranging from Angels to Victorian Natural History, and gives occasional lunchtime talks on paintings in the National Gallery. Email: r.wotton@ucl.ac.uk

***Marjolein Zijlstra-Mondt**, Mapping the Sea-Unicorn: Sea-Unicorns in Word and Image in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*

From the 16th century onwards, scholars searching for a satisfying explanation for the origin of the horn of the land-unicorn (which supposedly provided protection and cure for almost all ailments) considered the sea-unicorn as the carrier of this coveted horn. Until the 18th century, it was widely assumed that the sea-unicorn inhabited the waters of distant, unknown territories worldwide. The animal was described in bestiaries, in the discourses of natural historians, doctors and apothecaries, and in the reports of sailors. For different reasons, they all contributed, each in their own way, to the myth of the animal, either reinforcing or weakening it. In several appearances - whether or not 'borrowed' from other marine animals - the sea unicorn even adorned nautical charts and was depicted in the visual arts.

The history of the sea-unicorn mirrors the early modern emancipation in natural history, religion and society. In my contribution I will discuss the typology and significance of the sea-unicorn in early modern descriptions and images on nautical charts during the progress of natural history in the period from c.1500 to c. 1720. I will try to answer the question how natural historians, doctors and cartographers obtained the information on the sea-unicorn for their discourses and sea-charts. What convinced them to believe that the animal really existed? Did they use each other's descriptions and images? Were they influenced by the (religious) symbolism which was attributed to the land-unicorn? How did they respond to the medical and commercial importance of the horn in relation to the growing awareness that the animal might not exist?

Marjolein Zijlstra-Mondt has recently completed her PhD on the sea-unicorn at the University of Leiden. Before starting her PhD, she studied Art History at the University of Groningen and Visual Arts at the Classical Academy of Arts in Groningen (Netherlands). Marjolein is also an orthodontist, who worked in her private practice in Emmen from 1986 till 2014. Nowadays she works on a part-time basis in a dental practice in Oosterwolde. Email: m.zijlstramondt@planet.nl

Animals at Sea

The display outside the Caird Library and Archive

(February to mid-May 2019)

By Kaori Nagai

To coincide with the conference, I put together a display of items which tell the stories of maritime animal encounters, in consultation and collaboration with the Archivists of the Caird Library, Susan Gentles and Mike Bevan. The Caird Library is a treasure house of maritime animal stories. The display case can hardly contain all the stories which are there to be told, but I am hoping that it will give a glimpse into the rich and diverse ways in which animals were once a part of the shipboard life.

'Trotsky' the bear being lifted outboard for transfer to HMS Ajax from the Emperor of India, 1921 [N23193; Main Panel]

Liza Verity's Animals at Sea (2004) showcases images of military mascots and other maritime animal companions held in the National Maritime Museum. The book opens with the story of Trotsky the Russian bear, who joined the crew of HMS Ajax as a cub. He was a thank you gift to the Royal Navy, who aided the White Armies in their fight against the Bolsheviks after the Russian Revolution. To quote Verity, Trotsky 'lived happily on the ship, being kept in order, it is said, by the ship's dog'. Trotsky, however, had a habit of vising other ships in search of food, and eventually was shot dead by a marine sentry at Malta Dockyard in 1921. Trotsky has been a mascot of the 'Maritime Animals' conference, chosen as a tribute to Liza, who pioneered the telling of maritime animal stories using the Museum's archival materials.

In memory of Buller who died at Rangoon, March 1902

From the ship's newspaper Sierra Cordova Magpie [NWT/5/2]

This is a comical tribute to Buller the dog, the mascot of the British barque Sierra Cordova. Buller entertained passengers with his tricks and mischief, and was often seen chasing cats and chickens around the deck. Buller sadly perished shortly after arriving at Rangoon, falling victim to the hot climate. The poem was printed in the ship's newspaper, hand-written and circulated among the passengers. Buller, just like this newspaper, helped to foster a good community spirit during the long voyage.

