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14. ABSTRACT This is a historical maritime leadership paper and analyzes three eighteenth-century case studies (Aleksei Chirikov, Juan Francisco de la Bodega, Peter Puget) to provide seconds-in-command with leadership lessons. It surveys the general context of European exploration in the age of sail before describing each expedition. It then intentionally addresses each captain, using unique leadership paradigms to showcase the diversity of available leadership theories.					
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AD INEXPLORATA
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

An Essay

Submitted to

The Faculty of the

United States Naval War College

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the

Graduate Certificate in Maritime History

by

Colonel Blair W. Byrem

May 16, 2023

Preface

History is more than the mere recitation of past events and includes myriad taxonomies such as political, economic, or social history. It is useful as a tool to build wisdom from others' endeavors. This is a historical maritime leadership paper and analyzes eighteenth-century case studies to provide seconds-in-command or detachment commanders with non-combat leadership lessons, because peace, not combat, is the typical condition in which officers lead. It argues that for modern seconds-in-command, reading historical manuscript sources rather than secondary biographical-type works provide ample opportunities to capture enduring leadership traits and behavior. This paper covers a general context before a historical discussion of the specific expeditions, providing readers with a necessary understanding of the environment in which the three captains led. It then intentionally addresses each captain, using unique leadership paradigms to showcase the diversity of available leadership theories.

System 1 or 2 type thinking permeates the studies, though not always explicitly named.¹ Likewise, several characteristics are universal across the case studies, including skill development, conscientiousness, followership, and trust. Leaders require significant training, education, and experience before commanding a complex system such as a ship. Expertise is the prerequisite to establishing credibility with subordinates and superiors. Both cohorts expect a given level of capability expressed by the leader. The leader must also demonstrate conscientiousness, that is, discipline, self-motivation, and a drive to accomplish organizational goals. As captains in their own right, seconds are also subordinate to superior fleet commanders.

¹ "System 1 operates automatically and quickly, with little or no effort and no sense of voluntary control. System 2 allocates attention to effortful mental activities that demand it, associated with the subjective experience of agency, choice, and concentration." "The automatic operations of System 1 generate surprisingly complex patterns of ideas, but only the slower System 2 can construct thoughts in an orderly series of steps." Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking, Fast and Slow*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), 20-21.

I. Introduction

Europeans did not mount serious exploratory missions to the American Pacific Northwest until the eighteenth century. It was located at the far reaches of both sea lanes and empires and characterized by an extremely hostile natural environment. The nearly three dozen indigenous peoples had no deep-sea maritime capability which might have allowed earlier contact via voyages that originated from there. The contemporary scientific understanding and technological limitations of the era also made it difficult for Europeans to access the region, much less explore it in depth. Lastly, the lack of local fresh produce to which the Europeans were accustomed made European expeditions particularly susceptible to scurvy.

Russia, Spain, and Britain each sent expeditions into the region in the eighteenth century to gain geographical knowledge for a competitive advantage over their rivals. They sought to map new trade routes and claim resource-rich colonies.² The Pacific Northwest truly was *terra incognita* to Europeans. In 1700, the French cartographer Guillaume de l'Isle showed the region as entirely blank on his map of the world.

² William I. Lang, and James V. Walker, *Explorers of the Maritime Pacific Northwest: Mapping the World through Primary Documents* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2016), xiv.

make it to the Pacific Northwest coast of North America, and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra traveled farther north than his superior, Bruno de Hezeta.³

This essay argues that subordinate leaders often played pivotal roles in the Pacific Northwest's exploration, but they were overshadowed by their superiors. My own experience in the U.S. Air Force suggests this is common. The squadron is the Air Force's foundational warfighting unit, led by a Squadron Commander whose second-in-command is typically a Director of Operations. A Director of Operations often plays a more pivotal role in the unit's daily mission execution than the Commander, who is intensely advocating for resources, coordinating training, and administering discipline, as well as myriad other responsibilities. These expeditions depict the same patterns, as this essay will explore. Moreover, examining these seconds provides a fruitful and underexploited leadership case study for today's officers. Unsurprisingly, historians have largely overlooked the expedition's seconds.⁴ What work does

³ F.A. Golder, *Bering's Voyages: An Account of the Efforts of the Russians to Determine the Relation of Asia and America*, vol 1 & 2. *The Log Books and Official Reports of the First and Second Expeditions, 1725-1730 and 1733-1742*, *Stellar's Journal of the Sea Voyage 1741-1742* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1925); Herbert K. Beals, ed. and trans., "The 1775 Journal of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra," in *Four Travel Journals: The Americas, Antarctica and Africa, 1775-1874*, edited by Herbert K. Beals et al. (London: Hakluyt Society, 2007), 1-139.

⁴ Peter Lauridsen, *Vitus Bering: The Discoverer of Bering Strait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Peter Ulf Moller, *Under Vitus Bering's Command* (Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 2002); Cornelia Goodhue, *Journey Into the Fog the Story of Vitus Bering and the Bering Sea* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1944); Raymond H. Fisher, *Bering's Voyages: Whither and Why* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1977); H.K. Beals, *For Honor and Country: The Diary of Bruno de Hezeta* (Portland: Western Imprints, 1985); Derek Pethick, *First Approaches to the Northwest Coast* (Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1976); Warren L. Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); Santiago Saavedra, *To the Totem Shore: The Spanish Presence on the Northwest Coast* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 1986); David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Bern Anderson, *Surveyor of the Sea: The Life and Voyages of Captain George Vancouver* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960); William I. Lang and James V. Walker, *Explorers of the Maritime Pacific Northwest: Mapping the World through Primary Documents* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2016); Roderick Haig-Brown, *Captain of the Discovery: The Story of Captain George Vancouver* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1959); James K. Barnett, *Captain George Vancouver in Alaska and the Pacific Northwest* (Anchorage: Todd Communications, 2017); Stephen R. Brown, *Madness, Betrayal and the Lash: The Epic Voyage of Captain George Vancouver* (Madeira Park: Douglas & McIntyre, 2010); John M. Naish, *The Interwoven Lives of George Vancouver, Archibald Menzies, Joseph Whidbey and Peter Puget* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1996); Edmond S. Meany, *Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound* (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1907); Richard Blumenthal, *With Vancouver in Inland Washington* (Jefferson, NC: Macfarland & Co., 2007).

1725 and ending with Elizabeth's reign in 1741, Russia was led by five different rulers.⁷ This resulted in inconsistent strategic guidance and interest for the expedition. The geographic separation between the Admiralty College in St. Petersburg and the Administrative Senate in Moscow amplified the lack of persistent national focus.⁸ Russia involved itself in European power politics to balance against the Ottoman Empire, with whom they fought in the Russo-Turkish War of 1735-1739. This war, combined with competition from other European rivals, drove colonial aspirations as a means to provide access to commerce and natural resources.

In Russia, the 1733-1742 Bering-Chirikov expedition has several names, but is labeled the Second Kamchatka Expedition in this paper.⁹ Peter the Great wanted to map the eastern expanses of his empire and establish useful sea routes.¹⁰ The expedition's purpose evolved from Peter the Great through Empresses Anna and Elizabeth. The Admiralty directed the leaders to verify the region's geography, establish trade routes, subjugate the native peoples to levy taxes, and claim ownership to reap resources.¹¹

Spain

The Spanish, a common saying has it, sought God, Gold, and Glory in their empire. While they established themselves as the dominant imperial power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by the eighteenth century, Spanish imperial activities had to take European great power rivalries into account. Spain was fairly secretive when sending expeditions north out of Mexico to claim new lands. Any indication of a significant shift in balance of power

⁷ Dmytryshyn Basil, *Imperial Russia: A Source Book, 1700-1917* (Illinois: The Dryden Press, 1974), 480.

