

# Writing the History of Merchant Seafarer Education, Training and Welfare: Retrospect and Prospect<sup>1</sup>

**Alston Kennerley**

*Parmi le large éventail de questions sociales qu'abordent désormais les historiens, on trouve maintenant un corpus, élaboré au cours des dernières décennies, sur l'éducation, l'entraînement et le bien-être maritime. Cet article examine le travail accompli jusqu'à ce jour, le commente et suggère de nouvelles avenues d'étude. L'introduction situe ces questions dans le contexte plus vaste de l'histoire sociale et rappelle que les articles historiques ne se trouvent pas nécessairement dans les périodiques consacrés à l'histoire. On examine ensuite des contributions, provenant de partout dans le monde, à l'histoire de l'éducation et de la formation des marins marchands; puis une section similaire est consacrée aux écrits portant sur l'histoire du bien-être des gens de mer. La dernière partie dégage des limites générales en matière d'approche et de portée, et recommande des pistes d'études supplémentaires en histoire nationale, pistes jugées essentielles aux futures comparaisons internationales.*

It was in the second half of the twentieth century that maritime history came into its own as a distinct, if wide ranging, strand of historical study. Of course this was a period of increasing specialism in most subject areas, which saw a massive expansion of dedicated academic journals as well as general interest magazines. It was at this time that to the traditional emphasis in historical studies on political, constitutional and economic history, was added, amongst other facets of history, increased attention to social history. This encompasses a variety of social fields such as labour, women's and education history. In keeping with these trends, there has been a strong emphasis in maritime historical writing on social topics. Predictably, with the broadening interpretation of the scope of maritime history, the range of social topics which have been addressed, is extremely diverse.<sup>2</sup>

A crude examination of the articles published by the *International Journal of*

<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this paper was presented at the International Conference on Maritime History and Heritage, held at Fremantle, Western Australia, 11-14 December 2001. The support of the Society for Nautical Research, the University of Plymouth and the conference organisers is gratefully acknowledged. The author is indebted to the anonymous referees and the Editor, for their helpful comments and recommendations.

<sup>2</sup> For an overview see David M. Williams, "The Progress of Maritime History, 1953-93", *Journal of Transport History*, third series, XTV, No. 2 (1993), 127-141. For considerations of maritime history writing in Canada, China, Denmark, Germany, Greece, India, Netherlands, Spain and America, see Frank Broeze (ed.), *Maritime History at the Crossroads: a Critical Review of Recent Historiography* (St. Johns, Newfoundland, 1995).

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*Maritime History (IJMH)* since its inception in 1989, reveals the emphasis and diversity. Out of 189 studies, 39 may be categorised as social studies. The topics range across merchant seafarers, fishers, and port labour, embracing over 30 themes.<sup>3</sup> The geographical spread shows a predominance of British and North American studies, though Europe is by no means neglected and India, Australia, Oceania and China are represented. As a journal devoted to a sub-division of history, *IJMH* offers an unusual concentration of articles on maritime social history. It is likely that the few other refereed journals devoted to maritime history would show a similar concentration.<sup>4</sup> However these are by no means the only outlets for studies of maritime social history. Scholars addressing topics in maritime history who see themselves as members of other disciplines, whether historical or not, will seek publication in the discipline of their primary network. Indeed, because maritime historians in universities are rarely members of substantial maritime history research groups, departmental policy may demand that output be directed to outlets not primarily concerned with maritime history. Inevitably, then, studies of maritime social history are spread thinly across a great many journals (and other forms of publication) devoted to history generally, economic history, social studies, sociology, labour history, women's history, education history, religious studies, and so on. But in the past decade or two maritime historians have generated an international research network which is unusually vigorous. It is sustained by the significant number of maritime history conferences being organised around the world each year. Together with journals such as *IJMH* and *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du Nord*, this constitutes a stronger research group than may be found in some other fields.

This paper is concerned with two sub-areas of maritime social history, which hover between disciplines, on the one hand clearly maritime, on the other identifiably belonging to education, social welfare or religion. Arguably, given the scale of provision in the last two centuries particularly, maritime education, training and welfare must be considered comparatively neglected despite the attention which they have received in recent years. Maritime social studies may be divided between the maritime society afloat and that ashore. With respect to seafarers, there is a significant imbalance in favour of the study of the seafarer afloat. Indeed, that has always been the case. Studies and descriptions of conditions and life at sea are probably the oldest themes in maritime social history. Their continuing appeal ensures a steady stream of research and general interest works.<sup>5</sup> Studies specifically concerned with the shore dimension of seafaring are much thinner on the ground.<sup>6</sup> Some general studies of seafaring have touched upon the seafarer ashore, in particular emphasising "sailortown"

<sup>3</sup> The analysis covers volumes I (1989) to XU (2000) of the *International Journal of Maritime History (IJMH)* (St John's, Newfoundland). The topics include: manning, labour market, apprenticeship, philanthropy, mortality, crime, ethnicity, pirates, religion, social reform, whaling labour, fisheries labour, homosexuality, wages and shares, education, tattoos, trade unions, desertion, welfare, diet, strikes, illness, recruitment, labour regulation, port labour relations, working conditions, seamen ashore, market for seamen, port labour, pilfering and policing, female dockers, vocational training, catering personnel.

<sup>4</sup> For example, *Great Circle, Mariner's Mirror, Northern Mariner, American Neptune*.

<sup>5</sup> See for example, Brandt Aymar (ed.), *Men at Sea: The Best Sea Stories of All Time from Homer to William F. Buckley, Jr.* (London, 1988); Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge, 1987); Peter Earle, *Sailors: English Merchant Seamen, 1650-1775* (London, 1998); Ronald Hope, *Poor Jack: The Perilous History of the Merchant Seaman* (London, 2001).

<sup>6</sup> Elmo P. Hohman, *Seamen Ashore: a Study of the United Seamen's Service and of Merchant Seamen in the Port of New York* (New Haven, USA, 1952); Stan Hugill, *Sailortown* (London, 1967); Judith Fingard, *Jack in Port: Sailortowns of Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1982); see also Tony Lane, *Grey Dawn Breaking: British Merchant Seafarers in the Late Twentieth Century* (Manchester, 1986), which is more broadly based but unusual in the extent to which the seafarer is perceived as having a life ashore.

districts and crimping.<sup>7</sup> The latter, of course, impinges on the welfare aspect addressed here. But it is on shore that the seafarer interacts with a variety of institutional structures which play a part in his experience as a seafarer ashore and influence his life afloat. Here the area that seems to have attracted the most attention from historians is that of labour relations (including seamen's trade unions).<sup>8</sup> Other shore-based organisations playing major roles in the lives of seafarers have received much less attention, for example, governmental maritime structures, maritime education and training provision, and support for seafarers' religious and social welfare needs.<sup>9</sup>

Of the two areas of maritime social history under consideration here, seafarers' education/training is the more neglected. It features hardly at all in maritime social histories and has attracted few maritime historians. Seafarers' social welfare provision is better served, though mostly it occupies a minor place in more general maritime social studies. Of course it must be recognised that individual social themes are never free standing. Inevitably a complex range of social contexts must be considered. It is, however, convenient, owing to the different non-maritime disciplines to which maritime education/training and maritime welfare attach, to consider these two areas of maritime social history separately. In each case, something of the nature, scale and contexts will provide an introduction to the consideration of progress over recent years. The bias towards Anglo-American research and publishing is admitted, though there will be an attempt to draw in material from other parts of the world. In the final section of this essay, consideration will turn to the potential for future work which these themes have to offer.

Seafaring was, and perhaps still is, essentially an occupation where performance depended heavily on experience.<sup>10</sup> Whether destined for the fo'c's'le or command, typically raw youths were accepted at about 15 years of age to be led, guided, bullied and socialised into the work culture of the sea, progressively as and when each new experience or task arose. There was little distinction in the early stages between the training of future ABs from that of future masters, though the latter might have the advantages of a general education and family

<sup>7</sup> J.P. Press, "The Economic and Social Conditions of the Merchant Seamen of England, 1815-1854," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Bristol, 1978); C.H. Dixon, "Seamen and the Law: an Examination of the Impact of Legislation on the British Merchant Seamen's Lot, 1588-1918," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1981); A.G. Course, *The Merchant Navy: a Social History* (London, 1963); Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914* (Montreal & Kingston, 1989); Ronald Hope, *A New History of British Shipping* (London, 1990).

<sup>8</sup> J.M. Doxley, "The Seamen's Strike of 1960" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manchester, 1963); G.A. Phillips, "The National Transport Workers Federation, 1910-1927," (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1969); F.J. Lindop, "A History of Seamen's Trade Unionism to 1929" (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of London, 1972); J. McConville, "Combination and Conflict in the UK Shipping Industry in the Late Nineteenth Century with Particular Reference to the Period 1887-94" (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Hull, 1981); J. McConville, "Industrial Relations in the UK Shipping Industry Since the Second World War" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 1982); P.A. Wailey, "A Storm from Liverpool: British Seamen and their Union, 1920-1970" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1985); A. Marsh & V. Ryan, *The Seamen: a History of the National Union of Seamen* (Oxford, 1989).

<sup>9</sup> R.G. Newey, "Government Intervention in the British Merchant Service in the Nineteenth Century" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Exeter, 1970); A.H. Jenks, "Merchant Navy Established Service Scheme" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1953); C.H. Dixon, "Seamen and the Law: an Examination of the Impact of Legislation on the British Merchant Seamen's Lot, 1588-1918" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1981); P.G. Parkhurst, *Ships of Peace: a Record of Some of the Problems Which Came Before the Board of Trade in Connection with the British Mercantile Marine from the Early Days to the Year 1885* (New Maiden, 1962); Hubert Llewelyn Smith, *The Board of Trade* (London, 1928);

<sup>10</sup> The following overview of developments in Britain is based on the author's own researches which are cited *passim* in later sections of this essay.

position. Those surviving the ordeal of initiation, built up their layers of practical knowledge and progressed in the hierarchy. Regardless of background it was possible to rise to command through the demonstration of practical ability, and especially in the coastal trades, to function with little formal education. Even the commercial acumen required of ships' masters could be assimilated through experience. But with the opening of the oceans, the practice of ocean navigation demanded a higher level of educational attainment. For the most part this advanced vocational education, in nautical astronomy and associated topics, had to be obtained from "mathematical practitioners" ashore who offered their services in increasing numbers from the sixteenth century.

