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	Treasurer	Philip Northcott	philip@beechtreebookkeeping.co.uk
	Secretary	Peter Skidmore	secretary@swmaritime.org.uk
	Journal Editor	Michael Bender	m.bender@exeter.ac.uk
	Newsletter Editor	Ray Fordham	soundings@southwestmaritime.org.uk
	Webmaster/Membership	Anne Pond	webmaster@southwestmaritime.org.uk
	Social Media	Joanne Thomas	Joannat0302@gmail.com
	Committee:	Dr Michael Bender, Dr Michael Duffy, Peter Ferguson, Dr Maria Fusaro, Peter Holt, Mike Williams, & Paul Wright	

Membership Secretary: All correspondence relating to membership, offers of assistance and meetings, should be send to Anne Pond at email: webmaster@southwestmaritime.org.uk

Subscriptions: The Annual Subscription is £20 payable by Direct Debit to the Treasurer or Membership Secretary:- Philip Northcott, Beechtree Bookkeeping Ltd, 9 Wallaford Road, BUCKFASTLEIGH, Devon, TQ11 0AR. Tel: 07713 155201
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MARITIME SOUTH WEST

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Front Cover	Tim Beattie. The last rowing ferryman between Flushing and Greenbank, who retired in 1926
Rear Cover	David Clement, Editor <i>Maritime South West</i> , 1991-2019, by kind permission of Dina Clement

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ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS (in their own words)

Tim Beattie

Tim Beattie is a comparative latecomer to maritime history, having come across a copy of Woodes Rogers's 'A Cruising Voyage Round the World' and, after getting over the fact that it wasn't a tale by some yachtsman in the mould of Slocum or Worth, fell deeply for the world of Eighteenth Century piracy and privateering. Since then (about twenty years ago), he has completed a Ph.D at Exeter, written one book about privateering voyages and contributed to others. Until Covid he has been working as a volunteer researcher at the National Maritime Museum Cornwall, where he has been looking into the archives held there on Falmouth Harbour and Cornish maritime affairs.

beattiecarvedras@gmail.com

Mike Bender

I graduated many moons ago as a psychologist and worked as a clinical psychologist in London and the West Country. Returning to university, I undertook an M.A. and a Ph.D in English Literature, my thesis being on yachting literature between 1888 and 1945. This led me to focus on the history of yachting and he has written *A New History of Yachting* (Boydell & Brewer, 2017) and a number of articles on writers of interest to maritime historians. My most recent work is *Sunshine and Shadows: The Hidden Narratives of Arthur Ransome*, which has just been published by Amazon Press. I am a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, an Honorary Research Fellow in the History Department of Exeter University, and the editor of this journal.

m.bender@exeter.ac.uk

David Clement

See *Muckraker* in this issue

David Jenkinson

I can claim no seafaring experience. I am a geographer who worked in the British Council in Africa and Continental Europe. My maritime history interests come from my father's service as an RN engineer in 2 world wars and 3 civil wars. In retirement I have studied images of early modern ships in churches; west European mariners as agents of the Renaissance; lacustrine and maritime warfare in East Africa in the First World War; and historic ships on Delftware tiles on a Sidmouth fireplace, part of my project to remove the fireplace to be conserved and displayed in Sidmouth Museum.

My email address is dvdjknksn@gmail.com

Dick Lloyd

I met my wife sailing with the Island Cruising Club in 1966 on board *Hoshi*. We formed a charity, The Island Trust Ltd., in 1973 to get disadvantaged young people on the water. Initially we did a lot of dinghy sailing but the opportunity arose for us to purchase *Provident* which we owned for 7 years until circumstances made sailing her no longer viable for a charity. Subsequently we were lucky enough to receive sufficient money to enable us to build a boat along the lines of a Bristol Pilot Cutter, *Pegasus*, designed by the late Ed Burnett, which was launched in Bristol in June 2008, is coded for two staff and 10 passengers. We were then able to buy a 58ft 1906 Gaff Yawl, *Moosk*, which carries 8 passengers, and then more recently a 1945 96ft Topsail Schooner, *Johanna Lucretia*. The Trust, now based at Plymouth Yacht Haven, can thus take 30 guests/beneficiaries sailing each week all with a professional crew. We were pretty fully booked for the 2020 season until the Coronavirus pandemic struck. We had ambitions to add *Provident* to our fleet and retain her presence in the South West but these have been thwarted by the huge loss of revenue we are suffering, which also makes our present operation extremely difficult, but the Trust will survive and resume its operation as soon as

Government restrictions permit.

rfl@theislandtrust.org.uk

www.theislandtrust.org.uk

Dr Michael A Patrick

Retired from University teaching and research in 2002, having worked for 35 years at Exeter University and before that at Sheffield. He was fortunate to have research connections with the Admiralty and Royal Navy through much of his engineering career. His present interests are directed towards the recording the history of Topsham, particularly that associated with the export of woollen cloth in the 18th and 19th centuries.

M.A.Patrick@exeter.ac.uk

Joan Price

I am a chemist and have both worked in industry and taught 'A' level but have always been interested in the history of science. I started an MA with the Open University but choices were limited and I realised that there had been little study of the land/sea interface. I switched to Exeter and my supervisor was ideal: a geologist who was a German/Swede and an expert on Linnaeus. My dissertation was on the scientific work done on Cook's first voyage. After a trip to Australia, which included visiting friends in Albany W.A., I began a PhD looking at the scientific work done on early voyages to Australia. Fascinating though it was, I found it too isolating and my IT skills failing. Anything to do with the transport of flora and fauna by sea is of interest.

joanprice2@yahoo.co.uk

Jonathan Turner

I've always been interested in history, and having moved to Dartmouth, started looking at the maritime history of the town. Researching the owners of his house, discovered its first owner was a merchant captain, who'd also been Mayor of Dartmouth. An extensive paper trail across Kew National Archives, Devon & Exeter Archives, the archives of the Dartmouth Chronicle and the Devon History Research Group (DHRG) website uncovered a long and eventful life across late Georgian and early Victorian maritime history. As a member of the DHRG, I am now investigating the life and times of Dartmouth in 1620, linked to Mayflower 400. I am especially interested in Dartmouth (and the South Western ports) development of the Newfoundland fisheries, and the triangular trade, as well as the personalities of the merchants and shipowners of early Stuart Dartmouth. My final area of interest is the growth of England's trade with Portugal in the 17th and early 18th Century with particular focus on the role of Huguenot. I am still learning, and enjoying the world of maritime history research, and interested in hearing from others with similar interests.

Jonathan.turner@oxfordsm.com

Paul G Wright. MNM MSc BSc(Hons) Master Mariner FNI

Paul Wright has been involved in the international shipping industry for over 50 years. At the age of 13 he entered HMS 'Conway' Merchant Navy Training School. He joined Alfred Holt and Company (later Ocean Fleets) of Liverpool as an apprentice deck officer in 1966. He served as a deck officer on general cargo vessels, car ferries, passenger liners, and from 1976 on container ships operated by Overseas Containers Ltd. During his time with Ocean Fleets Paul completed a degree in Maritime Studies at the University of Wales, and achieved a Certificate of Competency as Master Mariner.



In 1979 he joined Plymouth School of Maritime Studies as a Lecturer. For 12 years he was involved with the training of cadets and deck officers for the UK Merchant Navy. Following the decline of UK Merchant Navy, Paul broadened his interests taking a Master's degree in International Shipping. He joined the International Shipping and Logistics Group, of what had become the University of Plymouth, becoming Head of Group between 2000 and 2006. His academic interests focussed on maritime business. In 2006 he became Associate Director, of the newly constituted Plymouth University Marine Institute.

Paul was awarded the Merchant Navy Medal for '*services to maritime training and to the Nautical Institute*' in 2013.

paulwright.plym@outlook.com

SCAVENGER

Being left in charge and taking over the helm, after so long standing on the quarter deck and observing, is a nerve-racking business. And I need to start, as usual, by thanking my ever-helpful colleagues in preparing this journal, namely Alison Bender and Kay Harding.

Recently, I was walking on a nearby headland thinking about this, and I remembered way back in the 1970s, there used to be radical magazines printed on rough paper. One was definitely *Red Rat* and I think there was another about schools, to be purchased from Compendium Bookshop, coming out of Camden Town station, just before the bridge over the canal on the right. Anyway, there was a cartoon in which a newly qualified teacher complains of all his radical ideas being thwarted by the head of speciality; in the next box, he is head of speciality but now his ideas are thwarted by the conservative Head of Department; and it goes on like this, till he has his feet on the table and there's a sign saying "Headmaster" and the strap line is "Now what were all those brilliant ideas I was going to introduce?"

Anyway, last year, David Clement ('Muckraker') and I shared editorial duties, and I outlined changes I wanted to make.

Much of what I wrote is, I think, still valid. What has changed for me is the increased importance I now attach to our publication and its importance among the other maritime history journals. And this is because in late November last year, I attended a conference on "The Craft of Writing Maritime History" organised by Greenwich University and the Society for Nautical Research.

Somewhere in my research meanderings, I came across the phrase "cultural cringe" which the Australian social commentator, A. A. Philips coined to describe the inferiority feelings of the Australian author or dramatist till he has "conquered" London. And I always had similar feelings, as I sit on the train up from Plymouth to attend a conference in London, organised by some well established body.

But not any more. The conference was, unfortunately, in a time warp, worthy of *Dr Who*, a hard sell by ageing, successful historians for paying your £50,000 for an undergraduate degree in History, then staying on for post-graduate study, and now, probably some £100,000 in debt, making a number of the chapters of your Ph.D into articles, turning the whole thing into a book, getting a tenured post and off you went. Simple. The fact that maritime history is deeply unfashionable and that most History post-doc students are either working in fast food outlets, or trying to survive on zero hour contracts, or both, was not going to be allowed to suggest that the picture being drawn had less relationship to reality than La-La land. (And, of course, the situation has become even more terrifying for casualised labour with the arrival of COVID-19. (For heart rending personal accounts of the double effects, get hold of the survey, 'Casualisation and COVID 19 at the University of Exeter' issued in June, 2020.))

So where does *Maritime South West* fit in? Well, to the extent that the editors of the other maritime history journals buy into the above nonsense, it leaves the field open; but we have other advantages, of course, mainly due to David's superb editorship over all these years. We welcome academics submitting their papers; and they won't have to go through the degradation and Establishment-maintaining and incredibly desultory peer review system. As with David, receipt of your paper and comments on it will occur promptly. You will also not suffer the frustration and the rudeness of writing to editors about the very receipt of the article or its progress, and getting no reply.

So, we can offer a much better and more nurturing relationship with authors, prospective or actual.

The second aspect where this journal can further establish itself as a leader in the field stems from the Ten Year Study of the four major maritime history journals, reported in last year's journal, and re-analysed more rigorously in the present issue.

To my mind, it is incontrovertible that there are *at least* twenty

important ways in which humankind relates to the sea and has tried to understand it. Yet, traditional academic maritime history is almost totally dominated by only two perspectives – naval history and the mercantile marine. As I report in my paper, these two areas account for 88% of all the articles in the four journals across the last ten years. As David was fond of saying, a plethora of such articles make the traditional maritime history journals boring, while he wanted *Maritime South West* to be wide ranging and a good read (and he saw the “South West” in the journal’s title as a bit of a misnomer. Anything that came up either side of the Longships would do nicely).

How can we make this journal the appropriate publication for all the other ways of relating to the sea? As I say, by being welcoming to prospective writers and by linking up with other overlapping areas of research and study and their organisations.

Two groups which obviously overlap are firstly *the family historians*, people researching members of their family who had nautical trades – the skippers of coastal traders, the shipbuilders, the shipwrights, even the captains of slave traders. And the other group is *local historians writing up their studies of sea ports and harbours*.

Publication should go hand in hand with face to face meetings, where there are talks and discussion about such work and we need, once this dreadful pandemic is over, to offer such get-togethers on a much more regular basis. Again, we need to be linking up with other groups. The committee has let this slip and this has been a lack.

I would very much like to see groups of articles on a given theme, be it the importing of rare plants by Falmouth packet captains to the owners of the amazing gardens in the West; the movement of ores and minerals to the coast etc. Such a group of papers (a “Forum”?) can be as academic or as local history society orientated as the authors wish.

MSW also needs to link with a lively Website that is kept up to date,

so that a wide range of people can to check out all but the most recent issue.

In these ways, *Maritime South West*, already a prestigious, well presented and well produced journal becomes a friendly way of people researching areas that overlap with the maritime to meet us and establish two way contact. The Mayflower celebrations, or what is left of them, and the opening of the Box, do, I think, provide for such opportunities for such meetings of minds.

As a small start to this process, our contributors are usually distinguished researchers in their own right. I have therefore asked contributors to provide a few lines about themselves and their work; and an e-mail address so that the interested reader can contact them; and I hope, once we are meeting again, that at each AGM, when you have the new issue in your hands, they will each talk for a few minutes about their work.

I am well aware of the Editor's responsibility. *Maritime South West* is the jewel in the crown of the South West Maritime History Society. It has a key part to play in what is hopefully a revival of maritime history. There is a huge range of talent and knowledge among our members and potential members. Your contributions and your articles can make the journal even more influential and an ever more important source of knowledge about the sea.

<><><><><>

Ein herzliches Willkommen für alle deutschen Studenten der Seegeschichte vom Redaktor,

Dr. Dr. Bender.



**David Clement, New Hampshire, 1993,
by kind permission of Dina Clement**

MUCKRAKER

For the present issue I very much wanted David to write a valedictory column, with some photographs from his large and deservedly famous collection, but sadly, his ill-health has made this impossible.

Fortunately, in 2019, which seems a very long time ago, I had the idea of a SWMHS monograph of key figures who developed maritime history in the Southwest and I interviewed Helen Doe, Mike Duffy, Alston Kennerley and David. (I also contacted David Starkey). I doubt if this idea will ever see the light of day, but I have edited my interview with David to give a flavour of the man and his contribution to maritime history.

Scavenger

Interview with David Clement, Exton, 14/03/2018

MPB: Tell me about your early days

DC: Well, my parents were Welsh. I was born in the Blitz and I was actually brought up on the farm in Wales for my first 5 or 6 years and primarily by my uncle and aunts. It was on the border between Carmathenshire and Glamorgan. We were in Glamorgan just – the river went across our farm that was the boundary. Obviously, I learnt Welsh from being home, as you do, because they were all Welsh-speaking.

My father had work in Exeter, so as a result, he bought a house in Exeter and we lived there. I went to school back in Exeter when I was about 5 or 6 and I finished my education there but I used to visit Wales – I used to look upon it, well I still do, as my proper home – Wales.

My maritime interests started when I was about 8 or 9, because my grandparents on my mother's side lived in Sussex and he ran a ship repair business in Southwick in Shoreham and part of his work used

to be working on the Danish and British schooners and ketches doing repairs.

And they had a bedroom in the house in Southwick where they lived, which was absolutely full of paintings and pictures etcetera from floor to ceiling and because it was wartime, I was asked to make a bonfire and break up the pictures for the glass, because the glass was very short with all the bombing; and I did that.

Anyway, I was asked to destroy all these paintings and I did and, in fact, I can remember building myself a hide in the back garden from the remains of the pictures because it was the glass that was being salvaged; and the one thing I kept was a couple of pictures of the ships my grandfather was involved in.

My grandfather died when I was about 8 or 9 or so. I can remember him giving me a ten bob note when he was lying in bed and I think he died shortly afterwards.

MPB: When did you first do any sailing?

DC: One of the people who's interested [in maritime history] is Peter Ferguson. His Dad was the Superintendent of the Royal Navy Dockyard at Pembroke and Peter and I used to play together when I was down on holiday and there was a scrapyard with old cars – 1920 and 1930 cars – and we used to play there and that's when I first met Peter Ferguson and he and I have been good friends ever since, and that would have been 1945 or '46, perhaps I was 5 or 6.

When I was on the farm and afterwards, I used to go and have summer holidays with my aunt, who was the District Nursing Superintendent for Pembroke and lived in Pembroke. Never married. When I used to go down there and stay, you could walk down to the old mill, which was part mill and part pub on the bridge at Pembroke, underneath the castle and the water was tidal. The waters used to come up to that point and opposite was – on the right bank – a shed which was Spillers Animal Feed, and the *Kathleen and May* used to travel there quite regularly, and I got to know the captain of it – came from

Appledore – Captain Jewell. He was the master and I badgered him and badgered him and he agreed to take me on a trip and we went from there just to Bideford and back again. Coming in on the way up, which I thought was magic, he kept chucking this bucket over the side. It was a sunny day, but very misty, very misty and as he came up, he chucked the bucket over, and took a taste of the water, and then altered course and sailed straight into the river [Torridge] and I thought that was absolutely magic and still do, because you couldn't see the river at all, but I know now he did it because he could taste the fresh water. I would have been about 17 or perhaps 15.

(And later I got interested in Thames Barges). I used to go sailing on the *Pudge* and the *Centaur*. At the time, they were based in Kent at Hooe – I'd go two or three times a year, 'cos I worked out of the London office. The captain of the *Pudge*, who's long since dead, he taught me a lot about sailing itself. The navigation I taught myself – I used to prefer not to navigate electronically but by doing sunsights and moonsights and things like this, 'cos I enjoyed the challenge of doing it.

MPB: You stayed at school till 17?

DC: I was quite good at (grammar) school, and, in fact, my form master wanted me to go to university, but my parents refused. I finished school about 17.

I was taken out of school to work because my parents weren't prepared to support me any longer – I was very fortunate because I joined an insurer doing claims and I was quite fortunate that the boss of the office was a lawyer himself and he encouraged me to follow in his steps.

And he used to sign the letters as they came in, he'd sign it with a B, because he was called Mr Brady – that was his name, John Brady, and a 'B' meant you had to refer it to him and you'd go there to him and you'd sit there and there was Tommy Wethering, the chief clerk in one chair, and him in the main chair and me and it wasn't just me,

it was all the staff – we used to have to go in sequentially and he'd say "Right, tell me what this is all about and what's the legal position etc. etc." and he'd say "Now, I think it's all in the Law Reports 1959, I think you'll find it on page 27" and I used to think the sun shone out of him and I still do, because his knowledge of the law was incredible. Now I realise that he actually only needed to know a small number of cases because most cases apply to different things.

I did my training to be a barrister under his pupillage, he was a barrister – you could then. I don't think you can any more. – that was why it was pupillage – about 6 or 7 years into my mid twenties ... then I got fed up and decided to join a loss adjuster .

I joined the company that I stayed with most of my working life – Baker & co. when I joined it, but within a month it had become Trundle, Heath and Baker, 'cos they merged 3 partnerships. I carried on with all the professional examinations and passed the lot. I became a partner in the company about 1972 and at the time I was the youngest partner the company had ever had.

My specialty was and always has been international construction law – building tunnels in Honk Kong, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, the underground. They come under local and international laws but if things go wrong, like there's a collapse... I mean I was in Hong Kong working and it was amazing.

On Monday I might be in one place in the Middle East and, by Thursday, I'd be in South America, and I only ever carried a briefcase. If I couldn't put the clothing in there and everything else I needed, I wouldn't bring it because you can always buy a shirt wherever you go and therefore I never lost a suitcase

MPB: So how did maritime history fit into all this work?

DC: I was still fascinated by maritime history and I was very good friends with Alex Hurst and David MacGregor. Hurst was qualified as a master mariner, but Erikson only allowed Finnish people or Aaland islanders to be master, so Alex Hurst was chief officer – no. 2.

MacGregor was an architect, not a naval background. He was probably very much like me – brought up and just very interested in the subject.

I was his executor and organised the transfer of his books and material to the *Great Britain* – he was going to leave it to Exeter University, but he wanted it open, as I would want mine to be able to be used by researchers generally; and Exeter University placed a restriction on the number of what we might call open tickets – I don't know what they call it; so that outsiders could go – to six, so it wasn't really accessible for general inquiries; and Basil Greenhill was going to leave his to Exeter as well and he found out the same thing and the two of them flatly refused to give it to Exeter.

MPB: When does Exeter University start making an appearance?

DC: Well, Professor Walter Minchinton – he was appointed to Exeter University. He came from Swansea to be [the first and last] professor of Economic History. They used to hold a maritime history conference once a year. It would be around April or May and the conference was held by Walter Minchinton and Stephen Fisher, who was the chief or senior lecturer. They were the two driving forces and the thing was held in Dartington Hall, as opposed to Dartington College and held in the Solar, which was an upstairs room adjacent to the restaurant and the Great Hall.

I think I attended every one that was held except the first. It was certainly in the '70s. And we were at a conference – and this goes back to South West Maritime – and yours truly had the idea of, instead of meeting just once a year, we meet more frequently and set up a little club and on the Sunday, we used to have lunch together, the attendees, and I sat at a table with Alston Kennerley, Walter Minchinton, Stephen Fisher and myself, and I broached the idea at that lunch and Alston agreed to see if he could arrange a meeting at the Planetarium that they have at Plymouth University.

Alston at the time was in charge of the department at Plymouth – not

sure if it was called Maritime History. I met Alston through Minchinton's group – the Minchinton Mafia as we used to call ourselves – he'd actually sailed on the *Pamir* as an apprentice or boy – just sailed on a voyage purely as a boy as Erikson used to make money out of it – either the *Pamir* or the *Passat*.

We circulated all of the attendees at the conference – it would have been about 40 or 50 and anyone else we could think of that might be interested. And at the inaugural meeting, we got 30 or 40 people to attend, most of whom were connected with the seminar and a few others – and I think we got about 32 people as our initial membership and that's when we started.

So after the meeting, we had 30 members which was the founding of South West Maritime. The energy was coming from the Department of Economic History at Exeter University, which had Fisher as its chief lecturer and Walter as its professor. I think they ran quite a successful course because they didn't just deal with the history of sailing vessels as such. They dealt with the history of the trade with Portugal, which was Stephen Fisher's big thing. And they attracted 'cos Walter was very well known in his own right and Celia King used to do the paper work for the Annual Conference.

Some of the early maritime conferences were written up [and published by the University Press as *Exeter Maritime Studies*] but that fell into disuse, which was a pity, because some of the papers were very good – Walter obviously found a lot of people with his connections in South Wales and other places. He was well known for being Walter. He announced himself (Laughs) that he'd be President of the Society before we'd even asked him, and he was President until he died. He's made his name on publishing books on economic history – we're not just talking about maritime. We might be talking of the cloth industry, the paper industry – he was very, very knowledgeable. He was Professor and Head of Department of Economic History.

I think the Society was founded in 1981. The first journal was 1985 –

Evan Davies edited it – he was at Britannia College – he only did the first one and then he had an up and a downer with Walter and left the Society. You had to know old Walter because if you gave him back as good as you got, he was fine. He used to get on with me, because I wouldn't suffer any ...

Volume One of the journal was 1985 and Volume 2 was done by Walter Minchinton and that was 1986 and then Volume 3 was 1987 and Volume 4, 1988 and he dropped it and I took over from 1991, so there's no journal from 1989 and 1991.

The first volume – Evan Davies used to live down in South Brent and he did the Newsletter and it changed to *Soundings* when I did it. The journal was only called *Maritime South West* after I took over because I chose the name – I got the idea from *Maritime Wales*, the Anglo-Welsh journal. They'd added *Maritime Wales* to the title. So, the name *Maritime South West* only came about in 1991. The previous issues were just called the *Journal of the South West Maritime*.

Exeter was one of the leading areas [for maritime history]. The other areas were Liverpool and Greenwich obviously, and there used to be others. In Glasgow, there used to be a big maritime interest there but that was primarily on ship-building and steel ship-building as opposed to non-metallic ship building.

At Greenwich, there was a lady in charge of that – Sarah Palmer. Sarah, she's a very, very nice person and she was doing a very good job and Joe Varley [friend of DC] was doing his Ph.D there and then they closed the Department down, which, to be fair, indicates to me the potential lack of interest there is in maritime history.

Liverpool Maritime Museum – Mike Stammers and his predecessor, Tomlinson [Edward Paget-Tomlinson] who was a very understated individual but his work was huge, and it was him, followed by Mike, who turned it around to the museum and the resource it is today.¹ Both are dead now. I can only say, I don't know, but it was the museum, rather

¹ A detailed obituary of Mike Stammers was written by Campbell McMurray in *The Mariner's Mirror* 99:2 (May, 2013), 132-35

than the university, that had the running and Liverpool, even today, is looked on as a good centre for maritime history. But their maritime history – Mike was slightly different because he was interested in coastal and national sail as well as anything else, but the museum is primarily about the trade from America to the UK, the majority of which came through Liverpool and it was also, of course, the entry port for the Manchester cotton trade and a lot of steamships used the Manchester Ship Canal – not many sailing ships. Some did but not many

MPB: Anyone else in maritime organisations you'd like to mention?

DC: Well, Louis Fischer – very good man. If it wasn't for him – there are records now in Newfoundland that wouldn't have been saved because they were in an old hanger at Heathrow and they were to be bulldozed into the ground – all the captains' logs had been kept. That was when you could access parts of Heathrow, because security is so high now you can't go anywhere near it – all the old log books, all the official logs and there was another lot was kept in Cardiff, at Llantrisant. If Louis Fischer hadn't grabbed them and transported them to Newfoundland, where he hailed from and saved them; and now they've been transcribed into electronic means. The whole maritime crowd deserve to give a great vote of thanks to Louis Fischer for what he did.

Other persons were Basil Greenhill, David MacGregor and Alex Hurst.

Basil became the curator of the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich and he wrote two of the books I got as a schoolboy: *Merchant Schooners*, Volumes One and Two, thereafter issued as a combined volume with a lot of stuff missing or taken out, but that nurtured my interest 'cos I got those books when I was still at school – 30 bob they were or one pound and ten shillings. He was the doyen of research.

David MacGregor was a very close friend and his specialty was clipper ships – their development and construction and the design of speed under sail. He wrote a number of books on that.

It was interesting because he wrote up boats launched up to the 1870s and early 1880s, and the arrangement was that I would carry on with the book which I'm still doing with the period after the 1870s/early 1880s, and effectively, that's the book that I've done and is ready for printing, which is up to the end of commercial sail, which postdates the loss of the *Pamir* and the damage to the *Pommern*, because after that, there was another 4-masted barque still going in Peru, and that was the last of them.

It covers primarily the 4 masted barques. The 4-masted is just an extension of the 3-master, so the form of rigging, and the type of cargoes etc. are very similar, but bearing in mind you had about four or five thousand vessels – you can do an individual index of that – I've got them all detailed, but the only ones I've written about are the 492 4-masted barques that covers, probably five or six hundred vessels under different names. I've covered all of them. I talk about some of the 3-masters but not in the same detail.

A lot of the vessels after they were owned by the British were sold off to the Norwegians and the Norwegians took a helluva lot of British tonnage to form their sail trading ships from the late 1890s to the early 1900s.

Erikson participated in the same way – he bought up tonnage as cheaply as he could and he didn't insure his vessels. He insured the cargoes they carried because that was a requirement of the bills of lading.

Malcolm Darch introduced Alex and I and we became very firm friends, and he used to come down and sail even though he had a broken hip. I can remember on one occasion we sailed up the Tamar to the pub at Cargreen and Alex, who'd broken his hip and couldn't walk properly hoisting himself up the ladder at the side of the

quay, walking off and getting the drinks in before I could catch him up (Laughs) – he did have one leg that worked. The kids liked him a lot because he was almost like a grandfather, because my grandfathers were dead before they came along. He was a very friendly man.

So, Alex Hurst and David wanted me to deal with the end of sail – I didn't reckon much to my collection at the time but all the folders and all the drawers behind it are full of photographs of ships. All of that chest of drawers and all the one behind the bar – that was David's wedding present. It used to be in the garden. Behind that is another chest of drawers and all those chests of drawers are full of photographs and there's thousands of them - 60 or 70 thousand ... I used to buy collections, swop collections. People would send me photographs from overseas, from South America – "ships that might interest you ..." The albums normally contain one hundred sheets, probably a thousand photographs an album – so at a rough guess, 70 albums, never counted them. Never really wanted to. And perhaps 5,000 books. Again, I've never counted them.

Alex gave me a sketch outline of "The 4-masters" – he gave me the schedule that he had done for 4-masted vessels. I checked that, found a few errors and corrected them and we saw Chatham publishers and they were quite interested and suggested I give the history of each vessel, rather than the bones – hull size, tonnage etc. – this was years ago, in the 1970s.

I thought that Chatham had quite a good idea and I had a number of log books myself of the vessels – I was able to check on exactly what they were doing day by day by day, by doing the schedules. That was how I developed so that it covered the history of the boat and it covered little things, like the mate getting a punch on the nose or complaints about the food or the weather or whatever. I was eventually able to trace the dates of the sailing movements, even within a harbour, the whole lot and type this up. Some boats got to 40 pages, some might be only 5 pages, but nevertheless, the information is the complete history of the vessel and if it [the boat] is lost, I'm normally able to get

hold of the report of the court of inquiry. Some of them you can't but most you can, so that goes in.

It's called *Square Rigger Sunset*. That takes its title from another book that I did, which was *Schooner Sunset*, published by Chatham, probably about 8 or 10 years ago. That was based upon the notes of an engineer from his time on the Irish boats and then some line drawings, which were very good, by him. Douglas Bennett, long since dead. I liked the title *Schooner Sunset*, so mine is called *Square Rigger Sunset*.

Mine's 600 pages plus, not as many as 700, including the Index when it's all done and that sits with the information on the schedules of the vessels. And the schedules probably got to another 6 or 7,000 pages, so you couldn't possibly do that as a book or books, unless you did a Fairburn – 8 volumes. He was an American author, who did something similar but covered the whole of the period from the first ship built in the United States to the last sailing vessel built in the United States.

A hard copy is everlasting, whereas the computer copy is only as good as the programmes that operate it. Fairburn was a Scottish engineer who emigrated to the United States and he lived just outside Bath, Maine. He died back in 1950. His book was never done for sale. It was done as a matter of record. The numbering is done by volume and there is another volume which is half the thickness of the others, which is the Index, which says 6-1 or 7-36. I'm very friendly with the librarian, who's now the head of the museum, and they were the holders of the spare copies and he said "Would you like a copy for your own researches?" which has been invaluable.

Besides that work. I'm interested in anything that's commercial sail. With Bob Andrew, I wrote the book about the sailing ships of Braunton. When he was in Braunton where he was born, he was known as Darcy as his Christian name, and when he was in Topsham, he was known as Andrew. I don't know whether 'Darcy' was a nickname or an actual name. He's passed on now.

I went through with John Beck on our first monograph – Captain John Bull [1996]. John would send me up all his notes. We also did his *The Falmouth Packets* [2009] as well. That was a helluva job, a helluva job because there was so much information. He passed away a couple of years ago. That was a labour of love.

I also wrote the book for Sidney Sanford, which we did as a *Maritime South West* monograph [no.2, 1997 *Get Aloft – An Apprentice in Sail*]. I got in touch with him because there was a letter in the *Sunday Express*, saying “The *QEII* – what a load of rubbish, I was in the *QE1* in 1909”, and that turned to be a three-masted barque, Liverpool built. I found out that he lived in Exmouth and I used to go and see Sidney. He was a very, very nice guy and we used to go through his story and we did it and we got it all sussed out.

It was like that with Judith Godfrey. I’m proud of publishing Judith’s work on the Plymouth shipowner, Richard Hill – 800 pages over 7 years. She deposited all her notes when she passed away with Devon Record Office and the DRO let me borrow them and that’s where the 700 pages comes from. It’s no half hour job because there was no computer disc. As they were written on Amstrad, I and you can’t read it any longer. I probably spent 12 months of my life on Judith’s “book”, it was so long.

The easiest was David Phillip’s book on the Bristol Channel Pilots [no.7, 2015], because his was in the form of a thesis for which he got his university degree. That was ideal, because he had a copy and I was able to type it word for word – there are always mistakes, there’s always errors of setting out. The hardest work is setting it out.

Editing the journal - The amount of time it takes – I’m not trying to put you off because I think that this year will be my last year – the amount of work to do it properly is *enormous*, because each article I correct.

Like last night, I was banging away [with one, half-good eye-MPB], and when Dina came in, it was past midnight. Before the problem with my eyes, I’d turn them round within 24 to 36 hours.

I refuse an article only if they are crap. If they are very bad, I'll ask permission to re-write.

I don't change things for the sake of changing things because I like it to be in their writing style. One of the strengths of *Maritime South West* is that it's readable. Some people are quite loose in their language and some are very precise, and the mixture of the two in the journal... I look upon the SNR journal [Society for Nautical Research. *Mariner's Mirror*] as an example as being very precise but it's totally dry and boring. People pick it up, read a couple of pages, say "Stuff this" and put it down again, whereas I like to think with our journal – not my journal, but our journal – and that people who read it, find it interesting and informative, and at the same time a good read.

I think the whole concept of the journal is going to change because of electronic information exchange. At the moment, we use a printed version but we could just as well use an electronic version.

Looking at the South West Maritime, we used to do a lot more meetings than we do now – well, I used to organise them, to be fair, and it's not something I've been able to do recently – Poole and all over the West Country and in Wales. You had someone, David Jenkins, who had a great interest in maritime history and he's been very cooperative in letting us going there for nothing – Swansea – never paid for that, not even the refreshments. We used to charge a nominal amount because there is the cost of actually organising it.

We used to do a couple of meetings in the Spring, one in the early Summer, a couple in the Autumn – 5 meetings, 6 with the AGM. We don't seem to do as many now and they're not necessarily in the right place. I think the one place that remains popular is the Globe, Topsham.

There are ways of organising a meeting – you've got to get the notices out in plenty of time. You've got to get the contents well balanced and it doesn't just happen. You have to talk to the speakers so that they're happy. Most people are quite happy to talk about themselves and

most people are quite happy to talk, if you ask them and approach them in the right way. None of them have ever asked for a financial contribution. I've never asked either. People assume if you pay people, you'll get something good but that doesn't necessarily follow.

Unless the Society pulls their fingers out pretty smartish, and members step forward onto the Committee, I think the Society's doomed – I'm sorry to say that. We now have a big problem of replacements on the Committee and I think it's our biggest threat and also that people are not as interested in joining societies as they were because life has moved on and people are too engaged with their occupations and business, because we're not a nine to five group of people any more. We're very uncertain about our hours.

Otherwise, I suspect it might not survive me very long, which is a shame.

And I think the reason for the continuation of the Society [is needed] is its Journal – because I think that that has been very, very important indeed.

Looking back, in 1990, membership was 500. We've still got a membership of 400, but are we giving them what they want? It'd be very informative, very useful to find out. I think the times have changed because people don't have the time they use to have for clubs, unless it's perhaps like fitness clubs. They're quite busy but most people don't have the time or ability to contribute to educational clubs. And, of course, our membership is ageing. When I joined, I was in my thirties or forties, now I'm 75.

MPB: David, thank you.



**The new Editor of *Maritime South West*.
By kind permission of Dina Clement**

LIGHTNING STRIKES AT SEA

Joan Price

Lightning doesn't strike the ocean as much as on the land, but when it does, it spreads out over the water, which acts as a conductor. It can hit boats that are nearby, and electrocute fish that are near the surface. The tall wooden masts of sailing ships were particularly at risk of being struck by lightning as they towered several hundred feet above the deck. When *HMS Thetis* was struck in Rio harbour her 'fore-topmast was shivered into a collection of splinters and the foremast irreparably damaged'. It was always possible that the mast might be set alight. Even more unusual, and literally 'hair raising', would have been ball lightning inside the ship that Bernadin St-Pierre observed on a commercial voyage to Mauritius in 1768

When these events happened, it was often very difficult to obtain an adequate replacement. Few trees grew naturally, with no side branches until a height of 100 feet - so that the trunks were free of knots. Generally suitable trees were found around the Baltic, Maine and Nova Scotia and the West coast of North America.

Benjamin Franklin was one of the first to experiment with lightning, collecting the electric charge from storm clouds with a kite. In 1752 he found that conductors with a sharp, rather than a smooth point, would discharge silently, and at a far greater distance. He theorised that a building might receive some protection from lightning by attaching 'upright Rods of Iron, made sharp as a Needle and gilt to prevent Rusting, and from the Foot of those Rods a Wire down the outside of the Building into the Ground'.

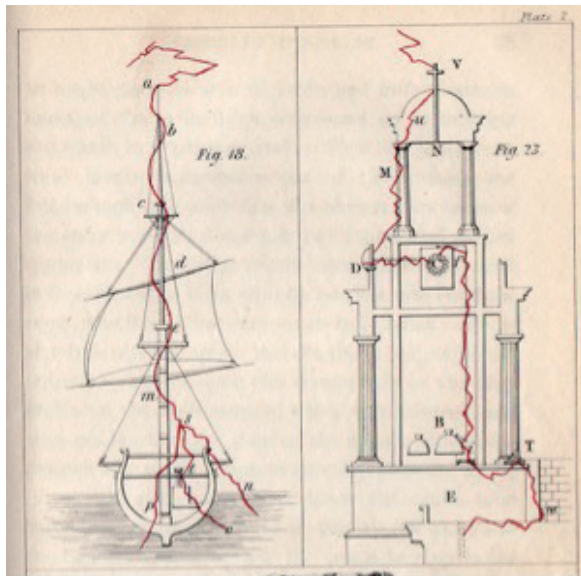


Diagram 1: Diagram showing the path taken by a lightning strike on a sailing vessel and a church

The first ship fitted with a lightning conductor was James Cook's *HMS Endeavour*, in which he sailed round the world after observing the transit of Venus in 1769. This consisted of a chain that had to be draped from the top mast right down into the sea, whenever lightning was anticipated. Many men with scientific interests shared Franklin's enthusiasm for experiments with static electricity. Both Sir Joseph Banks and Cook's astronomer brought their own electrical machines onto *HMS Endeavour*. They found that they rarely worked, due to the high humidity that permeated every wooden ship, and made it a very good insulator. During their voyage, they observed a phenomenon known as St. Elmo's fire. This blue or violet glow on the mast head is accompanied by a distinct hissing or buzzing sound, and is caused by a coronal discharge. Cook's style of early lightning conductor was unsatisfactory because lightning often struck unexpectedly, and when the chain was raised, it was a nuisance to seamen aloft in the rigging

In 1800, the French began to install lightning conductors on ships that were going on voyages of exploration. These were more satisfactory, because their chains were let down permanently through the rigging, and then connected to the copper sheathing of the hull. Chains were soon replaced by metal cables joined by rings which were fixed to the mast at each stage, but lightning strikes would still sometimes damage the cable or the ship.

The British were slow to adopt lightning conductors, although lightning damage to public buildings was thought to cost £50,000 / annum. This was mainly due to prejudice against Benjamin Franklin, who was one of the five men who drafted the American Declaration of Independence, and he then served as the American Ambassador to France throughout the Revolutionary War (a prejudice that ignored Franklin's many years living in England, mainly involved contacts with the Royal Society or were related to business and taxation). Also there were also general fears that conductors would attract lightning to a building or the ship to which they were attached, although scientists could demonstrate that this did not happen.

Lightning proved very costly during the Napoleonic Wars with 250 Royal Naval ships damaged. Of these 1 in 8 were set on fire, 70 men were killed and 133 wounded, with an estimated cost of £100,000. The East India Company was similarly affected, as was the Merchant Marine. Even in peacetime the cost of lightning damage was considerable. Lightning may also explain the disappearance of many ships recorded as 'missing', particularly if they were hit by very destructive ball lightning.

A Plymouth doctor, Dr William Snow Harris had been interested in electrical experiments from his youth. In 1820 he proposed that masts should be made into lightning conductors. Thin copper plates should be fixed along spars and down the aft side of the mast, and connected right down through the hull to its copper sheathing. All the other principal metallic masses in the ship should also be bonded to the conductor, to ensure that there were no side flashes. When he

proposed his system to the Admiralty, he found them unresponsive. In 1824 he gave up the practice of medicine to devote himself to electrical matters. He became well known for his lightning experiments in Plymouth Sound and in the Dockyard, and wrote numerous papers on electrical matters for the Royal Society, for which he received their premier award, the Copley medal.

Harris continued his campaign to convince the naval authorities to adopt his system, at a time when the amount of metal incorporated into ships was rapidly increasing. In 1830 the Royal Navy agreed to test his system on eleven vessels. One of these was *HMS Beagle*, which was extensively rebuilt, and refitted by Plymouth Dockyard for her most famous voyage. Her major improvements included iron water tanks, diagonal bracing and 'Lightning-conductors, invented by Mr. Harris, were fixed in all the masts, the bowsprit, and even in the flying jib-boom.'

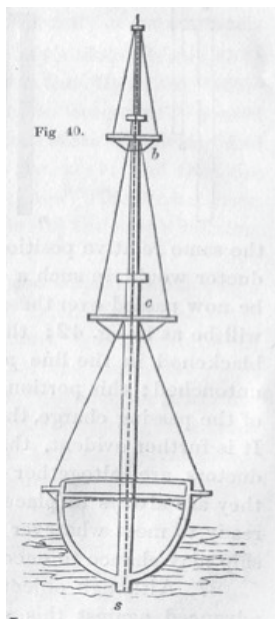


Diagram 2: Diagram showing linked areas covered in copper plates

In 1831, when Charles Darwin arrived in Plymouth to board her, he breakfasted with 'Mr. Thunder & Lightning Harris' and attended one of his popular lectures in the Athenaeum. Harris was their curator of apparatus and used an 'Electric machine' to represent a thunder cloud and a tub of water for the sea. Then with 'a toy for a line of battle ships, he showed the whole process of it being struck by lightning & most satisfactorily proved how completely his plan protects the vessel from any bad consequences. Its advantages are derived from the fact that the Electric fluid is weakened by being transmitted over a large surface to such an extent that no effects are perceived, even when the mast is struck by the lightning'.

During her five year voyage, *HMS Beagle* was struck by lightning on at least two occasions, 'when—at the instant of a vivid flash of lightning, accompanied by a crashing peal of thunder—a hissing sound was heard on the masts; and a strange, though very slightly tremulous, motion in the ship indicated that something unusual had happened, but there was never the 'slightest damage'. Her captain, Robert FitzRoy reported that the copper plates stayed firmly in place, even in small spars, and in addition they strengthened the spars, rather than weakening them. He had high praise for the protection from lightning they provided.

Harris was a persistent campaigner and published his "On the nature of Thunderstorms; & on the means of protecting buildings and shipping against the destructive effects of Lightning" after researching the lightning damage caused to Royal Naval vessels. Between 1793 to 1838 he found that it caused 62 deaths and 114 injuries, and estimated the cost to be £10,000 per annum. Two study committees recommended his system, and Nature assisted him. He placed a lightning conductor on one of two tall chimneys in Royal William Yard in Devonport, but was ordered by the authorities to take it down. Before he had time to comply, the unprotected chimney was damaged by lightning; the protected one remaining undamaged. This caused much comment at the 1841 meeting of the British Association of Science at the time being held in Plymouth.

In the same year, the Imperial Russian Navy began adopting Harris's invention, and Harris received an annuity from the Government in consideration of services to science. In June 1842 the Royal Navy at last adopted lightning conductors, and they were ordered to be erected on every ship in the navy. Five years later Harris was knighted by Queen Victoria, who had a lightning conductor installed in her own yacht. In 1853 a report by Harris, in *The Nautical Magazine*, proudly stated that between 1830 and 1846 none of the ships protected by Harris conductors had suffered casualties from lightning. Nor had they been struck by lightning to the same extent as unprotected ships.

Harris continued to work on his invention, modifying it so that it allowed free movement of different portions of the mast, and did not require any adjustment by the officers and crew. His improved design was demonstrated at the 1851 Great Exhibition and the details appeared in the catalogue along with this extract from the official journal of *H.M.S. Conway*, which illustrates how he was again assisted by nature —

“Port Louis, Isle of France, 9th March, 1846, 11.45 A.M. The pendant staff at main-top mast-head was shivered in pieces by lightning, Harris's conductor carrying off the fluid without further damage.”

The ship was refitting at this time, and the topgallant masts on deck, so that a small spar was set up at the top-mast head as a temporary support for the pendant; this spar had not, consequently, any conductor on it. It is seen by the ship's journal, that the spar was shivered in pieces by the explosive action, which became immediately transformed into a comparatively quiescent current on reaching the line of conduction.

The report of the thunder was as if one of the main-deck guns had been fired. The gunner, who was sitting in his berth, immediately under one of the lateral branches of the conductor passing through the ship, saw, through the scuttle port, a brilliant blaze of light from the ship upon the sea, but experienced no inconvenience.”