⁸ Fisher, *Bering's Voyages*, 109.

⁹ Fisher, *Bering's Voyages*, 108.

¹⁰ A.A. Pokrovskii, ed. *Ekspeditsiia Beringa: Sbornik Dokumentov*. (Moscow: Glavnoe arkhivnoe upravlenie NKVD SSSR, 1941), 14.

¹¹ Fisher, *Bering's Voyages*, 108-183.

if there was a northwest passage, and to go to Nootka Sound to receive Spanish restitutions for aggressions against fur trader John Meares, based upon his testimony to the House of Commons.¹⁶ The expedition was to pay particular attention to determining the nature of the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and were to use the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) as a wintering location. The Admiralty stressed that the expedition was to work with any Spanish captains exploring the coast, as well as to recover any of Meares' former Chinese employees. Lastly, the Admiralty stated that, if there was time, the expedition should identify the southern-most Spanish settlement on the coast of "Chiloe."¹⁷

The primary problem presented to the British was the same problem that plagues modern military Pacific operations: the tyranny of distance. Wind, current, and geography made the Pacific Northwest the most distant maritime region on the planet for the British. As the reigning maritime empire, one might suppose British overseas naval bases were abundant and provided some modicum of proximity for operations within the Pacific Northwest, but this was not the case. Visually plotting eighteenth-century British, Dutch and Spanish trade routes on a map using historical ships logs further highlights the remoteness of the region.¹⁸ In fact, the nearest potential British ports were in the Philippines, Australia, or around Cape Horn at Port Egmont in the Falklands.¹⁹ The Sandwich Islands were available, albeit hostile, and not fully developed; this is where Captain Cook met his fate. Therefore, victualling and fitting the ship was problematic due to the voyage's multi-year duration. Vancouver's orders prevented him from stopping at

¹⁶ George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World*, vol 1. (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1798), x.

¹⁷ Vancouver, *A Voyage*, xxii.

¹⁸ James Cheshire, "Maps of 18th-century Shipping Trade Routes," used by John Burn-Murdoch, "18th Century Shipping Mapped Using 21st Century Technology," *The Guardian* last modified 13 April 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2012/apr/13/shipping-routes-history-map>.

¹⁹ Brian Lavery, *Nelson's Navy: The Ships, Men and Organisation, 1793-1815* (London: Conway Maritime Press, Ltd., 1989), 33.

The oceanography is likewise diverse and extreme. There are several major currents in the region, including the Alaska Stream, the Alaska Coastal Current, the North Pacific Current, and the California Current.²² The Gulf of Alaska Gyre circulates counterclockwise in the Alaskan pocket. The North Pacific Current comes east across the Pacific from Japan. The California Current heads clockwise running southerly along the Canadian and American west coast. The primary currents affecting the navigation along the coast are the Alaska Current, with an average of 39°F water temperature and a running speed of 1.7 knots, and the California Current which averages 57°F. The most extreme aspect of the oceanography is the tidal range, which averages 12' and reaches up to 35' in the Turnagain Arm south of Anchorage, Alaska.

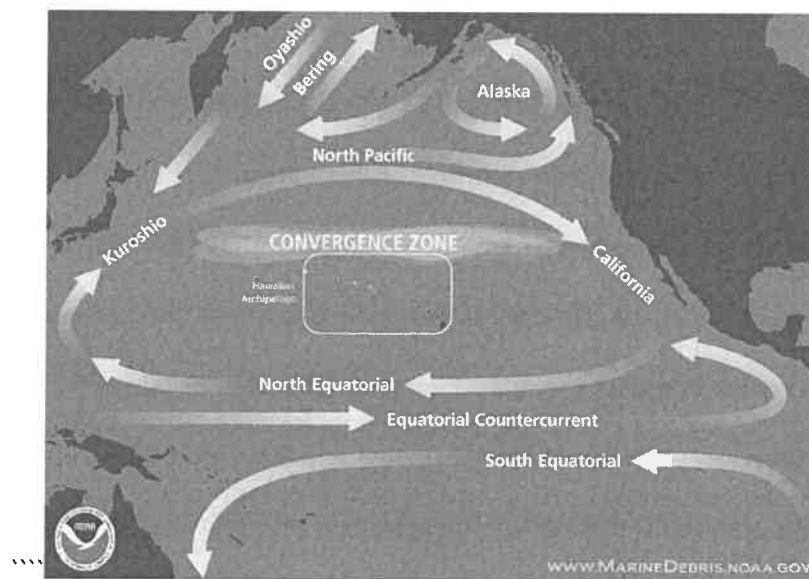


Figure 2: Pacific ocean currents. (NOAA Map of Pacific Currents available from www.marinedebris.noaa.gov)

IV. The Native Inhabitants

European interaction with the region's approximately thirty-six tribes originated with the Bering-Chirikov expedition, when Captain Chirikov made contact with either the Tlingit or Eyak

²² www.NOAA.gov

Interactions between Europeans and natives were complex, and just like all human interactions, varied in scope and nature. For instance, slavery and captive-taking occurred. Both natives and Europeans exercised the practice, with natives enslaving natives and Europeans alike, and vice versa. The extent to which this was practiced depended upon the individual captain or chief, the tribe, and the time period. Trading encounters could devolve into violence or raids could lead to captives. It is obvious that this behavior was entirely normative for the region during the trading period.²⁷

There were eight major epidemic diseases that European contact brought to the natives: smallpox, malaria, measles, influenza, dysentery, whooping cough, typhus and typhoid fever. These outbreaks often aligned with European expeditions or ventures. In addition to these, venereal disease (gonorrhea and syphilis) was incredibly rampant where European outposts were established, whether at Nootka Sound or New Archangel (Sitka).²⁸

By far the most impactful and deadly of all diseases was smallpox. The virus ended up affecting all of the tribes from the northern Eyak and Tlingit all the way to the southern Salish. The Tlingit infections almost certainly were brought by direct European contact, while the southern Salish outbreaks may have arisen initially from Spanish contact, as early as the Hezeta-Bodega expedition, or via Plains tribes which contracted it from Americans. Concurrent with these epidemics were other outbreaks such as measles or influenza, but they were significantly eclipsed by both the mortality and morbidity of smallpox. Eight different outbreaks from 1774 to 1874 decreased the population of the natives from approximately 188,334 to less than 35,000, which is an astounding 82% population loss in a single century.²⁹

²⁷ Suttles, *Handbook*, 70–180.

²⁸ Suttles, *Handbook*, 137.

²⁹ Suttles, *Handbook*, 147.

was combined with tallow and tar. This concoction was applied to decks, ropes, masts, and other structures to aid in water proofing. Iron nails were not used due to rusting out, so trenails and wedges were used instead. Although many ships had similar length to width ratios of 3.5:1, with a depth of hull about half the width, each of the nations had nuanced designs based upon whether they favored speed or strength.³³ In all three expeditions, significant repairs and maintenance were completed while at the apogees of their routes.