So to shipboard training was added this new strand of nautical education delivered through fee-paying schooling and in time through the creation of a few endowed nautical schools. Such schools might be attended following a general education before going to sea (pre-sea) or between voyages (in-service) as a step in the ladder to command. Until the nineteenth century vocational training in the practical work of ships, loosely grouped under the term "seamanship," remained experiential but from the middle of that century, state-aided navigation schools, endowed nautical schools and private establishments began to provide some training in aspects of seamanship. This approach to maritime vocational education and training was continued in the twentieth century when nautical education was largely absorbed into the state tertiary education system. Over the same period the educational content was enlarged as more detailed knowledge of a variety of subjects relevant to the safe operation of ships was required in the professional examinations.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, structured practical training aboard ship of variable quality, through officer apprenticeships or cadetships, was established as the principal route to officer status.

It was also in the mid-nineteenth century that the idea of providing an industrial training in seamanship for youngsters in need of care, through shore establishments and static training ships, was developed. These were charitable establishments supported by voluntary subscription though the majority relied on government grants. A few were orphanages, most were industrial training ships and three were reformatories. Their product, a minority of those taking up a sea career, mostly went to sea as ratings. It took the 1914-18 war for the need for all seafarers to pass through a pre-sea training in seamanship to be recognised, and the 1939-45 war for that aim to be achieved. One other strand of seamanship training, essentially recreational, evolved towards the end of the nineteenth century as part of the structured youth movement: the sea cadets and sea scouts. In the twentieth century, the Outward Bound movement based much of its activity in seamanship, and training schemes were developed for boating and yachting.

Finally, the past 150 years has seen the introduction of the new technologies of power propulsion and radio communication, of new manning groups aboard ship, engineers and radio operators, and of related educational provision ashore. The marine engineering and radio schools followed a similar development to the navigation schools: mostly initially private establishments, then drawn into the state tertiary system in the twentieth century.

Before the evolution of state provision, the curriculum for vocational education and

<sup>11</sup> In addition to navigation and nautical astronomy, ships' masters were expected to have some knowledge of a wide range of subjects, mostly having a basis in physics and chemistry: naval architecture/ship construction, ship stability, marine propulsion, magnetism, electricity, electronics, meteorology, oceanography, cargoes, ship's business and law. The knowledge expected of marine engineers was derived from mechanical engineering, based in physics, chemistry and mathematics: marine steam engines and boilers, marine auxiliary systems, diesel and turbine engines, electrical systems, and maintenance and repair. Radio operators knowledge was also physics based: electricity, electronics, radio transmitters and receivers, and communication procedures.

training depended largely on the need as perceived by those experienced in the industry: shipmasters, merchants and shipowners, tempered by what the "mathematical practitioners" considered desirable. Much of the instruction was tutorial in nature and course content and duration was variable. The introduction of compulsory licensing, in Britain from 1851, standardised the syllabuses but generated a minimal approach to learning. For the next 100 years students preparing for their certificates of competency tolerated only the minimum of instruction to pass the examination. Although increasingly part of state tertiary education provision, nautical education and training remained separated from developments in other areas of vocational education, as it were to one side. It was in the 1960s that this began to be corrected, and in recent decades serious attempts have been made to tie maritime education in with developments in state tertiary provision, leading to national qualifications at certificate, diploma and degree levels.

The evolution summarised above relates to Britain, but because of its world-wide domination of merchant shipping in the nineteenth century together with its extensive empire, British influence in maritime education, training and licensing is much more widespread. British practice was of course exported to its colonies, but other countries have also looked to Britain for examples. Britain has had a major influence at the International Maritime Organisation (IMO) since the 1970s in the development of IMO international standards for watch keeping and certification, and in the development of model courses, so that all countries with merchant fleets are supposed to be providing a vocational education and training to the same standard. Today, there are over 200 establishments in over 80 countries offering maritime education and training at levels from basic training in seamanship to the highest maritime licence standard now carrying degree level status. Some establishments number their students in thousands.<sup>12</sup>

From the foregoing discussion it will be evident that there are many facets to the history of maritime education and training, and that serious treatments cannot avoid addressing a variety of contexts if provision in any period is to be properly understood. There has always been an interplay and a tension between the requirements of the shipping industry, the level of scientific, technological and commercial knowledge, the opinions of educationalists, the prevailing state regulatory framework and the existing arrangements for general education.

As subjects, the history of navigation and nautical astronomy, including the development of navigational instruments, sailing directions and charts, has received and continues to receive considerable attention from scholars in many countries, notably America, Britain, France and the Netherlands. Indeed the search for longitude and the saga of the chronometer maker, John Harrison, has recently achieved popular recognition as a best selling book and through television dramatisation.<sup>13</sup> A major contribution was made by Professor E.G.R. Taylor in a long series of articles and books between 1929 and 1966. With respect to

<sup>12</sup> A listing (September, 2001) held by the Nautical Institute, derived from the *Fairplay* (London) data base of maritime organisations.

<sup>13</sup> The list of publications is far too numerous to cite here. Examples include: E.G.R. Taylor, *The Haven Finding Art: a History of Navigation from Odysseus to Captain Cook* (London, 1956); David W. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (London, 1958); Charles H. Cotter, *A History of Nautical Astronomy* (London, 1968); W.E. May, *A History of Marine Navigation* (London, 1973); William J.H. Andrews (ed.), *The Quest for Longitude* (Cambridge (Mass.), 1996). In addition there are many articles to be found in the *Journal of Navigation* (London, 1946 onwards), and the navigation journals of other countries. For an overview of Dutch involvement see: Carel Davids, "Dutch Contributions to the Development of Navigation Technology in the 17th Century", in Charles Wilson & David Proctor (eds.), *1688 The Seaborne Alliance and Diplomatic Revolution* (London, 1989), 59-74.

navigation teaching her significance here lies in her studies of "mathematical practitioners" from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, in which she demonstrated the close relationship between nautical instrument making, the publishing of nautical books and charts and the teaching of navigation in "one-stop" establishments known as navigation warehouses.<sup>14</sup> Her catalogue of individuals over the centuries in question identified 2,864 practitioners, and indicated those that offered instruction.

The work of David Gavine (and others) shows the extent to which navigation teaching was identified with the teaching of astronomy and mathematics in Scotland in the same period as Taylor's work on England.<sup>15</sup> Further, he shows how the special conditions for study at Scotland's schools and universities ensured the production of a significant number of graduates in the sciences, capable of teaching navigation. Gavine identified no less than 93 navigation teachers in Edinburgh/Leith. A recent study by this writer of provision in Cornwall in the eighteenth century shows that, as in Scotland, navigation teaching was widely available, while Bovill's work concentrating on the north east of England demonstrates the spread of navigation teachers in the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

It is one thing to know of the existence of a navigation teacher, but knowing what went on in navigation schools, especially private establishments, is much less certain. Fortunately, Gavine's work shows that the need to advertise for students and the disposal of equipment on retirement or death, has left evidence that many teachers were very well provided with navigational and astronomical instruments, and books, for use as teaching aids. Cotter's work on the history of navigation (he drew heavily on navigation textbooks) and his study of nautical astronomical tables, has demonstrated the extent to which such publications were available for school use as well as for private study. Recent work by Kennerley and Seymour has shown how approaches to teaching nautical astronomy in the sixteenth century remain valid to day.<sup>17</sup>

Private nautical teaching establishments leave little in the way of records, and are often comparatively short-lived in contrast to endowed establishments, whose records allow substantial institutional histories to be written. The note by Alger on Mrs Janet Taylor, a well known navigation teacher practising in London in the nineteenth century, drawing on family

<sup>14</sup> E.G.R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1954); E.G.R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Hanoverian England, 1714-1840* (Cambridge, 1966)

<sup>15</sup> David Gavine, "Navigation and Astronomy Teachers in Scotland Outside the Universities", *Mariner's Mirror*, LXXVI, No. 1 (1990), 5-12. He cites the following studies which have dealt with navigation teaching as part of astronomy and mathematics: J.S. Reid, "Patrick Copeland (1848-1822)" (unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of Aberdeen 1983); D.M. Gavine, "Astronomy in Scotland, 1745-1900" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Open University, 1982; A.D. Roberts, "St. Andrews University Mathematical Teaching, 1765-1858" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Dundee, 1970); D.K. Wilson, *The History of Mathematical Teaching in Scotland to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1935).

<sup>16</sup> Alston Kennerley, "Maritime Education and Welfare", a chapter in *The Maritime History of Cornwall* (forthcoming); Donald G. Bovill, "The Proprietary Schools of Navigation and Marine Engineering in the Ports of the North East of England, 1822-1914", *History of Education Society Bulletin*, ~Ho. 44 (Autumn, 1989), 10-25; D.G. Bovill, "Education of Mercantile Mariners in the North East Ports, 1822-1914" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, 1989).