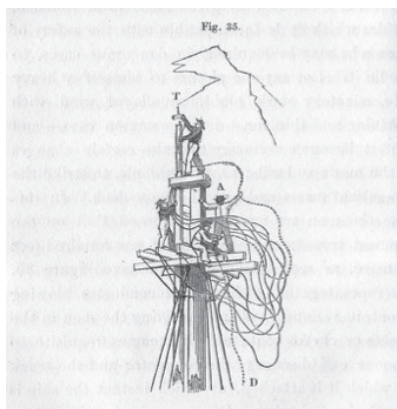


Diagram 3: Illustrating the Port St Louis Lightning Strike

Snow Harris had the support of scientists such as Michael Faraday, William Whewell and Charles Babbage plus various naval personnel. His problems arose because of Sir John Barrow, Second Secretary to the Admiralty, a post he held for forty years (although renamed Permanent Secretary). Barrow read all incoming correspondence himself, and took no interest in keeping records or archives. He had little formal education but, when visiting China, had seen the lack of interest the Chinese showed in European scientific achievements. He also used his position to promote Arctic voyages of discovery, and other ideas, which he himself had put forward (see Fleming. *Barrow's Boys*). There was also a strong political element, with the prominent Conservative party being in power, whilst the Whigs favoured innovation and democracy.

Ball lightning remains a subject of controversy amongst physicists, and many have disputed its existence. Theories put forward in the last six years include the suggestion that the magnetic field around the plasma of a lightning bolt might be curled into a knot. Chinese scientists observing a thunderstorm with video cameras and a spectrograph have captured ball lightning. They showed that the

ball contained silicon, iron and calcium – all constituents of earth. The silicon vapour produced would burn in air giving a blue light. A further theory suggested that ions accumulating on the outside of glass windows, in a well insulated enclosed space, could lead to the formation of an electric field on the inside - but only if the charge exceeds a million volts. This would excite the air molecules and cause a ball discharge.

Fortunately, when ball lightning occurs in an enclosed place with windows, such as an aeroplane, it does not appear to be harmful. This could happen in a house, aeroplanes (which are well protected against lightning strikes) and in a damp wooden ship – so this theory differs very little from Snow Harris' theory that, in ships, it might be displaced St Elmo's fire.

Today many leisure sailing boats have metal masts. If the crew are caught in a thunderstorm in a yacht, even if it has lightning protection, the advice given is that everyone should stay in the centre of the boat. Hand-held VHF or GPS and any aerials should be put in an oven or microwave, or at least separated from anything metallic. 'Don't let anyone go into the water. Stop fishing and do not touch or go near anything metallic'. They are also instructed to start the engine, because this would not be feasible if they were struck. More small yachts are beginning to protect themselves against lightning strikes but they remain a serious concern at sea.

1851 Great Exhibition Catalogue

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All diagrams from William Snow Harris'papers courtesy of Owen Ryles and the Plymouth Athenaeum. Owen Ryles gave a paper on Harris at the Athenaeum on 24/05/2018.

OCEAN EXCHANGE: BIOLOGICAL EXCHANGE DUE TO VOYAGES OF EXPLORATION

Joan Price

This paper is about the transfer of animals and plants across the oceans of the world. Since European ships first ventured out into the Atlantic, men have deliberately introduced new species to lands, which had previously been isolated for millenia by geography and plate tectonics. They introduced crops and domestic animals, which transported seeds, parasites and fungal spores.

European ships on voyages of discovery invariably carried farmyard animals to provide fresh meat, a goat to provide milk for the captain's table, and some hens. Rats are always a problem on board ship so to reduce them, British ships carried a cat and those from the Mediterranean carried a small dog, especially bred for the purpose. These inevitably carried fleas, flies, intestinal worms and other parasites. At suitable havens the sailors would plant vines, fruit trees and a vegetable garden. On small islands, they would let loose some of their stock, in the hope that any that reproduced might be of use to later visitors.

Classical writers knew of islands in the Atlantic, which they called the Fortunate Islands. By 1419, intrepid sailors had landed on what we now call Madeira. Eight years later the Portuguese discovered the Azores archipelago. In 1501, whilst searching for a route to the East, they discovered the South Atlantic islands of St Helena, Ascension Island and Tristan da Cunha. All these islands were formed when submarine volcanoes lying along the mid-Atlantic ridge, emerged from the sea. As their lava hardened, the exposed surface became covered in ash. Because these islands were far from land and surrounded by ocean, colonisation by flora and fauna was slow. Gradually any species that arrived on wind or sea currents become naturalised.

Most such islands were pristine when discovered. They were soon stripped of anything of value. Later the land was cleared by burning, and many native species were replaced by imported European livestock, crops and settlers. This often resulted in plagues of rats or invasive plants, but slowly their ecosystems came to equilibrium.

Only the Canary Islands were inhabited at the time of their discovery. The Guanches were tall blue-eyed farmers, probably of Berber extraction, who made incised pottery but had no knowledge of metal. They would have been attracted to the high peak of Tenerife, as it is only 65 miles off the African coast and must have become stranded, without any boats to maintain contact with the mainland. Although they strongly resisted the Spanish invasion, they were no match for their cavalry. European diseases, enslavement and the associated psychological trauma led their numbers to collapse, and true bred Guanches soon died out.

Soon after Christopher Columbus discovered the New World, the Spanish encountered the waning Maya civilisation, and the sophisticated Aztec and Inca empires. Incredibly, in less than fifty years, they defeated them all, as well as exploring part of the Amazon basin and New Mexico.

1. Columbian Exchange

Alfred W. Crosby examined the rapid environmental impact of Columbus's voyages, and provided a biological and geographical explanation as to why Europeans succeeded in overpowering the native populations with such relative ease. He brought the process he called the 'Columbian Exchange' to the notice of other historians¹. No indigenous people were a match for European cavalry and armaments and defeat, enslavement and psychological trauma adversely affected them. Crosby demonstrated how European diseases, which had developed in crowded cities, unwittingly introduced into the Americas, proved even more deadly to its people. He included within

¹ Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: the Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, (Oxford University Press, 1972.)

his hypothesis the Atlantic islands previously mentioned.

Portuguese exploration focussed on sea routes to Asia, but in 1500 one of their fleets accidentally landed in South America. Its Amerindian population was soon decimated by European diseases and most of the cows, horses and pigs, which the Portuguese settlers brought ashore became feral². Eventually Brazil became part of the Portuguese colonial empire and their trade routes reached as far as Japan.

2. Ecological Imperialism

The volcanic islands in the Indian Ocean are geologically far older than those in the Atlantic because they had originally emerged close to the Indian sub-continent. Over a longer period of time, their rocks had eroded to form fertile soils. In 1598, Mauritius was claimed by the Dutch, who found many unique birds and reptiles there, which had evolved in isolation but soon after their arrival both the dodo and its tortoises were extinct. The Dutch brought in Chinese gardeners, African slaves and introduced wild boar and Javanese deer³. After fifty years they deserted Mauritius because (it is thought) of a plague of rats.

So in 1652 Cape Town replaced Mauritius as the permanent stopping and provisioning point for Dutch East India Company ships. Although Table Bay could be a treacherous roadstead, it provided a healthy stopping place in a temperate climate, with relatively fertile soils. Outside the town, plantations growing wheat and vines were worked by slaves brought from the East Indies, and from further up the African coast. Cape Town became an essential port-of-call for ships of all nations seeking water and fresh provisions on long voyages. The native Khoi-khoi already had their own cattle, but those introduced by Europeans were prone to African diseases.

2 Alfred Crosby, *Ecological imperialism: the Biological Expansion of Europe 900-1900*, (Cambridge U.P 1986).

3 Bernardin de St. Pierre, *Voyage to Mauritius*, English translation, p.87.

The Polynesians were great navigators and spread out across the Pacific islands. When they reached New Zealand around 1300 AD, it had never been inhabited. They found no land mammals, and their niche had been taken by giant flightless birds. These were easy to club, so the Maoris farming skills declined. Their population eventually exceeded their food resources, and cannibalism was not uncommon.

After a convict settlement was founded on the shores of Sydney Harbour in New South Wales, it was used as a base by European sealers, whalers and loggers, who stripped New Zealand of its giant trees, introduced measles and smallpox, and sold guns to the Maoris. Concerns about the increasing lawlessness and intertribal wars led to the Treaty of Waitangi, and the annexation of the country by the British.

Crosby extended his study to the new temperate worlds in the Southern hemisphere. These remote lands had few predators or diseases, so European settlement followed soon after their discovery. Many species they introduced thrived and became very fertile. The indigenous people also had no resistance to European diseases, with mortality rates of up to 90%, over the following century. Once colonisation had begun, such factors gave Europeans enormous advantages. Crosby called this process 'Ecological Imperialism'⁴.

European settlers steadily replaced the indigenous people but their widespread use of the plough caused erosion. The weeds they had unwittingly carried with them, specialised in colonising bare earth and as a result many indigenous niche species died out, although the larger and more versatile ones thrived.

Crosby lumped together all these disparate lands by describing them as being reached by 'crossing the seams of Pangea'. The geological process is actually more complex. Pangea is the name given by geologists to the great super-continent, which existed more than 200 million years ago. About 170 million years ago, Pangea broke in

4 Crosby, 1986.

two because of intense seismic activity taking place along undersea ridges. Lava poured out, producing new ocean floor, and carrying the continents further away from each other. This process is known as continental drift, and the areas of seismic activity were his 'seams of Pangea'.

Gondwana drifted south away from the other landmass, which eventually split into Europe, Asia, North America and Africa. Gondwana itself split into Antarctica, South America, the southernmost tip of Africa, Madagascar, Australia and various scattered islands, of which the largest is New Zealand. The fauna that evolved in Gondwana differed from those elsewhere, with the most characteristic being marsupials, large flightless birds and tree ferns.

3. The Australian Continent

Crosby did not discuss Australia, so its history of colonisation needs to be examined. When In 1770, Cook sailed up its previously unexplored east coast, its plants astounded his botanists, and they brought back the remains of two specimens of the strange animals called *kanguru*⁵. In 1788 the First Fleet arrived in Botany Bay carrying with them four horses, cattle and sheep from the Cape, plus vines and fruit trees. They were the first Europeans to record the devastating effects of 'colonial imperialism'. In 1790, a smallpox epidemic killed half the local aborigines, but Europeans were unaffected. After a bull and four cows escaped, they flourished in the wild, and the feral herds expanded exponentially. Indigenous predators could not compete with the hunting dogs belonging to the officers of the First Fleet, and the decline in niche Australian mammals was swift. In 1790, merino sheep were brought in to improve the quality of the feral flocks.

Every European landfall in Australia provided a dispersal point for European species. After only 15 years, botanists were able to identify 150 species of European plants already growing along the shores of the Australian continent, and wallabies were reproducing

5 Banks' *Endeavour Journal* p.89-94.

in Europe. As aboriginal land management practices died out around European settlements, dense bush began to cover areas, which previously had formed a patchwork of glades and pastures. People of European descent overlooked the tolerance to drought and erratic rainfall, which had evolved in native species, in order to survive in the world's most unpredictable climate. They thought them inferior, and brought in foreign species. The feral cattle destroyed many of the native grasses, which germinate in the austral summer and sprouted immediately the rains began⁶. Only in Tasmania and Kangaroo Island [110 kilometres southwest of Adelaide] did explorers find immense forests and plentiful mammalian wild life⁷.

European colonisation of Australia escalated after the Napoleonic wars. The failure of aborigines to be assimilated was interpreted as a manifestation of their inherent savagery and irredeemable character⁸. Many were treated little better than animals, and what can only be called genocide wiped out the Tasmanians. Rabbits released in 1859 had spread across 2,000 miles of desert by 1902. Both species of camel were imported and when they were replaced by motorised vehicles, they were released. The feral population is now estimated at over a million and exceeds that of Arabia.

4. The Reverse Process

4.1 Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch Transfers

In 1570, Francisco Hernandez was sent to Mexico to study its natural resources, which the indigenous peoples had exploited or improved over a long period. As a result, their crops and flora became objects of fascination and desire for Europeans. From Mexico and Peru, we obtained grains and vegetables such as potatoes, maize, quinoa, tomatoes, peppers and chillies. Fruit such as avocados, guavas and pineapples, as well as luxuries such as tobacco and chocolate also came from meso-America. Later Spanish visitors brought back

6 Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, p. 162.

7 Francois Peron quoted by Bill Gammage in *The Biggest Estate on Earth*, (Sydney, 1999), p.250

8 Konishi, *Aboriginal Male in an Enlightenment World*, (Cambridge, 2013), p.166.

samples of the first magnolias, lupins from the Andes and dahlias. In the nineteenth century, the indigo and rubber grown in British plantations in India and Malaya originated in the Americas.

Sugar came originally from Egypt, but the Portuguese found it grew better in the Azores and Madeira. By 1630 north-eastern Brazil was the global hub of their sugar growing. It was only when the British and the French adopted agro-industrial methods worked by slave labour, that the West Indies superseded Brazil as a producer⁹. The unique flora of the Cape Peninsula brought back by the Dutch has provided us with many of today's garden flowers.

During the eighteenth century Carl Linnaeus sent botanists out across the world as doctors or chaplains working for the Swedish East India Company. When they examined the flora and fauna of the ports along the trade routes, they found that they all shared weeds in common that had evolved alongside agriculture and the gardens made by Europeans contained plants and animals brought from other lands along the trade routes.

4.2.1 French Transfers

The French wanted to diversify their natural resources, and invested in botany. Pierre Poivre made several clandestine forays to the East Indies. He returned to Mauritius with cultivated varieties of clove and nutmeg plants, and attempts were made to propagate them. By 1792 plantations of cloves and nutmegs had been established on the island¹⁰. The Botanic Garden on Mauritius also provided a midway point for plants from Asia and Australasia to recover from voyages in sailing ships because of its wide range of growing conditions. However many Australian species, which were introduced into countries with a warm temperate climate, have become naturalised - and unwelcome.

9 Cosby, p.46.

10 Edward Duyker, *Citizen Labillardiere: a Naturalists life in Revolution and Exploration*, (Miegunyah Press, 2003), p.121.

4.2.2 British Transfers

In Newfoundland, Basque fishermen had preceded John Cabot and fishermen from southwest ports also crossed the Atlantic for cod. The native Beothuk people traditionally lived on seal and fish, but as the number of permanent year round fishing stations increased, they needed alternative food sources. The interior provided little game and their numbers declined, and by 1829, the Beothuk people were extinct.

When the Pilgrim Fathers landed in New Plymouth in 1620, they found houses 'not lately occupied.in clearings made by the Indians'. Before their first harvest, they discovered stores of buried maize¹¹. The previous inhabitants had died from an epidemic, probably introduced by English ships visiting between 1602 and 1608. Having an unusual maiden name, I know of a distant relative George Lamphere, who nicely illustrates both the fertility and lack of disease in New England. He arrived at Westerly, Rhode Island around 1665. His nine children all lived to adulthood and he was at least 93 years old when he died.

Colonial doctors began to use local remedies, and Virginia was soon exporting dried medicinal plants to London¹². British landowners would annually order boxes of American saplings, for their landscape gardens¹³.

5. Was this movement of species solely due to Europeans?

Before scientific methods of determining geographical position were introduced, the Polynesian people were the world's most skilled navigators. Recent genetic analysis has shown that they had obtained sweet potatoes from South America five hundred years before the Portuguese and Spanish first carried them across the Pacific. Black slaves in South Carolina were also able to show their white masters how to grow rice and other African crops in its fertile swamp lands¹⁴.

11 *Mourt's Relation: A Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth*, 1986, p.43.

12 *The Apothecary in eighteenth century Williamsburg*, (Williamsburg Craft Series, 1952) p.26.g

13 Joseph Kastner, *A World of Naturalists*, (Murray, 1977) pp.79-111

14 Lizzie Collingham, *The Hungry Empire: How Britain's quest for Food shaped the Modern World*, (Bodley Head. 2017), pp.98-100.

6. Does a similar process continue today?

European bees were recently introduced into South America to improve the pollination of tomato plants being grown for supermarkets. Unfortunately they carried a bee disease, which has proved fatal to the spectacular local bumble bees, which are now close to extinction. A new ecological process called 'mega-rafting' emerged after the devastating tsunami in Japan in 2011. (Mega-rafting occurs when sustainable colonies of marine species use plastic containers as rafts.) Eighteen months later, plastic debris began to be washed up on the coast of Oregon, which contained hundreds of invertebrates and a few tiny fish from the coastal waters of Japan. They must have reproduced two or three times in the water filled plastic hulls, which had neither sunk nor decayed.

7. Oceanic Exchange?

Bio-geographers and environmentalists are particularly interested in changes, which can be directly attributed to human behaviour. The decline in agriculture in the American continent due to epidemics brought over by Europeans caused a minimum in the atmospheric carbon dioxide in 1610. This may mark the start of the Anthropocene. (The name given to the new geological age, during which man has exerted a noticeable effect on the earth's environment.¹⁵) Bio-geographers occasionally use the term 'Oceanic Exchange' for changes, which took place as animal husbandry was introduced along our Atlantic coastline. I suggest that the term should be used by maritime historians for all similar biological exchanges, because it is more meaningful than the current 'Columbian Exchange' and the less used 'Economic Imperialism'.

¹⁵ Proposed by Paul Crutzen in an article in *Nature* in 2002 and now generally accepted by scientists.

THE FALMOUTH HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS, THE FLUSHING FERRY AND THE REVEREND SAVAGE.

Tim Beattie

Tim Beattie is a library volunteer at the National Maritime Museum, Cornwall and has been, at the suggestion of Tony Pawlyn, the Honorary Head of Research, digitising the minutes of the meetings of Falmouth Harbour Committee which began in 1870. The following story emerged from these minutes and other harbour authority documents held in the Bartlett Maritime Research Centre and Library. He has been assisted in his research by Linda Batchelor, who explained legal matters and located the court records on Mead v Tregenza.



Greenbank from Flushing c. 1890

In July 1890 Mr John Mead, of Falmouth in Cornwall, brought an action in the High Court against a boatman from Flushing called Tregenza, claiming that Tregenza and other boatmen had interfered with his right to operate a ferry between Flushing and Greenbank (on the Falmouth side of the Penryn river). The action followed an injunction taken out by Mead to prevent the Falmouth boatmen from plying in competition with his own ferries. The injunction had outraged the boatmen – at one point Mead had ordered the seizure of Tregenza's boat – and also the vicar of Flushing, the Rev. Francis Savage. Savage became

a staunch supporter of the boatmen, helping to organise a petition to raise money for Tregenza's defence against Mead. This enabled the boatmen to employ a solicitor and brief counsel for the case. The boatmen claimed that the licences issued to them by Falmouth Harbour Commissioners gave them the right to run ferries between Greenbank and Flushing, whereas Mr Mead had no right because he had no licence. In the event Mead's case was weak. He seemed to have confused a right given to the Killigrew family by Charles II with another and fell back on the strange notion that Falmouth Harbour Bye-laws did not apply to his, Mead's, boats.

The defence attacked Mead's behaviour in seizing Tregenza's property and then played on the jury's sympathies by pointing out that Tregenza had nearly drowned recently and was too ill to appear. 'Were you not' the defence said 'asked to postpone the trial on account of his illness; and did you not refuse on the grounds that he did not need to be called?' Mead's counsel replied that he had consented to an examination at his home.

Tregenza's counsel said: 'Yes, but the man is dying, he is too ill to be examined.'

The judge interjected wearily: 'If the man dies, there is an end of the matter.'

The jury decided for the defence, stating that the ancient right to run a ferry claimed by Mead to belong to the Earl of Kimberley did not exist and found for Tregenza with costs. This was not, however, the end of the matter but the beginning of a long and at times bitter battle whose origins lay in Falmouth harbour's complex feudatory history. This article traces the conflict between the watermen, the Harbour Commission and Mr John Mead over the nine years from this court case to its tragic conclusion in the stormy waters of the Penryn River in April 1899.

Falmouth Harbour

The operation of Falmouth harbour was historically subject to a bewildering range of authorities, including the Bishop of Exeter, the Lords Kimberley and Clinton, the Lord of the Manor of St Mawes, the Duchy of Cornwall, the Admiralty and Falmouth Town Council, who all claimed some right of ownership, operational control or tax on the users of the harbour. Falmouth Harbour Commission was set up in 1870 after it became clear that this hotch-potch of conflicting authorities was inadequate to bring about the improvements to the harbour which were increasingly necessary as traffic expanded. After much consultation, an Act establishing Falmouth Harbour Commission was passed and sixteen commissioners were appointed as representatives of the many vested interests, including the Town Council, the ship owners, agents, the Docks Company and the Earl of Kimberley.

Falmouth Harbour Commission was what we would now call a not-for-profit organisation. The commissioners themselves were unpaid and its work was undertaken by a small number of paid employees including the harbourmaster, two office clerks, the five man crew of the harbourmaster's steamer, the police sergeant and two constables. All others who obtained their living in or from the harbour such as pilots or boatmen worked as independent contractors. It would seem, from this distance of time, to have been a remarkably streamlined and effective operation, encompassing a very wide range of activities – the management of shipping, maintenance of navigation and channel marks, dredging, policing, provision of port facilities, the welfare of mariners, immigration control and the collection of dues – with the minimum of administrative cost. To an extent this was the consequence of the constraints applied to their income, which came almost wholly from the dues paid by visiting ships and was fixed by the terms of their commission at one halfpenny (c 0.2p) per net registered ton. The Collector of Custom was paid a quarterly fee to collect the harbour dues on behalf of the commission, an arrangement which made sense for both parties since the Collector was already required to visit ships on entry.

The Board also dealt with what we would now call HR matters and their deliberations on the duties and failings of their work force throws an interesting light on the civic values of the time. From the beginning the Commission, whose income from harbour dues was limited and, over the years dealt with here, declining, adopted an appearance of scrooge-like parsimony in its dealings with employees and contractors. Uniforms and working clothes were provided for the harbour master, crew and the police, but there was a strict tendering process and money was saved by repairing rather than replacing where possible. Uniforms had to be returned when employees left, though, in one case at least, authority crumbled in the face of a determined widow. In February 1881 Mr Woolcock, the clerk to the Harbour Committee, was told to retrieve the work clothes of the recently deceased boatswain, William Barbary, from his widow. On reporting back that Mrs Barbary was reluctant to give up the guernsey frock, oil coat and leggings worn by her late husband, the committee pointed out that they were the property of the Commission and must be returned. Mr Woolcock went back to Mrs Barbary and demanded that she give up the clothes 'but Mrs Barbary declined, saying she could not make up her mind to part with them'. In the face of such implacable resolution the Committee surrendered and 'decided to let the matter drop'. Mr Woolcock was instructed to buy an oil coat and leggings for the new boatswain (though not, one notices, a new guernsey frock).

As a whole Harbour Board's attitude could be described as tough but fair – with more than a hint of paternalistic intrusion into their workers' domestic lives. There were no paid holidays but leave was allowed for family business like weddings and funerals. There was no statutory scheme for sick pay at this time. Workers who were signed off by a doctor were paid sick leave – usually about half-pay but decided in each case by the committee. In January 1887 they agreed to increase the Arwenack engineer's wages by 2/- per week to cover the expense of keeping his sick wife in Ireland. A number of workers paid into Friendly Societies such as the Oddfellows to provide a sickness benefit but this could create difficulties. Constable Pratt of the Harbour Police

successfully protested that it was unfair to reduce his sick pay on the grounds that he was receiving a payment from the Oddfellows since this payment was generated by his subscription. It is impossible to know how much of this relatively humane and progressive governance was due to the prevailing influence of the Fox family, of whom at least one and often as many as three were commissioners at any one time, but it certainly accords with the Quaker principles that many of them espoused.

The Harbour Board had one other important responsibility which has a significant bearing on the Mead case. It ensured that the harbour Bye-laws, approved by the Board of Trade, were obeyed by all users of the harbour. Among the laws governing the jettisoning of rubbish and the removal of channel obstructions were those controlling the manning, maintenance and safe use of ferries operated by the Falmouth watermen.

The Falmouth watermen



A

Quay punt, the workhorse of Falmouth harbour, 1900.

The licensed boatmen of Falmouth were integral to the functioning of the port. They operated two kinds of boat. The larger sailing quay punts (usually 25-30ft) would sail south of the Lizard to pick up incoming ships and offer an exclusive taxi and provisioning service while they

were moored in harbour or in the bay, and smaller rowing boats would ferry crew members to and from the shore. They were also entitled by their licence to carry passengers to and from St Mawes, Flushing, Penryn, Mylor and the docks. In any one year in the 1880s and 1890s there were about 120 boats and 85 boatmen licensed and it was the duty of the harbour master to inspect the boats and the police to collect the fees.

Competition between boatmen for a declining revenue from incoming ships was fierce and they suffered, like Falmouth harbour itself, from the increasing dominance of steam over sail. In February 1882 a petition signed by thirteen of the boatmen complained that unlicensed boats were stealing their trade and steamers, such as tugs, were taking unfair advantage of their position by offering services previously undertaken by the quay punts. The petitioners were heard by the Harbour Committee who, in the person of the chairman Robert Fox, offered little sympathy and a lesson in laissez-faire capitalism: steamers, he reminded them, were licensed by the Board of Trade and were entitled to trade in the port; besides, there were too many licensed quay punts for the trade available, so the boatmen should stop putting their children into the business and send them to sea or fishing instead. This advice, while practical, was not calculated to endear the commissioners to the boatmen, who, like the Cornish tin miners, were independent traders in a fiercely competitive market that produced little reward at the best of times. More such protests were to come over subsequent years, feeding a simmering sense of injustice at their treatment which was to colour their subsequent actions in the case of the Flushing Ferry.

Major Mead

The other figure with a key role in the ferry dispute was Mr John Mead himself. Mead was an oyster dealer and Falmouth Town Councillor. During the period covered by this story he became an increasingly influential figure, being a member of the Town Council, Justice of the Peace and also an officer in the Falmouth Submarine Mining

Corps – a volunteer force responsible for maintaining the innovative minefield defences of the harbour. There is a photograph of him in the impressively bullion encrusted uniform of a Lt. Colonel. He had bought, for £150, the right to run his ferry through an ancient deed granted to the Killigrew family which had devolved to their descendant, the Earl of Kimberley.



The Ferry Dispute Reopened

Three years after the High Court judgement Rev. Savage wrote a letter to the Board of Trade, copied to the Falmouth Harbour Commissioners, which deserves to be quoted in full:

24th October 1893

Sir,

On January 1890 Mr J Mead of Falmouth sought to prevent the licensed boatmen of Falmouth and Flushing from plying over the waters between the two places alleging that by doing so they were disturbing certain ferry rights which he claimed to be the possessor of as lessee of the said ferry. He applied for an injunction to this effect and obtained it. The action came on for hearing in the Court of Queen's Bench at Bodmin before Sir Charles Matthew on 23 & 24 July 1890, when judgement was given against Mr Mead, in favour of the boatmen with all costs for the defendants on the grounds that no such ferry as claimed had any existence and that defendants had exactly the same right to ply as the plaintiff. Since that time it being a very profitable concern Mr Mead has, very much to the accommodation of the public, continued to run his boats between the points in question.

Mr Mead is a large Falmouth oyster dealer and the Town Council were for the greater part, I have reason to believe, strongly in favour of his claim and annoyed at the decision of the court. By the Bye Laws of the Harbour Board every boatman plying for hire is bound to be licensed and authorised to carry a limited number of passengers, this regulation being for very evident reasons. Upon the question being brought before the Board as to the necessity of Mr Mead's being licensed as the others all are, they declared it to be unnecessary and the consequence is that his boats remain unlicensed carrying any number of passengers who may crowd in, and thus interfering more or less with the business of the other watermen who have paid for the privilege of plying. The question has been again – last week

– brought before the [Town Council] with the same result viz:- that their clerk Mr Genn advise them not to insist on Mr Mead's boats being licensed.

I am naturally interested in this case as I principally promoted the Boatmen's defence and was instrumental in bringing the matter to an issue, the boatmen being poor men and Mr Mead being wealthy and as I considered he was endeavouring to do a cruel and unjust thing – and now I cannot help regarding this present conduct of the Council as a further act of injustice.

The men are forced under penalty to take out licences for themselves and their boats for plying over the same water and on the same terms as Mr Mead who is exempted from doing so. I further regard it as an insult to [this]? Law which has declared that both have equal rights.

My contention is that Mr Mead having no special rights should be required to take out a similar licence to other boatmen. May I ask your Board's opinion on the matter? Could the men be punished if they refuse to pay their licenses?

One can discern from the controlled outrage expressed in his letter that the Rev. Savage was not a man to be tangled with when it came to challenging injustices taking place in his parish. It is also noteworthy that at a time when parish preferment was still partly dependent on the local landowner, Savage's sponsor was Lord Clinton, not the Earl of Kimberley whose interests were being challenged in the case. It was a different matter for the Falmouth Harbour Commission (which rented its office from Lord Kimberley) and its commissioners, many of whose businesses were operated from land owned by the Kimberley estate and one of whom was *ex officio* Lord Kimberley's agent. This must be borne in mind when observing the Harbour Board's strange, mealy-mouthed response to Rev. Savage and the Board of Trade.

Initially the Commissioners batted the issue away, insisting that 'the question of calling on Mr Mead to take out licences in respect to his

boats plying between Flushing and Green Bank has been considered by this Board and they have been advised that no action should be taken in the matter’.

The Board of Trade’s response was terse:

I am to enquire whether the statement of Mr Savage that it was decided by Mr Justice Matthew that Mr Mead had no special ferry rights is correct. If such a judgement has been given, it is clear that it cannot be set aside by any mere statement on the part of Mr Mead or of the Harbour Commissioners that rights which have been decided not to exist, are claimed through the Earl of Kimberley. An early reply to this communication is requested.

Again the Commissioners prevaricated, claiming to base their decision on the Court’s shorthand notes. The Board of Trade gave this short shrift:

21/12/1893

Having procured and perused the short-hand notes of the case in their entirety, the Board are of opinion that Mr Savage’s statement is correct and that the rights claimed by Mr Mead through the Earl of Kimberley were decided by the Court to be non-existent. In these circumstances Mr Mead’s boats and boatmen would appear to require licences under the Bye Laws of 1888 in the same way as other boatmen, and the Board will be glad to receive an assurance that the Commissioners will so treat them.

The Commissioners decided to send a deputation to Mr (now Major) Mead, who refused to license his ferries though he did hint that some sort of compromise might be possible so long as his ‘ancient right’ was protected. And so it went on, with the issue being batted back and forth and the Board of Trade becoming more adamant that Mead’s boats should be licensed. On the water nothing changed. Mead’s boats continued unlicensed and the Falmouth boatmen attempted to compete using their licensed, inspected boats.

Five years later Francis Savage tried again, this time threatening to take legal action through a bill of *mandamus*. The Harbour Board replied that they 'had given the question involved their careful consideration and are of the opinion that no action should be taken in respect thereof.'

Savage responded with a solicitor's letter again threatening court action, but the Commissioners sat tight and eventually Savage gave up – recognising no doubt that while Falmouth Harbour Commission was not a rich organisation, it was undoubtedly richer than the Vicar of Flushing (his living was £270 per annum) and would be confident that its inaction had the support of the Earl of Kimberley.

Then, less than a year later, an event happened which seemed destined to upset the equilibrium maintained so carefully by the Commission and set them on a collision course with the Board of Trade.

The Flushing Ferry Tragedy



The last rowing ferryman between Flushing and Greenbank, who retired in 1926 (In line with editorial policy to move away from names for admirals etc., but have pictures of nameless workers and volunteers, I asked Tim for this gentleman's name, but it is locked in the Bartlett, so unavailable)

On the afternoon of April 7th 1899, an unlicensed ferry belonging to Mr John Mead set off from Flushing quay with three passengers: Henry Watts, a seaman from the training ship *HMS Ganges*, a boy called Drew and a little girl called Tregidgo. William Lang was at the helm

and Matthew Laity was crew. The weather was very squally, according to Laity, and, with wind against tide, it was very rough. The boat had two leg-of-mutton sails up closed reefed and the centre board down. When about half way across to the Greenbank side, a squall came up the river and, there being too little way on the boat to come up into the wind, Lang ordered Laity to let go the main halyard as the sheet was belayed on the lee quarter. The force of the wind on the sails was so great that the halyard jammed in its sheath and the boat quickly capsized, filled up and sank. Two boats put off from Greenbank to rescue the passengers and crew and one had almost reached the boy, when (according to the report in *The Falmouth Packet*) its thole pins broke and one of the oars was lost. Ernest Drew, the 13 year old boy, floated away and drowned. The Packet reported that visitors at the Greenbank Hotel made a collection of nearly £5 for the rescuers who handed it to the mother of the boy. Hundreds attended the funeral, at which several of the boy's playmates acted as bearers and many were moved to tears.

The inquest into Drew's death was held on April 11th in the King's Head Hotel in Falmouth. It was a coroner's inquest held in front of a jury made up in large part of people with some expertise in matters of the sea. A number of witnesses were called, including Matthew Laity, the crewman on the ferry, but there were notable exceptions. William Lang who was in charge of the ferry, was too ill to appear and when a juror asked where Mr Mead was, Police Sgt Warren replied:

'I am told he has gone to Fowey races'

Much of the discussion in court centred on the handling of the ferry by its crew. Henry Watts, the *Ganges* sailor, vividly described what happened, saying that when he came on Flushing Quay the coxswain said he was going to cross. Watts was smoothing his dog when the accident happened, but he saw the halyard lowered and the sail staying up. Laity had told the coxswain to put the helm down but the boat was swamped on the lee side and over she went. The coroner was scathing:

But you (to Laity) are a practical man – didn't it occur to you that holding the halyard was no earthly use?

Laity: No; I had nothing to say about it because I was acting under another who had been accustomed to the boat for years.

Coroner: If I go out on a boat in a storm and saw the sheet belayed, I should want to know the reason why.

Laity: I simply did as I was told

Coroner: This has always been the custom

Poor Laity was treated with a certain amount of compassion – he had, at least, turned up, which was more than could be said for Major Mead or the Harbour Commissioners. Both were censured. One juror remarked that the boat should have floated when overturned, was evidently patched up with pitch and putty and all kinds of stuff and was water sodden. On the question of whether it should have sailed in the conditions prevailing it was pointed out that Mr John Mead did not employ anyone to control the boats except the men who sailed in them.

The foreman said it was a question whether the boats ought not to be under the jurisdiction of a regular authority such as the Harbour Board, who had charge of shipping in the harbour. Was it right that such public traffic should be carried on at the sweet will of the men in charge of the boat? The Rev. Mr Savage, the Vicar of Flushing, had communicated with the Board of Trade on the matter and the reply was that these boats should be duly licensed. For some inexplicable reason the Harbour Board had not yet ordered the boats to be licensed.

In summing up, the Coroner said that the regulation of the traffic must be to a certain extent left to the discretion of the captains of the boats. Even had the boats been under the control of any authority such as the Harbour Board, that would not have prevented the accident, for the men would not have been deterred from belaying the sheet. It

certainly was a primitive and very poor method of getting across a very important passage of water. He should have thought a decent, proper ferry would have been provided long before. The question was whether they could blame a man for an accident which he certainly ought to have been able to control, but which he did not.

The jury's verdict reserved its strongest censure for the Falmouth Harbour Board:

Deceased's death was caused by the capsizing of a boat brought about by the indiscretion of having a sheet belayed; and some special means ought to be provided for keeping the boat afloat in such circumstances.

The attention of the Board of Trade should be called to the neglect of the Harbour Commissioners in not taking any steps to cause the boats belonging to Mr Mead to be duly licensed, although they have been requested by the Board of Trade to do so.

The *Falmouth Packet* was clear in its application of blame: 'Incomprehensible will it be to most people how the seafaring men in charge of the ferry blundered so egregiously over the halyard business' but also the Harbour Board 'persistently ignored the requests of the Board of Trade to compel the owner of the ferryboats to have them licensed in order that they be under proper and better control.'

The verdict was duly forwarded to the Board of Trade, who wrote to the Falmouth Commissioners asking for their comments. On 18th May the Commissioners wrote to the Board of Trade '... The Commissioners draw the attention of the Board of Trade to remarks of the coroner at the inquest as reported in the local papers viz: "even if the boats were licensed by the Harbour Board he did not think that authority could prevent them belaying the sheet". The licensing of boats and boatmen under the Bye Laws approved by the Board of Trade has been carried out here for over 25 years and during that period these ferry boats and boatmen have never been licensed. This Board... do not consider it

expedient to take any action in the matter.’

This is an extraordinary, if not desperate, defence. The Board seem to be suggesting that the very fact that they had never licensed Mead’s boats was proof that they did not need to be licensed. Today, of course, there would have been an inquiry followed no doubt by several court actions against Mead and the Commission. Nothing of a kind happened here. On the surface the Commissioners’ behaviour appears inexplicable, but there is one factor which may have influenced their decision. In 1891 the board had decided, unadvisedly as it turned out, to defend themselves against a plea for damages from a shipowner who claimed that the harbourmaster had wrecked his ship. The High Court decided for the plaintiff and the Board then compounded their error (their case was poor) by appealing. That too failed and they were saddled with a bill for damages and costs of over £1500. This was more than a year’s income and came at a time when other costs were increasing rapidly. The Harbour’s business was put in the hands of a receiver and the Board was forced to borrow money by mortgaging their steamer. The Town Council took the opportunity to propose to the Board of Trade that the Harbour should be taken away from the Commission and put in their hands. This threat was withdrawn quite quickly but the Commissioners had, from that moment, been unwilling to embark on any action in law and particularly one where the opponent was rich.

The Commission carried on, unscathed but increasingly burdened with running a struggling harbour and declining revenue until it was rescued by the providential appearance of the First World War. The Reverend Savage turned his campaigning instincts to the provision of clean water for Flushing and was rewarded in his declining years with his appointment as Rural Dean. The Falmouth watermen continued, much diminished in number and their quay punts converted to engine power but still providing services to visiting ships until the 1950s.

THE ISLAND TRUST

Dick Lloyd

[MPB- a bit about yourself?] *I spent the first half of my life in London, apart from the War years which I spent in Yorkshire and my National Service which was mainly in Germany. I then learnt to become a solicitor and subsequently became a partner in London firms. This left little time for the sea, but the rugby and cricket fields as well as the squash court witnessed many feeble attempts at competence on my part. The second half has been spent in the West Country which enabled me to develop the Trust further.*

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I first sailed on board *Hoshi*, a 72ft gaff rigged schooner, then belonging to the Island Cruising Club, in 1966, where I met and married Judy the cook, and much else besides. At the time, I was a partner in a firm of solicitors in London and I was asked by a friend, the late Hubert Monroe QC, who was then Commodore of the ICC, to form The Island Trust Ltd., which I did in 1973. Judy and I have both been closely involved with it ever since. We believe strongly in the huge benefits to be derived from the sailing experience which should be widely available to all young people.

The Island Trust, a registered charity, started its life in 1973, with the aim of getting young people, who could not otherwise afford it, on board a sailing vessel to enjoy the benefits, joy and challenge of amateur sailing. The Trust worked closely with the Island Cruising Club in Salcombe to achieve its aims, initially starting with dinghy sailing and a small number of voyages on board one of their traditional wooden and gaff rigged boats. One of the boats used by the Club from its inception was an old Brixham Trawler, *Provident*, which was then owned by the Maritime Trust, which decided, in 1993, to sell her as it felt that its resources should be applied more usefully elsewhere. The Island Trust raised the funds to purchase her and chartered her

to the Club to run on the Trust's behalf.

This continued for a sometime but, in 1999, the ICC decided that its finances were such that they could no longer afford to run her, and, as The Island Trust had neither the resources nor the expertise to operate her, they sought outside help to do so, which they did for a while but ultimately came to the conclusion that this was not sustainable, and, in 2002, she was sold. The dinghy sailing in Salcombe continued for a while but then, in 2011, that ceased.

About that time the Trust was fortunate to secure funding to enable it to build a Bristol Channel Pilot Cutter, *Pegasus*, which was launched in 2008, having been built to the Trust's requirements and designed by the late Ed Burnett.



Pegasus in the Solent

Pegasus is successful as a medium for youth work and for groups requiring slightly more private accommodation.

She has the simplest rig of The Island Trust vessels and, as such, is easy for our younger crew members to handle safely under sail and motor.

Sometime later, the Trust acquired the business of Cremyll Sailing in Plymouth, and eventually purchased the yacht, *Moosk*, built in 1906 and previously operated by Cremyll Sailing, thanks to a substantial donation.



Moosk in St Austell Bay

The Trust was also able to charter, on favourable terms, a boat owned by the late Dr. Roger Crabtree, *Tectona*. This enabled the Trust to increase its charitable work and enable over 600 young people per year – the majority of whom are disadvantaged/disabled in some way to experience both residential and day sailing, though it was always a struggle to get sufficient funding to achieve this.

Dr. Crabtree's main interest was the rehabilitation of adults suffering from drug/alcohol addiction. Though he gave wonderful support to the Trust, in 2018 he decided to operate *Tectona* through his own charity.

However, coincidentally, the Trust had been looking for some years at a Topsail Schooner, the *Johanna Lucretia*, which it thought would be ideal for its work. She was built in 1945 and has featured in such films as *The Riddle of the Sands*. The Trust received a legacy as well as a most generous donation which enabled it to purchase this vessel, and, effectively, replace the *Tectona*.



Johanna Lucretia between Fowey and Plymouth



Johanna Lucretia south of Fowey

The Trust believes that sailing on the boats it owns is a life enhancing experience for young people. It gives them new horizons, expands their capacity for initiative and cooperation, and, for a few it gives a job opportunity that they would not otherwise have considered. The Trust deals with a wide variety of youngsters from all backgrounds - some with major problems and others who just could not afford the experience.

The strength of The Island Trust lies in its staff. The Trust is proud to employ people who not only possess high professional qualifications but are also able to engage with young people in a meaningful and successful manner. They encourage our, often disenfranchised, beneficiaries to achieve so much more than they (and others) thought themselves capable of.

In recognition of the Trust's work, we were pleased to host a visit from the HRH The Princess Royal, Princess Anne on 26 July, 2019. Her Royal Highness toured our fleet and met with young sailors and

sea staff before attending a reception for invited guests. As a keen sailor herself and President of the Royal Yachting Association, she was keen to find out more about how we train and support the next generation of mariners.



*Princess Anne aboard Johanna Lucretia with Craig Young, skipper,
at Plymouth Yacht Haven, 26 July, 2019*

The wonderful, bright and engaging young people who sail with the Trust every season are a constant reminder that their future is worth investing in. The Trust continues to fundraise in an increasingly difficult and uncertain environment in order to remove the barriers to them achieving their potential and fulfilling their aspirations.

[MPB-the future?] The Covid-19 lockdown has meant a complete suspension of all sailing activities, resulting in the Trust receiving no income from them, whilst certain fixed costs remain. It has raised funds by accessing Government schemes, including the Bounce Back loan. Various charities have been very generous in their support

of the Trust, and, whilst the future remains uncertain, it is confident that with stringent cost control it will be able to ride out the current disruption and resume sailing again when circumstances permit, enabling it to continue its valuable work for which there will be even more need as a result of the detrimental effects of the lockdown on many young people.

The Trust's fleet of three fine highly regarded vessels is based at Plymouth Yacht Haven and readers would be welcome to tour them and find out more about our work by prior arrangement. Alternatively, visit www.theislandtrust.org.uk or call 01752 823007 and speak to Helen or Tom. You may also know of a group of deserving young people or individuals who would benefit from one of our voyages. More details can be found on our website.

THE *TECTONA*

Paul G Wright MNM

[MPB- How did you become involved?]

In 1979, having spent the best part of 13 years at sea I was looking for a move ashore. A future career as a lecturer in maritime training and education for Merchant Navy cadets and officers appealed. Plymouth school of Maritime Studies, based at Plymouth Polytechnic, had an excellent reputation for cadet training including 'outward bound' type of activities. Supporting the latter activities, the School operated the ketch called *Tectona*. The potential to serve on board a traditional sailing ship was attractive and when a job came up at the School I applied. I commenced work as a lecturer, but, before I had the opportunity to serve on the *Tectona*, she had been sold to an overseas charity and left Plymouth waters.

Twenty-eight years later and now involved with the development of the University of Plymouth's Marine Institute, I heard that the *Tectona* was returning to Plymouth. She was being sailed from Marseilles by her new owner, Dr Roger Crabtree and a volunteer crew. Roger had acquired the ship in order to develop his interest in working with people in recovery from drug and alcohol abuse to enable them to break free and form a new life. I was one of the first persons to greet Roger and the *Tectona* on her arrival in Plymouth. Later, I took on an advisory role with the Tectona Trust essentially linking the Trust to the University of Plymouth. In early 2018 I was asked to become a trustee of the charity Tectona Trust Ltd. This followed a significant organisational change including the establishment of Sailing Tectona CIC as an operating company. Dr Roger Crabtree died unexpectedly in October 2018. The trustees decided to continue the visionary work which had been started. In early 2019 I was asked to become chairman of Tectona Trust Ltd.

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Tectona was built in Kozhikode, previously known as Calicut, an Indian city, second-largest urban agglomeration in the State of Kerala, on the West Coast of India. in 1928 as a private yacht for a Major in the Army Medical Corps. Her original name has been maintained, in recognition of the tropical hardwood used in her construction.