A sailing ship's speed was the result of the relationship between rudder, sails, trim and stability. There are two primary forces acting upon a sailing ship, the wind and the water; when both work in concert with each other maximal speed is achieved.³⁴ A ship's sailing characteristics are not necessarily absolute. A skilled captain can maximize the full potential of a ship adjusting the different factors according to the current and wind. As important to the performance of the ship is the captain's ability to read the weather and water, as indicators of distant land and pending storms or other important events. Lastly, the skill of the ship's crew determined the amount of potential actually realized for a ship. In short, ships during the eighteenth century required layers of skill from top men to captains, as evident in each expedition.

Russia – Okhotsk

The Second Kamchatka Expedition originated in Petropavlovsk on the eastern side of Siberia, 4,215 miles from Moscow.³⁵ Bering founded Petropavlovsk in 1740 to support the expedition and future regional efforts as a follow-on base to Okhotsk, 730 miles to the northwest across the Sea of Okhotsk. Petropavlovsk's population came from western Russia and were

³³ Lavery, *Nelson's Navy*, 38.

³⁴ Sam Willis, *Fighting at Sea in the Eighteenth Century: The Art of Sailing Warfare*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 28-30.

³⁵ Petropavlovsk translates to Peter and Paul.

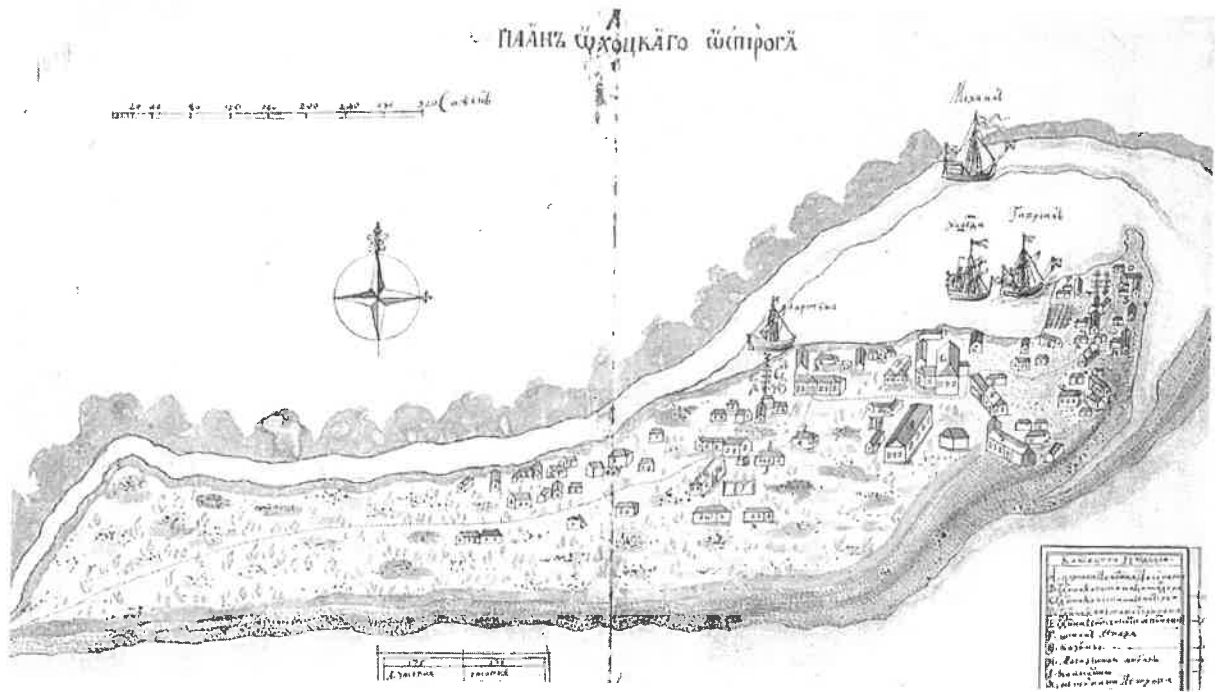


Figure 2: Plan of Okhotsk in 1737. (Source: "Plan of Okhotsk, 1737" Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts in Moscow)

All ironworks and specialized tools were brought overland via pack train across Mexico.⁴⁰ The occupants were characteristically cowboys not blue-water sailors, and the sailors that were present were accustomed to temperate brown water sailing along the Mexican and California coasts. It comes as no surprise San Blas' resources shaped Bodega's crew composition, ship construction, and overall voyage experience.

San Blas stands in stark contrast to Spain's Havana shipyard, which was the most developed naval shipyard away from Europe, capable of constructing ships of the line.⁴¹ Meanwhile, the largest ship constructed at San Blas was the frigate *Santiago* of 1773: a three masted frigate that was 62' long and 13' abeam, displacing 225 tons.⁴² The Spanish opted for a frigate, because frigates were the best general use ship. They mixed strength, firepower and speed; they were designed to operate independently, with unarmed lower decks which allowed greater heel in heavy seas, and in ideal conditions they could reach speeds up to 14 knots.⁴³ Accompanying the *Santiago* was the *Sonora*, a two masted goleta that was 33' long and 8'4" abeam, displacing only 59 tons and drawing 8' of draft.⁴⁴ The goleta was a Spanish version of the schooner, an American design prioritizing speed under sail as dispatch or messenger ships.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Michael E. Thurman, "The Establishment of the Department of San Blas and Its Initial Naval Fleet: 1767-1770," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 43 no. 1 (1963): 65-77.

⁴¹ Lavery, *Nelson's Navy*, 284.

⁴² Cook, *Flood Tide*, 550.

⁴³ Lavery, *Nelson's Navy*, 49.

⁴⁴ Cook, *Flood Tide*, 550.

⁴⁵ Lavery, *Nelson's Navy*, 55.

rigged topsail and a gaff rigged mainsail), with a copper sheathed hull that was 65' long and 21.5' wide. She displaced 135 tons, carried a crew of forty-five, and was armed with four 3-pounders and six swivel guns.⁴⁷ It was reputedly slow whenever it sailed in formation with the *Discovery*, yet when sailing alone and meeting at a destination, it usually arrived before the sister ship. The sluggishness is likely due to removal of eight tons of iron ballast in January 1791, which caused excessive heeling or improper trim due to inadequate counters to the torsional moment about the hull.⁴⁸ The *Discovery* was a three masted sloop of war built in 1789 at Rotherhithe, with a copper-fastened, planked over, copper sheathed hull that was 96' long and 27' wide. She had 15' draft, was armed with ten 4-pounders and ten swivel guns and required a crew of one hundred.⁴⁹ The use of copper was designed to prevent ship worm, as well as prevent growth of weed on the bottom, thereby increasing speed.⁵⁰ Of the three expeditions, the British ships were obviously of the highest quality and most durable construction.