<sup>17</sup> Alston Kennerley and Percy Seymour, "Aids to the Teaching of Nautical Astronomy and its History from 1600", *Paedagogica Historica*, XXXVI, No. 1 (2000), 151-175. C.H. Cotter, "A History of Nautical Astronomical Tables" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1975). Cotter's thesis, with two other studies was published as *Studies in Maritime History* (microfiche, London, 1977), vol. 1: "A History of Nautical Astronomical Tables", vol. 2: "A History of Ship Magnetism", vol. 3: "A Pathway to Perfect Sailing: a History of Dead Reckoning Navigation".

history approaches, illustrates the problem.<sup>18</sup> School and college histories tend to be written by old boys or members of staff, to be descriptive and anecdotal, and to lack the analysis and incisiveness of the historian's approach. Nevertheless such contributions cannot be ignored. Only three British nautical training establishments have been treated in this manner, the pre-sea establishments, H.M.S. *Conway* (1859, River Mersey), H.M.S. *Worcester* (1862, River Thames) and the Pangbourne Nautical College (Berkshire, 1917). These were run on naval lines, providing future officers to the Merchant Navy and a few to the Royal Navy. The best studies are those by John Masefield, who was a *Conway* cadet, and Stephens, some time head of history at Pangbourne.<sup>19</sup> The latter shows how Pangbourne was able to survive the changes in nautical education in the 1960s and 1970s by re-inventing itself as a public school, whereas both *Conway* and *Worcester* were forced to close. *Conway* also featured as a case study by Kennerley in his original research on nautical education.<sup>20</sup> In a second autobiographical volume, Masefield has provided a text full of insights into the life of a first term cadet in the *Conway*.

A limited number of case studies of other nautical educational establishments have appeared as papers in academic journals or as chapters in books. The earliest endowed establishment was the Royal Mathematical School (1673) within Christ's Hospital, London, which is accorded a lengthy chapter by Pearce in his history of the hospital, while more recently Plumley has taken a fresh look at its establishment.<sup>21</sup> The wider context of astronomy, mathematics and learning and their relationship to the Royal Mathematical school is the subject of a valuable contribution by Iliffe.<sup>22</sup> The other long established endowed navigation school, Hull Trinity House (1787), is accorded a brief descriptive chapter in the House history, and the school's foundation has separately been addressed by Jackson in one of his earlier pieces of research.<sup>23</sup> Analytical studies of state-aided nautical schools have been published in recent years by this writer and by Bovill. The history of Plymouth School of Navigation (1862), first addressed in 1980 has recently been revisited and brought up-to-date as a chapter in Kennerley's wider study of the history of tertiary education in Devon.<sup>24</sup> The same author examined Liverpool Nautical College (1892) in some statistical detail in his paper

<sup>18</sup> K. R. Alger, "The Mystery of Janet Taylor, Navigator Extraordinary", *Sea/àrer* (London, Autumn, 1977), 115-118.

<sup>19</sup> John Masefield, *The Conway: from her Foundation to the Present Day* (London, 1933); L. C. Stephens, *Pangbourne College: the Nautical College and its History* (Pangbourne, 1991). See also, W. A. Morgan, *The Thames Nautical Training College H.M.S. Worcester, 1862-1919* (London, 1929); Frederick H. Stafford, *The History of the Worcester* (London, 1929); Gordon Steele, *The Story of the Worcester* (London, 1962)

<sup>20</sup> Alston Kennerley, "The Education of the Merchant Seaman in the Nineteenth Century" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Exeter, 1978), 110-118.

<sup>21</sup> John Masefield, *New Chum* (London, 1944).

<sup>22</sup> E. H. Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital* (2nd ed, London, Hugh Rees, 1908), Chapter VI, "The Mathematical School", 99-134; N. Plumley, "The Royal Mathematical School Within Christ's Hospital", *Vistas in Astronomy*, XX (1976), 51-59.

<sup>23</sup> Rob Iliffe, "Mathematical Characters: Flamsteed and Christ's Hospital Royal Mathematical School", in Frances Willmoth (ed), *Flamsteeds Stars: New Perspectives in the Life and Work of the First Astronomer Royal 1664-1719* (Woodbridge, 1997), 115-144.

<sup>24</sup> A. Storey, *Trinity House of Kingston-upon-Hull* (Hull, 1967); Gordon Jackson, "The Foundation of Hull Trinity House Navigation School: an Experiment in Marine Education", *Durham Research Review*, V, No. 21 (September, 1968), 313-323.

<sup>25</sup> Alston Kennerley, "Navigation School and Training Ship: Educational Provision in Plymouth for the Mercantile Marine in the Nineteenth Century", in Stephen Fisher (ed.), *West Country Maritime and Social History: Some Essays* (Exeter, 1980), 53-77; Alston Kennerley, "Education and Welfare of Merchant Seafarers", in Michael Duffy, et al. (eds), *The New Maritime History of Devon Volume II: from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Present Day* (London, Conway, 1994), Chapter 14, 145-154; Alston Kennerley, *The Making of the University of Plymouth* (Plymouth, UK, 2000), Chapter 4, "Plymouth School of Navigation", 103-129.

published in 1993.<sup>26</sup> He similarly examined South Shields Marine School (1861) as another case study in his 1978 research. This was one of the schools included in Bovill's paper of 1991.<sup>27</sup>

The generation and survival of educational records since the middle of the nineteenth century, attributable to increased state involvement in education generally as well as to other factors, not only enables more detailed maritime educational studies of institutions to be undertaken, it facilitates a variety of more widely based investigations. At least six theses have been written on aspects of maritime education, training and examination, though the amount of published work arising from this is not as large as it might have been.<sup>28</sup> Bovill's regional work has already been noted. Jeans' paper on the early development of the statutory examination system, remains a rare example of a study of the regulatory system which has had a major and ongoing impact on maritime education and training since 1850.<sup>29</sup> However, the contributions by Wilde and Dixon concerning the administrative and legal context must not be ignored.<sup>30</sup>

The earliest structured form of maritime training, familiar to generations of mates and masters well into the twentieth century, was that of the seafarer apprenticeship. A topic of much debate in maritime professional circles in the past two centuries, the history of apprenticeship of future mercantile officers has been the subject of several broadly based treatments by Burton, at times taking a sociological perspective. Her 1988 paper drew on shipping company apprenticeship records, and highlighted the accident and completion rates<sup>31</sup> Her 1989 paper addressed the wider context of apprenticeship, the regulatory framework, and the decline in numbers in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Then in 1991 she argued that the profession of shipmaster was reinvented as a middle class occupation, drawing on the

<sup>26</sup> Alston Kennerley, "Merchant Marine Education in Liverpool and the Nautical College of 1892", *IJMH*, V, No. 2 (December, 1993), 103-134.

<sup>27</sup> Alston Kennerley, "The Education of the Merchant Seaman in the Nineteenth Century", *op.cit.*, 86-110; D. G. Bovill, "The Education of Boys for the Mercantile Marine: a Study of Three Nautical Schools", *History of Education Society Bulletin*, 47 (Spring, 1991), 11-22. The other schools addressed were Newcastle Trinity House School and Sunderland Board of Trade Navigation School. See also D.G. Bovill, "Sunderland Orphan Asylum and the Education of Boys for the Mercantile Marine", *Durham Local History Society Bulletin*, No. 39 (December, 1987).

<sup>28</sup> D. M. Waters, "Nautical Education Within the National Education System" (unpublished M.Sc. thesis, University of Wales, 1971); C. Jeans, "A Critical Study of the Education and Training of Masters and Mates in British Merchant Ships" (unpublished M.Tech. thesis, Brunei University, 1971); A. Kennerley (1978), *op.cit.*; T.W.C. Vasey, "The Emergence of Examinations for British Shipmasters and Mates, 1830-1850" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, 1980); D.G. Bovill (1987), *op.cit.*; V. C. Burton, "The Work and Home Life of Seafarers, with Special Reference to the Port of Southampton" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1989). In addition, the following studies included the state examination system within their compass: Jane H. Wilde, "British Legislation Concerning Shipping and Safety at Sea" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1955); R. G. Newey, "Government Intervention in the British Merchant Service in the Nineteenth Century" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Exeter, 1970); C.H. Dixon (1981), *op.cit.*

<sup>29</sup> Clifford Jeans, "The First Statutory Qualifications for Seafarers", *Transport History*, VI (November, 1973), 248-267.

<sup>30</sup> Jane H. Wilde, "The Creation of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade", *Journal of Transport History*, H, No. 4 (November, 1956), 193-206; Conrad Dixon, "Legislation and the Sailor's Lot, 1660-1914", in Paul Adam (ed), *Seamen in Society* (proceedings of the Conference of the International Commission on Maritime History, Bucharest, 1980), m, 96-106.

<sup>31</sup> Valerie Burton, "A Man Cannot Make a Sailor Without Education: Merchant Navy Apprentices in the Nineteenth Century", in H. M. Hignett (éd.), *A Merseyside Maritime History* (Liverpool, Liverpool Nautical Research Society, 1988), 17-25.

<sup>32</sup> V. C. Burton, "Apprenticeship Regulation and Maritime Labour in the Nineteenth Century British Merchant Marine", *IJMH*, I, No. 1 (June, 1989), 29-49.

costly officer apprenticeship, the Brassey Ocean Training Scheme and the academic content of navigation schooling, amongst her evidence.<sup>33</sup> The culture aboard merchant service liner company vessels and the training which created it was denigrated in Lane's autobiographical paper published in 1985.<sup>34</sup> This writer also used sociological approaches to set his own experience in sail training in the context of occupational socialisation.<sup>35</sup>

Kennerley, however, has taken a wider view in several of his papers, of the provision of maritime education and training in Britain, in relation to education generally and to the different sectors of seafaring employment to which maritime education and training provision has been directed. His paper on state aided navigation schools sets them firmly in the context of the promotion of science education by the Department of Science and Art (1853). His papers concerned with ratings' training deal not only with the network of charitable training ships, but with the creation of a single national establishment for both the pre-sea and in-service training of deck, catering and engine room ratings.<sup>36</sup> So to some extent these papers on ratings have remedied the absence of studies on training ships noted by Cowan in his overview of training ships in 1984.<sup>37</sup> The role of religious charities in providing elementary education for seaman and seamen's children as well as maritime education has also been addressed by Kennerley, and he has taken a broad view of British provision in his overview paper dealing with the period 1890-1990.<sup>38</sup> His most recent work has addressed the issue of the recognition ashore of more advanced maritime education.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from the social welfare charities, two other charitable organisations have been influential in developments in maritime education and training. The early educational role of the Marine Society (1756) and the ideas of its founder, Jonas Hanway, have been researched by Hutchins and Taylor, though these studies do not extend into the nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup> In the twentieth century Kurt Harm's educational ideas have been widely influential. In

<sup>33</sup> Valerie Burton, "The Making of a Nineteenth Century Profession: Shipmasters and the British Shipping Industry", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, XI (1991), 97-118; A. G. Course, *Painted Ports: the Story of the Ships of Devitt and Moore* (London, 1961). Devitt & Moore carried Brassey's scheme into effect with a succession of cargo carrying sailing ships from the 1890s to World War I. Pangbourne Nautical College was its successor institution.