It is not known when she was shipped to the United Kingdom and, over time, changed owners and professions. During World War 2, she worked for the Admiralty in the Hebridean islands. At the end of the war, she was '*gutted to go fishing*' but never went. She was '*later ill handled by a couple*' who planned to sail her to New Zealand - a journey which wasn't made.

In the nineteen fifties, Tom Blackwell, of the Crosse and Blackwell family purchased *Tectona* and had her refitted and re-rigged as a gaff ketch. In 1961, Alan Villiers, the distinguished sailor, sailed *Tectona* on a Cornish coastal passage. He described her as being '... good ship and with good gear'.

In 1964, *Tectona* was purchased by the '*Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Plymouth*' as the training ship for Plymouth School of Navigation. Able to accommodate 12 trainees and three sea-going staff, for 16 years she took Merchant Navy cadets on training and character building voyages about the Western English Channel. In 1980 the *Tectona* was sold to a Swiss charity, *Verein Plus*. She moved to the Mediterranean where she helped disadvantaged young people. In 2003 the charity ended their sailing programme. *Tectona* was laid up afloat and put up for sale in the port of Marseille.

A New Role

In 2007, a retired Somerset doctor and life time sailor, Dr Roger Crabtree decided to combine his interests to help individuals with personal problems. He looked for an appropriate vessel. His search took him to Marseille where he found the *Tectona*, which he purchased. The following year, *Tectona* sailed from Marseilles to Plymouth arriving in early May after an absence of 28 years.

The charity 'Tectona Trust Ltd' was established in 2009 which had the aim: *'to help people of all ages to develop and become mature and responsible individuals through the experience of sail training activities in traditional sailing craft, including maintaining and conserving the craft. Such people to include the socially disadvantaged and those suffering mental health and addiction problems'*.

The *Tectona* was coded as sail training vessel and a business plan created allowing her to undertake up to eight voyages annually of one week's duration for persons in recovery.

Cremyll Sailing (now the Island Trust) agreed to operate and maintain the *Tectona* and have full use of her for their training and adventure programme, except for the weeks required by the Tectona Trust for Recovery Voyages.

The arrangement worked well for over nine years. The Tectona Trust concentrated on developing the recovery voyages and many initiatives were taken including the involvement of the University of Plymouth and the Peninsular Medical School.

A bold adventure took place in 2012 when, the Tectona Trust in partnership with the charity *Phoenix Futures*, undertook a three month 1,500 mile voyage around Great Britain with *Tectona*. The voyage called the *'Voyage of Recovery 2012'* involved twelve legs each of five days duration. Eighty-seven persons in treatment for addiction were involved. An academic study concerning the value of sail training for rehabilitation was carried out by Matthew While, Charles Abraham, Jane Smith and Robert White of Exeter University, and, in 2012, with Petra K. Staiger, published as *Recovery Under Sail: Rehabilitation Clients' Experience of a Sail Training Voyage*.

Following the Voyage of Recovery 2012, a medical humanities module *At Sea with Recovery* was designed for medical students of the University of Plymouth Medical School. The module covered issues associated with persons abstinent and in recovery from drug and

alcohol addiction. It also encouraged trainee doctors to sail on *Tectona* and experience the value of a traditional vessel in helping recovery.

Whilst a 'one off' sailing experience is helpful to a person in recovery, the development of 'follow on' opportunities was recognised as being beneficial. In 2018 the Tectona Ocean Recovery Club (TORC) was established. TORC provides opportunity for social engagement and active involvement in the maintenance of *Tectona*. A project called *Voyages of Transformation* was also developed with partners MIND and the Shekinah Mission in Plymouth to help local people with mental health problems improve their self-esteem.

Change and Opportunity

2018 was also a year of change, loss and opportunity. The charter arrangements with the Island Trust came to an end. It was decided to go independent. The Tectona Trust would remain but a community interest company, 'Sailing Tectona', would be established.

Sadly, before the changes were completed, Dr. Roger Crabtree, whilst helming his own boat in Plymouth Sound, suffered a severe stroke and, despite medical help, 'crossed the bar'. Following Roger's death, the trustees of the Tectona Trust unanimously agreed to continue the work that Roger had begun. Later it became known that Roger had generously bequeathed the *Tectona* to the Trust.

2019 has been a year of challenge and opportunity. The Tectona Trust had been entered into National Lottery and ITV's 'People's Project' and was awarded a top prize of £50,000 to help fund recovery voyages.

In the early summer of 2019, Swansea Maritime Museum offered Sailing Tectona the use of the 1908 built Bristol Channel Pilot Cutter *Olga*. The *Olga* has been chartered to Sailing Tectona for five years. A partnership arrangement with Mount Kelly School of Tavistock has been arranged for eight weeks of each sailing season. Further opportunities are being developed.

A shore base, known as “the Shed” had been established to act as a centre for the activities of TORC and the maintenance of the vessels. “The Shed” is located close to the Hamoaze, on the Mount Edgecumbe estate and space is shared with the Lynher Barge CIC. Following a review in Spring 2020, it was decided to discontinue using the ‘Shed’. An informal agreement has been made with ‘Horizons’, a registered sailing charity based at Richmond Walk, Stonehouse to allow continuity of weekly shore-based TORC meetings at their premises.

During the 2019 sailing season, *Tectona* undertook 17 voyages of different types, taking her from Plymouth to Liverpool, Belfast, Paimpol and the ports of the South West of England. Seven charities, including the Gwennilli Trust, the Kairos Community Trust, Phoenix Futures, the Jatis Project, Safe Horizons, Hamoaze House and the Shekinah Mission have participated in activities on *Tectona*. Additional users of *Tectona* have included Merchant Navy officer trainees funded by Seafarers UK, students of Plymouth City College and the Modbury Cubs Group.

Whilst individuals or organisations are expected to make a financial contribution, the Tectona Trust Ltd is able to provide some financial subsidy for persons in Recovery. This is only made possible through the fund raising efforts of the Tectona team. Traditional ships are not cheap to keep and maintain, but the returns in terms of personal development by those who experience sail training on a traditional vessel are high.

[MPB-the future?]

The annual cost of the project is approximately £120,000 per annum. This is funded mainly through voyage bookings, grants and donations. Ensuring financial survival into an uncertain future is a major challenge

The sailing season for client groups is limited to the summer (April to October). The COVID–19 lockdown commencing in March could hardly have come at a worse time. On March 23rd 2020, the government of

the United Kingdom announced that, as a result of the pandemic, the country would go into lockdown. Lockdown, commencing when it did could not have come at a worse time. The planned sailing activities for both *Tectona* and *Olga* and their clients for 2020 collapsed. Safety is paramount to any activity and undertaking residential voyages where close proximity between crew members cannot be avoided and teamwork is encouraged is impossible.

The immediate future is still uncertain (July 2020). Plans are being developed to ensure that the work of the Tectona Trust and Sailing Tectona can fully recommence from April 2021.

The lockdown has meant that some maintenance work which had been commenced was incomplete. On the *Tectona*, the installation of a new Volvo marine diesel engine remains to be evaluated by the engine builders and trials undertaken. A new mizzen mast for *Tectona* was built by members of the TORC during the winter months. The stepping of the mizzen mast and the main mast remains to be achieved.

Without persons on board the *Tectona* to undertake maintenance during the months of lockdown, exposed paint and varnish work has deteriorated. The long dry spell in May caused some opening of the deck seams requiring a need for caulking to ensure water tightness.

Tectona is expected to have extended winter maintenance and possibly some internal refurbishment by members of TORC, volunteers and crew. It is possible that day sails may be undertaken before the end of the season. However, prestige events in which *Tectona* was involved, such as the city supported *Spirit of Adventure* to celebrate Mayflower 400 has been put back to 2021.

Olga was further ahead in her maintenance regime and is likely to fulfil her obligations to an outstanding contract at the end of the sailing season as well as undertake a private charter.

Whilst 2020 has been very disappointing for all concerned, members of Sailing Tectona, the Tectona Trust and TORC have maintained

morale through the use of regular internet meetings and involvement with on-line activities such as the '2.6 Challenge' and 'Virtual Regatta'.

Careful attention is being paid to ensure financial survival into 2021, by applying for grants and the use of government packages. Plans are taking place to launch a new organisation to be known as '*Friends of Tectona and Olga*' (FOTO) in September 2020. It is anticipated that FOTO will provide a platform for wider community support for the Recovery project and to ensure that the two fine traditional ships are cared for. The major challenges ahead are uncertainty, issues of social distancing, finance and re-establishing the client base. Plans are being worked up to pull through into 2021.

The dark days of 2020 will pass and an exciting future lies ahead.

For further information about the work of the 'Tectona' please view the website <http://www.sailingtectona.co.uk/> or contact the author, Paul G Wright MNM FNI. tel No 01752 405603 paulwright.plym@outlook.com



'Tectona' built by men, helped by elephants in Calicut, India (1928)



*TS Tectona at sea as the cadet Training Ship of
Plymouth School of Navigation (1964 – 1980)*



TS 'Tectona – Homeward Bound – from Marseilles to Plymouth



Dr Roger Crabtree being interviewed on TS 'Tectona' following her arrival at Plymouth in May 2008



A fine view of the TS 'Tectona' under full canvas in the summer of 2018



*Merchant Navy Officer trainees supported by Seafarers UK
enjoy the excitement of sailing on the TS Tectona.*



The 1908 Bristol Channel Pilot Vessel 'Olga'



The Sea Staff of 'Sailing Tectona': Emma Hartley (mate), Jen Davis (relief mate), Aidan Begbie (relief skipper) and Ben Williams (skipper)

THE MANLEY GOBLET

Mike Patrick

This article was encouraged by a query received by Tom Epton, of Topsham (through Topsham Sailing Club), concerning the provenance of an inscribed glass goblet. The decoration on the goblet involved a representation of a nineteenth century, two-masted, sailing vessel with two additional inscriptions. The more formal of these, in ornamental script, presented the legend, **“J & L Manley, Topsham, 1857.”** A further, cruder, engraved inscription, in block capitals, bearing the name **“SOUTHAMPTON,”** was etched beneath the ship.

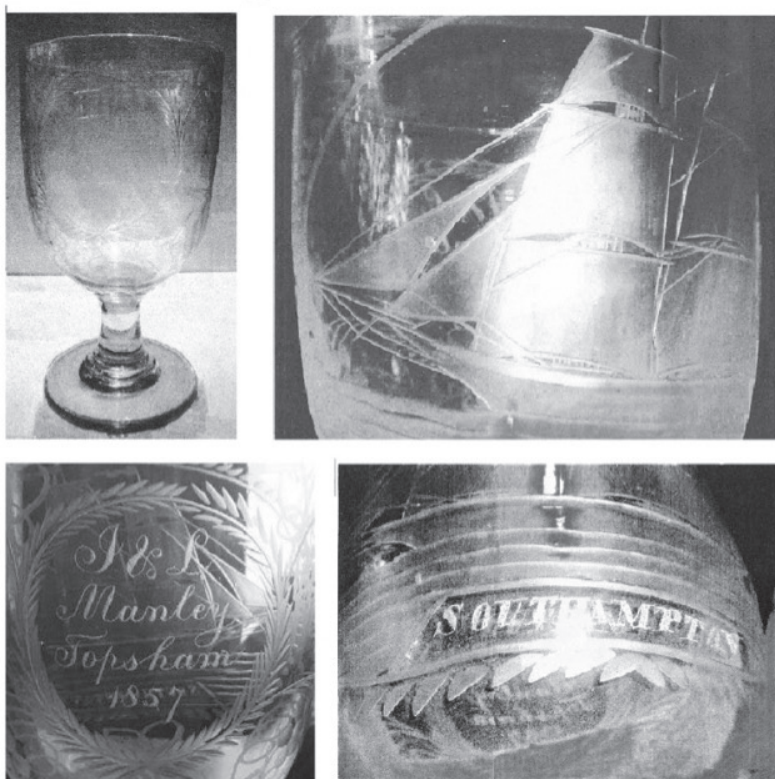


Fig. 1 - Images of the Manley Goblet provided by the enquirer.

The Ship “Southampton”

In the 1850's, the name SOUTHAMPTON for a ship was not particularly common but it so happens that a particular vessel of this name immediately comes to mind in connection with Topsham.

At the foot of Follett Road, in Topsham, is a house called “Furlong,” the home for many years of Hugh Wilson Holman. Built from limestone blocks, it was converted from the sail loft of Holman Shipbuilders' Upper Yard while the garden was originally the slipway. In 1800, this yard was owned by the Davy family but in 1842 it was taken over by Holman who acquired the shipbuilding and ship-repairing business of Daniel Bishop Davy described as the “Upper Yard, Topsham.” This shipyard was important. Fully equipped with an anchor and chain forge as well as a foundry and a block shop in Follett Road, the yard was able to construct and equip vessels up to 500 tons. One of the vessels associated with this yard was the brig, **Southampton**¹.

According to notes held by Topsham Museum, this ship was built as a *snow* at Northam, near Southampton, in 1829, but converted to a *brig* in 1834. The difference between these rigs is indicated by the following diagrams ²:-

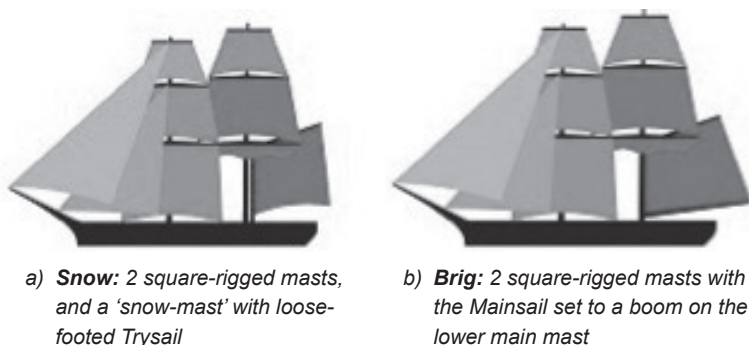


Fig. 2 - Details of rigs of a) Snow and b) Brig

1 The Port of Topsham - Its Ships and Shipbuilding, by Leonard E. Braddick, *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, Vol. 85, 1953.

2 Wikipedia Commons - File: *Brig.png*, creator Refundpolitics.

The vessel depicted on the goblet appears, rather, to be a “schooner-brig” with one square-rigged foremast and one fore-and-aft rigged main mast. The brig *Southampton* was 218 tons gross with dimensions 83.2ft x 21.5ft x 15.8ft. Originally owned by Gibbs & Co. of Bristol, with Southampton as her home port she was used on the Cowes to Jamaica route, carrying plantation goods. Her master was J. Briggs. This trade came to an end with the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. The legislation came into effect in August 1834, whereby all slaves in the British Empire were considered free under British law. In 1834 Gibbs and Co. changed their home port of operation from Southampton to Bristol and concentrated on the Liverpool to Valparaiso route. In 1837, Lima, in Peru, became the favoured destination and, by 1838, return cargo was being brought back to London. In 1839, ownership of the vessel was changed to Chodwick and trading became concentrated on Gibraltar and Cadiz, Spain, with W. C. Riley as Master.



**On SALE,
The fine Brig SOUTHAMPTON,
Of Bristol,**

217 35-94 tons old measurement; stands A 1 twelve years; coppered and copper-fastened; built at Southampton, in 1829, under the efficient superintendence of the present master, in the most substantial manner and of the best materials, expressly for the use of the present owners and for the Cape Horn trade, in which she has been regularly employed, and is well known as a favourite vessel. She has always been kept in a state of perfect repair; sails fast; carries a large cargo for her tonnage; is well found in stores of the best description, and will be found a most desirable vessel for any trade her size may suit: lying in Victoria Dock.

GIBBS, BRIGHT, and Co.

Fig.3 - Liverpool Mail - 31 March 1840 – For Sale by Gibbs, Bright and Co.

In 1843, the ship was acquired by Hooper and Co., with C. Hooper as Master, and the home port was registered as Plymouth, on 12 April 1843, by the owners Charles Hooper of Plymouth (32/64), Arthur Parker of Exmouth (16/64) and Joseph Nolloth of Exmouth (16/64). The destined voyage was Cork, Ireland, to St John's, Newfoundland

(1844-46), Topsham to the Mediterranean (1846-47), Liverpool to the Mediterranean (1848-50), Plymouth to Rio de Janeiro (1851) and Hull to Mediterranean (1854-55).

SEA VIEW—March 18 : Off Dunnose this day, 18—The brig Southampton, Hooper, of Plymouth, from Trieste for London.

Fig.4 - Shipping and Mercantile Gazette - 19 March 1853 – Back from the Med³.

Early in 1859 a notice was published in the Shipping and Mercantile Gazette of Thursday 03 March 1859, in which Mr. W.M. Norris was offering for sale, at the Globe Hotel, Topsham, “the Three Fourths of the Brig SOUTHAMPTON, 218 tons register”, on behalf of Mr John Holman of Topsham.

**At TOPSHAM.—By Mr. WM. NORRIS,
At the GLOBE HOTEL, TOPSHAM,
On SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1859, at One o’Clock P.M. precisely,**
 **THE following serviceable SHIPS :—**
The Brigantine WILLIAM, 144 tons register, carries 220 tons.
The Schooner PERSEVERANCE, 76 tons register, carries 120 tons.
The Brigantine ELEANOR, 157 tons register, carries 230 tons.
The Schooner BROWNFIELD, 94 tons register, carries 180 tons.
The Brig RECOVERY, 347 tons register, carries 650 tons, or 490 loads of timber.
The three-fourths of the Brig SOUTHAMPTON, 218 tons register, carries 330 tons.
All the above are lying near the Dry Dock, Topsham.
The Brig EMMA, 198 tons register, carries 300 tons. Lying in Exmouth Bight.
The Barque HEART OF OAK, 326 tons, carries 450 tons. Lying near the Railroad Station, Starcross.
The Brig JOHN BROWN, 299 tons, carries 450 tons, or 375 loads timber. Lying in the West India Import Dock, London.
For further particulars apply to
Mr. JOHN HOLMAN, Topsham.

Fig.5 - Shipping and Mercantile Gazette - 03 March 1859 – Offer for sale.

3 Dunnose is a cape on the Isle of Wight, to the east of Ventnor. The headland is visible from well out to sea, and is used in navigation. It has twice been used as the base point for a triangulation of Great Britain.

During 1858/59 shares were transferred by the owners as follows: 11 May 1858, Nolloth sold 16 shares to John Holman Snr., 15 March 1859, Hooper sold 32 shares to John Holman Snr., 15 April 1859, John Holman sold his 32 shares to Thomas Holman and 4 May 1859 Parker sold 16 shares to Thomas Holman. This ensured that all 64 shares were acquired by Thomas Holman by mid-1859. The ship's connections with Topsham are further revealed by a later 1859 advertisement, in the *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette* of Thursday 09 June 1859, issued by the agents offering the Brig for sale.

PRIVATE SALES. - THE Brig SOUTHAMPTON, 218 tons register NM; built at Southampton, at great cost, under particular inspection; classed twelve years at Lloyd's. She has from to time had large repairs, and on one occasion was almost rebuilt at Topsham; has always been well kept up. Masts, spars, and rigging nearly new; has an abundant inventory of every description of stores; is a most desirable vessel for the West India or Baltic trades; is now in dry dock, undergoing considerable repair, and will class Æ 1 in black.⁴ For further particulars apply to:-

***GEO. BAYLEY and WM. RIDLEY,
2, Cowper's-court, Cornhill, E.C.***

In preparation for the year 1860-61 the ship was again included in Lloyd's Register as No.556. The owner was listed as T. Holman, with the home port of Topsham and the destined voyage declared as Cardiff to Spain. Unfortunately this was to be the last voyage of the brig *Southampton* as described in the following report ⁵:

ANTWERP, 6th Feb. Intelligence from Bayonne⁶, states that a vessel was driven on shore at Contis (Landes)⁷ in the night of 31st January. Further details that had reached Bayonne, state

⁴ Æ refers to the Lloyds Classification "Second description of the first class"

⁵ *Lloyd's List*, Tuesday 07 February 1860:

⁶ Bayonne is a city in the Nouvelle-Aquitaine region, in the Basque Country, Southwest France.

⁷ Contis is a village, part of the commune of Saint-Julien-en-Born, in the Landes department of Southwest France.

that she was the SOUTHAMPTON (British vessel), from Cardiff to Santander, with coal, and that all the crew had perished.

Confirmation came in a later report in Welsh newspapers ⁸.

DAVIES - Jan 31. John Rees Davies, master of the brig Southampton, of Exeter, aged 26, eldest son of Mr George Davies, ship-builder, of this town, who perished on his passage from Cardiff to Santanderre, with all his crew, on the night of January 31st, at Dax, near Bayonne.

The above information suggests a strong possibility that the Southampton Brig was undergoing refit in Topsham during the appropriate period in 1857 when the Manley Goblet was engraved.

The Manley Family

The connection of the Manley family with Topsham may be readily established with the help of the parish registers and census returns. A simplified extract from the family tree is shown on the following page.

William Manley was baptised in Topsham on 8 July 1767, the son of William Manley (1744-1804) and his wife Frances (nee Woodford). When they married, on 9 October 1766, William, Snr. was recorded as a ropemaker & Frances as Mrs. Babbage, a widow. The witnesses were Samuel Morris and Samuel Dugdile).

⁸ *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian; Glamorgan, Monmouth, and Brecon Gazette* – Saturday 18 February 1860.

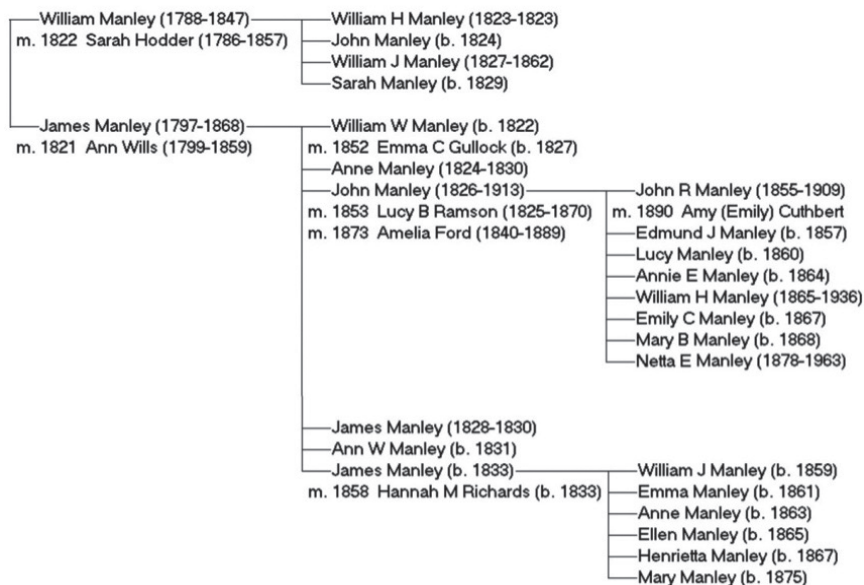


Fig.6 - Extract from Manley Family Tree

William Manley, Jnr. (1767-1820) followed his father into his profession as a rope-maker and this was recorded on his marriage certificate when he married Sarah Coker at St. Margaret's, Topsham on 4 February 1788. Topsham Residents listed In the Universal British Directory in about 1794 included, under "Traders" - Manley, William, Rope-maker.

By 1820 the Napoleonic wars had finished, William Manley had died aged 53, and was buried in the February of that year at St Margaret's Church. The two eldest sons of the marriage, William Manley (1788-1831) and James Manley (1797-1868) continued in the family business, but with limited success. A *London Gazette* in 1835 carried the news that the eldest son was involved in Bankruptcy proceedings⁹:

THIS is to give notice, that by an indenture, bearing date the 8th day of August in the year of our Lord 1835, William Manley, of

9 The London Gazette - 18 August 1835 Issue: 19298, Page: 1590

Topsham, in the County of Devon, Rope-Maker, hath assigned his dwelling-house and rope-walk in his possession, situate in Topsham aforesaid, and the book and other debts, bills, notes, stock in trade, household goods and furniture, live and dead stock, and all and singular other the personal estate, property, and effects, of what nature or kind soever, of him the said William Manley, together with all the books of account, vouchers, and other papers and writings in any wise relating thereto, unto Robert Rogers Sanders, of the City of Exeter, Wine and Spirit Merchant, and Daniel Bishop Davy, of Topsham, in the County of Devon, and of the said City, Hemp Merchant and Chain Cable and Anchor Manufacturer, as Trustees, upon trust for the benefit of all the Creditors of him the said William Manley; and that the said indenture was duly executed by the said William Manley and Daniel Bishop Davy on the said 8th day of August instant, and by the said Robert Rogers Sanders on the 11th day of August aforesaid, and which indenture was witnessed by Henry Melhuish Ford, of the City of Exeter aforesaid, Solicitor.

By the end of 1835 the Bankruptcy had been announced in the newspapers¹⁰.

An 1839 Directory shows that William Manley was able to continue his rope-making business in Fore Street, Topsham¹¹ and, by the census of 1841, both brothers were still active in the manufacture of rope.

1841 Census HO107/265/24/6/6, High Street, Topsham (next to Grove House)

MANLEY William	50	Ropemaker	b. Devon
MANLEY Sarah	55		b. Devon
MANLEY William	14		b. Devon
MANLEY John	15		b. Devon
MANLEY Sarah	11		b. Devon
TAPPER Elizabeth	15	Female Servant	b. Devon

¹⁰ *The Bankrupt Directory*: Dec 1820 to April 1843, by George Elwick: Manley, William, Topsham, Devonshire, rope maker, 4 Dec 1835.

¹¹ ROBSON'S DIRECTORY OF 1839: Manley, James, Fore Street, Shopkeeper; Manley, William, Fore Street, Rope-maker.

1841 Census HO107/265/24/8/10, High Street, Topsham

MANLEY James	40	Rope Maker	b. Devon
MANLEY Ann	40		b. Devon
MANLEY William	15		b. Devon
MANLEY Ann	10		b. Devon
MANLEY James	8		b. Devon

In addition, the elder brother, William, had developed a promising side-line in cider making:

Exeter and Plymouth Gazette - Saturday 19 August 1843

TOPSHAM - DEVON: For Sale, a Quantity of Prime Cider, well worth the attention of Innkeepers and private Families. Apply to Mr W Manley, Rope Maker, Topsham.

The Troake Map and Apportionment of 1842 shows the location of William Manley's rope-walk (no.151) as next door to Grove House (no.150), which was later to become the property of the Holman family:

Owner: Robert Drewe; No: 150; Grove House, yard, garden & offices

Owner: Thomas Paine or William Manley; No: 151; House, Rope Yard.



Fig.7 – Rope-yard adjacent to Grove House (from “Troake Map” of 1842)

The combination of the Troake Map and Apportionment of 1840 with the Tithe Map of 1840 shows the location of a further Manley rope-walk (no.374) adjacent to Majorfield Lane and close to the more established rope and twine spinning business owned and run by the Follett family (no.372 & 177), shown below. Both walks were perpendicular to Fore-street, the main thoroughfare of the town.

*Owner: John Follett; Tenant: John Follett, No: 372, Rope Walk, Pasture
Owner: Abraham Slade; Tenant: James Manley, No: 374; Rope Walk
Field*



Fig.8 – Rope Walk Field (No.374 on “Troake Map” of 1842)

William Manley, the elder brother died in 1847, at the age of 59 and his administrators called for help in settling his financial affairs by means of a notice in the local press ¹².

NOTICE - All Persons indebted to the Estate of Mr. William Manley, of Topsham, Rope Maker, are hereby required to pay the amount to Mr William Ireland, Monmouth street, Topsham aforesaid, or to Mr Francis Davy, also of Monmouth Street, Topsham, or at Palace gate, Exeter, who are duly authorised to receive the same; to either of whom all demands on the Estate must be sent in order to be examined. - Dated 7th July, 1847.

A local Directory confirmed the names of the remaining ropemakers:

White's Devonshire Directory of 1850 - TOPSHAM - ROPE, TWINE, AND SACKING MFRS. - Follett & Co. Fore Street; James Manley, High Street; Edward Moore, High Street; Thomas Paine, High Street.

The younger brother James Manley continued to run his business in Fore Street (still called High Street for the 1851 census):

¹² *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, Saturday 10 July 1847

1851 Census HO107/1866/280/8, High Street, Topsham

MANLEY James	Head	M	53	Rope maker	GLS Bristol
MANLEY Ann	Wife	M	51		DEV Moreton
MANLEY William W	Son	U	28	Rope maker	DEV Topsham
MANLEY Ann W	Daur	U	20	Dress maker	DEV Topsham
MANLEY James	Son	18	App. rope maker		DEV Topsham

Daur. = Daughter; App. = Apprentice

While William's first son (also William) continued in the rope-making business, the second son John Manley (1826-1913) followed a career as a mariner, receiving his mate's certificate in 1854. A year before this he married Lucy Berry Ramson, the daughter of Edmund Berry Ramson, a Master Mariner. In 1861, John's wife and two young children remained behind in Topsham, while John himself was at sea.

1861 Census RG9/1386/102/4, High Street, Topsham

MANLEY Lucy B	Wife	M	35	Husband at sea	DEV Topsham
MANLEY John R	Son	U	6	Scholar	DEV Topsham
MANLEY Edmund J	Son	U	3		DEV Topsham
MANLEY Lucy	Daur	U	15m		DEV Topsham

Daur. = Daughter

In 1859 James's wife Ann Manley (née Wills) died in Exmouth, aged 60, and was buried in a family plot in the new Topsham Cemetery. There is evidence that by this time their Topsham ropewalk was rented out and that several members of the family had moved to Exmouth, where they can be found on the 1861 Census. These included James himself,

1861 Census RG9/1382/69/39, Wellington Place, Littleham, Exmouth.

VEALS James	Head	M	57	Watch Maker	DEV Uffculme
-------------	------	---	----	-------------	--------------

and family

/MANLEY James	Lodger	W	63	Rope Maker	GLS Bristol
---------------	--------	---	----	------------	-------------

/ indicates that James was sharing the premises.

and his eldest son William Wills Manley who continued in the rope-

making business in Exmouth, having married Emma Caroline Gullock in 1852.

1861 Census RG9/1382/86/26, The Point, Littleham, Exmouth, Devon				
MANLEY William	Head	M	39	Ropemaker emp. DEV Topsham
2 men & 5 boys				
MANLEY Emma	Wife	M	24	DEV Sidmouth

In 1868, James Manley Snr. died, aged 71, and was buried in Topsham Cemetery on 25 August 1868 next to his wife Ann. His affairs were inherited by William Wills Manley, his eldest son, and his daughter, Ann Wills, who, a year later, placed an advertisement offering the family rope-making business in Topsham for sale:

TO ROPEMAKERS and Others.—To be SOLD, a ROPEMAKING BUSINESS, including requisite PLANT. The walk is 120 fathoms long by 16 feet broad, and covered for a distance of about 180 feet. Rent of premises, £7 per annum and out. A good business may be done, while a small capital only is required for a commencement.—For further particulars apply to Mr. Wm. Manley, Rope-maker, Topeham.

Fig.9 - Western Morning News - Wednesday 29 September 1869

Conclusion

Examination of the Manley family tree identifies the **J & L Manley** on the goblet as John Manley (1826-1913) and his wife Lucy Berry Ramson (1825-1870). Since their family home was in Topsham and John Manley was a professional mariner, there would have been every opportunity for a connection with the ship Southampton which apparently spent some time in Topsham around the year 1857 undergoing refit and/or repair and finished in the ownership of Thomas Holman. While no evidence has been found of the participation of the Manley family in the refit of the Southampton, their presence as the proprietors of one of the leading rope-walks in the town suggests that they might well have had some important involvement. The exact nature of the connection which resulted in the making and decoration of the goblet is a matter of conjecture.

CAPTAIN JOHN BULLEY

1798-1881

HIS LIFE AND TIMES IN DARTMOUTH & BEYOND



Jonathan Turner

John Bulley of Dartmouth, 1798-1881

Over 83 years, John Bulley lived an eventful life on land and at sea. As a merchant Captain for more than 30 years, he circumnavigated the world five times, visiting distant parts of the burgeoning British Empire, was shipwrecked twice, but never lost a member of his crew. As a local politician, he was Mayor and Chief Magistrate of Dartmouth, and was caught up in the political storms of the Reform Act, the Corn Laws, and the Navigation Acts, as well as being involved in the corruption of the famous rotten borough election of 1857. As entrepreneur, he owned merchant ships into his 70s, including the first paddle steamer on the Dart, and drove through trading innovations including the railway to Kingswear, the Lighthouse, the Daymark, and the packet service to Africa and the East Indies. As father, he lost his only son before his first birthday, but was outlived by 4 daughters, 3 of whom were close by him when he died.

John Bulley was born into a seafaring family in Dartmouth in 1798 and baptised at St. Clement's church, Townstal in June of that year. His father Richard was from Broadhempston, near Totnes, and a master mariner. His mother Mary was a Soper from Dittisham, a family also rooted in the maritime life. Their seven children were all baptised in the parish of Townstal, either at St Petrox or St Clements. John had an elder brother Richard, 12 years older than him, and 3 sisters, Mary, Ann and Eliza. Richard and Mary's second son was also named John, but died as an infant, before the younger John was born.

His father, Richard Bulley, had a long and successful career as a ship's master on the Newfoundland, Lisbon, England, triangular trade routes. Starting in 1766, his last trip was in 1821. He made enough money to become a ship owner, and was able to introduce his sons to the ways of the sea from an early age. His eldest son, Richard Bulley Jnr. (John's elder brother), followed in his father's footsteps, and one trip, when he was 18, records him as Seaman (Rich Bulley Jnr), when his father (R. Bulley) was Master.

Muster Roll of the Hunter, 1804

Names of OFFICERS and SEAMEN.	Post on Board.	Age.	Where born and Place of Abode.	
			Birth	Abode.
George Cook	Mate	27	Hull	Yorkshire
Thomas Harris	Steward	35	Hamborough	
Rich ^d Bullen Junr	Do	18	Dorchester	
John Cook	Do	30	Waterside	
Samuel Tucker	Cook	20	Blackstone	
R Bullen	Master			

Source: Original document, National Archives, Kew

By the time John started his seafaring career, his brother Richard had moved up to Liverpool, where trade was booming, but the brothers would surely have sailed together on board their father's boats before he left.

John's first recorded trip was in 1812 aged 14 as a "youngster" on the *Dash*, for a quick two month trip to Gibraltar, under the command of an unusually experienced Master and Mate; perhaps Richard selected them specially for this trip on his own 74 tonnes, Dutch built Schooner, *Dash*.

Muster Roll of the *Dash*, 1812, Dartmouth to Gibraltar

A MUSTER ROLL of the Schooner *Dash* No. 10000 Master from Dartmouth to

Names of OFFICERS and SEAMEN	Post on Board	Age	Whereborn and Place of Birth	Name of Ship and Master, and what Voyage each Man has performed	Time when, and Place where Entered	Time when, and Place where Discharged, Died, Killed, Shot, or Deserted
St. James	Master	48	Highgate, Suffolk	Schooner <i>Dash</i> - 10000	1812	1812
Robt. Adams	Mate	31	Burgess, Dorset	Schooner <i>Dash</i> - 10000	1812	1812
Mr. Dunning	Seaman	19	Dartmouth, Dorset	Schooner <i>Dash</i> - 10000	1812	1812
Mr. Lambin	"	17	Highgate, Suffolk	Schooner <i>Dash</i> - 10000	1812	1812
John Greenman	"	15	Dartmouth, Dorset	Schooner <i>Dash</i> - 10000	1812	1812
John Batty	Seaman	14	Dartmouth, Dorset	Schooner <i>Dash</i> - 10000	1812	1812

Source: Original document, National Archives, Kew

This early exposure to life at sea meant he rose quickly, to be First Mate in the *Sidbury* in 1816, and soon after was captaining Dartmouth-based ships to Newfoundland, Lisbon and further Mediterranean ports. These were 70-150 tonne Brigs and Schooners, such as the *Shannon*, *Redlap*, *Shamrock* and *Sidbury*, owned by local ship-owning families.

His first confirmed command was the *Shannon*, a 74 tonne, American built schooner owned by the well-known Dartmouth family, the Holdsworths. In 1818, aged just 21, he set out for Newfoundland with a crew of 6 and was away for 6 months. On returning, he signed the muster roll confidently:

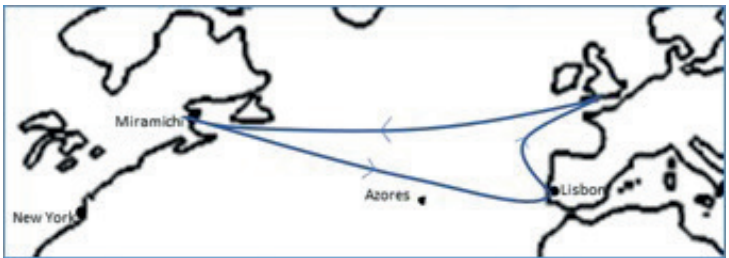
Muster Roll of the *Shannon*, 1818

12 May 1818
Dartmouth 12 January 1819
Bully

Source: Original document, National Archives, Kew

His next command was the *Redlap*, another American designed schooner of 114 tonnes built in Marblehead Massachusetts, and owned by the Dartmouth shipowners, Hingston & Co. The relations between the two families were obviously close, as John's sister Mary married one of the Hingston sons George, on Jan 1st 1820. In July of the same year, John set off on an 8 month voyage around the triangular trade: Dartmouth, Newfoundland, Lisbon, London. The muster roll records a crew of 5 (all Dartmothians), returning to Dartmouth, via Lisbon, 8 months later in February 1821.

Voyage of the *Redlap*, 1821-22



Muster Roll of the *Redlap*, 1821-22, John Bulley, Master

A MUSTER ROLL of the *Redlap* John Bulley Master from London

Name of CREWMAN and SEAMAN	Race or Birth	Age	Where born and Place of Abode	Rank of Ship and Money, and other Particulars for his pay	Time when, and Place where Discharged	Time when, and Place where Discharged	Time when, and Place where Discharged	Time when, and Place where Discharged	Time when, and Place where Discharged
John Bulley	Master	38	Dartmouth	1st Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	1st Mate	30	Dartmouth	2nd Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	3rd Mate	25	Dartmouth	3rd Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	4th Mate	20	Dartmouth	4th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	5th Mate	18	Dartmouth	5th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	6th Mate	15	Dartmouth	6th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	7th Mate	12	Dartmouth	7th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	8th Mate	10	Dartmouth	8th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	9th Mate	8	Dartmouth	9th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	10th Mate	6	Dartmouth	10th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	11th Mate	4	Dartmouth	11th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	12th Mate	2	Dartmouth	12th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	13th Mate	1	Dartmouth	13th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	14th Mate	0	Dartmouth	14th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	15th Mate	0	Dartmouth	15th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	16th Mate	0	Dartmouth	16th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	17th Mate	0	Dartmouth	17th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	18th Mate	0	Dartmouth	18th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	19th Mate	0	Dartmouth	19th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822
John Bulley	20th Mate	0	Dartmouth	20th Mate	1821	1822	1822	1822	1822

Source: Original document, National Archives, Kew

In Lisbon, he sold his salted cod, and with the proceeds bought 340 chests of oranges, which were sold in London on 22nd February.

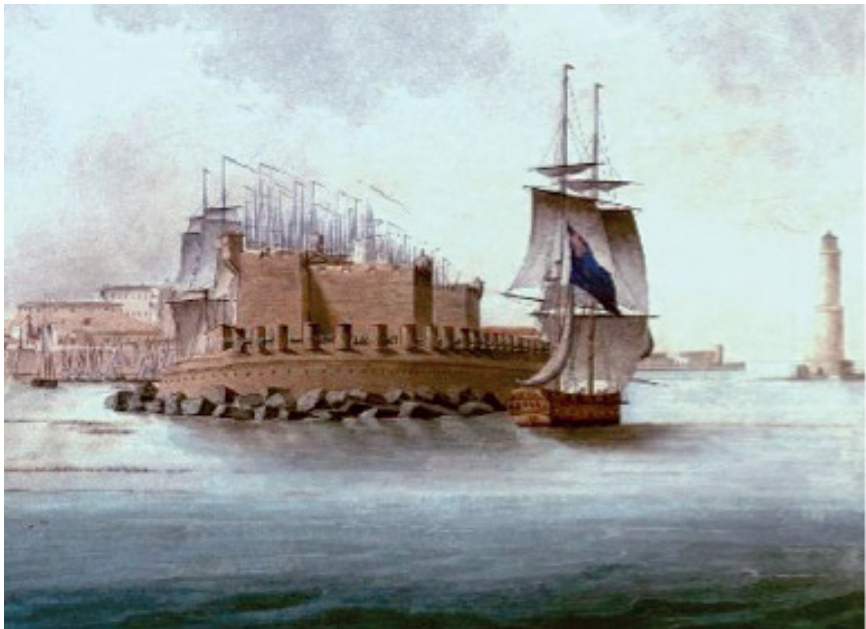
**Advertisement for the auction of oranges
from the *Redlap*, Feb 1822**



The following year John repeated the trip, but on the return leg he ran into severe storms, and was forced to beach off Newhaven. The crew and cargo were saved, but the *Redlap* was damaged and had to be sold. When he returned to Dartmouth, he was faced with further tragedy when his father died at sea on 20th March 1821.

Despite these deep personal and commercial setbacks, John was clearly on a mission, and was next seen in the summer in Liverpool, taking on the 170 tonne brig *Latona*. This was a ship that his brother had commanded in previous years, so we can assume that Richard made the introduction for his younger brother. John took the ship on a two year voyage around the Mediterranean including a visit to the free port of Leghorn (Livorno).

Livorno ("Leghorn"), Italy c.1800



Constantinople was the final port before returning home, but the crew obviously ran into some trouble here, as the muster records one of the crew members having been wounded in November 1823.

Muster roll of the *Latona*, 1822-23

1 Jan 1824	4	3
1 Jan 1824	2	14
wounded 11 Nov 1823	-	1
John Buckley	138	9

Source: Original document, National Archives, Kew

He returned in time for Christmas 1823, but obviously had other plans in mind, for on January 12th 1824 he married Elizabeth Jellard, at St Andrew's in East Allington, 5 miles South of Dartmouth.

St Andrew's East Allington



Over the next few years Elizabeth gave birth to three girls and a boy, Elizabeth (Bessie), 1828, John, 1832, Ann 1833, and Fanny 1836; all were baptised in St Clement's, Townstal. John and Elizabeth started married life in East Allington where Bessie was born, but two years later in 1830, they moved to Dartmouth, living in South Ford Cottage.

John's first born son, John died aged 4 months, so in his family life he was surrounded by women, though in truth he was more often at sea than at home whilst they were growing up. Both his father and elder brother were mariners, and both died at sea. His elder sister married George Hingston a Dartmouth family who were shipowners, agents and consuls in the port, representing companies and countries engaged in trade with Dartmouth. His younger sister married a local ship designer and builder John Wilson Green of whom we will hear more.

John Bulley's family

His father, Richard Bulley was a shipowner and Captain in Dartmouth. He died at sea.



His brother was ship's Captain in Dartmouth and Liverpool. He died at sea.



John was destined for a life at sea. His break came in 1826, when he was made Master of the *Matilda*, a Brig of some 280 tons with a crew of 17 men and boys, which sailed out of Liverpool and traded regularly with countries such as the Dutch East Indies, Singapore and the Philippines. Not only was this a significant step up in size from his previous vessels, he also had to contend with and train a new crew, as the previous crew followed the *Matilda's* outgoing Captain to his new ship. John's first voyage in command was Liverpool to Miramichi, Newfoundland (return), and with only the mate and an apprentice remaining from the previous crew, it can't have been an easy trip: two men deserted before leaving port, and the apprentice drowned. The picture below, by Luny, shows a brig entering Dartmouth at about the time of John's captaincy.

Brig entering Dartmouth, c1828



Artist: Thomas Luny (1759-1837)

However, at an early age Captain Bulley acquired a reputation for being a master who could bring the best out of his ship and its crew. And after trips on the *Matilda* to Manilla, Batavia and Singapore, he impressed the ship's owners (Henderson's) enough to be given a new and bigger ship: the *George Canning*, in 1828. It was built in Prince Edward Island to the new Clipper style that the Americans had used to outrun the British ships in the wars of independence: they were designed for speed as well as carriage. John's first trip on the *George Canning*, was around the world: a voyage from Liverpool back to London via his home base of Dartmouth in just 95 days – a record for this passage, and the first of many records he would lay down in his career, and proving the worth of the new American design.

The Voyage of the *George Canning*, 1828



The economics of this trade were driven by the development of the new territories of Tasmania and Australia. Outbound, the ship would carry a cargo of luxuries and the essentials required to build a new economy, supplemented by a dozen or so fare-paying passengers, and looked after by steward, cook, and surgeon. Homebound, the cargo would be colonial produce: timber, sperm whale oil, and various agricultural products (wheat, or cheese).

