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BRITISH SEAMEN'S MISSIONS AND SAILORS HOMES 1815 TO 1970 VOLUNTARY WELFARE PROVISION FOR SERVING SEAFARERS

KENNERLEY, ALSTON

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University of Plymouth

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BRITISH
SEAMEN'S MISSIONS
and
SAILORS' HOMES
1815 to 1970.

VOLUNTARY WELFARE PROVISION
FOR SERVING SEAFARERS

ALSTON KENNERLEY
Master Mariner, BA (Leampter), MA (Exon), Dip Ed. FMI

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BRITISH SEAMEN'S MISSIONS AND SAILORS' HOMES 1815 TO 1970.
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ABSTRACT

From the 1820s an ever present feature of most British ports has been the voluntary societies, little studied before, offering spiritual and social welfare support to serving seafarers. The perspective taken in this study is that although there were numerous individual societies voluntary effort for seafarers constitutes a single movement. The continued existence of many societies well into the twentieth century suggests that the movement should be examined longitudinally in order to assess its contribution in relation to the changing context in which such welfare operated.

To establish the internal operations of seamen's missions and sailors' homes, the records of a selection of large and small societies have been examined for quantifiable data as well as other forms of evidence. Particular attention has been paid to the nature of the target population - seafarers - and the situation in port, using contemporary sources; to involvement of the State using public records, and to the industrial context. The changing religious context has been examined closely, as has that of social policy, as it progressed towards the welfare state.

The study reveals the considerable voluntary effort which contributed to the movement, confirming the wide coverage of British ports which was achieved and the extent to which it was able to match the growing numbers of seafarers. The product of evangelical interest in the well-being of others, there was particular concern for rescuing the seafarer from the evils of port districts, especially crimping. Though to many seafarers marginal in religious terms, seafarers' charities were more significant in social terms as the sole providers of social support throughout much of the period of this study. Although some local societies survived to the 1970s, by the 1890s the movement had changed from a mass of local societies to domination by the branch networks of a few national societies. Apart from control of seafaring employment, State intervention was not significant in seafaring welfare except in the 1940s, while the role of the shipping industry was small. The decline of the movement in Britain was linked with the effects of inflation, changing patterns of seafaring and the decline of the British shipping industry. In the broader religious and social welfare contexts, seamen's missions and homes were typical products of the nineteenth century and in their evolution to 1970 paralleled closely developments in religion and social welfare in Britain.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

As an island nation, Britain has always depended upon shipping, its own or that belonging to other countries, for any form of intercourse, commercial or military, it has had with other nations and parts of the world. Shipping, of course, depends on seafarers, of one kind or another, without whom no vessel is able to leave harbour. Given the extent of maritime activity based in this island, particularly since the sixteenth century, it is hardly surprising that concern for the supply and quality of seafarers should reappear again and again.¹ Though perhaps most forcefully expressed in the context of manning the navy, a parallel concern for mercantile (and fishing) seafarers was always present. Less omnipresent, though by no means ignored, was interest in their well-being, particularly when ashore. But developments in the nineteenth century were to give much more prominence to the social condition of seafarers, especially merchant seafarers. Through voluntary effort almost every British port came to be provided with physical evidence of this concern in the form of often substantial buildings bearing names such as 'seamen's mission', 'sailors' home' or 'seamen's institute'. Similarly, state activity having impact on the welfare of seafarers was relatively muted until the extensive range of social legislation for seafarers,² some having a bearing on their well-being

1 Christopher Lloyd, The British seaman, 1200-1850: a social survey (Collins, 1968, Paladin, 1970), passim; Alston Kennerley, 'The education of the merchant seaman in the nineteenth century' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Exeter, 1978), 44.

2 For a full discussion of British mercantile marine legislation in the nineteenth century see: R.G. Newey, 'Government intervention in the British merchant service in the nineteenth century' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Exeter, 1970), and Conrad Hepworth Dixon, 'Seamen and the law: an examination of the impact of legislation on the British merchant seaman's lot, 1538-1918' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1981).

ashore, produced the less glamorous, but important mercantile marine offices operated by the Board of Trade.

This study is principally concerned with the former category, that is with provision arising out of religious and philanthropic effort. But voluntary provision cannot be considered in isolation from state regulation and provision, and the interaction between the two, at times amounting to an agency relationship, is also explored. The attempt to assess the changing level and nature of voluntary provision for seafarers in relation to the size, nature and needs of the seafaring population has led to a longitudinal study extending over some 150 years, which draws on statistical data on the operations of a selection of organisations, large and small. The main discussion has been divided into four periods in each of which the shipping, social welfare and religious contexts are examined so as to establish a perspective for the central theme. In this introductory chapter an outline of welfare provision for seafarers before the nineteenth century is followed by preliminary generalized discussions of these contextual themes, after which there is a review of existing literature, and a commentary on the primary sources on which this study is based. The term 'seafarer' has been adopted in order to embrace all those who found their employment in ships, whatever the capacity in which they were serving or had served. Other commonly used terms, such as sailor or seaman, have overtones or precise definitions which tend to exclude certain categories, for example officers and apprentices.

The main focus of the study is on provision for serving merchant seafarers these being the main beneficiaries of the majority of the organizations under discussion. Serving seafarers includes those actually employed in ships, those taking leave between voyages, and those seeking employment at sea. Naturally former seafarers who obtained employment in shore occupations are excluded, but so are retired seafarers benefitting from

establishments or funds instituted specifically for that category, such as the Royal Alfred Seafarers' Society (formerly the Aged Merchant Seamen's Institution, 1867). However, establishments which have effectively evolved into aged seafarers' homes or where a significant proportion of residents are now retired seafarers, such as the Bristol Sailors' Home (opened 1853) or the Queen Victoria Seamen's Rest, London (opened 1887), are included. Also included are aspects of provision for naval seafarers, particularly where the distinction was not clear cut. None of the organizations considered in this study excluded particular categories of seafarer, but the increasingly clear distinction between service in the Royal Navy and that in the Merchant Navy as the nineteenth century progressed, together with the generally separate port locations for the two types of seafaring, effectively categorized the target populations of particular establishments. Thus in Plymouth, the Plymouth Sailor's Home (opened 1853) served mainly merchant seafarers while the Devonport Royal Sailors' Home (opened 1852) dealt mainly with naval seafarers. A similar, though less clear cut distinction lies between welfare provision for fishermen and that for merchant seafarers. Welfare work directed specifically at fishermen, for example by the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen (1881) is not examined, but that of the Plymouth, Plymouth Dock and Stonehouse Seamen's and Soldiers' Friend Society and Bethel Union (PPDSSSFBSBU)(1820) amongst fishermen, as well as naval and merchant seafarers, forms part of this study.

Welfare provision for seafarers before 1815

The scale of welfare provision for seafarers which had come into existence by the end of the nineteenth century with its origins seemingly lying in the early years of that period, perhaps obscures earlier efforts stretching back into medieval times. In the context of a tradition of welfare activity by the Christian Church over nineteen

centuries, both Anson and Kverndal argue for an equally lengthy concern for the welfare of seafarers.³ At the spiritual level, whether as part of missionary outreach or in the ongoing support of the faithful through ministry to the 'sea parish', this seems a reasonable assertion. The voyages of St. Paul, seafaring saints, the crusaders, the Franciscans, the Jesuits and the nineteenth century missionaries alike are evidence of extent to which Christianity is indebted to seafarers for its spread. Similarly, the ministries of the Friars Minor, visiting ships and sailing as chaplains, Vincent de Paul, Chaplain General of the Galleys under Louis XIII of France, the chaplains carried in fleets such as that of the Spanish in 1588 and the various religious practices associated with ships and seafarers, particularly in catholic countries, are evidence of ministries to seafarers of lengthy tradition.⁴

But in the Christian tradition attention to physical well-being has never been far removed from the spiritual aspect. Anson cites hospices for seamen in Trastevere, Rome, in the fifteenth century, and the tending of sea marks by coastal monasteries. There seems to be little to suggest that charitable residential accommodation for the healthy transient seafarer was to be found in Britain before the nineteenth century, but many ports were provided with almshouses for ill or aged seafarers, or seafarers widows, and some provision was also made for seafarers orphans. The titles of the trinity houses (Deptford Strond, Hull, Newcastle) suggest origins in charitable organizations having religious dedications. That at Hull

3 Peter F. Anson, The Church and the sailor: a survey of the sea apostolate past and present (Catholic Book Club, 1948), chap. 1; Roald Kverndal, Seamen's missions: their origins and early growth, (Pasadena, William Carey Library, 1986), 4.

4 Anson, chapters 2 & 3; for an example of Catholic maritime religious practice see Alain Cabantous, 'Religion et monde maritime au Havre dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle', Ann. de Normandie (France), 33 (1983), 3-20; for chaplaincy in the Royal Navy see 'Richard Charles Blake, 'Aspects of religion in the Royal Navy, c.1770-c.1870' (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Southampton, 1980), chap. 5.

has its origins in a guild in honour of the Holy Trinity, formed in 1369 by men and their wives seemingly from various walks of life apparently for mutual support both physically and spiritually. In 1456, 24 shipmaster members agreed to make payments to support a chantry in Holy Trinity Church and to establish and maintain an almshouse.⁵ Sick or injured seamen could find care in monastic hospitals, before the dissolution of the monasteries, while the hospital of St. Bartholomew at Sandwich (1244) may have been the first run by a town for mariners.⁶ Later examples include the almshouses in Bideford built in 1663 by Captain H. Amory for the widows of six seamen, and the Great Yarmouth Fishermen's Hospital, 1702.⁷

It was at the time of the Armada when unprecedented numbers of seafarers were crowded for lengthy periods into ships which could not be adequately supplied, that the scale of the resultant deprivation and disease amongst seamen became apparent nationally. Lord Howard reported the ad hoc measures he had taken to Lord Burghley in August, 1588, and begged for clothing and supplies to be made available; subsequently maimed seamen were issued with begging licences.⁸ These circumstances also gave rise to perhaps the first 'national' fund for the benefit of seafarers, the Chatham Chest, established by Drake and Howard in 1590, a contributory scheme under which 6d a month was deducted from seamen's wages which Lloyd describes as "...first contributory medical insurance scheme in the country".⁹ Further, the Poor Law, 1601, made parishes responsible for paying pensions to disabled mariners.¹⁰ At the end of the seventeenth century the

5 Arthur Storey, Trinity House of Kingston upon Hull (Kingston upon Hull, Trinity House, 1957), 13-15.

6 Lloyd, British seaman, 20.

7 Inkerman Rogers, A concise history of Bideford (Bideford, Gazette Printing Services, 1938); Norfolk Record Office (NRO), press cuttings file (1928, 1950, 1962, 1982).

8 H.W. Hodges & E.A. Hughes (eds), Select naval documents (Cambridge, University Press, 1922), 29-31.

9 Lloyd, British seaman, 42.

10 43 Eliz., c.3.

Greenwich Hospital was established, and deductions for the Chatham Chest, which had been restricted to service in the navy, ceased, but were replaced by a similar deduction payable for both merchant and naval service, to support the benefits offered by the Hospital. The objects were particularly wide ranging: relief and support of seamen disabled through age or injury in naval service; support of seamen's widows; maintenance and education of seamen's orphans and the children of disabled seamen; relief and encouragement of seamen; encouragement of navigation.¹¹ The original intention was that all seamen should benefit, but in practice only those proving naval service were allowed to qualify, so that in effect merchant seamen financed the welfare provision for naval seamen. Nevertheless the objects above demonstrate a breadth of vision which would find a parallel in the objects set out for sailors' homes in the nineteenth century, that in London opening in 1835. Contributions to Greenwich Hospital were abolished in 1834.¹²

Concern for the supply of seamen for the navy was the impetus for the founding of an out-of-the-ordinary seafarers' charity, one interested originally in enabling youngsters to join the navy. The Marine Society (1756) started by providing outfits of clothing to boys willing to go to sea, and found them a berth.¹³ In time this broadened to include the merchant service, and the need for a holding base led to the founding of the first training ship, drawing the Society into education and training, which was already part of the work of the Greenwich Hospital, and would feature in the work of the large sailors' homes in the 1850s.

There were, however, two categories of serving

11 Lloyd, British seamen, 162.

12 Lloyd, British Seamen, 250.

13 See: James Stephen Taylor, Jonas Hanway, founder of the Marine Society (Solar Press, 1985).

seafarer for whom before 1815 specific provision of an institutional kind was made. Ships' masters or owners remained responsible for their indentured apprentices whilst in port. They might continue to accommodate them on board, perhaps as ship keepers, after the crew had been discharged. Alternatively, they had to be found accommodation on shore, perhaps in lodgings, until they could join an outward bound ship. In London, following the opening of the West India Docks (1802/06), the directors of the dock company made specific provision for what must have been sizeable numbers of apprentices from ships using their docks, by providing an old ship for their accommodation.¹⁴ The second category was that of lascars and asiatic seafarers, which were increasingly being used to man East Indiamen, and other ships trading to the far east, to supplement depleted crews or because they were cheaper. The East India Company provided accommodation and subsistence for its lascars from 1895[?] until 1833 first in lodging houses then in its own home.¹⁵ From 1814 it became compulsory for the owners or masters of vessels crewed by lascars to clothe, feed and accommodate them whilst in the United kingdom, and the Committee on lascars and asiatic seamen reported that it had found large numbers (at times as many as 1100) being accommodated in very poor conditions in a barracks at Gravesend.¹⁶

But for the majority of seafarers, British or foreign, there was no particular provision ashore, in London or in other ports. Crews of ships whose voyages were not terminating, ships perhaps in the coastal trade or belonging to other countries, could remain with their ships. Other crews, notably from the large numbers of ships terminating foreign voyages, such as East Indiamen or those

14 'Report from the committee on the state of mendicity in the metropolis', BFP, 1814-15, III, 12.

15 For a full discussion of the lascar seafarer ashore and afloat in this period see Dixon, 'Seamen and the law', 52-3.

16 East India Trade Act, 54 Geo. 3, c.134; 'Report from the committee on lascars and other asiatic seamen', BFP, 1814-1815, III, 217, p. 5.

from the West Indies, were expected to leave their ships on arrival and had to take their chance on shore whilst waiting to be paid, usually several days later. Such seafarers, and those seeking berths in ships, were effectively tied to the port area and easy prey for boarding house keepers and others prepared to provide accommodation and subsistence until wages were paid. Well before the nineteenth century the larger British ports had evolved unsavoury port districts, sailortowns. A list of lodging houses used by seamen in Wapping and Shadwell, part of the port district of London exists for 1690;¹⁷ and at Bristol, by the 1780s much of the central part was "...the exclusive preserve of her seafaring community... emphatically not for the landsman...".¹⁸

In the area of spiritual welfare for seafarers provision may have dwindled or lapsed following the Reformation as Anson suggests (it must be remembered that he was writing as a Catholic), and the witness of some Chaplains in the navy might have been inadequate, nevertheless there were examples of missionary attention to seafarers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A notable example was the Reverend John Flavel who ministered particularly to seamen in Dartmouth from 1656, and published a devotional work, Navigation spiritualized..., addressed to all seafarers, in 1671.¹⁹ It also seems likely that in many ports traditions of at least annual services for seafarers may have been maintained. The sermon of John Copplestone at Bideford in 1719/20, on 'God's works and the wonders of the deep, and the seafaring man's duty' appears to have been part of such a tradition.²⁰

17 Ralph Davis, The rise of the English shipping industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, (Macmillan, 1962), 153.

18 Jonathon Press, The merchant seamen of Bristol, 1747-1789 (Bristol, Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1976), 3-4.

19 Edward Wineatt, 'John Flavel: a notable Dartmouth puritan and his bibliography', Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association, XLIII (1911), 172-89.

20 John Watkins, An essay towards a history of Bideford in the County of Devon (1792, reprinted F. Perkins, 1883), 71-2.

The seafarer and the shipping industry

Because this study spans the lengthy period from 1815 until 1970, during which the extent and rate of change in shipping as in other spheres has been of an unprecedented order, it is useful to remember those features of the lives of seafarers which have an element of constancy. Whilst on board ship, particularly at sea, though often true of time in port, perhaps more than in any other occupation, the seafarer has always lived within the work environment such that working time and time off have no spatial separation, and the two have tended to fuse into a continuum of existence. This life style was governed by a semi-military legal regime which had to be accepted formally when the seafarer was engaged, and in return his basic physical needs, food and accommodation (of a sort) were supplied. With rare exception this was an all-male environment cut off from certain social features found in society ashore, for example public entertainment, money transactions, and female company. Further, the seafarer was largely prevented from practising social responsibility, to parents, and if they had been acquired, to wife and children: they had to fend for themselves. Such a 'total' environment has close parallels with those of prisons, army barracks and monasteries, in which the dependency relationship of inmates to those in control may lead to institutionalization and an inability to function in normal society.²¹ The occasional opportunity for shore leave during a voyage could rarely compensate, as the seafarer would generally be excluded by cultural and social differences, as well as time and opportunity, from any chance of integration with society ashore; thus he was likely to confine himself to port districts.²² With

21 For a discussion of the ship as a total institution see Bryan Nolan, 'A possible perspective on deprivations', in Peter H. Fricke (ed), Seafarer and community: towards a social understanding of seafaring (Croom Helm, 1973), 85-96.

22 For a discussion of leisure in port towards the end of the sail era see Knut Weibust, Deep sea (Footnote Continued)

overseas voyages lasting several months, even years, adjustment to life ashore could be difficult. Once service in a ship was terminated, and pay for the voyage received, the seafarer found himself on holiday often with a relatively large sum of money, and a desire to experience those pleasures from which seafaring excluded him. If he had a family home in the port where he was discharged getting there was no problem; if not there was inevitably a need for transportation with its associated costs. When home was reached, the seafarer might well be on holiday whilst everyone else was at work, and might in any case not find it easy to relate to people in the home district amongst whom he had no defined place.

Underlying the most obvious element of the industrial context in which the seafarer has pursued his calling, his ships themselves, there has always lain the great bulk of the wider maritime industry, largely on shore. On the technological side, the manufacturers of materials used in ship and port building might be identified, the designers and builders of ships and ports, and those who produced the vast range of equipment necessary from cargo handling gear to navigational instruments. Operationally, those responsible for the transportation networks needed ashore, and the large numbers of port workers, for example, are part of this wider industry. Even Parliament and the government departments with their officials administering a growing body maritime regulation must be included. But underpinning much of this have been the commercial entrepreneurs, identifying opportunities, finding the finance and taking the large risks involved with ports and shipping. Indeed, behind the fact of a ship at sea carrying a cargo from one place to another there has long been an extensive pattern of commercial and technological decision

(Footnote Continued)

sailors: a study in maritime ethnology (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt, 2nd ed. 1976), 147-56; for one concerned with the 1950s see J.M.M. Hill, The seafaring career (Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, 1972), 64-9.

making, ultimately attributable to the economic needs of the country, which has affected the seafaring society and of which the sea voyage may only be considered as one stage in a complex process of moving goods and people from one place to another. On all this the seafarer has always been highly dependent for his survival when at sea. Ashore he has had to negotiate more than just the physical hazards of port areas, to reap the benefits of his labours and to obtain re-employment at the end of his time ashore. Although at home in the technical world of the ship and the port, the seafarer was always to a degree an alien in the commercial and social world ashore which controlled his working life, rendering him dependent on strangers. It was the exploitation of the seafarer in this situation that the voluntary organizations which are the subject of this study, attempted to ameliorate, and which the state attempted to control.

Before the nineteenth century technological and commercial development in the shipping industry had been evolutionary and slow;²³ the period of this study has seen vast changes in all aspects of the industry, though the essential function of ships remains the same.²⁴ The development and migration of major ports such as Liverpool and London was already taking place under the pressure of the growth of trade and hence the merchant fleet, and would continue into the container era which revolutionized the industry from the 1960s.²⁵ In Liverpool the march of the enclosed docks northwards from the position of the medieval

23 See H.J.Dyos and D.H.Aldcroft, British transport, an economic survey from the seventeenth century to the twentieth (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1969), 51-6.

24 For an overview see Robert Slaper, Britain's maritime heritage (Newton Abbot, David and Charles, 1982), Alan Cameron and Roy Farndon, Scenes from sea and city: Lloyd's List 1734-1984 (Lloyd's of London Press, 1984), Michael Gray (ed), Fairplay celebrates 5000 weeks of publication as an international shipping journal (Fairplay Publications, 1979); several sections in Dyos and Aldcroft, British transport, provide a more academic treatment; for the nineteenth century see Adam W. Kirkaldy, British shipping: its history, organisation and importance (Kegan Paul Trench and Trubner, 1914, David and Charles Reprints, 1970); for the twentieth century see S.G. Sturmes, British shipping and world competition (University of London, Athlone Press, 1962).

25 James Bird, Major seaports of the United Kingdom (Hutchinson, 1963), chap. 1.

port at the 'pool' culminated in the opening of Seaforth Dock and container terminal, in 1971.²⁶ In London, the seafarer could find himself down at Tilbury, some 50 miles from the old Pool of London. Port facilities progressed from open quays to sophisticated warehouse storage, from man handling through hydraulic power to electrical power.²⁷ Both the seafarer ashore and the voluntary organisations serving him had to follow this migration and adapt to the developments.

The profound changes in ships themselves, from wood to iron and steel, from sail to steam and diesel propulsion; the massive increases in ship size; the elaboration of ship types from trading company ships and general traders, to liners, tramps and tankers, to the specialized types of today such as container ships, chemical tankers, roll-on/roll-off ferries or car carriers; all have had their impact on the seafarer, changing job content, introducing new categories, notably engineers and engine room ratings, requiring new skills.²⁸ The combination of technological change in ports and ships with developments in commercial practice has progressively removed seafarers from close involvement with cargoes, though this has become most marked with the advent of computers, satellite communications and unitization.²⁹

Changes in patterns of shipping finance and ownership,

²⁶ Bird, Major seaports of the United Kingdom, chaps. 11-13.

²⁷ R.J.M. Carr (ed), Dockland: and illustrated historical survey of life and work in east London (North East London Polytechnic, 1986). Bird, Major seaports of the United Kingdom, chaps. 14-17.

²⁸ For a discussion on the effect of change on the seafarer in the last century see Kennerley, 'The education of the merchant seaman in the nineteenth century', chap. 2; see also H. Campbell McMurray, 'Ships' engineers: their status and position on board, c. 1830-1865', in Stephen Fisher (ed), West country seafaring and social history: some essays (Exeter papers in economic history, No. 13, University of Exeter, 1980), 79-100.

²⁹ See Alston Kennerley, 'Cargo handling and stowage: British cargo liner practice in the 1950s, with some reference to nineteenth-century practice', in Stephen Fisher (ed), British seafaring and seamen, 1630-1960: some studies (Exeter papers in economic history No. 16, University of Exeter, 1984) 36-109.

have also had their affect on the seafarer, in general with the effect of removing him away from any close association with the 'owners', those ultimately responsible for his destiny. The trend towards large shipowning units, greatly facilitated by the introduction of limited liability from 1855, saw the development of larger shipping companies, and then shipping combines in the early part of this century.³⁰ Control of shipping operations from 'head office' was increased by the spread of the submarine cable network and later by radio communication and air transport. For the seafarer this meant improved contacts during increasingly shorter voyages, with his relatives. The introduction of liner conferences also benefitted the seafarer to some extent by evening out the effects of slump and boom periods and reducing unemployment in the former.³¹ The evolution of the liner company gave some seafarers, particularly officers, opportunities for continuous employment, and the chance to identify with a particular section of the industry. But in their relationships with their employers, excepting statutory control as administered by the Marine Department, seafarers, officers and ratings, were largely on their own, until their unions became firmly established this century.³² From 1917 wages and conditions were negotiated nationally through the National Maritime Board.