<sup>34</sup> Tony Lane, "Neither Officers Nor Gentlemen", *History Workshop Journal*, LXX (Spring, 1985), 128-143.

<sup>35</sup> Alston Kennerley, "Occupational Conditioning: First Voyage in *Passat*", in Stephen Fisher (ed.), *Man and the Maritime Environment* (Exeter, 1994), 210-232.

<sup>36</sup> Alston Kennerley, "Early State Support of Vocational Education: the Department of Science and Art Navigation Schools, 1853-63", *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, LJJ, No. 2 (2000), 211-224; Alston Kennerley, "Ratings for the Mercantile Marine: the Roles of Charity, the State and Industry in the Pre-Service Education and Training of Ratings for the British Merchant Navy, 1879-1939", *History of Education*, XXVIII, No. 1 (1999), 31-51; Alston Kennerley, "Vocational Further Education for British Merchant Navy Ratings: the National Sea Training Schools, 1942-1972", *History of Education*, XXX, No. 4 (2000), 301-327.

<sup>37</sup> I. D. Cowan, "Certified Industrial Training Ships, c. 1860-1913", *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, XVI, No. 1 (January, 1984), 1-9; but see also Kennerley (1978), *op. cit.*, Chapter 7, "Training Ships for Boy Seamen", 129-153, and Kennerley (1980), *op. cit.*

<sup>38</sup> Alston Kennerley, "Seafaring Missionary Societies and Maritime Education and Training, 1815-1914", *Paedagogica Historica International Journal of the History of Education*, supplementary series V (1999), 241-257; Alston Kennerley, "The Nation's Key Men: Merchant Seafarers' Education and Training, 1890-1990", in Geoffrey Till (ed.), *Seapower at the Millennium* (Stroud, 2001), 273-285 & 357-358. With respect to the elementary and secondary schooling of the children of officers in the merchant service, Macleod's work on the Greenwich naval schools should also be noted: Norman Macleod, "History of the Royal Hospital School", *Mariners Mirror*, XXXV, No. 3 (July, 1949), 182-202.

<sup>39</sup> Alston Kennerley, "Nationally-Recognised Qualifications for British Merchant Navy Officers, 1865-1966", *IJMH*, XIII, No. 1 (June, 2001), 115-135.

<sup>40</sup> John H. Hutchins, *Jonas Hanway, 1712-1786* (London, 1940); James Stephen Taylor, *Jonas Hanway, Founder of the Marine Society: Charity and Policy in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1985).

particular, his conception, the Outward Bound movement (1941), is rooted in practical experience afloat.<sup>41</sup>

Information on the writing about history of maritime education and training in countries other than Britain will require a much more elaborate search than has been possible in preparing this paper. Nevertheless it is known that Britain is not alone in having provision extending over several hundred years. However, if the neglect of vocational education history in general, evident in Britain, is the case in other countries, work on maritime education may be sparse. For Germany, however, there is ample evidence of general interest in nautical education history over the past two hundred years, particularly through the celebration of anniversaries, the production of *festschriften*, short articles in maritime magazines such as *Hansa* and *Nauticus*, and pieces in collective works on shipping and on education.<sup>42</sup> Mehl produced his substantial overview in the 1960s and more recently Schmidt has revisited the nineteenth century with respect to his study of provision Bremen.<sup>43</sup> Möring's small work on the Deutschen Seemannsschule Hamburg is evidence of continuing interest in institutional histories.<sup>44</sup>

A significant study of the role of sail training and other sea service in the education and training of Finnish merchant officers and masters, has recently been completed by Karkama. He has related the changing requirements for sea service since 1874, to the more pedagogically oriented experience provided by Finland's sail training windjammers up to 1939. As part of this examination he has analysed the role of nautical education theorists, the contribution of shipowners and the part played by state regulation.<sup>45</sup> Igerma's short contribution nautical education in Estonia, traced back to 1715, is suggestive that similar provision is likely to be discovered in most European ports.<sup>46</sup> An entry to studies on maritime education and training in the Netherlands may be made through the work of C.A. Davids, who, as already noted, has written widely on the study of navigation and the spread nautical knowledge.<sup>47</sup> The limited amount of research on maritime education in Spain appears to have been mainly undertaken by Mareno, who has examined the scene in Cartagena and Bilbao.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>41</sup> David James (ed), *Outward Bound* (London, 1957); H.Röhs, *Kurt Hahn: a Life Span in Education and Politics* (London, 1966); *Kurt Hahn: an Appreciation of His Life and Work* (Elgin, 1976). A new study of Hahn's ideas and legacy, by Lance R. Lee, is in preparation.

<sup>42</sup> Lothar Mehl, "Die Anfänge des Navigationsunterrichts unler besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Verhältnisse", *Paedagogica Historica International Journal of the History of Education*, VJH, No. 2 (1968), 372-141. This paper contains a lengthy bibliography.

<sup>43</sup> Rüdiger Schmidt, "Die professionalisierung der nautischen Fachbildung: die Seefahrtsschule in Bremen, 1799-1969", in Jürgen Brockstedt (ed), *Seefahrt an deutschen Küsten im Wandel, 1815-1914* (Neumünster, 1993), 119-138.

<sup>44</sup> Maria Moring, *Die Geschichte der Seemannsschule Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1992).

<sup>45</sup> Markku Karkama, *Merille Kouluun: Meripalvelus ja koululaivat kansipäälystön koulutuksessa vuodesta 1874 toiseen maailmansotaan* (To School at Sea: Seagoing Service and Training Ships in the Education of Merchant Marine Officers from 1874 until the Second World War) (Turku, 1999). This is the publication of his doctoral thesis from the University of Oulu.

<sup>46</sup> August Ingerma, "Maritime Education in Estonia", in Juhani Vainio (ed J, *Maritime Education and Research in the Baltic Region* (Turku, 1997), 33-41.

<sup>47</sup> C.A. Davids, "On the Diffusion of Nautical Knowledge from the Netherlands to North-Eastern Europe", in W.G. Heeres, *etal. (eds.), From Dunkirk to Danzig: Shipping and Trade in the North Sea and the Baltic, 1350-1850* (Hilversum, 1988), 217-236; C.A. Davids, "Technological Change and the Professionalism of Masters and Mates in the Dutch Mercantile Marine, 1815-1914", *Collectanea Maritima*, V (1991), 289-296.

<sup>48</sup> F.J. Moreno, "La Escuela especial de Náutica de Cartagena, 1915-1924", in M. Valera & C. Lopez (eds.), *Adas del Vcongresode la SociedadEspanola de Historia de las Cienciasvde las Técnicas* (2 vols., Barcelona, 1991), I, 449-468; F.J. Moreno, "La enseñanza náutica en Barcelona entre 1769 y 1939", *Revista de Historica Naval*, 9 (1993), 25-45.

Turning now to the eastern hemisphere, it is in Australia that one or two studies on maritime education have been undertaken. Of these Shorten's work remains the most significant. In her broadly based study she has examined the size of the seafaring population in Australian shipping, the regulatory framework of examination and licensing in the separate colonies before unification and the standardisation after 1900, the relationship to the British scene, the numbers of certificates issued, the availability of nautical education, its organisation and student experience, and early ideas for advanced study.<sup>49</sup> McDonald has provided a study of the Sydney Nautical School, Shorten, Ritter and Ramsland have investigated another dimension of maritime education/training emulating development in Britain, the industrial and reformatory training ship scene (*Vernon/Sobraon, Fitzjames*).<sup>50</sup> Other studies, by Taylor and Burgess, are concerned with the contemporary maritime educational scene.<sup>51</sup> Although there has long been significant maritime education provision in India, China, Japan and Korea, enquiries about its history have only identified one study, a 500 page institutional history in Japanese, of the Kobe University of the Mercantile Marine (1917)

That several important maritime countries remain unrepresented in this survey will be obvious. In part this is due to the limitations of the literature search and difficulties with language. However, it is noticeable that in reviews of maritime historiography, maritime education and training is, with notable exceptions, not addressed.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps no research has been undertaken. But for countries such as France, the United States, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, it is hard to believe that literature searches on a wider front, including the education literature, would not reveal relevant studies, and that for countries represented here, the list of studies would not be extended.

Maritime welfare is used here inclusively of spiritual and social welfare provision directed at seafarers whether by religious or secular bodies or through philanthropy, commercial interests or the state. With few exceptions concern was (and is) with the needs of seafarers when on shore. Though the social situation at sea was not ignored, institutions and organisations, inevitably shore-based, could only bear on sea life at arms length, through the provision of literature and guidance or retrospectively through the oversight and amelioration of conditions judged inadequate. Whether or not the seafarer ashore was disorientated through being in an unfamiliar location, and whether his needs were as perceived by himself or as seen by people ashore, the list of needs might include: sustenance,

<sup>49</sup> A.R. Shorten, "Imperial Validity and Maritime Education in Australia, 1869-1923: a Study of the Influence of Imperial Statutory Qualifications on the Education of the Australian Merchant Service Officer, 1869-1923" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Monash University, 1976); Ann R. Shorten, "A School for the Mercantile Marine: a Survey of Initiatives in Maritime Education in Australia, 1869-1923", in Stephen Murray-Smith (ed.), *Melbourne Studies in Education* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1979), 56-92.