List of the cargo of the *George Canning*, in Hobart, 1830Cargo of the *George Canning*.

4 casks Madeira wine, 2 cases military taps and 1 bag corks for the officers of the 63d regiment. 42 crates earthenware, 32 hhds and 9 tierces porter Kemp & Co. 3 cases apparel, 1 crate earthenware, 4 bales blankets, flannel and furniture, and 3 cases haberdashery and hats John Swan. 3 cases shoes, hardware and straw bonnets, 1 case coffin furniture, 1 do japannery, &c. 2 crates earthenware and ironmongery, and 1 box apparel John Cameron. 16 cases and 24 bales white and striped cottons and stuffs, 354 hhds porter, 45 boxes tin plates, 40 kegs lead, 10 hhds loaf sugar, 1 cask brushes, 1 case bombazetts, 3 bales slops, 2 cases stuffs, 20 bales lining, 1 case hops, 13 do stationery and cards, 2 do paste boards, 7 bales flannels and blankets, 2 do carpeting, 7 cases hosiery and bombazine, 3 bales slops, 4 cases haberdashery and apparel, 3 bales cotton wick and 1 cask hardware Dawes and Hewitt. 24 hhds porter, 3 hhds brandy, 5 casks rum, 2 hhds loaf sugar, 1 box candy sugar, 5 cases hosiery, 2 bales cloth, 4 do cords and slops, 2 cases hardware, 29 boxes soap, 50 jars butter, 1 tierce turnery, 5 bales paper, 1 case cottons, 2 do confectionary, 2 casks corks and haberdashery, 1 do British compounds, 2 do shoes and ironmongery, 5 do ginger, currants, raisins and figs Henry Bilton. 15 hhds Terneriff wine M. Steel. 2 cases books Rev. J. Macarthur. 1 cask earthenware, 4 cases muskets, 2 baskets and 2 bundles spades and steel, 2 cases hard and plated ware F. Smith. 2 cases haberdashery Geo. Langford. 1 box apparel G. Woodward. 1

cask seeds Geo. Brooks. 1 case apothecary 3 casks instruments, books, &c. 1 crate bottles, 3 casks glass W. Cook. 4 cases pipes, 6 cases and 1 bale cottons, 7 cases hats, haberdashery and millinery R. Lewis. 6 bales woollens J. T. Gellibrand. 1 case port, 1 do and 1 basket apothecary, 4 jugs paint oil, 2 bales sacks and slops, 2 cases guns and carbines, 2 cases tin plates and blocks, 5 cases umbrellas and soap, 6 ovens, 2 thrashing machines, 64 bars Swedish iron, and 2 horses for the Van Diemen's land company, 1 box silk dresses, 2 boxes apparel and books E. Curr. 23 packages glass and earthenware, 2 cases soap and perfumery, 3 cases stuffs and papers, 4 bales and cases slops, 3 cases and 1 cask hardware, and 1 case apparel J. Jennings. 18 casks nails, 3 cases millinery, 5 crates and 1 cask earthenware, 5 hhds paints and 5 cases furniture hats and snuff John Walker. 1 cask hardware Capt. Bell. 1 box apparel Livingston. 1 cask ironmongery Directors of the Cornwall Bank, with a variety of goods consigned in order to the commander and to New South Wales.

Two vessels were coming up the river when our paper went to press.

The *Bee* is chartered to carry round the mechanics and others, 13 in number, implements, &c. which have come out in the *George Canning*, for Circular head. One of the horses died on the passage, the survivor is said to be the finest in the colony.

Hobart, Hunter's Island, 1829



Image courtesy of the Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office. No NS1013/1/1876

Hobart, and its new wharf c 1840



Artist: Prout, John Skinner (1805-1876)

Coming to Anchor, in Sydney, 1830



Artist: Augustus Earle, from the National Gallery of Victoria

In 1830, he repeated the voyage to Australia, but this time returned via Batavia, the Dutch outpost in Java, that we now know as Jakarta.

Batavia (Jakarta)



On his return, he found that his younger sister Ann had died. He moved in to Dartmouth and spent a couple of years ashore. In 1830s he was in South Ford Cottage, probably the same house as recorded in the 1840 Tithe Map. It is on the ridge of Mount Boone, below the house owned by the Seale family who John would one day share stages with at Dartmouth political hustings, celebrations and town festivities.

John & Elizabeth Bulley's House, Townstal, 1830-40



Dartmouth Museum Archives

Although his son in law was a portrait painter, we don't have a picture of him. However, this picture by George Chinnery gives us a good idea of what John would have looked like as a merchant captain on the Indies trade in the 1830s.

A Victorian Merchant Captain. c1830



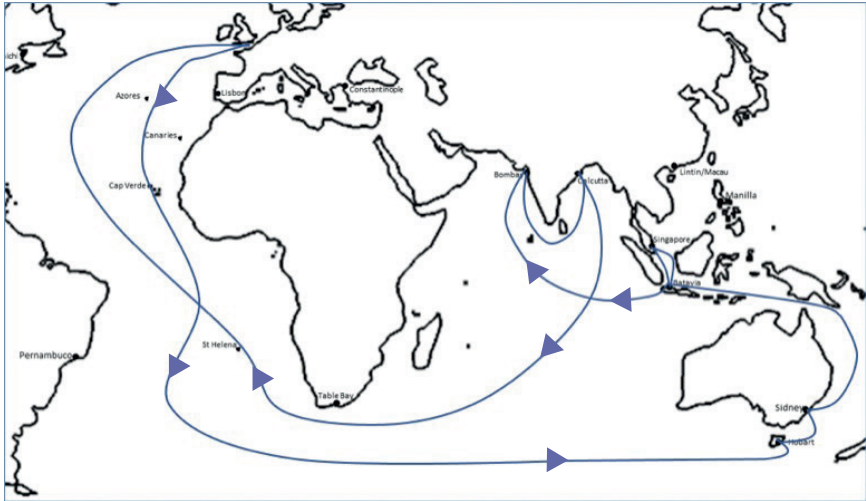
Artist: George Chinnery

John Bulley's fast trips around the world must have made an impact in Liverpool, as in 1832 he was offered a new ship, the *Gulnare*, by ship owners Lowry, Stringer & Mann, based in Wallasey, Liverpool. This would be the start of a relationship with the Company, that lasted for the rest of his ocean-going career, and in command of four more ships, until 1848.

The *Gulnare* was built in Whitby in 1830, and had had 2 successful trips to Quebec, carrying emigrants to Canada, and returning with timber: Stringer and Mann had a sawmill business and their interest was partly to secure a new cheap source of wood, as well as to profit from the growing emigrant trade. They paid over £4,000 for her, and at £14/tonne this was a top price, so they were hoping for a good turn of speed, to complement their fast sailing captain. Stringer and

Mann directed the *Gulnare* back to Tasmania (Hobart) in 1832, on to Australia (Sydney) and, and John Bulley took the ship on to Bombay, via Anjer (Krakatoa), thence to Calcutta, and home to Gravesend.

The Voyage of the *Gulnare* 1832-33



He arrived in October 1833, to discover Elizabeth had given birth to Ann in May. Given the new relationship with his employers (Stringer & Mann), he took the opportunity to name her Ann Mann Bulley.

1834 was a year of planning. John Bulley knew what he wanted and persuaded Stringer and Mann to invest in a new ship, to be produced under his supervision by a local shipwright, John Wilson Green. Although born in Lancashire, John Green was based in Newton Bushill with his shipwright father. John Green would have spent much time in Dartmouth as one of the largest ports in the area, and as a shipowner, John's father, Richard Bulley, may well have been a customer. John Wilson Green certainly became well known to the Bulley family, and in particular their youngest daughter Eliza, and in May 1830 they were married at St Saviour's church in Dartmouth. 4 years later, John Wilson Green had set himself up in Sandquay, Dartmouth, and

designed a new ship designed for both carriage and speed, building on the US Clipper design that had been so successful for the George Canning. John Bulley supervised the construction, and it was named the *Thomas Lowry*, after the founder of the owners: Lowry, Stringer and Mann. The ship was launched with a great fanfare on 27th May 1835. John readied the ship, recruited his crew, and took the *Thomas Lowry* round to Liverpool, making waves along the way:

Report of *Thomas Lowry's* maiden voyage from Dartmouth to Liverpool, June 1835

THE NEW SHIP THOMAS LOWRY.—This beautiful ship, on her arrival at Liverpool, was inspected by all the merchants and ship-builders of that port, and pronounced by them, that for beauty and design in her construction, excellent workmanship, and great combination of strength, never to have been surpassed: her fast sailing too, while it has astonished many, (the ship having capacity to carry a large cargo for her tonnage,) is another proof to those Mr. Green has before given, that a ship may be built to possess both properties. The *Thomas Lowry* on her passage round came up with a fleet of twenty-three ships, all for Liverpool, two of them New York Packets, and passed every one; and some of the Commanders hailed the *Thomas Lowry* as she passed, and spoke in admiration of her sailing. The owners of the ship, in expressing their satisfaction, presented Mr. Green with a very handsome snuff box, on which is inscribed, "Presented to John Wilson Green, Esq., by the owners of the ship *Thomas Lowry*, in consideration of the very great skill and ability evinced by him in the building and superior construction of that ship." Mr. Green has received unlimited orders from some of the most eminent houses at Liverpool, and has taken a term in the Landquay Yard at Dartmouth. The *St. George*, East Indiaman, belonging to Bristol, remarkable for her quick passages, was built by Mr. Wilson Green. A Liverpool paper, (the *Standard*,) speaking of the *Thomas Lowry*, says—"Strangers on visiting Liverpool are taken by their friends to see the American packets, and they no doubt are delighted, if not astonished, with the double gilding, the brass rails, the mirrors, the curious woods, and all the remarkable finery. But if they wish to see a truly noble ship, built of British Oak, and a perfect model of strength and beauty, let them pay their respects to the *Thomas Lowry*. Even the Americans themselves admit that she is 'pretty considerably martial,' which means, being translated, that she beats the best of the New York packets."

The *Thomas Lowry* was loaded in Liverpool, and left on 1st October for Batavia and on to Singapore, and China (Lintingkou).

John returned 11 months later in September, to find his third daughter, Fanny, was already 4 months old. It had been a successful trip but also an eventful one, with a death on board. Peter Lewis, the cook, was charged in London by the police with killing and slaying of the steward with a poker, after a fight on board that got out of hand.

The *Thomas Lowry* was a success, and the team were keen to capitalise on their reputation, so it was a fast turnaround in October and November to leave on 23rd, only 6 weeks after docking in London. John took the opportunity to come into Dartmouth on his way through the Channel, and spend a couple of hours with his family, before setting off for New South Wales, and arriving in Hobart on April 2nd, only 94 days later. A record equalling trip, at a time when the average journey took 130 days or more!

Merchant ships at anchor in Sullivan's Cove, Hobart c 1838



Artist: Unknown

In July, he returned via the Cape Horn route, calling in at Pernambuco Brazil, before making the 6 week transatlantic crossing home to London.

Yet again a 5 week turnaround saw the *Thomas Lowry* making its way back down the Channel in late December, bound for Singapore and China, arriving in June 1838. Unloading and reloading at speed he left Macau, China on July 6th, and calling at Anjer, and St Helena, was seen off Dartmouth on Oct 28th, reaching London docks on 1st November with tea and Chinese silk on board. The whole voyage out and back took 9 months and 12 days, in the worst season having had to beat against the strength of the South West Monsoon.

Report of Thomas Lowry off Dartmouth, returning from Canton, Nov 1839

DARTMOUTH, November 6.—Off this Port the *Thomas Lowry*, Bulley, 28th October, from Canton, for London. Sailed from Canton on the 6th July, Anker on the 13th August, and anchored at St. Helena, on the 29th September, making the passage in 41 days, the shortest passage on record in that island, and left on the following day. The *Thomas Lowry* on her outward voyage left Liverpool on the 17th January last, discharged a full cargo at Singapore, where she again loaded for China, and after discharging her cargo, took in goods at two ports, and completed her lading at Canton with the present cargo, consisting of 540 tons tea, and 80 tons raw silk, being 77 days from Java, and performing the whole voyage out and home in 9 months and 12 days, in the worst season, having had to beat down the China Sea against the strength of the South West Monsoon.

This time John Bulley stayed in England and the *Thomas Lowry* was taken back to Calcutta by another Dartmothian: Captain Graham, who would sail her for the next 10 years, eventually dying on board in 1849.

John Bulley: Mayor

John Bulley returned to the heady politics of the post Reform Bill era, and an imminent town council election. In 1839, putting himself forward against the Tories, as part of the Reform party, he secured 175 votes, in a landslide victory for his party. John must have been quite a local hero, and although he had been away for 75% of the time in the last 7 years, he was selected Mayor shortly after, with the local press commenting “honoured to be chosen Mayor of his native town, after 40 years of an active life, spent on the seas in the honourable pursuit of that sweet independence, which self-earned prosperity alone can ensure.

Press report on the local election of councillors, 1839

DARTMOUTH.

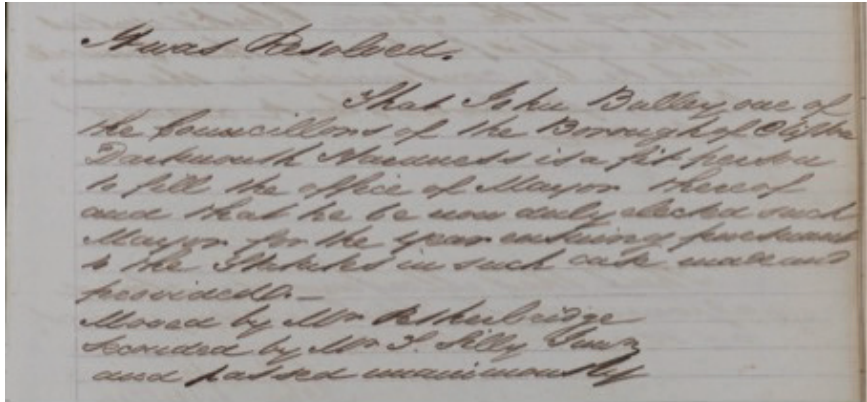
The election of four councillors for this town was a most spirited affair. The old tories, who had nearly reconciled themselves to their obscurity, were tempted, by the offer of coalition from a few disappointed men of a most motley description; some calling themselves chartists, and others past finding out; to fancy that they were all at once grown mightily into favor and labouring under this, to them unusual, delusion, which it has been observed took possession of them on the evening of a full moon, they met at a beer shop, from whence proceeded that prophetic announcement, which appeared in the tory papers, of the re-action and coming emancipation of Dartmouth. These allied forces, so worthy of each other, had about seven weeks start, and the steady reformers, in charity, allowed them to revel in the sweet prospect of return to power, and which some people really believe they were stupid enough to think was within their grasp, but at last the day arrived for action, and then to the wind were scattered all the intrigues and machinations of seven long and anxious weeks. One of the "pie bald" candidates was Mr. A. H. Holdsworth, whose 30 years previous trusteeship so endeared him to the town, that the first moment the inhabitants had the power they indignantly drove him from its councils, and who was so enamoured with his own fitness for office as *to vote for himself*, but though the honest burgesses will not follow his example of prescribing him or any other person as never to be again elected, yet he must "bide his time." So certain were the tories and their new friends of victory, that the poor old church, who has not been allowed to show her joy for many a year, was prepared to hoist her flags and banners, and ringers and bell ropes were all in readiness to pull forth in praise of the old constitution. But all would not do, not even the assistance of the *Reverend* Rector of Stokefleming, who, full of *holy* ardour attended at the beer shop committee room, could ensure a victory. About half-past 2 o'clock the frontispieces of the tories, and the rector in particular, became considerably elongated, and pity alone could be felt for their forlorn appearance. Even victory could scarcely have screwed them afterward up to giving a cheese. The poll closed in the triumphant return of four staunch reformers—Messrs. Fogwell, Bulley, Puddicombe, and Cholwich, the second of whom, it is reported will, on Saturday, be honoured by being chosen the Mayor of his native town, after 40 years of an active life spent on the seas in the honorable pursuit of that sweet independence which self-earned prosperity can alone ensure. The victory has been most complete, and the tories are desperate, of whose "white feather" proceedings you shall hear next week.

<i>Reformers.</i>		<i>Tories.</i>	
Bulley	175	Holdsworth	138
Fogwell	180	Hingston	128
Cholwich	152	Donovan	130
Puddicombe	152		

He was also popular enough to be elected to the Regatta committee in August, winning a local race with his 8 tonne brig *Irene*. This was

the start of an extended involvement in local politics that would last until 1874, when he resigned as a magistrate.

**Minutes of the Council meeting confirming
John Bulley's election as Mayor, November 1839**



Source: Devon Archives

1840 was a jubilee year, with the marriage of Victoria and Albert celebrated in style by a dinner of beef, bread and beer, for 1,000, followed by a huge ball, for an estimated 500 guests, presided over by his Elizabeth his wife. John appears to have been away on business, as he did not attend the celebrations.

The main business of his year in office, and for the months following, was the enquiry into which of the Western Ports should have the official contract for the mail packet to the West Indies. Against vehement opposition from Southampton, Plymouth and Falmouth, John Bulley and Sir John Henry Seale argued Dartmouth's case strongly: that it was amongst the safest ports in difficult weather

From John Bulley, Mayor on behalf of the Dartmouth inhabitants, supporting their claim to be selected as Steam Packet station, 1840

DARTMOUTH.

REASONS offered by the Inhabitants of *Dartmouth* in support of the Claims of that Port to be selected as a Steam-packet Station for the Arrival and Departure of Foreign Mails.

1st. That the harbour may be easily found by vessels coming in from sea. That the Start and Dartmouth Harbour lights will serve to point it out at night; and should any additional light, as suggested by Mr. Walker's Report (No. 1.) accompanying this, be found necessary, it will be provided.

2d. That the harbour is sufficiently deep and capacious for the reception of the largest steamers, and that it is perfectly safe, and admirably sheltered from the sea and wind.

3d. That steam-vessels could receive their supplies of fuel, fresh water, &c. &c. directly from the shore to the vessels with the greatest facility and despatch at the town.

4th. That the vessels might be moored above or below the town in perfect readiness to start at a moment's notice, at any time by night or by day, and at any time of tide.

5th. That the Dart river may be navigated by small iron steamers to Totness. That post horses or expresses can be sent off from Dartmouth by land at any hour whatever.

6th. That if time as well as space be involved, Government despatches might be landed and conveyed to London in 11 hours, when the Great Western Railroad shall have been completed to Bridgwater, viz.; first to Bridgwater, by coach, seven hours, thence to London, by railroad, in four.

7th. As our heaviest gales and highest seas are from the s.w., steam-vessels, and indeed all vessels, might take shelter in Start Bay, by means of the light on the Start Point, and still have Dartmouth Harbour to leeward of them, which at all times of tide lies open to receive them.

8th. Supplies of provisions of all kinds are to be had in abundance at Dartmouth, and facilities exist in the town for making good the defects of ships. Fresh water may be conveyed on board the ships in hoses, and their boilers filled therewith at the jetty.

9th. There are extensive shipwrights' premises with slips, and a dry dock on the shores of the Dart at the town. The dry dock is one of the longest in the kingdom, and is well adapted for steamers, as may be seen by the plan and dimensions herewith transmitted. It will be seen that the level of high tides in the dock is so near to the level of the dockyard that the paddle-boxes of large steamers will pass over the entrance of the dock, whereby all difficulty will be avoided.

10th. There is at present a depth of 18 feet of water only 90 feet off the New Ground Quay, and steamers might have a piled jetty (which the inhabitants are ready to erect at their own expense) from these quays, where they might arrive or depart at low-water spring-tides. There are various stores and depôts for coals, which could be immediately had, and also vacant ground adjoining the quays for the erection of others if found necessary.

11th. With regard to land communication, they have to remark that the road from Dartmouth to Exeter is an excellent turnpike road, and measures 30 miles.

12th. That the distance from Ushant lighthouse to the inside of Dartmouth Harbour is 126 miles, and to Plymouth citadel 120; thus showing that Dartmouth being 12 miles nearer Exeter than Plymouth, has an advantage over the latter in distance of seven miles.

There are several commodious premises adjacent to the quays, which could be immediately obtained for the use of the Post-office department. It may be also right to add, that there is a full customs establishment at Dartmouth; that it is a quarantine port, with a regularly appointed medical officer, and that it is the head quarters of the coast guard district, and that the existing port charges are only 1 s. per vessel per voyage.

With these remarks are submitted the following documents, viz.:

1st. Copy of the memorial to the Treasury, praying to have Dartmouth included in the survey.

2d. Charts of the harbour and its approaches, &c.

3d. Plan and dimensions of shipwrights' yards, slips and dry dock.

4th. Reports of Mr. Walker, Her Majesty's harbour-master at Plymouth, on the fitness of Dartmouth for a packet station.

It may be further remarked, that the population of Dartmouth is about 6,000 souls, and that there are the following artificers, &c. viz.:

A chain-cable manufactory.

Three anchor-smiths' shops, where anchors are made.

About 120 shipwrights and caulkers.

100 joiners and carpenters.

20 painters.

3 sailmakers.

2 rope manufacturers.

2 smith's shops.

Biscuit bakers, &c.

(signed) John Bulley, Mayor,
Henry Letherbridge, Alderman,
Joseph Wills, Councillor, } On behalf of the
Inhabitants of
Dartmouth.

And the initial view was that Dartmouth logic had prevailed:

Press report indicating Dartmouth had been selected, Aug 1840

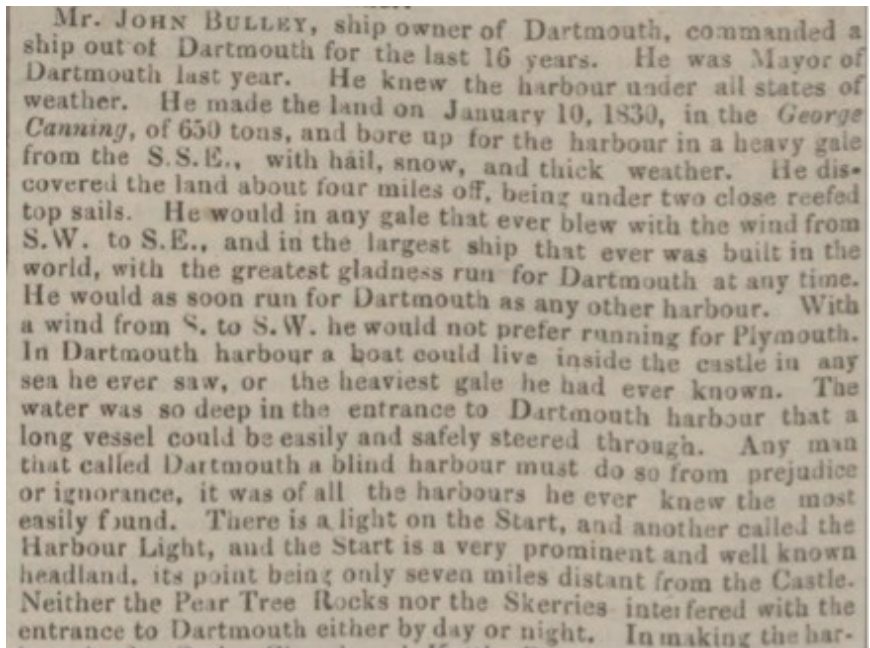
PORT OF DARTMOUTH.
We extract the following gratifying intelligence from the *Sun* of Wednesday :—
“ In the House of Commons on Monday evening the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, in reply to Lord G. Somerset, that the Government had not yet decided what port the mail packets proceeding to the westward should sail from. At the same time he said that the Commissioners had strongly recommended Dartmouth. It is therefore very likely, we are informed, that Dartmouth will be substituted for Falmouth. The considerations which have led to this recommendation are, no doubt, facility of access and security of the anchorage, combined with a closer vicinity to London. Dartmouth has a good harbour with deep water, and is easily accessible, and may easily be left, we believe, at all hours of the tide and with all winds. A considerable struggle, however, will be made to keep at least a part of the service of the packets at Falmouth, the inhabitants of which will certainly claim a vested interest in these vessels.”
We hope that no effort will be wanting to secure the full benefit of this recommendation of the commissioners.
We have seen a letter from Sir John Henry Seale, Bart., M.P., to John Bulley, Esq., Mayor of Dartmouth, dated London, Aug. 8th, in which the honourable baronet states that he had just had an interview with Mr. Robert Gordon, the secretary to the Treasury, in whose department the business of harbours for Packet service rests by whom he was informed that the surveying commissioners of the Treasury had stated in their official Reports made on the preceding day, that Dartmouth had been fixed upon by them as the most eligible port wherein the mails to and from the West Indies may be embarked and landed. We congratulate the inhabitants of Dartmouth on this event.

Unfortunately, Southampton raised objections, and possibly some funds, and the decision was delayed, with a further enquiry in the following year, when John Bulley was in front of the Parliamentary enquiry.

Excerpt of John Bulley's evidence to the Parliamentary Commission reviewing the West Indies Packet decision.

"Mr John Bulley commanded a ship out of Dartmouth for the last 16 years. He knew the harbour under all states of the weather. He made the land on Jan 10 1830 in the *George Canning* and bore up for the harbour in a heavy gale from the SSW with hail, snow and and thick weather. He discovered the land about four miles, being under two close reefed top sails. He would in any gale that ever blew with the wind from the SW to SE and in the largest ships ever built in the world, with the greatest gladness run for Dartmouth."

Report of John Bulley's evidence to the Parliamentary Commission reviewing the West Indies Packet decision



Mr. JOHN BULLEY, ship owner of Dartmouth, commanded a ship out of Dartmouth for the last 16 years. He was Mayor of Dartmouth last year. He knew the harbour under all states of weather. He made the land on January 10, 1830, in the *George Canning*, of 650 tons, and bore up for the harbour in a heavy gale from the S.S.E., with hail, snow, and thick weather. He discovered the land about four miles off, being under two close reefed top sails. He would in any gale that ever blew with the wind from S.W. to S.E., and in the largest ship that ever was built in the world, with the greatest gladness run for Dartmouth at any time. He would as soon run for Dartmouth as any other harbour. With a wind from S. to S.W. he would not prefer running for Plymouth. In Dartmouth harbour a boat could live inside the castle in any sea he ever saw, or the heaviest gale he had ever known. The water was so deep in the entrance to Dartmouth harbour that a long vessel could be easily and safely steered through. Any man that called Dartmouth a blind harbour must do so from prejudice or ignorance, it was of all the harbours he ever knew the most easily found. There is a light on the Start, and another called the Harbour Light, and the Start is a very prominent and well known headland, its point being only seven miles distant from the Castle. Neither the Pear Tree Rocks nor the Skerries interfered with the entrance to Dartmouth either by day or night. In making the har-

Report of John Bulley's evidence to the Parliamentary Commission reviewing the West Indies Packet decision (cont.)

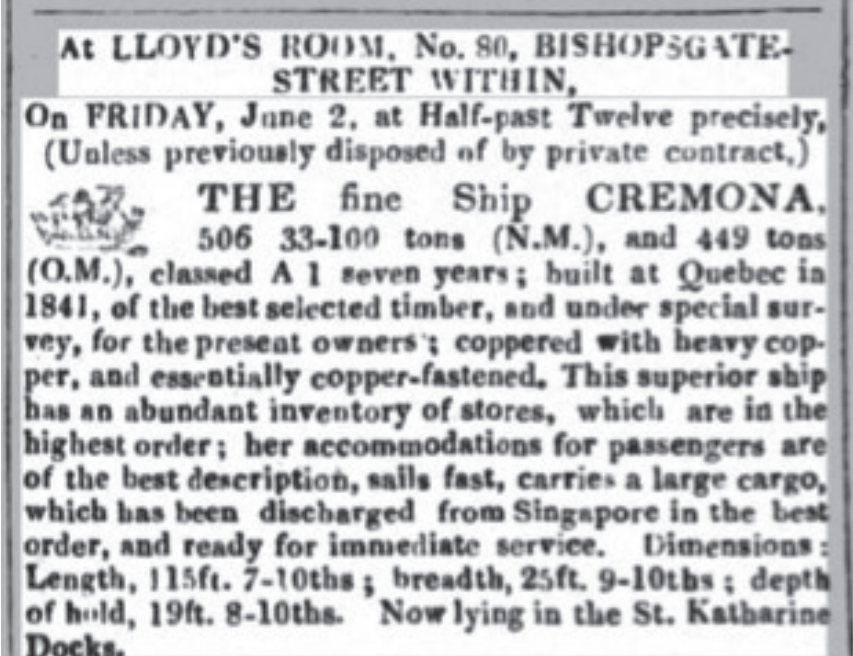
bour by day Stoke Church and Kettle Point served as landfalls. He would not be afraid to take any vessel into the harbour when the wind blew into it, but he would take a steamer in, in any state of weather. There would be no difficulty in a steamer leaving the harbour when she pleased. He considered Dartmouth one of the four best harbours in the world, there was certainly not a safer harbour, and hardly one so safe. A large steamer having entered the harbour could land passengers and letters in any weather with perfect safety, she could anchor so that her boats might reach the Custom House in four minutes. There was room enough in the harbour for any number of packets that might be required for the mail service. On the 7th and 8th of February last it blew a tremendous gale, but all the shipping in Dartmouth harbour rode it out safely, while at Poole, Swanage, Plymouth, Falmouth, & other places on the coast vessels went on shore or sustained other damage. Dartmouth harbour contains a space of 185 acres, and might be increased to any size by going up the river. The depth was 5½ fathoms at low water of spring-tides. Very large steamers often run into the harbour to avoid heavy weather at sea; the *Royal William*, a vessel that used to run to America, was twice there last winter in gales of wind. He never heard that a steamer was damaged in taking the harbour. If a vessel in a heavy south-west gale made the land to the leeward of Dartmouth, she could go damaged in taking the harbour. If a vessel in a heavy south-west gale made the land to the leeward of Dartmouth, she could go to Brixham, and would then be only four miles from the post-office. For sailing vessels he knew disadvantages attending Dartmouth harbour, but for steamers he thought it the most desirable port that could be found in the world. Two steamers might safely pass each other in the entrance to Dartmouth harbour; it is 15 fathoms wider between the east and west banks, than the entrance to Falmouth harbour. If the wind blew out of the harbour, a steamer, though the engine were destroyed, could anchor in the Range, and if the wind blew in, she could go in under her canvass. If he were in the Atlantic to the westward, and it came on to blow from the westward, he would prefer making the English to the British channel, because in the latter there is a rise of 50 or 60 feet, and must be a great flux and reflux. In a gale of wind he would prefer taking a large steamer into Dartmouth than through the Needles.

But, despite the best arguments of an experienced Captain, the decision went in Southampton's favour. Although there was talk of nefarious dealings, the fact of the matter was that Southampton had a direct rail link to London (Nine Elms), and it would be nearly a quarter of a century before the railway arrived at Dartmouth.

However, John Bulley had not given up hope of Dartmouth becoming a packet station. It was a dream he pursued for the next fifteen years, and eventually fulfilled.

With his new-found wealth, he moved to a new house on Ridge Hill, and took a couple of years off to enjoy time in Dartmouth with friends and family. He would have been planning his next move, and it wasn't long coming with Stringer and Mann buying him a new ship at auction in 1843: the *Cremona*.

Advert for the Auction of the *Cremona*, 1843



At LLOYD'S ROOM, No. 80, BISHOPSGATE-STREET WITHIN,

On FRIDAY, June 2, at Half-past Twelve precisely,
(Unless previously disposed of by private contract,)

 **THE fine Ship CREMONA.**
506 33-100 tons (N.M.), and 449 tons
(O.M.), classed A 1 seven years; built at Quebec in
1841, of the best selected timber, and under special sur-
vey, for the present owners; coppered with heavy cop-
per, and essentially copper-fastened. This superior ship
has an abundant inventory of stores, which are in the
highest order; her accommodations for passengers are
of the best description, sails fast, carries a large cargo,
which has been discharged from Singapore in the best
order, and ready for immediate service. Dimensions:
Length, 115ft. 7-10ths; breadth, 25ft. 9-10ths; depth
of hold, 19ft. 8-10ths. Now lying in the St. Katharine
Docks.

Once purchased, they wasted no time planning the next trip to Sidney, and used the passage records John Bulley had set, to help promote the new ship, as shown in the advertisement below.

Advertisement for passage to Sydney on the *Cremona*

 NOTICE to SHIPPERS and PASSENGERS for SYDNEY. Warranted first Ship or forfeit freight, and will sail in a few days.

THE fine fast-sailing Ship **CREMONA**.
A 1, coppered and copper-fastened. Burthen 400 tons. JOHN BULLEY (late of the *Thomas Lowry*), Commander. Lying in the London Docks. Has superior accommodations for passengers, and engagements will be given for her day of sailing.

DIRECT FOR HOBART TOWN, will have quick despatch, the fine fast-sailing British-built Brig, **LADY GRAY**, A 1. Burden 270 tons. Coppered and copper-fastened. JOHN CHARLES HAWKES, Commander. Lying in the St. Katharine Docks. Has been fitted up expressly for the accommodation of Cabin, Intermediate, and Steerage Passengers.

For Freight or Passage, apply to WILLIAM L. HOTCHKIN, East India Chambers, Leadenhall-street.

PASSAGES MADE BY CAPTAIN BULLEY.

"George Canning," 1st voyage, Liverpool to Sydney in 97 days; 2nd voyage, London to Sydney in 95 days; Sydney to London in 97 days.—"*Guinevere*," London to Hobart Town in 92 days.—"*Thomas Lowry*," London to Sydney in 98 days.

Even now, John Bulley was alert to the issues and opportunities of the day. The intense debate around the Corn Laws was alive in Dartmouth, and in 1843, the local Anti-Corn Law League was formed, and John was one of the original committee members. At least 350 local people signed petition to their MP John Seale, requesting he vote for full repeal of the Corn Laws; this was a significant proportion of the local electorate.

As a trader, John Bulley was thinking ahead, and for the *Cremona*'s return trip in November 1844, he loaded up 64 Bushels of Adelaide wheat. The newspaper article included details of the economics of the trade, to support the argument in favour of abolishing Corn import tariffs.

Return of the *Cremona*, November 1844

AUSTRALIAN WHEAT.—Capt. Bulley, of Dartmouth, brought, in the "*Cremona*," from Sydney, 3,600 bushels of Adelaide wheat. This wheat has been grown in South Australia, shipped from Adelaide to Sydney, transhipped thence to old England, and, we are informed, bore all these expenses with a fair profit to the importer. The wheat cost 3s. 9d. a bushel in Sydney, 30s. a qr. freight, the duty being 5s. a qr. It stood the voyage exceedingly well, and was perfectly free from weevil when landed. It averages 64 lbs. per bushel, and Capt. Bulley gives it as his opinion that in the event of the duty being reduced, it would become a staple article of trade with this country.—*Western Times*.

The Corn Laws were finally repealed 2 years later in 1846.

For John Bulley, a round trip to Sydney, was not that interesting. Like everyone in Victorian Britain he would have been fascinated by the growing Oriental Trade, and in particular the Tea Trade, which gave him the inspiration for his next project.

John Wilson Green had been bankrupted by work in Dartmouth, despite producing some fine vessels to follow the *Thomas Lowry*. But John Bulley persuaded Stringer and Mann to encourage Green back to Lancashire and he set up in Wallasey, North Wirral to build his biggest ship to date: the *Duke of Lancaster*, for the China trade, 124 ft. and 600 tonnes:

Press report of the launch of the *Duke of Lancaster* in Liverpool, 1845

SHIP LAUNCH —Thursday at noon, a fine new ship, called the *Duke of Lancaster*, was launched from the building yard of Messrs. Wilson, North Shore, the last that will be launched from that site, in consequence of the yard being required for dock purposes. The *Duke* is 124 feet long, 30 broad, and 20 deep, 600 tons burthen, and intended for the China trade. She belongs to Messrs. Stringer and Mann, and will be commanded by Capt. Bulley, late of the *Thos. Lowrey*. The ceremony of christening was performed by Mrs. Thomas Wilson, and after the launch the invited partook of a cold collation, served up by Mr. Parry of Seacombe.

The ship was soon advertised for the China trade:

Advert for the *Duke of Lancaster's* maiden voyage, 1845



For HONG-KONG and WHAMPOA,
The new Ship **DUKE OF LANCASTER,**
(Built by Messrs. Wilson),
JOHN BULLEY, Commander,
(Late of the *Thomas Lowry*.)
510 tons per register.—For terms, &c., apply to Messrs. **STRINGER**
and MANN, to J. AIKIN, SON and Co. ; or, BOLDS and Co.

The ship took on its crew, with the key positions of second Mate (Richard Weekes) and Boatswain (Thomas Farley) being old Dartmothians, who had last sailed with John Bulley on the *Cremona*. The ship's agreement shows the crew and their wages: £10/month for the Captain (worth £600 in 2017), and £2/month for the seamen.

**Duke of Lancaster, Ship's agreement and monthly wages,
excerpt, 1845**

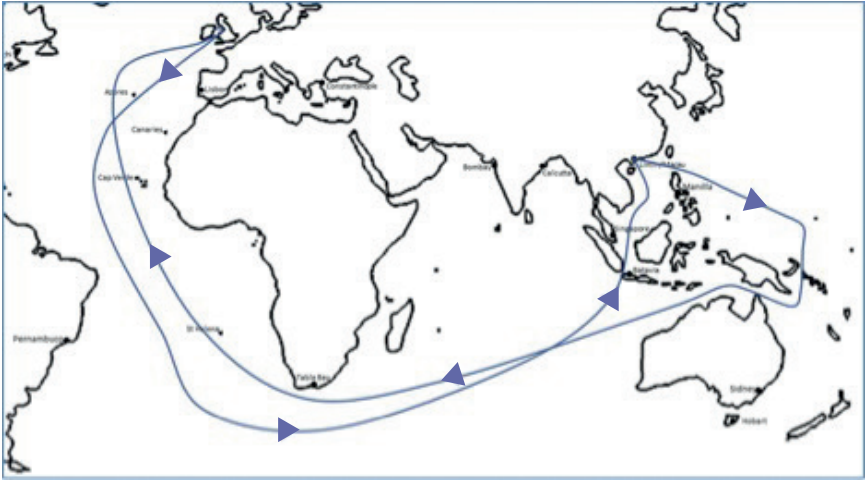
Men's Names, Christian and Surnames set forth at full length.	Age.	Town or County where born.	Quality.	Amount of Wages, per Calendar Month, Stated, or Varying.		
John Bulley	41	Dublin	Master	10	-	-
Michael Ford	32	Wiltshire	Mate	6	-	-
Richard Wake	24	Dorset	Second Mate	4	-	-
John Harrison	29	Wiltshire	Third Mate	-	-	-
Archer May	27	Dublin	Carpenter	4	15	-
Thomas Farley	18	Dorset	Joiner	2	15	-
Bartholomew	29	Dorset	Boatswain	3	10	-
Richard Wignall	55	Wiltshire	Sailmaker	2	10	-
Will. & Smith	46	Wiltshire	Steward	3	10	-
James O'Connell	27	Limerick	Cook	2	-	-
Robert O'Connell	27	Bradford	Cook	2	-	-
James MacGillivray	22	Orkney	Boys	2	-	-

Source: National Archives, Kew, Documents Room

There were specific conditions regarding the drink and food on board; for example, spirits were only available subject to the conduct of the crew. Each man was allocated about 1lb of beef or pork every day, with tea or coffee also an option.

The first trip was a great success recording a record time to Whampoa, on the Pearl River, near the city of Canton, Guangdong Province, of 94 days, returning in 95 days with 860 cases of tea. This compares well to the normal time of the better known clippers who raced the route in the 1860s, also recording average times of 85-95 days, and is further evidence of the calibre of John Bulley's leadership, and John Green's ship design.

Voyage of the Duke of Lancaster, 1845-46



Whampoa in 1850



Artist Youqua (active 1840-70), Oil on Canvas, Peabody Essex Museum

Loading tea at Canton 1852



Artist: Tinqa, Peabody Essex Museum

Turning round in quick time, as was his wont, he was soon back in the South China seas on his way through the straits of Formosa on his way to Shanghai. However, this time after 20 years in blue ocean sailing, his luck ran out, and on 21st July 1846, currents took the ship on to a reef in the Lamock Islands off Namao. All hands were saved, and he returned from Hong Kong via the mail packet, having first checked back to see if anything could be rescued from the reef where she had grounded.

Report on the shipwreck of the Duke of Lancaster 21st July 1846

LOSS OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.—Letters from Hong Kong were received in Liverpool, on Tuesday, by Messrs. Stringer and Mann, the owners of that fine vessel, the Duke of Lancaster, announcing her total loss on the evening of the 21st of July, on the reef near the Lamcock Islands, a few miles south of Namoa, on the east coast of China. Captain Bulley and the crew got safe away in the boats after the vessel had sunk in deep water, she having been carried over the reef by the force of the current, and from Namoa they were conveyed to Hong Kong. Before quitting Namoa, Captain Bulley revisited the wreck, but nothing could be saved. The captain has come to England by the mail, bringing with him all the necessary documents.—*Liverpool Courier*.

Map of South China Seas, showing Lamcock Islands



Stringer and Mann filed their report with the authorities.

Official record of the shipwreck of the Duke of Lancaster, 1846

Schedule C
We the undersigned owners of the ship Duke of Lancaster of Liverpool
do hereby declare the said vessel was totally
lost on the 21st July last in the Gulf of Mexico on her passage from this
port to Sanapahua. At the crew being saved, and we make this
declaration in conformity with the 28 section of the Merchant
Seamen Act 7 & 8 Victoria. *Stringer & Mann*
Liverpool 20 December 1846
Stringer & Mann
Duke of Lancaster
Wrecked
Dep^d 23rd Dec^r - Dub. 1846
1001-62-11
wrecked 23-12-46

Source: National Archives, Kew, Documents Room

One can only imagine John Bulley's disappointment, but also suspect that he would have new plans afoot. And in less than a year, he was back at the launch of a replacement ship, funded by Stringer & Mann, but this time designed by another shipwright Cato & Son.

Press report on the Launch of the *Diana*, 1847

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1847.

LAUNCH OF THE SHIP DIANA.

We had the pleasure on Tuesday of witnessing another of those delightful and exhilarating celebrations, which periodically do so much honour to the town and trade of Liverpool, and afford a very high degree of gratification, not only to the fair ladies who usually give their attendance in large numbers at these festivities, but to all concerned in the welfare of the port. Exactly at a quarter-past eleven, as announced, a fine vessel, built for Messrs. Stringer and Mann for the China trade, and intended to supply the place of the *Duke of Lancaster*, lately lost, was launched from the building-yard of Messrs. Cato, near the Brunswick Dock, and went off the stocks in gallant style. The name "*Diana*" was given to her by Miss Maun, daughter of one of the owners, with the customary ceremonies, Jolliffe's band playing an appropriate air; and in a short time she was in charge of a steam-tug, and greeted with the enthusiastic cheers of the spectators. She will be commanded by Captain Bulley, late of the *Duke of Lancaster*. Her length is one hundred and twenty-four feet six inches from stem to stern internally; beam, twenty-nine feet eight inches; and depth of hold, twenty feet. Her register is 499 tons old measurement, and 570 tons new. As soon as the vessel was in safety, the invited guests, comprising many of our most distinguished merchants, adjourned, as usual, to the model-room, where a splendid *dejeuner*, with an abundance of champagne, sherry, and other wines, was provided in Mr. Lynn's *recherche* and most liberal style. Mr. Peter Cato took the chair, having for his vice-presidents Mr. William Mann and Mr. Stringer.

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The ship, *Diana*, was primarily designed for the China trade (with the same measurements as the *Duke of Lancaster*), but there was just time for a quick transatlantic dash with 250 emigrants to Boston, and New York, returning to London in time to reload and depart to catch the winter trade winds to the Orient. However, whether the market had lost confidence in Captain Bulley, or whether he had more pressing interests in Dartmouth is not known, but his New York trip was his last ocean voyage, and the *Diana* left London for Bombay, in September, with troops of the East India Company on board.

Over 30 years of seafaring took John Bulley to all corners of the world. He was at the forefront of pioneering fast ship design, and set records for passages to Australia and China that stood until the final phase of sail power saw clippers like the *Cutty Sark* rule the waves.