A further aspect of change was that in the size of the industry as a whole. The number of British ships increased from some 19,000 in 1830 to nearly 30,000 in 1866, thereafter falling to some 17,000 in 1938; the tonnage from some two million tons in 1830 to over twelve million tons in 1914, thereafter declining slightly, but regaining that level in 1965. The expansion in the nineteenth century created a demand for seamen and the

30 Limited Liability Act, 1855, 18 & 19 Vict., c.133; Kirkaldy, 161-73.

31 Kirkaldy, 174-202.

32 See Basil Mogridge, 'Labour relations and labour costs', in Sturmev, British shipping, chap. 12.

numbers grew from perhaps 140,000 in the 1830s to over a quarter of a million in 1914, thereafter reducing to perhaps 140,000 in the 1960s.³³ Such figures give a very poor indication of the size of the target population for voluntary societies. The seamen's missions were interested in all seafarers of all nationalities whether serving in British ships or those of other countries, including those temporarily ashore, though realistically they could only address that portion who happened to be in port at any one time. Where overnight accommodation was on offer, as in sailors' homes, the target population could only be those seafarers in port who did not have ships. Where recreational facilities were provided those without ships and seafarers in port who were granted leave from their ships constituted the target population. Such figures, almost certainly unobtainable, would need to be presented on a port by port basis and to reflect repeated visits, if they were to be set against the efforts of the voluntary societies. Customs data for ships entering (or arriving at) British ports provide something of a basis; at least they indicate the number of ship visits seamen's missionaries might make. In Appendix 1d, the annual figures for the numbers of ships entering port have been expressed as daily averages for Bristol, Liverpool, London, Plymouth and Southampton at intervals of five years. An estimate of the average numbers of men arriving daily has been derived by relating the tonnage of shipping (given as annual figures in Appendix 1c) to the man/ton ratio derived in Appendix 1b, for the same ports at the same intervals. Such figures are given in Appendix 1e, but are subject to considerable qualification; they must be considered speculative and only loosely indicative.³⁴

³³ See Appendix 1a and 1b.

³⁴ For a discussion of ton/man ratios and a more thorough analysis see David M. Williams, 'Crew size in trans-Atlantic trades in the mid nineteenth century', in Rosemary Osoer and Gerald Fanning (eds), *Working men who got wet* (Proceedings of the fourth conference of the Atlantic Canada shipping project, Memorial University, Newfoundland, 1980), 107-53. See also the notes appended to Appendices 1a - 1e.

Finally, note must be taken of the vast amount of legislation and regulation which was introduced in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries covering all aspects of merchant shipping activity. Though seafaring employment was by no means free from regulation in 1815, the social aspects of this legislation would come to dominate seafaring employment, including the elements ashore at the start and end of voyages.³⁵ The Marine Department of the Board of Trade, created by the Mercantile Marine Act, 1850, to administer the legislation, would become something of an arbiter on social matters, and retain a key position until the 1980s.³⁶

It should also be noted that progress in other spheres had an impact on the lives of seafarers. One example lies in that of public transportation; improvements since the beginning of the nineteenth century have certainly been of benefit to the seafarer on leave. This may be seen by contrasting the experiences of Robert Hay in 1809 with those of George Sorrell between 1860 and 1879, and with practice in the 1970s. Hay, then serving as a seaman in the Royal Navy, returned to Plymouth in July, 1809, after five years in Indian waters. He was granted 14 days liberty and £14 pay. With a friend he planned to visit his relatives in Scotland and travelled to North Devon hoping to secure a coastal passage. Unsuccessful, they took the stage coach to London, had three days on the town, and left themselves just enough money to reach Plymouth before their passes expired.³⁷ Sorrell, in contrast, makes frequent reference to taking trains or coastal steamers when he left ships, whether in Britain or abroad.³⁸ The modern seafarer of course uses trains and ferries to go on leave and join ships, journeys which are now financed by

³⁵ See Conrad Dixon, 'Signing on', Mariner's Mirror, 70 (1984), 311-19.

³⁶ 13 & 14 Vict., c.93.

³⁷ M.D. Hay (ed), Landsman Hay: the memoirs of Robert Hay, 1769-1847 (Rupert Hart-Davis, 1955), 173-80.

³⁸ C. Fox Smith (ed), The man before the mast: being the story of twenty years afloat (Methuen, 1929).

See Appendix 4a for a summary of Sorrell's seafaring career.

his employer. But a recent development, designed to limit time away from home to perhaps a little as three months, has been the use of aircraft to fly whole crews to and from ships at overseas ports.

Philanthropy and the Poor Law

Voluntary philanthropy was one of the two general methods of charitable support for the less fortunate sections of the population which nineteenth-century Britain inherited from earlier periods. Though always present in an unstructured, individual and local form, significant development had taken place in the previous century in the organised society form.³⁹ The other was the 'compulsory' method, the Poor Law, in which a parish levied a poor rate for the relief of its 'impotent' poor, to create work for the 'able bodied' (its unemployed), and to 'correct' (punish) its persistent idlers.⁴⁰ This localised system in which each parish cared for its own paupers (those without means of livelihood) only and in its own way, as formulated at the end of the Elizabethan period, was still the basis for official poor relief in the 1820s. Embedded in it were the rules of settlement under which a pauper's eligibility for relief in a particular parish, depended upon belonging to the parish, for example by virtue of birth, with those failing that test being subject to removal to the parish where their settlement was established.⁴¹ Such a variable system, geared to a rural society, was ill suited to a population which was increasingly mobile and concentrated in towns as a result of industrialization.⁴² Conceivably, pauper seamen must have been particularly disadvantaged.

39 Norman McCord, 'The poor law and philanthropy'. In Derek Fraser (ed), The new poor law in the nineteenth century (Macmillan, 1976), 90.

40 Derek Fraser, The evolution of the British welfare state: a history of social policy since the industrial revolution (2nd edition, Macmillan, 1984), chap. 2.

41 Michael E. Rose, 'Settlement, removal and the new poor law'. In Derek Fraser (ed), The new poor law in the nineteenth century, 26.

42 Asa Briggs, The age of improvement, 1783-1867 (Longman, 1959), 59.

The range of voluntary social welfare provision has always been much wider than simply enabling those of the destitute unable to obtain official relief to survive. Much of its efforts were directed at a fairly wide stratum of society, the poor, above the level of destitution, through the provision of a variety of social amenities which, in the absence of state provision, would otherwise be unobtainable. Thus the attention of voluntary effort was directed to housing provision, education, medical services, distressed gentlefolk, fallen women, as well as to the victims of disasters such as shipwrecks and the needs of seafarers in port. A broad view of the function of voluntary effort sees it as filling the gaps in state provision, undertaking activities which the state is unwilling, unlikely or unable to provide, and in pioneering and experimentation.⁴³ Philanthropy may also be considered in the context of motivation. Fraser identifies charity as: the response to fear of social revolution in which relief of deprivation and working amongst the underprivileged was a form of insurance against revolt; a genuine, humanitarian concern for suffering, particularly as a Christian virtue; satisfying the psychological or social needs of the donor perhaps in association with a guilt complex about the possession of wealth or as a form of recreational outlet; and a desire to improve the moral tone of recipients on the assumption that poverty implied some personal failing and through the imposition of middle class values.⁴⁴ Three categories of philanthropic activity may be noted. The most obvious, and perhaps the largest, was the organised society, local and national, such as the institutions for the blind or those connected with the sea like the sailor's homes, which were very numerous and which invariably maintained records. The second was the ad hoc organization for temporary relief usually following some disaster such

⁴³ Kathleen Woodroffe, From charity to social work in England and the United States (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), 20.

⁴⁴ Fraser, The evolution of the British welfare state, 126-9.

as that in 1805 in which five boats and nineteen men were lost in a storm of Northumberland where a local collection raised £1701 for dependants.⁴⁵ Significant sums might be raised, but once distribution was completed the organisation usually ceased to exist. Also to be noted here were collections, including gifts in kind, to sponsor celebrations at Christmas and on other special occasions. Finally, there was the private charitable activity of individuals which has left minimal records, but existed on a large scale. One example was Dr. Thomas Winterbottom of South Shields who established a series of local charities, many for seafarers, including £2300 for pensions for retired master mariners and £5000 for the benefit of seamen's widows. In 1837 he set up a trust to the value of some £20,000 for the establishment of a marine school for seafarers following his death, which finally opened in 1861.⁴⁶ In contrast to this level of philanthropy, the considerable small-scale charity amongst the poor themselves must also be brought into the account.

Evangelicalism, revivalism and missiology

An understanding of evangelical beliefs and attitudes is essential to the understanding of the religious element of seamen's welfare organisations, because they originated in a period when that form of Christianity was at the height of its influence in Britain. Although the associated beliefs of evangelicals of different persuasions varied, the acceptance of the core tenets of evangelicalism enabled denominational barriers to be crossed. Broadly, three groupings may be identified in the early years of the nineteenth century: Methodists, Anglican Evangelicals, and

45 McCord, 'The poor law and philanthropy'. In Fraser (ed), The new poor law in the nineteenth century, 92. This section is based on pages 90-96 of that chapter.

46 Kennerley, 'The education of the merchant seaman in the nineteenth-century', 55-110.

evangelical Dissenters. Kverndal explains this shared evangelicalism as being⁴⁷

...a basic belief in the Bible as the sole, authoritative norm of faith and life....man's total incapacity to save himself...God's total provision of salvation through the vicarious, atoning death of Christ, and, consequently, the need for an individual appropriation of that provision by turning in faith to Christ as Saviour (conversion), in order to grow in grace and serve Him as Lord (sanctification)....[and a] strong emphasis...on witness and mission, an obligation (and privilege) resting on the principle of the priesthood of all believers.

The emphasis on the Bible and justification by faith alone, that is on a personal faith, meant that the importance of intermediaries in the form of churches with their clergy, liturgies and creeds was greatly reduced, while the belief in the priesthood of all believers allowed laymen to undertake a religious leadership reserved in other contexts for ordained clergy. Taken to an ultimate conclusion, this could mean that evangelicalism was a form of Christianity which had "...little need for a Church, for it would be best expressed through a private life or family group...",⁴⁸ and in which all the energies of its adherents would be devoted to saving the souls of the ungodly. Kent adopts the phrase 'evangelical pietism' to embrace the the Anglican evangelical movement and the evangelical dissenters, but points out that Wesleyan Methodism tended not to conform to those forms of belief.⁴⁹ Evangelical Anglicans, especially clergy, were able to remain within that Church because it was ultimately under the control of Parliament, that is of laymen, and because the notion of obedience to the Church was weak, the Church of England being "... a mere federation of self-governing parishes...".⁵⁰

47 Roald Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 29.

48 Leslie Paul, A Church by daylight (Geoffrey Chapman, 1973), 58.

49 John Kent, Holding the fort: studies in Victorian revivalism (Epworth Press, 1973), 10.

50 Paul, A Church by daylight, 58.

Every true evangelical had to have undergone a conversion experience, and this meant an acknowledgement of sin and thus a renunciation of sinful behaviour. This included not only religious sins such as blasphemy and thus swearing, and sins punishable in law, but also patterns of behaviour which were unrestrained, sexuality, laziness, lack of forethought and thrift, and, by extension, gambling and drink.⁵¹ Thus the evangelical was restrained, thrifty, worked hard, was independent and self sufficient, sober and earnest (and as the century progressed, teetotal). His religious convictions gave him a mission and an awareness of the obligations of charity, which could be satisfied by the generous donation of time and, with even modest success in life, money. Such ideals appealed across the class divisions as well as across denominations, and enabled high and low to work in the ecumenical teams which created, particularly, the home missionary movement, and established non-denominational organisations such as the Liverpool City Mission (1829),⁵² and the early seamen's missions.

The term 'revival' is closely associated with evangelicalism to the extent that 'evangelical revival' is often used when referring to the movement generally. More correctly the term is applied to long-term developments such as the evangelical awakening of the eighteenth century or that of the Anglicans during the nineteenth. However it is also used in a narrower sense when referring to the activities of travelling missionaries whose temporary leadership prompted local revivals.⁵³ Billy Graham is perhaps the best known modern exemplar of this type. As evangelical fervour waned with time, and because of the need to recruit the coming generation to evangelical beliefs, the support of the revivalist was found to be necessary. This form crossed from America to Britain in

51 David Martin, A sociology of English religion (Heinemann, 1977), 62-3.

52 See: Gordon Read & David Jebson, A voice in the city (Liverpool, Liverpool City Mission, nd 1979).

53 Kent, Holding the fort, 12-13.

the mid-nineteenth century and became a feature of evangelical activity into the twentieth century. The possibility that the 'Thames Revival' amongst seamen and the activities of Rev. George Charles Smith, from about 1815, were examples of both types, will be discussed below. Kent, however, identifies the period 1857-1862 as marking the divide between the old (spontaneous) and the new (promoted) revivalism.⁵⁴ The spontaneous upsurge of religious feeling which occurred in America in 1857, and the revival in Northern Ireland of 1859, may in part have been a reaction to the resurgent Roman Catholicism. Anti-Catholic feeling was one of the features of revivalism in England from 1859, when three American revivalists arrived. Other 'weapons' in the armoury of the evangelicals by this time included the emphasis on the family, sabbatarianism and teetotalism. Kent regards this period in England as a failure because evangelicalism was being rejected by the working classes in the cities and the revival hardly touched the Church of England. Nevertheless non-conformist church membership peaked at this time, as it had in 1849, though at both dates membership declined soon after.⁵⁵ Gilbert points to these peaks occurring at times of political agitation associated with religious controversies, such as that concerning church rates in 1859.

If the evangelical had a personal duty to witness his faith to non Christians, then it had to be undertaken in their natural environment, in the home, at work, at recreation, in competition with all the secular distractions; that is the evangelical had to engage in missionary activity. In the larger industrial towns and ports with their seething populations the task for the lone individual must have appeared insurmountable. It was

⁵⁴ Kent, Holding the fort, chap. 3.

⁵⁵ Alan D. Gilbert, Religion and society in industrial England: church, chapel and social change, 1740-1914 (Longman, 1976), 187-98.

made more manageable through focussing on particular segments, such as seafarers, and through the formation of missionary societies which could co-ordinate the efforts of volunteers, attract religious and financial support for the aims of the mission, and in time support full time missionaries. The foreign missionary societies were being formed in the same period as the home ones, including those for seafarers.⁵⁶ They of course had to finance their missionaries. Part of the assessment of prospective overseas missionaries was an evaluation of their motives in offering themselves for consideration. There has been some debate concerning the relative importance of pietistic and philanthropic motives, but Piggin concludes that the latter must have been important from the start of the modern missionary movement, because candidates often trained surrounded by ample evidence of social deprivation.⁵⁷ This was also true of the early missionaries to seamen, particularly as many were formerly seafarers. No seafarer, whatever his status could have been unaware of conditions in port districts.

For a more broadly based expression of the nature, purpose and methods of missionary activity, the term 'missiology' has been adopted. Kverndal has made what is perhaps the only significant attempt at an explanation of 'maritime missiology' through an analysis of motivation, objectives, impediments and methods.⁵⁸ Dealing first with demotivating elements, he shows that two popular assumptions about sailors, that they were socially, morally and spiritually irredeemable and (inconsistently) that reformed sailors had been weakened and were incapable of a satisfactory performance of their duties in the harsh realities of life at sea, were unfounded. There was ample

⁵⁶ Stephen Neill, Christian missions (Penguin Books, 1964) 252.

⁵⁷ Stuart Piggin, 'Assessing nineteenth century missionary motivation: some considerations of theory and method'. In, Derek Baker (ed), Religious motivation: biographical and sociological problems for the church historian (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1978), 327-37.

⁵⁸ Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 539-90.

evidence that missionary activity could reach the most hardened, irreligious seaman, and that reformed sailors were better seamen. On the positive side, in addition to the religious and social motives alluded to above, attention was drawn to 'self-interest' motives where a reformed body of seafarers would produce benefits for society: political, commercial and religious, in the form of patriotism, respect for property and an improved example when ships were overseas. Kverndal's discussion of the objectives of maritime mission leads to the simple, modern slogan "the whole Church bringing the whole Gospel to the whole seaman", which he elaborates with the following quotation:⁵⁹

Seamen's mission, as conceived by the pioneers of the movement, embraces everything people professing the lordship of Christ understand he would have them do, as he sends them forth to serve seamen, in their special vocational situation, with word and deed, in order to promote their total welfare, in body, mind and spirit, above all providing each of them with the opportunity to become a new creation in Christ, incorporated into his church, and effective as a witness in the world for him.

His third theme concerns the social and spiritual isolation, and vocational dehumanization of seamen which were serious impediments maritime missions had to overcome. Typically, the seaman went to sea at an early age, when most impressionable, entering a closed social environment, akin to a total institution, with conditions and relationships uncharacteristic of those in society ashore, where he might have otherwise remained under a restraining family influence until greater maturity was achieved. Seamen were prone to becoming progressively maladjusted in relation to society ashore, and it was not unusual to lose contact with families, becoming effectively homeless. The development of seamen's districts in larger ports, sailortowns, with their 'extortion industry' known as the

⁵⁹ Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 560-1.

'crimping system', meant that often the seaman ashore "...was really only exchanging one form of social isolation for another."⁶⁰ The final element which Kverndal identifies as comprising maritime missiology is methodology, the dynamic dimension. The spiritual message was presented through the distribution of literature (books, magazines and pamphlets), correspondence, preaching, and visitation, especially to ships, leading to discussion with small groups and individuals. The need to support this with social countermeasures was recognised early and gave rise to the provision of accommodation, recreation facilities and other social measures as alternatives to that found in sailortown. Lay assistance and the temperance ideal were important adjuncts to these methods.

Published literature on seafarers' welfare

Four categories of publications may be identified, house literature, official publications, descriptive histories and scholarly studies. Of these, the first two are elements of the sources for this study, but will be noted briefly here. House literature embraces all the publications of the voluntary societies concerned with seamen, and comprises annual reports, magazines such as The Sailors' Magazine (from 1820) which evolved into Chart and Compass (British (and Foreign) Sailors' Society, from 1879) and The Word on the Waters (Missions to Seamen, from 1858), and pamphlets.⁶¹ There is perhaps only one substantial official publication concerned with seafarers' welfare, the

⁶⁰ Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 566.

⁶¹ The original editor was the Rev. George Charles Smith who between 1827 and 1863 edited The New Sailors' Magazine (under various titles); the earlier magazine passed eventually to the British Sailor's Society (again with changes of title); see Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 241, 247.

Graham White report, Seamen's welfare in port, 1945, which will be considered in Chapter 5.⁶²

Many of the descriptive histories have been written by persons within the seamen's mission movement or with a sympathetic, religious standpoint. Most useful, though still limited from an academic perspective, and amongst the more recent, are those by Strong (1956), a Mission to Seamen chaplain, and Anson (1948), founder of the Apostleship of the Sea.⁶³ Gollack's At the sign of the Flying Angel describes the operation of that mission towards the end of the 1920s, but most of the others date from the thirty years before World War I.⁶⁴ Examples include works by Rowe (1875), Garland (1882), Bullen (1901), Walrond (1904) and Matthews (1911).⁶⁵ Most societies produced potted histories in pamphlet form, but there appear to be no more substantial descriptive histories of sailors homes, except that by Agnes Weston (1911) which describes the growth of her own organization for naval seafarers, the Royal Sailors' Rests.⁶⁶

Very few scholarly studies of seamen's missions and sailors' homes have been published, though a number of unpublished theses touch upon the subject. Kverndal, concerned almost exclusively with missions, particularly their origins and motives, takes his subject to 1864, and in as much as he deals with Britain is a basis from which this study develops. It is an exhaustive study within its

⁶² Report of the Committee appointed by the Minister of Labour and National Service and the Minister of War Transport in 1943, Chairman H. Graham White,

⁶³ L.A.G. Strong, Flying Angel: the story of the Missions to Seamen (Methuen, 1956); Anson, The Church and the sailor.

⁶⁴ G.A. Gollack, At the sign of the Flying Angel (Longmans Green, 1930).

⁶⁵ R. Rowe, Jack afloat and ashore (London, 1875); I.C. Garland, Leaves from my log of Christian work among sailors (London, 1882); F.I. Bullen, With Christ in sailortown (London 1901); Mary L. Walrond, Launching out into the deep, or the pioneers of a noble effort (The Missions to Seamen) (S.P.C.K., 1904); E. W. Matthews (Secretary of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society, The King's brotherhood (S.W. Partridge, 1911).

⁶⁶ Agnes Weston, My life among the bluejackets (Nisbet, 1911).

scope.⁶⁷ Other studies are restricted in geographical or social terms. Duthie (1984) covers a wider range of organizations and a longer period but is restricted to Aberdeen. Mainly a nineteenth century study, it also focusses on religious aspects.⁶⁸ Palmer (1980) makes a valuable contribution in her paper on the seafarer and welfare provision in London in the second half of the nineteenth century. Although this study shares some of the same sources for London for that period, it will focus on more on statistical aspects and make comparisons with provision in other ports.⁶⁹ Classen (1982) and Schoof (1983) provide an empirical study for Rotterdam in 1979-80 which, although beyond the scope of this study, makes an interesting comparison.⁷⁰ Fingard's work on seamen ashore in the ports on the east coast of Canada is also valuable for comparative purposes.⁷¹ Elements of this author's own preliminary paper, limited to the nineteenth century, are expanded and revised in Chapters 2 and 3.⁷² Blake (1984) covers the same period as Kverndal, but concentrates on the Royal Navy.⁷³

A number of studies have sections on seafarers' welfare as part of broader studies, and the increasing interest in maritime social history over the past decade, has led to the production of other valuable texts which clearly impinge on this study. In the former category there

67 Kverndal, Seamen's missions.

68 John L. Duthie, 'Philanthropy and evangelism among Aberdeen seamen, 1614-1924', Scottish History Review, 63 (1984), 155-73.

69 Sarah B. Palmer, 'Seamen ashore in late nineteenth century London: protection from the crimps', in Paul Adas (ed), Seamen in society (Proceedings of the International Commission on Maritime History, Bucharest, 1980), III, 55-67.

70 K. Classen, Seamen ashore 2: sociographic study of seamen in the Port of Rotterdam (City of Rotterdam Welfare Research Bureau, 1982); P.M. Schoof, Seamen ashore 1: seamen's welfare establishments in Rijnmond (City of Rotterdam Welfare Research Bureau, 1983).

71 Judith Fingard, Jack in port (University of Toronto Press, 1982).

72 Alston Kennerley, 'Seamen's missions and sailor's 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 papers in economic history, No. 17, University of Exeter, 1987), 121-65.

73 Richard Charles Blake, 'Aspects of religion in the Royal Navy, c.1770-c.1870'.

is the work of Press (1978) on seamen's social conditions in the first half of the nineteenth century; that of Daunton (1978) on seamen in Cardiff before 1914; that of Henning (1984) on seamen in Australian ports in the last century; that of Dixon (1981) on the legal regime in the same period; and an earlier study by Heasman (1959) on voluntary charitable institutions.⁷⁴ It will be noted that no scholarly studies touching on voluntary welfare provision for seafarers have been identified for the twentieth century. In the latter category, that of studies which impinge on this study, note must be taken of Stan Hugill's colourful yet significant work (1967) on the sailortowns of the world as perhaps the first of the more recent publications to focus on the seafarer ashore.⁷⁵ Again this concerns the last century as does Knut Weibust's sociological examination of the men serving at the end of the sail era.⁷⁶ Both Fricke (1974) and Hill (1972) have made similar studies of the seafarers of the 1970s.⁷⁷ The conferences of the Atlantic Canada shipping project have produced a number of valuable papers, in the social context notably those of the fourth conference (1980).⁷⁸ Conrad Dixon's papers on lascars, on seamen's diet (1981) and crimping (1984) are also useful contributions which fall into this category.⁷⁹ Finally, David William's studies on

74 J.P. Press, 'The economic and social conditions of the merchant seamen of England, 1815-1834' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Bristol, 1978); M.J. Daunton, 'Jack ashore: seamen in Cardiff before 1914', Welsh History Review, 9 (1978), 175-203; G.R. Henning, 'Fourpenny dark and sixpenny red', Labour History (Australia), 46 (1984), 52-71; Dixon, 'Seamen and the law...'; Kathleen Joan Heasman, 'The influence of the evangelicals upon the origin and development of voluntary charitable institutions in the second half of the nineteenth century', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1959).

75 Stan Hugill, Sailortown (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).

76 Weibust, Deep sea sailors.

77 Peter H. Fricke, The social structure of crews of British dry cargo merchant ships: a study of the organization and environment of an occupation (Cardiff, U.W.I.S.T., 1974); Hill, The seafaring career.

78 Rosemary Oamer and Gerald Panting (eds), Working men who got wet (Proceedings of the Fourth conference of the Atlantic Canada shipping project, Memorial University, Newfoundland, 1980).

79 Conrad Dixon, 'Lascars: the forgotten seamen'; 'Pound and pint: diet in the merchant service, 1750-1980', Sarah Palmer and Glyndwr Williams (eds), Chartered and uncharted waters (Proceedings of the conference on the study of British Maritime History, National Maritime Museum, 1981), 164-80; 'The rise and fall of the crimp', in Stephen Fisher (ed), British shipping and seamen, 1630-1930, 49-85.