Logbook kept by Dalton aboard HARRIET [LOG/M/89]

William Dalton accompanied two English whaling expeditions to the South Seas as a ship's surgeon in the 1820s. His logbook, recorded daily, gives a rare glimpse into whaling activities. Sightings of whales were represented by pictures of a spouting

whale's head. Each picture of a whale's tail represents one whale successfully captured – the bigger the image the bigger the whale. The number of tails does not correspond to the number of whales killed, as more whales were often killed than were secured to the ship.

John Todd and W. B. Whall, *Practical Seamanship for use in the Merchant Service* (1890)

Todd and Whall's Practical Seamanship (first edition, 1890), marketed as covering 'all ordinary subjects and everything necessary to be known by seamen of the present day', includes the art of loading horses and cattle as one of the essential skills. The illustration shows how a horse should be blindfolded and slung into the ship. The writer lays stress on the importance of mastering this procedure, because failure to do so 'would probably mean a broken [horse] leg', necessitating that the horse be shot, and that compensation be paid by the ship owners to its master. Cattle were similarly slung into ships, though some, such as those from New Zealand, were 'generally slung by the horns alone'.

A survey of the provisions damaged and destroyed by rats on HMS Renommée 24 May 1801 [KEI/23/23]

This item was part of the survey of damaged pursers' stores ordered by Admiral George Elphinstone, 1st Viscount Keith, during his command in the Mediterranean between 1800 and 1802. Ship rats were a perennial problem, and the item gives a good indication of how much damage they could do to a ship's provisions. It describes how rats have eaten or destroyed large stores of raisins, rice, flour and oatmeal. Rats would also damage sailors' clothes, bedding, water supply and even a ship's structure, which could compromise the effectiveness of military operations. At the same time, they were fellow passengers who shared the dangers of the maritime journey (and the ship's resources).

Biographical tribute to Trim the Cat by Matthew Flinders, Isle de France, December 1809 [FLI/11; displayed at the Voyagers Gallery]

The British naval officer and cartographer Matthew Flinders wrote this biographical tribute to commemorate the life of Trim the cat (1799-1804), a much beloved companion and shipmate of his voyages. Born on board a Royal Navy ship, Trim made a tour of the globe, and famously accompanied Flinders in his historic circumnavigation of Australia in 1801-03. Flinders' affectionate tribute is packed with lively episodes of Trim, and ends with an epitaph, which gives a summary of his remarkable maritime career. In late 1803, Flinders was made prisoner on the French island of Mauritius (then called 'Isle de France') for six and half years, during which time Trim went missing, never to be found again. Flinders feared that Trim was 'caught, stewed and eaten by some hungry slave', referred in the epitaph as a 'Catophagi' (i.e., cat-eater).

Journal of Edward Back on the Lady Francis, trading to Quebec, 1824 [JOD/266/2/1]

Edward Beck, who started his career at sea as a cabin boy, was fascinated by the visitation of birds and fish to the ship, and his journals, written in the 1820s, record many such animal encounters. Having taught himself to collect and preserve animal skins, he was always keen to get hold of specimens. In this scene, Beck has taken into his cabin two birds, exhausted from their travels, and he fights his desire to kill and skin them: 'I should like their skins to take home, yet how could I kill them, when they had suffered so much and had such a claim upon our hospitality?' The following morning, he finds both birds dead, allowing him to skin them.

'Shipping Elephants at Bombay', *Illustrated London News*, 11 January 1868
[Wayfinding Panel]

No less than 36,094 animals (camels, mules, bullocks, horses, etc.) were shipped to take part in the Abyssinian expedition of 1867-8, a punitive war against Emperor Theodore II of Ethiopia. Among them were 44 elephants shipped from Bombay. The picture shows the loading of 19 elephants on the transport ship Compta, in December 1867. The second batch of 25 elephants was shipped a month later. After the completion of the operation, the 39 surviving elephants were shipped back to India. The elephants' involvement in the expedition was celebrated in Rudyard Kipling's story 'Toomai of the Elephants' in the *Jungle Books*.

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