John Bulley's passage records compared to Clipper times

Year	Ship	From	Port	John Bulley	Clippers
Australasian Routes					
1828	<i>George Canning</i>	Liverpool	Sydney	97	
1829	<i>George Canning</i>	Sydney	London	94	
1830	<i>George Canning</i>	London	Hobart	93	
1832	<i>Gulnare</i>	London	Australia	92	
1836	<i>Thomas Lowry</i>	London	Sydney	98	
1874	<i>Cutty Sark</i>	London	Sydney		67
1855	<i>Red Jacket</i>	Liverpool	Sydney		67
1868	<i>Thermopylae</i>	London	Melbourne		61
China Tea Trade Routes					
1846	<i>Duke of Lancaster</i>	Liverpool	Whampoa	94	
1847	<i>Duke of Lancaster</i>	Whampoa	Liverpool	95	
1852	<i>Witch of the Wave</i>	Canton	London		92
1866	<i>Ariel</i>	Canton	London		99
1873	<i>Thermopylae</i>	Canton	London		103
1873	<i>Cutty Sark</i>	Canton	London		110

John Bulley claimed to have circumnavigated the world 5 times, and there is documented evidence of at least 3 trips around Cape Horn.

Local Life in Dartmouth

And so John Bulley threw himself into local business and political life, engaging in the issues of the day, such as the Navigation Laws, where he wasn't keen to remove the British monopoly on merchant shipping unilaterally, as proposed by some (including Henry Seale), without getting something in return.

In 1848, he initiated a less hazardous water-borne venture by acquiring the paddle steamer *Undine*, which was one of the first steamers to provide a regular passenger service on the River Dart between Totnes and Dartmouth.

Iron Steamer on the Dart in 1889



Copyright: Dartmouth Steam Packet Association

His fellow investors were John Campbell, and more importantly, W.S. Lindsay, one of Britain's great entrepreneur shipowners, and a character who would be close to John Bulley for the rest of his life.

W.S. Lindsay, Shipowner, MP for Tynemouth c 1855



The local paper noted John's transition from quarterdeck of ocean merchantmen to the river cruiser, but also gave him credit for mentoring and training well-known local Captains.

"Captains Godfrey and Petherbridge of Dartmouth, and Captain Paige of Totnes, all of whom, have gained much celebrity in the maritime world by their quick passages to the Antipodes, are pupils of Capt Bulley, who having retired, now enjoys his favourite pursuits by walking the quarterdeck of the *Undine* in her daily trips from Dartmouth to Totnes."

Ever the publicist, John took the words attributed to Queen Victoria to promote the *Undine*, in an advertisement that promised a regular and beautiful trip up the river Dart, our very own "English Rhine".

Advert for the Undine, Totnes to Dartmouth, 1848



RIVER DART.—THE “ENGLISH RHINE.”
THE New Iron Steamer, “**UNDINE**,”
 leaves as follows (*Railway Time*), wait-
 ing Ten Minutes for the arrival of Trains:—

	DARTMOUTH.		TOTNES.	
Saturday, Oct. 29	12- 0 NOON	3-30 P.M	1-30 P.M.	5-30 P.M
Monday ... 31	6-30 A.M	2-30 "	8-30 A.M.	5-30 "
Tuesday, Nov. 1	6-30 "	3-30 "	2- 0 P.M.	5-30 "
Wednesday ... 2	6-30 "	3- 0 "	9- 0 A.M.	5-30 "
Thursday .. 3	6-30 "	3-30 "	9-30 "	5-30 "
Friday .. 4	6-30 "	4- 0 "	9-30 "	5-30 "

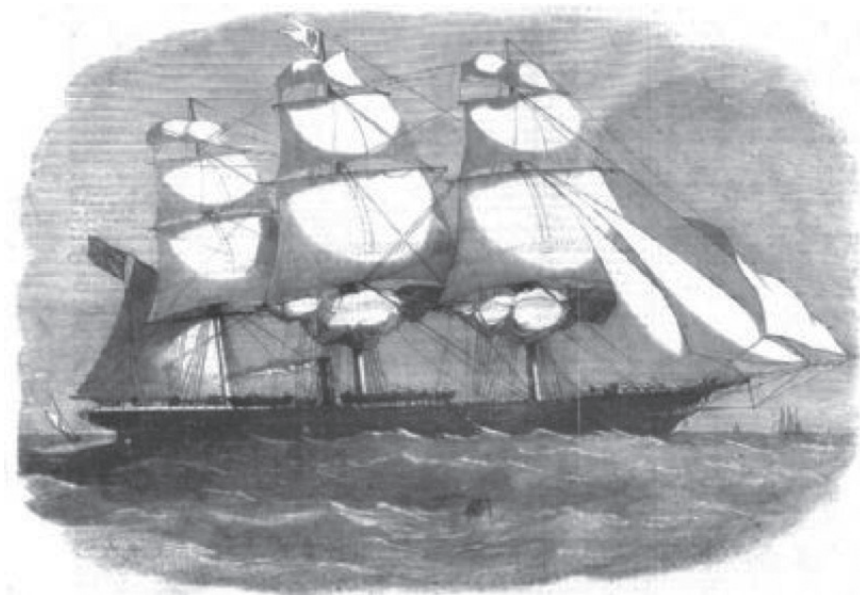
FARES—After Cabin, 1s. 6d. ; Return Ticket, 2s. ; Fore Cabin, 1s; Return Ticket, 1s. 6d.—Time of Trip One Hour.
 Goods to be left in Totnes, to the care of Mr. J. R. FOGWILL, Agent, or to Mr. BUTTERIS, Duke-street, Dartmouth.

This was an association between John Bulley and the Dart Steam Packet Company that would last for the next 20 years, both as Captain of various paddle steamers and as Chairman of the Board.

In 1848, he was also able to fulfil his dream of seeing a packet service established, by his friend and feted ship owner W. S. Lindsay. It was celebrated in a gala dinner, dancing and fireworks. The packet steamer, *England*, with its red uniformed officers on board must have impressed the visitors on the quay.

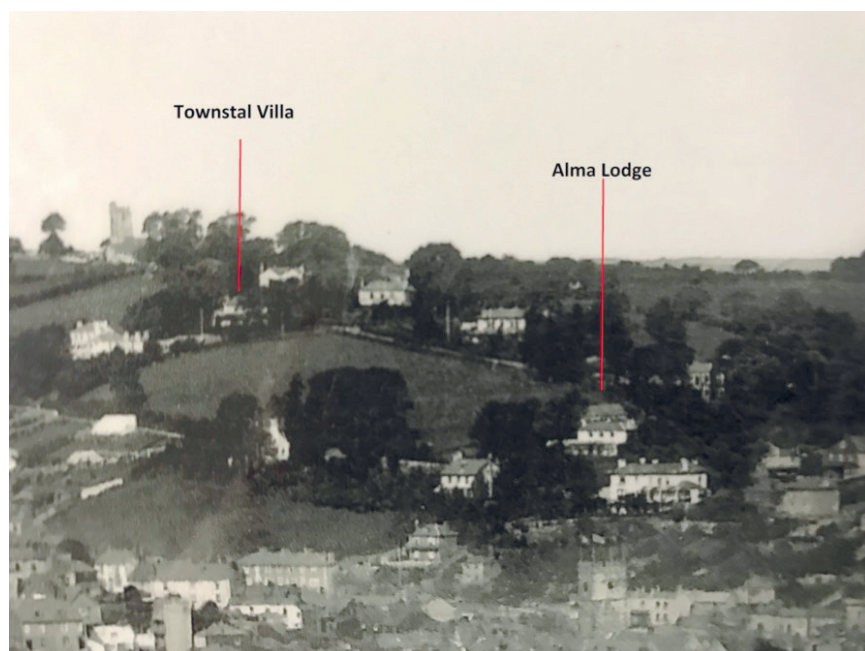
The Packet Steamer *England*,

Launched for the London-Dartmouth-India packet service, 1848



John was now able to buy a new house, just built on land released by the Seale Haynes, with whom he had become close. Townstal Villa had a view over the harbour and enough room for his family and servants. The house was the beginning of the growth of Townstal with establishment of several villas including Redwalls, Ashley Court, and Thurlestone Court (See Dartmouth History Research Group Pamphlet – ‘Up the hill to Townstal’)

**Townstal in 1887 – Showing two of the houses
in which John Bulley lived**



John was still active in the shipping and trading world and at the 1851 census was lodging in a boarding hotel for Captains, on the newly built America Square just behind St Katherine's docks. It was run by William Creed from Dartmouth, and it is possible that John was an investor, as well as a guest.

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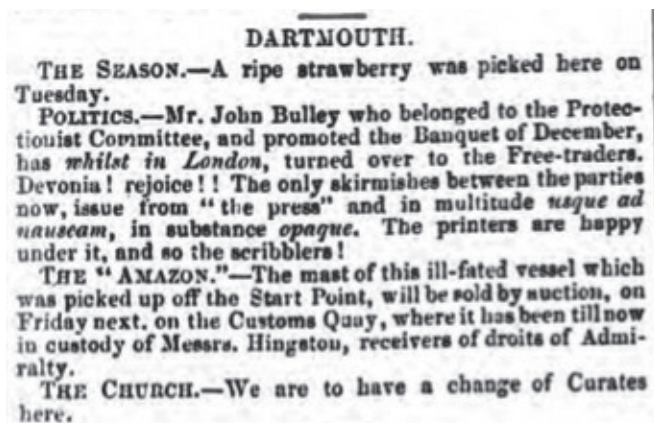
St Katherine's Dock, London, newly built in 1828



Artist: William Henry Prior 1812-82

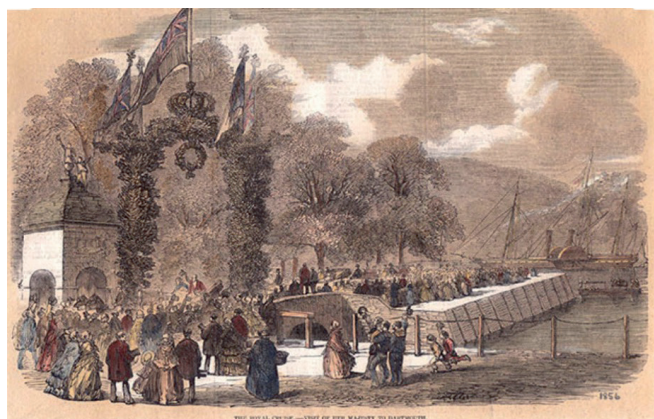
After evenings spent discussing politics with captains and others, after one trip he appears to have changed his mind on the key issue of the day, Free Trade, in 1852 changing sides to become a Free Trader. They wanted to repeal of tariffs on imported corn (which had happened in 1847), but went further, advocating removal of tariffs of all consumer products. The Protectionists disagreed and this formed the basis of the split in policy between the Tories (Landowners and Protectionists) and the Oppositionists (Whigs, Free Traders, and Peelites, more focussed on urban than rural issues).

Press Notice announcing John Bulley's conversion to the Free-Traders cause, 1852



John was still driving projects to improve Dartmouth as a port, and in the 1850's was Chair of the Lighthouse Committee, which laid the foundations on St George's Green, near the Castle, in 1856, during the Regatta visit of Queen Victoria.

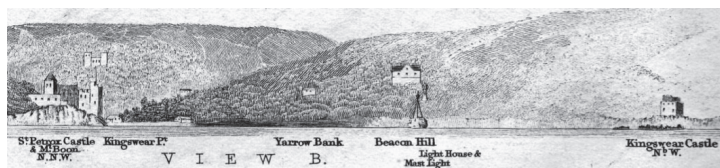
Queen Victoria visits Dartmouth, Regatta, August 1856



The Committee included his close friends and fellow Dartmothians: Charles Seale-Hayne, and his brother in law Richard Hingston. Unfortunately, this lighthouse was not sited correctly, and was

replaced by the lighthouse under Holdsworth House, just outside Kingswear, that was finally replaced in 1980 by the current light, on the Kingswear shore.

Entrance to Dartmouth Harbour in 1853



Source: Admiralty Chart

He was also involved in the decision to build the Daymark, initiating the debate in 1859.



Family Matters

John seems to have wanted to live closer to the town, and, in 1855, was to be found in a house lower down the hill, called Alma Lodge. Later that year, Bessie, his eldest daughter was married to a local artist Joseph Sydney Willes Hodges, at St Clements. Although born in Worthing, Joseph Hodges was a Dartmouth enthusiast, writing poems about the Dart and the local area. He went on to be a successful society portrait painter, including portraits of Queen Victoria and Disraeli in his portfolio. In 1857, he achieved his breakthrough winning the commission of the portrait of Arthur Holdsworth, the last Governor of Dartmouth. It was a great success, and exhibited in Torquay, and the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition, before returning to Dartmouth, where it still hangs in the Guildhall, behind the Mayor's chair, today.

Arthur Holdsworth, the last Governor of Dartmouth
by J.S.W.Hodges



Artist: J.S. W. Hodges, Dartmouth Town Council

Soon after this success, the Hodges family moved away to Ealing, London, convenient for accessing the new rich who were settling in the so called, “Queen of the Garden Suburbs”. They would welcome John there 20 years later at the very end of his life.

Unfortunately for family harmony, John now embarked on a course that bought him both joy and pain. During 1855 he developed a relationship with Maria Foale, the unmarried younger daughter of Foale’s the butcher. The resulting baby girl was baptised “privately” in the presence of Maria Foale (a Single Woman) in St Saviour’s Church.

Baptism Record of Maria Athea Bulley Foale, in St Saviour’s



Source: National Archives

As a result, the 1861 census now finds him staying with Fanny and a grand-child, in a house at the bottom of Brown's Hill (Slippery Causeway), while his wife and the rest of the family are in a boarding house in South Town.

In 1862 his wife Elizabeth died, and she was buried in St Clements graveyard. Perhaps in a reflective mood, John laid a memorial stone in St Clement's graveyard recording her death as well as other members of his close family, who had died: his younger sister Ann, his infant son John, his father, and mother, as well as his wife.

Memorial Stone, St Clement's Townstall, to John Bulley's family 1862



Sacred

To the memory of:

Anne Bulley, (John's sister) who died March 1826 aged 22 years

John, the infant son of John and Elizabeth Bulley, who died aged 4 months

Also Mary Bulley (John's mother).

Also Richard Popham Bulley (John's father) husband of Mary who died at sea.

Also Elizabeth wife of John Bulley

Local Politics – the 1859 Election Scandal

John continued to coordinate the mail packet, and this facility and his desire to keep involved in politics got him into trouble in the 1859 election. Dartmouth was a notorious rotten borough and was at the heart of the Reform debate, and John had a critical and central part to play, as he tried to ensure the election of Mr Schenley for the Liberals, by the distribution of funds to some of the key electors.

Unfortunately, the authorities got wind of the scheme and had encouraged some electors to go along with John's suggestion,

supported by £5 and £20 notes, to support his favoured candidate Mr Schenley. John was responsible for distributing £1,000 in cash, worth £60,000 in today's money, among 50-60 electors.

**Report on the examination of John Bulley,
at the Dartmouth Election enquiry, 1859**

Captain John Bulley was next examined. He said that he had resided at Dartmouth for many years, and took an active part in election proceedings. He was one interested in the Dartmouth Railway, and the manager of the Dartmouth Steamboat Company. He supported Mr. Schenley at the last election. He received from Admiral Courtenay the parcel containing 45 £20 notes as a matter of business; but did not know the person from whom the money came. He had heard the parcel was coming before-hand. At Mr. Schenley's desire he paid away that money by order of different parties belonging to Mr. Schenley's committee, amongst others, Mr. Noah Clift, a borough magistrate, Mr. Coombes, and Mr. Baker. He could not say whether he gave Tucker, the tailor, any of it. On the morning of the poll, he cashed at the Bank a cheque for £100, drawn by Mr. Seale Hayne, who was a director of the Steamboat Company. He received for it £100 in £5 notes; but it would be impossible for him, if he were kept in that room under examination for a week, to say what he did with any particular £5 note out of that sum, he had so much money passing through his hands.

The witness was pressed hard by counsel to say what he did on the polling day with these £5 notes, and an appeal was made to the committee to enforce an answer by the alternative of being reported to the House as contumacious. He admitted that he did not pay it to the account of the steamboat company because it was not money earned by the company, and he could not state that it was entered in the secretary's book, though it probably was in his private cash book. He denied that he ever used that or any other money for bribery.

Not surprisingly, the election was declared void.

Over 20 years (1839-1859) John had had a tumultuous involvement in local politics as Mayor, Councillor, JP, and general fixer in Dartmouth's murky life. He was a Whig for most of his political life, supporting the new money of the powerful Seale family, until Henry Seale joined the Conservatives in 1852. He became an enthusiastic supporter of the newly formed Liberal Party, in 1857, that preceded the disastrous 1859 election and corruption scandal. Politics in Dartmouth ended with the reform of political boundaries in 1867, when Dartmouth was disenfranchised and merged with the Torbay constituency.

John Bulley's involvement in Dartmouth Politics 1839-59

UK	Year	Dartmouth	J. Bulley Involvement
Reform Act General Election	1832	Sir John Seale elected MP (Whig)	Trading in Asia
Queen Victoria marries Prince Albert	1839 1840	Local elections Town party	Elected to Town Council (Whig) & Mayor
General election: Conservatives win Sir Robert Peel PM	1841	Sir John Seale retains seat	Supports Sir John Seale
Hungry '40s, Poor Laws under pressure	1843 1844	Anti-Corn Law League founded in Dartmouth. Sir John Seale dies	C'ttee member of Anti-Corn Law League Brings wheat back from Australia to prove feasibility & profitability (without the Corn Laws)
Peel repeals Corn Laws (1846); Conservative party splits	1844 1846	Bye-elections: Somes (Cons) 1844 Moffatt (Whig) 1845	Supports Moffatt (Whig) (sponsored by Sir Henry Seale)
Lord Russell PM Navigation Acts repeal	1847 1849	Steamer service to Totnes	Investor in Dart Steamer service Captain of first steamers
Tories win General Election, Lord Derby PM Crimean War	1852 1854	Sir Henry Seale switches to Cons.; sponsors Admiral Thos. Herbert who wins	Declares for Free Trade movement; supports W.S. Lindsay as Whig candidate (lost)
	1856	Packet service to India launched from Dartmouth	Agent for W. Lindsay's Packet service
General Election, Whigs Win. Palmerston PM Indian Mutiny	1857	Charles Seale-Hayne stands but loses vs James Caird	Chair of Liberal C'ttee, organising for free trader James Caird (sponsored by Lindsay)
General Election Birth of the Liberal Party	1859	Election of Schenley declared void. Dunn elected	On Liberal Cttee; distributes money for votes for Schenley
Reform Act	1867	Dartmouth disenfranchised, integrated in Torbay	Continued as Councillor and JP

Commercial Shipping in Dartmouth

In 1860 John owned a majority share in 9 merchant ships, and was at the height of his influence in the town: he was still involved with ferries on the River Dart, still a local magistrate, and was also a director of both the Mutual Marine Association and the Dartmouth Steam Packet Company, where he was also Chairman.

The merchant ships were a variety of barques brigs and schooners. Initially buying older boats, he favoured Dartmouth-built boats that he could influence, as he took controlling shares in the boats. His partners included a variety of Dartmouth notables, including the local butcher Gilbert Foale, the entrepreneur Samuel Lake, and often his captains had a share too. It's hard to work out the profitability of these ventures, and many were lost at sea. Certainly, he was working until almost the end of his life, and died with a small estate, which suggests that it was not a guaranteed route to riches.

The Dartmouth Steam Packet Company was only marginally profitable, since it faced tough competition from other steamship owners, and subsequently the railway. The Directors sought to diversify into coastal and other trips designed for the holiday and tourist market. He was also involved in the Dartmouth Mutual Marine Association, an insurance company for local and national shipowners.

In 1862, he was still working as agent for W. S. Lindsay, who continued to use Dartmouth as a port of embarkation for emigration and packet ships. The lure of gold in British Columbia, saw the launch of a service to Victoria.

Advertisement for the Tynemouth

 **STEAM TO THE GOLD FIELDS OF
BRITISH COLUMBIA.**
For VICTORIA, VANCOUVER'S ISLAND,
(calling, if required, at San Francisco), the
Iron Screw Steamship,
"T Y N E M O U T H,"
1,650 tons register, 600 horse power indicated, Alfred Hellyer
Commander, will load at the Jetty, London Docks, leaving
punctually on the 24th of May, and embarking passengers
at DARTMOUTH on the 28th May. This steamship
having just been fitted with new engines and boilers, as well
as all the most recent appliances for rendering her one of
the finest passengers steamers afloat, offers a mode of transit
to the above colony unequalled in speed and comfort as well
as in economy. In order to ensure a rapid passage she will
take only a very limited cargo, touching at the Falkland
Islands for coals, fresh provisions, and water. The accom-
modation for the several classes is of a superior description,
the dietary scale liberal, and every means will be adopted
to promote the comfort of the passengers.
Rates of Passage: - First Class from 80 guineas; Second
Class, 40 guineas; Third Class, 30 Guineas.
For further particulars apply to W. S. LINSLEY and Co.,
8, Austin-friars, London; or Capt. BULLEY, Dartmouth.

The SS *Tynemouth* sailed for Victoria with 360 people on board including 65 women, under the watchful eye of the Missionary Society; becoming known as one of the three "Bride ships", taking single women to the mining fields.

SS Robert Lowe, Sister Ship to the Tynemouth



Artist Unknown: Swedish Maritime Museum

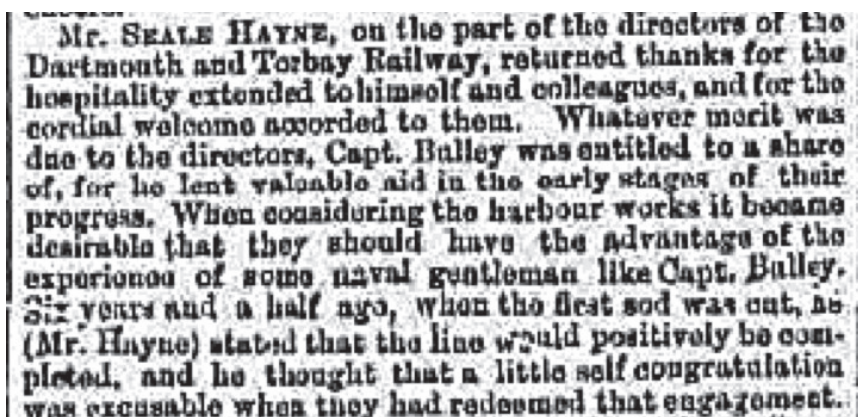
Unfortunately, due to a misunderstanding, one of the other passengers overstayed his welcome in Totnes and thereby missed his passage resulting an expensive legal case, in which John was sued for the

cost of the missed passage. The case was not upheld, much to John's relief.

John Bulley continued to be a magistrate, working with Noah Clift, who had been involved with him in the voided General Election scandal – both men's misdoings do not appear to have prevented their legal service.

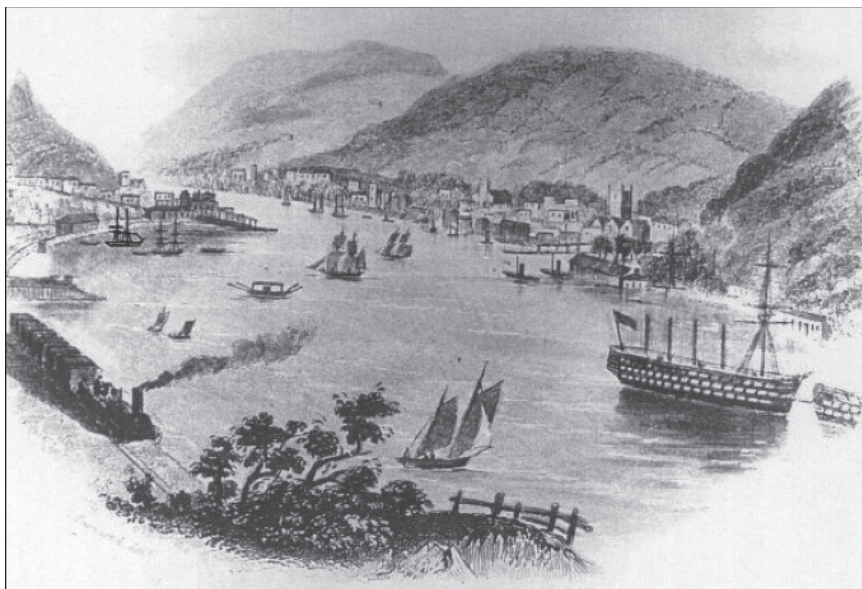
1864 was an important year for Dartmouth with the completion of the railway to Kingswear, fulfilling the dream of many a local merchant and politician. John had been involved from the outset, meeting with the design engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel, as a member of the Committee at the original consultation in 1856. On opening day, in 1864 John was responsible for welcoming the owners of the Railway to Dartmouth with a gala dinner, and was recognised by Charles Seale Hayne for his contribution to the successful enterprise.

Report of the dinner celebrating the arrival of the railway in Dartmouth



Mr. SEALE HAYNE, on the part of the directors of the Dartmouth and Torbay Railway, returned thanks for the hospitality extended to himself and colleagues, and for the cordial welcome accorded to them. Whatever merit was due to the directors, Capt. Bulley was entitled to a share of, for he lent valuable aid in the early stages of their progress. When considering the harbour works it became desirable that they should have the advantage of the experience of some naval gentleman like Capt. Bulley. Six years and a half ago, when the first sod was cut, he (Mr. Hayne) stated that the line would positively be completed, and he thought that a little self congratulation was excusable when they had redeemed that engagement.

In 1864 the railway comes to Dartmouth



John was Chairman of the Gala dinner, and gave the following address, giving a flavour of the difficulties that the construction faced over the 8 years it had taken to build it.

**Address to the Directors at the Dinner to celebrate the
completion of the railway to Kingswear, August 12th 1864**

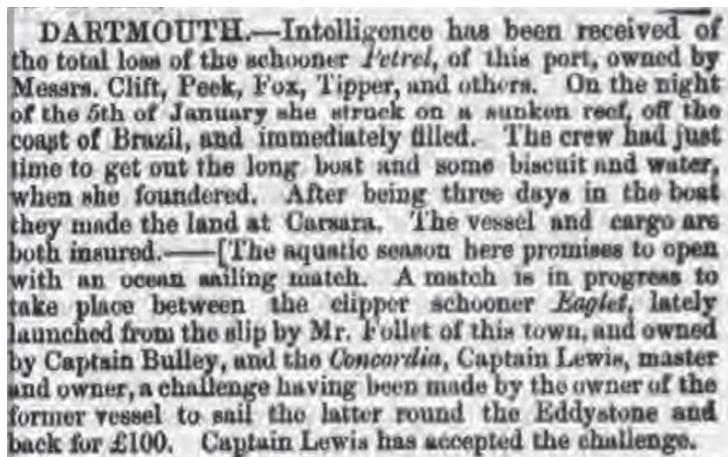
The CHAIRMAN then rose to propose the toast of the day. He said that the toast enjoined their drinking the healths of the Directors of the Dartmouth and Torbay Railway Company—those gentlemen who upon that glorious day had brought their labours to a close by formally opening to the inhabitants of Dartmouth their capital line of railway. (Cheers.) This line he considered to be the greatest boon that ever Dartmouth had had conferred upon it since it was a town. (Hear, hear.) It would in his opinion, open up such a source of industry that he would by all means advise young Dartmouth to be stirring, and to wake up, for there was in the future of their town something more than many imagined. For this railway they were indebted to the indefatigable, constant determination and pluck exercised by those gentlemen, without whose efforts they might some day have had a railway, but certainly not within the present century. (Laughter and applause.) He knew something of the difficulties which the directors had to undergo, for he was a director himself for some time. No one who had not been immediately concerned could form an idea of their intense labour, their personal responsibility. He gave it up, as there was no standing its work. (Laughter.) From the time that the first shovel-full of earth was dug from the station at Torre an opposition (little thought of, as the party was supposed to be friendly) arose, and the directors were put to an enormous expense in consequence. That opposition continued for the whole distance to Paignton, and immense sums were expended in paying claims for compensation for imaginary damages, and in protecting themselves against exorbitant demands. This in a great measure accounted for the discrepancy between the calculated estimate and the real estimate. At last Torre and Paignton were passed, and Dartmouth was arrived at. Some thought that the line had been extended too much to the southward, but the directors had carried on the extension upon the advice of the engineers to the present terminus, and now they might all accept the counsel—"rest and be thankful"—(laughter). All the gentlemen, non-residents

John Bulley Ship-Owner

John Bulley had been involved in the Merchant Trade all his adult life, and it was only natural to continue his involvement, even if not as a Captain, then as a Ship Owner. In 1849, shortly after the ill-fated trip to China, he bought a second-hand ship: the Austrian Barque, *Nazionale*, for the knock-down price of £295. And in 1863 he bought a 15 year old ship, the *British Empire* of 475 tonnes, built as an emigrant ship to take poor relief families to Australia. John registered her in Dartmouth to trade to Bermuda. He continued to build his fleet commissioning Follett's the Dartmouth Shipbuilders, to build a 100 Ft. schooner, the *Eaglet* in 1864. He appointed a 30 year old Brixham mariner, Henry Manley, to be Captain.

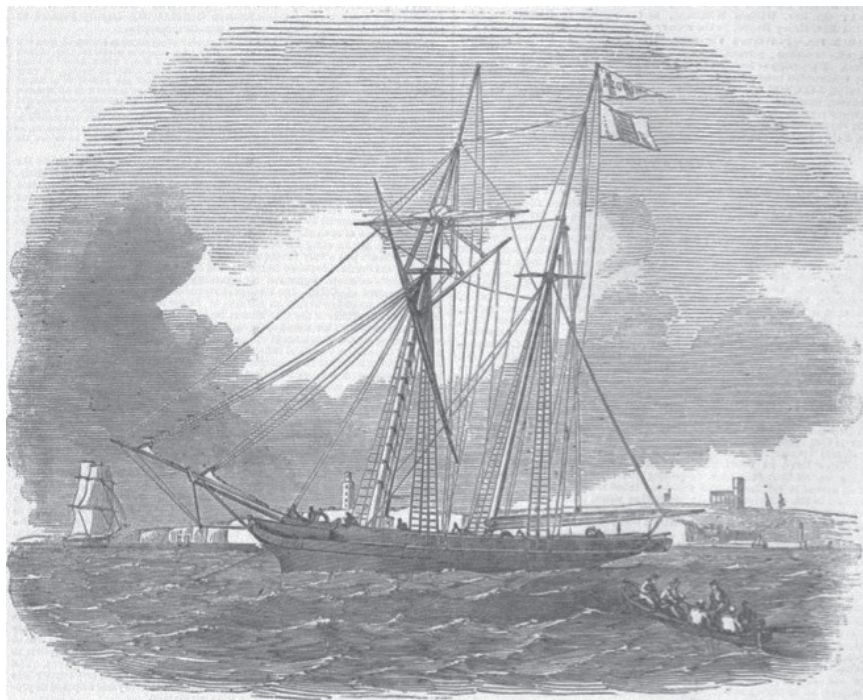
The *Eaglet* was involved in the fruit and general trade, often to St Michael (San Miguel) in the Azores. The *Eaglet* was a fast boat, and John was confident enough in the boat and its crew to challenge a local ship owner to a race round the Eddystone in 1864.

Eaglet racing challenge, 1864



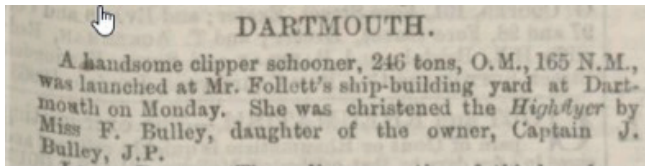
DARTMOUTH.—Intelligence has been received of the total loss of the schooner *Petrel*, of this port, owned by Messrs. Clift, Peek, Fox, Tipper, and others. On the night of the 5th of January she struck on a sunken reef, off the coast of Brazil, and immediately filled. The crew had just time to get out the long boat and some biscuit and water, when she foundered. After being three days in the boat they made the land at Carsara. The vessel and cargo are both insured.—[The aquatic season here promises to open with an ocean sailing match. A match is in progress to take place between the clipper schooner *Eaglet*, lately launched from the slip by Mr. Follet of this town, and owned by Captain Bulley, and the *Concordia*, Captain Lewis, master and owner, a challenge having been made by the owner of the former vessel to sail the latter round the Eddystone and back for £100. Captain Lewis has accepted the challenge.

Azorian, a fruit schooner similar to the Eaglet



In 1866 John was back in Alma Lodge, living with his daughters Fanny and Ann. That year also saw him continue to believe in himself as a ship owner, investing in another Dartmouth built 100 ft. clipper schooner, again from Follett's. It was named the *Highflyer*, and christened by Fanny.

**Press notice of the launch of John Bully's schooner,
Highflyer, 1866**



The year after, in 1867, Fanny married Charles Collison, and they moved to Cape Town, South Africa, where they had 10 children. John felt she was very well provided for, and indeed, when Charles died young in 1879, the estate was worth around £25,000, worth £1.5m today.

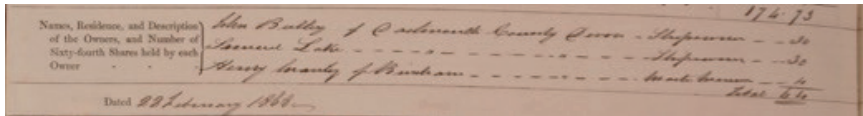
In 1868, he joined with a local merchant, Samuel Lake, to commission a larger schooner, the *Eagle Wing*, from Moore's, another Dartmouth shipbuilder.

Launch of the *Eagle Wing*, Feb 1868



Captain Manley moved across from the *Highflyer* to take command, and, as was common for Captains at that time, purchased 4 of the 64 shares in the vessel, with the other 60 being split between John Bulley and the local entrepreneur and engineer, Samuel Lake.

Share certificate for the *Highflyer*



Source: Lloyds Register

The *Eagle Wing* was a bigger ship, and, as a result, the *Eaglet* was sold to a South African Company Myburgh & Co., as John wound down his exposure to merchant shipping. He had secured a government contract for supplies to the British military in Bermuda, a crucial naval base that protected British interests in American waters after independence. The *Eagle Wing* was licenced to travel to the West Indies in the first years of trading.

Lloyds Register of Shipping 1868 recording the *Eagle Wing* and also shows the *Eaglet* sold to Gerhard Myburgh

Official Number.	Ships' Names.	Masters.	Registered Dimensions.	Engines of Steamers.	Build.	Where.	When.	Owners.	Port.	Port of Survey.	Character.
Information Code Signal Letters.			Length Breadth Depth	Builders of Engines. Materials. Repairs of Ships, &c.	Where. Builders' Names.	When.			to.	at.	also date of last survey.
21 48931 F.F.S.B.	Eagle Iron	PadSk	81 219-6 30-2 7-3	100HP.	Glasgow	1864	W. Buchanan	Glasgow			
2 23497 N.E.M.S.	Eagle Iron	PadSr	205 200-0 24-1 11-3	180HP.	Nr thft	1859	Gen. Steam Nav. Co.	London			
3 20566 N.F.S.F.	Eagle Iron	ScwSr	194 164-3 22-8 12-6	85HP.	Dundee	1858	J.N. Moore	Swansea			
4 27304 P.Q.S.F.	Eagle-cred. L.B.	Sr Richards	98 76-2 30-6 10-6	85-27 Gourley, Bra. Dundee	Nwquy	1858	Richards & Co.	Nwquy			
5 60096 K.C.M.Q.	Eagle-Wing	Sr H. Manley	174 104-1 28-1 12-9	Drnth	1868	J. Bulley & Co.	Darntith	Drt.	10		A 1
6 47572 F.Q.S.N.	Eaglet	Sr Blake	110 85-7 20-5 11-4	Drnth	1868	Gerhard, Myburgh & Co.	CpTown	Drt.	19		A 1
7 9241	Eaglet	Sk D. Jones	50	Drnth	1868	D. Jones	Abryth	Ab.	12		8.87

Copyright: Lloyds Register

Leaving Dartmouth

In 1870 John sold his Dartmouth moorings, it must have been a sad day...

Advertisement for John Bulley's moorings, 1870

in any part of Devonshire where an opening exists or where pupils could be introduced.—Apply to P. Q., Post-office, Torquay.

For Sale.

PRIZE POULTRY FOR SALE.—John Beard, reducing his stock to make room for breeding season, has for sale coloured dorkings, partridge cochins, dark brahmas, black breasted game, golden Hamburgs, white crested Polands, golden Polands, and Spanish. Well-known to all fowl fanciers in Devon and Cornwall.—Apply St. Blazey, Cornwall.

FOR SALE, a Chestnut HORSE, 15½ hands, sound, steady in harness, a good hack, and steady with troops. Also, a light WAGGONETTE, with solid shifting top, built by Passmore.—For price &c., apply to the Coachman, Swilly House.

DARTMOUTH.—To be SOLD, MOORINGS, consisting of one Muchroom Dump, weighing 37 cwt., 30 fathoms of 1½ chain, and an iron BUOY, all in good order.—Apply to John Bulley, Dartmouth.

POTATOES! POTATOES!—Now discharging, cargoes of superior Scotch Regents and Blues. Prices on application.—Gardiner and Crowhurst, Vauxhall Quay, Plymouth, and Stonehouse.

He was preparing to leave: the trade he was interested in was certainly better served from London than Dartmouth, which was now concentrating on coastal and coal bunkering trade.

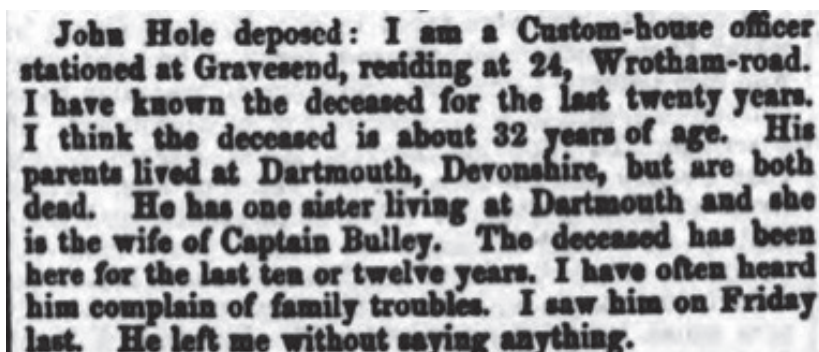
Furthermore, he and Ann were the only members of the family left in Dartmouth: Bessie and her artist husband Joseph Hodges were in Ealing; Fanny was in South Africa (though she and her husband returned to England in 1873 and again in 1876). And his illegitimate daughter Maria Althea Bulley Foale, was nearing the age of leaving the school she attended in Streatham, probably paid for by John.

Maria Althea Bulley Foale's school in Streatham

EDUCATION.—Thrale House, Streatham
Park, Streatham, Surrey, S.—First-class SCHOOL for
YOUNG LADIES, conducted by Mrs. Charlton, assisted by resident
French, German, and English Governesses and Visiting Masters of
high repute. Terms and references upon application.

It's not clear what happened to Maria Althea's mother. Evidence from an inquest into the death of her brother, Thomas Holmes Foale, in Kent in 1864, stated that, at that time, Maria Foale was living as John Bulley's wife in Dartmouth:

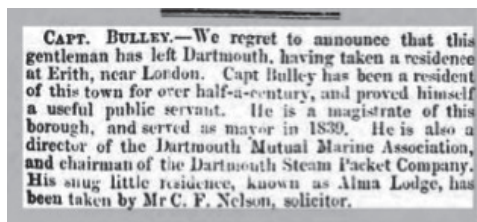
Report of inquest into death of Thomas Foale, March 1864



John Hole deposed: I am a Custom-house officer stationed at Gravesend, residing at 24, Wrotham-road. I have known the deceased for the last twenty years. I think the deceased is about 32 years of age. His parents lived at Dartmouth, Devonshire, but are both dead. He has one sister living at Dartmouth and she is the wife of Captain Bulley. The deceased has been here for the last ten or twelve years. I have often heard him complain of family troubles. I saw him on Friday last. He left me without saying anything.

However, no marriage has been traced, and there is no record in the 1871 Census of John Bulley living with Maria Foale in Dartmouth - he was recorded living in Alma Lodge only with his daughter Ann. It is possible that she died before 1871. However, other census records suggest that, by 1871, Maria Foale had moved to Brixham; indicating perhaps that the relationship had come to an end, though it is possible that John Bulley may have provided her with some financial support until his death.

Whatever the circumstances, John left Dartmouth in May, as noted by the local paper:



CAPT. BULLEY.—We regret to announce that this gentleman has left Dartmouth, having taken a residence at Erith, near London. Capt Bulley has been a resident of this town for over half-a-century, and proved himself a useful public servant. He is a magistrate of this borough, and served as mayor in 1839. He is also a director of the Dartmouth Mutual Marine Association, and chairman of the Dartmouth Steam Packet Company. His snug little residence, known as Alma Lodge, has been taken by Mr C. F. Nelson, solicitor.

John moved to 5 Queen's Road in Erith, Belvedere. Erith was a new development near the railway station into London and in sight of the Thames and the new pier for the Packet ships, where W. S. Lindsay would have had his boats.

Erith Pier, Hotel, and Vessel c 1865



He continued to use his title of Magistrate, though he did not submit himself for re-election, to the disapproval of some local politicians. His last entry as Magistrate in the *Dartmouth Chronicle* was in 1874.

Through the 1870s he continued trading with the *Eagle Wing*, under the Captancy of William Henry Blake, who undertook long, round the world voyages reminiscent of John's early routes to the East. However, in late 1879 the *Eagle Wing* was lost off Cape of Good Hope in storms, and 4 of the crew were drowned. This loss would certainly have affected him emotionally, but probably also financially. So he wrote plaintively to the Shipping and Mercantile Gazette looking for a way to offset his losses, accusing Blake of poor seamanship:

Letter from John Bulley to the Editor of the Mercantile Gazette, 1879

UNCERTIFICATED MATE AND CLUB RULE.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE SHIPPING AND MERCANTILE GAZETTE.
SIR,—The Captain of my vessel, at Cape Town, chartered the vessel to go from there to Quiver Point to load a cargo of teak for Cape Town, and took with him an uncertificated Mate. In the rules of a Club in which the ship was insured, it states that on no account is the ship allowed to take any one but a certificated Mate. The ship was lost at Quiver Point on the 22d February last. By his doing the above and not informing me of the fact, can I claim the 10 per cent. loss of insurance from him which the Club has deducted in settlement through his not informing me? He was Part-Owner of the vessel conjointly with me. Yours, &c.,
JOHN BULLEY, Managing Owner.
Belvedere, Oct. 8, 1879.
[If a certificated Mate could have been engaged at Cape Town, and the Master and Part-Owner, did not comply with the rules of the Insurance Club, he might be made responsible to his Co-Owner for the 10 per cent. loss.]

Whatever the rights and wrongs of the case, Captain Blake did not return to England, settling with his wife in Cape Town. The *Eagle Wing* was the last remaining ship from John's merchant "fleet" and he didn't have the funds to reinvest.

Soon after this, he fell ill and moved to Ealing to be near his eldest daughter, Bessie and her Hodges family. He shared no 1 Noel Villa with his daughter Maria Bulley Foale, and was in walking distance of the Hodges family.

No 1 Noel Villa, Ealing, John Bulley's final home



John Bulley died in Ealing on 15th April 1881. In his will he left almost everything apart from his silver tea service, to Maria, feeling that the other daughters were well enough provided for. The final value of his estate however, was small, and below the £500 required to pay out the small £50 legacies to Bessie and Annie.

John Bulley's Will, 14th June 1879

This is the Last Will and Testament
of me John Bulley of Melvedere in the County of Kent Esquire. I
give my silver Jewel service to my daughter Elizabeth Hodges the wife of
Edmund Hodges for her own use absolutely I also give to my said daughter
Elizabeth Hodges the sum of Fifty pounds I give the sum of Fifty
pounds sterling to my daughter Annie Bulley for her own use I give
my daughter Fanny anything as my Estate is small and she is already
amply provided for I give the sum of Five pounds each to my Executors
John Kingston and Edmund Hodges But I declare that the above named
two legacies of Fifty pounds each shall not be paid if my net estate
does not exceed Five hundred pounds and subject as aforesaid All the
rest Residue and remainder of all my real and personal estate of
whatever nature or description the same may be at the time of my death
I give devise and bequeath to my daughter Maria Althea Bulley Sole
for her own absolute use and benefit free from the debts engagements
and control of any husband with whom she may intermarry And I
appoint the said John Kingston and Edmund Hodges Executors of this my
Will hereby revoking all former Wills at any time heretofore made By
me In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 14th day
of June One thousand eight hundred and seventy nine — John Bulley
Melvedere Kent. — Signed by said Testator as and for his Last Will
and Testament in the presence of us who at his request in his presence
and the presence of each other have hereunto subscribed our names as
Witnesses — George Seddar 1, Rookery Road Melvedere — Alice H. Wells
2 Rookery Road Melvedere. —

John Bulley Esq.
14.

Source: National Archives

He was buried in the Ealing and Old Brentford Cemetery.