<sup>50</sup> D.I. McDonald, "Henry Parkes and the Sydney Nautical School", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, *LU*, No. 3 (1966), 212-227; A. R. Shorten, "Nautical Schoolships in Australia, 1850-1920", *Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society Journal (ANZHEJ)*, V, No. 2 (1976), 19-32; Leonora Ritter, "A Comparison of the NSS *Vernon* in New South Wales and the NSS *Fitzjames* in South Australia", *ANZHEJ*, VH, No. 2 (Spring 1978); John Ramsland/'Life Aboard the Nautical School Ship *Sobraon*, 1891-1911", *Tki Great Circle*, HI, No. 1 (April, 1981), 29-45.

<sup>51</sup> R.J. Taylor, "The Training and Education of the Marine Engineer in the 1990s" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, Sydney University of Technology, 1990); F.G. Burgess, "Sea-Going Attitudes Towards Deck Officer Training Through the Diploma in Applied Science Scheme" (unpublished Dip.App.Sc, Australian Maritime College, 1992).

<sup>52</sup> Correspondence with the President, Prof. Kiyoshi Hara (13 February 2001).

<sup>53</sup> See for example, Frank Broeze (ed.), *Maritime History at the Crossroads: a Critical Review of Recent Historiography* (St. Johns, Newfoundland, 1995).

<sup>54</sup> The following overview of developments is based on the author's own researches, which are cited *passim* in later sections of this essay.

accommodation, transport, clothing, medical treatment (physical or mental), safe keeping for money and possessions, protection from thieves, religious encouragement, entertainment, education, financial support, character references, employment, family support. This list was a constant from the earliest times, particularly once shipping moved internationally, to the present, and supporting structures had long existed haphazardly ashore before the great upsurge in philanthropy directed at seafarers in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Philanthropy, through seamen's missions, mariners' churches, sailors' homes, seamen's institutes or clubs, seamen's hospitals, seamen's children's schools and orphanages, aged seamen's homes, destitute seamen's funds, and so on, has played a major and continuing role since the 1820s. Almost from the beginning, with origins in Britain, provision has been world-wide, and remains so. All the needs noted above have been addressed, and institutions have adapted to and taken advantage of social measures enacted by the state. While the great majority of port establishments have been operated by religious bodies, seamen's missions, some secular establishments were originally managed on religious principles. Behind this smaller proportion of total provision could lie merchant/shipowner philanthropy, trade union interest or state investment.

There can be no doubt that the origins of the early nineteenth century expansion lay in evangelical, revivalist fervour with roots in the late eighteenth century. This spread into the navy and the merchant service, and in its early spontaneous phase was entirely concerned with Christian salvation, worship and brotherhood. An early formative leader emerged, the Revd. George Charles Smith, who promoted the societal basis which spread so rapidly in the 1820s. At the same time came the recognition that seamen's basic needs ashore must be addressed, if spiritual development was to be nurtured. Smith crystallised ideas for social welfare provision in an all-embracing cradle to grave scheme. The societal basis provided the structures for fund raising amongst a moneyed public increasingly attuned to the vast number of charities which came into existence during the century, and which in turn financed the provision of social facilities. Local circumstances dictated which elements of Smith's scheme were put into effect, but in the larger ports the provision and influence of seamen's establishments was significant.

Evolution during the nineteenth century saw the increasing domination of the large national and international societies, the non-denominational British and Foreign Sailors' Society (1833) and the Anglican Missions to Seamen (1856). The equivalent in the United States was the American Seamen's Friend Society (1826), with overseas stations particularly in the Pacific region. In the twentieth century these were joined by a new international body, the Apostleship of the Sea (1920). Today these bodies working in collaboration rather than in competition, dominate the provision of social and spiritual welfare amenities throughout the world, with significant support from secular bodies, adapting to the now globalised nature of seafaring. The early independent port-based societies, religious and secular, have mostly closed or been absorbed by the larger bodies, though notable exceptions continue their independent provision. In contrast to the early societies concerned solely with evangelisation and often working without identifiable physical bases, the developed missions soon became synonymous with their institutes and residential buildings, and the social services and recreational activities they provided, though the underlying religious imperative was ever present.

Secular bodies, whether voluntary societies, trade unions or the state, of course concentrated entirely on social amenities specially provided for seafarers. In Britain and overseas the original network of sailor's homes, generally independent port establishments, had this basis. A notable secular network of clubs and hotels was established by the British state in World War II, and other examples include state seamen's clubs in the ports of

communist countries and a network in India.

Apart from the maritime world, there are two major contexts for the history of seafarers' welfare. On the one hand there is the relationship with society ashore, the prevailing social context including housing, voluntary and state welfare provision, and the range of agencies catering for the needs of those sections of the population unable to provide for themselves. On the other hand there is the religious dimension, the missionary purpose and its methods (missiology), the place of missions in mission and church history, and the range of associated religious and denominational issues.

Given the origins in Britain, and world wide networks rooted in British societies, the discussion of research which follows is inevitably oriented towards the British scene. The American scene is the second major area for research activity. Contributions are also found relating to most north European countries. Missions, particularly, have always been conscious of their origins, and institutional histories of varying quality, exist for many societies.<sup>55</sup> Most have been written by mission "insiders" without reference to the wider seafarers' welfare scene. The majority of modern research is on mission history, also by clergy and lay missionaries with inside experience of the work of seamen's missions. In some cases these combine historical writing with theological discussion. Others see history as a preliminary to discussions on the current scene.

Despite these caveats, in the last two decades of the twentieth century there have been produced a number of significant historical studies identifying seafarers' welfare history as a dimension of maritime social history. Foremost amongst these is the definitive study of the early seamen's mission scene by Roald Kverndal which appeared in 1986.<sup>56</sup> No subsequent study of any significance has failed to cite this work. Taking the period from 1779 to 1864, he has addressed a vast bibliography of contemporary published material, books, magazines, pamphlets, and the surviving records of numerous mission societies. This has established the emergence of a world wide movement, all the important initiatives, the influence of the prime movers, the rapid spread from its British origins, the motivation of its key figures and the method of working. Unlike all previous histories, this work integrates the contributions of the various societies, thus recognising the totality of the movement and addressing the scene in north European countries, North America, as well as in Britain. The work concludes with theological arguments in a first proper attempt to define maritime missiology.<sup>57</sup>

Soon after Kverndal's work had appeared, three other integrating studies were produced, by Down, Miller and Kennerley, which brought the history of seamen's missions

<sup>55</sup> Examples since the 1950s include: L.A.G. Strong, *Flying Angel: the Story of the Missions to Seamen* (London, 1956); M.R. Kingsford, *The Mersey Mission to Seamen, 1856-1956* (Abingdon, 1957); Michael Jacob, *The Flying Angel Story* (London, 1973); Stanley Pritchard, *Fish and Ships: Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen, 1881-1981* (London, 1980); Jack M. Seymour, *Ships, Sailors and Samaritans: the Women's Seamen's Friend Society of Connecticut, 1859-1976* (New Haven, 1976); Wallace Cedarleaf (ed), *Under Full Sail 1880-1980: Boston Seamen's Mission, Inc* (Boston, 1980); L.R. Rousmaniere, *Anchored within the Vail: A Pictorial History of the Seaman's Church Institute* (New York, 1995); Erkki Ami, et al. (eds.) *100 Vuotta: 100 years of the Finnish Seamen's Mission in London* (London, 1982); 1891-1991 *Deutsche Seemannsmission in Hamburg R. V. : Berichte aud Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1891 -1991 German Seamen's Mission in Hamburg: an account of its history and present activity) (Hamburg, 1991 ); Hofgren, Allan (ed), *Svensk sjomanskyrka 100 ar! 1869-1969* (Swedish Seamen's Church 100 Years, 1869-1969) (Klippan, Sweden, 1969); Charles Babb, et al., *The Mission to Seamen, Antwerp, Belgium, 1892-1992* (Antwerp, 1992).

<sup>56</sup> Roald Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions: Their Origin and Early Growth, a Contribution to the History of the Church Maritime* (Pasadena, 1986) (new edition in preparation). This is the published version of his University of Oslo D.Th. thesis. He is a minister in the Norwegian Lutheran Church.

<sup>57</sup> See also Roald Kverndal, "Maritime Christian Fellowship: a Key Concept in Mission to and Through Seafarers from a Historical and Current Perspective", *Maritime Mission Studies*, I (Spring, 1994), 1-15.

forward to the late twentieth century.<sup>58</sup> The first third of Down's book is concerned with a fully inclusive narrative history of seamen's missionary activity, which for the twentieth century draws in the rapid changes affecting the shipping industry. The rest of the volume examines the mission scene in the 1980s in relation to the shipping industry, the ministry to seafarers and the prevailing ecumenism amongst the various denominations. Miller's work is a much more difficult text for the reader owing to poor layout and an awkward arrangement. It is essentially a study concentrating on the nineteenth century though with an extensive section dealing with the history before 1800. It is also an inclusive study though with a strength on the various Anglican societies. In places there is very great detail and there is information on smaller and unusual areas of missionary activity, such as ministries to the static training ships noted above in the section on education and training. The direction of Kennerley's research was undoubtedly influenced by the scope of Kverndad's work. Restricted to the British scene over the long cycle from 1815 to 1970, he has taken a much wider view of seafarers' welfare by considering the full range of secular institutions. Provision and usage is related to the number of seafarers in port, and the nature of the financial management in both missions and sailor's homes is assessed in detail.

The completion of these four broadly based studies at much the same time, and the realisation that there was a nucleus of scholars concerned with the history of seafarers welfare, led to the formation of a small research based society, the International Association for the Study of Maritime Mission (IASMM) in 1990. Attracting a membership from Britain, America and Europe, its small biennial conferences, *Newsletter* and journal, *Maritime Mission Studies*, have become the main outlets for research essays and shorter pieces on seamen's mission history.<sup>59</sup> Although there is a strong historical bias to its activities, IASMM also addresses current issues in maritime mission. However, as an outlet for major papers on seamen's welfare history, the Association's obscurity and small circulation of its publications are major disadvantages.