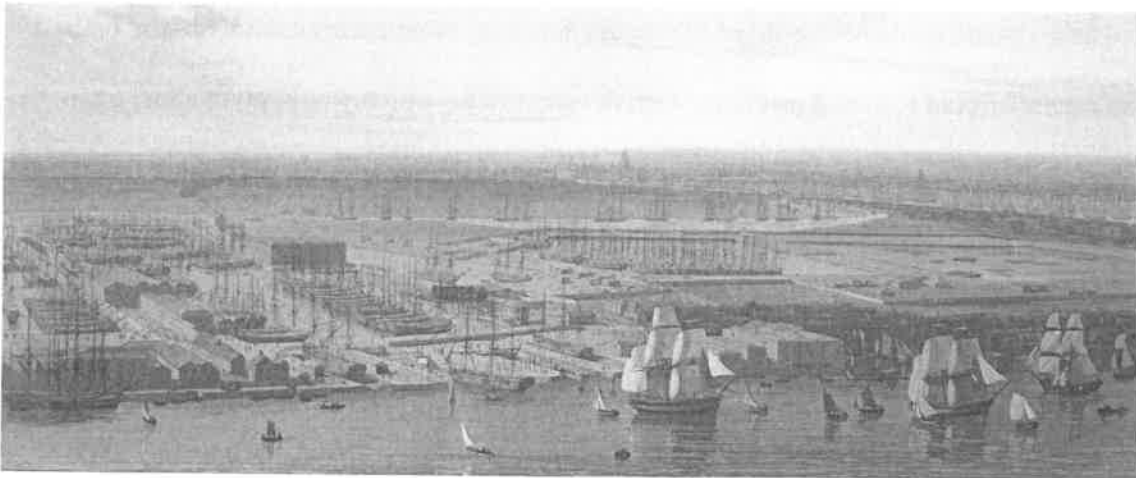


Figure 5: Painting showing the complexity and maturity of Rotherhithe Dockyard. (Source: William Daniell, "A View of the Commercial Docks at Rotherhite," 1 June 1813, British Library)

⁴⁷ Vancouver, *A Voyage*, vol I., xi.

⁴⁸ Naish, *Interwoven Lives*, 80.

⁴⁹ Vancouver, *A Voyage*, xi.

⁵⁰ Lavery, *Nelson's Navy*, 70.

difficult to get accurate measurements at equatorial latitudes due to the speed of the solar track. Meanwhile, Bodega and Puget both utilized the sextant which was smaller, constructed of metal, and an improvement over the quadrant. It operated on the same principle of finding celestial altitude in comparison to the horizon, but went to 120°, and was capable of greater accuracy because it allowed reading an angle to the nearest 10" of arc versus the quadrant's 30" of arc.⁵³

The previous two tools aided in the determination of latitude, but the determination of longitude was more problematic. Pinpointing longitude required trigonometry, lunar tables, and other difficult means. Captain Cook used lunar tables on his first voyage, but the chronometer was the best answer to this problem and was often used in conjunction with lunar tables. The shipboard environment was incredibly hostile to chronometers, due to temperature changes, high humidity, and constant and violent ship movement. The Bering-Chirikov expedition did not have a chronometer. Bodega, although trained on its use at San Blas, likewise did not have one.⁵⁴ However, both Vancouver and Puget had good quality chronometers aboard their ships, reflecting a century's worth of scientific study and government investment in these instruments. Specifically, K3 made by Mr. Kendall was aboard the *Discovery* and no.82 made by Mr. Arnold was aboard the *Chatham*.⁵⁵

The lead line is the oldest of the instruments presented here. It is a line with a weight of lead on the end, used to measure the ocean's depth and measured in intervals known as deeps or marks, which are 6' or one fathom apart.⁵⁶ This tool was extremely important as mariners broached strange shores to determine not only the depth of the ocean but also the consistency of

⁵³ Hewson, *Navigation*, 78, 83.

⁵⁴ Lang, *Explorers*, 58.

⁵⁵ W. Kaye Lamb, ed. *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, 1791-1795, vol I.* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1984), 309.

⁵⁶ Hewson, *Navigation*, 216.

their experience sailing with Captain Cook.⁶¹ They victualled sauerkraut (21mg of vitamin C per cup), brewed spruce beer (100mg per cup) and lemon rob (480mg per cup fresh, 120mg per cup after thirty days).⁶² There was vitamin C available in the Pacific Northwest in the form of spruce tea and rose hips. In 1795, the British Navy mandated 0.75 ounces lemon juice per day per sailor, nearly eliminating scurvy, but switched to lime juice during the war with Spain, where they secured most of their lemons.⁶³

VI. Aleksei Chirikov

Captain Aleksei Chirikov was born in Russia in 1703, the son of a Kiev provincial commandant and descendant of a Cossack chief. In 1715, he enrolled in the School of Mathematics and Navigation, which Peter I had founded to produce professionally trained officers for both the army and navy.⁶⁴ Chirikov was one of three hundred students studying mathematics, astronomy, and navigation. In 1716, based upon superior performance, Chirikov and nineteen other students transferred to the Naval Academy at St. Petersburg, where he studied advanced math, Mercator navigation, spherical navigation, geodesy, artillery, fortification, drawing, maritime architecture, marine steering, rigging, swordsmanship, musketry, civil architecture, law, and foreign languages. He also learned shipbuilding from Dutch shipwrights that the tsar had brought to Russia. The curriculum was French-styled or shore-based versus the sea-based British method.⁶⁵ The daily regimen included four hours of classroom lessons,

⁶¹ James Cook, *The Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the World*, vol III (London: Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1813), 90.

⁶² Jason Mayberry, "Scurvy and Vitamin C," Paper for Harvard Law School, 2004. [A Timeline of Scurvy \(harvard.edu\)](https://www.harvard.edu)

⁶³ Philip K. Allan, "Finding the Cure for Scurvy," *Naval History Magazine* 35 no. 1, (2021).

⁶⁴ Divin, *The Great Russian*, 27.

⁶⁵ Evan Wilson, AnnaSara Hammar, and Jakob Seerup, eds. *Eighteenth-Century Naval Officers: A Transnational Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 13-39.

On 4 June 1741 the Second Kamchatka Expedition departed Petropavlovsk at Avacha Bay on the Kamchatka Peninsula bound for *terra incognita*. Captain Commander Bering led the expedition aboard the *St Peter*, and Captain Chirikov seconded aboard the *St Paul*. On 13 June, the captains confirmed Juan de Gama Land as noted on the Delisle map did not exist at 46°N.⁶⁸ The ships became separated on 20 September 1741, after which they spent several days seeking to reunite before proceeding on their missions separately. Chirikov sighted Cape Addington and Coronation Island on 15 July 1741, and Bering sighted Mount St Elias on 16 July. The *St Peter* and *St Paul* made landfall at several locations including Kayak Island, the Shumagin Islands, St Lawrence Island, Attu Island, and other Aleutian islands.

Bering's ship, the *St Peter*, became stranded at Bering Island on 6 November 1741 due to the ravages of scurvy. Only eight of the crew were able to "look after themselves" and forty-nine were listed as severely ill. The supplies had dwindled to include merely six barrels of fresh water, a little meat, butter, and flour. The survivors ended up scavenging the *St Peter* for materials and constructed the hooker *St Peter*, which they used to sail on 10 August, arriving at Petropavlovsk on 26 August 1742. Altogether, Lieutenant Sven Waxel reported losing thirty-one men. Chirikov led a more successful voyage, returning with fifty-four scurvy-inflicted men, losing twenty-two men to accidents or scurvy.

The most significant event to occur on Chirikov's voyage, and the one that caused his eventual return to Petropavlovsk, was the loss of the *St Paul's* two rowboats and fourteen of its crew. Losing the two rowboats prevented replenishment of freshwater, and combined with scurvy, forced the *St Paul* return to Petropavlovsk, leaving Alaska on 26 July and reaching port

⁶⁸ Golder, *Bering's Voyages*, 58.

recommendations, but they left the route up to “the professor from the Academy of Sciences” Louis de L’Isle de la Croyere, Bering and his officers. The Admiralty sent this to the Senate, who approved and published a subsequent Ukaz.