John Bulley's grave in Ealing & Brentford old cemetery



Sacred to the memory of
 John Bulley, died April 15th
 1881 aged 82 years.
 Not lost but gone before.

John Bulley died when he was 82, at a time when the average life expectancy was 41, he had certainly enjoyed a long, eventful and fulfilled life. The inscription on his tombstone presumably chosen by his family reads: "Not lost, but gone before."

Perhaps a more fitting epitaph might have been taken from one of his election speeches in 1848, when he referred to one of his opponents with the following flourish:

"I have lived 50 years in the world, and have explored every nook and cranny in it; I have circumnavigated it five times; and I avow that in all my travels I have never met, either as biped or quadruped, two such consummate impudent creatures as that man Chalker and his big black dog."

Post Script

John would have been pleased to know that his illegitimate daughter, Maria Althea went on to have an interesting life. She married a Dutch born lawyer, Jacob Kalff in London in 1888, who was made Attorney General of Suriname (Dutch Guiana). So in the 1890s, Maria Althea would have lived in and visited the places her father had landed in as a young Merchant Captain, in the 1830s and 1840s; had they met, they would have had much to talk about.

Maria Althea Kalff



Source: Historisch Centrum Overijssel

Life events of John Bulley of Dartmouth

Key Events	
1798	Born in Dartmouth, baptised at St Clement's, Townstal
1812	Maiden voyage to Gibraltar, aged 14
1821	Captain of <i>Redlap</i> , to Newfoundland and Lisbon
1824	Marriage to Elizabeth Jellard of Allington
1825-27	Captain of <i>Matilda</i> , to Singapore and Manila
1828	Captain of <i>George Canning</i> to Australia
1835-37	Built the <i>Thomas Lowry</i> , and captained to Australasia
1839-40	Elected councillor, and Mayor of Dartmouth
1841	Evidence to assessors of Dartmouth; possible Packet port
1843	Captain of <i>Cremona</i> to Australia
1848	Founder of Anti-Corn Law League in Dartmouth
1845	Captain of <i>Duke of Lancaster</i> to Canton
1846	<i>Duke of Lancaster</i> shipwrecked off Canton
1847	Captain of <i>Diana</i> to New York
1848	Founder investor in Dartmouth Steam Packet Company
1856	Helps secure packet service to S. Africa from Dartmouth
1852	Declares for the Free Traders
1856-60	Management committee of Dartmouth Railway Co.
1859	Investigated for bribery in Local Election of Schenley
1862	Elizabeth his wife dies
1855-70	Shipowner with shares in up to 9 ships
1870	Leaves Dartmouth for Erith, Kent
1871	Owner of the <i>Eagle Wing</i> , 120 tonnes
1881	Living and died in Ealing with Maria Althea his daughter

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Ship records (muster, ship's agreements, and shipwreck records), have been sourced from either the National Archives at Kew, or the Devon Archives at the Devon Heritage Centre in Exeter.

See John Bulley's family tree here:

<https://www.ancestry.co.uk/family-tree/tree/84836988family?cfpid=280062359516>

Pictures of merchant shipping and Dartmouth in the early-mid 19th century, on this Pinterest site:

<https://www.pinterest.co.uk/jonathan1505/john-bulley-mayor-of-dartmouth-merchant-captain/>

Lloyds shipping register online

http://www.lrfoundation.org.uk/public_education/reference-library/register-of-ships-online/

Thanks to Paul Fuller who is researching the same time period as John Bulley's life through the perspective of Southampton, and Captain Tom Bevis.

Also to Joan Fawcett for her encouragement and guidance in researching early Victorian Mariners and their world.

Finally, thanks to members of the DHRG who have given me much helpful advice, guidance, especially Gail Ham who unearthed the photograph of Maria Althea Kalff.

I had got wind of Gary Hick's updated CD of Plymouth vessels and invited him to give MSW readers an update. As you will see, he saw this as a work in progress - Editor

'PLYMOUTH'S OTHER FLEET' – NEW SOURCES, FISHING BOATS AND PRIZES OF WAR

Gareth Hicks

My research relating to the merchant vessels registered at Plymouth prior to 1875 was published in CD format in 2007. Publication was followed in 2008 by the inaugural presentation of the Society's 'Award for Exceptional Research'; an award I shared that year with my good friend the late Judith Godfrey. The encouragement I received from the Society when contemplating publication and, in particular, from David Clement, was enormously important to me as a first-time author.

In the months which followed, the Registrar of Shipping released the post-1875 registers to the Plymouth and West Devon Record Office and it also became clear to me that there was a need to extend the material to all fishing boats. These two areas were addressed and other research continued, leading to a new edition of the CD in 2013. The existing material was extended to include vessels registered at Plymouth for a further 70 years, up until 1946, together with the surviving fishing boat material. The title of the work then became *'Plymouth's other fleet – the Merchant Shipping Registers 1814 to 1945 and Fishing Boat Registers 1887 to 1945 of the Port of Plymouth'* and included over 3,000 vessels.

The CD format allows me the "luxury" of continuing to add to the original material and this article sets out the broad themes of my continuing research since the publication of edition 2. At that time a decision was reached that there would be no more new editions and that, instead, my working document and its PDF format twin, from which the CDs were prepared, would always proceed in tandem.

Each new CD would therefore always contain the results of my very latest research.

The recording of the core register material from the Plymouth Shipping Registers was completed a long time ago. Additions of previous and subsequent registration history from the registers of other ports, is more than 99% complete, incorporating the names of many more builders and the eventual fate of most vessels.

Alongside new research, a positive effort has been made to contact, and engage with, individuals, interest groups and organisations throughout the UK and indeed, the wider world, which have some interest in vessels comprising the Plymouth merchant fleet. In the last six months, this has included museums and institutions from Lyme Regis, to Lowestoft and Broughty Castle, to the Bay of Fundy. Whenever possible, this is a two-way street and whilst I try to give, I have been fortunate to garner the support, advice and practical help of Society members and experts in other localities as well as from family historians. After all, the pleasure lies in seeing others using my research, not in the hours spent wearing the lettering off a keyboard. (my web-site is: <https://www.plymouthmerchantsips.info/>, which also allows the opportunity to browse some example pages from the CD.)

Ongoing research and additions fall into three main study areas:

- the history of individual vessels
- the pursuit of photographs of both merchant ships and fishing vessels
- prizes during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

The first area of my ongoing research, a continuous process since 2013, has been concentrated on adding to *the history of individual vessels*. Here I have been able to draw on the immense strides forward in the accessibility of primary on-line sources made, in

particular since 2013. On-line sources are always developing, newspaper coverage, databases of material such as oil paintings and watercolours, the on-line cataloguing and digitisation of the records of museums and other institutions; and, most recently, the digitisation of the records of Lloyd's of London has been made available by Lloyd's Register Foundation in stages at <https://hec.lrfoundation.org.uk/>.

While I may still harbour warm memories of reading Napoleonic era newspapers, in the original, in the quiet of the Courtney Library of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, the originals simply cannot bear the weight of reference now being made to them. Digital searching is not reading and among the losses are those sudden shocks when history leaps off the page to grab you by the throat. I recall the palpable sense of relief, that the assassin of Prime Minister Perceval was a madman and not a revolutionary; and the fear seeping from between the pages, as cholera advanced, unchecked through Plymouth. But, for the purposes of my research, the digitisation of a wide range of local newspapers makes available detailed launch, loss and other reports, expanding the terse one or two lines, often based on the reports of Lloyd' Agents, found in the major circulation sources, which were included in the first two editions. For example, of the four schooners and a smack launched by Emanuel Croker at Netstokes, close to the head of navigation of the River Tamar, between 1864 and 1869, only the first found mention in a Plymouth newspaper. However, within recent months, the digitisation of the *Tavistock Gazette* has added three more launches and, in describing the failed, sideways, launch of the schooner *Tamar Queen*, has more closely pinpointed the location of a small yard, of which no trace now survives on the ground.

The ability to carry out newspaper research has come a very long way in 25 years, so that, on occasion, even starting with ridiculously little information, success can be achieved. The register of the schooner *Corunna* showed only that she was formerly the Dutch "Union". A speculative search for "Dutch schooner Union" found: "CORUNNA – Jan. 21 (By Telegraph): The *Union*, Dutch schooner, Hazewinkel

(coals), has been brought in here derelict by the schooner *Bohemian Girl*" (*Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, 22 January 1870). The Plymouth registered *Bohemian Girl* was a regular trader between Corunna and Plymouth with cattle, and a quite convincing case can be made, that the *Union* of the report, is one and the same as the Plymouth registered *Corunna*, for the *Bohemian Girl* was part owned by Thomas Tregarthen Short of St. Ives, Master Mariner, the first Plymouth owner of the *Corunna*. No report of any salvage award has been located, but there surely must have been one, perhaps used as part payment for the vessel.

Often new research progresses in spasmodic, widely spaced stages, where one item of information triggers fresh lines of attack. The transcript of the register of the cutter *Camellia*, launched by William Hole Shilston from his yard at China House on the eastern shore of Sutton Harbour, in 1879, was added, with the other post 1875 registers in the 2013 edition; it ended with the closing entry "Registry closed 22nd December 1916. Vessel lost at Sea. Advice received from Registered Owner. Certificate of Registry lost with vessel". (Register closure entries follow a brutal style, first established in 1786, where the crew, if mentioned at all, share equal status with the ship's papers "Vessel lost at ... on ... with all her crew and papers". Here the fate of the crew quickly became known, but who they were and the cause of the tragedy, eluded me for a considerable time.)

Copies of the Quinquennial Fishing Boat Returns revealed that the *Camellia* was a fishing boat, adding her number, PH64; a trawler with a crew of four, reduced to three after 1914. Her ship's papers held by the Plymouth & West Devon Record Office (2381/21), the subject of a further addition to her transcribed register, contained various routine documents, but ended with a brief letter, which was, in fact, the "Advice received from Registered Owner" referred to in the closing entry of the register.

“Dear Sir

On Friday Dec 1 1916 my Vessel the Camellia went to sea with the other smacks from this port and has not since returned and from wreckage found it is apparent she is lost with all her crew.

*J. T. Walk
Owner*

PS The Certificate of Registry also Fishing Certificate were on board at the time of the calamity.”



Fig. 1 – Sutton Harbour with Sutton Wharf (centre left) and North Quay in background (right)

Finding her port number, PH64, enabled her to be identified in the background of this W.R. Gay postcard, in which the Railway Extension to Sutton Wharf, poised on her bowsprit, erected in 1893, rules out any earlier vessel carrying PH64 and the number of sailing vessels in the view rules out the vessel re-allocated her number in 1924.

In relation to her loss, single line national newspaper reports noted only that wreckage had been found and there was no news of her crew. However, a search in April 2019, in the recently digitised Western Morning News of Monday, 4 December 1916 (published before the imposition of strict censorship in 1917) revealed a lengthy article on the tragedy.

TRAWLER MYSTERY

Plymouth vessel sunk: Feared Loss of Crew.

Anxiety was created on Saturday in Plymouth by the non-return of the trawler *Camellia*, No. 64, with the other vessels of the local trawling fleet. With nothing more than a fresh easterly breeze prevailing and comparatively smooth sea in the Channel the impression deepened as the day wore on that some untoward incident had happened to the vessel and her crew. Yesterday all hope of the safety of the trawler was given up, and when it was reported that some wreckage believed to belong to a fishing smack had been picked up those interested felt certain she had been lost. This impression was confirmed when the gear was identified as having belonged to the *Camellia*. The disappearance of one of the most able and well-found of the Plymouth trawling fleet almost at the mouth of the harbour, however, is a mystery which apparently is not likely to be solved, for with the sinking of the *Camellia* all the members of the crew have apparently perished.

The *Camellia* was a vessel of about 49 tons register, built about twenty-seven years ago. She was owned by Mr. J. T. Walk, Sussex-Street, Plymouth, and was one of the best known craft in the Plymouth fleet.

She had a very good reputation, and only recently underwent a thorough overhaul, when a large sum was spent in everything being brought up to date, whilst a new boiler had been installed for working the capstan engine. She was manned by three men, Jasper Lawrence, aged about 64 (skipper), Joseph Searle, aged about 60 (first hand), and Harry Nicholls, aged about 50. Each was fully experienced – as a matter of fact they all held certificates qualifying them for command – and had very good reputations among the fishing community as skilled trawlermen. The *Camellia* left Sutton Harbour on Friday morning in company with other Plymouth trawlers for the fishing grounds. According to the skippers of other trawlers the fleet pursued their calling

until Friday night.

The fleet kept company, and were apparently all to be accounted for after midnight. The weather was then clear, although the night was described as inky black, and the majority of the vessels were jilling [sic] about under easy sail awaiting the dawn. About two o'clock on Saturday morning several of the fleet felt the effects of an explosion in the vicinity.

It is surmised the *Camellia* and her crew were victims of this explosion. None of the vessels in the fleet, however, appear to have been in the immediate vicinity of the *Camellia*, or to have seen anything happened to her. It was only when the skippers and crews reached harbour later on, and the *Camellia* did not put in appearance, that anxiety regarding her commenced.

Yesterday wreckage was picked up, and Mr. Walk, the owner, identified it as the mizzenmast, mizzen-boom, and gaff, mizzen-sail, and shrouds and chain plates, with a portion of the vessel's ribs attached.

All three men on the *Camellia* were married, and leave families.

Later, in the same edition, the *Western Morning News* added that the wreckage had been picked up off Rame Head. There was no report of bodies being found and a search of an on-line site listing men named in the World War I section of the Tower Hill Memorial to merchant seaman killed in the two wars who have no known grave but the sea, located an entry for the *Camelia* and her crew: [http://www.benjidog.co.uk/Tower%20Hill/WW1%20Calliope%20\(West%20Hartlepool\)%20to%20Cameronian.html](http://www.benjidog.co.uk/Tower%20Hill/WW1%20Calliope%20(West%20Hartlepool)%20to%20Cameronian.html)

All of the above has been added to the transcript of the *Camelia's* Register published in 2013. On rare, but delightful, occasions, when a story reaches this point, some family historian descendant of the men involved, will contact me and before we are really aware of it, we are co-operating to add their often very personal stories to my

history of a vessel. No such approach has yet occurred in the case of the *Camellia*.

In 2007, when publishing the first edition, I had to regret that only a small number of photographs and other illustrations were included and it was clear that thereafter, the second goal of my ongoing research, *the pursuit of photographs of both merchant ships and fishing vessels must* be a priority. Almost immediately it became clear that obtaining the rights to reproduce photographs in public collections was too expensive to contemplate except on a most restricted basis. However, in the last two or three years photographs available in public collections have increasingly been digitised and are available to view through the websites of the individual institutions. By locating these photographs and linking to them, a way has been found around the acute frustration of the previous position. The actual purchasing of images, becoming available through on-line auction sites and the purchase of vintage postcards has however proved much more affordable. I have also been blessed with a number of very generous co-researchers, whose own efforts in locating images and sharing them with me has been a real blessing. Some of these generous-hearted individuals are members of the society and I take this opportunity to thank them again, publicly.

Merchant vessels, particularly sailing ships, are often not easily identifiable in photographs, but fishing boats present slightly less of a problem with their highly visible port numbers. However, the practice at Plymouth was to reuse numbers after a short lapse of 3 to 5 years; thus identifying fishing boats presents something of a detective challenge.

The possibility of undertaking such a task rested first on linking names to numbers, for which two primary sources survive - the Plymouth fishing boat registers, (Plymouth and West Devon Record Office ref 2805/1 to 5) survive only from 1936, but this record was supplemented by the Quinquennial Fishing Boat Returns, which were located in The National Archives BT145 series. Some other boats and

their port numbers were identified through early editions of *Olsen's 'Fisherman's Nautical Almanac'* and a few others through newspaper reports. From these sources a unique record of Plymouth registered fishing boats in port number order, an extract from which is shown in fig 2 below, was created. The information given in the BT145 series is quite limited and begins at an ill-defined date, possibly 1887 or 1888 and shows all fishing boats then registered at Plymouth. The Return therefore includes some vessels registered in the early years of fishing boat registration, which were still actively engaged in commercial fishing at the date of the first Return, reaching back, in a few cases, to the 1840s. The *Violet* and the *Anne* show the information available from BT145.

<i>Port No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Official No.</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Rig</i>	<i>Tonnage</i>	<i>Owners etc.</i>	<i>Other Information</i>
PH1	Favourite	8533	1876-1897	Class 1 Cutter	31 tons		1st registered 4.12.1876 Broken up 18.12.1897 Also registered under the 1854 Act and Part 1 of the 1894 Act – See <i>Favorite</i>
PH1	New Wonder		1904-1905	Class 1			First registry 27.6.1904 nets & Lines, crew 3 “25.11.1905 Broken up”
PH1	Faithful	109300	1914-1929	Class 1 Ketch	50.78 tons		First registry 21.5.1914, trawler, crew 3 – Also registered under Part I of the 1894
PH1	Violet		193-1936	Class 2 (AM)	2.16 tons	9.5.1935 “Sold to Mr. George Easton 52 Woolster St. Plymouth” -3.12.1936 No longer used for fishing”	First registry 11.5.1935 (formerly FY421 built Fowey 1920 motor <i>Dandy</i> L. 19.6' B. 7.2 D. 3.4 2.16 tons reg'd Fowey 8.8.1928 closed
PH1	Anne		1945-1948 built Dumbarton 1928	Class 2 motor lug & mizzen Crew 2	tons g & n	Owners: John Edward Black of 3 Castle Street, Looe, Cornwall – 20.3.1945 Registry closed	Fishing with lines trawl & pots, L. 20' B. 6.5' D. 2.7' 1.57 tons g& n. 19.11.1948 Boat sold & not now used for fishing
PH2	Reindeer	8524	1836-?	Class 1, Sloop	29 tons	(Olsen's 1880)	registered under the 1854 Act – See <i>Reindeer</i>

Fig. 2 – Extract from list of Plymouth registered fishing boats in Port Number order

Some of the vessels are registered as merchant ships and the links shown here in blue italics take the reader directly to the transcript of the vessel's merchant shipping register and my historical additions, other vessels are registered only as fishing boats and such links as exist to other documents contain photographs or other information relating to the vessel.

In many photographs and postcards the name of the vessel is not shown, or is indecipherable, in others even the number may be indistinct; this and the reuse of numbers, requires careful evaluation of the photographic clues, if the vessel is to be identified. The documents including such images record this process. The excellent photograph in fig 3 is a recent example; on the CD, the document including the image is accessed by links from the three vessels in the list of fishing boats in fig 2 above.



Fig. 3 – Plymouth fishing boats including PH13 Pansy, PH5 N.J.H. and PH141 Early Dawn

The port numbers of three boats leap out of this image, reproduced from a photograph in the John McWilliams collection, by his kind permission.

There is no dating evidence on the original photograph, nor are there any clues immediately obvious from the image itself, except the gentleman surveying the scene; whose long coat and bowler hat might suggest a late-19th century date. However, such an early date can be discounted, as none of the Port Numbers of the boats in the photograph are in the form 123PH, a numbering convention differentiating 2nd class boats, which was ended by the Order in Council of 24 March 1902. The photograph therefore post-dates 1902.

Among the mass of boats, four PH Port Numbers are visible, in total, immediately suggesting that the location is somewhere in Plymouth, but again, there is no location noted on the photograph itself.

The re-use of Port Numbers at Plymouth, from the earliest surviving records to 1946 (PH5, five times; PH13, four and PH141 three times) means that the identification of the boats in the photograph is by no means clear cut. Identifying, with certainty, the boats pictured would have been difficult, perhaps even impossible, but for the name shown on PH13; that name comprises seven characters, but under magnification this resolves to the word "Pansy" enclosed within two characters, probably stars.

PH13 was carried by *Pansy* between 1924 and 1936, a 2nd Class boat, of 8.69 tons with an auxiliary motor, first registered at Plymouth, on 28 February 1924, fishing with nets and lines and having a crew of three. She was not registered under Part I of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 and is therefore known, at Plymouth, only from the Fishing Boat Returns 1929-1933 and 1934-1938 (The National Archives BT145/490 and 611). Her fishing register was closed: "25.2.1936 no longer used for fishing". Her stern is out of shot, but she appears not inconsistent with the tonnage of the *Return* and, in addition, it appears that she is a single masted vessel with her mast stepped in a tabernacle, lowered and supported aft, on a crutch. She was formerly registered at Penzance as PZ586; the Penzance Register Books showing that she was registered as a 2nd class lugger, length 30.9ft, 9 tons. She was built at Porthleven in 1896 for William and Nicholas Smith of Mousehole, skipper William Smith. In 1916 she was sold to Nicholas Smith of Mousehole and in

1918 to Richard Richards of Mousehole and in the same year, she was fitted with an auxiliary motor. Her Penzance register was closed in 1924 when she was “sold to Plymouth”. It is possible that she retained her lugger rig on transfer to Plymouth and that her mizzen mast is out of shot in the photograph.

Below the *Pansy*, closer to the foot of the photo, is PH5. *Emperor* and *Diamond Jubilee*, which had carried the number are too large and *Will o’ the Wisp*, a 3rd class boat, of 0.64 tons, is too small, to be the pictured vessel. *N.J.H.* next carried the number PH5 from 1930 until 1956; launched in June 1929, she was first registered at Plymouth on 15 August 1930. Her Fishing Boat Register (Plymouth & West Devon Record Office 2805/1) shows that she had an auxiliary motor with main, fore & jib sails; a 2nd Class boat, fishing with lines, length 20ft, breadth 7ft, depth 4.3ft and 2.71 tons gross and net, she had a crew of one. Her owner from 2 October 1939, (when her details were entered in the first surviving Plymouth Fishing Boat Register Book) was William John McCoy of 44 Edgcumbe Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth and her skipper A. Smith. Her register was cancelled: “Register closed owner deceased 6/9/1952”. Again her register details appear consistent with the vessel in the photo; her bow shows a type of motor-boat which was to be seen on the Barbican well into the 1980s and, in a small way, supports the identification of PH13.

The most prominent number in the photograph is PH141; only *Early Dawn*, was a contemporary of the *Pansy* and both of the earlier vessels to carry the number, *Jubilee* and *Deacher*, at 8 and 6.6 tons respectively, are also, perhaps, too small to be the pictured vessel. *Early Dawn* carried PH141 from 1926 to 1936, a 2nd Class boat of 12.4 tons with an auxiliary motor, first registered at Plymouth on 22 September 1926, fishing with nets and lines and having a crew of two. She was not registered under Part I of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 and is known only from the details of her Fishing Boat Registration given in the Plymouth Fishing Boat Returns 1929-33 BT145/490 and 1934 to 1938 BT145/611. Her registration is closed enigmatically “18.12.1936 Authy Reg Genl No. 17182/36 18.12.1936”.

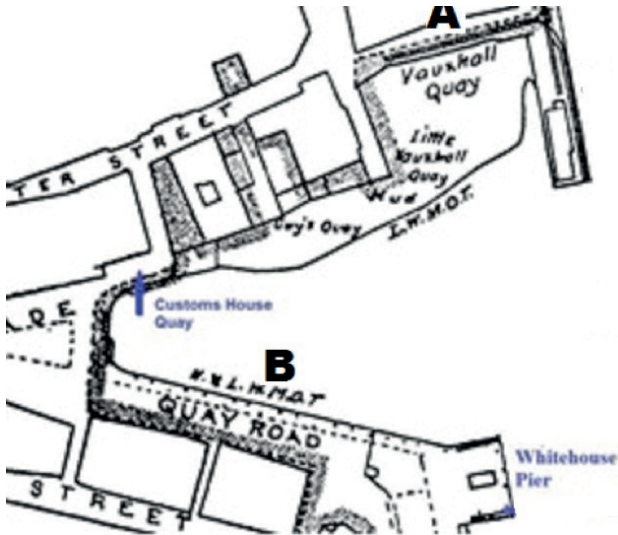


Fig. 4 – Western corner of Sutton Harbour Vauxhall Quay to the Parade

There are two other numbers in the photograph, but in both cases only part of the number is visible, insufficient to determine what it may be.

From the dates on which the above boats carried their respective numbers, two end dates are established for the photograph; it was taken between 15 August 1930 and 18 December 1936. The large number of Plymouth fishing boats points to Plymouth as the location, furthermore, restricting the area to Sutton Harbour (ruling out Stonehouse Pool, where the *N.J.H.* might have been berthed). The buildings, quays and angles of the photo suggest that it was taken roughly along the line A-B on the map opposite. The boats are lying against Vauxhall (formerly Foxhole) Quay, sheltered between Sutton Wharf and Little Vauxhall Quay, the buildings on the man's right being on Little Vauxhall Quay obscuring the view down towards the Customs House and The Parade. The more distant buildings are those fronting on Quay Road. The brick window detail is present in some surviving buildings in this area. Zooming in on the buildings immediately behind the boats, supposed to be on Little Vauxhall

Quay, reveals a name above the large door which reads "Parkhouse". Plymouth and West Devon Record Office ref: PCC/60/1/6875 is a planning application dated May 1904, catalogued as "Rebuilding of stores, Little Vauxhall Quay, Plymouth comprising block plan, floor plans, sections and notice - Architect M. Alton-Bazeley, owner Mr. F. W. Parkhouse. Application approved, 14 Jun 1904." This file appears to relate to the building shown, but has yet to be examined.

Returning to the man in the photograph, he is smartly dressed, with a stiff white collar and apparently a tie, he is evidently not someone in working attire, or at least, not something in which he is going to get his hands dirty. From the established date of the photograph (1930 to 1936) he is dressed rather formally, is he simply in his Sunday best, or is he the Harbour Master, or perhaps a Dissenting Minister, or the Pastor of the Missions to Seamen?

(The link to the Order in Council of 24 March 1902, opens a transcript of the Order set out elsewhere on the CD.)

The third main theme of recent research, focused on the *101 Plymouth vessels for which registers survive, which were taken as prizes during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*. A large number of documents relating to these vessels, their seizure and condemnation are held in the High Court of Admiralty prize papers in The National Archives HCA32 series. None of the documents are currently digitised, but work to do this and link the documents to other records, projected to run for 25 years, is being planned.

The research was undertaken primarily to add material relating to capture and condemnation, to the histories of the individual Plymouth registered vessels, but as it progressed, a great deal was revealed concerning the operation of the Court system, those at Plymouth who operated it and those who passed through its hands. Work on the individual vessels is complete and added to the respective register transcripts. A paper is now in course of preparation dealing, in detail, with the general findings and the following is an outline of some parts of this.

Where a registered vessel was a prize, brief details of the seizure and condemnation were set out on the ship's first British Register; typically in the form in which they appear on the register of the ship *Adventure*, registered at Plymouth on 29 March 1815:

“... the said Ship or Vessel was a *Prize taken from the French Republic then called L'Adventure by His Majesty's Frigate Fortunée and Condemned in the High Court of Admiralty per Sentence dated the 10 May 1809 as appears by a Certificate under the Hand and Seal of the Judge of the said Court dated 19 July 1809*”.

Since the HCA32 series is catalogued under the ship's former name it was only possible to locate the files where the recital was in the above form rather than the abridged form of recital, “*a prize condemned on ...*” common on many later registers. This and other factors, limited the number of files located to 69. Nonetheless, even this number produced a daunting 2,000 plus photographs of documents to work from, taking more than 2 years to process. The bulk of the documents, both British and enemy, were found to follow a small number of standard precedent forms, or failing that, to at least be in a common style, and this made it possible to transcribe the documents. These transcripts together with the ship's register, *Gazette* letters, notices as to prize money and auction adverts, mean that the 69 vessels have a very full history of this phase of their lives.

The High Court of Admiralty (HCA 32 series) files for each ship, comprise bundles of papers, which may be separated into two folders: Court Papers, being those actually produced at the ‘trial’, and Ship's Papers, those impounded at the ship's capture, but not actually used in court (*The National Archives Research Guide, High Court of Admiralty* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/high-court-admiralty-records>). The research made use of the Court Papers and some Ship's Papers in English, or in contemporary translations into English.

The Court process may conveniently be thought of, in simple terms, as the trial of the detained vessel and her cargo on the charge of belonging to the enemy, or of trading with the enemy, in breach of an established blockade. In the Court's 'Notice of Intent to Condemn' this is expressed in the following terms:

"... our said Judge ... doth intend and will proceed to Adjudication on the said Capture and pronounce the said Ship her Tackle Apparel and Furniture and the Arms Stores and Ammunition Goods Wares and Merchandizes laden therein to have belonged at the Time of the Capture and Seizure thereof to our Enemies and as such or otherwise to be liable to Confiscation and to be Adjudged and condemned as good and lawful prize."

Note: This document does not incorporate a title and is referred to here as the 'notice of intent to condemn', from its function.

Although there were advantages of consistency to be gained from centralised decision-making, it would have been totally impractical and detrimental to the war effort, for witnesses to have been brought before the High Court of Admiralty in London. The Prize Court therefore rarely heard from witnesses in person; instead it relied upon documentary evidence captured with the vessel and the written testimony of witnesses collected at the port into which the prize was carried (the sources used in my research). To facilitate this, the High Court appointed local Attorneys to oversee the process at Prize Ports and empanelled Commissioners, local 'dignitaries', apparently the Mayor and Councillors of the port, before whom witnesses were examined.

The full paper will consider the wider group of documents in the HCA32 files. I have concentrated here, on the four documents prepared at the prize port and the first document produced by the Court in response to all the papers it received. Some of these documents do not include a title and have been named by me from the operative part of the deed. It is, perhaps, important to state at this point that,

although the bulk of the 69 vessels of the study group were brought into Plymouth, there were a sufficient number of vessels brought into other ports to establish that the overall form of these documents was common.

The first document prepared by the Actuary was the Prize Master's Oath (this document has no title) commencing with his name, rank, ship and his commander. It named the prize and her master (if known) and confirmed that the prize master was present at the capture. At its core the deed is a statement, under oath, that either there were no documents found on board the prize, or that numbered documents, then "brought into the Court", were all the documents *"delivered up, or otherwise found on board the prize"* at the time of, or since, the capture and that they were delivered into Court *"as they were received and taken without fraud, addition, subduction or embezzlement saving the numbering thereof"*. The documents thus became numbered exhibits to be produced in Court as necessary. The Oath was sworn and executed by the Prize Master before one or more Commissioners, each of whom executed the document, in the presence of the Actuary, who signed to that effect.

Where members of the original, foreign, crew of the prize were available for interrogation this document and the release referred to below, (if any) ended the Prize Master's involvement with the Court and, after only one or two days, freed the Prize Masters to return to their station – an important first benefit of expeditious action by the Court and its appointees. (It is clear from capture dates, prisoner of war records and other references that there was no delay between arrival in port and appearance before the Commissioners.)

After several sets of papers had been transcribed, a surprising second document was encountered, executed by the Prize Master. This was a release by James Pool, a Boatswain on board H.M. Cutter *Frisk*, Prize Master of *Le San Repos*, of all his interest in the prize, in consideration of a cash-in-hand payment of five shillings. Like the Prize Master's Oath, this was a document in standard form, always

in consideration of five shillings. Five shillings in 1800, equates to approximately £11.63 at 2017 values and was the equivalent of 1 day's pay for a skilled worker; the Actuary's fee for preparing the deed was usually two guineas, (£92.55 at 2017 values) but in one case amounting to £2 12s 6d (£115.69) (*The National Archives Currency Converter* (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/results.asp#mid>)). Whereas other documents prepared at the Prize Port are statements of fact, this was a highly legalistic document in the style of the times and, after some preliminaries, it continued:

Know therefore know all Men by these presents that I the said James Pool for divers Good Causes and Considerations me thereunto moving and also in consideration of five shillings to me in Hand paid the Receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge have remised released and for ever quitted claim and by these Presents do for myself my Heirs Executors and Administrators renounce remise release and for ever quit Claim unto the Commander Officers and Crew of the said Hired Armed Cutter Frisk and His said Majesty's Gun Brig Contest all my Right Title and Interest of in and to the said French Chasse Maree Le Sans Repos her Cargo and all Share and Proportion of Monies which shall or may arise therefrom or be made by means of the said Capture..."

Heirs and assigns were mentioned several more times before James Pool signed by making his mark. **The Good Causes and Considerations** were obvious in some cases, for example, where the value of a small prize was to be shared not only with an Admiral, and the crew of the capturing ship, but also with the crews of five 74s who were "in sight" at the time of the seizure and consequently shared in the prize. In other cases the Prize Master may have lost out, see fig 6 below. Eventually it became clear that the practice was common, for 16 releases were referred to in, or found among, the study group papers (23% of the total). Whether the 5/- was spent on wine, women and song, or was wasted, we will, of course, never know.

The central task of the Actuary and Commissioners was to interrogate prisoners (or in their absence, the Prize Master) using a standard set of questions, called “The Standing Interrogatories” - each of the 34 numbered paragraphs of which, contained a series of questions relating to the same broad topic. There is no attempt to obtain military or commercial “intelligence” or to assess morale or enemy planning; instead the questions are directed at very limited objectives, framed by the questions about to come before the Court. Essentially, they were aimed at finding out the place of building of the ship, her nationality, her owners and their nationality and that of the crew and passengers (if any); who captured her, when and where; how the prize was armed; whether a commissioned vessel, or letter of marque; and whether there was any resistance. If she had recently been sold, particulars of the sale and whether it was a genuine transaction, or merely an attempt to conceal the true ownership of the prize; the country of growth, production or manufacture of any cargo, its place of loading, ownership and destination and its ownership once delivered.

The use of multiple questions within the numbered paragraphs means that there are many more than 34 questions; broadly the questions break down as follows: concerning the person being questioned - 16; the time, position etc. of the capture - 20; the commander of the prize - 15; the prize - 52; the cargo - 41; passengers - 11; and guns and warlike stores 11 - 166 questions all told.

In dogged application of the Court’s instructions, the Interrogatories were followed in full, in every case, irrespective of individual circumstances, whether the prize was a naval ship, a private ship of war, letter of marque or trading vessel and, indeed, even where the only person available for questioning was the British Prize Master. In almost every case, there were therefore, questions which were not applicable, but this is never an answer given. Where the crew were captured, up to three were questioned, always including the captain, if available, then the mate or second in command and a junior, perhaps the most junior, member of the crew, to boys of 12 or 14.

The questioning is not the forceful interrogation of prisoners which might be implied by the title “Standing Interrogatories”. There is no detectable reluctance to answer the questions, the majority of answers to which, would, in any event, have been immediately obvious, either because the ship was armed for war, or if a trading vessel, from sources ranging from the ship’s papers, (register, passport, bills of lading etc.) to her cargo, place of capture, native language of the crew and even the name painted on the ship’s stern. In the vast majority of Plymouth cases there must have seemed little to gain from fabricating replies, or even dumb insolence. Only in the case of neutral ships or cargoes was there any likelihood of successful deceit, or of successfully contesting condemnation. During the questioning of the Master of the Dutch brig *Hoop*, both avoiding being caught in an obvious lie and the attempted deceit of a neutral are evident. Knowing that the Court held two distinct sets of documents signed by him, relating to the cargo, viz., individual Bills of Lading and a further Bill covering the whole cargo, the Captain, on being asked whether any of the documents were “colourable” to his knowledge, replied truthfully, that the latter “*was a Colourable Paper to be shewn to any English Ships of War that might board the Ship*”. (TNA HCA 32/1483/2711)

To approach the Standing Interrogatories, as I initially did, in the expectation of discovering voices from the Napoleonic era proved vain, for “*All the sayings and depositions of the deponents were faithfully reduced into writing*” by the Actuary, as stated in his Return. The papers are sanitised and emotionless, with only a few surviving faint ghosts of reported speech. If a captured captain replied with expletives, the Interpreter, Actuary and the Actuary’s scribe ensured that they did not reach the documents submitted to the Court. Because of these ‘filters’, the process was probably not quite as urbane and gentlemanly as it appears from the papers, but that is the appearance, and there are a number of factors propelling the process in that general direction. The High Court itself was applying British and International Law; the Actuaries overseeing the questioning

were appointees of the Court and the questioning was carried out before one or two men from a panel of local worthies. The French interpreters were usually British and described as gentlemen, but other interpreters were more often merchants, some of whom, by their names, originated in other countries. Having been written fair, the replies to the interrogatories were read back to the prisoner/witness and executed by them in the presence of the Interpreter (if any), the Commissioners and the Actuary and not infrequently amendments were made. Finally, this was a trial of inanimate objects and not of persons, perhaps serving to make the process more dispassionate.

Nonetheless, the questioning of Vincent Perodo and his brother-in-law, Jean Cloerec, master and mate of the French *chasse marée* *La Victoire*, of 44 tons, who, even though illiterate, had amassed enough wealth by their late forties to have a fishing boat built, which they then employed to carry a cargo of 25 tons of salt they had purchased, cannot fail to have been deeply emotionally charged. As you read their replies, it is impossible not to empathize with these two men, their future and fortunes and that of their families, brought crashing down in ruin and they themselves heading, in 1796, into captivity of unknown severity and duration. Unfortunately, it proved impossible to follow either of the two men in captivity beyond 1800 so that their eventual fate remains unknown. (An attempt was made to follow all of the prisoners who were interrogated using digitised prisoner of war records, in the case of *L'Adventure*, already referred to – ‘*Prisoners of War 1715-1945 – Dartmoor, French prisoners of war, 1809*’, The National Archives ADM 103/93.)

In some cases vessels and their cargoes were appraised and an expert valuation given under oath. Passengers were interviewed and their papers examined before apparently being allowed to proceed by cartel.

The ship's register, passport, commission (if a private ship of war) and bills of lading were all with the HCA 32 papers forwarded to London and were officially translated by Messrs J. De Pinna, a company still

providing a legally attested translation service, in London, to this day. The words at the head of the signature read “Which I Attest” and the wonderfully elaborate signature appears in the same form on all documents translated, with the year at the foot of the J.



Which I Attest
J. de Simma
1800
Solr. Not. Pub.

The Actuary completed his Return to accompany the papers to the Court in Doctors Commons; although it performed that function, this was no mere covering letter, it named the persons interrogated, the Interpreter and the Commissioners before whom they appeared, ending: “All which I do hereby certify under my Hand and Notarial Seal, at Plymouth aforesaid, this Sixteenth day of September in the year of Our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and Thirteen.

(Although again the document contains no title its name is revealed in the Bill in Fig 5 below.) The whole process was completed in one or at the most two days. From 1812, Actuary’s Bills are included among the papers; Fig 5 is a typical example. Note the charges for use of room (since questioning took place “*at the House of Peter Tonkin*”, this was a charge for using his office), production of the Standing Commission, (the document appointing the Commissioners held by him) and the stamps wax and for booking parcel (the latter 2d the mail coach charge for the parcel of documents sent to Doctors Common).



Peter Tonkin

Solr Not. Pub.”

La Ville de Fécamp,

Jean Baptiste Palfrey Master

1813, September 15th /16

	£	s	d
To Summoning Commissioners		6	8
Attending Examining One Witness in Preparatory	1	11	6
Drawing and Engrossing his Deposition		10	6
Paid Commissioner's Fee	1	1	0
Paid Interpreter's Do	1	1	0
Do Standing Commission		5	0
Assorting and Numbering Ship's Papers		6	8
Drawing & Engrossing Affidavit to same		6	8
Drawing and Copying Return		13	4
For use of Room to examine in	1	1	0
Do Standing Commission		5	0
Paid for Stamps, Paper, Wax, Tape &c Booking Parcel (first with Papers, and afterwards with Deposition, &c Mail – Coach) and Extra Expenses, &c	2	2	0
TOTAL	£ 9	4	4

Fig. 5 – The Actuary's Bill¹

¹ Yes, we know the bill comes to £9 7s 4p. but we have checked with the original Gary sent us and these are his sums and total - Ed

The final document in the sequence is the Court's Notice of its intention to condemn the ship, in the absence of any person appearing before it within 20 days to show "*a reasonable and lawful Cause to the contrary*". Notice of the Court's intention was given to the public, by affixing a "true copy" to one of the pillars of the Royal Exchange in the City of London. The Notice, hand written, was clearly pre-prepared with spaces left for dates, the name of the prize and her master and the capturing vessel and her commander and the port into which she was carried. The form varies slightly for vessels taken by private ships of war, but is otherwise a standard deed for the whole period; stamped and bearing the Seal of the High Court of Admiralty. These are quite impressive documents. (Stamped into paper, the seal did not photograph well, but The National Archives have reproduced many seals which are available for free download, for example <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/84e9c5b734314c24b481b67b6e4e4afa> .)

Perhaps somewhat unexpectedly the papers do not conclude with the Court's Sentence and it is the intention to link to this in the planned digitization project.

Once the vessel had been condemned, the Prize Agent could proceed with the sale of the vessel and her cargo (if any) and at times, whole columns, or even most of the front page of newspapers such as the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* or *Exeter Flying Post* were filled with adverts for sale of vessels and cargos in the better inns on Plymouth's Barbican.

When all receipts were in, the Agent lodged his accounts in the Registry of the High Court and placed a Notice to that effect in the *London Gazette*, followed by a Notice regarding the payment of prize money. The example in Fig. 6 below is completely typical of both notices, except that the inclusion of the actual shares paid out, is rare.

LONDON GAZETTE – NUMBER 17487, SATURDAY, 19 JUNE 1819. “Gosport, June 12, 1819.

Notice is hereby given, that the account of sales of the French brigs La Mathurine and La Henriette, captured on the 5th January 1814, by His Majesty’s ship Clarence, Henry Vansittart, Esq. Captain, will be deposited in the Registry of the High Court of Admiralty, agreeably, to Act of Parliament.

Gosport, June 12, 1819

Notice is hereby given to the officers and company of His Majesty’s ship Clarence, Henry Vansittart, Esq. Captain, who were actually present at the capture of the French brigs La Mathurine and La Henriette, on the 5th January 1814, that they will, on Wednesday the 16th instant, be paid, at my Office, Gosport, their respective proportions arising from the net proceeds of the hull and stores of the said brigs. The shares not then demanded will be recalled, at the same place, on Wednesdays and Thursdays for three months.

		Proportions
Flag	-	£47 15 2
First Class	-	95 10 4
Second Class	-	10 4 8
Third Class	- -	6 10 3
Fourth Class	-	1 10 7
Fifth Class	-	1 0 4¾
Sixth Class	-	10 2¼
Seventh Class	- -	6 9½
Eighth Class	-	3 4¾

Matthias March, Agent

Fig. 6 – London Gazette Notice for Lodgement of Account and payment of Prize money La Mathurine and La Henriette

Since the Captain's share of the prize was a quarter of the net value, the net proceeds of the sale of the hull and stores of *La Mathurine* and *La Henriette* was £382 1s 4d. How the money was split between the two prizes, or whether Edward Dampier (the Prize Master) was entitled to a share in *La Henriette* is unknown, but he would have fallen within the fifth class and seems to have given up more than the five shillings received when he released his share.

The evidence of the HCA 32 papers in respect of Plymouth prizes is that the system worked well and that the majority of cases were decided by the Court quickly, with few of its decisions contested. The case of the brig *Le Conducteur*, laden with red wine and brandy, taken in the Breton Passage by the *Pilchard* and *Rapid* on 26 October 1806, her master and crew, having escaped ashore, is typical. The Prize Master, Midshipman, Thomas Attwell, and John Elliott, seaman were interrogated at Plymouth, on 31 October. George Hunt the Actuary completed his Return of the Proceedings for transmission, with the papers, to the High Court, on the same day, dispatching all the papers to London on the mail coach. Within three days the Court had considered the evidence and issued Notice of its intention to Condemn the vessel, unless "a reasonable and lawful Cause to the contrary" was shown before the Court within 20 days of the Notice, which was dated 3 November (*The National Archives HCA 32/981/836*). *Le Conducteur* was then condemned by sentence passed on 5 December 1806, just 41 days from the date of her capture. She was advertised for sale by auction at Mr. Symons sale rooms, Woolster Street, Plymouth, on 6th January 1807 and the prize money was paid at the Plymouth office of Peter Symons, Prize Agent, on 4th April 1807.

'The Plymouth experience' as exemplified in the study group of vessels is at variance with much that has been written about interminable delays in the Court and in the payment of prize money. Fig. 7 below shows in graphic form, the length of time which elapsed between the dates of the Actuary's Return and the Court's Notice of its intention to condemn (green); between the Notice and actual date

of Condemnation (yellow) and between Condemnation and the date of the *Gazette* Payment Notice (red). The Court had considered 27 cases in 2 or 3 days, a further 17 in 4 to 10 days, 7 in 11 to 20 days, 6 in 21 to 40 days and 3 in 41 to 60 days, while in 9 cases one or both documents are not filed. The longest case took 60 days to decide, but 44 cases 73% were decided within ten days or less, including the time taken to transmit the papers from Plymouth to London. The process then required a pause of 20 days, until time, for objection under the Notice, expired and of 63 cases where both dates were available, 33 (or 52.4%) were condemned within ten days of the expiry of the Notice.

