

SESSION ONE

Collin Helling (Independent) *Three Fleets in the Forth: the Royal Navy and British Union.*

Union is not just a date fixing a change in time like 1603 or 1707, but a process and a relationship that changes and develops. This paper will look at how the (English) Royal Navy shaped and reflected that changing Anglo-Scottish relationship by examining the appearance of three English and British fleets in the Firth of Forth. The first is the ship-money fleet under the command of the Duke of Hamilton and Admiral Pennington which set out to re-establish royal authority in the Stuarts' rebellious covenanted homeland in spring 1639 but failed to launch an assault, settling instead for a brief blockade of limited military effect but with ripples through covenanter treaties for a decade. The second focuses on the attack by Willem van Ghent's fleet in April 1667, or more specifically, on Jeremy Smith's squadron that, slightly belatedly, pursued him. The last is also a pursuit; George Byng's arrival that aborted a French landing intent on starting a Jacobite rising in 1708. The events and the importance of sea-power in the Scottish strategic context will be outlined but the focus is on Scottish reactions which show changing views of English sea-power that was, arguably a vital context to union in 1707. Although Byng's arrival was nearly a year after the union reactions to the naval near miss showed not the importance of new arrangements, but how embedded assumptions of Royal Naval support had become in the Scottish political community, even transcending the fissures of unionism and jacobitism.

Rebecca Rideal (Independent) *Lord Arlington's creature: The rise of Thomas Clifford during the Second Anglo-Dutch War.*

In 1666, Thomas Clifford took a horse and galloped from London to the coast to meet the English fleet as it battled the Dutch during the Four Days Battle. Clifford kept a thorough record of his time at sea in a series of dispatches addressed to his patron Lord Arlington. The correspondence formed the backbone of contemporary narratives of the battle and worked to propel Clifford to the centre of Restoration power and politicking. This paper will seek to place the relationship between Lord Arlington and Thomas Clifford within the wider context of the time and, in doing so, illuminate the unique space the Royal Navy played as a forum for career progression and a nucleus of late-17th-century diplomacy.

Laura Burkinshaw (University of Hull) *'Small boys wore sailor suits': British popular naval enthusiasm between 1895 and 1939.*

This research examines the popular representation of and attitudes towards the Royal Navy between 1895 and 1939. 'Small boys wore sailor suits and everyone belonged to something called the Navy League'. Here, George Orwell's recollection conveys the ubiquity of Edwardian popular naval enthusiasm. The rise in grass-roots navalism in the latter decades of the 19th century is well documented. This paper questions whether the effusive popular naval enthusiasm of the late Victorian and Edwardian period was sustained in the aftermath of the First World War, to ascertain if there was a decline in 'popular' naval enthusiasm amongst the British public in the interwar period.

Manifestations of popular navalism are examined through the activities and influence of the Navy League. This was the foremost naval pressure group of the period from its inception in 1895 until the outbreak of the Second World War. It is an important aspect of this naval enthusiasm, both as a symptom and a catalyst.

The League serves well as a barometer of public opinion. Reactions to the Navy League may be symptomatic of wider public reactions to navalism at large. This provides a useful

gauge to track the rise and fall in popular naval enthusiasm and the extent to which the public engaged with and showed support for the Royal Navy.

This paper proposes to examine the fluctuations in popular naval enthusiasm through the activities of the Navy League, to demonstrate there was a significant change in popular naval enthusiasm in the interwar period.

SESSION 2

Ida Christine Jorgensen (University of Portsmouth) *Transnational technology exchange in 18th century European shipbuilding.*

The long 18th century was characterized by continuous wars between European countries. Numerous battles were fought at sea and caused an ongoing arms race between the navies involved. Especially in shipbuilding the development was spurred on by the fierce competition.

On an incentive to gain superiority at sea, European navies looked to gather as much information on shipbuilding – design as well as the physical task of construction – from the other navies. In a time, where shipbuilding was highly based on experience, trial and error, and science only insecurely applied, it was a matter of copying whatever worked well: well sailing prizes were measured and used for inspiration for new designs. However, some European countries were affected by the absence of war during this period and as such, the absence of the natural inflow of shipbuilding knowledge from prizes. Denmark was one such country. It managed to stay out of significant conflicts for over 80 years, but the peace was an unsteady one. The navy needed to be kept in shipshape. Thus, Denmark needed to look for other ways to get their hands on the newest shipbuilding technology: espionage. Espionage was nothing new and certainly not specific to Denmark. All European nations were carrying out espionage in a smaller or larger scale.

The question is: can we talk about national shipbuilding? Or do we need to challenge this notion by looking into the constant transnational exchange of shipbuilding technology in Europe during the 18th century?