Chirikov could have allowed the expedition to proceed under conflicting guidance, and pursued the routes thought best by the Captain Commander. Should that have happened, the expedition might have turned out differently. Perhaps upon making landfall both vessels might have taken a southerly heading and made way towards Mexico, and at some point, have been a catalyst for potential conflict between Spain and Russia. Spain was incredibly protective of their colonial possessions, were French allies, and Franco-Russian relations were souring.

The scenario illustrates several key aspects of competency-based leadership.⁷¹ First, military leaders must have substantial theoretical education, practical training and operational experience in order to bolster their decision-making capacity. Chirikov possessed a profound depth of navigational knowledge due to his ten years in academics as a student and professor and eight years afloat or exploring the Siberian wilderness. He recognized the inconsistencies were likely to undercut the potential success and value of the expedition. Therefore, he boldly presented the factual errors between the differing guidance and provided a fact-based recommendation.

Chirikov demonstrated excellent assertive followership. Effective leadership requires the leader to also be an effective follower, because everyone works for a superior. As Air Force Chief of Staff General C.Q. Brown stated in a lecture to the United States Naval War College, he continually seeks to understand the command intent from two echelons up, in this case the President of the United States. Chirikov was assigned to Bering, but he clearly thought critically

⁷¹ Robert Hogen and Robert Kaiser, “What We Know About Leadership,” *Review of General Psychology* 9, no. 2 (2005): 169-180.

Anticipating problems, developing potential solutions, and conducting a game to evaluate the solution's suitability are hallmarks of anticipatory leadership.⁷⁵ Chirikov's journal does not contain any indication of surprise relating to the separation of the *St Paul* and *St Peter*. This supports the notion that the separation was anticipated. The immediate execution of the procedures to return as close as possible to the estimated point last seen and conduct the requisite search indicate the solution was not only palatable, but also well understood. The decision to proceed to the unknown immediately upon conclusion of the search period also indicates the scenario was gamed ahead of time. No time was lost discussing the potential of turning back, or which heading to take.

Another scenario useful for developing leadership lessons occurred on 18 July 1741. Chirikov gave written orders to Fleet Master Dementiev to take a party of ten armed men ashore to determine the suitability of an area as a berth, and to bring back fresh water. The shore party was outfitted with a compass, small lead, two empty water casks, a grapnel and a cable. Later in the day the wind and waves grew increasingly hostile and prevented the *St Paul* from remaining at anchorage. Chirikov took meticulous notes to isolate the location. On 23 July, enveloped in fog, the *St Paul* fired two shots to contact the shore party. After several hours the fog lifted, and the crew noticed a smoldering fire on the shore. Having seen no sign of native inhabitants, they assumed it was their men and fired seven more shots. The fire blazed, but no boat made way towards their position. As night fell, they hung a lantern on the ensign staff, but by daylight the fire on shore was no longer visible.

On 24 July, Chirikov convened the higher and lower officers, and all agreed in writing to send out their remaining rowboat to determine the problem with the rowboat and recover the

⁷⁵ Anika Savage and Michael Sales, "The Anticipatory Leader: Futurist, Strategist and Integrator," *Strategy & Leadership* 36, no. 6 (2008): 28-35.

match those given by Chirikov, and there is a petroglyph of a two-masted ship with a significant bowsprit on the shore.⁷⁸

Compounding this, he noted that Nathaniel Portlock's 1789 memoirs support this location. They document a story Portlock was told by a Tlingit Chief in the vicinity of the Lisianski Strait in 1787. The chief, wearing a European coat from a nation he couldn't distinguish, told of a two masted boat to the northwest that lost a small row boat some years before. The men in the boat all drowned while fishing, which is the worst death in the Tlingit culture. Both the nature of the demise and the singular significance of the first European contact would logically cause the oral history to persist generationally. Following this sound argument, the most likely cause of their demise was the current, combined with tidal surge, gale force winds, and surface waves that capsized the boats.

Although Chirikov thought it had been native aggression, a Kaisun Haida story told in 1905 shows the natives were also afraid of the Europeans. The natives thought it was one of their malevolent deities with little ravens flying about it and therefore sent an old man at the end of his life to investigate. The ravens, they found out, were topmen in the rigging, but the strange looking men still frightened the Haida.⁷⁹

During this saga, Chirikov twice demonstrated a democratic or participatory leadership method, where he sought candid input from his officers. The first was the decision to leave fourteen of their men and both ship's boats ashore and proceed with the expedition, while the second was to leave American shores and return to Avancha Bay. Without a doubt, leaving behind the crew was an emotionally difficult decision, not to mention the impact it had on

⁷⁸ Allan Engstrom, *Yakobi Island: The Lost Village of Apolosovo and the Fate of the Chirikov Expedition* (Juneau: Allan Engstrom, 2006), 21.

⁷⁹ Erna Gunther, *Indian Life on the Northwest Coast of North America as Seen by the Early Explorers and Fur Traders during the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 121.

Senate. He displayed remarkable strategic forecasting when he and Bering anticipated separation. Their development and gaming of the solution mitigated risk to the expedition. Lastly, he presented two great examples of democratic leadership where he engaged key stakeholders in contentious decisions when he left his crew ashore and terminated the expedition early. These leadership examples are enduring.

VI. Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra

Juan Francisco de la Bodega's ancestors were landowning noblemen from the Basque country of Spain.⁸⁴ His father, sent by his grandparents to Lima as a youth, married a Peruvian aristocratic creola. Bodega began his formal education at the University of San Marcos in Lima studying an Enlightenment-influenced curriculum. He then enrolled in the Academia de Guardias Marinas in Cadiz, Spain, for three years, graduating as a midshipman aged eighteen. He was assigned to the 74-gun warship *Terrible* in the Mediterranean, followed by a second Mediterranean tour aboard the *Princesa*. He was promoted to Junior Ensign during his third tour aboard the *Garzota* and was transferred to a smaller vessel, the *Ibizenco*. Ensign Bodega's next assignment aboard the *Septentrion* took him back across the Atlantic to Argentina, then around Cape Horn to Chile and Peru. During his return voyage he was promoted to Senior Ensign.

Upon his return to Spain, he requested leave to travel to Veracruz on family matters. His request was denied, but instead he was offered a posting at San Blas. He jumped at the opportunity and earned his promotion to Junior Lieutenant during the Atlantic crossing to Veracruz. Upon arrival at Veracruz, he traveled overland to Mexico City, then San Blas. After the expedition—about which more momentarily—he was promoted to Senior Lieutenant and recommended for the Knight of the Order of Santiago. In 1777, the Viceroy of New Spain sent

⁸⁴ Beals, *Four Travel Journals*, 78-110.

he did not conduct formal acts claiming land for Spain and evict any settlements along the way. He appointed Don Bruno de Hezeta as the expedition's commander aboard the *Santiago* and gave him orders to explore up to 60°N, mapping shorelines, inlets and port, and taking possession of "those lands."⁸⁵ Two packet ships were sent to San Diego and Monterey with provisions as floating caches in support of the expedition. Hezeta was given specific orders to find the entrance to San Francisco Bay, which was geographically difficult to identify. Initially, Bodega was not assigned to the expedition. However, once he learned of the *Sonora's* addition to the expedition, and after he appraised the small size of the ship as well as the composition of the crew, he requested assignment to the ship. The ship's captain, Don Juan de Ayala, was equal in rank, which Bodega acknowledged. Ayala's Spanish background trumped Bodega's mixed heritage, which is why it was not surprising that Bodega was assigned under a Spaniard of equal rank. Bodega reasoned that he had substantial experience at sea, which would be useful to contend with the extreme weather and ocean conditions.