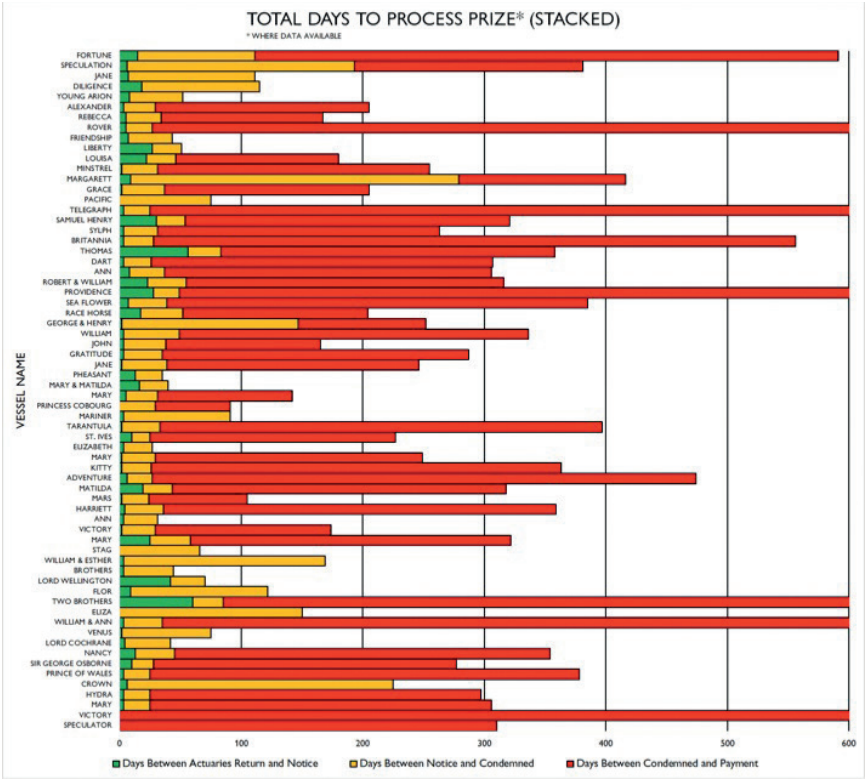


Fig. 7 – Elapsed time between Actuary's Return and date of Payment Notice in *London Gazette*. – graph J.E.C. Hicks

It will be seen that the time between condemnation and payment (red in Fig 7) is much greater, but nonetheless, 33 captors (72%) of the 46 prizes where a *Gazette* Payment Notice has been traced, were paid within 1 year of the date of the Return. A time-scale which was no doubt viewed as more than reasonable by the Prize Agent and was probably acceptable to the captors. (Note no *Gazette* Notice of payment was made in some cases, notably for vessels taken by privateers, of which there were 9 in the study group.)

In order to preserve the detail in the first 100 days, fig. 7 has been truncated at 600 days and the crews of the five vessels where payment was apparently made at that point, were not, in fact, paid for 1463, 841, 1071, 767 and 1940 days respectively. (It is intended that the full paper will examine those cases where the delay in payment exceeded 1 year, to see what (if anything) may connect these vessels, or explain the delay.)

It is necessary to consider whether Plymouth was typical in the rapidity in which the Court acted and the prize money was paid and some factors have been identified which may point to it being atypical. Some of these are examined below.

The 2nd Interrogatory, the first question relating to the ship, asks whether she had a Commission and the 31st Interrogatory enquires as to her armament. A higher than expected number of the 69 prizes were armed, three ships of the Imperial French Navy, stated in reply to the 2nd Interrogatory to be a *Ship of War in the service of and belonging to the Emperor of the French*. There were also ten private ships of war and three letters of marque (each of these 13 vessels would have been issued with a Letter of Marque, but the distinction being made here is between vessels without a cargo, sailing on a cruise, without a specific destination for the sole purpose of taking prizes and the three cargo carrying vessels with a letter of marque enabling them to take prizes en route to their destination), these together amounted to 23% of the study group. (In addition there were three traders armed, for defence, but not holding a Letter of

Marque, while many other vessels carried a musket or the odd pistol and in one case two swivel guns.) To avoid any suspicion of piracy, these 16 vessels were at pains to preserve a document signed in the name of Napoleon, the Spanish King or US President, authorising them to take or destroy the ships of Great Britain – it was damning and incontrovertible evidence and they could be condemned without ceremony.

Another group given short shrift were the many vessels taken close inshore, or cut out at anchor in harbour, or under coastal batteries. Safe escape in the ship's boat was therefore an option for their crews and, as there was no incentive to take foreign merchant seamen prisoner, indeed rather the reverse, they were allowed to go unmolested.

Of the 68 prizes where information is available, 22 were wholly, or partly, deserted by their crews (32.4%). In many cases the departing crews took all or some of the ship's papers with them. However, the lack of evidence, which might have been provided by the crew or papers, as to the nationality of the vessel, or those on board her, or the ownership or place of loading and destination of her cargo, did not seem to present a problem for the Court. The vessels were condemned, the Court perhaps relying on Biblical authority: "The wicked flee when no man pursueth: but the righteous are bold as a lion." (*Proverbs 28:1 King James Bible*) Of course the fleeing crew were not being pursued, but they were fleeing before examination of the vessel and cargo to ascertain whether they were enemy property and therefore pre-empting the decision of the boarders to bring her in and of the Court to condemn. Desertion of a vessel by her crew seems to have been treated by the Court as substantial evidence that the vessels and cargoes were enemy owned and the Court was prepared to move to judgement on this basis, in the absence of any other evidence. The case of the brig *Le Conducteur* condemned in just 41 days has already been commented upon.

As the papers of individual vessels were transcribed, examples emerged of one crewman being left behind. As examples

accumulated, it became less possible that these men had been casually abandoned by their comrades, or that boats were too small to carry all in the prevailing conditions. In total nine of the deserted vessels were not completely abandoned; in seven cases one man was left aboard and in one case two, in the final case the man left behind died during the voyage to Plymouth (no cause or explanation being given in the papers). No explanation appears in the deposition of any witnesses, or elsewhere in the papers as to why the men remained with their vessels. It appears probable that, whatever the cause, there was some element of selection at work. Four (all aged under 24) were not married and no statement is made in respect of the marital status of two others, aged 19 and 16, while one aged 21 was married. The other two men are much older. One was the master of the prize, aged 65 and a widower. The other was married, aged 70 and the oldest prisoner questioned in the study group of vessels. He stated that he had known the master from the master's infancy, so that it appears unlikely he was left behind lightly, or without cause. It may be that an alternative to callous abandonment might be an intention to continue to have the vessel under command, in the hope that she would, through some favourable change of circumstances, still escape and that the men were 'volunteers'.)

By nationality the study group comprised 52 French, 7 American, 4 Spanish, 4 Danish, 1 Dutch and 1 Papenburg [Lower Saxony] vessel and therefore had a very low number of neutral vessels (six of the 7 American vessels were seized after commencement of the war of 1812). This low number of neutral vessels meant that there was far less scope to contest condemnation. It may be that ports, where a higher proportion of vessels seized were neutrals, would have seen far more contested cases, with the consequent delay this entailed.

By and large, Plymouth registered vessels were engaged in coastal trade and post-war to the near continent, to the Azores and the Mediterranean and to the Canadian Maritimes. The vessels engaged in this trade were brigs, schooners and sloops ranging from 25 to 150 tons and these were the prizes bought by Plymouth owners,

except for a small number of larger vessels employed in a short-lived whaling trade.

Where the crew abandoned the vessel, taking her papers with them, the tonnages recorded are those given by the Prize Master in response to questions concerning the vessel and are clearly estimates. Otherwise, tonnages are taken from the ships passport or register or given in answers by the master. The breakdown by tonnage was as follows, less than 100 tons 50 vessels, 72.5% of the total; 101 to 200 tons 14 vessels. 20.3%; 1 less than 250 tons; 2 more less than 275 tons and 2 between 500 and 550 tons. With this bias towards lower tonnage vessels, values were relatively low and probably it was not worth contesting condemnation, where the chances of success were low. Whether the same bias in tonnage was true of all prize ports is unknown.

It should be emphasised that the vessels in the study group are those which remained at Plymouth – this is very different from the number of vessels brought into the port.

Shortly after the beginning of the Peace of Amien the *Naval Chronicle* published the following table enumerating the prizes brought into Plymouth “to the Wars end”:

From February to Michaelmas	French	Spanish	Dutch	English	American	Danish	Swedish	Prussian &c	Total
1793	17	1	0	6	3	2	0	1	30
1794	10	0	0	7	1	1	2	1	22
1795	15	1	16	6	45	3	0	1	87
1796	14	0	37	8	5	6	0	6	76
1797	27	4	12	23	7	14	4	4	95
1798	60	2	0	27	16	36	15	20	176
1799	46	6	0	20	6	16	10	11	115
1800	66	9	0	29	13	16	6	18	157
1801	85	19	0	30	13	22	9	18	196
	340	42	65	156	109	116	46	74	948

Fig. 8 – *Naval Chronicle* 1802 Vol. 7 pages 175/176 “Number of Vessels examined at Plymouth during the late War.”

Several men of war examined before their arrival at this port. The English ships listed are re-captures.”

The steadily increasing flow of prizes shown above, exploded at the breakdown of the Peace of Amien, like the opening of a fireworks display: “Catwater is now literally a forest of prizes, and detained Batavians, by the vigilance of our cruisers from this port only, in about three weeks, have been captured, detained, and sent in, ships and vessels of the enemy, with cargoes, which cost little short of two millions sterling!!!” (*Shereborne Mercury*, 13 June 1803). (Two million in 1800 was worth £88,145,800 at 2017 values.) (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/results.asp#mid>). The *Naval Chronicle* reported actual vessel numbers: “105 sail of all descriptions” (Vol. 10 p.81). Similar, if not so extensive, peaks punctuated the overall flow at

the commencement of hostilities against various powers from time to time aligned with France. Plymouth was particularly well-placed to benefit from homeward bound vessels, blissfully unaware of the changed circumstances.

As there are no surviving registers for the Port of Plymouth for the years 1786 to 1813 and 1816 the picture we have is limited, but it is clear that Plymouth merchants simply did not have the vast amount of capital required to buy all of these vessels and their cargoes. The best prices for ship and cargo could be found only in London and, if sold to owners living elsewhere, the ship had, under the provisions of the 1786 Registration Act, to be registered at the port of residence of the buyer. Many of the prizes therefore joined the regular protected convoys eastwards and occasionally were worthy of note: “Passd by the Isle of Wight about Sixty Sail of Vessels mostly Prizes from Plymouth, under Convoy of several Cruisers” (*Sun (London) 1 August 1803*).

It seems likely that these factors, acting together, had a major influence on the speed with which the Court decided the cases and the Prize Agents were able to sell vessels and cargoes.

APPENDIX

I have thought to add an example of a register and transcribed Court Papers. The *Alexander* attached is a nice example. In 2013 it finished at the lack of the 1816 registers and continued with the Gazette Notices regarding prize money. Remember that, in the CD, the blue text operates as a hypertext link to other documents on the CD.

ALEXANDER – Schooner –

Prize (formerly the French Chasse Maree *La Clemence*) condemned 10 May 1814

No. *Thirty six* In Pursuance of an Act passed in the Twenty-sixth Year of the Reign of King George the Third, intituled, An Act for the further Increase and Encouragement of Shipping and Navigation: *David Banks Ship Builder* [see [The Banks Family](#)] and *Joseph Cook Sailmaker* both of the Parish of East Stonehouse in the County of Devon having taken and subscribed the Oath required by this Act, and having sworn that *they are* sole Owners of the Ship or Vessel called *the Alexander* of Plymouth whereof *Richard Pollard* is at present Master, and that the said Ship or Vessel was and *William Easton Tide Surveyor and Surveying Officer* having certified to Us, that the said Ship or Vessel is a *Prize taken from the Enemies of the Crown of Great Britain then called the L' Clemence by His Majesty's Schooner Telegraph*¹ and condemned in the High Court of Admiralty per Sentence dated the 10th day of May 1814 which appears by a Certificate under the Hand and Seal of the Judge of the said Court dated the 13th June 1814 and Certificate of the Collector and Comptroller of this Port where the duties on said Vessel were Satisfied and Paid dated the 28 July 1814 *Foreign built has One Deck, and Two Masts; that her Length from the Fore Part of the Main Stem to the After Part of the Stern-Post aloft, is Fifty seven feet her Breadth at the broadest Part, above the Main Wales fifteen feet ten inches her Height between Decks in the Hold Seven feet nine inches and admeasures Fifty seven and*⁶¹/₆₄ Tons; that she is a *Square Sterned Schooner* has *No Gallery, and No Figure Head; and the said subscribing Owners* having consented and agreed to the above Description and Admeasurement, and having caused sufficient Security to be given, as is required by the said Act, the said Schooner *Alexander* has been duly registered at the Port of Plymouth
Given under our Hands and Seals of Office, the Customs-House in the said Port of Plymouth this Second Day of August in the Year One Thousand eight hundred and fourteen

J. Newton Controller

Henry Tolcher Collector

Summary of transactions –

Register Cancelled & Rag'd de Novo 5 March 1816 No.16

[In the absence of the original registers and since the copy registers for the year 1816 were not deposited at The National Archives with the other documents now comprising the BT107 series; the fate of the *Alexander* is unknown.]

¹High Court of Admiralty papers relating to the condemnation of the French Chasse Maree *La Clemence*: (The National Archives Reference HCA 32/1329/2034)

French Chasse Maree *La Clemence* of Nantes where she was registered on 13 November 1812, built in Denmark with 2 masts, length 53ft 6ins, width 13ft 6ins, depth of hold 7ft 5ins measuring 56⁶¹/₆₄ tons (per French Passport). Her master and crew escaped ashore in the ship's boat prior to the capture, apparently taking with them some of the ship's papers. (The ship's passport which has been translated is not the current passport, but the Bills of Lading were for her current cargo.)

Bound from Bordeaux to Nantes with a cargo of wine and brandy she was taken off St. Giles on the Coast of France between 6 and 7 o'clock in the morning of the 27 February 1814, by H.M. Schooner *Telegraph*, Lieutenant Timothy Scriven, Commander and brought to Plymouth by Thomas Pearson, aged nineteen years, Midshipman of the *Telegraph*.

"His Majesty's High Court of Admiralty of England

Thomas Pearson Midshipman of His Majesty's Schooner the Telegraph Commanded by Timothy Scriven Esquire Maketh Oath and saith that the Papers and Writings hereunto annexed and marked from N^o 1 to N^o 12 inclusive are all the papers Passes Sea briefs Charterparties Bills of Lading Cockets-Letters and other Documents and Writings which were found on board the French Chasse Maree or Vessel called La Clemence whereof Guillaume Granneau was Master or Commander, lately taken by His said Majesty's Schooner Telegraph at which Capture this

Deponent was present and further saith that the said papers and writings are brought and delivered in without any fraud, Addition, Subduction or Embezzlement and in the very same plight and Condition (save the numbering thereof) as when the same were found on board the said Chasse Maree

Sworn at Plymouth in the County of Devon the Eleventh day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen Before me



Commissioner

In the presence of




Whereas a Certain French Chasse Maree or Vessel called La Clemence whereof Guillaume Granneau was Master was on the twenty seventh day of February last taken by His Majesty's Schooner the Telegraph Commanded by Timothy Scriven Esquire and hath since been brought into the Port of Plymouth for Adjudication And Whereas I the undersigned Thomas Pearson, Midshipman on board of and belonging to His Majesty's said Schooner Telegraph at the time of the Capture of the said Chasse Maree and present at the same and then put on board as Prize Master to Conduct her into the port of Plymouth.

Now therefore Know All Men by these presents that I the said Thomas Pearson for divers good causes and considerations me thereunto moving and also in Consideration of five Shillings to me in hand paid the receipt whereof I do hereby Acknowledge Have remised released and forever quitted Claim and by these presents Do For myself my Heirs Executors and Administrators Renounce Remise Release and forever quit Claim unto the Commander Officers and Crew of His Majesty's said Schooner Telegraph All my share right title and Interest of in and to the said Chasse Maree or Vessel called La Clemence her Tackle Apparel and Furniture and the Goods Wares and Merchandizes laden therein and all my shares and proportion of monies which shall or may arise therefrom or be made by means of the said Capture upon which neither myself my Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns shall or may at any time or times hereafter have or make any Claim or Demand of the said Commander Officers and Crew of His said Majesty's Schooner Telegraph or any other person or persons whomsoever their any or either of their Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns for any part or parts share or shares of or in the Capture aforesaid or by any means therefrom arising In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Ninth day of April in the Fifty fourth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the faith and in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen

Signed Sealed and Delivered by the Said Thomas Pearson (being first duly stamped) In the presence of





"In His Majesty's High Court of Admiralty of England

Deposition of a Witness had and taken at the House of George Hunt Notary Public, at and within the Borough of Plymouth in the County of Devon before me Joseph Whiteford Esquire one of the Commissioners named and Appointed in and by a certain Commission to me and others directed jointly and severally bearing date the thirteenth day of December one thousand eight hundred and ten issued out of and under the Great Seal of His Majesty's High Court of Admiralty of England to the standing Interrogatories annexed to the said Commission upon the Oath of the Witness hereinafter named in the presence of me the said George Hunt one of the Actuaries substituted therein

Thomas Pearson aged nineteen years Midshipman of His Majesty's Schooner Telegraph Commanded by Timothy Scriven Esquire Deposeth and saith as follows (that is to say)

1. To the first Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he was born at Deptford in the County of Kent but for upwards of four years last past he hath resided at Torpoint in the County of Cornwall and where he now lives when at home That he is a Subject of His Britannic Majesty but was never admitted a Freeman of any City or Town whatever nor is he this Deponent married

2. *To the Second Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he was present at the time of the taking and seizing the Chasse Maree and her Lading concerning which he is now examined and saith that he believes the said Chasse Maree had not any Commission*
3. *To the Third Interrogatory this Deponent saith that the Chasse Maree and Goods Concerning which he is now Examined were taken and seized off St. Giles on the Coast of France between six and seven o'clock in the morning of the twenty seventh day of February last on account of the present War or Hostilities between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and France That the said Chasse Maree and Goods have since been brought into the Port of Plymouth That the said Chasse Maree Sailed under French Colours and had no other Colours on board That there was not any resistance made at the time the said Chasse Maree and Goods were taken and that the same were taken by His Majesty's Schooner Telegraph Commanded by Timothy Scriben Esquire and that there were no other Ships in sight at the time of the Capture*
4. *To the Fourth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that it appears from papers found on board that Guillaume Granneau was the Master or Commander of the Chasse Maree or Vessel taken but who appointed him to the Command of her or when or where he took possession of her he knows not that he believes the said Master is a Frenchman a Subject of the Empire of the French from his having together with all his Crew deserted the said Chasse Maree previous to the Capture and made their Escape in their Boat to the French Shore.*
5. *To the Fifth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that the Chasse Maree which hath been taken is of the Tonnage or Burthen of about Seventy Tons That he knows not the number of Mariners belonging to the said Chasse Maree at the time she was taken as all her Crew had deserted her previous to the Capture as aforesaid and made their escape to the French shore*
6. *To the Sixth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he had not any part share or Interest in the Chasse Maree or her Lading concerning which he is now Examined nor did he belong to her at the time she was taken but first saw her at Sea off St. Giles aforesaid and that she is a French built Vessel*
7. *To the Seventh Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he believes from papers found on board that the name of the said Chasse Maree is La Clemence but how long she hath been so called he knows not That there were papers found on board the said Chasse Maree at the time of her Capture but their purport he knows not That he doth not know to what port or place the said Chasse Maree Sailed during the Voyage before she was taken nor doth he know where her last voyage began nor where the same was to have ended*
8. *To the Eighth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that the said Chasse Maree had on board at the time of the Capture aforesaid a Cargo Consisting of Wine and a few Casks of Brandy that he knows not where the same Goods were taken on board her or at what time nor doth he know the quantity thereof*
9. *To the Ninth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he knows not who were the Owners of the Chasse Maree concerning which he is now Examined at the time she was seized and taken other than he believes she belonged to person or persons Subjects of the Emperor of the French from her sailing under French Colours and from the Master and Crew having deserted her as aforesaid*
10. *To the Tenth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know whether there was any Bill of Sale made to the Owner or Owners of the said Chasse Maree or not*
11. *To the Eleventh Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know at what port or at what time the said Lading was put on board the said Chasse Maree*
12. *To the Twelfth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know who were the Ladens Owners or Consignees of the said Goods nor where the same were to have been delivered other than that he believes the same were to have been delivered at some port in France for the real account risk and benefit of Persons Subjects of the Emperor of the French*
13. *To the Thirteenth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know how many or what Bills of Lading were signed for the Goods seized on board the said Chasse Maree but that all the papers which were found on board the said Chasse Maree have been brought in and delivered up*
14. *To the Fourteenth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that there are in Great Britain papers which he believes relate to the Chasse Maree and Goods concerning which he is now Examined and which were found on board her when taken and have been brought in and delivered up*
15. *To the Fifteenth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know whether there was any Charter party signed for the voyage in which the Chasse Maree concerning which he is now Examined was seized and taken*
16. *To the Sixteenth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he knows not what particular Papers Bills of Lading Letters or other Writings were on board the said Chasse Maree at the time she took her departure from the last Clearing Port before her being taken as Prize but that all the papers which were found on board her at the time she was taken have been brought in and delivered up*
17. *To the Seventeenth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know whether the Chasse Maree concerning which he is now Examined hath at any time been seized as Prize previous to the Capture aforesaid*

18. *To the Eighteenth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he hath not sustained any Loss by the seizing and taking the Chasse Maree concerning which he is now Examined*
19. *To the Nineteenth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know whether the said Chasse Maree and Goods or any part thereof are or is insured or not*
20. *To the Twentieth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know to what port the Chasse Maree was bound but believes in case she had arrived at her destined Port the Cargo would on being unladen have become the property of persons Subjects of the Emperor of the French*
21. *To the Twenty first Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he believes the Lading of the Chasse Maree Concerning which he is now Examined is the Growth Produce and Manufacture of France*
22. *To the Twenty Second Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know how the said Cargo was brought on board the said Chasse Maree nor doth he know at what particular port or place the same was taken on board or at what time*
23. *To the Twenty Third Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know whether there are or not in any Country besides Great Britain or on board any Ship or Ships Vessel or Vessels any Bills of Lading Invoices Letters Instruments Papers or Documents relative to the said Chasse Maree or her Cargo*
24. *To the Twenty Fourth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know whether any papers were delivered out of the said Chasse Maree and carried away or not*
25. *To the Twenty Fifth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that Bulk hath not been broken since the Capture of the said Chasse Maree other than by several Casks of Wine which stood on the Deck having been taken out and put on board His Majesty's Ship of War Royal Oak to lighten the said Chasse Maree for the better and more safe Conducting her into a British port.*
26. *To the Twenty Sixth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that there was not any person on board the said Chasse Maree at the time she was taken as aforesaid*
27. *To the Twenty Seventh Interrogatory this Deponent saith that all the papers which were found on board the said Chasse Maree have been brought in and delivered up and that he doth not know of any matter or circumstance to affect their Credit*
28. *To the Twenty Eighth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he hath not written or signed any papers concerning the said Chasse Maree or her Cargo other than a Release of his part share and Interest therein*
29. *To the Twenty Ninth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that the said Chasse Maree was steering her Course along the French Coast at the time of her being first pursued and taken and that her Course was altered soon after the Appearance of the said Ship by which she was taken to endeavour to escape but without effect*
30. *To the Thirtieth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know by whom the said Chasse Maree hath been sold or transferred nor for what sum or Consideration but that he verily believes in Case the said Chasse Maree shall be restored she will belong to person or persons Subjects of the Emperor of the French*
31. *To the Thirty first Interrogatory this Deponent saith that there were no Guns mounted on board the said Chasse Maree nor any other Arms or Ammunition on board her*
32. *To the Thirty Second Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he hath already set forth the whole which he knows or believes according to the best of his knowledge and belief regarding the real and true property and destination of the said Chasse Maree and her Cargo concerning which he is now Examined at the time of the Capture*
33. *To the Thirty Third Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know whether the said Chasse Maree did on the Voyage in which she was Captured Sail under the Convoy of any Ship or Ships of War or other Armed Vessel or Vessels*
34. *To the Thirty Fourth Interrogatory this Deponent saith that he doth not know whether the said Chasse Maree did on the Voyage in which she was taken sail to or attempt to enter any port under Blockade by the arms or forces of any of the Belligerent Powers*
On the Eleventh day of April One thousand eight hundred and fourteen the said Thomas Pearson was repeated and acknowledged to the preceding Examination Before me



Commissioners

In the presence of



"Be it Known unto all Men by these presents That Thomas Pearson a Witness respecting the Capture of the French Chasse Maree La Clemence whereof Guillaume Granneau was Master: was by virtue of the standing Commission at the Port of Plymouth, in my presence produced and brought before and secretly Sworn Examined and Interrogated by Joseph Whiteford Esquire one of the Commissioners in and by the said Commission named and Authorised upon the standing Interrogatories annexed to the said Commission And all the sayings and depositions of the said Deponent were faithfully reduced into Writing by me George Hunt, Notary Public one of the Actuaries Substituted and Appointed by the deputy Registrars of His Majesty's High Court of Admiralty of England which Depositions so reduced into writing are to these presents annexed in order to be transmitted to the Judge of the said High Court of Admiralty of England or his Surrogate agreeably to the directions of the said Commission All which (as well as that it was made appear to me the said Notary previous to taking the said deponents Examinations that the Master and all the Crew of the said Chasse Maree or Vessel taken had deserted her previous to the Capture and made their escape in their Boat to the French shore) I do hereby Certify under my Hand and Notarial Seal at Plymouth aforesaid the Eleventh day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen

Geo. Hunt
Notary Public



*"French Chasse Maree La Clemence
Granneau Master
Actuary's Bill*

1814 April 11	Summoning the Commissioners	6.	8.
	Examining Tho' Pearson (Midshipman) in preparatory	1.	11. 6
	Drawing and ingrossing Depositions	10.	6
	Commissioners fee for Attendances	1.	1. -
	Sorting and numbering papers	6.	8
	Drawing & ingrossing Affidavit as to Ship's Papers	6.	8
	Drawing and Copying Return	13.	4
	For the use of the standing Commission	5.	-
	For the use of a Room to Examine in	1.	1. -
	Stamps Paper Wax Cord Ribband &c	1.	1. -
	Booking parcel		2
		7.	3. 6
	None of the Original Crew of the said Chasse Maree having been brought into port therefore drawing & ingrossing special Release from the said Tho' Pearson in order to his Evidence being Admitted in Court	1.	10. 0
	Stamp for Release	1.	10. 0
		10.	3. 6

La Clemence - Guillaume Granneau Master

Translations on behalf of the Captors - Translated from the French Language

N^o 3 I Granau [sic] under God Master of the Ship called La Clemence of Lorient now lying before Bordeaux in order with the first fair Wind to proceed on my voyage under God's protection to the port of Nantes where the unloading is to take place acknowledge to have received on board my said Ship and under the Deck thereof, of you M Laffite Eldest Son Attorney of M Sejourne the quantity of one hundred and sixty Hogsheads red wine secured with two Iron Hoops with two permits N^o 98 and 105 whereof I am bearer the whole full and well conditioned and marked as Per Margin [TS] which I promise to deliver in like form the Danger of the Sea excepted to M J D Muller Merchant of Nantes or to his order paying me for my freight the Sum of fourteen francs Per Ton including every thing besides the averages according to the usage and Custom of the Sea For the performance whereof I have bound and by these presents do bind my person my property and my said Ship with her

Appurtenances In Testimony whereof I have Signed three Bills of Lading of the same tenor, one performed the remainder to Stand void Done at Bordeaux the fourth of the Month of February 1814

(Signed) Gme Granneau Elder"

No. 5 Is a like Bill of Lading in the French Language for two Hogshead red wine in double Casks and leaded going for four fifths of a Ton Marked and numbered as Per margin [BC BJ N^o 1 & 2] and shipped on board the aforesaid Ship La Clemence of Lorient Guillaume Granneau Master then lying at Bordeaux bound to Nantes to Benassis the younger to be delivered to Mr Marin Commissary of that place paying freight fourteen francs per Ton including Hamoney

Dated Bordeaux 5th February 1814

(Signed) Gme Granneau Elder"

No. 7 Is a like Bill of Lading in the French Language for Fifteen Hogshead Red Wine in double Casks accompanied by a Cocket of the Consolidated duties of Bordeaux under N^o 30 whereof the Master is bearer - the whole going for four Tons Marked and numbered as Per margin [DF No. 40 - 9 Hhds No. 41 - 6 Hhds] and Shipped on Board the said Ship La Clemence of Lorient Guillaume Granneau Master then lying at Bordeaux bound to Nantes by Fauchey father and Son to be delivered to Messrs Lagarbe the Elder and Company at Nantes paying freight fourteen francs per Ton including every thing

Dated Bordeaux 3rd February 1814

(Signed) Gme Granneau Elder"

*N^o 11
(Stamp)
N^o 7891*

*"No. 963 of the Passport
Passport
For French Trading Vessels*

(Stamp)

*Napoleon by the Grace of God Emperor of the French, King of Italy To all those who shall see these presents Greeting:
The Vessel called La Clemence registered & domiciled at the Port of Nantes built in Denmark and by order Nationalized at the said port of her domicile the 13th Nov^r 1812 N^o 7106 belonging to P^{re} Dom^{ine} Laguerre and others who are the Owners thereof as they have affirmed in the form prescribed by Law and as has been ascertained by Sr Jargis Clerk of the Customs charged with the Verification of the said Vessel who has declared That she is actually Foreign built has two masts That her greatest Length from Stem to Stern is 53 feet 6 Ins the length of keel ----- her greatest width 13ft 6in the depth of her bold 7ft 5 inches that she measures 56 Tons⁹² ¹⁰⁴ That she is a Chasse Maree & has no Gallery - We declare That she is entitled to navigate under the Flag of France & have granted leave and passport to S^r G^{me} Granneau commanding the said Vessel to depart from the Port & harbour of Nantes bound to Brest on condition of conforming himself to the Laws of the Empire & the Regulations of the Navigation We request & require all Sovereigns States Friends and Allies of France and their Subjects: Order all public Functionaries the Commanders of Vessels of the Empire and all others whom it may concern to let safely and freely pass the said Granneau with his said Vessel without giving or suffering to be given to him any trouble or hindrance whatsoever but on the contrary to afford him every aid & assistance whenever occasion shall require The present Passport signed by the Minister of Manufactures and Commerce*

*The Minister of Manufactures & Commerce
(Seal) (Signed) Le C^{te} de Cussy*

?Open Secretary General's Office for the Management of the Customs under No. 7891

(Signed) Lecbard

Registered & delivered at the Office of the Custom House of the Port of Nantes 28th August 1813

For the Receiver (Signed) Papot

Good for one Voyage Received for duty of the present Passport six francs the Stamp and decime the 21st July 1813 under N^o 5990 Withdrawn"

Faithfully translated from the French Language by me the Undersigned in London this 20th day of April 1814

"George the Third by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland, King Defender of the Faith To Robert Thornton Esquire Marshall of the High Court of our Admiralty of England and to his Deputy whomsoever Greeting Whereas the Worshipful Samuel Parson Doctor of Laws, Surrogate of our beloved the Right Honourable Sir William Scott Knight Doctor of Laws our Lieutenant of the said Court and in the same Court Official Principal and Commissary General and Special and President and Judge thereof and also to bear and determine all and all manner of Causes and Complaints as to Ships and Goods seized and taken as Prize specially constituted and appointed rightly and duly proceeding at the petition of our Procurator General hath decreed all persons in general who have or pretend to have any Right Title or Interest in the Ship or Vessel called --- La Clemence whereof Guillaume Granneau --- was Master) her Tackle Apparel and Furniture and the Goods Wares and Merchandizes laden therein taken by --- Our Schooner Telegraph Lieutenant Timothy Scriven Commander and brought to Plymouth --- to be monished cited and called to Judgement at the time and place hereunder written and to the effect hereafter expressed (Justice so requiring) We do therefore charge and command you jointly and severally that you omit not but that by affixing these Presents upon one of the Pillars of the Royal Exchange of Our City of London at the usual time of the public resort of Merchants thither and by leaving thereon affixed a true Copy hereof you do monish and cite or cause to be monished and cited peremptorily all persons in general who have or pretend to have any Right Title or Interest in the said Ship her Tackle Apparel and Furniture and the Goods Wares and Merchandizes laden therein that they appear before our said Judge or his Surrogate in the Common Hall of Doctors Commons situate in the Parish of Saint Benedict near Pauls Wharf London the twentieth day after Service of these Presents if it be a Court day or else on the Court day next following at the usual time for bearing of Causes there and there to shew and allege in due Form of Law a reasonable and lawful Cause if they have any why the said Ship her Tackle Apparel and Furniture and the Goods Wares and Merchandizes laden therein should not be pronounced to have belonged at the time of the Capture and Seizure to our Enemies and as such or otherwise liable and Subject to Confiscation and to be adjudged and condemned as good and lawful prize And further to do and receive in this behalf as unto Law and Justice shall appertain and that you duly intimate or cause to be intimated peremptorily to all persons in general whom by the tenor of these presents we do also intimate that if they shall not appear at the time and place above mentioned or appearing shall not shew a reasonable and lawful Cause to the contrary our said Judge or his Surrogate doth intend and will proceed to Adjudication on the said Capture and pronounce the said Ship her Tackle Apparel and Furniture and the Goods Wares and Merchandizes laden therein to have belonged at the time of the Capture and Seizure thereof to Our Enemies and as such or otherwise liable to Confiscation and to be adjudged and condemned as good and lawful prize the absence or other Contumacy of the parties so cited and intimated in any wise notwithstanding and that you duly Certify our said Judge or his Surrogate what you shall do in the Premises together with these Presents Given at London in our aforesaid Court under the Seal of the same for Causes the fourteenth day of April in the Year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen And of Our Reign the Fifty fourth.

Arden Registrar"

LONDON GAZETTE, NUMBER 16950, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1814

"London, October 21, 1814.

Notice is hereby given to the officers and company of His Majesty's schooner *Telegraph*, Timothy Scriven, Esq. Commander, that an account of the sales of the French *chasse marée La Clemence*, captured on the 27th February 1814, will be deposited in the Registry of the High Court of Admiralty.

Robert Brine, Agent."

LONDON GAZETTE, NUMBER 16952, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1814

"London, October 31, 1814.

Notice is hereby given to the officers and company of His Majesty's schooner *Telegraph*, Timothy Scriven, Esq. Commander, that the net proceeds of *La Clemence* French *chasse marée*, captured on the 27th February 1814, will be paid on Wednesday the 2nd November next, at N^o 3, Clifford's Inn, to those who were actually on board at the time of the said capture, or their attornies [sic] duly authorised to receive the same; and the shares not then claimed will be recalled every Wednesday and Thursday for three months to come, agreeable to Act of Parliament. The Proportions due to each Class are as follows,

		Viz.	
Admiral	~	~	£65 4 3
First Class	~	~	130 8 6
Second ditto	~	~	48 18 2½
Third ditto	~	~	97 16 4¾
Fourth ditto	~	~	15 18 6¾
Fifth ditto	~	~	10 12 4¾

Sixth ditto	~	~	5	6	2¼
Seventh ditto	~	~	3	10	9½
Eighth ditto	~	~	1	15	4¾
Robert Brine, Agent."					

It would appear that there is an error in the shares shown for second and third class officers, probably the cash values have been reversed; whether this would merely have been a matter of jest, on board, or had more serious implications as an error in an official notice, is unknown.

As the Admiral and the Captain shared one quarter of the value of the prize between them on a one third and two thirds basis respectively, the net value of *La Clemence* to her captors can be calculated and was £782 12s 0d. Lieutenant Scriven's share equates to £6,068 0s 5d at 2017 values and the share of one of the ship's boys, £1 15 4¾, equates to £82 19s; 11 days' pay for a skilled tradesman (The National Archives, Currency converter 1270-2017 <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result>).

For notes on the Prize System see [Prizes](#).

The death of Larboard – G. E. Hicks.

When using newspapers for research there is always a risk of being distracted, when you suddenly realise that the great story of the day is refugees fleeing Plymouth to escape a possible invasion from a Franco/ Spanish fleet lying off Rame Head (23 August 1779) or Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. Sometimes it is the little personal stories, the tragedies, the quirky or the amusing, which leads you astray. Occasionally the item is a tiny nugget, you can't help noting down and it becomes a bye-catch of your research.

The following has been sitting in my bye-catch box for a little while and may be of interest. "(Copy) Circular No. 2. Admiralty, Nov. 22, 1844. It having been represented to the Lord Commissions of the Admiralty, that the word "Port" is frequently, although not universally, substituted on board Her Majesty's ships for the word "Larboard" and as the want of a uniform practice in this respect may lead to important and serious mistakes, and the distinction between "Starboard" and "Port" is so much more marked than that between "Starboard" and "Larboard" it is their Lordships direction that the word "Larboard" shall no longer be used to signify Left on board any of Her Majesty's ships or vessels. By Command of their Lordships." (*Western Courier, West of England Conservative, Plymouth and Devonport Advertiser*, 11 December 1844).

WHO SAILS THE SEAWAY OF DIAMONDS? THE TEN YEAR STUDY REVISITED

Dr Mike Bender

In last year's *Maritime South West*, the editor, David Clement, kindly agreed to publish my analysis of the contents of the four leading British maritime history journals (*Mariner's Mirror*, *Maritime South West*, *the International Journal of Maritime History* and *the Journal for Maritime Research*) (Bender, 2019). This was a fairly late submission and I was doubly grateful to David as it was written partly to honour Lewis ("Skip") Fischer, who had died on February 11, 2018, and was a major pioneer in developing mercantile maritime history; and obituaries that appear long after the person died always seem to me to a bit strange.

I had analysed hundreds of articles and I always had in the back of my mind that there was room for improvement. This was not surprising, as I continued to work on a putative text, *What Is Maritime History?*, whose major thrust was that maritime history has far more facets of importance and interest than only naval or mercantile history; and I wanted to make the Ten Year Study's "hard data" the lynch pin of that argument.

Rationale

The rationale of the Ten Year Study remained unchanged and was simple. Maritime history is an important and fascinating area of study. Its wide-ranging nature is often commented on. For example, Amelia Polónia, in her paper, 'Maritime History: A Gateway to Global History?', tells us that 'maritime history ...encompasses all the dynamics which result from, and are required by, the ways human use the sea...' (1). She goes to include underwater archaeology and, besides requiring input from other disciplines, 'just within the discipline of history, maritime history involves economic, social, demographic, political, cultural and art history... religious and devotional practices' (2) and the list of relevant areas of study for maritime history runs through communities, ecosystems and seaside resorts, etc. for another page.

However, in reality, the vast bulk of the published articles appeared to concern only two aspects of man's relationship to the sea – naval and mercantile marines. This means that the many other different ways in which man relates to the sea are neglected, making the area much more narrow, much less fascinating and much less attractive to potential students and researchers than it should be.

It is a relatively simple matter to specify at least some of these other important facets of this relationship: fishing, including whaling; exploration; migration (including forced migration, due to war or enslavement); scientific or technological aspects of sailing and their development, such as steam propulsion; aquatic leisure; rivers and canals, and their relevance to the movement of goods and people from inland to the sea, for example, the huge waves of emigrants in the nineteenth century; cultural products concerning the sea, such as accounts of voyages, novels, music and paintings etc; religion, be it Crusades or the relationship of fishermen to the Church.

In terms of identity, I wanted to see the frequency of relationships of importance in maritime life. So, I used the categories of: women, LGBT+ persons, non-white persons, and whether the article attempted to take the viewpoint of the conquered and/or colonised.

With regard to period and methodologies, maritime history should encompass the distant past to the present day. Therefore, I noted whether articles were concerned with the period before 1500, and whether archaeology was involved; or concerned the years since 1945, when oral history would be an appropriate method of study.

In trying to make sense of the developments within maritime history as a field of study and as a career, I plotted the involvement of British academics by noting the nationality of the author and their gender.

Changes from the Original Analysis

From my training in statistics, I was always aware that ideally the allocation of articles into the various categories should ideally be done by three experienced maritime historians working independently, but that, given I had very little likelihood of getting the fair sized research grant required for such an undertaking, this was not feasible; but in its absence, a re-analysis, not consulting the original data analysis and with tighter specifications, would be worth undertaking.

One obvious change was that the much delayed 2018 volume of the *Journal for Maritime Research* was published in 2019, and therefore the data for that journal needed to be reanalysed.

Another improvement that could be made was the criteria for being considered as a unit of analysis for the study. All journals had “articles” but then there was a confusing mixture of “Notes”, “Reports”, “Documents” etc. I therefore decided, that, excluding Book Reviews and “Queries”, I would include *any document of five pages or more*. This provided a much more objective yardstick across journals.

I had observed a strict criterion for “Regional/Community”, namely that the article had to be about *the people living in a given area*, say Liverpool or Portsmouth or wherever. But maritime history studies rarely are focussed on the locals. I therefore widened that category to include a *study of activity centred on a defined geographical area*. So, ‘Shipbuilding in Barbados’ was now included, even if it was solely concerned with British naval protocols.

In terms of the category “studies in Great Britain, but outside England”, I included the Republic of Ireland, since it only became independent in 1921.

I widened “Literary/cultural products” to include articles which made frequent or considerable reference to written material. So, ship’s logs and reports to the Admiralty, detailed written accounts of battles or court martials (rare) were now included in this analysis.

I also added a new category, “Shipyard activity” to include shipbuilding and ship repair on any type of vessel.

“The author” is classified by the nationality of the institute they are affiliated to. Of course, Maria Fusaro is Italian, but for the purposes of this study, she is a British female researcher, as her affiliation is to the University of Exeter. In the rare cases of multiple authorship, the “nationality” of the first author was used.

Each article was coded for all the categories to which it paid attention. I acted as if I was working on behalf of a researcher in each of these twenty-five or so fields. Would the article have been of use to them?

Articles would often be coded as relevant to two or three fields, and on rarer occasions, five or six. So, an article on “Letters of captains of ships in convoys in the Second World War to and from their wives” would be coded as Naval, Mercantile, Literary and Women.

I am aware that the categories “climate change/global meteorological instability” and “maritime pollution” are not included in the tables that follow. This is because there was *not a single example of either type of article in any of the journals across the ten year period*.

I will report on the results of the re-analysis and then make some wider reflections. Given the changes to category definition, comparison with the previous analysis would not be useful.

The Re-Analysis

Table One gives the results across all four journals for the ten years

TEN YEAR STUDY REVISITED												
Table One: Totals and percentages for all four journals, 2009-2018												
		<i>Mariner's Mirror</i>		<i>Maritime South West</i>		<i>International Journal of Maritime History</i>		<i>Journal for Maritime Research</i>		ALL		
		TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%			
AUTHORS		N papers	257	115	312	90	774					
		N Authors	304	119	378	96	897					
	1	N British papers	155	60.3%	115	100%	78	25.0%	50	55.5%	398	51.4%
	2	N British Authors	177	58.2%	119	100%	86	22.7%	52	54.1%	434	48.4%
	3	Single-Authored papers	227	88.3%	111	96.5%	272	87.2%	85	94.4%	695	89.8%
	4	Female author - all	23	7.6%	18	15.1%	78	20.6%	30	31.2%	149	16.6%
	5	British female author	13	4.3%	18	15.1%	18	4.8%	18	18.7%	67	7.4%
CONTENT	6	War/ Navy	148	57.5%	28	24.3%	95	30.4%	64	71.1%	335	43.3%
	7	Mercantile	87	33.8%	51	44.3%	187	59.9%	22	24.4%	347	44.8%
	8	COMBINED	235	91.4%	79	68.7%	282	90.3%	86	95.5%	682	88.1%
	9	% Articles	18/235	7.6%	1/79	0.69%	33/282	10.6%	4/86	4.6%	56/682	8.2%

		double coded										
	10	Fishing (Whaling)	11(5)	4.3% (1.9%)	8(2)	6.9% (1.7%)	33(11)	10.6% (3.5%)	2(0)	2.2%	54(18)	7.0% (2.3%)
	11	Exploration	2	0.8%	0		6	1.9%	7	7.7%	15	1.9%
	12	Migration	6	2.3%	3	2.6%	16	5.1%	5	5.5%	30	3.9%
	13	Science/ technology	48	18.7%	5	4.3%	41	13.1%	10	11.1%	104	13.4%
	14	Shipyards	27	10.5%	18	15.6%	35	11.2%	3	3.3%	83	10.7%
	15	Aquatic Leisure	8	3.1%	15	13.0%	5	3.8%	3	3.3%	31	4.0%
	16	Riverine	3	1.1%	15	13.0%	3	1.0%	0	0%	21	2.7%
	17	Cultural(lit./Arts/Music)	58	22.5%	15	13.0%	45	14.4%	27	30.0%	145	18.7%
	18	Religion	3	1.1%	1	0.90%	3	1.0%	2	2.2%	9	1.1%
	19	UK-not England	10	3.9%	2	1.7%	8	2.6%	0	0%	20	2.6%
	20	Community	30	11.7%	35	30.4%	83	26.6%	3	3.3%	151	19.5%
IDENTITY	21	Women	2	0.8%	1	0.90%	4	1.3%	8	8.8%	15	1.9%
	22	LGBT	2	0.8%	0		1	0.3%	1	1.1%	4	0.5%
	23	Non-White Persons	11	4.3%	2	1.7%	25	8.0%	18	20.0%	56	7.2%
	24	NOT Euro centric	3	1.1%	0		5	1.6%	3	3.3%	11	1.4%
	25	Articles by all female authors on Navy	12/148	8.0%	1/28	3.6%	18/95	18.9%	21/64	32.8%	52	6.7%

	26	Articles by British female authors on Navy	8/148	5.4%	1/28	3.6%	5/95	5.2%	14/64	21.9%	28	3.6%
PERIOD AND METHOD	27	Before 1500	22	8.6%	4	3.5%	26	8.3%	2	2.2%	54	7.0%
	28	Archaeology used	6	2.3%	3	2.6%	3	0.96%	1	1.1%	13	1.7%
	29	Post 1945	34	13.2%	22	19.1%	76	24.3%	16	17.8%	148	19.1%
	30	Oral History used	1	0.4%	1	0.69%	4	1.3%	0	0%	6	0.7%

The most visible finding is the near total domination of published articles by only two fields, namely Naval (43% of all articles across the ten year period in the four journals) and Mercantile (45%). Together, 88% of all articles were coded as relevant to one or other category.