Sophie Cannon (University of Southampton) *Using Ships to Tell the Story of Naval Architecture in the Nineteenth Century.*

Over the course of the nineteenth century, ship design changed a great deal. From the wooden merchant ships that still resembled those vessels of 200 years previously, to the composite clippers and then the steel windjammers that found themselves fighting to survive in a world of steamships, British shipping was barely recognisable by the turn of the century. Throughout all of this, the science of naval architecture was developing into something that is still recognisable today. However, although the breakthroughs in understanding hydrodynamics are generally well documented, how this new knowledge was reflected in ships has not been investigated in a quantifiable manner before. This paper explains how a study of multiple ships and their dimensions can be used to show relationships between developing theory and its real-world impact. Over 50 ships from throughout the century have been digitally reconstructed from lines plans and half models, and their hull dimensions plotted against time to reveal how we can link changes in understanding to real-world changes to ship design. We can now visualise clearly how perceptions of a “good design” changed over time and determine the effect of science on ship design during the industrial revolution.

Judith Siegel and Mark Straver (Erasmus University Rotterdam) *Economic Development and the Changing Industry Structure of Dutch Shipbuilding, 1914-1983.*

This paper is the result of introductory research on the economic development of the Dutch large shipbuilding industry in the twentieth century and is a cooperation of two PhD projects divided over the periods 1914-1945 (Siegel) and 1945-1983 (Straver). Taking into account the context of changing market conditions and government involvement, these projects approach the development of competitiveness from the perspective of the organisational and technological innovation processes and the connections between the shipyard and the surrounding industries.

The main purpose of this paper is twofold. First, to assess the general economic development of Dutch shipbuilding within the international market and Dutch shipbuilding companies on the national level. Second, to get insight into the changing structure of the industry with which to get a fundamental basis for further research. This paper concentrates on the international market share of Dutch shipbuilding and compares production concerning type, size, and customer across the largest shipbuilding companies in the Netherlands. The results show an incremental increase of the Dutch market share during the interwar period and 1950s until the sudden drop in 1960-1965 and a clear change on both the customer and production side in the postwar period. Illustrative is the disappearance of Dutch shipping companies as the most important customers for Dutch shipbuilding and the shift of shipbuilding companies towards different product segments. The change in customer and product points to an important role for linkages between the shipyard and shipping company and the firm specific strategies and organisational capabilities respectively.

SESSION THREE

Robert Scott Morgan (University of Kent) *The perception of the golden age pirates by 18th century contemporaries.*

This paper, which was the accumulation of a long-standing ambition turned into a dissertation for my final year of university, is an analysis of the ways in which the authorities viewed pirates in comparison to the ways in which pirates viewed themselves between the period 1713-1726. To analyse the views of the authorities we look at Wood Rogers, the pantomime spectacles that were pirate trials, and the writings of Reverend John Barnard among others. To gain a deeper understanding of what pirates thought of themselves we seek first to understand what conditions made the pirates "go on the account." The life of Black Bart Roberts, the report by Captain Snelgrave on his time as prisoner under the Captain Howell Davies are used as tools to achieve this. We also look at what life was like on legitimate vessels for the average sailor as well as a breaking down the Pirates moral and social norms. This paper is not an attempt to glorify pirates, but simply to understand better what popular culture has shrouded in myth and legend.

Duncan Frost (University of Kent) *'Cast forth your anchor, now my lads, for a storm is at hand': The Didactic Nature of Shipwreck Ballads.*

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ballads had many functions in contemporary society: to instruct, entertain, as well as reflect realities of everyday life. In examining ballads, historians are presented with a world of propaganda and persuasion, aimed at a broad spectrum of society. Arguably, shipwreck ballads did not simply recount events, they were essential tools for the expression of communal grief, the formulation of identity and for providing didactic instruction for the maritime community. What makes ballads unique sources is the fact that their didactic messages are intertwined with entertainment, ensuring they permeate fully into the consciousness of their audience.

Analysis of shipwreck ballads offers an interesting comparison to other sources which do not possess the multi-purpose nature of ballads. A ballad's very structure dictates that its messages must be clear and succinct. Unlike many conventional historical sources, ballads had a formative role in relation to their audience's mentality and their didactic nature is invaluable to historians.

This paper aims to show how ballads: promulgated the sufferings of the maritime community to a national audience; depicted shipwreck as a punishment for moral transgressions; helped create a maritime identity in opposition to the non-maritime community; provided didactic instruction to sailors on moral behaviour; showed which phenomena could precede shipwrecks; and allowed sailors to vicariously experience every stage of a disaster thereby having a preview of the techniques that could make the difference between life and death. Ballads, so central to the lives of sailors, should not be neglected in maritime history studies.

Rachael Utting (Royal Holloway, University of London) *Collecting Leviathan: curiosity, exchange and the British Southern Whale Fishery (1775-1860)*.