James Silk Buckingham (1987) and Henry Mayhew (1988), both in their own way significant in the maritime social history of the last century, provide insights of value to this present study.⁸⁰

Sources

The principal sources which have been examined for this study are the surviving manuscript and printed records of seamen's mission and sailors' home societies which have been accessible. Given that all British ports seem to have had a separate society or a branch of a national society at some time, it is certain that records of some kind were created at each; the quantity could be very large. Given that the known survivals are significant in quantity, it has been possible to consult only certain of the archives of the principal establishments. However sufficient of this material has been examined to argue that it is representative.

Records in varying degrees of fullness for a number of the individual port missions, have been consulted, both Anglican, such as those of The Mersey Mission to Seamen, and non-demoninational, for example those of The Plymouth, Plymouth Dock and Stonehouse Seamen's and Soldiers' Friend Society and Bethel Union, for both of which fairly complete runs of committee minutes exist, though very few annual reports have been located.⁸¹ Records of the equivalent national missions operating a branch network, the Missions to Seamen and the British Sailor's Society have proved more elusive, though both missions formally granted access. Both

⁸⁰ David. M. Williams, 'James Silk Buckingham: sailor, explorer and maritime reformer', in Fisher (ed), Studies in British privateering, trading enterprise and seamen's welfare, 99-119; 'Henry Mayhew and the British seaman', in Stephen Fisher (ed), Lisbon as a port town, the British seamen and other maritime themes (Exeter Maritime Studies No. 2, University of Exeter, 1988), 111-27.

⁸¹ Liverpool City Record Office (LCRO); West Devon Record Office (WDRO), Plymouth, and Mr. R. Heathrell, Plympton.

readily permitted use of materials held at their current head quarters, largely printed annual reports and house journals. Other records, apparently not well organised, are stored in other locations, at present lacking supervision by mission staff and so unsuited to the lengthy presence a researcher requires.⁸² In addition, surviving material of the Seamen's Christian Friend Society, principally annual reports, have been consulted.⁸³

As with the missions, the records of some sailors' home societies have not survived, for example those of the Devonport Royal Sailors' Home and the Plymouth Sailors' Home. However, it has been possible to examine the records of six homes and those of the Royal Sailors' Rests.⁸⁴ The two largest establishments, London and Liverpool, are included, and are balanced by the examples of much smaller homes at Bristol, Southampton, Great Yarmouth and Falmouth.⁸⁵ Those at London and Bristol are the most complete, and have provided the main body of statistics in this study. Those of the Sailor's Home, London, comprise a massive archive, of which it has been possible to examine only a small proportion, principally the committee minutes and entry books.

Because the voluntary societies for seafarers have never been required to furnish statutory returns, they rarely feature centrally in official publications or public records. However, the evidence of a number of the

82 The Mission to Seamen records are in the basement of a private house in Rochester, London, occupied by the elderly widow of a former Mission chaplain. Mission staff are believed to be organizing them, other duties permitting. A large quantity of British Sailors' Society records, were discarded several years ago, when moving to new premises; some of this was 'rescued' by the National Maritime Museum but has yet to be arranged for public use; remaining records are held at the Society's Southampton premises, which are being prepared for use by researchers.

83 These are held at their headquarters, formerly in London, now in Manchester.

84 Royal Sailors' Rests' records are at Portsmouth City Record Office (PCRO).

85 The records are held respectively at the National Maritime Museum (NMM), Merseyside Maritime Record Centre (MMRC), Bristol Sailors' Home (BSH), Southampton City Record Office (SCRO), Norfolk Record Office (NRO) and Messrs. Rogers & Co, Falmouth.

parliamentary investigations contain relevant observations from witnesses, and they also appear in the records of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade as they became involved in functions over which that Department had statutory oversight. This applies particularly to the sailors' homes. The one period when the voluntary organizations become prominent in official records is that of World War II, when the provision of accommodation in ports became a national issue. Such sources were important in providing a counterbalance to the internal evidence from the societies.⁸⁶

Contemporary printed sources also contain useful supplementary material. Until the early decades of this century newspapers reported the annual meetings and other 'occasions' of voluntary organizations, often in some detail, and included statistical information. From time to time the operation of the homes became public issues. This is often the only way in which the feelings of the users of missions and homes can be obtained; even then the reader must be wary of bias and 'influence'. One important source of such views, accepted as significant social reporting, is the series of 'letters' on merchant seafarers, afloat and ashore, by Henry Mayhew, published in the Morning Chronicle during 1850.

It will be evident from the context outlined in this introductory chapter, that seafarers' welfare touches a great many aspects of maritime history; this implies a great range and variety of records which might have been consulted, given more time for research. Examples of other sources, which merit a fuller examination than has been possible for this study, are the records of the Family

⁸⁶ PRO, LAB 26, contains such evidence for the war period. A systematic search of PRO, MT 9, is likely to produce many more references to sailors' homes than have been located here.

Welfare Association and the correspondence files of the Archbishops of Canterbury.⁸⁷

In concluding this introduction, it will be seen that the chapters below are concerned with the voluntary movement for the provision of spiritual and social for seafarers, as a whole in Britain from its inception through to recent times, in relation to changing attitudes to religion and the developing national context for social welfare. An assessment of the scale and efficacy of provision is attempted through an examination of financial and operational data related to an evaluation of prevailing need. As the context changed how did the the movement respond, for example, to state initiatives or those of new voluntary welfare agencies? In the absence of formal central co-ordination, how coherent was the provision for seafarers by the voluntary agencies?

⁸⁷ Greater London Record Office (GLRO); Lambeth Palace Library (LPL).

Chapter II

THE FORMATIVE YEARS: 1815 - 1865

In the continuum of history it is of course artificial to alight upon particular dates as marking particular stages in a country's development, except with respect to details. Certainly in the fields of religion and social welfare, 1815 might not be considered of significance. The social problems of the industrial revolution had yet to be addressed fully; the attempts to reform the poor law, for example, stretched back into the eighteenth century. Similarly, the influence of evangelical religion had its roots in the previous century.¹ Nevertheless, some historians identify 1815 as the start of the nineteenth century because it marked the end of a lengthy period of war, and the associated economic and social upheaval. For many seafarers peace meant a realignment of their lives as the Royal Navy reduced from wartime manning and employment in the mercantile marine ceased to be subjected to wartime influences. Between 1815 and 1817 the Royal Navy discharged some 100,000 men,² and during the years which followed there was considerable unemployment amongst seafarers. It was the concern for their spiritual and social welfare which produced the early voluntary societies directed at seafarers. By the 1860s, formative changes in many spheres affecting society generally had taken place. In the maritime sphere the industrial revolution at sea was well under way, with a fifth of all seafarers working in steamships by 1865, though steamships comprised only nine per cent of ships and

¹ For a discussion of the essential continuity between the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth see: Asa Briggs, The age of improvement, 1783 - 1837 (Longman, 1959), 1-7.

² Christopher Lloyd, The British seaman, 1200-1860: a social survey (Collins, 1955. Paladin 1970), 243.

14 per cent of tonnage.³ But the numbers of sailing ships also increased 20 per cent from the 1830s and their tonnage doubled. Recognizing the limitations of the data in Appendix 1b (i), the numbers of seafarers employed on British merchant ships had increased from about 130,000 to almost 200,000, a growth of 65 per cent. Thus voluntary sector provision for serving seafarers must be judged not only in terms of the size of its target population at its inception in the 1820s but also with respect to its ability to match the expansion to 1865.

It was in this period, during which much social legislation for merchant seafarers was passed, that the pattern of seamen's missions and sailors' homes was laid down. Religious revivalism amongst seafarers, spreading infectiously, led rapidly to the founding of missionary societies in many United Kingdom ports. Associated social concern led to various forms of social welfare provision, of which the most significant, for the serving seafarer, were sailors' homes, though, with the exception of homes at London and Liverpool, provision was not widespread until new initiatives in the 1850s. Despite setbacks in the 1830s, provision of religious and social welfare support for seafarers was reasonably extensive by the middle of the Victorian period, and fully established as part of the scene in port districts. But before this can be investigated, it is necessary to explore the maritime and social contexts of the period.

The seafarer ashore

As has already been observed, the main sphere of operation for the seamen's missions and sailors' homes had to be the harbours and docks, together with the surrounding streets, of the ports in which they chose to work. These

³ See Appendices 1a and 1b.

were, of course, the identical areas where seafarers spent their time ashore. In this section, therefore, an attempt is made to assess port districts from the point of view of seafarers and their needs. Because much of evidence comes from the larger ports, especially London, the composite picture which emerges is unlikely to be representative of all ports, particularly the smaller ones served and manned by local ships and seafarers, such as those of North Wales so fully examined by Aled Eames.⁴ Nevertheless it reflects the situation where there was the greatest activity, one which no seafarer could fail to experience at some stage in his career.

The seafarer's life was punctuated by alternating periods of formal employment, 'sea time', when earnings were accumulated, and unpaid time ashore, 'leave', financed by those earnings received as a lump sum when he was paid off. Sea time included any periods that the ship spent in port during his engagement. Leave could only continue whilst funds lasted; on their expiry, new employment had to be obtained or leave could be briefly extended through the sale of personal possessions. Failure to obtain employment meant destitution, indebtedness to money lenders of one sort or another, reliance on relatives, begging, or reliance on the Poor Law or voluntary welfare agencies. Strictly, this scenario applied to all seafarers including masters and mates though these perhaps were less likely to be reduced to complete destitution. Thus at any time it was likely that there would be on shore three general groups of seafarers, the proportions varying with the patterns of shipping using particular ports, each perhaps looking for a different combination of facilities and services.

Those remaining in the employment of their ships, a

⁴ Aled Eames, Ships and seamen of Anglesey, 1588-1918 (Llangefni, Anglesey Antiquarian Society, 1973), particularly chap. 9, 357-407.

situation in British ports most likely to apply to shipping in the coastal trade and to ships belonging to other countries, if they were granted any liberty at all, would be unlikely to have much money. They might only be freed at the end of the day, or possibly on Sundays. Unless there were friends or relatives resident locally, their main need, for casual recreation, could only be satisfied by wandering the streets or by visiting public premises such as taverns or cheap theatres or music halls. The description of a stay in London by a Welsh seaman (17 years at sea) expresses this clearly:⁵

In London we may stay six or seven weeks to take in cargo [for Aberystwyth], having our wages go on as if we were at sea, and living on board. It comes expensive staying long in port. There's one's bits of enjoyment on shore. I'm noways backwards in going to the play; its a precious sight better than the public house. Indeed it does a man good....we don't fling about money and grog...because we haven't it to fling.... From Aberystwyth to London a man may make three voyages in a year... so we receive £27 a year....for a man to keep himself respectable, it will cost him for clothes and washing when he's in port, £12 a year; and so that leaves £15 to keep a wife and family on, if a man has them, reckoning nothing for a drop of beer, or a shilling to help a friend.

The public houses provided both entertainment in the form of music and dancing, and also large rooms for meetings of all kinds,⁶ which might interest the more serious minded. For example, a number of the early meetings of various seamen's missions in London, were held at the City of London Tavern.⁷ This was quite a grand setting, in which the ordinary seafarer might have been out of place, yet at

⁵ Letter XLVI, Morning Chronicle, 3 April 1850, 6, col. 1. For the authenticity and sociological value of Henry Mayhew's series of 'letters' in this newspaper (1849-50), under the original head 'Labour and the poor' see Anne Humphreys' enthusiastic introduction to her edited selection, Voices of the poor (Frank Cass, 1971); for comment on the maritime letters see Williams, 'Mayhew and the British seaman', in Fisher (ed), Lisbon as a port town, 111-27.

⁶ Brian Harrison, 'Pubs', in H.J.Dyos and Michael Wolff, The Victorian city (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), Vol. 1, 175.

⁷ Sailor's Magazine and Naval Miscellany, 1 (1820), 25, 153, 217, 229. The tavern was in Bishopgate Street.

the second annual meeting of the Port of London Society held there on 8 May 1820, it⁸

...was filled with a very respectable auditory. Ladies occupied the front seats - Gentlemen ranged on the sides of the room, and at the lower end of the room many cleanly dressed seamen; and the lower standing circle shewed a row of hardy features... officers of the R.N. or the Merchant Marine.

Churches and chapels were also 'public' places, but the poorer classes were often inhibited from attending by poverty of dress and the pew rent system. Seamen, suggested one writer in the Sailor's Magazine, were treated as a class apart, no provision being made for them.⁹ Their dress marked them out attracting the attention of the congregation; they were not invited to take seats; they soon realised that they were not welcome. In one case, apparently not an isolated example,¹⁰

...a merchant captain went into a church... and took his mate and two of his crew with him. After the service...[he] learned that on their going up the aisle, they were taken by the shoulders and turned out! ~

In such circumstances seamen could be forgiven for rejecting religion; alternatively they could create their own forms. It was amongst crews of the colliers engaged in the coal trade from the North East to London, moored in the river at the 'coal tiers' that the 'Thames revival' originated, as early as 1814.¹¹

The seafarer recently discharged from his ship, the second of the categories indicated above, was also likely to be looking for relaxation and entertainment, more so

⁸ Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 229.

⁹ Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 275.

¹⁰ Sailor's Magazine, 2 (1821), 150; italics as printed.

¹¹ 'Progress of sailors' prayer meetings', Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 5-11. See Henry Maynew, Letter XLVII, Morning Chronicle, 11 April 1850, 5, col. 4, for a description of the coal tiers, and Letter XLVI, Morning Chronicle, 3 April 1850, 5, col. 5, for one of the colliers.

because he had probably just completed a long overseas voyage. But he had more fundamental needs, those of accommodation and sustenance; further, he might well wish to get away to be with family and friends. But just at the point in the employment cycle, when the seafarer ought to have been most self sufficient and independent, commercial practice and the law confined him to the port area and rendered him temporarily destitute. Wages were not paid until the outturn of the cargo showed what loss or damage could be attributed to crew negligence and appropriate deductions could be made from wages due. In 1729 the maximum delay had been set at thirty days; it was reduced to twenty days in 1797 and to two days in 1819 only to be increased to ten days in 1835.¹² The provision remained statutory into this century, though the delay was reduced to two days by the 1890s. Thus the prime need was board and lodging 'on account' until the balance of wages was paid: this was a context perfect for exploitation by the more unscrupulous boarding house keepers in port districts, and will be discussed below as feature of 'crimping'. Safe storage was also required for his personal possessions, if any, perhaps comprising a chest, hammock and kitbag,¹³ and possibly help to carry them from the ship for which porters with hand trucks, carmen, provided a service. Both seafarers going on leave and those about to sail frequently had a need for new clothing. In the former case it would be for something suitable for socialising ashore, and in the latter for working clothes and bedding. For this 'slop sellers', cheap tailors and outfitters, were another group prepared to supply goods 'on account'.

The third category of seafarer in port was that group whose money had been dispersed, sensibly or otherwise, for whom re-employment was becoming essential. Entertainment

¹² Dixon, 'Signing on', *Mariner's Mirror*, 70 (1984), 312-3. For an example from 1811 involving a delay of 'a few weeks' see Hay, *Landsman Hay*, 210-4.

¹³ The Entry Books kept by the Sailors' Home, London, have columns to record the baggage belonging to seamen headed 'C'(chest), 'H'(hammock), 'B'(bag); NHM, SAH/92.

now had a low priority, though drink was a way of obliterating troubles, but subsistence and accommodation remained an imperative, for those who had spent their leave in the port and those returning from other places to seek a berth. Again the storage and carriage of personal effects was a requirement. Theoretically, the provident seafarer made due allowance when managing his finances, but for most 'men before the mast' who spent most of their lives not handling money, this was not easy. The long standing practice of paying advances of wages, commonly two months, on a note cashable once the ship had sailed with the seaman on board, also led to board and lodging 'on account' with the potential for exploitation.¹⁴ But however the seafarer survived at this stage he had to discover those ships which were taking on crews. The corollary of this was of course that ships' masters looking for crews had also to discover what men were available, though as employers, except where there was a shortage of suitably experienced seamen, they might be expected to have the advantage with respect to selecting men and the level of wages. This need provided openings for employment agencies. Pubs were often locations where seamen and ship's masters could contact each other, but boarding house keepers often acted in this role, though agencies proper, private shipping offices also existed. The advantages of a well conducted office were spelled out in a testimonial signed by eleven masters for the Seamen's Shipping Office run by W.H. Hodson in Liverpool from 1827:¹⁵

14 Jon Press, 'Wages in the Merchant Navy, 1615-54', Journal of Transport History (3rd series, 2, September, 1991), 44-5.

15 Advertisement in Gore's Liverpool directory, 1834. 'Monthly money' refers to allotments, regular payments by owners or agents, deducted from wages, to seamen's families while they were away. However, owners might have been reluctant to make such arrangements as wages ceased if ships were wrecked or men deserted and it might not be possible to stop the payments. On the other hand masters could cancel payments (where communication with owners was possible, and used this as a means of crew control (Vile, 99). The advertisement suggests that the professional shipping master selected crew to avoid such arrangements as far as possible. See Simon P. Vile, English shipowning during the industrial revolution: Michael Henley and Sons, London shipowners, 1770-1930 (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1937), chap. 5, 'The pay and conditions of crew', 92-116.

...having the Ship's Company complete, and on Board at the time of Sailing, thus relieving the Master from any anxiety.... The having a more efficient crew....Fewer applications for monthly money, consequently less trouble at the Owners' Office, and getting younger men; ... Mr. Hodgson's Establishment has had a very material Check upon the irregularities and general conduct of seamen, a Seaman misconducting himself is reported...

This exemplifies some of the problems inherent in the engagement of crews, particularly the risks of shipping inadequate and insufficient men.

A final aspect of seafarers' needs ashore is that of female company. Evidence from the end of the nineteenth century indicates that men at sea not only fantasised about their chances ashore with women near to their own age, but also retained a special place for older women, usually their mothers amounting almost to a 'mother cult'.¹⁶ This might be expected of a youngster on his first voyage, such as John D. Jones, who almost daily made some reference to his mother in his diary in 1884.¹⁷ But much older men became very sentimental when thinking about a mother. This, and the ability to create a 'home atmosphere' might well influence the choice of a particular boarding house, where such a selection was consciously made. The presence of younger women could enhance a stay, as Hay found in the example referred to above (page 37). However, the company of women on a casual basis, was readily available in perhaps all but the smallest ports. Sailortowns were notorious as the centres of prostitution, but most nineteenth-century cities had a notorious district.¹⁸ Prostitutes of course congregated where the supply of potential customers was greatest, thus districts where large numbers of mainly single men were concentrated were natural focuses; such locations included military barracks.

¹⁶ Weibust, Deep sea sailors, 425.

¹⁷ Eames, Ships and seamen of Anolessey, 454-5.

¹⁸ Judith R. Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian society: women, class, and the state (Cambridge U.P., 1980), 24.

Plymouth's 'Damnation Alley', Castle Street, in the 1850s linked two concentrations, the army barracks in the Citadel and the Barbican on Sutton Harbour, used by the merchant and fishing fleets.¹⁹

Crimping and housing in ports

Given the needs of the seafarer ashore and the context indicated above, it is hardly surprising that 'businesses' to service these needs developed in port areas, some of which were not too concerned with offering fair terms. Accommodation, in the form of the seamen's boarding house, was at the core of a range of 'services' which proprietors, boarding house keepers, might offer. The more unscrupulous ones attempted what could amount to a total control of the seafarer and his assets throughout his time ashore. Such were, in Fingard's words, the 'boss crimps', while their agents were collectively known as crimps.²⁰ Hugill, in characteristically vivid terms, suggests that the crimping 'team' might comprise the boarding house master, the crimp (perhaps both shipping master and boarding house keeper), the shipping master, a number of runners for boarding ships and escorting seamen, a carter and a boatman.²¹ Such 'low' boarding houses, associated with excessive drinking, brawls and prostitution, exemplified the worst aspects of port areas to the supporters of seamen's missions and sailors' homes.

In a more analytical approach, Dixon identifies four types of crimping, inward-bound, outward-bound,

19 Halkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian society, 25; chap. 3 contains case studies of Plymouth and Southampton in the nineteenth century.

20 Fingard, Jack in port, 197.

21 Hugill, Sailortown, 83-4; chap. 5, 'Fiddler's Green: a composite sailortown', 72-92, draws on both British and foreign examples, and emphasises the more extreme situations.

intermediate and outfitting.²² Inward- and outward-bound crimping could form a complete process in which the seaman would be lured on arrival from his ship to the boarding house, maintained and entertained on credit, escorted to the shipping office to collect his pay-off, 'milked' through excessive charges until his money had run out and he was again in debt, found a berth in another ship.²³ He would be obliged to have his advance note for a month or two months advance of wages cashed at a discount by the crimp, who would claim the full amount once he had sailed. Dixon calculates that the crimp could reap a profit of three quarters of the money handled. Some boarding house keepers became men of substance. According to Toynbee²⁴

... a keeper of one of the lowest houses in the east end of London was an independant gentleman, with a country house....[who] came daily to his business in a private carriage.

Nevertheless, Dixon argues, contrary to the view generally expressed by those involved in seamen's welfare, that the seafarer was the victim of the crimps, he did receive a certain value for their services. Many men had lost or cut all contact with relatives and were content to place themselves for their time ashore in the crimps' hands who provided a package. Perhaps a modern parallel is the package holiday. Valid as this view might be for certain seafarers, little is known of those having families who avoided the crimps' ministrations, or of those caught up in the process against their will. Intermediate crimping took place overseas and involved desertion and the lure of a higher wage in another ship, and outfitting crimping, which preyed on the ignorance of persons wishing to go to sea, was a short lived fraud.

22 Dixon, 'The rise and fall of the crimp, 1640-1714', in Fisher, British shipping and seamen, 51-7.

23 Crimps expected a fee from ships' masters. Early in the period under consideration, masters of ships owned by Michael Henley and Son, paid in London, typically, two guineas per head; Ville, English shipowning during the industrial revolution, 93.

24 H. Toynbee, 'Social condition of seamen', Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, 10 (1866), 563-87.

few days. In contrast Mayhew identifies several high class seamen's boarding houses making the same charge. He describes one in almost idyllic terms, with references to a pleasant garden, cleanliness, a well furnished table with ample fresh produce, a reading room, and individual beds for each of 30 lodgers in eight rooms. At another there were two mature female housekeepers "...great favourites with the seamen."²⁹ While the seamen's boarding houses might have provided a form of temporary aid to impoverished seamen until they could be shipped, whether fraudulently or simply covering costs, at times of depression, when the supply of seamen exceeded demand, and in the cases of the less employable seafarers, older, sick or injured men, destitute seafarers could only fall back on such welfare provision as was available through the Poor Law or voluntary agencies.

The Poor Law, religion and temperance

The reform of the poor law in 1834 came after several decades during which the inadequacies of the old poor law and the need for reform were debated by the political economists. Of particular concern was the extent to which the granting of relief as a cash benefit had become a regular part of the income of the poor undermining personal efforts to obtain proper employment. In many cases, it was thought, poor relief was not the ultimate and temporary fall back which it ought to be, and thus wilful pauperism was encouraged. By the 1820s, the doctrine of self-help was gaining ascendancy, and by the 1830s the increasing cost of relief and the failure to eradicate distress even in rural areas was causing concern.³⁰ Thus the new provisions attempted to set poor relief in its 'proper' place through the principle of less eligibility and the associated

²⁹ 'Labour and the poor', Letter XLVII, Morning Chronicle, 11 April 1830. 5. col. 1.

³⁰ Fraser, The evolution of the British welfare state, 40-1.

workhouse test, aimed particularly at the able bodied pauper who would only be assisted within the unpleasant regime of the workhouse. The measures succeeded in reducing the poor rate and in inducing a reluctance to seek official relief, but it was addressed to rural destitution and failed to meet the needs of industrial areas where poverty was often associated with temporary unemployment.³¹ There was considerable continuity from previous practice; for example local variations in practice remained, the principle of settlement was still applied and a significant proportion (over 85 per cent) of relief was made outside the workhouse. Nevertheless, the generally narrow range of official relief left ample scope for voluntary activity.