In the overall context of the seafarer in port, research from the maritime mission perspective may not take sufficient cognisance of other forms of social provision for seafarers. Hugill, in his racy style, offers a grudging respect but does not hesitate to list examples in the same breath as the drinking dens and brothels. His anecdotal approach in *Sailortown* and his book on shanties, have taken the nineteenth century seafarer ashore to a wider public than most other works.<sup>60</sup> Less colourful contributions taking this wider perspective have been made by Palmer, dealing with London, Fingard (Canadian ports), Press, who offered a wide ranging overview of British maritime charities, and Williams, on a Victorian society for improving the

<sup>58</sup> Bill Down, *On Course Together: the Churches' Ministry in the Maritime World Today* (Norwich, 1989); Robert Miller, *From Shore to Shore: a History of the Church and the Merchant Seafarer* (Nailsworth, 1989); Alston Kennerley, "British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes, 1815-1970: Voluntary Welfare Provision for Serving Seafarers" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Council for National Academic Awards/Plymouth Polytechnic, 1989). Down was a Missions to Seamen chaplain, Miller was a Church of England vicar who had experience with the Missions to Seamen, Kennerley was a nautical lecturer with seafaring experience.

<sup>59</sup> The International Association for the Study of Maritime Mission (IASMM) may be reached through its Secretary, Stephen Friend, School of Education & Theology, York St John College, Lord Mayor's Walk, York, England, YO31 1EX (e-mail: [s.friend@yorks.ac.uk](mailto:s.friend@yorks.ac.uk)). The IASMM *Newsletter* has been published twice a year since 1991. *Maritime Mission Studies* has appeared irregularly since 1994, and was restructured as a refereed journal in 1998. Conferences are held approximately every two years.

<sup>60</sup> Stan Hugill, *Sailortown* (London, 1967); Stan Hugill, *Shanties from the Seven Seas: Shipboard Work-Songs and Songs Used as Work-Songs from the Great Days of Sail* (London, 1961).

condition of merchant seamen.<sup>61</sup> Fingard shows missions and homes as failing institutions, because of competition from crimps and the unrealistic ideals of their promoters, though she recognises their contribution with respect to destitute and shipwrecked men. Dixon, in his analysis of types of crimping, puts a favourable gloss on their activities, arguing that seafarers welcomed their social services and accepted the cost.<sup>62</sup> Crimping also features in Daunton's study of Cardiff, where he deals with boarding houses but not with philanthropic establishments.<sup>63</sup> In contrast, Henning, studying the Australian port scene, sees seamen's missions and sailors' homes as a middle-class response to crimping activity, though he does not find them inspiring.<sup>64</sup> The interaction between secular religious agencies in the 1930s and 1940s has been examined in an early study by Hohman, and more recently by Kennerley.<sup>65</sup>

Greater focus on philanthropic institutions such as missions and homes, is found in a number of papers, in addition to the larger studies already noted. Kverndal celebrated his definition of the first seamen's missionary activity, its bi-centenary, in his 1979 paper in *Mariner's Mirror*.<sup>66</sup> Seamen's missions and sailor's homes' usage and financial statistics have featured in three of Kennerley's papers, where he has also looked at the internal operation of such establishments.<sup>67</sup> Recently Mooney has provided an integrating overview of mission history to 1945 in the light of research over the past twenty years.<sup>68</sup> In similar manner, recently he has completed a useful overview of the development of contemporary maritime mission, noting the evolving management structures of societies, the development in ecumenical and collaborative approaches, the creation of a global network, and the support of mission initiatives by the International Transport Workers Federation.<sup>69</sup>

A number of other British seafarers' welfare organisations have benefited from academic study in recent years. Friend's research into mission work amongst fishermen, led

<sup>61</sup> Sarah B. Palmer, "Seamen Ashore in Late Nineteenth Century London: Protection from the Crimps", in Paul Adam (ed.), *Seamen in Society*, *op. cit.*, III-5 5-67; Judith Fingard, "Masters and Friends, Crimps and Abstainers: Agents of Control in Nineteenth Century Sailortown", *Acadiensis*, VHI (1978), 22-45; Judith Fingard, *Jack in Port: Sailortowns of Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1982); Jon Press, "Philanthropy and the British Shipping Industry, 1815-1860", *IJM*, I, No. 1 (June 1989), 107-127; David M. Williams, "Mid-Victorian Attitudes to Seamen and Maritime Reform; the Society for Improving the Condition of Merchant Seamen, 1867", *IJM*, m, No. 1 (June, 1991), 101-126.

<sup>62</sup> Conrad Dixon, "The Rise and Fall of the Crimp, 1840-1914", in Stephen Fisher (ed.), *British Shipping and Seamen, 1630-1960: Some Studies* (Exeter, 1984), 49-67; see also, Judith Fingard, "Those Crimps of hell and Goblins Damned: the Image and Reality of Quebec's Sailortown Bosses", in Rosemary Ommer & Gerald Panting (eds.), *Working Men Who Got Wet* (St. Johns., Newfoundland, Memorial University, 1980).

<sup>63</sup> M. J. Daunton, "Jack Ashore: Seamen in Cardiff Before 1914", *Welsh History Review*, IX (December, 1978), 176-203.

<sup>64</sup> G. R. Henning, "Fourpenny Dark and Sixpenny Red", *Labour History* (Australia), XLVI (1984), 52-71.

<sup>65</sup> Hohman, *Seamen Ashore...*, *op. cit.*, Alston Kennerley, "British Government Intervention in Seamen's Welfare, 1938-1948", *IJM*, VI, No. 1 (December, 1995), 75-113.

<sup>66</sup> Roald Kverndal, "The 200th Anniversary of Organised Seamen's Missions, 1779-1979", *Mariner's Mirror*, LXV (1979), 255-263.

<sup>67</sup> Alston Kennerley, "Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes: Spiritual and Social Welfare Provision for Seafarers in British Ports in the Nineteenth Century, with Some Reference to the South West", in Stephen Fisher (ed.), *Studies in British Privateering, Trading Enterprise and Seamen's Welfare, 1775-1900* (Exeter, 1987), 121-165; Alston Kennerley, "British Seamen's Missions in the Nineteenth Century", in Lewis R. Fischer, *etal.* (eds.), *The North Sea: Twelve Essays on Social History of Maritime Labour* (Stavanger, 1992), 79-97; Alston Kennerley, "Statistical Approaches to the History of Seamen's Welfare", *Maritime Mission Studies*, I (Spring, 1994), 27-33.

<sup>68</sup> Paul G Mooney, *Serving Seafarers Under Sail and Steam: a Missiological Reflection on the Development of Maritime Mission, 1879-1945* (York, IASMM, Occasional Paper 2, June 2000), 32pp.

<sup>69</sup> Paul G. Mooney, "The Development of Contemporary Maritime Mission" (unpublished draft of chapter 3 of his doctoral dissertation, in progress, 2001 ), 76-122.

him analyse relationships between a number of British missions out of which the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen (1881) grew, and to examine the "coper" traders supplying liquor and other comforts to North Sea Fishermen.<sup>70</sup> Miller has drawn attention to the little known "Salvation Navy", a maritime arm of the Salvation Army, and religious attention to canal boat families is touched on by Bowen.<sup>71</sup> More localised studies featuring the religious perspective, include Duthie's work on Aberdeen where he deals with its Sailors' Mission and Home, and this writer's detailed study of the Sailor's Home, London (1829).<sup>72</sup> The roots of the London School of Tropical Medicine lie in the medical charity, the Dreadnought Seamen's Hospital (1821) whose history has been researched by McBride and by Matthews.<sup>73</sup> Retired merchant seafarers are the concern of another charity, the Royal Alfred (1865), which has been the subject of a small institutional history by McMillan.

The roles played by leading individuals, is a common theme the history of philanthropy, and a number are identified with mission history. Amongst the most colourful is the Revd. George Charles Smith (1782-1663), recognised as the key figure in the early development of seamen's missions. Kverndal, who is working on a biography, has contributed several shorter pieces, though he is not alone.<sup>75</sup> Another exceptional worker amongst seafarers, Father Hopkins (Charles Plomer Hopkins, 1861-1922), seamen's chaplain and seamen's union leader, has been studied in detail by Miller.<sup>76</sup> Recent seamen's chaplains' autobiographies, by Evans and Parker, offer perspectives relating to Liverpool and Vancouver.<sup>77</sup> Rousmaniere has contributed a short study relating to a focal seamen's missionary in New York, and this writer has examined the personal religious experiences of seaman turned preacher, the writer, F T.

<sup>70</sup> Stephen Friend, "The Rise and Development of Christian Missions Amongst British Fishing Communities During the Nineteenth Century" (unpublished M. Phil thesis, University of Leeds, 1994); Stephen Friend, "The Devil's Mission Ships: The North Sea Liquor Trade, 1820-1890", *Maritime Mission Studies*, II (Autumn, 1995), 39-48; Stephen Friend, "Social and Spiritual Work Amongst Fishing Communities", in David J. Starkey, *et al.* (eds.), *England's Sea Fisheries: the Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales Since 1300* (London, Chatham, 2000), 138-145 & 260.

<sup>71</sup> Robert Miller, "The Salvation Navy", *IASMM Newsletter* (Spring, 1996), 12-14; Robert Miller, "The Salvation Navy, Manner *'sMirror, LXXXni, ~No. 1* (February, 1997), 91-94; Paul Bowen, "English Canal-Boat Children and the Education Issue, 1900-1940: Towards a Concept of Treveller Education?", *History of Education*, 30:4 (2001), 359-378.

<sup>72</sup> John L. Duthie, "Philanthropy and Evangelism Among Aberdeen Seamen, 1814-1924", *Scottish Historical Review*, LXVI, No. 2 (October, 1984), 155-173; Alston Kennerley, "The Sailors' Home, London, and Seamen's Welfare, 1829-1974", *Maritime Mission Studies*, I (new series, Spring, 1998), 23-56.

<sup>73</sup> A. G. McBride, *The History of the Dreadnought Seamen's Hospital* (London, 1970); Jane Matthews, *Welcome Aboard: The Seamen's Hospital Society and the Dreadnought* (Buckingham, 1992).

<sup>74</sup> A. Stewart McMillan, *The Royal Alfred Story* (London, 1965).