On 16 March 1775, the expedition departed San Blas and sailed throughout the night. Almost immediately, the *Sonora's* crew realized they could not keep pace with the *Santiago*. Bodega initially blamed strong currents because the *Sonora* had a reputation as an "exceedingly swift sailor."⁸⁶ On 19 March, a scant three days into the expedition, the packet boat *San Carlos'* captain, Senior Lieutenant Miguel Manrique, had a mental breakdown and was transferred ashore. Commander Hezeta transferred the *Sonora's* captain to the *San Carlos*, and Bodega assumed the *Sonora's* captaincy.

The expedition's progress was slow, due to the poor construction and condition of the *Sonora*, which could barely keep pace with the *Santiago*. She made only two knots under full

⁸⁵ Beals, *Four Travel Journals*, 85.

⁸⁶ Beals, *Four Travel Journals*, 86.

and winds would overwhelm them. Bodega sought to not only appeal to their logic, but also their vanity, reminding them of the glory they would obtain if the expedition succeeded.⁸⁸

On 21 May, Hezeta convened a meeting to determine if the expedition should make berth at Monterey at 36°N due to the heavy winds and sea. Bodega argued this was too cautious and there was no justification for it. He recommend attending to the sick 450 nautical miles further north, at 43°N (in the area of Coos Bay) since it provided a preferable anchorage due to the ample fresh water. Hezeta agreed, although in the event, the ships replenished water on multiple occasions prior to that latitude. During an inspection of the *Sonora*'s foretopmast and bowsprit during one of these resupply stops, further damage to the structural integrity of the ship was also noted, with the hull's "futtock timbers split... completely useless and incapable of holding a nail."⁸⁹ Despite the ship's poor condition, Bodega, Mourelle and the remaining crew all agreed they could mitigate the risks and push the schooner's limits, thereby continuing the expedition. On multiple occasions, Hezeta and the *Santiago*'s lieutenants attempted to convince Bodega and Mourelle to terminate the expedition and return home. Each time, both *Sonora* officers convinced Hezeta to continue exploring further north. Arguably, without Bodega and Mourelle, the expedition might have enjoyed only a portion of the success that it did.

Throughout June, Bodega worked to repair and improve the *Sonora* so she would not need to be towed by the *Santiago*. The expedition had several positive interactions with the Yurok tribes in present-day northern California, but that pattern did not continue as they made their way north. On 13 July, while anchored at the mouth of the Quinault River in present-day Washington State, the expedition had its first violent encounter. While waiting for the tide, Bodega sent six men ashore to refill water and wood stores, as well as to cut a masthead cap.

⁸⁸ Beals, *Four Travel Journals*, 91.

⁸⁹ Beals, *Four Travel Journals*, 92-93

The ships sailed towards 49°N latitude in increasingly difficult conditions. Scurvy became increasingly prevalent, and dwindling water and food supplies caused Bodega to restrict rations. Bodega and Mourelle applied the same restrictions to themselves as an example for the crew. The *Santiago* suffered similarly, and on 11 August, after four months at sea, Hezeta decided to part with the *Sonora* and return to San Blas.⁹²

Now sailing solo, the *Sonora* reached Guadalupe Harbor⁹³ on Kruzof Island in the Sitka Sound on 18 August, where two native canoes laden with four men and four women made signs for the crew to come ashore. Bodega declined and sought another harbor, which they found at Sealion Cove on the northwestern side of Kurzof Island. There was a single native dwelling ashore that housed nearly twenty natives, who remained within their dwelling. Bodega set anchor and led a shore party of fourteen well-armed men to gather water, firewood and another top mast. The natives approached the crew with a white flag seeking recompense for the water. The Europeans offered beads, but the dissatisfied natives left and returned with stone tipped spears. Bodega demonstrated restraint and confronted the natives without firing upon them; the natives retreated.⁹⁴

The *Sonora* continued for another couple of weeks, but scurvy continued to attrit the crew. By 30 August, seven additional men were brought down by scurvy, leaving only two men on each watch with one manning the helm.⁹⁵ Bodega assessed the remaining men were showing symptoms and therefore he decided to terminate the expedition and return to San Blas. On their return, they were hit with a major storm that damaged the ship and flooded the vessel with so

⁹² Beals, *Four Travel Journals*, 110.

⁹³ Guadalupe Harbor was also known as Del Susto by Bodega, Norfolk by James Cook, and Tchinkitane Bay by Charles Pierre Claret de Fleurieu.

⁹⁴ Beals, *Four Travel Journals*, 112.

⁹⁵ Beals, *Four Travel Journals*, 120.

natives. By 8 October they reached Monterey, and after several weeks of recovery, departed for San Blas on 1 November, returning without further incident.

There are three episodes where Bodega's behavior provided solid leadership examples for military leaders: the manner in which he dealt with a substandard ship and poorly experienced crew, his response to repeated pressure from Hezeta to return to San Blas, and his acceptance of Hezeta's refusal to let him avenge his ambushed crew.

Almost immediately upon assumption of his captaincy, Bodega's intuition indicated the condition of his ship and the capability of his crew were suspect. Intuition—specifically intuitive judgment—as it relates to leadership, means making holistic, coherent associations of information from disparate sources and using it to solve a problem. There are several factors that influence the effectiveness of intuitive judgement. Previous explicit and implicit learning must be based upon relevant stimuli and practice, paired with repetitive and accurate feedback, as shown in Figure 9 below.⁹⁸ Captain Bodega repeatedly demonstrated successful intuitive judgement throughout the expedition in relation to his ship's condition. Based upon a decade at sea, Bodega surely recognized the potential inadequacies of both the ship and the crew's training or experience. He leveraged his experience to adjust the *Sonora*'s ballasts and rigging for optimal speed. His experimentation increased speed from two to three knots, or fifty percent. However, he recognized that unless he significantly modified the architecture of the ship, he would never keep pace with the *Santiago*. Therefore, while making northern progress, he rebuilt the topmasts and modified the rigging to improve the actual capabilities of his ship. Eventually, the improvements he made to the ship allowed it to keep pace with *Santiago*. This mitigated collision risks to both ships, allowed a lower level of mutual stress due to heightened vigilance,

⁹⁸ Erik Dane and Michael G. Pratt, "Exploring Intuition and Its Role in Managerial Decision Making," *Academy of Management Review* 32 (2007): 33-54.

baseline was unsatisfactory for the projected demands of the northern latitudes. Thus, he leveraged a form of stress inoculation to prepare them for expeditionary rigors. According to a Rand study for training Air Force special operators, stress inoculation is effective, and builds “resistance to stress” through “training and exposure to stressful stimuli.”¹⁰⁰

Despite numerous sailors seeking transfer to the frigate *Santiago*, feigning illness, and deeming assignment to the *Sonora* as the worst punishment, Bodega pushed the crew to sail hard. Through direct orders, and positioning either Mourelle or himself at the watch, he ensured the crew grew accustomed to sailing under full canvas at full heel. Eventually, the journals ceased discussion of frightened crew except for two instances, when both Mourelle and he were afflicted with scurvy, and during the 6 September storm that nearly sank the *Sonora*. This is indicative of the effectiveness of normalizing the crew to their environment aboard the ship, and aligns with the Rand study which states “preexposure to the stress reduces the novelty of [the] stressful tasks and increases the likelihood of a positive expectation, a greater sense of predictability and control, and a consequent reduction in both physiological and emotional reactivity.”¹⁰¹ Rand reviewed thirty-seven studies that used control groups, and found this method effectively reduced both performance and generalized anxiety, since the stress stimuli and tasks exactly replicated the *Sonora*’s future scenarios.