In 1815, the Church of England, the established church, had yet to arrest nearly a century of gradual decline. It was a "...static institution, characterised by inertia if not always by complacency...." which may have experienced an absolute decline in numbers of participants, but, of greater significance, relative to the rise in population, it was some 50 per cent weaker.³² However, its established position meant that it retained a pervasive influence on everyday life through the parish system and its place in the higher levels of society.³³ It remained a central institution in society, in need of reform yet incapable of reforming itself despite a growing number of individual clergy influenced by the evangelical awakening. By the 1830s external pressures were such that reform was imposed by Parliament, through the Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission, 1832, succeeded by the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Commission in 1836, and various parliamentary measures. So effective and influential were these changes that Gilbert argues that³⁴

³¹ Fraser, The evolution of the British welfare state, 46-55.

³² Alan D. Gilbert, Religion and society in industrial England: church, chapel and social change, 1740 - 1914 (Longman, 1976), 27-9.

³³ Hugh McLeod, Religion and the working class in nineteenth century Britain (Macmillan, 1954), 36.

³⁴ Gilbert, Religion and society in industrial England, 138.

...what took place in the Church in the 1830s and 1840s was not simply a revival. The establishment was not simply made more efficient. It was metamorphosed, and the quantitative trends of the decades which followed arose out of an altered relationship between Anglican religion and English society.

In contrast to the relative stagnation of the established Church, non-conformity as represented by the Methodists and the Congregationalists and Baptists of the New Dissent, was in 1815, in the middle of a sustained period of expansion which would continue to the end of the century.³⁵ The Methodists, as a whole the largest group, maintained this growth despite a lengthy period of schism from 1797, when the New Connection separated from the Wesleyans, until the 1850s. This partially filled the vacuum left by the Church of England, but was also associated with the growth of industry and migration to the towns, appealing to the working and lower middle classes in search of an independent focus to their lives, though failing to interest those suffering extreme poverty.³⁶ By the 1860s, non-conformity was becoming more middle class, and its leading members more influential in society, with the individual churches progressing from sect type to the denomination type.³⁷ In contrast the rejuvenated Church of England was paying much more attention to the working classes in the towns which it had previously neglected,³⁸ and owing to the imposition of the reforms by a secular authority, might be seen as progressing from the church type to the denomination type.³⁹ Before examining evangelicalism and revivalism, the religious feature which transcended the established church and non-conformity, the expansion of the Roman Catholic Church must be noted: a

35 Gilbert, Religion and society in industrial England, 30-9.

36 McLeod, Religion and the working class, 22-5.

37 For an explanation of the sect, denomination and church models of religious organisations see: David Martin, A sociology of English religion (Heinemann, 1967), 73-81.

38 K.S. Inglis, Churches and the working classes in Victorian England (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953), 9.

39 Gilbert, Religion and society in industrial England, 142.

massive growth by immigration, largely from Ireland, took place in this period.⁴⁰ How many became seafarers is uncertain, but as in 1805 some one third of 'landsmen' entering the Navy came from Catholic parts of Ireland, most of whom presumably would have been discharged after 1815, the existence of a minority of Catholic seafarers available for or serving in merchant ships cannot be discounted.⁴¹

If moderation and restraint were characteristic of evangelicals, then it followed that any consumption of alcoholic drink should be in moderation, that is temperate, thus avoiding the excess of drunkenness. The moderation of the early temperance movement was abstinence from drinking spirits only, the consumption of beers and wines being tolerated. This principle was being preached by the Wesleys as early as 1743 when they incorporated it in their rules for Methodist Societies and it was a feature of temperance societies in the United States at the end of the eighteenth century.⁴² The development of the British temperance movement towards the end of the 1820s, generally and amongst seafarers, has been linked with the American example.⁴³ But the adoption of total abstinence from all alcoholic drinks, teetotalism, as the temperance principle, is attributed to Joseph Livesey of Preston who drafted and signed the first total abstinence pledge there in 1832.⁴⁴

The emergence of the British temperance movement in this period was in response to the apparent increase in the consumption of intoxicating drinks and of drunkenness,

40 Gilbert, *Religion and society in industrial England*, 45.

41 Nicholas Rodger, 'Devon men and the navy, 1689-1815', to be published in Stephen Fisher, *et al* (eds), 'The new maritime history of Devon' (Conway Maritime Press), 1991; Table 10, 'recruitment compared by counties and countries, 1604-05'.

42 Henry Carter, *The English temperance movement: a study in objectives*, Volume 1 - the formative period 1830-1899 (Epworth Press, 1933), 33.

43 Carter, *The English temperance movement*, 33; Kverndal, *Seamen's missions*, 342.

44 Carter, *The English temperance movement*, 35.

particularly following the reduction in the duty on spirits in 1825 and the passing of the Beer House Act in 1830.⁴⁵ The latter effectively created a free trade in beer; it certainly greatly increased the number of outlets for alcoholic drink.⁴⁶ Free licensing such as this was also intended as a remedy against drunkenness, but here the laws of supply and demand failed because intoxicants promoted their own consumption.⁴⁷ In the same period a retail revolution was taking place in fully licensed premises with the spread of the elaborately decorated 'gin palaces'. Such progress as had been made in reducing drunkenness, as a result of evangelical influence, was seriously eroded. The increase in drunkenness and the resultant disorder was dramatic and led to the appointment of a select committee to investigate the problem.⁴⁸ Its report, not surprisingly, identified the changes indicated as the immediate cause, but also indicated the traditional place of drink in rites of passage and recreation, and its use in commercial transactions (the evidence contains numerous examples of the employment and payment of wages taking place in public houses, including that of seamen). The ill effects on the individual and the consequences for national welfare were stated in some detail. The latter included the effects of maritime casualties due to intoxication and the damage done to the national reputation abroad through the poor behaviour of seamen. A wide range of remedies were proposed including the endorsement of the temperance movement, noting in particular the success of American temperance ships, where spirits were not carried. Apart from some adjustments to the licencing regulations, there seems to have been little legislative progress with the problem of drunkenness over the next three decades.

45 11 Geo. 4 & 1 Will. 4, c.64.

46 Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians: the temperance question in England 1815-1872 (Faber and Faber, 1971), 66-73.

47 Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, 349-50.

48 Report from the select committee on inquiry into drunkenness with minutes of evidence and appendix, RPP, 1834, VIII, report, x.

However the temperance movement was growing and developing political influence which was to see the ending of the free trade in beer in 1869 and make society realize that the prevailing level of drunkenness was intolerable.⁴⁹ But a serious weakness of temperance thinking was that it saw drink as the cause of social ills whereas even contemporary observers such as Charles Dickens recognized that drunkenness was a symptom of and release from the pressures of inadequate incomes, poor housing and lack of alternative activities.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, as in the past, the poor survived through the aid of charity, the voluntary aspect of which was expanding rapidly under the influence of evangelical beliefs.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the tenets which underlay the concern with social welfare, the gospel of work, 'seriousness' of character, respectability and self-help, the essence of Victorianism, were well established.⁵¹ At an official level this could produce a harsh approach to the suffering of the needy. Yet the continuance of earlier approaches and the burgeoning of voluntary philanthropy did much to soften the new severity. Again, despite the theoretical adherence to the principle of laissez-faire, the state was increasingly becoming involved with social matters, the way perhaps having been charted by voluntary effort, as with finance for education and with public health. To assess the state of the nation parliament made increasing use of parliamentary select committees or commissions whose work frequently touched upon social issues. In addition to the social changes brought about by industrialisation, progress with social welfare in terms of quantity was not made any easier by the doubling of the population in the first half of the

49 Carter, The English temperance movement, 131; Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, 365.

50 Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, 365.

51 Briggs, The age of improvement, 450.

century; severe poverty continued and seemed unassailable, and drunkenness, a factor perhaps under-rated by historians, was assuming epidemic proportions.⁵²

The formation of the first seamen's missions

The origins of the missionary movement which concerned itself with the spiritual and social condition of seafarers are to be found in the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century. In particular, it was influential in the Royal Navy during the latter part of that century. The Naval and Military Bible Society was formed in 1779, and a lay ministry was developed in the Navy.⁵³ In time, both officers and other ranks were to be found amongst those who accepted and practised evangelicalism, at times despite the antagonism of others in their ships. Naval personnel, particularly officers, were to feature prominently as supporters and officials in the societies under discussion.⁵⁴ Seafarers in merchant shipping did not escape such influences, though early on the greatest impact was probably on vessels in the extensive coasting trade where there could be frequent contact with developments ashore. Religious activity amongst merchant shipping on the Thames, where the Bible societies had been active, was sufficiently fervent by 1816, for it to be referred to as the 'Thames Revival'.⁵⁵ Prayer meetings and services were being run by seafarers for seafarers, and information about meetings was being conveyed by flag signals as well word of mouth.

The practice of seafarers ministering to seafarers

52 G. Kitson Clark, The making of Victorian England (Methuen, 1962), 118, 127, 139.

53 Kverndal, Seamen's missions, chap. 3.

54 The British and Foreign Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union (BFSFBU) had 13 naval people among its committee of 36 (this figure includes officers and officials of the Society).

Sailor's Magazine, 2 (1821), 493-4.

55 Kverndal, Seamen's missions, chap. 7.

has, to some extent, been maintained, through the willingness of societies to give employment where available to former seafarers, and because over the years some have felt a strong enough spiritual vocation to train to become clergy or lay missionaries. Perhaps the first of the seafarer clergy to emerge in the nineteenth century was George Charles Smith, who, having seen both merchant and naval service, trained for the Baptist ministry between 1804 and 1807, and was then appointed Pastor at Penzance. Smith's pioneering role lies at the heart of Kverndal's researches into seamen's missions. His contribution was acknowledged in his own lifetime. Kverndal recognises negative aspects of his character, unconventionality, ambitiousness, belligerence, inability to work with others, yet his exhaustive research leads to the conclusion:⁵⁶

...here was a pioneer personality who so towered above all others, that he richly merits the title of Founding Father of organized Christian mission to seafarers.

Certainly it would have been impossible to examine the roots of the movement without reference to Smith, yet there were many others who must be counted as making contributions, both before and after Smith involved himself. His active mind led him to move on to new initiatives before present ones were firmly established, and perhaps at times to neglect mundane tasks such as proper accounting. These co-workers were essential to the development of the movement. Kverndal has traced and acknowledged a great number of such people as well as unravelling the complex relationships between the numerous bodies formed in the early stages. In this Smith emerges as initiator, fund raiser, missiologist and publicist for the movement as a whole, not just for the societies with which he was currently associated.

⁵⁶ Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 364.

Because of world-wide circulation, perhaps the most influential of George Charles Smith's activities were his publications. This aspect of his mission to seafarers had commenced with his Naval Correspondence Mission in 1809 and continued with numerous pamphlets, invariably on religious themes and often written with free use of naval idiom to appeal to seafarers.⁵⁷ Most important were his Sailor's Magazine which he edited from 1820 to 1827, and New Sailor's Magazine which he edited under various titles from 1827 until his death in 1863.⁵⁸ From the start he made this an organ for the whole movement by reporting extensively developments outside London, including those overseas. Not only is his strong sense of mission evident; Smith also demonstrates an awareness of history in the making by including articles on the evolution of the movement. Inaugural and annual meetings of many societies are recorded in detail. Thus, though of course the content was controlled by Smith, these magazines constitute a major, and often sole source for studies of that period. It is for example, probably the only surviving source for many of the early missions noted in the list of missions in Appendix 5.

It was the Naval Correspondence Mission which extended Smith's previously local interest in seafarers into a national concern.⁵⁹ It also alerted him to the need for an organisational structure as the work load and cost of postage came to outstrip his personal resources. The need for support further widened his range of contacts, and he was increasingly drawn away from his charge in Penzance in the interest of the 'seamen's cause'. Smith having

57 For a bibliography of Smith's writings see, G.C. Boase and W.P. Courtney, Bibliotheca Cornubiensis: A catalogue of the writings...relating to Cornwall (Longmans, Vol 2, P-1, 1878, Vol 3, Supplement, 1882), 664-9, 1337-8.

58 The full titles were: The Sailor's Magazine, and Naval Miscellany, published first under the auspices of the British and Foreign Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union and from 1827 by the Port of London and Bethel Union Society, and relaunched from 1835 by the British and Foreign Sailors' Society; The New Sailor's Magazine and Naval Chronicle under the auspices of the various societies with which Smith was subsequently associated, continued from 1835 under various titles.

59 Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 122-5.

preached the cause in London at a notable service 1812,⁶⁰ became associated with the 'Bethel' movement in 1817, rapidly assuming a leading role. Yet throughout the next few years, when so many new societies were being formed and he was greatly in demand as a preacher in London and other parts of the country, he somehow maintained the work with his congregation in Penzance, finally resigning in 1826 to labour full time in London as a seamen's minister.⁶¹

The Thames Revival is dated from 1814 and an informal prayer meeting on a collier brig.⁶² A regular pattern of religious meetings ashore and informal ones on ships soon developed. Notable developments in 1816 and 1817 were the borrowing of ships for large religious services and the adoption of the Bethel flag to signify that a meeting in a temporary 'God's House' (Bethel) was about to take place. Kverndal identifies this as the transition stage, typical of spiritual revivals, from a relatively private level of activity to deliberate missionary outreach.⁶³ George Charles Smith meanwhile had been engaged in various preaching missions in the West Country, but his arrival in London later in 1817 for what became a three month stay, raised the level of the revival further; as the first ordained minister to participate, he brought both his preaching and publicity talents to bear on the scene.

Apart from the marine Bible societies, none of these activities amongst seafarers seem to have operated within a formal structure. They depended on personal initiative and the donation of time and facilities. There is no indication as to how activists maintained themselves except passing references to occupations, and it must be presumed that they pursued their income earning employment as usual, or that they had private means. Smith's only source of income

⁶⁰ Kverndal sees this event as publicly launching the cause, Seamen's missions, 129.

⁶¹ Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 269.

⁶² 'Progress of sailors' prayer meetings', Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 6-11.

⁶³ Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 162; see illus. p. lxxxiv.

was his stipend from his chapel at Penzance, which he clearly drew on to aid his missionary work. However, as indicated in connection with his Naval Correspondence Mission, he found benefactors. His Wesley type mission along the north coast of the south west peninsula in 1817, where outlay was involved for religious literature, travelling, living and accommodation, relied on such support.⁶⁴ The first publicly advertised services in London also had financial aid of this kind.

The practice of holding services and meetings on different ships as they happened to be available had advantages in widening the influence of the movement, and was applicable in any port whether or not permanent facilities were available. But there were disadvantages. Permission had repeatedly to be obtained for services to be held, and the temporary arrangements on deck or in the hold had to be made for, at times, sizeable congregations. Travel to a ship often meant a boat trip for men on shore as well as those on ships. On one occasion in 1820, at Mutton Cove, Plymouth Dock, there was⁶⁵

...a stage from the shore, a long ladder down the mizzen hatchway for the men, and the captain's ladder by the cabin for the females, of whom there were far more than a hundred, many of whom were respectable. The owners...providing every accommodation... The hold was hung round with flags and deal boards, laid athwart for seats; the middle deck over the forehold being open, formed a sort of gallery. The beams had flags rolled over them, and three candle sticks on each. The cover of the main hatchway was raised as a platform from the larboard side of the ship to the pump well amidships. This and the beam above it formed the pulpit....with an immensely crowded congregation we forgot we were in the hold of a ship....

This might be a more elaborate example of preparation, but large numbers were also being attracted to the ship

⁶⁴ Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 170.

⁶⁵ Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 189.

services in London. Any clergyman used to a ministry based on his own church or chapel, might be expected to recognise the need for a permanent base, and Smith did so when he saw the level of activity in 1817.⁶⁶ However he conceived of a ship permanently modified and dedicated as a seamen's chapel; to move the revival to that level implied much larger finances and demanded a formal organisation, a mission society. The use of a ship had two other advantages: the cost of purchase and modification of a second hand vessel would be less than the erection of a building ashore, and it would provide an environment familiar to seafarers, who were not necessarily welcome in existing places of worship.⁶⁷ The Port of London Society for Promoting Religion among Merchant Seamen was formed in March, 1818, the support of leading clergy and of the shipping interest (notably George Green, the shipowner), having been enlisted through a publicity campaign. H.M.S. Speedy was purchased, converted and opened for worship on 4th May (see illus. p. lxxxiii).

Despite the innovatory nature of this development, the Port of London Society was really committed to only one method of promoting religion and that in London alone, the establishment of the ship church and a preaching ministry with a programme of services supplied by a rota of visiting clergy.⁶⁸ There was only a vague commitment to other means, funds permitting and after 'mature consideration'. However the management structure, probably typical of other religious societies, contained features which would be adopted by seamen's missions soon to be founded. Provision was made for a large committee of 40 of whom half were to be ministers and half Christian laymen. Perhaps a unique,

⁶⁶ Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 10.

⁶⁷ Kverndal, Seamen's missions, chap. 8. Appendix 9a, the plans of the Episcopal Mariners' Church at Liverpool, illustrate such a conversion and demonstrate the similarity to galleried churches and chapels ashore; see also illus. p. lxxxv.

⁶⁸ Minutes of the foundation meeting, 18 March 1818, quoted in Kverndal, Seamen's missions. Appendix 5, 625-8.

even ecumenical, feature was the requirement for representation of the various denominations who worked with the mission. Membership and voting depended on the payment of an annual subscription of one guinea, though clergy who served the Society were considered members and were eligible for the Committee. This development also contained the seeds of conflict with the continuing and thriving shipboard, lay, Bethel meetings, over levels of attendance and timing of services.⁶⁹ It was not the answer to setting the Bethel movement on the path to stability.

With reports coming back to London of shipboard Bethel meetings in other United Kingdom ports and at ports overseas,⁷⁰ it was clear that an organisation with wider vision was needed. Again the initiative and objects came from George Charles Smith, and in November, 1819, the British and Foreign Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union was formed. The adoption of features of this title for so many kindred societies in the United Kingdom (see Appendix 5) and overseas, demonstrates the appeal of the symbolism at that time,⁷¹ while the objects and means (as restated in October, 1820) show the breadth of thinking when compared with those of the Port of London Society.⁷² The missionary objective was stated simply as the extension of the Christian religion to which was added a general social object improving the morals and conduct of seamen. These were to be achieved through promoting: shipboard prayer meetings and full services with preachers under the

69 Kverndal, Seamen's missions, chap. 9. Attendances at the chapel ship were disappointing except when Smith preached, and the management tried to prevent Bethel meetings being held when it had services.

70 'Progress of sailors' prayer meetings', Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 6-11.

71 Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 25-6. The original title of the Society, to which the phrase British and Foreign was soon added, was changed within a year to the form used here. The symbolism is as follows: 'Bethel', with its identifying flag, was the focal point for meetings; 'Union' was that of seamen in Christian fellowship and mission; 'Friend' was a true friend of seamen in port contrasted with all the false friends he would encounter; 'British and Foreign' emphasised the national and global scope of the Society and its concern for seamen of all nationalities; Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 202-4.

72 Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 426-7; see Appendix 5b.

Bethel flag, in all ports but with specific mention of London; the distribution of religious literature with particular emphasis on the Sailor's Magazine; similar developments at overseas ports; "... boarding houses for sailors on their arrival from foreign voyages." The wording of this revised constitution does not provide the clearest of statements, yet the commitment to the 'temporal and eternal welfare of seamen' is clear. Although the broad lines of this statement were stated at the inaugural meeting in 1819, it bears a close similarity to the much more clearly worded constitution of the Greenock Seamen's Friend Society adopted in January, 1820, and would seem to owe something to that example, particularly the words 'seamen's friend' and the reference to boarding houses.⁷³ Kverndal makes much of George Charles Smith's central role as an initiator of new ideas for seamen's welfare. In the vibrant atmosphere of the religious revival amongst seamen, in which Smith was by no means the only leader having ideas and taking initiatives, both the religious and social needs of seafarers must have been explored from every angle, creating something of a common pool of ideas.

From the beginning of 1820, the Bethel movement moved into a phase of rapid expansion along several fronts. Informally, masters and crews carried it to almost every United Kingdom port and to many overseas ports. The Sailor's Magazine contains numerous reports of the Bethel flag being hoisted and meetings being held.⁷⁴ Smith and other activists travelled the country on 'Bethel tours' (short travelling ministries) persuading local people of influence, lay and religious, to take up the cause, holding ad hoc conversations with seamen and Bethel meetings on ships, and preaching in local chapels. One example was Smith's tour in the spring of 1820:⁷⁵

⁷³ Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 185-6; see Appendix 66.

⁷⁴ For example: at Honduras in July, 1820, 1 (1820), 440; at Elythe, 14 March, 1821, 2 (1821), 238-9; at Malaga, Autumn, 1824, 5 (1824), 439.

⁷⁵ Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 186-9. Newton Bushel is probably Newton Abbot.

Wed 15 March	9 pm departed Penzance; overnight at Falmouth.
Thu 16 March	5 pm. arrived Plymouth Dock. Visited 'several respectable persons' with printed papers on Bethel Union.
Fri 17 March	To Newton Bushel; preached there.
Sat 18 March	Boat to Teignmouth; obtained use of a ship for a service; hoisted Bethel Flag; 7 pm preached on deck to a large crowd.
Sun 19 March	11 am preached to sailors at Baptist meeting; 3 pm preached to sailors at Methodist meeting; 6 pm preached to sailors at Baptist meeting at Shaldon.
Mon 20 March	Morning - distribution of tracts to seamen; evening preached at Independent chapel.
Tue 21 March	Departed Teignmouth for Plymouth Dock.
Wed 22 March	Visited ministers and gentlemen; talked to seamen; evening preached at Mr. Wilcox's Chapel.
Thu 23 March	10 am hoisted Bethel flag at Mutton Cove; 7 pm preached on board ship to a large congregation.
Fri 24 March	Departed for Penzance.
Sat 25 March	Arrived in Penzance.

A third front of expansion was through the formation of local societies, some in response to the visits indicated above. Predictably, the constitutions they adopted bore similarities to each other.⁷⁶ Some, such as that at Greenock, show signs of much more careful drafting than others. Where Smith was present at a foundation meeting, it seems reasonable to assume he had a hand in formulating constitutions. Even allowing for the word style of the period, some are particularly vague and ambiguous. The inaugural meetings appear often to have been well attended public events, from which the new societies emerged with large, active committees. The organization of the missionary work bears military overtones, with several societies establishing 'Bethel companies' to share missionary activities on a rota basis, an effective way of putting the principle of the priesthood of all believers

⁷⁶ See Appendix 6a for a comparison of features of the constitutions of certain societies.

into practice.⁷⁷ Bristol started with four companies, Greenock (using the term 'sub-committees') with eight, and Liverpool also seems to have had eight. At Plymouth, Bethel companies are referred to in reports, apparently focusing their activities around 'Bethel lofts' (sail or net lofts hired for meetings) first at Plymouth and later at Stonehouse, Mutton Cove and North Corner; however one member maintained a personal floating mission, sailing out to shipping in the vicinity to distribute tracts.⁷⁸ The Bethel companies kept full records of their activities, and extracts were printed in annual reports and in the Sailor's Magazine.⁷⁹

The dominant position of the port of London in the trade of the United Kingdom justifies the River Thames being treated as a separate front for missionary expansion, though the pattern of development might in its early years be considered a microcosm of growth in Britain generally. Both short Bethel tours and the founding of Bethel societies at locations down to the mouth of the river, took place. Several of these societies described themselves as 'auxiliary' to Smith's original Bethel society, and might seem to imply a branch relationship. Although obviously acknowledging their roots, these were independent societies formed to support the central society as fund raising bodies or by taking responsibility for mission work in a small section of the river.⁸⁰ No provision appears to have been made constitutionally for a formal branch structure, amongst the Thames societies or to link those in the provinces, perhaps because the 'parent society' itself

77 See Appendix 5c for the 'Regulations of the Bristol Bethel Companies', which are quite well formulated. George Charles Smith's role is acknowledged. Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 373.

78 Sailor's Magazine, 5 (1824), 51-2; 8 (1827), 114.

79 For example, Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union (LSFSBU), Annual report for 1841, Appendix 1, Bethel Companies Reports; reports of the Bristol Third Bethel Company (Bristol Seamen's Friend Society), Sailor's Magazine, 2 (1821), 24-5.

80 Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 217-20. The only other area where auxiliaries of these types seem to have been founded was in Plymouth where three (or possibly four) such societies were formed to attend to the shipping on the rivers Plym and Tamar. Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 26, 65, 436-9; 2 (1821), 77-8, 117, 153-7, 239. For titles see Appendix 5.

had yet to become firmly established. However, less formal links were provided by Smith's travels and his new magazine.