In the original analysis, I had been happy to double count Naval and Mercantile, when ascertaining the total number of articles that referred to these two categories, in order to indicate the prevalence of these two fields. However, it might be argued that allowing this “double counting” exaggerated the dominance of these two fields. I therefore noted all articles which received such a double coding. Of 682 relevant articles, 56 or a mere 8.2% were double coded. So the dominance of these two categories was not due to multiple double codings. Rather, the vast majority were either Naval or Mercantile, but not both.

No other category came anywhere near the frequency of these two. Cultural products – with the wider definition outlined earlier – was coded as present in 19% of all articles, mainly due to their frequency in *Mariner's Mirror* and the *Journal for Maritime Research*; the widened category of ‘Region or Community’ and ‘Science and Technology’ were present in 13%; and shipyards (ship building and ship repairs) in 11%.

A final category, the period covered by the article, in this case post-1945, accounted for 19%, but this was mainly related to articles about the mercantile, rather than the Royal, navy and to shipbuilding. So, not surprisingly, the *International Journal of Maritime History* (the *IJMH*) has the most (24%) and the *Mariner's Mirror* (MM) the least (13%)

This was in sharp contrast to early modern and earlier periods. A mere 7% of papers covered the period before 1500. Maritime historians are wont to mourn the separation from archaeology, but there seems little evidence of any attempt to change the situation.

I suggested earlier that there were many important ways that humankind has related and does relate to the sea, so the sea has been an important part of the identity of many countries' citizens across time. However, it is noteworthy how little research there was into "identity" categories – only 2% of the articles concerned women, many on their presence in brothels and taverns. LGBT+ persons appeared in only four articles, and half of these concerned trials for buggery.

7% concerned non-white persons. There was variation across journals from 20% in the *Journal for Maritime Research (JMR)* to 2% (*Maritime South West (MSW)*) and 4% (*MM*). These articles usually concerned their inconvenient non-acceptance of British dominance, and were almost never from their perspective (1.4%).

The results also showed the England-centric nature of the research. Only 2.6% of the articles concerned regions of the UK other than England.

The analysis allowed us to see who was writing the papers. Ignoring *MSW*, where I assumed that all the authors were British, roughly half the authors in the other journals were British, excepting the *IJMH*, where the figure fell to around 20%.

However, these figures conceal the lack of women authors, who make up only 16.6% of the total. Only 7.6% of the authors of papers in the *MM* were women, the figure rising to 31% in the *JMR*. Only roughly half of these women authors (7.4%) were British, the *JMR* 18.7% and the *MM* 4%.

I checked whether this was because women were not writing about Navies. There seems some evidence for this idea, because only 6.7% of all papers on navies were written by women, and only 3.6% of such papers are written by women affiliated to British institutions. So, articles by women don't often get published in maritime history journals and even more rarely, are those articles about war.

Another hypothesis is that women are more affiliative and would prefer to work in groups. However, the overwhelming majority of papers (90%) are single authored. Only the few papers from Israeli institutions or around Hugh Murphy in Glasgow contradict this trend. Maritime historians, perhaps like other types of historians, but in contrast to many other disciplines, hunt alone. So, the desire for a more social way of academic life could be a factor in the under-representation of female authors.

Change across time?

A common method by which academics deal with unpleasant findings is to tell the author that things have changed during the course of their study, so that the results are no longer valid. The present study runs practically up to the present with data from 2018. However, we can check for change across the ten years. I have analysed the data in two five year cohorts and the results are shown in Table 2:

Table 2: Results for all four journals combined, divided into 2 five-year cohorts						
			All journals 2009-2013		All journals 2014-2018	
			TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%
		N papers	363		411	
		N Authors	408		489	
BRITISH AUTHORS	1	N British papers	217	59.8%	181	44.0%
AUTHORS	2	N British Authors	231	56.6%	203	41.5
	3	Single-Authored Papers	334	92.0%	361	87.8%
	4	Female author -all	47	11.57%	102	20.8%
	5	British female author	24	5.9%	43	8.8%
CONTENT	6	War/Royal Navy	145	39.9%	190	46.2%
	7	Mercantile	166	45.7%	181	44.0%
	8	COMBINED	311	85.7%	371	90.3%
	9	%Articles double coded	22/311	7.1%	34/371	8.3%
	10	Fishing	22	6.1%	32	7.8%
	11	Exploration	6	1.6%	9	2.2%
	12	Migration	12	3.3%	18	4.4%
	13	Science/technology	50	13.8%	54	13.1%
	14	Shipyards	39	9.1%	44	10.7%
	15	Aquatic Leisure	14	3.8%	17	4.1%
	16	Riverine	11	3.0%	10	2.4%

	17	Lit./Arts	47	12.9%	98	23.8%
	18	Religion	5	1.4	4	9.7%
	19	UK-not England	9	2.5%	11	2.7%
	20	Community/ Region	75	20.7%	76	18.5%
IDENTITY	21	Women	1	0.3%	14	3.4%
	22	LGBT	0	0%	4	1.0%
	23	Non-White Persons	18	4.9%	38	9.2%
	24	NOT Euro centric	5	1.4%	6	1.4%
	25	Articles by all female authors on Navy	12/145	8.3%	40/190	21.0%
	26	Articles by British female authors on Navy	8/145	5.5%	20/190	10.5%
PERIOD AND METHOD	27	Before 1500	23	6.3%	31	7.5%
	28	Archaeology used	8	2.2%	5	1.2%
	29	Post 1945	65	17.9%	83	20.1%
	30	Oral History used	2	0.5%	4	1.0%

The picture is one of considerable stability. The only 2 notable changes – and with thirty categories you would expect some changes to occur by chance – are an increase in the number of papers by female authors from abroad; and an increase in the wide category of “literary/artistic”, which is a rather diverse group of articles, which do not seem to indicate a coherent overview.

There is little evidence to support the notion that maritime history is in a period of flux, or of the much preached, but rarely practised, diversities of approach. The phrase “talking the talk, but not walking the walk” comes to mind.

Conclusions

This re-analysis of the data of the Ten Year Study felt more satisfactory. The definition of a paper as any offering, except book reviews, of five or more pages, reduced the idiosyncrasy of labelling across journals. The widened definitions of “community” and “culture”, and the new category of “shipyards” seemed beneficial. Even if we allow 10% error either way, the major findings would not be affected.

The delayed publication of the 2018 *Journal for Maritime Research* suggests a shortage of suitable articles, and it may be that Naval and Mercantile matters have been mined to near exhaustion.

The thinking behind this paper was that there are many important ways in which the sea and its history can be studied, hence the phrase “a seaway of diamonds” in its title. The links with inland centres of commerce, and their waterways, such as navigable rivers and canals, to get their produce to the sea, is, for example, an obvious part of the links within maritime history. But the category “Riverine”, which included any form of navigable waterway, accounted for a mere 2.7% of the total.

The expansion of the types of research into the many ways we relate to the sea would have the merit of making maritime history a much more exciting and innovative field. We should be researching all the many and important ways the sea has entered our lives and affected us.

Last year, I ended the article by trying to answer Skip Fischer’s question: “Is all we are in danger of being left with [as maritime historians] our journals?” by saying that that conclusion was too optimistic, and the only place where you will see a free-wheeling maritime history and historians is in the journals’ book reviews.

This year, I would that my conclusion was too optimistic.

I am not sure how secure the journals themselves are, except as receptacles for Ph.D write-ups by history students from other countries, with new British work a minority.

Once again I was struck by the absence of female authors, especially British female authors. Can a historical genre that is so male-dominated realistically expect to survive?

Looking over the data, I am struck by the lack of studies of migration. Think of the hundreds of thousands of Scots forced off the land by the enclosures; of the some 300,000 souls, mainly Irish, who left Liverpool in the single year of 1852. Add in the millions transported in the Middle Passage. These people, usually leaving their homelands under duress, created the nations we know today. **Maritime history is central to the birth of nations and their history**, but you would never know it from the literature

And I point out again that I did not include “Climate change and the sea” or “Pollution” as categories, as there was no point. **There were no such articles to be coded.** These absolutely key relationships that will shape humankind’s future, possibly even its survival, certainly the degree of harmony on this planet, have been totally ignored.

Does maritime history really deserve to be taken seriously, as the xth hundredth article on some minor aspect of the Georgian navy gets published, **but the vital areas of concern about the maritime are deliberately ignored?** Is contemporary maritime history rearranging the deck chairs on the *Titanic* whilst the ice cap melts?

Many areas of historical study seem to rise, flare up and die, and the cycle seems to take between twenty and thirty years. A very few, such as, over the last fifty years, cultural history, feminism and post-colonial studies, have got themselves established, but the majority fade away. Indeed, the scepticism of historiography concerning such approaches’ survival is almost built in, with the mocking phrase “the

turn” (“the linguistic turn” etc.), with its echoes of the music hall and the circus.

And this seems to be the likely fate of maritime history. After a mere thirty years, maritime history is fading away without exploring so many of the fascinating relationships between us and the sea. There’s a line from Bob Dylan’s first LP: “It looks like it’s dying and it’s hardly been born”. Maybe that’s too pessimistic, but the results of this reanalysis hardly give grounds for optimism.

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THE SIDMOUTH DELFTWARE TILES OF HISTORIC SHIPS

David Jenkinson

Ten historic types of ship depicted on Delftware tiles on a fireplace have been saved for conservation and display in Sidmouth Museum. The fireplace was formerly in Knowle, the Sidmouth home of East Devon District Council (EDDC) from 1969 to 2019. The tiles were made by the Utrecht pottery of the Ravesteyn Brothers, from master tile designs by the marine artists Gerrit Groenewegen and Pieter Le Conte.

Another set of 17 tiles with designs of children's and adult leisure activities also appears on the fireplace.

Knowle was built 1810 as a private house for Lord le Despencer. It sits on a hill top overlooking the sea in its own small park. Its sale and redevelopment were in prospect from 2007 and were realised in 2019. As a building it was not considered to be of sufficient merit to be protected by listing. Fortunately the council had already been persuaded by the Dutch Tile Museum to donate the fireplace to Sidmouth Museum. Its re-erection there together with other Knowle artefacts in Sidmouth Museum (phone 01395 516139) was completed in time for its annual seasonal reopening in March 2020. Sadly this has been delayed for the present by the Covid 19 Pandemic.

The Ravesteys had seen, from William Morris's commissioning them to fire his tiles, that there was a market in Britain for hand-made tiles. They adapted their existing tiles in metric measure (130 mm square) to imperial measure (150 mm [6"] square) to be mounted on British cast-iron fireplace bases. Such Anglo-Dutch fireplaces became fashionable in luxury houses in Britain, but by the twenty-first century survived only in Knowle and two other houses.

Late in the 19th century Knowle became a luxury hotel and in 1895 the tiles were bought for the fireplace in the cocktail bar from Martin van Straaten, a well known West End supplier of luxury household

fittings. Van Straaten and his business partner, were lost in 1917 on return from America when the *Lusitania* was torpedoed. In an obituary *Building News* recorded that “Mr. Van Straaten was a highly respected connoisseur in tapestries, furniture, and many kinds of curios; in these and other forms of art his judgement and taste were greatly appreciated by collectors...”

Like all Delftware tiles these were mass produced hand-made copies of master designs. Thus most have repeats with slight variations. The master designs were by Gerrit Groenewegen (1754-1826) and Pieter Le Conte (1802-1849). Groenewegen turned to art after an injury cut short his intended career as a seaman. His illustrations of ship types and of the port of Rotterdam are a major historical source. Le Conte was a naval officer whose work included a seaman's handbook.

There is such detail on the tile images that particular trade routes and the evolution of ship styles can be seen.

Below is the tile depicting a Rouense Boeier (illustrated below). Boeiers were somewhat like large sea-going Thames barges. They had varied sail plans. This boeier has a pair of luff poles instead of a single bowsprit to facilitate tacking. It traded with Rouen, exporting cloth and returning with wine. The boeier had a long history throughout Northern Europe with variations for particular purposes.

The most valuable foundation of the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was trade with the Baltic. It is known as *de moedernegotie* (the mother of all trades). Grains, timber, deal boards, masts, fur, leather and fish were imported. Trade goods were stored for against market improvements and re-export. For the Baltic trade the *fluyt* (illustrated below) was developed specifically. It had more cargo space and could be manned by smaller crews than comparable styles. Its upper deck was narrowed to minimise tax charged on passage through the Sound which was based on the area of the upper deck.

Another Baltic ship depicted on a tile commemorates the Battle of the Sound (illustrated below). In 1658 the Dutch allied with Denmark thwarted a Swedish attempt to seize the Danish shore of the Sound in order to monopolise control of access to the Baltic. The ship displays Danish and Dutch flags.

To maintain a course into a headwind a ship has to tack, i.e. to steer a series of zigzags into the wind so that it plays obliquely on the backs of the sails. On a change of tack, if the re-setting of the rudder and sails do not coincide, the sails could be blown violently back against the masts. Such a potentially disastrous shock could lead to dismasting or capsize. The ship would be “taken aback”, (illustrated below) . To avoid this the helmsman had to be able to re-set and to fine tune the set of the rudder according to the set of the sails, but a clear view of the sails was this obscured by the growth of superstructure as ships evolved.

The helmsman's position, therefore, was raised in the ship to enable him to keep the sails in view through *the helmsman's window* an arched opening in the superstructure abaft the mizzen mast on the tile below (illustrated below). (No whipstaff is pictured on these tiles; but there is a photograph of the *Wasa's* whipstaff on the website *Whipstaff*. It shows how cumbersome was the use of whipstaff and helmsmans' window were). Whipstuffs and helmsmans' windows were superseded after 50 years by the introduction of the steering wheel in about 1700.

The two tiles below show nineteenth century ships. They display owner- or captain-pennants which became fashionable. A frigate is illustrated below. From af Chapman's *Architectura Navalis Mercatoria*, it is apparent that armed frigates could be naval or merchant ships and that they could be cutter - or ship-rigged as in this case.

The Grand Banks schooner illustrated below, was a fish hunter that appeared from the mid nineteenth century. It was capable of maintaining a precise position above the sea floor, a considerable

advantage in stalking shoals of fish.

Determination of the provenance of the tiles was focused on the second half of the century by this tile and on The Netherlands by the fact that most of ships depicted ships display the Dutch national flag and this tile showed a ship that did not appear till after 1850.

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Rouense Boeier



Baltic Fluyt



Battle of the Sound 1658



Taken Aback



Helmsman's Window



Frigate



Grand Banks Schooner

BRINGING BACK EXOTICS

Joan Price

Five years ago, I gave a talk at the AGM about exotic plants and animals brought into Britain. Suggestions made by members of the audience gave me many new ideas, and I am most grateful to all who contributed.

On every voyage of discovery, there was more space on the homeward leg than on the outward voyage because food and supplies had been used up. On early voyages of exploration, this could be used for animals or birds but generally it was for samples of exotic materials that had some hope of surviving the return voyage. Such samples had the potential to provide timber for repairs, food, clothing materials, medicinal herbs, fodder and flowers.

I will examine the exotic samples brought back from early voyages of exploration before discussing how the methods adopted by French and British scientific expeditions led to differences in the specimens they brought back from the antipodes.

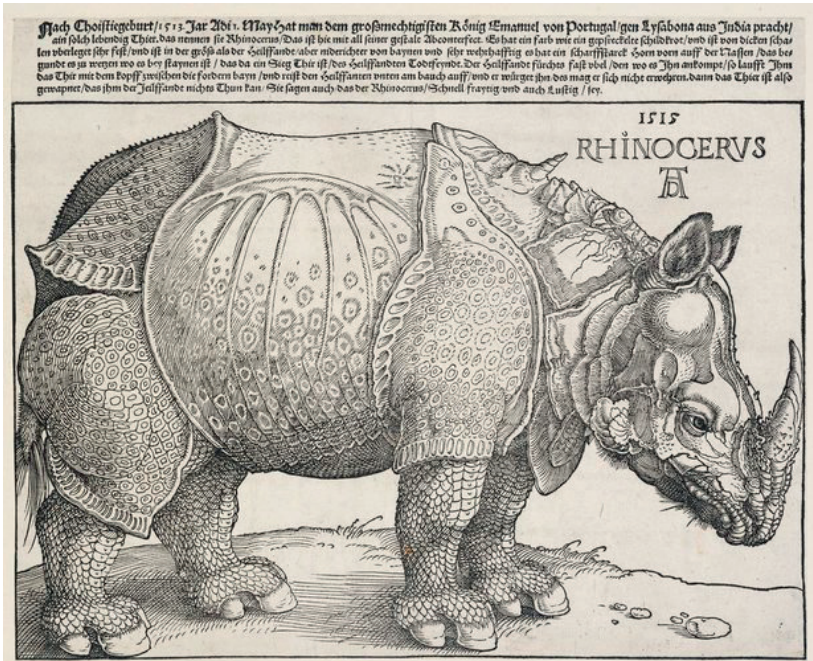
Such samples and specimens can be categorised under four headings: Voyages often brought back fauna, predominantly mammals, for their rulers to display or to use as gifts. Later the nobility and the wealthy used less exotic specimens as status symbols. Secondly, numerous samples were brought back, in the hope that with simple treatment, they might provide desirable exports for these 'new found' lands. To be economically viable, these needed to be easily accessible from a coastal location, and any potential profit would need to exceed both the cost of treatment, plus the costs of bringing such cargo back to Europe. If a ready market was found, settlement often followed. Smaller items were brought back by British officers and sailors in an attempt to augment their pay. Lastly specimens were sought for scientific purposes, and may later have been put on public display.

All living specimens shared the stresses and strains that affected the ship in gale force winds. The failure of plants to thrive could also be due to mould, disease, infestation, shortage of water or they could be amongst the 90% of seeds that failed to germinate. Their transportation became ever more difficult as voyages increased in length because those coming from the southern hemisphere had to survive the high temperature and humidity of equatorial regions, plus the reversal of the growing seasons. Ships sailing out to the antipodes covered at least 13,000 nautical miles and often took a year. Naval ships might return to Europe via Cape Horn, which, although longer, had winds in their favour. Such a voyage only made a single stop but either way, all living thing would experience low temperatures of the southern oceans, particularly when returning via Cape Horn.

1. Early European exploration

Everyone must have hoped that they might emulate early voyages of exploration. Columbus initially brought back slaves, parrots and the dried skins and pelts of animals. The Spanish soon encountered previously unknown sophisticated civilisations in Central America and the Andes. The Aztecs and Incas had exploited or improved the natural resources of the area, and many soon became common items in European diets, pharmacies and gardens. The first Portuguese ship forced ashore on the Brazilian coast by inclement winds found a strong vegetable dye needing little processing ¹. Their native rosewood soon became highly desirable for furniture making. The most spectacular mammal the Portuguese brought back was a rhinoceros from Goa. They managed to do this because it was young, still principally milk fed and had a keeper to care for it plus they made numerous stops to collect suitable fodder. The rhinoceros was presented to Manuel I and then offered to the Pope. It became famous across Europe through Durer's imaginative engraving.

¹ Ball, *Bright Earth: the invention of colour*, (Penguin, 2002, p.107)



The Jesuits built numerous coastal mission stations at Macau, Goa and Gallé. These provided an opportunity for plants to recover on their homeward voyage, whether from South America or the Far East.

When they landed on Mauritius in 1598, the Dutch were the first to exploit its large ebony trees. The Dutch East India Company employed botanists and brought in gardeners to nurture plants brought back from further east.

Fifty years later, Abel Tasman became the first European to land in Tasmania, but he only thought it worth noting:

Two trees two and two and a half fathoms in thickness and measuring 60 to 65 to the lowermost branches..., together with a small quantity of gum of a seemingly very fine quality which had exuded from trees and bore some appearance to gum-lac ².

² Tasman, *Journal* Gutenberg. Accessed 15/12/2012

The first English visitor to Western Australia, William Dampier tried to get aborigines to help with moving heavy water barrels, but they wandered off. He concluded that they would be little use as slaves and considered New Holland [Australia] an infertile country, inhabited by hostile people.

All these voyages carried skilled carpenters, who were always on the look out for suitable timber to use for running repairs. At every landfall they would perform timber trials on suitable specimens, seeking timber that was not too hard and did not split. Suitable baulks were stored in the hold³. It was always a problem to find suitable timber for masts as these needed to be 100' long, without knots and few trees grow naturally with no side branches until such a height.

In the eighteenth century, the only institutions capable of sending a ship, which was fully equipped, manned and supported by substantial resources, on an unprofitable journey to the antipodes were nation states. In reality this meant France and Britain. (Although a Spanish voyage of exploration visited Sydney in 1793, the publication of their scientific work was suppressed. American voyages of exploration only began in 1839.) Their voyages of exploration were very different from previous ones, because they concentrated on scientific work. Also, as they extended into the Pacific, new potential markets such as Canton and Calcutta were emerging.

The officers and their scientific staff on such voyages were men of the Enlightenment. Their natural historians all used the system of nomenclature recently devised by Carl Linnaeus. It was the only one at that time, which would allow them to identify totally new species, or realise that what they had just found was previously known from another continent with a different common name. They did not bring back slaves but 'noble savages' from the Society Islands, who chose to travel with them. Those returning with Cook demonstrated to him their navigation techniques but died from diseases contracted in

3 Duyker, *Citizen Labillardière, A Naturalists Life in Revolution and Exploration (1755 – 1834)*, (Miegunah Press, 2004, p.99)

Batavia. Omai, who was brought back from Cook's second voyage, learnt to speak fluent English and was literate before he returned home. Ahutoru, whom Bougainville brought back, never learnt to speak French and died on his homeward voyage.



Portrait of Omai

2. The French organisation

Their association between voyages and botany began in 1750, and was under the overall control of the Comte de Buffon. He instigated a process whereby savants with a wide range of interests collaborated with colonial administrators to diversify natural resources both in France and between its colonies⁴. All such French collecting

⁴ Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment: food and the sciences in Paris*, (University of Chicago, 2012, p. 75)

and transporting were funded by the French state, which was lavish with its expenditure on men and equipment. Although most attempts to 'acclimatise' subtropical varieties to the French climate were unsuccessful, the *Jardin de Roi* in Paris became the centre of a highly organised and well financed system for the exchange of species between the fertile French sub-tropical islands, with colonial botanical gardens, such as the Pamplémousse on Mauritius, acting as intermediaries; while the botanical gardens in Bordeaux were the most suited in mainland France for growing exotic species⁵.

Botanical operations were overseen by the Jussieu family, who developed a comprehensive approach to the study of natural diversity, which was well staffed. They set up elaborate programmes to find out how soil type and time of sowing affected the successful cultivation of exotic plants. André Thouin then gave gardeners accompanying shipments, strict instructions as to the climatic conditions in which they should be transported and grown. They also sent out geologists. After Mauritius was abandoned by the Dutch, it became a French colony and provided an ideal mid-way point for plants to recover. It had a wide range of different habitats, within a small area. Plants in poor condition could spend several seasons there recovering.

French ships were twice the tonnage of those selected by the British but could not be taken close inshore, nor could their hulls be careened by their crew. They made fewer landings, returned to sheltered locations and needed to visit ports instead. Sometimes their natural historians were forbidden to land, but everyone going ashore was expected to contribute any finds they made to the national collection. When they returned home, many received a pension.

In 1770, Pierre Poivre made the first successful French transfer of a commercial crop, when he harvested the clove plants he had brought back to Mauritius. Seven years later, cloves were growing in Cayenne, French Guiana. Nutmegs were first harvested in Mauritius in 1778,

⁵ Spary, *Utopia's garden; French Natural History from the Ancient Regime to the Revolution*, (University of Chicago, 2000, pp.120-123)

and later became a valuable crop in Reunion and the Seychelles⁶.

French voyages to the antipodes included those of Bougainville, Laperouse, d'Entrecasteaux and Nicholas Baudin. On the first French circumnavigation in 1767, Bougainville changed course when he saw outliers of the Great Barrier Reef. Laperouse was at the end of a long voyage, emulating those of Cook's, when he visited Botany Bay. He met and gave advice to the amateur scientists accompanying the First Fleet. Eager to return home, his ships sailed away and both were wrecked on an atoll in a typhoon. D'Entrecasteaux searched for him in New Caledonia, New Guinea and made three landings in Australia.

Between 1801- 3, Baudin attempted to circumnavigate the continent to confirm whether it was a single land mass. Napoleon, who at that time was First Consul, lavishly funded his voyage and wanted exotic items for Josephine, Baudin had successfully brought back living plants for the Austrian Emperor. On a previous voyage to the West Indies, four French botanists accompanied him. They brought back large specimens of palms, avocado trees and tree-ferns, as a result of the protection Baudin had hastily erected when his ship was threatened by a tornado. Baudin's orders were to:

make a collection of animals of all kinds, insects and in particular birds with bright plumage... that it must comprise flower, shrubs and seeds⁷.

Baudin's voyage returned to France with eight kangaroos, two emus, five parrots and six other Australian birds and these successfully acclimatised in the gardens of Malmaison, the home of the Empress Josephine. Her gardener was Felix de la Haye, who used his knowledge of Australian habitats obtained on d'Entrecasteaux's voyage, to successfully propagate the plants. European knowledge of Australian flora derived principally from the illustrations of plants

6 Spary, 2012, p.200

7 Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia 1801-3*, (Melbourne University Press, 1987), p.82

growing there by the celebrated painter of roses, Redoute.

Twenty years after d'Entrecasteaux's artist, Jean Houtou de Labillardiere, returned to France, Charles Leseuer arranged for their completed artistic work to be displayed in a new provincial museum in Le Havre. Although many of his and Nicholas Petit's gem-like paintings of delicate marine life had deteriorated and become foxed, they have been conserved⁸.

3. The methods adopted by the British

The British were more pragmatic. In 1585, their first temporary settlement was on Roanoke Island, North Carolina. Within a hundred years, the chief exports from Virginia were dried medicinal herbs⁹. In the eighteenth century, Quaker farmer, John Bartram, systematically collected seeds after his harvest was in, and dried them. The following spring, he attempted to grow them in their natural habitats. He then developed his own methods for transporting live plants and seeds in an attempt to protect them from the salt water, which permeated ships, and coated them with salt¹⁰. In 1738, with the help of an influential Quaker botanist, Peter Collinson, he was able to offer British landowners the opportunity to annually purchase a box of American plants and seeds. After Linnaeus received some of his plants, Bartram was asked to assist one of his students, who was collecting in North America¹¹.

Dr Alexander Garden (of whom Linnaeus named the genus *gardenia*) also experimented with plant waxes to preserve seeds, and devised his own method of testing potential vegetable dyes. His specimens were accompanied by a very detailed catalogue, plus descriptions made when dissecting them under a microscope¹².

8 The first restored ones were on display when I visited in 2014

9 *The Apothecary in eighteenth century Williamsburg*, (Williamsburg Craft Series, 1952), p.26)

10 Kastner, *A World of Naturalists*, (John Murray, 1978, pp.40-67)

11 Wulf *The Brother Gardeners, Botany, Empire and the Birth of an Obsession*, (Heineman, 2008, pp.115-6)

12 Kastner, pp.68-79

In 1768, Britain still lacked the central organisation and infrastructure of the French. The President of the Royal Society advised James Cook to concentrate on the products of economic botany that might be of benefit to Britain. He highlighted timber for ship building and a source of strong dyes and ...' Specimens of the Seeds of the Tree fruits & grains as you may be able to collect'¹³.

HM Endeavour was a converted collier, upgraded to naval standards. She was half the tonnage of the imposing French ships. Cook was familiar with such craft, and landed in numerous places inaccessible to the French. A similar vessel was used on subsequent British voyages of exploration, but problems arose if the captain was unable to oversee the work done by naval dockyards. British voyages included a visit to Australia made by George Vancouver in 1790, when on his way to the North Pacific; and Flinders' circumnavigation of the Australian continent ahead of Baudin (1801-3).

By 1772, John Ellis had updated Bartram's methods and published a pamphlet *Directions for Bringing over seeds and plants from the East-Indies*. Ellis recommended that plants should arrive in England in early summer, and that seeds from the Far East should not be sown until they reached St Helena. He included a catalogue of plants he thought might be of economic benefit to the North American colonies. In practice, collectors found that British ships would rarely accept such a bulky cargo¹⁴.

The first circumnavigations were only able to bring back preserved specimens for savants to study. The only live creature brought back from Cook's first voyage was a rainbow lorikeet, which had been brought on board as a pet. At the Endeavour River, in Queensland, three animals were killed that had no resemblance to any their scientific party had ever seen before. They became known by the local dialect name of *kanguru*¹⁵. Because everyone on *Endeavour*

13 Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog- Captain Cook in the South Seas*, (Penguin, 2004, p.57)

14 Francis Masson found it very difficult to get his plants back from the Cape

15 Banks *Endeavour Journal*, pp.89-94.

was close to starvation, the two largest animals were eaten. Their bones and skins, plus an immature joey, were brought back preserved in 95% pure alcohol in glass jars¹⁶.



Stubbs' painting of a Kangaru

The bills and feet of larger birds were preserved in the same way. Dried animal, fish and bird skins often became infested or eaten by rats, with, currently, the only survivors being collections of beetles and shells. All British voyages brought back numerous specimens but, because glass was heavily taxed in England, many samples preserved in barrels of alcohol. These risked being thrown overboard in an emergency or being broached by seamen looking for drink.

Public interest in strange animals and birds grew. Cook's second voyage returned with three Tahitian dogs, a springbok and some South African birds. In 1791, Governor Phillips sent back several kangaroos, an opossum and a variety of birds on a fast voyage via Cape Horn, and they went to the King's menagerie at Kew. The kangaroos soon acclimatised, and reproduced rapidly enough for Banks to give one to the French in 1802.

¹⁶ *Linnaean Correspondence*, 14/1/1772

The best places to store fragile specimens were in the rooms below decks previously holding bread and spirits¹⁷. The botanists took the seeds out of their cases, sifted and cleaned them. They were kept in packets or coated with myrica wax, then stored in a large container. This was surrounded by a 'mixture of three parts powdered nitre to one part common salt and two parts sal ammoniac', in the hope that this would keep them cool¹⁸. The live plants they collected in Australia, on Cook's homeward voyage, were useless after they were immersed in sea water. An attempt was made to get the few seeds attached to herbarium specimens to germinate, but it was unsuccessful¹⁹.

However, Cook's first voyage brought back 3,600 accurately described and classified dried herbarium specimens. These were accompanied by over 900 watercolours begun by their botanic artist, Sydney Parkinson. Overwhelmed by the quantity of material, he made sketches, sometimes coloured sections of them, and put detailed notes on the back. Those showing most of the relevant features needed for the Linnaean classification system would be laid out artistically, and placed between sheets of good quality rag paper²⁰. These were dried in presses between thin folded sheets of surplus paper. When dry they were taped to new sheets of high quality 'rag' paper with further details were written on the reverse side. A few succulent plants were preserved in alcohol.

The constant high humidity on sailing ships provided poor conditions for the preparation and storage of such dried specimens. One of the botanists' days at Botany Bay had to be given over to taking all their herbarium sheets ashore and laying them out on a sail to dry²¹. When they spent a month at the mouth of the Endeavour River, a seaman was employed full time to do this. The problem extended to their records. Despite considerable efforts, Cook never succeeded

17 Macdonald, *Feeding Nelson's Navy: the true story of food at sea in the Georgian era*, (Chatham Publishing, 2004, pp.78-80)

18 *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, Vol. 1. p. 107. 14/1/1772

19 *Banks' Journal*, p.85

20 *Linnaean Correspondence*, Vol. I. p.269

21 *Banks' Journal*, Vol II, p.58

in bringing back live plants from any of his voyages, even those with a gardener on board.

In 1787 Sir Joseph Banks FRS, the leader of Cook's first scientific party, became de facto controller of the Royal Gardens at Kew. He installed a large glasshouse, plus heated frames for raising delicate bulbs²². Throughout his long life, Banks attempted to improve the transport of living plants and found funding for much of the scientific work. His first Australian seeds germinated in 1793. Banks successfully lobbied for breadfruit plants to be transported from Tahiti to the West Indies, in order to provide cheap food for slaves. When this was eventually done, it was the first time the British had transplanted a species with economic potential before the French.

Banks gained some knowledge of transporting live plants from the outcomes of those he had suggested the First Fleet should purchase in the southern hemisphere. He emphasised that plants on voyages to Australia needed to be protected from dogs and goats, and monkeys should be prohibited²³. His gardeners slept close to his plants, attending them hourly, closing the windows and tasting for salt on the leaves²⁴. *HMS Bounty* was intended to transfer breadfruit from Polynesia to the West Indies to feed slaves. After the mutiny, Bligh made a second attempt with the same arrangement and was successful. The priority he gave to watering the plants rather than the men continued to cause problems²⁵.

22 Desmond, *Royal Gardens at Kew*, p.95

23 Carter, pp. 253-4

24 Frost, *Banks and the transfer of plants to and from the South Pacific 1786-1798*, (Melbourne, Colony Press, 1993)

25 Flinders sailed with him and suffered from kidney disease as a result, dying prematurely in 1814.

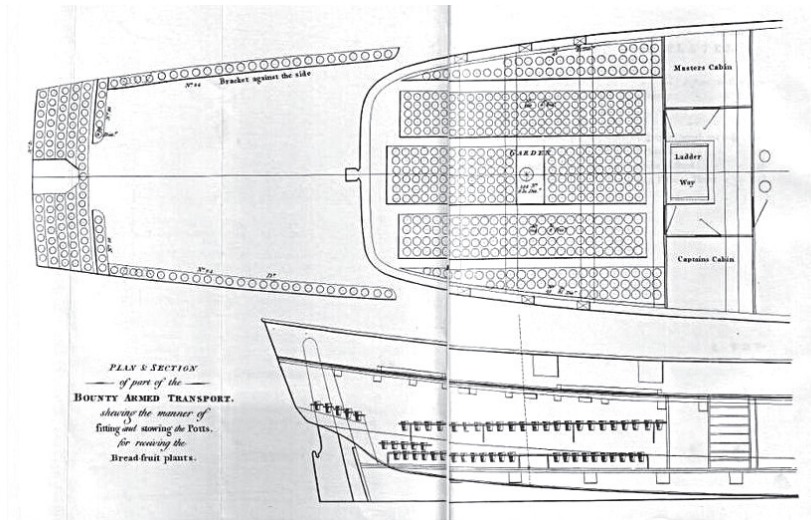


Diagram of arrangements for HMS Bounty

Banks' innovations were less successful on voyages of exploration, and were a source of conflict on Vancouver's voyage.

In 1789, after the First Fleet had landed their convicts, the merchant ships sailed off north in the hope of picking up a cargo in Canton, or Calcutta. If a new cargo could be found in Australia that would have a ready market in China or India, this would make every stage of their voyage economically viable, and even more profitable. The first Australian civilian settlers arrived in 1801, and included two of Banks protégés. Although few of the plants George Suttor took with him survived, he developed a market garden, an orchard and a vineyard. George Caley was employed to collect plants, and developed a botanical garden. Suttor later grew the seeds and plants collected by Flinders' botanist, Robert Brown and propagated duplicates. The British did not include a geologist in their scientific parties and any rock specimens replaced some of the pig iron and shingle in the hold²⁶.

²⁶ Macdonald, *Feeding Nelson's Navy*, p. 79

In 1773, when Cook visited uninhabited Norfolk Island, 2,000 miles off the Queensland coast between New Zealand and New Caledonia, he was impressed by the stands of Norfolk Island pines. By 1788, the Royal Navy was having difficulty obtaining suitable masts from their traditional sources in the Baltic. The First Fleet had orders to found two convict settlements, one at Botany Bay and a second on Norfolk Island. Its flagship, *HMS Sirius*, had been modified to bring back mast timbers. Unfortunately the wood they sought splits easily, and was useless in the gale force winds of the southern oceans. The unusual construction of *HMS Sirius* also made her difficult to handle, and she was wrecked on a reef, in Slaughter Bay, Norfolk Island in 1792.

Convicts used many varieties of eucalyptus for building material, but all the large trees had unsound hearts, with only those growing in swamps receiving sufficient water. Across the continent, the native practice of land management meant that there was very little good timber. One of the few ships built of Australian grown she-oak was the 30 ton *Casurina*, which Baudin purchased and sailed back to Mauritius²⁷. Generally timber for shipbuilding was brought in from New Zealand.

In 1801, Matthew Flinders took out a cabin to be assembled and erected on deck once he reached Port Jackson, but his gardener still lost many of their plants. His artist, Ferdinand Bauer, had trained as a miniaturist. Because their ship was always in poor condition, the excessive damp forced him to use colour charts and pencil sketches. When Robert Brown, their botanist, returned from his extended stay in Australia via Cape Horn, he successfully brought back numerous live specimens requested by anatomists in London. They wanted to examine the oddities that precluded their current classification, namely (using modern names) the platypus, echidna and thylacine (all of which are marsupials and unique to the Australian continent)²⁸.

²⁷ Brown, p. 254-5.

²⁸ Moore, *The Knife Man*, (Bantam Press, 2006, p.318)

Even small shrubby trees had uses. Sandalwood was highly prized in China and India for architectural details and carved objects, its oils for incense and medicinal purposes. The local variety formed the first cargo exported from Western Australia and Australian plants arrived at Kew in baskets made of eucalyptus bark²⁹. Denis Conisden, a surgeon with the First Fleet, experimented with local products to alleviate diseases, which plagued the early settlers. He steam distilled the bark of various eucalyptus trees and sent the resulting oil samples to Banks.

The Navy also wanted alternative materials for sails and rigging. Although Cook had reported favourably on the very tall flax found on Norfolk Island, sailcloth manufactured from it never reached the required standard³⁰. The gardens on St Helena were improved after Napoleon was imprisoned there, and provided an intermediate stop for fragile plants. A breakthrough came after Nathaniel Ward noted that seeds sealed in a glass jar germinated the next year. He realised that plants can survive for years in a self sustaining environment and after 1834, the widespread adoption of the Wardian case made the transport of plants much more straightforward.

4. Individual enterprise

Sailors everywhere have often returned with members of the parrot family, A few fortunate ones found lumps of valuable ambergris washed up on shore or recovered them from the sea. Large exotic items found on the sea shore such as tritons, giant clams, nautilus shells and even *cocos de mer* [a rare species of palm tree native to the Seychelles archipelago in the Indian Ocean] arrived back in Europe along the trade routes. After they had been richly decorated with gold and silver, they were displayed in the collections of rulers³¹.

Turtles were abundant in warm seas and turtle soup became

29 Carter, Appendix X

30 Stenning, 'Nothing but Gum Trees: textile manufacturing in NSW 1788 – 1850', in *Australian Historical Archaeology*, 11, 1993

31 Such as the collection of Augustus the Strong in Dresden

fashionable in England in the eighteenth century. To transport them, they were turned upside down on the deck, and occasionally a bucket of seawater was poured over them. Shells were small items easy to store in a sea chest. When the shells collected by men on Cook's voyages were sold at auction in Britain, they broke the Dutch monopoly. Shell work became a popular occupation for English ladies, with its chief exponent being a Mrs Delaney, who decorated one of the earliest grottos. A market grew amongst wealthy elites, who decorated them with shells, coral, crystals, and stalactites. Shells soon decorated everything from ceilings to picture frames³². Coral became a popular item of cheap jewellery. Exotically shaped or brightly coloured feathers were used to decorate head gear and masks.

At the start of a voyage, naval sea chests contained the regular issue of clothing but at the end of three years everything was worn to shreds, and they had more space. After Cook's death, his ships continued to explore the North Pacific, where his crew bartered for sea otter skins. When they reached Macao, they carried out a brisk trade with the Chinese - one of them selling his stock for 800 dollars (£180)³³.

Various preserved animals and skinned birds were brought back to England for avid collectors. Banks gave anatomist John Hunter a sea pen, shark's eggs and part of a giant squid, which had been found by seaman when augmenting their diet, – and for which they were financially rewarded. After settlement, the unique flora and fauna of the Australian continent provided opportunities for British sailors to increase their pay. As taxidermy improved the market in stuffed birds and animals expanded and a port such as Devonport had two taxidermists by 1831. This was some compensation for their lack of promotion, or the prize money that they might have won, if they had stayed in home waters. Only the gentlemen on Flinders' ship were forbidden from collecting on their own behalf³⁴.

32 Jackson, *Shell Houses and Grottoes*, (Shire, 2001., pp.15-16)

33 John Bolton King, *James King RN*, SWMHS Monograph No.4, 2004, pp148,9.

34 Carter, *Sir Joseph Banks*, (British Museum, 1988), pp.415-6

A market opened up in anthropological artefacts, with most coming from the East Indies, Polynesia and New Zealand. Indigenous Australians had few personal possessions, apart from items of personal adornment, but they highly prized small hand axes. Numerous seamen came to Banks' door to see if he was interested in purchasing objects they had obtained by barter. Boomerangs and digging sticks were also brought back, possibly by Governor Arthur Phillips³⁵. Sailors also purchased spears from convicts to take home as souvenirs.

Eber Bunker, the American master of a ship in the Third Fleet, brought back fur seal skins from Dusky Sound, a fiord in the southwest corner of South Island, New Zealand. Sealers later turned their attention to the sea lions and fur seals in the Bass Straits, which had never encountered humans and were easy to club. They were skinned, their valuable pelts stored in salt, and their thick blubber boiled to extract the oil. Traders regularly collected these by-products, moving the men on to a virgin location³⁶.

Once America gained its independence, it needed to find new markets. Traders sailed into the Pacific and in 1792 four American ships visited Australia, two to trade but two went to Shark Bay. They may have been seeking marine mammals or nacre (mother-of-pearl). American ships soon competed with the Bugis, people from southern Celebes, known today as Sulawesi, an Indonesian island near Borneo, carrying sea swallow nests and dried *beche de mer* (sea slugs) to Canton for the speciality Chinese food market.

Some men on whalers carved long thin strips of whalebone for their beloveds to place between their breasts. Sperm teeth were highly prized by the Polynesians and the Chinese but the market became saturated about 1814. Both they and shark's teeth were often used by the crews of first British and later American whalers for scrimshaw.

35 Those in the curiosity cabinet of No.1 Royal Crescent, Bath were donated by their Scientific and Literature Institute, of which he was a member

36 Brown, pp.347-8, 337- 50

The work of some good carvers is recognisable, and must have proved profitable.

Sealers soon realised that Southern Right whales also came close inshore to give birth. When dead, their carcasses float and could be towed ashore, where their blubber was boiled in vast cauldrons and the baleen extracted. Whale by-products soon became a major Australian export. The ships sent out by the Southern Whaling fleet based in London were away from their home port for three or four years. The captains of many of these were Americans, who had remained loyal after the American War of Independence. They needed a port for provisions, water and repairs. After Hobart was founded in 1804, it became their favoured port-of-call. They extended further south and sought ever larger prey.

Although natural historians found parasites interesting they ignored fungi. Robert Brown even forgot his geological specimens until several years later. The only ones that attracted interest were lumps of coal found by John Shortland in what became Newcastle. In total George Suttor succeeded in sending back more viable seeds to Kew than did all the voyages of exploration. This was because he was able to collect seeds at the optimum time, clean them meticulously and send them back well packaged on a speedy voyage.

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