<sup>75</sup> Roald Kverndal, "Memoirs of the Founder of Seamen's Missions in 1801", *Mariner's Mirror*, LXVIII (1976), 47-51; Roald Kverndal, "George Charles Smith: Founder of the Seafarers' Mission Movement", *Maritime Mission Studies*, I (new series, Spring, 1998), 9-23; Roald Kverndal, "George Charles Smith", *Pastoral Dictionary for Migration and Human Mobility* (Rome, 1995); Roald Kverndal, "George Charles Smith", *New Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, forthcoming); R. C. Blake, "Burning Bush Unconsumed: Bosun Smith, 1872-1863" in *Friends of the Royal Naval Museum Portsmouth Yearbook* (Portsmouth, 1987), 20-24; see also R. C. Blake, "Aspects of Religion in the Royal Navy, c.1770 - c.1780" (unpublished M. Phil, thesis, University of Southampton, 1980).

<sup>76</sup> Robert Miller, "Charles Plomer Hopkins and the Seamen's Union with Particular Reference to the 1911 Strike" (unpublished MA thesis, University of Warwick, 1992); Robert Miller, "Charles Plomer Hopkins, 1861-1922: the Gaps", *Maritime Mission Studies*, U (Autumn, 1995), 57-62; Miller also discusses the influence of Hopkins on Roman Catholic initiatives in "An Anglican Contribution to the Catholic Maritime Apostolate", *Mariner's Mirror*, LXXXVIII, No. 1 (February, 1996), 84-89.

<sup>77</sup> Bob Evans, *A Dog Collar in the Docks* (Birkenhead, 1995); Joseph D. Parker, *On the Waterfront* (Bishop Auckland, 2000).

Bullen.<sup>78</sup>

Religious and social welfare in the centuries before the nineteenth century, have by no means been ignored by researchers. Some writers trace a tenuous linearity to the beginning of the Christian era, but there are also some archive based studies of particular contributions.<sup>79</sup> Perhaps the most ambitious and wide ranging, is Cabantous' work spanning the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, which was the subject of major analysis and criticism in "Roundtable" in *IJMH* in 1991.<sup>80</sup> Miller has also addressed this period from the British perspective, and that from the eleventh century; Moree has looked at the provision of preachers and sick comforters aboard Dutch East Indiamen, and Boone has placed the writing of seamen's vademecums on spiritual and social behaviour in the context of the family ashore and of the Calvinist drive for influence in the emergent Dutch colonies.<sup>81</sup> The influence of church law on medieval sea law, including social provisions, has been the subject of a study by Wright.<sup>82</sup>

After these earlier periods the Roman Catholic institutions would only emerge as significant forces in seamen's welfare during the twentieth century. Its history was written up in general terms by Anson, but only recently have researchers under an academic umbrella set about the complex task of clarifying its origins and development. As already noted Miller sets out the background; he goes on to sort out Catholic activity amongst seafarers between the 1890s and 1920-22 when the Apostleship of the Sea was formally established and recognised by the Vatican. He also provides the first assessment of the tortured life of Peter Anson. The development of the Apostleship of the Sea in America from the 1920s has been studied by Yzermans, while Oubré has examined its recent reorganisation.<sup>84</sup> The establishment of the Catholic Sailors' Club, Montreal (1893), is shown by Perry, to have been a reaction to the protestant Montreal Sailors' Institute which was over crowded and failed to provide for Roman Catholic seafarers. Its leadership by women was unusual.<sup>85</sup>

The vitality among North American seamen's missions in recent decades has produced a significant number of studies, many contemporary, but, as will be apparent, a

<sup>78</sup> L.R. Rousmaniere, "A Highly Interesting Year: the Revd. Benjamin C.C. Parker and the Young Men's Church Missionary Society, New York City, 1843: the History of the Seamen's Church Institute Of New York and New Jersey", *Maritime Mission Studies*, I (Spring, 1994), 39-44; Alston Kennerley, "Frank Thomas Bullen: Christian Maritime Author", *Maritime Mission Studies*, II (Autumn, 1995), 49-55.

<sup>79</sup> Peter Anson, *The Church and the Sailor: a Survey of the Sea-Apostolate Past and Present* (London, 1948). His numerous popular writings on this theme have been superseded by recent research.

<sup>80</sup> Alain Cabantous, *Le ciel dans la mer: Christianisme et civilisation maritime (xvi-xix siècle)* (Paris, 1990); "Roundtable: Reviews of Alain Cabantous, *Le ciel dans la mer...* with a response by Alain Cabantous", *IJMH*, HI, No. 1 (June, 1991), 177-218; Alain Cabantous, "Religion et Monde Maritime au Havre dans las Seconde Moite du XVTP Siècle", *Annales de Normandie*, XXXIII ( 1983), 3-20.

<sup>81</sup> Robert Miller, "Ship of Peter: the Catholic Sea Apostolate and the Apostleship of the Sea" (unpublished M.Phil, thesis, University of Plymouth, 1995), chapters 2 and 3; Perry J. Moree, "Serving Two Masters: Preachers and Sick-Comforters of the Dutch East India Company", *Maritime Mission Studies*, II (Autumn, 1995), 19-27; Guus Boone, "The Dutch Calvinist Moral Offensive and the Colonial Training of Sailors and Tradersmen", *Paedagogica Historica International Journal of the History of Education*, supplementary series I (1995), 95-114; see also Leendert Groenendijk, "Piëtistische Vademecums voor Zeevarenden", *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, XI, No. 4 (1987), 126-139.

<sup>82</sup> P.F. Wright, "The High Seas and the Church in the Middle Ages", *Mariner's Mirror*, LIU, No. 1 (February, 1967), 3-31, LUI, No. 2 (May, 1967), 115-135.

<sup>83</sup> Miller (1995), *op.cit.*, chapters 4-8, and 9-10; see also Miller (1996), *op.cit.*

<sup>84</sup> Vincent A. Yzermans, *Menaw Catholic Seafarer's Church* (Washington, DC, 1995); Sinclair Kevin Oubré, "The Apostolatus Maris: Its Structural Development Including Its 1997 Reorganisation" (unpublished Licentiate in Canon Law thesis, Catholic University of America, 1998).

<sup>85</sup> Judith M.C. Perry, "The Launching of the Catholic Sailors' Club, Montreal, Canada: Some Beginnings of the Modern Roman Catholic Ministry to Seafarers" (an unpublished paper, *ca.* 1995), 11pp.

number on historical themes. Papers by Davis and Jackman discuss mission developments in America in the 1820s. Those by Park examine the image of the seafarer found in magazines, the domesticating influence of female maritime philanthropy, and the interaction of the temperance movement with seafarers in North America.<sup>86</sup> Mission literature for seafarers also features in a wider study of literature provided for seafarers, by Skallerup. Women's contributions on both sides of the Atlantic have recently been addressed by Kverndal, who has also described the evolution of co-operative networks, while Deems has made a case study of the Society at Boston.<sup>87</sup> Tomasi calls attention to seafaring in relation to another sub-area of social history, migration studies, echoing the Vatican's inclusion of seafarers in their category of travelling peoples.<sup>88</sup> That major force in New York, the Seamen's Church Institute has benefited from a research study by Whittemore.<sup>89</sup>

Seamen's missions in other north European countries, became established in the later decades of the nineteenth century. Their history has seen some attention by seamen's pastors and maritime sociologists/ethnologists. Writing in 1959, Thun provided an overview of history of the German Seamen's Mission covering its stations in German ports and overseas. The concern with beginnings, a feature of much mission history writing, is evident, many locations being provided with a list of dates of new initiatives. His global coverage does recognise the existence of other seamen's missions.<sup>90</sup> The records of the Finnish Seamen's Mission have been used by Hinkkanen in her studies of Finnish seamen on shore in Britain between ships, in which she asks questions about home links and illness away from home.<sup>91</sup> Kverndal provides an overview of seamen's mission origins in Norway, Denmark and Sweden, as an addendum to his 1986 volume, having previously published papers on the Norwegian mission. Daasvand also included the historical background in his thesis on the same mission. The role of Norwegian seamen's churches in the lives of non-seafarer travellers has been addressed in

<sup>86</sup> Hugh H Davis, "The American Seamen's Friend Society and the Sailor, 1828-1838", *American Neptune*, XXXV (January, 1979), 45-57; Eugene T. Jackman, "Efforts Made Before 1825 to Ameliorate the Lot of the American Seaman: with Emphasis on Moral Regeneration", *American Neptune*, XXIII (1964), 109-118; Stephen Park, "The Christian Herald and Seamen's Magazine: Portraying the Mariner as the Worthy Spiritually Poor", *Maritime Mission Studies*, II (Autumn, 1995), 11-18; Stephen Park, "Good Havens!: Bethels Confronting the Nineteenth Century American Merchant Mariner with Domestic Ideals", *Maritime Mission Studies*, II (new series, Spring 2000), 9-16; Stephen H. Park, "'Three Sheets to the Wind': Marine Temperance in Antebellum Nineteenth Century America", *IJMH*, XXI, No. 1 (June, 2001), 137-149.

<sup>87</sup> Harry R. Skallerup, *Books Afloat and Ashore: a History of Books, Libraries, and reading Among Seamen During the Age of Sail* (Hamden, CT, 1974); Roald Kverndal, "Women on the Waterfront: the Status and Role of Women in Seafarers' Mission from a Historical and Current Perspective", *Maritime Mission Studies*, II (new series, Spring, 2000), 17-32; Roald Kverndal, *Partnership in Maritime Mission: a Contribution to the History of Co-operative Maritime Ministry in North America* (York, IASMM, Occasional Papers No 1, June 1992), 16 pp; Mervin M. Deems, *A Home Away from Home: the Boston Seamen's Friend Society inc, 1827-1975* (Bangor, ME, 1975); see also Roald Kverndal, "The Bethel Ship 'John Wesley' : a New York Ship Saga from the Mid-1800s with Reverberations on Both Sides of the Atlantic Ocean", *Methodist History* (July 1977), 211-233, and Roald Kverndal, "Motet mellom sjøfolk og ikke-kristne folkeslag som motiv for de eldste sjømannsmisjonsbestrebelsel" (The Encounter Between Seamen and Non Christian Peoples for the Early Missions to Seamen), *Norsk Tidsskrift for Misjon* (1969), 220-235.