The proliferation of societies for seafarers in London, the characters of some of the movement's leaders, and, probably, underlying religious differences, were soon to lead to a serious outbreak of inter-society conflict.⁸¹ One aspect of this was the attempt by Anglican evangelicals to found their own society and floating church in London, but the key factor was Smith's development of an all-embracing scheme for seamen's social as well as spiritual welfare and his dissatisfaction with the rate of progress achieved by those running the British and Foreign Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union, whilst he was attending his charge in Penzance. The availability of a disused church in Wellclose Square (St George's in the East, London) and his zeal led Smith to found a new society, the Mariners' Church Society, whilst he was still an officer of the Bethel Union. It was inevitable that some would have seen it as a competitor, and in an organization where traditional naval attitudes must have been dominant, particularly that of loyalty, the move, despite its motivation, must have seemed like betrayal.⁸² Smith left Penzance to work as the full time minister with his new society. He laboured in London until 1848 in increasingly difficult financial circumstances and growing isolation. He was soon ejected from the editorship of the Sailor's Magazine, though he immediately started his New sailor's Magazine. The two original societies, now set on downward path, merged in 1827, and this society was effectively absorbed by a new society in 1833, the British and Foreign

81 For a full discussion see Kverndal, Seamen's missions, chap. 12.

82 An outline of his ideas extending the scope of Bethel movement's activities was published by Smith in the Sailor's Magazine, 4 (1823), 446-9. In it he envisaged a large establishment providing a ship's library service, a literature collection and distribution depot, reading rooms, a register office for seafarers' characters and of respectable boarding houses, a savings bank, a sea boys school, a well as a church. Subsequent restatements further extended these ideas.

Sailors' Society (BFSS), which commenced a slow recovery; it was to be for some years largely restricted to London.

Missionary work amongst seafarers in London, however, was augmented by the efforts of various Anglican societies from 1825 (discussed below), and by two other societies formed in the 1840s. The Seamen's Christian Friend Society (1846) (SCFS) was amongst the last of the non-denominational societies to be formed in the Bethel tradition, being founded by associates of George Charles Smith at the time that he lost the Mariners' Church in 1845;⁸³ its purpose was to continue his work in London, and its objects bore a close resemblance to those of the Bethel societies discussed above.⁸⁴ The Wesleyan Seamen's Missionary Society (1843) also operated in its early days under the Bethel flag, and was based in the same area of London.⁸⁵ A denominational society, the Wesleyan Conference appointed a minister to work principally amongst seamen, along the same lines as the other societies.⁸⁶

The established church and mission amongst seafarers

The universality of evangelicism and the avowed non-denominality of the Bethel movement, together with the number of different bodies which it spawned and the fact that much of the leadership came from dissenters, tends to create the impression that the developments of the 1820s were entirely non-conformist. But the constitutions of the Port of London Society and the British and Foreign Seamen's

83 'Pioneers in work amongst seafarers', Seamen's Christian Friend Society, Annual report for 1930, 12-15. Its return to the 1951 census shows a Bethel Chapel opened in 1845, and its objects were stated as 'extending religion amongst seamen in the port of London', BPP, 1952/53, LXXXIX [1490], report p. CXVII; however it developed a branch network later making it a national society.

84 SCFS, 'Revised rules', Annual report for 1924-1925.

85 It had a Seamen's Chapel in Stepney from 1849, 1951 Census.

86 Annual Report for 1853.

Friend Society and Bethel Union are clear in their wish to include the established church. The former promoted⁸⁷

...an intended union of all denominations of Christians...Clergymen officiating according to the established ritual of the Church of England, and Dissenting Ministers conducting their portion of the services according to the sentiments and customs of their respective churches.

The latter went so far as to state that⁸⁸

The sentiments to be promoted will be agreeable to the articles and homilies of the Church of England...

The early missions certainly received Anglican evangelical support partly because evangelicalism transcended denominational barriers, but also because there were no Church of England equivalents. Both the above societies had Anglican clergy and lay men on their committees, particularly the Bethel Union with its high proportion of naval officers, and the Bethel societies generally benefitted significantly from Anglican financial support.⁸⁹ But as loyalty to the established church and canon law prevented clergy from taking services and preaching in chapels not consecrated by the Church, no amount of good will from dissenters could overcome this fundamental barrier to a full union of evangelicals in the seamen's cause. Thus George Charles Smith's encouragement in the Sailor's Magazine for a Church society, a proposal put forward there in 1820.⁹⁰ The suggestion for Church of England floating chapels, 'as many as will congregate the number of seamen in port', had been put to the Bishop of London within a few months of the opening of the Port of London Society's floating chapel in 1818.⁹¹

87 Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 217.

88 See Appendix 5b.

89 Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 186, 210, 234.

90 Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 160-3, 412-3.

91 A letter dated 27 November 1818, to the Bishop of London from Captain J.E. Gordon, RN, of 41 Duke
(Footnote Continued)

Evangelicals in the church were still a minority group and the leadership in London remained reluctant to sanction developments amongst seafarers. However, pressure during the next five years gradually developed and led to a grudging co-operation. The correspondence files of the Bishop of London show that he was being kept aware of developments. Under evangelical influences Anglican societies were established at Dublin, the Port of Dublin Society for the Religious Instruction of Seamen (1823), and at Liverpool, the Liverpool Mariners' Church Society (1825)⁹². By June, 1825, moves for a society in London were well advanced. A prospectus for a 'general' or national Episcopal Floating Church Society envisaged a ship at each port run by a local committee, while a central committee constitution had been drafted, a list of notable supporters compiled, and Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty, had promised the ships.⁹³ Although the Society was formed on 20 July 1825, correspondence with the Bishop of London continued concerning its rules, the duties and control of the local chaplain in London, and the extension of the society's activities to other ports.⁹⁴ Eventually, the Society assumed responsibility for the Chaplain's salary, set at £250, and a former naval lieutenant, Rev. Horatio Montague, was appointed, though no ship had yet materialised; the reluctance of the Bishop remained evident: he refused to have anything to do with a 'general' society at that time.⁹⁵

While Montague undertook a ship visiting ministry,

(Footnote Continued)

Street, St James, Lambeth Palace Library (LPL); Howley papers, 14, f.210. There is no note as to the nature of the response.

⁹² LPL, Howley papers, 14, ff.213, 229. See also Sailor's Magazine, 4 (1823), 301-310, New Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1828), 466-7.

⁹³ LPL, Howley papers, 14, f.215, undated, but before 1 June 1825, according to the chronology of the filing. A statement, 14, f.219, of that date notes that if the Admiralty supplied a vessel his stipend would be paid from public finances, and he would be appointed by the Admiralty with the sanction of the Bishop of the diocese.

⁹⁴ LPL, Howley papers, 14, ff.229, 232-4, 236, 238, 252.

⁹⁵ LPL, Howley papers, 14, ff.240, 245, 246; the last note was dated 12 October 1825.

pressure on the authorities was maintained through a publicity campaign mounted by the Vicar of Great Missenden, Richard Marks, a Bethel supporter and also formerly a naval lieutenant.⁹⁶ It seems clear that by 1827 seamen's missionary work had finally gained the full attention of the establishment, religious and political, if only because the success of the Bethel movement was seen as a threat to the position of the established church, though it would seem that the movement was viewed as a dissenting sect and was not recognised for its non-denominational or ecumenical merits. Lord Melville, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, had agreed to support the establishment of floating chapels and thereby⁹⁷

...some check be given to the effort... to introduce to all principal ports floating places of worship on sectarian lines, under the denomination of the Bethel Union.

In 1827, HMS Brazen, was allocated for fitting out as a floating chapel for the Thames,⁹⁸ but did not finally open until Easter, 1829. The Liverpool Mariners' Church Society was also provided with a ship by the Admiralty, HMS Tees, which had opened for worship on 17 May 1827. Independent Anglican missions were also founded at Hull, the Mariners' Church Society (1828); which opened its Hull Mariners' Church in February that year, and at Cork (1830) which had a floating chapel.⁹⁹ Efforts by the Vicar of St. Andrews, Plymouth, to finance a mariners' church there did not bear fruit.¹⁰⁰ The Episcopal Floating Church Society never

96 Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 286.

97 LPL, Howley papers, 14, f.270; a copy of a letter from Lord Melville, part of a note addressed to the Duke of Clarence, who as Lord High Admiral, had inherited the problem with the departure of Melville on the fall of the Liverpool administration in April 1827. The note went on to explain that the cost of salaries (£2000 to £3000) for staffing the floating churches was intended to form an item in the 'Naval Establishment' for which an order from the King in Council was probably necessary.

98 LPL, Howley papers, 14, f.258, 14 May 1827; see also illus. pp. lxxxv, lxxxvi.

99 Kverndal, Seamen's missions, chap. 13.

100 Sailor's Magazine, 7 (1826), 472-3; New Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1828), 74.

evolved into a 'general' society, and its Church on the Thames led an uneasy existence never really attracting much support from seafarers; this was in contrast to the Church at Liverpool where the inspired selection of the seafarer explorer scientist, the Revd. William Scoresby, as chaplain in 1827, and strong support from the Bishop of Chester, quickly established that floating church amongst seafarers.¹⁰¹ Thus in the 1820s there was no lack of interest in mission to seafarers amongst Anglicans, but the inhibitions indicated above, restricted developments to individual local efforts; a national mission was no more forthcoming than was, as it turned out, a national Bethel society (though some people thought of that movement as a unified mission).

With so many Church of England lay and clergy interested in the well-being of seafarers. it might have been expected that better progress would have been made. However, the metamorphosis of the Church noted earlier,¹⁰² with its new emphasis on the needs of towns and cities, had yet to take place. Laymen particularly, could maintain activity through those Bethel societies which had become well established. Some preferred a personal ministry, and this was most likely where there was a local maritime dimension of some kind. No doubt some clergy having parishes with maritime districts devoted some of their time to an unrecorded work amongst seafarers. Perhaps the most notable personal ministry was that of the Revd. John Ashley who in 1835 commenced work, initially using his own resources, amongst the island communities of the Bristol Channel and the large numbers of ships at anchor awaiting tides or windbound.¹⁰³ This was a ministry almost entirely afloat, not in a narrow, sheltered river, but ranging the full extent of the open water of the Bristol Channel

101 New Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1828), 1-3, 71-4, 464-8, 504-5. Dr. Bloomfield, Bishop of Chester, gave the keynote address at the inaugural meeting.

102 See page 44.

103 Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 383-6.

between the Kingroads, the anchorage off the River Avon, and as far west as Lundy Island, and including the Welsh and English coasts.¹⁰⁴ With the formation of a society to support him he engaged in a major deputation exercise during 1840 and 1841, visiting towns and parishes throughout South Wales and Devon and Somerset to obtain donations and subscriptions which enabled a cutter to be built and fitted out with a chapel capable of accommodating 130 men.¹⁰⁵ Ashley was intensely active; he recorded in his second letter that in one period of 25 days he had visited 220 ships. On occasion he managed 20 to 30 visits in a day, where ships were anchored close enough, as could happen off Penarth, where he reported there could be as many as 400 ships. Contrary to the suggestion in Kverndal, the accounts indicate that Ashley did accept travelling expenses for his deputation work and some income from the society (£300 for the period to April 13 1841). Ashley's ministry ended in 1850 when he retired, exhausted. The Society, which had been reorganised as the Bristol Channel Seamen's Mission in 1845, survived to be reformed in 1855 as the Bristol Missions to Seamen. Despite financial problems it initiated expansion with a 'floating' chaplaincy and 'church' cutter in the English Channel under Revd. T.C. Childs. This and Childs' involvement in the moves for a national society, permits the recognition of the Bristol society as the precursor to the Missions to Seamen, the national Anglican mission, founded in 1856 and with which the earlier society merged in 1858.¹⁰⁶

The Ashley and Childs method of taking the church

104 Three 'letters' reporting his activities, dated 17 April 1841, 12 November 1841, 3 February 1842, the main content of the Report of the Bristol Channel Mission Society, Bristol (1842), which covered 1839, 1840 and 1841. Kverndal dates this Society from 1837, but the tone of the document suggests that this might be the first report issued and that it might not have been formed until 1838 or 1839.

105 The vessel, Eirene (peace), cost £450 to build, £775 to fit out, £104 for ballast, and was supplied with a small boat (£13), total cost £1342. It had a permanent crew; accounts for 1839, 1840, 1841, Report of the Bristol Channel Mission Society. See Appendix 9b for the flag signalling system used to indicate the times of services.

106 Strong, Flying Angel, chap. 4; Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 391.

afloat to seafarers in their ships was of significant influence in this new society, whose object was to be "...for the most part carried on afloat...",¹⁰⁷ however it had already been emulated by another Anglican society formed in 1844, the Thames Church Mission, a society which might be said to have evolved out of the weakness of the Episcopal Floating Church Society as the two shared the same active supporters.¹⁰⁸ By the early 1840s the latter society was apparently growing closer to the Sailors' Home (Well Street) with which it now shared a joint appointment for the services of a Chaplain.¹⁰⁹ By 1843 the Sailors' Home had decided on the building of a church for mariners in Dock Street, which was consecrated as St. Paul's Church for Seamen in 1847.¹¹⁰ This became a base for Anglican missionary work ashore in that part of London, while the Thames Church Mission worked afloat, ranging from the Pool of London to the anchorages at the mouth of the river off Gravesend and expanding to include passengers on emigrant ships as well as seafarers.¹¹¹ Owing to this coverage of seafarers on the Thames, the Missions to Seamen concentrated on developing its network of 'stations' (locations for mission activity) in other parts of Britain. Under an energetic leadership both the numbers of paid workers and the finances to support them were developed rapidly, notably so in the first year, as may be seen from the following table:

107 Missions to Seamen, Annual report for 1820, 38; see illus. p. lxxxv.

108 Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 395.

109 NMM, SAH 1/1, Minutes of the Committee of the Sailor's Home, 9 Dec. 1841, 26 May 1842 (the chaplain was to devote the whole of his time to service of the Floating Chapel, Sailors' Home (SH) and Destitute Sailors' Asylum (DSA)); 30 June 1842 (refers to the 'previous joint appointment'); 27 Oct. 1842 (joint meeting with Episcopal Floating Church Society (EFCS) committee agrees to share chaplain's salary, EFCS £150, SH £100, DSA £50); Nov. 1842, the three organisations to be under same direction when EFCS debt of £122 liquidated.

110 NMM, SAH 1/1, Committee minutes, 7 Feb. 1843; SAH 1/3 Seamen's church sub-committee minutes 1843-1846; see illus. p. xcv.

111 Return to the 1851 census, BPP, 1852/53, LXXXIX (1690), report pp. XLII, XLIII.

Table 2.1

Growth of the Missions to Seamen, 1856 to 1865

	1857	1865
Stations	13	30
Chaplains, full time	8	12
Lay readers, full time	5	25
Chaplains, honorary	7	23
Churches giving offertories	18	212
Net income	£2849	£8071

Source: Appendix 9d.

Seamen's missions at work

The discussions above have demonstrated the forms of mission undertaken at the time of foundation of various societies. Essentially, three approaches may be identified. Both on River Thames and in the Bristol Channel the independent, one person ministry, operating outside any formal structure and dependent on personal resources, has been noted. Though generally in time these were brought within a society structure, the activities might continue to focus around the one central personality, as in the case of John Ashley and arguably with respect to much of George Charles Smith's activity. The departure of that focal personality could easily mean the demise of the mission activity; the Bristol Channel Mission certainly faltered after 1850.

The Bethel societies at first relied totally on their members for missionary outreach, and on the support of local ministers to lead their main services. The Bethel company approach co-ordinated the former and the preaching rota the latter. At Bristol the Companies reported systematic ship visiting during which prayer meetings were held.¹¹² At Liverpool the Companies ran the meetings held, typically, in lofts such as 'Mr. Christian's sail room'.¹¹³

¹¹² Sailor's Magazine, 2 (1821), 24-5.

¹¹³ Sailor's Magazine, 3 (1822), 52-6.

Before meetings they would scour the nearby streets and public houses inviting seamen and prostitutes to attend, and the reports give details of individuals' reactions.¹¹⁴

Three poor unfortunate females from a wretched street in the neighbourhood were prevailed upon to attend the prayer meeting. When in the room, they knelt down, placing their arms around each other's neck, and appeared greatly affected on hearing the members plead at a throne of grace on their behalf.

For the Bristol society, by 1823 running five companies, this form of mission was the heart of its work, and it begged local congregations to select a few people to join them to work amongst seamen.¹¹⁵

Active though the Bethel companies were in the 1820s that approach seems to have gone into gradual decline. At Plymouth the Committee decided to employ a 'Bethel agent' (or lay missionary) and appointed Thomas Brooks in 1843.¹¹⁶ No mention is made of Bethel companies, and they may have been defunct by that date. By 1859 its activities were clearly centred around its chapel and the labours of Brooks, though members of the Society helped on Sundays, for example in its Sunday School, and occasionally supported the missionary's work around the port.¹¹⁷ However, companies still existed at Liverpool in 1851.¹¹⁸ Liverpool was already employing a lay agent in 1841 and by 1851 had appointed an ordained minister and a lay port missionary. The reliance on a rota of local ministers to 'supply the Bethel pulpit' certainly involved the local

¹¹⁴ Sailor's Magazine, 3 (1822), 54; 23 October 1821, 7pm meeting in Mr. Christian's sail room.

¹¹⁵ Report of the annual meeting of Bristol Seamen's Friend Society (BSFS) (for 1822), Sailor's Magazine, 4 (1823), 52-7. Bristol was also holding services in its floating chapel, and running a reading society as well as distributing tracts.

¹¹⁶ Committee minutes, 20 Feb., 1843.

¹¹⁷ Plymouth and Stonehouse Seamen and Soldiers' Friend Society and Bethel Union (PSSSFSBU), Annual report for 1858-1859.

¹¹⁸ Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union (LSFSBU), Annual report for 1851, 13.

religious community, but could be problematical if ministers' commitment was not wholehearted.¹¹⁹

In contrast to the Bethels, the Anglican societies do not seem to have contemplated operating without immediately appointing an ordained clergyman to undertake the work. This was the case with the Episcopal Floating Church Society in London and the Liverpool Mariner's Church Society already discussed. Membership of these societies seems largely to have been concerned with providing finance and general management through service on committees. In effect a qualified leadership was installed and though general guidelines were laid down, progress of the mission locally was in the hands of the person appointed. It is true that the Missions to Seamen developed its network of stations partly through the appointment of lay missionaries who were under the local supervision of an honorary chaplain, but the ministry of the whole membership, as with the original Bethels, was not overtly present. Although the opening of seamen's churches and later institutes, made use of lay assistance, by the 1860s generally seamen's missions were tending to function more around the leadership of a chaplain or lay missionary, though the latter might be under the close control of a lay committee.

The universal requirement of missionary workers to maintain journals recording their activities, both kept them under the control of a society's committee or its senior chaplain, and provided quotations for annual reports to satisfy subscribers and encourage further donations. Without exception, seamen's missions used this device throughout the nineteenth century, often quoting extensively. The published extracts and the entries in some

119 There are several reference to the problem of making up the rota in the Committee minutes of the Plymouth Bethel (e.g. 13 Dec. 1841, 6 May 1856), and to ministers not turning up (13 Nov. 1861); in 1851 it agreed to to the less than satisfactory measure of filling gaps in the rota with theological students from Western College, a congregational theological college in Plymouth (4 Aug. 1851).

surviving manuscript journals give ample insight into the work of seamen's missionaries.¹²⁰ As well as providing a 'log book' record of how missionaries' time was spent, the journals also include their subjective judgements on the moral and religious state of the individuals subjected to their ministrations, while the antagonism to Roman Catholicism emerges in several entries, as illustrated in the following extract:¹²¹

One young man, the mate of a schooner most thankfully received some tracts and said that he was present at the Bethel on Sabbath evening...I found that he had been a Roman Catholic, but had now utterly renounced the unscriptural doctrines of that Church, and that from a conviction of his condition as a sinner, and that if he was[?] ever saved it must be through alone[?] merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, he said my heart is very hard but I do sincerely wish to enjoy pure religion, the captain...is a pious man, the two boys are catholics but they also attend our services, I was delighted with my visit on board of this vessel and thankful to percieve how God the Holy Spirit is at work upon the hearts of my brother sailors...

Tracts are almost invariably recorded as being accepted with gratitude and almost all the visits which are described with some detail are ones where the missionary was well received. Some of the phrases attributed to the mate in the above example seem more likely to originate from the religious training of the missionary, who was apparently yet another former seafarer. Much of Robert Day's journal whether reporting ship visits or those to boarding houses or seamen's families is in the style illustrated here. Were they perhaps the rarer moments of success in an otherwise indifferent or even antagonistic environment? The missionaries worked and their churches,

120 Examples for this period include those of Robert Day, Port Missionary of the Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union, for the period 1848 to 1850 (Liverpool City Record Office, (LCRO), 361 Mer 2/1), and Thomas Brooks, Missionary of the PSSSFRU, for the period 1855 to 1858 (West Devon Record Office (WDRO) 1107/1 and 1107/2); the latter is in two volumes, the record alternating between them on a monthly basis, the one not in use being circulated amongst members of the Bethel sub-committee who supervised his work.

121 Journal of Robert Day, Friday, 23 June 1848; the emphasis is as written; two words are unclear.

chapels or Bethel rooms were located in the worst areas of the ports. The journal of Thomas Brooks presents what seems a more balanced picture. The Plymouth Bethel chapel was surrounded by beer and public houses and at the heart of the 'red light' district; services were affected:¹²²

In consequence of the noise last evening, and singing profane language in a beer house, this morning I went with Mr. Fuge [the policeman] to see the landlord. I reminded him of the services and pointed out what he would be liable to if he annoyed the service again.

On occasion his tracts were torn up in front of him, and he refers to men, backsliders, who tried to avoid him on the quays. The tendency to use the journal to express personal feelings and difficulties is evident in both examples, but particularly with Brooks'. The accidental death of his wife and his illnesses appear in some detail, while his visits to seamen and others who were ill, some approaching death, receive great attention, particularly the reaction of the sufferer in the spiritual context, where signs of salvation were looked for. Visiting a dying master he:¹²³

... enquired how it was with the soul. He replied well...seized with a sudden attack... he broke out in a most triumphant manner exclaiming 'Bless the Lord O my soul'... there appeared to be a state of glory on his countenance...we then went [to] prayer committing him to God.

As early as 1827, the Edinburgh and Leith Seamen's Friend Society considered that "... the practical utility of the whole variety of means [of mission] had been fairly tried...".¹²⁴ This would appear to be the most extensive programme of spiritual and social welfare outside London (that initiated by George Charles Smith at his Mariner's Church) reported in the Sailor's Magazine. In a systematic analysis of its approach the Society reported that it had

¹²² Journal of Thomas Brooks, 9 Oct. 1855.

¹²³ Journal of Thomas Brooks, 31 Dec. 1855.

¹²⁴ Report of the Committee of Directors, Sailor's Magazine, 9 (1827), 516-22.

paid attention to the home and family of the sailor, the sailor at sea and the sailor in port. Under the first head the effect of the father's absence on the family are noted and compensated by the formation of boys' and girls' day schools and with Sunday schools; seamen's widows and orphans were visited regularly and given financial support; for foreign seamen services in European languages were arranged. Under the second head seamen were supplied with tracts and copies of the scriptures, and small 'portable' lending libraries were supplied to ships. Under the final head came the recommendation of respectable seamen's lodging houses (10 at that time); the opening the previous year of an adult academy where the studies undertaken ranged from reading and writing to navigational calculations as advanced as lunar distances, perhaps the most complex problem a navigator needed to solve; a savings bank for seamen had been opened and a benevolent fund started; finally there was the regular pattern of worship in the Society's floating chapel.