Captain Bodega provided a third leadership example when he persevered despite repeated and emphatic pressure from Hezeta and the *Santiago*’s officers to return early to San Blas. Perseverance has several salient definitions. Positive psychology defines it as a “voluntary

¹⁰⁰ Sean Robson and Thomas Manacapilli, “Enhancing Performance Under Stress: Stress Inoculation Training for Battlefield Airmen,” RAND Corporation, 2014, https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR750.html.

¹⁰¹ Robson and Manacapilli, “Enhancing Performance,” 8.

they must realize the inherent potential of both. Should that performance level not satisfy mission requirements, they must adapt to improve the potential of both people and equipment in order to create a new performance capacity. Additionally, perseverance is well served by a high level of conscientiousness. Empirical evidence indicates the latter is the primary trait indicative of potential for successful leadership, but leaders must persevere despite both internal and external negative pressures.

VII. Peter Puget

Peter Puget was born into the mercantile class in 1765 on Winchester Street, London and was a descendant of Huguenot immigrants.¹⁰⁷ His father was a banker who died when he was two. In 1778, Puget joined the navy aboard the *Dunkirk*, where the ship's master taught him mathematics and the use of navigational instruments. Two years later, he was rated midshipman and transferred to the *Syren*, captained by Edward Dodd. Aboard this ship, he sailed the Channel and North Sea. He subsequently followed Dodd to the *Lowestoft*, a 64-gun ship that sailed to Antigua.

In 1782, at the age of seventeen, Puget was sent ashore at St Kitts to reinforce the garrison. When British forces surrendered while under siege at Brimstone Hill on Mount Misery, Puget escaped to join Admiral Samuel Hood and participated in the successful counterattack. Puget saw subsequent combat ashore against the French at Fort Berrington, St Lucia. Following his Caribbean tour, he was transferred to the *Thetis* at Gibraltar.

The next year, Puget was again sent to the Caribbean aboard the *Europa*. For the next three years, Puget served alongside George Vancouver and Joseph Whidbey. He again sought

¹⁰⁷ Naish, *Interwoven Lives*, 70-74.

Vancouver's orders were to sail to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) and survey them for the winter, and then to survey the American coast.¹⁰⁹ The expedition ended up being more complicated than originally planned. In April 1792, Vancouver was ordered to meet with a Spanish officer at Nootka Sound to assume possession of infrastructure that the Spanish had previously confiscated from British fur trader John Meares. Vancouver was also directed to explore between 30°N and 60°N to find a transcontinental waterway, navigable by deep-sea sized ship; he was told to avoid lesser waterways. Following this, he was to survey South America along "Chiloe." His instructions mandated cooperation with any surveying Spanish explorers and peaceful interactions with both Europeans and natives alike. The Admiralty indicated he could expect follow on orders at Nootka or while wintering in the Sandwich Islands. These subsequent orders relieved Vancouver of the necessity of exploring "Chiloe" and indicated he was to remain north of 30°N, unless necessitated for safety purposes.

Discovery carried a crew of 145 officers, sailors, and civilian experts, many of whom previously served together.¹¹⁰ First Lieutenant Zachary Mudge was a *Europa* shipmate of Puget's from a distinguished Plymouth family and connected to the Pitt family. Puget was Second Lieutenant. Third Lieutenant Joseph Baker and Master Joseph Whidbey were both former *Europa* shipmates. Master's Mate Thomas Manby was from Norfolk gentry and connected to Lord Townshend of the Admiralty. The expedition's botanist (and later surgeon) Alfred Menzies was sponsored by Sir Joseph Banks. Finally, the experienced William Broughton commanded a crew of forty-five aboard the *Chatham*, with Lieutenant James Hanson, and Master James Johnstone. The young Baron Thomas Pitt II was also assigned as an able seaman;

¹⁰⁹ Vancouver, *A Voyage*, vol I, xvii-xxix.

¹¹⁰ Vancouver, *A Voyage*, 1:xii-xiii; Naish, *Interwoven Lives*, 80-93.

a stalemate ensued. Bodega was the Spanish officer in charge of Nootka during this time. He heard new testimony from eyewitnesses falsifying John Meares' testimony about his (Britain's) rights to Nootka. Vancouver likewise heard this testimony and sought guidance from the Admiralty about how to proceed. Therefore, he sent *Discovery's* First Lieutenant with a letter updating the Admiralty and seeking guidance aboard a ship to Britain via China. Puget was promoted to First Lieutenant. When the expedition joined the support ship *Daedalus*, whose commander was murdered in Hawaii, Vancouver assigned *Chatham's* First Lieutenant James Hanson as replacement. Puget was then assigned as First Lieutenant of *Chatham*. A short while later in California, Vancouver sent Broughton overland to board a Spanish ship bound for England, with a similar letter to Mudge's in his hands. Puget was then promoted to command *Chatham*.¹¹²

Archibald Menzies' role is notable because there was no equivalent on the Spanish or Russian expeditions. He was assigned as a botanist to the expedition by a wealthy and connected sponsor. Menzies reported to this sponsor, and not to Vancouver. A similar situation had occurred during Cook's expedition, but Cook successfully countered the botanist and his whims, which Vancouver witnessed as one of Cook's officers.¹¹³ Vancouver was frustrated that he was unable to do the same and the quarterdeck was encumbered with a greenhouse and gardening equipment, creating a top-heavy ship. Nevertheless, Vancouver learned to value Menzies, and he later recruited him as his ship's surgeon, a move that significantly bolstered the expeditions' health. This tension is important, because Menzies sent numerous letters complaining about Vancouver to Banks. One included his opinion that *Chatham's* Master James Johnstone was

¹¹² Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery*, vols I & II; vol III, 54-55, 169.