<sup>88</sup> Lydio F. Tomasi, "The Maritime Dimension of Migration Studies", *Maritime Mission Studies*, I (Spring, 1994), 47-51.

<sup>89</sup> James R. Whittemore, "Seamen's Church Institute: 150 Years and Beyond" (unpublished D. Min. thesis, New York Theological Seminary, 1985); see also Rousmaniere (1995), *op.cit.*

<sup>90</sup> I.R. Thun, *Werden und Wachsen: der Deutschen Evangelischen Seemannsmismission* (Bremen, 1959).

<sup>91</sup> Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen, "Expressions of Longing, Sources of Anxiety? The Significance of Contacts with Home For Finnish Sailors in London and Hull in the Late Nineteenth Century", *Research in Maritime History*, HI (1992), 63-79; Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen, "When the AB Was Abie-Bodied No Longer: Accidents and Illnesses Among Finnish Sailors in British Ports, 1882-1902", *IJMH*, VJJI, No. 1 (June, 1996), 87-104.

her thesis by Kristofferson.<sup>92</sup> Religious work on behalf of Norwegian seamen when prisoners of war in Britain during the Napoleonic wars, has been noted by Johnsen.<sup>93</sup> In Denmark, fishermen's religion and missions have been studied by Holm, Schou and Thygesen, while the Danish Seamen's Church is the subject of a study by Henningsen.<sup>94</sup> A Dutch examination of seamen's missions has been made by Schepen.<sup>95</sup>

As already noted, the Pacific region was the scene of early American mission outreach, but in recent decades, in addition to the long standing presence of older missions, this has seen the development of indigenous seamen's missions, notably the that by the Korean church. This has now been studied by Choi, Kim and Chul-Han. Mission history has featured at maritime ministry conferences in the Pacific region, but Kverndal has recently produced an overview of developments in the Pacific region.<sup>97</sup>

In 1990, Ronald Hope wrote: "The part which seamen's charities have played in improving the sailor's lot needs to be acknowledged. Voluntary action normally precedes government action and usually points the way."<sup>98</sup> The number and variety of studies noted here has certainly made progress in correcting that omission, though whether the shipping industry as a whole as yet concedes such recognition is more open to question. Arguably, through the efforts of a small band of researchers, the maritime themes addressed in this paper are beginning to emerge from the situation of being noted in passing references (if noted at all) in wider social studies, to that of being clearly recognised as sub-sets of maritime social history. Particularly during the twentieth century, maritime education and training has increasingly functioned in a pivotal position in the maritime social scene. As well as imparting knowledge and skills critical to the safe operation of ships, maritime schools and colleges have become the places where the initial occupational socialisation occurs, and is reinforced between voyages. Further, by providing one location for the concentration of seafarers ashore,

<sup>92</sup> Roald Kverndal, "The Emergence of Organised Nordic Seamen's Missions", in Kverndal (1986), *op.cit.*, 591-610; Roald Kverndal, "The Origin and Nature of Nordic Missions to Seamen", *Sjøfartshistorisk Aarbok*, 1977 (Norwegian Yearbook of Maritime History, 1977) (Bergen, 1978), 103-134; Paul O. Daasvand, "The Norwegian Seamen's Mission: History, Analysis, Evaluation and Contemporary Ministry" (unpublished D. Min. thesis, School of Theology of University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, 1982); Line Kristofferson, "Church All Week" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College of Commerce, Bergen, Norway, 2000).

<sup>93</sup> Berit Eide Johnsen, "North Sea Cultural Influence in Southern Norway Through Norwegian Prisoners of War in Great Britain, 1807-1814", in Poul Holm & John Edwards (eds.), *North Sea Ports and Harbours: Adaptations to Change* (Esbjerg, 1992), 237-263.

<sup>94</sup> Poul Holm & Anne-Lise Schou, "Den indre og ydre mission i bonde- og fiskermiljøer i Vendsyssel omkring 1890", *Meddelelser fra Kattegat-Skaggerrak-projektet*, IV (1984), 7-22; Marinus Thygesen, 'Indre Missionsfiskerne i Esbjerg, En religiøs minoritets historie, fra ca. 1890 til i dag, belyst i forhold til samfundsudviklingen' (unpublished ms., Institute of Theology, Aarhus Universitet, 1985); Henning Henningsen, *Sømand og Sømandskirke: Dansk Sømandskirke i fremmede Havne* (Seamen and Seamen's Church: Danish Seamen's Church in Foreign Ports) (Copenhagen, 1967).

<sup>95</sup> John van Schepen, "Sing a New Song to the Lord... You that Sail the Sea: a Discussion on the Mission Among Seamen" (unpublished doctoral thesis, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, 1971)

<sup>96</sup> Young-Hwan Kim, "Development of Maritime Mission: Gospel-Based Strategies for Ministry to Seafarers" (unpublished D. Min. thesis, Easter Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, 1990); Jonah Won Jong Choi, "Shalom and the Church Maritime: a Korean Perspective on Maritime Missiology" (unpublished D. Min. thesis, New York Theological Seminary, 1996); David Chul-Han, "An Historical and Contextual Mission Approach to Seafarers by Korean Churches with Special Reference to Muslim Seafarers" (unpublished D. Missiology thesis, Fuller School of World Mission, Pasadena, 2001).

<sup>97</sup> For example, W. J. D. Down, "The Historical Experience of Seafaring Apostolates and the Past Response of Churches to the Needs of Seafaring People", in Anthony Pagoni (ed), *East Asia Conference on Maritime Missions* (Manila, Apostleship of the Sea, 1987), 17-40; Roald Kverndal, "Mariners and Missionaries in the Pacific: the History of an Unlikely Configuration" (an unpublished ms., 2001), 11pp.

<sup>98</sup> Hope (1990), *op.cit.*, 264.

they have from the earliest periods functioned in the labour market as a medium for information if not on occasions in an agency role. Seamen's missions and secular seamen's homes, club and institutes have played roles in the social context of the seafarer ashore over the past 200 years. This has been more readily recognised in maritime literature and through a few historical studies, though the role of distinguishing this sub-area of maritime social history has largely been carried forward by researchers outside the network of maritime historians. Both themes show a want of international comparative studies, though these may have to wait until a sufficient body of accessible national studies has been built up. Numerous avenues remain to be explored.

The review of the British literature on maritime education and training reveals the diversity of studies which might be undertaken on provision in other countries. Well researched institutional studies provide building blocks for evaluating the wider scene. But they need to deal critically with the detail of education and training: syllabuses, pedagogy, facilities, staffing, student numbers, educational added value, local and national context (especially licensing), progression, and contact with the maritime employment. More widely-based studies might address: the development of the examining and licensing system and its influence on learning; the role played by the maritime industry in determining the content and duration of education and training; the interaction between maritime education and training provision and general state vocational education; the output of trained personnel in relation to the needs of the shipping industry, wastage and recruitment; the practice of training afloat; the provision of continuing professional development; the training of maritime teachers; the evolution of maritime teaching methods; the impact of international agreements on licensing and syllabus content through the International Maritime Organisation (IMO), on national provision; educational versus experiential emphases in maritime education and training.

The great majority of educational studies noted here relate to the education and training of future mates and masters. Very few studies of ratings' training have been identified, while there are none on the education and training of marine engineers or radio personnel, either as a group or of the establishments. True, these last groups are comparative newcomers to ship manning, but the radio operator is one category whose existence has barely lasted through the twentieth century. As well as deck ratings, catering (cooks and stewards) and engine room ratings all receive training in their special roles, and offer opportunities for case studies.

In terms of historical development and of approaches to work amongst seafarers, seamen's missions are much better served. That much of the historical writing comes from practising seamen's pastors and other workers for the "seamen's cause," has the advantage of experience in the field of study. The disadvantage is that much of the history is written by trained theologians rather than trained historians. Thus the emphasis is on beginnings, chronological history, description of facilities and services, and the missionary imperative. It is not tempered sufficiently by discussions of the wider historical social context, of provision in relation to demand, of cost effectiveness, and of such awkward negative issues, faced by all charities, as misapplication of assets and self-perpetuation in the interest of staff employment. Certainly there have been major adjustments in recent years to external forces. The collaboration between missions, between missions and other seafaring charities, and between missions and state and international agencies, is increasingly recognised in the new, global approach to seafarers' welfare.

Despite the amount of historical writing, some of the major charities lack substantial institutional histories. For example from the British perspective, British and International Sailors' Society (1833), the Seamen's Christian Friend Society (1846), the Seamen's Mission of the Methodist Church (1843), the Apostleship of the Sea (since the 1930s), the King

George's Fund for Sailors (1917), the Merchant Navy Welfare Board (1948), sailor's homes, homes for aged seafarers, societies for aiding shipwrecked seafarers, all await serious histories. There are similar gaps for most western countries. There is scope for studies of secular seafarers clubs and seamen's hospitals founded under British influence in many ports around the world, and also for the development of provision for seafarers' welfare, including missions, on a regional basis, for example the Indian sub-continent, Australia and New Zealand, South East Asia.

The purpose of this paper has been to fill a gap in maritime historiography, the weakness in the treatment of merchant seafarer education, training and welfare. Here it has been shown that there is now a reasonably substantial body of research studies relating to Britain and America as well as other parts of the world, but that both themes offer ample scope for further studies. Further, these are themes that demand a full treatment of the wider context, in both cases contexts of some complexity. In terms of publication, too little of the work invested in theses has emerged into the light of full publication, as books or as journal articles. Far too little mission history, in particular, has found an outlet in recognised historical journals. Conversely, maritime historians need to be more aware that studies of maritime education training and welfare, may be found in the literature of unfamiliar subjects, for example, education or ecclesiastical history.