Some of these methods were adopted by other Bethel societies, however more elaborate developments might have financial and management implications which might have prevented some societies achieving such a wide range of activities. Running a day school posed such problems: without one a society might have no employees or only a shipkeeper or caretaker, but with one almost certainly the salary of a full time teacher would have to be supported, even though small fees might be levied. The Plymouth Bethel, however, opened a school in 1845, appointing a teacher at £30 per annum.¹²⁵

Financing missionary activity

In theory, it should have been possible for a local

¹²⁵ PSS3F38U, Committee minutes, 27 June 1845.

seamen's mission to pursue the missionary objective without any supporting finance. In such a scenario all members would give freely of their time for taking the spiritual message to seafarers on board ships, and in the port districts. Services would be held on board ships or on the open quayside. The society's constitution would define the obligations of membership, and the function of the committee would be to deploy the members as the need dictated. As members would also be members of local churches or chapels, it would be their function to enlarge or replenish the membership from that source. Society meetings would be accommodated without charge in local religious premises, and members would finance their own expenses, if they had any. This zero cost model, that of a missionary brotherhood, was closely approximated at the start of the religious revival amongst seafarers, and it may be argued that some societies in their early years were not too far removed from it. Expenses generate the need for finance, and they could be kept under control if the apparent human urge to have tangible evidence of mission activity in the form of literature, emblems and a mission base was restrained. Amongst the financial statements which have been located for this period, that for the Plymouth Bethel society in 1829-1830 offers a relatively low cost example.¹²⁶ On a total expenditure of £102 only the rents, totalling £44 for the four lofts it used, comprised a significant proportion. It had no employees and was apparently able to live within its income (95 per cent free giving). Interest of £3 suggests that society had accumulated reserves of about £100. To have run four mission stations implies a reasonable amount of activity, though, of course, evidence on the level of intensity is lacking.

The impact of employing missionary staff and owning

¹²⁶ See Appendix 7, where such income and expenditure statements as have been located and are amenable to tabular presentation, have been laid out to facilitate comparison.

or renting more substantial premises becomes clear when the other available expenditure statements are contrasted with the Plymouth low cost example. Wages, in particular, comprised a significant proportion of expenditure, as Table 2.2 shows. Most of the staff costs were for ordained ministers and lay missionaries. But also included were a ship keeper (Port of London Society 1826/27), school teachers (Plymouth Bethel Society 1858/59), British and Foreign Seamen and Soldiers' Friend Society 1828/29), and church keeper and assistants (BFSSFS 1827/29). Typically wages comprised 40 to 60 per cent of a mission's expenditure in this period. If a mission aspired to more substantial premises the choice lay between renting and buying or building. Purchase, of course, avoided rents but was liable to leave major debts, and maintenance could become a financial drain as the property deteriorated. The Plymouth Bethel built its own chapel in 1831, but the debt created as a result was not paid off until 1842.¹²⁷

Table 2.2

Seamen's missions: donated income, deputation expenses and staff wages, 1827-1865

Mission		Total donated income	Deputation expenses as % TDI		Wages as % total expenditure	
		£	£	%	£	%
Liverpool	1840/41	529	61	12	357	61
SFSBU	1844/45	492	42	9	230	46
	1850/51	549	24	4	303	53
Br. & Fgn	1827/28	1749	305	17	565*	43
SSFS	1828/29	2418	557	23	888*	39
Plymouth	1858/59	96			79	81
Wesleyan	1855	460	57	12	206	44
SMS	1860	526	53	10	337	61
	1865	708	42	6	398	54

Source: Appendix 7.

* New Sailor's Magazine printing costs have been excluded from total expenditure.

¹²⁷ P363F3BU committee minutes, 25 Nov. 1942.

However maintenance costs thereafter were probably low, and the society had no accommodation costs in 1858/59.¹²⁸ The floating chapel solution to accommodation, even where the ship was granted on loan, could still leave significant maintenance charges to be covered by a society as none of the ships were new. Repairs to the original floating chapel, that of the Port of London Society, cost £213 in 1826/27 out of a total expenditure of £409, and there was an outstanding bill for £60. At Liverpool the Bethel society had by 1858 given up its floating chapel, but the opening of a second Bethel chapel ashore had increased rents from £50 in 1845 to £140 in 1851.¹²⁹

The universal method of generating income to cover the costs of mission activities was the solicitation of subscriptions and donations. In the examples of finances under consideration the societies were almost wholly dependent upon donated monies. The existence of interest earning reserves appears in three of the accounts. In 1840/41 the Liverpool used £220 to reduce a debit balance which otherwise would have reached £316; Plymouth had about £100 in 1830 but its new chapel probably absorbed this; in 1865, the Wesleyan Society received a legacy £270 which was placed on deposit. The British and Foreign Seamen and Soldiers' Friend Society had rent income (£79 in 1828/29) from letting parts of the houses it occupied, and it had sales income (£861 in 1828/29) for the New Sailor's Magazine, though publication costs seem to have exceeded this sum.

Commitment to expenditure meant that societies needed to pay particular attention to maintaining the level of donated income. Most paid collectors a commission to obtain subscriptions, though the Plymouth society expected its

¹²⁸ See Appendix 7.

¹²⁹ LSFBSU, annual reports, 1844/45, 1850/51.

missionary to do this work.¹³⁰ Seamen's missionaries, particularly ministers and clergy, devoted part of their time to 'deputations' where permission was given for them to preach about their missions in churches and chapels and collections were taken. As a result fund raising branches (also called auxiliaries) might be set up. The Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society, for example, in 1851, had some 155 subscribers and donors in Liverpool, and was further supported by collections made inland, at Ashton-under Lyne, Bolton, Kendal, Lancaster, Northwich, Rochdale and Warrington, while Manchester was more formally organised as an auxiliary covering Manchester and Salford.¹³¹ It is likely that the distinction between subscribers and donors was blurred from the earliest days of the seamen's mission movement, as no doubt it was in other charitable organisations. Though technically only subscribers were members, many would be unlikely to take an active part and perhaps ought to be thought of as supporters rather than members. Of those listed as subscribers by the Liverpool society in 1851, at least 35 were businesses the majority of which were unlikely to be active participants. Several were associated with shipping such as Messrs. Lamport and Holt. Deputation work implied travelling expenses to be met from the monies given. Table 2.2 shows the cost to societies of this work (including collectors commissions). Typically this amounted to about 10 per cent of all donated funds. However George Charles Smith's society seems to have incurred deputation costs at twice this level, though the distinction of that activity from travelling missions was not clear cut.

Perhaps the most marked contrast in this selection of accounts is that between Smith's British and Foreign Seamen and Soldiers' Friend Society and the other societies. The BFSSFS far outstripped the others in both levels of income

130 PSSSFSSU, Committee minutes, 5 Oct. 1843. It is also mentioned in Thomas Brooks' journal.

131 LSFSSU, Annual report, 1850/1851.

and expenditure. Despite his separation from his earlier societies Smith managed to carry his supporters with him and his charisma in deputation work clearly attracted a sizeable income. However his broad vision of religious and benevolent centres for seafarers and their families, and a mission amongst soldiers, led to the society becoming grossly over extended, with debts of £799 being more than doubled to about £1700 from 1828 to 1829.¹³² Although higher levels of income and expenditure (and deficit) were achieved in the next two years adverse publicity centred on Smith himself led to the demise of this society in 1832.¹³³

Towards the end of the period under consideration, the formation of the Anglican Missions to Seamen, with its dynamic leadership and national vision, brought a new dimension to mission finances.¹³⁴ Its methods of fund raising were similar to those discussed above though deputation work may have been more important as collection income formed by far the largest income head. In 1860 This amounted to £3839 (81 per cent) compared with subscriptions and donations £743 (16 per cent) and branch income £162 (3 per cent). But with the attempt to tap income sources throughout the country came higher costs compared with the smaller societies. In 1860 deputation and collection expenses at £768 amounted to 16 per cent of total donated income. Wages, however, at about 49 per cent of total expenditure (about £1960) compare well with those of the societies above. With its emphasis on reaching the seaman

132 New Sailor's Magazine, 2 (1829), 284-92, contains a full statement of the Society's activities as a justification for a special appeal for more funds to liquidate its debts. There were about 15 employees, and about 10 buildings were rented for chapels, reading rooms, offices, school rooms, a library, and staff accommodation. There were a boys' and a girls' school for seafarers' children.

133 Kverndal, chap. 12, explores the events in full.

134 See Table 2.1 (page 67) and Appendix 9d. The Mersey Mission to Seamen (MMtS) was formed under the same initiative and at the same time as the Missions to Seamen (MtS). It has always insisted on being an independent organization. However, MtS treated it as a branch, including data on it in its annual reports and accounts until about 1740. As no separate accounts for the MMtS have so far been located financial data comes from the MtS accounts.

afloat, the Missions to Seamen had a significant cost head, boat expenses, which in 1860 amounted to £567 (14 per cent) of expenditure.

The formation of sailors' homes

As has already been noted,¹³⁵ the idea that seafarers should have special accommodation provision made for them separate from that available in boarding houses as the forces of demand and supply dictated, was not new when the terms sailor's home or asylum were adopted towards the end of the 1820s. Nor was concern for seafarers accommodation new at that time to the seamen's mission movement.¹³⁶ Even the concept of an establishment providing an integrated range of facilities and services for seafarers had been expressed publically earlier in the decade by the Rev. G.C. Smith and it was he that elaborated the idea in print and at his Mariners' Church.¹³⁷ Having created the Church as a focus for seamen, Smith's organisation soon found itself helping some to find ships and providing support for destitute men, especially in winter when employment was particularly difficult to obtain. This last need became so pressing that yet another of Smith's initiatives, the Destitute Sailor's Asylum came into being early in 1828, providing the most basic of sleeping accommodation and limited sustenance for about 160 persons.¹³⁸ With his previous concern for the quality of seamen's boarding houses, and his recent initiatives, it was to be expected that Smith would wish to add to the network of organizations with which he was associated, one which provided accommodation, banking and employment agency

¹³⁵ See page 7.

¹³⁶ See page 56.

¹³⁷ See page 59, footnote 82. Elaborated ideas were published in Sailor's Magazine on several occasions, eg: 6 (1825), 372-9 (formation of the Mariners' Church Society); 6 (1825), 527; 7 (1826), 522-3.

¹³⁸ Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 324-6. An empty warehouse in Dock Street was rented for the Asylum.

services for seafarers between voyages. In this way the machinations of the crimps might be excluded.

The first moves towards this new establishment came in a blaze of publicity following the collapse of a theatre in Well Street, adjacent to Wellclose Square, at the end of February, 1828.¹³⁹ Smith advocated acquiring the site so that a purpose built 'maritime establishment' could be erected. The idea seems to have caught the imagination of supporters and funds to purchase the site were soon acquired. Two naval officers, Captains George Gambier and Robert Elliott, who had assumed responsibility for the Destitute Sailors' Asylum from G. C. Smith, played important roles in this initiative, but it was Elliott who stayed with the project through the difficult years whilst building progressed slowly owing to shortage of funds. This first Sailors' Home finally opened in 1835, with Elliott staying on to manage it. However by that time the arrangements were no longer in accord with Smith's ideas. He had spelled out the case for the Home in the summer of 1828, with operational details.¹⁴⁰ Clearly, he anticipated some of the activities at his Mariners' Church being incorporated in this new venture. In his plan the building would be in three sections. The south wing would house the Destitute Sailors' Asylum and the north wing would accommodate seamen recently discharged from ships, with baggage storage, a register office (for references), a savings bank, and a shipping office. The centre section would comprise a non-denominational 'chapel-of-ease' to the Mariners' Church, together with rooms for day and Sunday schools. This would be operated by Smith's Seamen's and Soldiers' Friend Society, the two other wings being run as separate institutions, but under the same management.

139 Kverndal, Seamen's missions, chap. 16, relates the circumstances in which the site was acquired and the events in which Smith was eventually excluded from the development of his brain child.

The pages of the New Sailor's Magazine from 1828 onwards contain numerous, lengthy statements of Smith's ideas on the function of the Sailors' Home, and on his view of the dispute.

140 New Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1828), supplement to the July issue, 1-5; see illus. pp. xciii-xcv.

Although Smith's association with the Sailors' Home and the Destitute Sailors' Asylum came to an end in the Autumn of 1829,¹⁴¹ the underlying cause being serious religious differences with George Gambier who was treasurer, many of his ideas were eventually incorporated. However, Smith was especially disappointed in one area. Perhaps with an eye to encouraging support amongst persons of influence, Elliott invited the Bishop of London to become the Home's Patron. Agreement was made subject to the chapel and the chaplain being Anglican, and paved the way for the building of St. Paul's Church for Seamen and the merger of the Episcopal Floating Church Society.¹⁴² Perhaps Gambier and Elliott had hoped for that development from the start, without Smith realising it. In 1831 he complained¹⁴³

...it never entered into our head that all Dissenting and Methodist ministers were to be totally excluded from this building.

Further, he felt that, later, the intention had been concealed despite requests for clarification of the issue.

It was found convenient to evade all reply to these demands, because the appeals [for donations], when made to large bodies of Dissenters and Methodists, who might have withheld if they had known that their pastors and preachers were never to be admitted to preach to sailors in the building in Well street.

Despite his disillusionment, Smith promptly embarked on a parallel initiative, producing plans for an even more ambitious Sailors' Rest,¹⁴⁴ part of his design opening in 1830 as the New Sailors' Asylum. The demise of his society in 1832 thwarted this evolution and the Sailors' Home, when

141 Kverndal, Seamen's missions, 335, shows that Gambier had Irvingite views about Christ's imminent return, which hindered the proper development of the scheme.

142 See page 66.

143 New Sailor's Magazine, 5 (1831), 293. The wording in the second quotation is as printed.

144 New Sailor's Magazine, 2 (1829), 529-35. Smith achieved no more than this, though his ideas now included proper medical care, care for disabled and aged seafarers, state measures and shipowner action against crippling, legal aid, reform of seamen's expenses, and even a seamen's cemetery.

it opened in 1835 was the only agency of its kind.¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the services which it provided had the potential at least to limit crimping activity, though in a context of shipping expansion it was not the final answer.

The development was certainly noticed. The Select Committee on Shipwrecks, under the enlightened chairmanship of James Silk Buckingham, included the establishment of 'asylums' in British ports in its list of far sighted social recommendations,¹⁴⁶ and eventually a facility to encourage the establishment of homes was included in the Mercantile Marine Act, 1850, and re-enacted in the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894.¹⁴⁷ Measures to assist destitute seafarers were certainly being taken by the Bethel societies at other ports at for example Edinburgh, already noted, and at Bristol.¹⁴⁸ At Liverpool, an Asylum for the Houseless Poor operated like the Destitute Sailors' Asylum; in one week in November, 1830, it accommodated 438 sailors out of 826 persons taken in.¹⁴⁹ It was at Liverpool that the first effort to emulate the Sailors' Home in London, was made. A provisional committee, formed in December, 1837, lapsed when the Corporation and Dock Trustees declined assistance.¹⁵⁰ A reformed committee managed to achieve subscriptions for £1800 by 14 April 1841, but it was not until 10 May 1844, when the Council allocated land that the project seemed likely to succeed. In August architect's plans were discussed, and by November donations had reached £5000. Temporary premises were opened in April 1845, but the new building was not occupied until 1850.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵ See page 77. On the plans of the Home, Appendix 11h, this is the block facing Well Street.

¹⁴⁶ Report of the Select Committee on Shipwrecks, BPP, 1836, XVII, para. 33; see also Williams, James Silk Buckingham, in, Fisher (ed), Studies in British privateering, section III.

¹⁴⁷ 13 & 14 Vict., c.93, cl. 43 (permitted fees paid to Board of Trade shipping masters to be appropriated to the use of homes), cl. 124 (allowed local authorities to provide sites for homes); 57 & 58 Vict., c.60, cl. 259.

¹⁴⁸ New Sailor's Magazine, 5 (1831), 73. See also page 71.

¹⁴⁹ New Sailor's Magazine, 5 (1831), 73.

¹⁵⁰ MMRC, D/LH 1-2a, Liverpool Sailors' Home, Minutes of the Provisional Committee.

¹⁵¹ Liverpool Sailors' Home, Minute book 1, 1844-1878; see illus. p. xcvi.

Both the London and Liverpool sailors' home schemes involved considerable sums of money in the acquisition of sites and the erection of new buildings of some stature. Apart from other difficulties faced by all new initiatives in getting started, the collection of finance alone would account for the long gestation periods. The London society had spent £3896 by the end of 1829, before building started, but made provision for erection in stages as finance and demand dictated; when it opened there were cabins for 100 men, but eventually its capacity increased to 500.¹⁵² Liverpool also provided for erection in stages; in 1846 estimates amounted to £24,625, a considerable sum to raise in donations. It opened with a capacity of 150, intended to increase to 342.¹⁵³

It is not immediately clear why over a decade had to elapse following the opening of the London home, before moves began to be made in other British ports for the founding of similar establishments. There had been ample publicity respecting their merits,¹⁵⁴ and fund raising for the London home had extended throughout the country initially through George Charles Smith's example. This was developed through deputation work by Captain Elliott and others on the Home's committee, and had produced a significant number of auxilliary societies to the Sailors' Home in London, which in 1840 numbered 35.¹⁵⁵ Some were inland, but 15 were at ports, at some of which homes were later founded. Of course in London and Liverpool as the country's largest ports, the scale of crimping activity could be clearly demonstrated and the need more easily justified. It is possible that the existence of this fairly extensive branch network to the London home, which

¹⁵² Sailors' Home annual reports.

¹⁵³ Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 6 Oct. 1846, 25 Jan. 1853.

¹⁵⁴ In addition to the points made above, the new, influential professional journal, the Nautical Magazine (first published 1832) advocated a network of homes funded through 'seamen's sixpences' and the shipping industry ashore (1 (1837), 333), and subsequently reported all new developments.

¹⁵⁵ Annual report for 1839-40.

used the term 'sailors' home' without geographical qualification, might have inhibited local developments by giving the impression that it was a society operating nationally. After all Smith had advocated a home in every port in his 1828 plan, and sailors' homes had been founded overseas.¹⁵⁶ Nor was interest in establishing homes in naval ports lacking. In 1846, Admiral Sir George Cockburn called for a written report on the working of the London home with respect to establishing homes at Devonport and Portsmouth.¹⁵⁷

Although George Green, a London shipowner, had built a private home in London in 1841 (illus. p. xcvi), for seafarers serving in his own ships,¹⁵⁸ it seems that the efforts of a travelling advocate were needed to stimulate initiatives in other ports. This role was assumed by Captain W.H. Hall, R.N., and in the decade from 1849 the majority of independent sailors' homes (as distinct from accommodation provided by the missionary societies) came into existence.¹⁵⁹ Compared with the two original homes, some of this group began to function remarkably quickly, though these were much less ambitious schemes. The formation of the Royal Cornwall Sailors' Home at Falmouth seems to be representative; it opened only nine months after the initial moves. A small group of local people, including four naval officers met with Captain Hall on 1 September, 1851, and the following day he addressed a public meeting explaining the need for a home and quoting the examples at London, Dublin and Devonport.¹⁶⁰ The Committee sought patronage from the local aristocracy, toured local towns seeking support, tried for funds in

¹⁵⁶ See page 79. E.g. Calcutta Sailors' Home, 1837, Kverndal, *Seamen's missions*, 390.

¹⁵⁷ Committee minutes, 11 June 1846, NHM, SAN 1/2. Lord Ellenborough (Lord Privy Seal) "...was anxious to have them for the navy."

¹⁵⁸ 'Labour and the poor', Letter XLVIII, *Morning Chronicle*, 19 April 1850, 5. cols 2-3.

¹⁵⁹ See Appendix 10 for a list of sailors homes.

¹⁶⁰ Royal Cornwall Sailors' Home and Hospital, Minute Book 1, 1851-1855. Surviving records are held at Rogers & Co, Solicitors, Falmouth, on behalf of the Cornwall Seamen's Benevolent Trust, which handles the financial residue of the Home (closed 1957).

London, Liverpool and Exeter, and wrote to the Queen. On 30 March, 1852, estimates based on ten residents paying 12s. weekly board and lodging showed an annual income of £458 and messing costs were estimated at £392. With about £450 in donations, the Committee felt justified in leasing a house for £35 annually, repairing and equipping it to sleep twenty seafarers, and employing a superintendent at £30 per year; the Home opened on 17 May 1852.¹⁶¹

This pattern of development was reminiscent of that of the Bethel movement; apart from the personality of Captain Hall and, perhaps, the earliest home in Well Street, London, in the role of consultant, there was no national body co-ordinating provision or setting standards. Possibly with such a purpose in mind, Captain Hall formed the Sailors' Home Institution in 1852, with offices in London.¹⁶² It was within this structure that he opened the Poplar Sailors' Home at the entrance to the City Canal, Isle of Dogs, London, with fifty beds, in February 1854.¹⁶³ As the house was loaned free of charge by the Messrs. Somes, shipowners, the costs may not have been very great. But it was not listed in the 'Return of Sailors' Homes', 1860, so it may not have been a success.¹⁶⁴ Whether Hall had such a close involvement with any other homes is uncertain. However, a home was reported as being opened in 1869 in Rotherhithe, London, by the Sailors' Home Society which may be the same organization.¹⁶⁵

Almost all the initiatives for founding homes came from persons of some social standing, though many had seen sea service; initiatives from serving seafarers, due to the nature of sea employment were, predictably, rare. However, in one case, Great Yarmouth Shipwrecked Sailors' Home, the

161 West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser, 28 May 1852, and Minute book 1.

162 Nautical Magazine, 22 (1853), 89-94, reviews the spread of homes to that date.

163 Illustrated London News, 25 Feb. 1854.

164 BPP, 1860, LX, 327-401. It was not listed in Kelly's Post Office Directory of London after 1859.

165 The Times, 29 March 1869, 7, col. f.

call came from local mariners, principally fishermen and boatmen. These began meeting to discuss their requirements in July 1858. Their ideas included an institute near the beach from which they worked containing a school, library, museum and refreshment facilities to which members would be admitted for a subscription of 1d. per week,¹⁶⁶ and have overtones of a mutual improvement society such as a working men's association. In 1860, elements of a fishing co-operative appear. The superintendent of the home was to make out articles for each boat's crew at the start of fishing voyages, and dole papers at the end, and to administer the shipment of the catch. The local authorities assisted the initiative, by supporting fund raising and

Table 2.3

Great Yarmouth Shipwrecked Sailors' Home
Annual usage data, 1859 to 1864

	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864
<u>Institute</u>						
Members		224	220	227	223	201
Reading Room	8120	7668	7502	8490		
Pupils	738	711	342	339		
Visitors	2382	1577	3312	2922	3131	1078
<u>Refuge</u>						
Coffee Room	6928	7832	6885	8139		
Inmates	441	705	376	421	459	551
Shipwrecked			209	240	336	412
<u>Ships signalled</u>						
New code	918	2470	3770	4039	4681	3911
Other codes	184	579	440	542	965	1178
Totals	1402	3049	4210	4581	5646	5089

Source: Daily log of the home, NRO, S04/5, S04/6

providing the site on the developing sea front. Draft rules and objects, are identical in many places with those of the London home, but a number of practical elements of benefit to practising seafarers were inserted.¹⁶⁷ An electric time ball (for rating chronometers), wind gauge, illuminated clock and signal mast were to be provided when funds

¹⁶⁶ Norfolk Record Office (NRO), S04/1, Minute Book 1, 1858-1859. The original title was the Great Yarmouth Seamen's and Seamen's Institute and British and Foreign Sailors' Home.

¹⁶⁷ Committee minutes, 4 Nov. 1858, NRO, S04/1; Sailors' Home, London, Annual report, 1859.

allowed, and the home was to include a night refuge for shipwrecked men. The signal station operated from January 1859 and the society moved from temporary accommodation to its new building in 1860 (see illus. p. c). Table 2.3 illustrates the unusual combination of formal membership of local beneficiaries of the home's facilities with visiting or emergency use by other seafarers. Although the involvement of local fishermen and boatmen is clear, the formation of a Board of Directors including the Mayor of Great Yarmouth in 1858, suggests that middle class, non seafarer experience ensured the success of the venture.

Sailors' homes in operation

The opening of sailors' homes in Britain's largest ports took the voluntary welfare movement amongst seafarers into a completely new levels of operation. One dimension was the direct challenge (as a major competitor) to the established providers of services to paying customers, with which was linked the attempt to control seafarers whilst they were ashore. It was predictable that the small business people involved, whether corrupt or genuine, would fear for their livelihoods, and it is not surprising that the ever present tension between the two developed into open conflict from time to time. Another dimension was the size to which sailors' home operations grew in the largest ports such as London and Liverpool. The main anti-crimping features provided by homes, accommodation, banking facilities, storage of personal effects, and employment services (seamen's register and shipping office), meant that they were much more than large hotels. With large numbers of seafarers passing through and thousands of transactions, the larger homes became businesses with many people in their employment. As time progressed the effort to persuade seafarers to make use of homes drew them into other activities, notably cartage services and clothes selling. Further, the earlier homes in particular, made provision for missionary activities. The extent to which

for many years the London home fulfilled this role is not always appreciated. Although mainly concerned with the seafarer 'in funds', most homes made provision for assisting destitute seafarers with cash or with free food and accommodation, and thus justified the calls they made on donors and subscribers.