¹¹³ The botanist on Cook's voyage was Sir Joseph Banks. Banks' personal experience likely affected Menzies' relationship with Vancouver's expedition.

crew had significant dealings with the islander natives, Vancouver assigned Puget ashore handling trade operations, probably because of his shore-based combat experience.¹¹⁹

Typically, interactions with natives were peaceful, though not always. On 12 August 1793, musket volleys were fired to disperse an attack, while on 11 May 1792, *Daedalus*'s captain and astronomer were killed in Waimea. The afternoon of 21 May 1792, while Whidbey and Puget were surveying Puget Sound in the cutter and yawl, they stopped for lunch atop a sixteen-foot cliff along the shore.¹²⁰ Puget had Menzies along and brought four armed men ashore. Six canoes with twenty native men beached near their boat. Puget had previously traded with three of the natives, who wanted copper or firearms. Puget noted the natives engaged in a discussion among themselves, the result of which was that they armed themselves with bows and came ashore. One of the natives ascended the cliff with an arrow nocked ready to lead the assault on the small British party. Puget confronted the man and backed him down. The natives discussed further, then engaged in trading their bows with the British for various goods. Puget remarked that he didn't cut the natives down because they likely didn't understand how much an advantage the British held in firepower and position. Throughout his journal, Puget describes natives or their dwellings and culture with a fairness not common to Europeans of the era.¹²¹

The region's complexity resulted in several instances where the larger ships ran aground. The *Chatham* ran aground on 1 June 1792 near Whidbey Island during a moment of inattentiveness by the leadsman, who was flogged for it. She also ran aground on the Peacock Spit in the dangerous mouth of the Columbia River, but Broughton managed to dislodge the ship. Later, in the Queen Charlotte Strait, both *Chatham* and *Discovery* ran aground on shoals due to a

¹¹⁹ Naish, *The Interwoven Lives*, 71, 103-108; Vancouver, *A Voyage*, 102, 171.

¹²⁰ Anderson Bern, "The Vancouver Expedition: Peter Puget's Journal of the Exploration of Puget Sound May 7-June 11, 1792," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 30, no. 2 (April 1939): 199-201.

¹²¹ Blumenthal, *With Vancouver*, 33-36.

arrogance, or exploitation.¹²⁵ In establishing social credibility it is vital to remain humble, that is to “modestly estimate one’s own importance.”¹²⁶ The two traits are mutually complimentary, and although not listed as one of the ten Air Force leadership traits assessed on the Airman Comprehensive Assessment, it most appropriately falls under Emotional Intelligence, which includes self-awareness. The need for trustworthy humble and credible officers has persisted across the centuries.

Puget’s case study provides an opportunity to apply social identity and relational constructionism because of the intertwined lives of many of the crew’s officers. The extensive history Puget had with Vancouver helped to create a shared social identity based upon self-categorization theory, which states that people manifest themselves into groups and begin considering themselves as “we” and tend to “stick together.”¹²⁷ Meanwhile, relational constructivism focuses more on the actual iterative process of relations between these identities, and the subsequent impact of these relations on further constructing identities and the ordering of power.¹²⁸ Both theories complement each other, and seek to describe how cohorts of people relate to their social context and develop expectations for behavior of members, non-members, followers and leaders. Psychodynamic role orientations are important in this relationship; followers play an important role in endorsing leaders with their actions—legitimate authority or rank aside—or in their “state of being” followers. Under this paradigm followers are viewed as

¹²⁵ Mitra Paroma, *Narcissistic Personality Disorder* (Florida: StatPearls Publishing, 2023).

¹²⁶ Alex Rathmun, “Humble Leaders,” *Marine Corps Gazette* 96 no. 2 (2012): 25-27.

¹²⁷ Marenne Mei Jansen and Roos Delahajj, “Leadership Acceptance Through the Lens of Social Identity Theory,” *Armed Forces & Society* 46, no. 4. (2020): 657-677.

¹²⁸ Dian Marie Hosking, “Moving Relationality: Meditations on a Relational Approach to Leadership,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Leadership* edited by Alan Bryman, David Collinson, Keith Grint, Brad Jackson and Mary Uhl-Bien (London: SAGE Publications Inc., 2017), 464.

deliberately raised with a preference for aggressive action to close with and destroy the enemy. Additionally, contemporary European society classified natives as “them” and labeled them as “savages,” which dehumanized them as sub-humans that enabled moral disengagement and mass atrocities.¹³¹ Yet Puget clearly did not follow suit, often demonstrating genuine curiosity and fairness when assessing natives’ character or culture. He deliberately considered their actions, leveraging System-2, or effortful reasoning, when thinking about them.¹³² This helped Puget not fall victim to confirmation bias, which could have resulted in a massacre of an entire village’s adult male population. In addition, his crew might have suffered casualties that could have jeopardized his mission. Puget’s willingness to acknowledge their mutual cultural ignorance is exemplary cognitive dexterity for modern military leaders. The expeditionary nature of current operations places young officers in engagements with not only adversaries, but potentially also with armed third parties. These officers must refrain from labeling or dehumanizing non-allies in order to accurately assess the myriad scenarios that may arise. If self-aware leaders refrain from negatively categorizing out-groups, then their decision calculus will have a higher potential for yielding optimal results.

VIII. Conclusion

Maritime history is rich with lessons for modern military leaders that endure through the centuries. Despite differing physical domains or technologies, officers from various services should study maritime history. This project highlighted several leadership lessons by reading and analyzing manuscript materials from one each Russian, British and Spanish expeditions. The

¹³¹ Johanna Ray Volhardt and Maggie Campbell Obaid, “The Social Psychology of Genocide and Mass Atrocities,” *The Social Psychology of Good and Evil*, edited by Arthur G. Miller (New York: The Guilford Press, 2016), 169.

¹³² A. Shleifer, “Psychologists at the Gate: A Review of Daniel Kahneman’s ‘Thinking, Fast and Slow’,” *A Source: Journal of Economic Literature* 50, no. 4, (2013): 1080-1091.

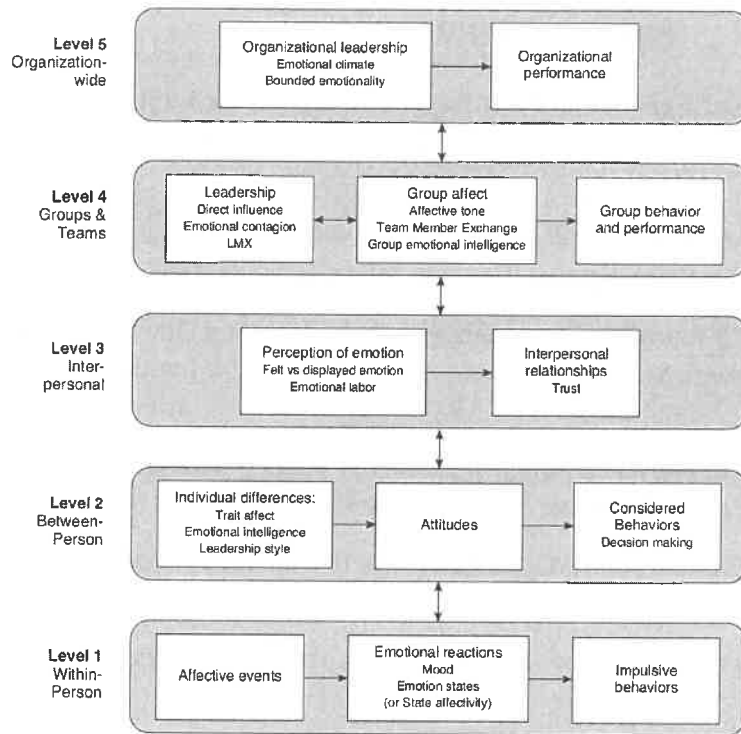


Figure 11: 5-levels of emotion and leadership analysis model. (Source: Neal M. Ashkanasy and Ronald H. Humphrey, "A Multi-level View of Leadership and Emotion: Leading with Emotional Labor," *The SAGE Handbook of Leadership*, edited by Alan Bryman, David Collinson, Keith Grint, Brad Jackson and Mary Uhl-Bien (London: SAGE Publications Inc., 2017), 365-379).

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