The proposed paper investigates the culture of collecting onboard whaling voyages associated with the British Southern Whale Fishery during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It considers the circulation of artefacts, specimens and imagery through various networks including auction houses, curiosity shops, gentlemen's clubs, major museums and private collections.

These artefacts, or 'curios' then moved in myriad ways – for example through informal exchange, commercial networks, family inheritance or formal donation - into personal and public museum collections around the world. Historical studies of sites and spaces of collecting have been extended in recent years to groups such as missionaries and naval surgeons, but traders in general and whalers in particular have been neglected. The reasons for this neglect have less to do with their historical significance, I would argue, than with the lack of documentation of collections deriving from whalers (in comparison for example with missionaries or naval personnel). By analyzing moments of exchange and encounter through sources such as whaling logs, journals, museum collections and public and private correspondence I am creating an understanding of the role played by the whalers in supplying the trade in curios, and the networks of exchange within which they operated. This paper aims to highlight the agency of the whalers of the British Southern Whale Fishery within this activity and enhance our knowledge and understanding of early British collecting practices.

SESSION FOUR

Peter Buckles (University of Liverpool) *The Impact of the French Wars on the Overseas Business Networks of Bristolian Sugar Merchants*.

Research on war and trade usually explores the disruptive impact of conflict (Crouzet, 1964; Hopkins, 1998; O'Rourke, 2006). New and developing research on trade, privateering, insurance, smuggling, government contracting and merchant strategies for coping with war, however, has led several historians to argue that war presented significant opportunities for enterprising merchants (Marzagalli, 2005; Daly, 2007; Chet, 2016). Rather than being an unusual event, it was part of the norm for merchants and traders operating in the eighteenth century, with experienced traders having lived through at least two or three extensive periods of warfare over their careers. This paper adds to a growing body of research that seeks to ascertain how merchant business networks adapted to and were affected by warfare. Using a case study on John Pinney, a Bristolian sugar merchant during the French Revolutionary Wars, this paper will assess and measure the impact of warfare on the activities of this merchant and his wider network. It will do so by measuring the size and

density of the business network, which was centred around the West Indies. The quantitative data will be accompanied by a qualitative assessment of his experience, and the strategies he adopted to maintain links with correspondents during this period of conflict. Ultimately, the paper concludes that uncertainty in the build up to war, rather than the war itself, had the most dramatic impact on the development of John Pinney's business network.

Francois Dremeaux (Le Havre-Normandie University) *The female crews aboard the French Transatlantics during interwar, social typology essay.*

Among the still little-explored fields of investigation in maritime history, the sociology of the merchant navy is a fertile ground. It is however necessary to find the sources that can reveal what was happening in the ship's narrow social cell. Precisely, the archives of French Lines & C°, based in Le Havre, France, have just begun to open after their transition to public administration.

To highlight these valuable resources and open the study of merchant shipping in contemporary period to social phenomena, the study of female crews on board the French transatlantic ships is an interesting entry point. Mainly through a rare and complete series of files on the female staff employed by the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique (CGT) between 1925 and 1935, this article offers an attempt of typology of these crews.

Most often parlour maids, kitchen helps or nurses, women aboard represent a neglected or even forgotten presence. Categories of professions, social and geographical origins, average age at first boarding, duration of services and reasons for contract termination, personal comments from the supervisors... these archives allow a relevant statistical study and a new perspective on the world of sailing personnel. Between the administrative lines, this study also analyses specific networks and behaviors that invite comparison.

John McCoy (Liverpool John Moores University) *Sailing to Rhodesia: a hidden treasure in the Elder Dempster Archive.*

Elder Dempster was the Liverpool shipping line which created the modern trade between Britain and West Africa. Its records are now held at the Merseyside Maritime Museum. In the Directors' papers is a manila folder containing confidential monthly reports from Ghana in 1965 and 1966, the period which included the overthrow of Nkrumah and the installation of army rule.

The reports are anonymous. It is likely they were compiled by a local agent of the West Africa Committee, a consortium of UK companies. Each report includes detailed information on political, economic and social developments. The un-named writer draws information from a wide range of sources in Ghana. Shining through the reports are hints of the writer's personality and views – anger at the mismanagement, corruption and shortages of the Nkrumah period. Above all, there is compassion for ordinary Ghanaians and sardonic humour in reporting the bizarre.

“Sailing to Rhodesia” comes from the cabinet minister who suggested Ghana's Black Star shipping line could transport troops to Rhodesia to over-turn UDI. Other entries demonstrate the intersection of Ghana with international stories of the period: China's quest for a Security Council seat, NHS poaching of overseas doctors, Cold War rivalry, and Nazis fleeing justice.

This paper hopes to build on Nick White's analysis of Liverpool shipping companies' response to the end of Empire in his 2011 article 'Ferry Off the Mersey'.