Once established, sailors' homes in theory required no further donations to maintain their main activity. They were intended to be self supporting, though perhaps not profit-making. Their charges for board and lodging might well have been based on the cost of provisions, heating, laundry, staffing, administration and maintenance, without reference to the cost of the site and building. However, charges were influenced by local conditions including those prevailing in private seamen's boarding houses. At the London home the main charge for full board, lodging and washing was for many years from 1835 set at 14s. per week, with reduced levels of about 11s. for apprentices and 12s. ordinary seamen.¹⁶⁸ In 1850, 14s appears to have been the general charge in London seamen's boarding houses, though at Green's home, perhaps owing to an owner's subsidy, it was 12s.¹⁶⁹ The Liverpool home was charging 15s in 1856, while at Bristol in 1853 the equivalent charge was 11s.4d.¹⁷⁰ Most homes attempted to maintain the flow of donations. The London home achieved particularly strong support in its early years. In 1840, for example, this comprised 55 per cent of ordinary income.¹⁷¹ But by 1850 it had fallen to 12 per cent, and by 1866 to 3 per cent. This was a period of gradual expansion for this home, first by completing the original building, and then by the purchase of adjoining land and the building of a new wing in Dock

168 Annual report for 1835; 'Labour and the poor', Letter XLVII, Morning Chronicle, 11 April 1850, 5, col.6. All homes seem to have operated lower rates for boys and apprentices.

169 'Labour and the Poor', Morning Chronicle, 11 April 1850, 5, col.2; May 2 1850, 5, col.6.

170 Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 29 Feb. 1856, MMRO D/LH; Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 5 May 1853, held at the Home.

171 See Appendix 11b.

Street (completed 1865) which brought the capacity to over 500 beds.¹⁷² In contrast at the Bristol Sailors' Home with 52 beds, voluntary giving accounted for about 25 per cent of income in the 1850s.¹⁷³ Were these subsidies really needed? In 1866 Toynbee argued that homes could not be made self financing because their charges had to match those at the lowest boarding houses; donations of £200 to £300 were "absolutely necessary".¹⁷⁴ As Table 2.4 shows, the accounts of the Bristol Sailors' Home, where staffing and services could not be considered excessive, support this view. London required some donated finance in 1850 and

Table 2.4

Bristol & London sailors' homes: finances, 1854-66

	Bristol	London		
	Mean 1854-60	1850	1855	1866
	£	£	£	£
Ordinary income*	558	5151	7122	10236
Ordinary expenditure	718	5231	7603	9108
Donated income	176	719	449	304
Balance on the year	16	639	(-)32	1432

Source: Appendices 11b, 12b. *Excl. donated income.

rather more in 1855, but in 1866 it was unnecessary. However, these are isolated years which do not reveal the prevailing pattern. In neither example is any account taken of the need for funds for major renovations, or expansion.

Henry Mayhew, in his investigation of the London home in 1850, wondered why it was not self-supporting. He suggested that the need for contributions in 1848/49 of £2000 was 'inexplicable' and that staff costs of £1200 were excessive.¹⁷⁵ On the basis of number of beds offered staff costs of £3.6 per bed compared with £2.6 at Bristol seems

172 Sailors' Home minute books, 1840-65, passim., NHM, SAH 1/1 to 1/5; see Appendix 11b & illus. p.xcv.

173 See Appendix 12b.

174 Toynbee, 'Social condition of seamen', Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, 587.

175 'Labour and the poor', Letter XLVII, Morning Chronicle, 11 April 1850, 5, col.1.

to support this assertion.¹⁷⁶ But this takes no account of the additional tasks which London undertook. The larger scale of finances plus the savings bank demanded extra officials, including well paid accountants, to avoid fraud, of which the home had some experience,¹⁷⁷ and Mayhew makes no allowance for the educational and missionary work which contemporary society would have endorsed. With respect to contributions, 1848/49 was an exceptional year. Of the £2000, £1176 came as a result of a special appeal and legacies. Unless finances were severely straitened most managements would wish to place such funds in reserve. In 1855 the London home had £5500 invested which earned £180 in interest, yet lost £481 if donated income is excluded.

At first sight Mayhew seems to be on firmer ground in his analysis of the finances of the Destitute Sailors' Asylum for 1848/49.¹⁷⁸ His evaluation of the year's income as £778 instead of £592 led him to under estimate the apparent ratio of salaries as he assessed them (£246) to charitable disbursements of £208. However this last figure includes the wages of the four staff who actually ran the Asylum (£96). More questionable were the payments of £150 to the chaplain, secretary and cashier who were in receipt of salaries from the Sailors' Home, though their duties included Asylum work; certainly some clerical work was necessary. In 1842 the Asylum's share of the Chaplain's salary had been set at £50,¹⁷⁹ and assuming this level obtained in 1850, with slightly smaller sums for the other officials, those salaries must be considered excessive. Mayhew was correct in raising the topic but overstated his case.

176 Mean staff costs, Bristol, 1854-60, £137, beds 52; staff costs, London, 1849/50, £1207, beds 330.

177 Concern about the inadequacy of the accounting system led to a reform in 1840: Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 10 Dec. 1840. Financial irregularities were reported to the Committee for example on 11 Aug. 1842, 12 Sept. 1844, 9 Oct. 1845.

178 'Labour and the poor', Letter LI, Morning Chronicle, 9 May 1850, 5, col.6.

179 Sailors' Home committee minutes, 27 Oct. 1842.

Justifying the use of charitable funds was a small problem compared with the range of difficulties which beset homes in their operational relationships. In their efforts to persuade seafarers to use homes and to protect them from wasteful use of their accumulated resources, homes were in danger of emulating the crimps by trying to control the seafarer on shore. From their inception and almost throughout the nineteenth century problems arose in their relationships with outsiders, such as slopsellers and carmen, who wanted access to men in the home for commercial reasons, and through their rules and procedures perhaps at times over zealously applied by their employees.

To get seafarers 'in funds' to use homes instead of boarding houses when newly arrived in port, homes found that they had to meet the crimps 'head on' by employing their own representatives to board ships immediately on arrival. At times the activities of the London sailors' home agents led to complaints, and they had to be reprimanded, one being dismissed in 1847 for exceeding his authority. But when agents were attacked by crimps, homes supported them in court.¹⁸⁰ The Bristol home found that having its porter meet ships when they berthed in the docks was ineffective, but they resisted employing an agent to board ships at the mouth of the River Avon until 1859; it was not long before he was accosted by a boarding house keeper who subsequently appeared in court.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, this was a successful initiative, improving the daily average number of seafarers entering the home from 2.0 in 1859 to 3.1 in 1860.¹⁸²

Perhaps the most intractable of problems which homes

¹⁸⁰ Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 9 July 1841, 14 March 1844, 13 June 1844, 14 May 1846, 14 June 1847.

¹⁸¹ Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 7 June 1853, 3 March 1854, 12 Feb. 1856, 15 Feb. 1859, 3 March 1859, 7 July 1859.

¹⁸² See Appendix 12a.

faced lay in their handling of seafarers' finances and the persistence of slops sellers in obtaining the custom of resident seafarers. Practice at the London home exemplifies the situation, though it may not be representative of that at smaller homes. Seafarers who entered the Sailors' Home were advanced small sums (up to 20s.) as pocket money pending the deposit of pay balances. The genuine need of some for clothing and the efforts of the slopsellers led to sales 'on account', while the desire of some seafarers for larger sums in cash than the Home would advance was also satisfied from this source. Slopsellers approved as respectable by the Home, recovered their money by presenting debit slips signed by seamen to its cashier.

Homes were repeatedly accused of unfair treatment and lack of charity in their dealings with seafarers. Likewise, in their relationships with clothing sellers and others attempting to make a living through the custom of seafarers, they were charged with favouring some to the disadvantage of others and with allowing their staff to accept 'considerations'. The effort to shelter seafarers from themselves and from the landsharks undoubtedly rebounded on the homes. Issues which were minuted probably represent only a fraction of the disputes actually handled, and the homes' management committees certainly attempted through their regulations and disciplinary proceedings with staff to achieve a balanced approach to these problems. That for many years difficulties re-emerged may perhaps be partly attributed to the level of wages available to lower level staff in homes, partly to the tendency in larger organizations to bureaucratic inflexibility, and partly to the continuous attempt of the crimping fraternity to discredit homes in seafarers' eyes.¹⁸³ Some of the disputes were reported in the press, but the most serious complaints

183 The foregoing is based on a general reading of minutes and annual reports. Examples of specific incidents include: Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 10 Nov. 1854, 13 Aug. 1855, 3 May 1856, 15 Oct. 1863; Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 10 Nov. 1842, 30 July 1845, 16 May 1850, 13 June 1850, 11 May 1854, 10 Sept. 1857.

against the London home were contained in a further letter in Mayhew's series in which he relayed the observations of his informants at some length.¹⁸⁴ There was truth in some of the numerous points reported, and to some extent Mayhew was justified in his opinion that the letter in response from the Home did not exonerate it. Soon after the Committee ruled that no traders were to be admitted to the home, relaxed late night admission and extended times when withdrawals from the savings bank could be made.

After the provision of accommodation, the two services which the managements of the London and Liverpool homes particularly wished to provide were the savings bank and shipping office. The former denied crimps access to seafarers' money and offered some guarantee that residence bills would be paid, while the latter eliminated crimping pressure (but not necessarily that of the home) at the time of pay off, and made it more likely that wages would be deposited in the savings bank. A further advantage for homes was the income they could earn. In 1845 the Liverpool home proposed to charge owners 1s. per man shipped.¹⁸⁵ The maintenance of a character register of seafarers passing through a home's office, as at Liverpool, provided some incentive for owners to use a home's service in preference to private agencies.¹⁸⁶ It is possible that the London home considered that it had not attracted sufficient business when it abandoned shipping charges in 1844, and it seems to have been something of a coup when the shipowner Isaiah Somes decided to handle all his engagement and discharge business through the Home.¹⁸⁷

The 'nationalization' of shipping office activities

184 'Labour and the poor', Letter XLVIII, *Morning Chronicle*, 19 April 1850, 3, cols.3-5; the response of the Sailors' Home, from its Chairman, Rear Admiral H. Hope, appeared in Letter L, 2 May 1850, 6, cols.5-6.

185 Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 7 March 1845.

186 See page 38.

187 Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 11 Jan. 1844, 13 June 1844.

in 1850 appears to have caused as much dismay to the management of the Liverpool home (in particular) as it must have to private shipping masters.¹⁸⁸ Both the London and Liverpool homes successfully retained the prized relationship by offering accommodation including that for shipping offices and examination rooms, and by effectively transferring their shipping staff.¹⁸⁹ Shipping fees were exchanged for rent income. This agency relationship was extended further when these homes agreed to accommodate navigation schools under the Board of Trade. By 1860, seven homes housed shipping offices, though at all the "salaries and expenses" were separate.¹⁹⁰ While such arrangements ensured that homes were at the centre of engagement and discharge activities and perhaps made sense from a business view point, their status as agencies for seafarers' welfare independent of those trying to control seafarers ashore, crimps, employers and the state alike, was eroded.

Table 2.5

Annual deposits in savings banks at sailors' homes
and the Seamen's Savings Bank, 1845 - 1865

	Well St. Ldn. Dep. Sent home	Bristol	Seamen's S.B.
	£	£	£
1845	25200	4800	
1850	27948	7223	
1855	77845	33934	2217
1860	69104	30002	2469
1865	76781	28578	7580
			14959
			21216

Source: Appendices 11a, 12a, 3a.

188 Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 2, 7, 10, 12, 18, 22, 23, 25 Nov. 1850.

The Mercantile Marine Act, 1850, established Local Marine Boards at larger ports, making them responsible for opening and running shipping offices and the administration of the examination and certification of masters and mates.

189 Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 2, 7, 18, 22, 23, 25 Nov. 1850. The Home set up a joint committee with the Liverpool Local Marine Board which concluded that a staff of 34 and annual salaries totalling £2310 would be required. Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 14, 23 Nov. 12 Dec. 1850. Here the Superintendent of the Home was allowed to add the post of Shipping Master (£105) to his existing appointment and a number of other staff also assumed joint appointments.

190 'Return of all sailors' homes erected', *BPP*, 1860, LX, 388-401. The homes were those at Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool, London (Well Street), London (Greens), North Shields and Ramsgate.

Banking facilities, another anti-crimping measure, were included in sailors' home facilities from their inception. There was generally no provision of simple financial services for ordinary people in this period, though the need for workers such as seafarers who received lump sum payments, must have long been evident. However, when state action was finally taken, the first initiative was for seafarers alone, by which time the London home had twenty years' experience.¹⁹¹ The total sums deposited at homes would have been reduced by deductions for board and other expenses, as well as by cash withdrawals, yet as Table 2.5 shows, the Sailors' Home, London, was by 1865 forwarding 28 per cent of deposits to their relatives. The average deposit per seaman entered was then about £8, and at Bristol about £5. Perhaps the difference reflects the advantage of having the shipping office on the premises. The comparatively small amount deposited in the Seamen's Savings Bank operated by the Board of Trade at shipping offices, suggests that this facility was not attractive. The Liverpool home resisted a merger of its bank with the that of the government in 1856, on the grounds of easier access, but in 1858 it agreed to down-grade its facility to a temporary deposit bank for boarders only.¹⁹² The Seamen's Savings Bank at this stage seems to have been accessible in the normal way only in London, though sailors' homes, as at Bristol, were asked to accept deposits for transmission to London.¹⁹³

Seafarers' welfare at mid-century

By 1865, the dual approach through missions and homes to the spiritual and social welfare of serving seafarers, had succeeded in providing most British ports with some

¹⁹¹ Seamen's Savings Bank Act, 1856, 19 & 20 Vict., c.41.

¹⁹² Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 16 Sept. 1856, 2 Jan. 1858.

¹⁹³ Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 9 Oct. 1856.

form of caring presence. Often this extended beyond the seafarer to his families and the education of his children. In addition, other voluntary agencies had been formed to cater for specific needs such as lifesaving, temporary care for shipwrecked men, seamen's orphans, sick and injured seamen and aged men. Spheres of activity had become defined and informal co-operation existed with respect to social welfare with specific cases being passed on if appropriate. For example, sailors' homes generally acted as agents for the Shipwrecked Mariners' Society, providing overnight accommodation for men returning home. There are numerous cases in the Entry Books of the Bristol Home attesting to its use as a staging post in this process. Homes had also co-operated as state agencies in the administrative procedures introduced under Board of Trade regulation.

Amongst the missionary societies in their various forms, active involvement by subscribers in mission work had declined (though it was by no means extinct) in favour of paid agents, chaplains and lay missionaries. Though small in relation to the total religious activity, this might be considered indicative of the process of secularization at work. Mission management committees were still in control, though the influence of ordained clergy, as with some Anglican examples, could predominate. Anglican clergy were ultimately under the control of their bishops, but in the freer context of the Bethel societies the propensity for forming separate churches with seafarers' families as core members of congregations, certainly existed. The Plymouth society, having adopted a statement of belief in 1832, gave serious consideration to such a move in 1839.¹⁹⁴ Most missions had some form of establishment, seamen's churches or chapels, as focuses for worship, and many had 'institutes', day centres for social and educational activities perhaps offering light refreshments. The most elaborate of these was the British

¹⁹⁴ P555F88U, Committee minutes, 7 June 1839. See Appendix 6c.

and Foreign Sailors' Society's Seamen's Institute opened in London in 1856, to replace its previous headquarters in the old Danish church in Wellclose Square.¹⁹⁵

If by the 1860s missionary activity and social provision for seafarers was as widespread as it would seem, what relationship did it bear to the size of the population at which it was directed? The missionary objective, in simple terms, was the salvation of all seafarers. This implied addressing, in some way, all those who happened to be in port at any one time, a population to which might be added all locally resident seafarers' families. The less ambitious objectives of sailors' homes, limited their target population to those seafarers in port at any time who were not accommodated on board ship or in the homes of their relatives. But, like the crimps, homes catered particularly for the inward bound men having funds. There is no easy way to arrive at such quantifications.

One approach is to consider the numbers of seafarers arriving in British ports. Estimates, daily averages at intervals of five years, are attempted in Appendix 1e for five ports and for the United Kingdom.¹⁹⁶ For the missions the grand totals of men arriving daily would apply, while for the homes the figures for men arriving in British vessels from overseas, those most certain to be paying off, might be considered the minimum target population. Another dimension would be the numbers of ships arriving each day (Appendix 1d). Table 2.6 abstracts such data for 1825 and 1865. The data does not include masters, fishermen and their vessels, or harbour craft (barges, tugs, small boats) and their crews. The increase in the numbers of ships entering port from overseas voyages alone (which of course

¹⁹⁵ See Appendix 8a. That society had occupied the Church from 1845.

¹⁹⁶ The figures in Appendix 1e have been calculated using data in Appendices 1a, 1b, and 1c. The qualifications attaching to that data and its limitations must be kept in mind when considering the results in Appendix 1e.

Table 2.6

Numbers of ships and estimated numbers of men entering port in 1825 and 1865: mean numbers daily

	British ships from overseas				All ships entering port	
	1825		1865		1865	
	Ships	Men	Ships	Men	Ships	Men
Bristol	1.0	13	1.4	17	20.4	76
Liverpool	4.2	56	10.0	267	34.5	513
London	10.9	135	20.1	301	72.7	815
Plymouth			1.1	6	10.2	62
Southampton	0.9	5	2.7	36	8.6	79
United K'dom	37.2	381	87.6	1168	556.6	3950

Source: Appendices 1d and 1e.

may include repeated entrances) is immediately apparent. With it came similar growth in the numbers of seafarers arriving in port. Data on the movement of coastwise shipping is not available for 1825, but is included in the 'all ships' columns for 1865. The excess over the 'overseas' data for 1865 reflects the larger number of repeated entrances. If the number of ships entering is taken as the target for a minimum number of ship visits by voluntary society staff, then they needed to have more than doubled their capability over that period. However, the real target population for the religious objects of seamen's missions must surely be the total numbers of seafarers in port at any time, for which no absolute data exists. Recognizing that any calculation based on multiplying entry figures is highly speculative, two factors may be noted as affecting the mean size of the population for any period. One is length of stay in port, whether on board ship or on shore. The only example available which is tolerably close in time to 1865 is that for seafarers staying at the Sailors' Home, London, in 1870-71 (Appendix 11g) where random sampling shows a mean length of stay of 8.6 nights. But seafarers staying at sailors' homes may not have been typical. One of Mayhew's informants certainly thought that homes were more favoured

by 'steadier' men.¹⁹⁷ Secondly, it must be remembered that parallel to men arriving in port there was a similar body of men, approximately the same numbers, departing in ships. Indeed much mission effort went into reaching outward bound ships to provide literature and hold 'final' short services. Thus a doubling of the figures for men entering port in any period does not seem unreasonable, but any larger multiplier related to periods in port from seven days to 30 days or longer must await detailed analysis of numerous seafaring careers. Finally, it should be noted that mean figures conceal peaks and troughs. Shipping movements were influenced by trade and seasonal factors, the weather and tides, which led to concentrations at certain times; a case could be made for provision related to maxima.

How well, then, did the scale of operations of missions and homes relate to that of seafaring manpower? At the start of this chapter (page 33) attention was drawn to the 65 per cent increase in the numbers of seafarers in British ships. Shipping movements in United Kingdom ports increased even further leading to an estimated doubling of the mean numbers of seafarers entering all ports each day, from 2090 in 1825 to 3950 (Appendix 1e). Sailors' homes, of course, did not exist at the start of this period and nationwide provision had only been in place for a little over a decade by 1865. The London home had, however, progressively increased its capacity since opening in 1835 to over 500 when its extension opened in 1865.¹⁹⁸ In 1840 when a mean of 153 men arrived daily in British ships from overseas, the home admitted an average of 6.0 men per day (4 per cent of those entering port); the corresponding figures in 1865 were 301 and 27.0 (9 per cent).¹⁹⁹ London had also been provided with accommodation by other

¹⁹⁷ 'Labour and the poor', Letter XLVIII, Morning Chronicle, 19 April 1850, 5. col. 5.

¹⁹⁸ See plans Appendix 11h and illus. p.xcv.

¹⁹⁹ See Appendices 1e and 11a.

societies, notably the Strangers' Home for Asiatic Seamen.²⁰⁰ The Bristol home admitted an average of 3 men per day (33 per cent) in 1855, a year when an average of 9 men per day are estimated to have entered the port on British ships from overseas; the corresponding figures for 1865 were 3.9 (23 per cent) and 17.²⁰¹ In practice, seafarers staying at homes were not exclusively those inward bound from overseas. In fact, while the London home seems to have been heavily used, justifying extension, the Bristol home was under-used, thus representing over-capacity.²⁰² While the large numbers of seafarers in ports such as London and Liverpool might have justified extra provision, the smaller homes operating in most other ports probably offered sufficient accommodation. Seamen's missionary provision with its larger target population and spiritual objective, is less easy to assess. That provision was widespread by the mid 1820s is certain (see Appendix 5). It seems probable that the short lived local societies were replaced by new societies in the 1840s and 1850s, particularly by those taking a national perspective and initiating branches as funds allowed. The Missions to Seamen led in this respect but the British and Foreign Sailors' Society and the Seamen's Christian Friend Society (this last on a smaller scale) were also part of this process. Perhaps there was some weakening in the general effort in the 1830s and 1840s, but the position was being recovered by the 1860s. Ports such as London and Liverpool now had three or more societies operating and Plymouth and Bristol had two societies.

200 Opened in 1857, Illustrated London News, 28 Feb. 1857, 194; see illus. p. xcix.

201 See Appendices 1e and 12a.

202 The lack of full useage by seafarers is a repeated comment in the minutes of the Bristol Sailors' Home.

Chapter III

CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION: 1865 - 1914

By the middle of the Victorian period, when owing to the combined effects of industrialization and free trade significant economic growth and prosperity had been experienced, British society was learning to cope with the impact of the rise in population, over half of which now lived in towns, and with the increasing pace of change. Many measures having social implications were already in place and their impact would become apparent during the latter part of the nineteenth century; others would be added. A close inter-relation was growing up between private, philanthropic effort and state regulation, local and national, in which financial grants in various forms enabled voluntary organisations to carry out their objects on a much wider scale than would have been possible with their donated income. New social institutions such as the co-operative and trade union movements were beginning to make an impact. For the seafarer in British ports the combination of further state measures and the spread of seamen's institutes and homes located in port areas, offered some chance of avoiding, if desired, the facilities on offer in sailortown. But, in contrast to the earlier confidence, the country experienced increasing uncertainty during the last decades of the century, in the light of growing competition from other countries indicating that Britain might no longer be at the forefront of industrial development; it seemed also that it might be lagging in social provision compared with other countries. These factors, new ideas and many more alternative ways of using non-working time, undermined the relevance of religion.¹

¹ Briggs, The age of improvement, 323, 395, 403. P. Thane, 'Social history 1860-1914'. in Roderick
(Footnote Continued)

For the British shipping industry, advancing technology was such that, from the 1870s, the power driven vessel was able to move with increasing domination into any trade previously the preserve of the sailing ship. This change is represented crudely in Appendix 1a where it will be seen that the tonnage of steamships equated that of sailing ships as early as 1883. Although parity in numbers of ships was not achieved until 1904, this was a much more significant stage as steamships were capable in a year of three or four times the mileage of sailing ships, while the impact on seafarers generally was felt earlier rather than later (see page 108). This was a period of massive growth for the industry in which the tonnage of ships entering United Kingdom ports more than doubled. Ports themselves were being developed apace, in some cases leaving mission and home buildings behind in locations which were no longer optimum.² The increase in the numbers of seafarers employed, from about 200,000 in 1865 to nearly 300,000 in 1914, suggests a 50 per cent increase in the target population for seafaring charities, but when shipping movements are taken into account, the estimated daily mean numbers of seamen entering United Kingdom ports grew 97 per cent from 3950 in 1865 to 7797 in 1905.³

Missions and homes, whether local or national bodies, were already mature organizations by the 1870s, and despite new developments in welfare organization and provision nationally, they remained essentially products of the earlier phase. In general, homes had reached something of a plateau, and from the 1880s, with crimping effectiveness reduced, the erosion of their original role with returning seafarers and declining usage, their future became less

(Footnote Continued)

Floud and Donald McCloskey (eds), The economic history of Britain since 1700, Volume 2: 1860 to the 1970s (Cambridge University Press, 1981), 199, 232.

² Gordon Jackson, The history and archaeology of ports (Isleworth, World's Work, 1983), 113-7, contains a detailed discussion of the growth revealed in the Annual statements of trade and navigation.

³ See Appendices 1b and 1c.

clear and they sought new ways of fulfilling their objects. Nevertheless, there were some new developments in the sailors' home form of provision. The independent local missions generally continued as before and few if any, new mission societies were formed. But the most notable developments were those of the two national missions, the British and Foreign Sailors' Society and the Missions to Seamen, which achieved spectacular branch growth in the latter years of this period. Increasing emphasis was given to erecting seamen's institutes, and missions also began to develop accommodation which would compete in some ports with the local independent homes. Where institutes were combined with accommodation, communal facilities for residents were in effect made available to non residents. This combination was a particular feature of a new organization aimed mainly at naval seafarers, Agnes Weston's Sailors' Rests.

Religion, drunkenness and social policy

On the surface, religion remained an expanding phenomenon into the twentieth century, in which all forms, Church of England, non-conformist and Roman Catholic, participated.⁴ Evangelicalism remained significant in non-conformity and in the established Church, and was reinforced by revivalism in the 1860s and 1870s, producing new religious organisations and voluntary societies, and renewing support for old ones.⁵ Missionary work amongst seafarers seems largely to have remained in the evangelical tradition. Perhaps the most notable product of the period was the Salvation Army, while one of the few new organizations for seafarers was the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen (1881). Not everyone given to religion found it in the evangelical mould. The strong

⁴ Gilbert, Religion and society in industrial England, chap. 2.

⁵ Neill, Christian missions, 324

classical and historical tradition meant that for some the colour and elaboration of forms of worship from a medieval background had greater appeal. Within the Church of England high church ritualism also underwent revival during the century, despite the open conflict, even riots, which occurred in some areas, and the court cases brought by the authorities over the legality of certain practices.⁶ Perhaps the most notorious series of disturbances occurred in London's sailortown which clustered around the Ratcliffe Highway, at St. George's in the East, a church which is said to have had 154 brothels within four streets from it.⁷ Ritualism made particular progress in the new district churches in the cities, but aspects of ritualism were creeping into Church of England services generally by the end of the century. This recovery has been linked with that of the Roman Catholic Church which, relatively, made the greatest strides in this period,⁸ and an association has been made between catholic medieval ritualism and the military ritualism of the Salvation Army in the context of the elements of applied romanticism, in bringing life and colour to slum areas. Roman Catholics tended to be concentrated in particular parts of the country, for example in Liverpool. There they supplied the extra labour required to work the expanding port with the effect that in the newer north docks the dockers were predominantly Catholic, while in the older south docks they were predominantly protestant.⁹

The apparent strength of the Anglican and non-conformist churches, however, obscured a gradual weakening of the position of religion in society. Church /chapel rivalry intensified as it became clear that

6 Paul, A Church by daylight, chap. 12; for a discussion of ritualism see W.N. Yates, 'The only true friend': ritualist concepts of priestly vocation', in Derek Baker (ed), Religious motivation: biographical and sociological problems for the church historian, 407-15.

7 Paul, A Church by daylight, 68.

8 Kitson Clark, The making of Victorian England, 179, 189.

9 E.L. Taplin, Liverpool dockers and seamen, 1870-1890 (Hull, University of Hull, 1974), 10.

non-conformity was numerically nearly as large as the established church, and as it became more middle class with its leading members becoming more prominent in society, thus increasing the pressure for religious equality. Politics and religion became almost inseparable, and the position of the established church was down-graded by a whole body of ecclesiastical legislation amounting to 'gradual disestablishment'.¹⁰ But, more deeply, cultural changes were pushing religion into a marginal position. The churches were losing their place as institutions 'basic' to the community (determining its nature) and becoming 'serving' institutions not essential for the maintenance of the social order.¹¹ For all levels of society secular matters whether to do with work or recreation began to take priority over the religious imperative. The churches' answer to this was to become major providers of organised recreational activity. Even the special status of Sunday, which the sabbatarians had tried to reserve for church-going and seriousness, was being eroded by the end of the century. Finally, despite all the work the churches undertook in deprived urban areas, large sections of the working classes remained outside structured religion, by reason of culture, poverty or habit.¹² In his analysis of the growth and decline of religious organizations,¹³ Gilbert identifies the Victorian period as the marginal phase for British churches in which

... the responsiveness of the wider society stabilizes or tends to decline, while the organization maintains its position relative to its constituent population through more efficient membership-retention and enhanced facilities for the recruitment of members' children.

10 Gilbert, Religion and society in industrial England, 162-3.

11 Alan D. Gilbert, The making of post-Christian Britain: a history of the secularization of modern society (Longman, 1980), 92.

12 Inglis, Churches and the working classes in Victorian England, 334.

13 Gilbert, The making of post-Christian Britain, 76.

The progressive phase of rapid expansion was already behind them, and the churches entered the recessive phase, decline, at the start of the 1914-18 war. He suggests that they have been in the final residual phase, rapid loss leading to extinction, since about 1960.

An activity which had for many always had preference over religion as an out-of-work activity, was drinking. Despite the greatly increased range of secular recreational activities becoming available in the latter part of the century, and despite the enormous efforts of the temperance movement, drinking seems to have remained a major pastime and drunkenness a major problem particularly in the poorer districts.¹⁴ Free trade in alcoholic drinks was taken further with various licensing measures in the 1860s, followed, as in the 1830s, by a gross increase in the consumption of all intoxicants.¹⁵ However, from 1869, with the ending of the free trade in beer, the drinks trade was gradually brought more under the control of the magistrates, but it was not until the 1900s that real progress in reducing the excessive number of licences began to be made. By the end of the century the problem had been quantified through the work of royal commissions and social investigators. A geographical analysis of the statistics for drunkenness offences in 1894 placed the seaports collectively at the top of the list with 12.6 offences per 1000 of the population, followed by the mining counties at 11.36 and the metropolis at 6.37, the figure for England and Wales as a whole being 6.16.¹⁶ At the close of the Victorian period the problem had yet to be solved, but the temperance movement had had some influence on legislation, had persuaded 'some millions' to abstain from intoxicants, transformed conditions in many homes, and spread the

14 Donald Read, England 1868-1914: the age of urban democracy (Longman, 1979), 109-12.

15 Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, 250.

16 J. Rowntree and A. Sherwell, The temperance problem and social reform (Hodder & Stoughton, 1899), 38. The seaports which were included were Birkenhead, Cardiff, Hull, Liverpool, Newcastle, Newport (Mon), Southampton, South Shields, Swansea and Tynemouth.

knowledge of the effects of alcohol.¹⁷ But if the problem of intemperance was unsolved then it followed that the causes remained uncorrected in spite of the Poor Law and charitable activity. Rowntree and Sherwell, writing in 1899, put the monotony, dullness and active misery of many lives at the top of their list of causes, followed by the absence of adequate provision for social intercourse; their remedies included state control of the liquor trade, and action to relieve overcrowding, improve housing and conditions of employment, and provide alternative places of public recreation to licenced premises.¹⁸

By the 1870s the provision of social welfare had become very big business particularly in the voluntary sector where the proliferation of charities provided employment for large numbers of managers, secretaries and missionaries.¹⁹ Those running establishments such as asylums or sailors' homes employed many working class people. Of great concern was the uneven spread of voluntary provision, geographically and amongst good causes, duplication of effort, inefficiency of operation, lax distribution of assistance, and mis-use of funds. But a key accusation that the over-abundance of charity, permitting multiple applications for aid, actually encouraging poverty and discouraging self help, led to an attempt at rationalization.²⁰ Thus in 1869 the Charity Organisation Society was formed with ideas of co-ordinating the work of charities in London and of providing guidance principles.²¹ A distinction was made between charity for the deserving poor (those having a positive attitude to self-help and the main targets for the voluntary sector) and relief for all others (who should look to the poor law). Emphasis was laid on efficient case work in which

17 Carter, The English temperance movement, 225, 246.

18 Rowntree and Sherwell, The temperance problem and social reform, 419.

19 Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1870 (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1971, Fontana, 1979), 155.

20 Fraser, The evolution of the welfare state, 128-30.

21 Woodroffe, From charity to social work, chap. 2.

each application was fully investigated and recorded and the progress of recipients followed up through visitation, thus bringing a professional approach to charity provision. The Society was also concerned with the detection of fraud, and became a trusted authority which prospective donors to other charities contacted for a confidential evaluation. It has not so far emerged that the Society had any influence on charitable effort for seafarers before 1914, but it was asked for advice on making donations to certain charities. For example, the Charity Organisation Society accumulated a sizeable file between 1904 and 1912 about the Mariners' Friend Society (ca 1848) and was unable to recommend that it be supported.²² At the same time as the initiatives in voluntary provision, the Poor Law was remodelled to bring it closer to the intention of the 1834 reforms, in the wake of a series of crises, notably in London and Lancashire, during the 1860s in which distress had become acute. Rose argues that the new arrangements were a response to fears of increasing urban pauperism and that the²³

...scheme aimed at the elimination of pauperism and the increase of individual self-help, not through a crude system of 'less eligibility', but by means of a complex of institutions to deal with various special categories of the poor and of close co-operation with a scientific, investigative philanthropy which could sort out and allocate these categories.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century new ideas on the causes of poverty and how it should be handled were gaining acceptance. It began to be recognised that unemployment did not imply personal failing, and that it ought to be relieved by the state outside the Poor Law.²⁴ Social investigation, socialism, trade unionism, and working class enfranchisement, were amongst the factors

22 Greater London Record Office (GLRO), A/FMA/C/D14/1, records of the Family Welfare Association successor to the Charity Organisation Society (COS).

23 M.E. Rose, 'The crisis of poor relief in England, 1860-1890', in W.J. Mommsen (ed), The emergence the welfare state in Britain and Germany, 1850-1950 (Croom Helm, 1981), 65.

24 Fraser, The evolution of the British welfare state, 140-1

which raised poverty to a major political issue. Roebuck concludes that²⁵

it was at this time that the working classes really began to associate agitation, unionism, and government legislation with their own living standards, and this association was one which would help determine much of the shape of English society in the twentieth century.

Although the Poor Law remained in place beyond the Edwardian period, the sphere in which it operated was narrowed by a range of measures which, together with others, constituted interference by the state at a level which would have been inconceivable in Victorian times. These included measures concerned with unemployment, school meals, a school medical service, old age pensions and labour exchanges, which would be paid for by a major reform of income tax, in effect a redistribution of wealth. Finally, in 1911, came provision for health and unemployment insurance. The advances of this period constituted a major stage in the evolution of the welfare state in which²⁶

informed public opinion...viewed welfare legislation as conducive to British imperial and economic interests. No longer was it a matter of humanitarian philanthropy, social policy was now good patriotic business.

Industrial change, social theory and the seafarer ashore

Until the 1860s the British merchant fleet, though increasing in size, remained predominantly wind driven. In 1865 only nine per cent of ships (14 per cent of tonnage) were power driven, while 80 per cent of seafarers were employed in sail and 20 per cent in steam.²⁷ But the pace

25 Janet Roebuck, The making of modern English society from 1850 (2nd edition, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), 57.

26 Fraser, The evolution of the British welfare state, 174.

27 See Appendices 1a and 1b.

of change was increasing. By 1882 half of all seafarers were employed in steam ships, and by 1914 only five per cent remained in sailing vessels. These general figures, however, conceal changes in the social composition of the work force through the addition of marine engineers, firemen and trimmers in control of the propulsion unit, and the increasing use of overseas seafarers.²⁸ There had long been a small proportion of foreign and lascar seafarers serving in British ships. Throughout this period between 10 and 15 per cent were foreign, and from the 1880s there was a marked increase in the employment of asiatic seafarers.²⁹ Together the proportion of foreign and lascar seafarers increased from 20 per cent in 1886 to 32 per cent in 1903. The development of the passenger liner increased the proportion of seafarers in the catering department and specialization in types of cargo such as refrigerated foods, live cattle or petroleum, brought other skills into the range of seafaring employment.³⁰ However, because the power driven ship retained traditional seafarers in its deck department (except on passenger ships about half the total crew), approaching three quarters of all seafarers in the 1880s and over half at the end of the century would have comprised deck boys, ordinary or able seamen, apprentices, mates and masters. Though now mainly concerned with navigation, maintenance and cargo duties, most of these would have had some sail experience, if only because such a training was considered a prerequisite for employment in steam ships until the World War I.³¹

Employment in steam brought seafarers the stabilizing

28 See H. Campbell McMurray, 'Ships engineers: their status and social position on board, c.1830-1865', in Fisher (ed), West country maritime and social history, 79-100, and Conrad Dixon, 'Lascars: the forgotten seamen', in Oamer and Panting (eds), Working men who got wet, 265-81.

29 See Appendix 1b.

30 Robin Craig, The ship: steam tramps and cargo liners (HMSO, 1980), 13-29.

31 See Appendix 4b, the sea career of W.G. Mainwright, who moved from steam to sail to obtain the necessary service to qualify as a deck officer. His career exemplifies the greater stability of service in steam, compared with the mainly sail career of George Sorrell (Appendix 4a).

benefits of shorter voyages, greater regularity of short periods of leave, higher wages, improved safety and better on board conditions, though, as appears in Wainwright's career, continuity of employment was put at risk in depressed times if more than a few days away from a ship in port was taken or misfortune such as illness forced a lengthy break.³² Between August 1878 and May 1884 serving as a steward, Wainwright made 38 voyages of between four and six weeks duration. He was off articles (presumably on leave) an average of 9 days following each voyage, that is approximately 50 days per year. During his time as an AB, mainly in sail, voyages lasted between three and seventeen months, he was off articles an average of 26 days between voyages, approximately 53 days per year.³³ By the end of this period this had led to greater group coherence amongst seafarers which facilitated unionization.³⁴ Voyages in tramp steamers could still last as much as two years with a desocializing effect on seafarers as significant as that in sail, but a much higher proportion of the workforce could benefit as indicated above and time ashore could be spent more easily as a normal member of society. There is little evidence in Wainwright's career that he needed the support of voluntary societies when in Britain. Even joining or leaving ships at other United Kingdom ports than Liverpool, there would have been little need for him to have used a sailors' home as the rail network allowed him direct travel between Liverpool and his ship.

But in 1865 crimping had yet to be fully arrested, and there remained many seafarers for whom temporary

32 Jon Press, 'Wages in the merchant navy, 1815-54', *Journal of Transport History* (3rd series, 2 Sept. 1981), 41-2; Lewis R. Fisher and Helge W. Nordvik, 'From Hasmoen to Halden: myths and realities in the history of Norwegian seamen's wages, 1850-1914', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 35 (1987), 58-9. Kennerley, 'The education of the merchant seaman in the nineteenth century', 193-5, discusses the improvement in safety generally resulting from the introduction of power driven ships.

33 Calculated from the dates in Appendix 4b.

34 Dixon, 'Legislation and the sailor's lot, 1660-1914', in Adams (ed), *Seamen in society*, III, 101. See also M.J. Daunton, 'Jack ashore: seamen in Cardiff before 1914', *Welsh History Review*, 9 (1978), 176-203, which includes a discussion of seamen's unionization.

accommodation was essential. Despite existing voluntary provision, new advocates came forward to plead for special facilities for seafarers. Toynbee, in 1866, considered that sailors' homes (for single men), shipping offices and seamen's savings banks, were the main improvements of the past thirty years, and advocated homes for married seafarers on the model lodging house pattern.³⁵ Richard Rowe, writing in 1875, having attempted a survey of the whole maritime social scene, endorsed uncritically the voluntary establishments for seafarers in London.³⁶ He ended by developing a utopian scenario in which seamen on shore earned money by loading their own ships, their families occupied several rooms in married seamen's lodging houses, had ample washing facilities, and ate a healthy diet.³⁷ Their sons prepared for a sea career in a well equipped training ship; apprenticeship had been reinstated and conditions were such that desertion was no longer a problem. Their ships, never over-loaded, were fully insured as were seamen's lives and personal effects. Allotments were paid regularly when at sea, and seafarers made provision for a pension on retirement. It is a vision not greatly different from that of George Charles Smith in the 1820s, and some effort was made to move further along the path leading to a complete 'cradle to grave' caring social environment for seafarers as advocated by Toynbee. A company formed in 1863 to build model lodging houses for seamen, apparently raised £4000 but was unable to bring its project to fruition.³⁸ In practice, the wives and children of seafarers were as likely as earlier in the century to exist in severely straightened circumstances, occupying

35 Toynbee, 'Social condition of seamen', Journal of the Royal United Service Institution (1866), 572.

36 Richard Rowe, Jack afloat and ashore (Smith, Elder, 1875), chaps. 5-10. Rowe is described in his entry in the Catalogue of the British Museum as a 'general writer'. Though researched through visits, he leans heavily on literature published by the societies and on the work of people like Toynbee. A book for the middle classes at home, it has a relaxed, travelogue style, but is by no means as significant as Henry Mayhew's letters 25 years earlier.

37 Chap. 19.

38 Toynbee, 'Social condition of seamen', Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, 572.

overcrowded single rooms in the slums near the docks.³⁹ This area seems to have been left to the efforts of the general voluntary welfare organizations working in the field of housing, and to those seamen's missions which embraced seamen's families within their scope.

The utopian model is also a middle class idealization which presupposes an ability to achieve nationwide application and a uniformity of socialization amongst seafarers which produces the docile archetype to fit the model. It also assumes that every employer 'plays fair', and that there would be no contamination by the reality of the world around. Further, not only was the general body of seafarers diversified by experience, nationality and culture, there was also a steady turnover as men, (typically in their thirties and forties) sought employment ashore and were replaced by younger men. Thus there has probably always been a bias in the seafaring work force towards the lower end of the age spectrum. Any work force having such an age spread would comprise a higher proportion of young, unmarried men, more easily influenced by peer behaviour, less inclined to conform to the standards of older people. The social context of seafaring served only to exacerbate these tendencies. It was a rough unstable, young man's world which the boarding houses, bars, dance halls and brothels of port districts continued to serve and to prey upon throughout this period, though legislative measures brought increasing control.

The manipulation of the seafarer ashore centred around his earnings, either monies he was due on signing off or monies that might be advanced to him before sailing. The answer to the former situation lay in rendering it unnecessary for seafarers to carry what could be large sums of money on their persons, particularly in the dangerous port districts, through some form of banking which would

³⁹ Rowe, Jack afloat and ashore, 106.

allow access to small amounts as needed. The banks in the sailors' homes provided this from 1835, but by no means all seafarers used them. The location of government shipping offices in homes in 1851 widened the access to these banks, deposits at the Sailor's Home, London, increasing from £30,557 that year to £55,482 the following year.⁴⁰ In 1856, government Seamen's Savings Banks had been opened,⁴¹ but the sums deposited were until the 1880s modest compared with those at the London home. In 1868 that home received £90,672 while deposits in the Seamen's Savings Bank were £30,120.⁴² A more effective measure for ensuring seafarers' monies reached their home districts seems to have been the introduction of seamen's money orders from 1855.⁴³ In 1868, 53,003 orders were issued for a total of £294,022, and average of £5 10s per order.⁴⁴ The total sum handled increased to £475,360 in 1881, but the average per order remained about £6 to until 1913. These money orders were issued in the shipping offices when seafarers were paid off and could only represent a part of the total received, as by the time men were paid off they were likely to be in debt for accommodation and subsistence. It was the Transmission of Wages Scheme, introduced in 1878 and extended to continental ports in 1894, which is generally credited with the extermination of inward-bound crimping.⁴⁵ Under this arrangement shipping office officials and the police boarded ships on arrival, enforced the rules against unauthorised persons boarding ships, and offered men the option of immediate travel home through the issue of a rail ticket, transport to the station and a small sum as pocket money. The balance of wages would be forwarded by telegraphed money order to the shipping office nearest

40 See Appendix 11a.

41 Seamen's Savings Bank Act, 1856, 19 & 20 Vict. c. 41.

42 Appendix 3a.

43 Merchant Shipping Amendment Act, 1855, 18 & 19 Vict. c. 91, s. 2.

44 Appendix 3a.

45 Dixon, 'The rise and fall of the crimp', in Fisher (ed), British shipping and seamen, 59-61.

their home when the ship paid off. In 1890/91 £221,775 was handled in this way.⁴⁶

It is perhaps noteworthy that the Transmission of Wages Scheme appears to have handled no more than about £600 per day, at a time when the estimates in Appendix 1e (1880 figures) suggest that, on average, about 400 men each in London and Liverpool (about 2000 men at all United Kingdom ports) were entering daily from overseas voyages and could be expected to be paid off. The sum involved seems small relative to the full amount of wages which must have been due each day. However, the scheme really only applied to those seamen accepting the offer, who arrived in one port having homes at or near some other port. If the Scheme was as significant as suggested then inward crimping attached mainly to this group of seafarers. Alternatively it was not so much the financial arrangements as the strict enforcement of the 'no unauthorized boarding' rules from which the scheme drew its success.⁴⁷ However, this leaves aside all the other measures and social pressures which collectively had been 'nibbling away' at the problem. Perhaps the Transmission of Wages Scheme was simply the final blow against this aspect of the mis-treatment of seafarers on shore. As well as for men arriving in ships who had no home, there remained a need for accommodation for men seeking ships when funds had expired, payment for which could only come from future earnings.

Seamen's boarding houses and sailors' homes

Although sailors' homes were by the 1870s an established, even dominant feature of the seafarers' accommodation scene in many British ports, it is unlikely

⁴⁶ Appendix 3a. Appendix 3b is an example of the agreement signed by the seaman.

⁴⁷ Daunton shows that firm action against crimps who encouraged and harboured deserters in Cardiff was effective in reducing that facet of crimping: 'Jack ashore: seamen in Cardiff before 1914', Welsh history review, 9 (1976), 182.

that they could have supplied the total requirement.⁴⁸ Indeed no evidence has been identified to suggest that their managements had such aspirations. Thus specialist seamen's boarding houses continued to have a role, particularly in the larger ports, well into the twentieth century. As indicated previously their quality varied, but some improvement was achieved through the attention of the public health authorities to housing conditions. A lead had been taken by Liverpool with its Liverpool Sanitary Act, 1846, which required the registration of lodging houses.⁴⁹ The Common Lodging Houses Act, 1851, allowed local authorities to erect buildings for lodging houses.⁵⁰ More specific attention became possible from 1880, when the Merchant Seamen (Payment of Wages) Act permitted local bye-laws respecting the licensing of seamen's lodging houses.⁵¹ Licensing at Liverpool, for example, required the keeping of a register of licences issued (which were renewable each year), and prohibited the licensing of buildings where liquor was sold or where the business of outfitter, clothing or slopseller was carried on.⁵² Under the Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Act, 1883, a scale of charges had to be published and access to the premises to the legitimate authorities had to be granted.⁵³

The increased rigour of the licensing conditions, and the abolition of the advance note, seems to have induced an increased group consciousness amongst boarding house keepers, particularly those that considered themselves the equal of sailors' homes.⁵⁴ In Liverpool, the proprietor of the Mariners' Temperance Hotel, T. Farricker, was clearly a

⁴⁸ See page 98.

⁴⁹ This act is discussed in some detail in W.M. Fraser, A history of English public health. 1334-1939 (Bailliere, Tindall & Cox, 1950) 35-37.

⁵⁰ 14 & 15 Vict., c.28.

⁵¹ 43 & 44 Vict., c.15.

⁵² PRO, MT9/292/M53/87. Liverpool City Council, 'Regulations for seamen's licensed lodging houses' made 6 December 1882.

⁵³ 45 & 47 Vict., c.41.

⁵⁴ Merchant Shipping (Amendment) Act, 1880, abolished the advance note from 1 August 1881. It was reinstated in 1889.

leader. In 1885, he agitated for a revision in the licensing rules through leaflets and the press. His establishment charged 2s. 6d. per day, had fixed times for meals, and banned intoxicants, but he wanted to be able to continue his previous practice of selling clothes and jewellery to seafarers.⁵⁵ A similar development took place in Cardiff, principally a port which loaded ships outward bound, for whose boarding house keepers the abolition of the advance note was particularly serious as there was very little business from seamen in ships arriving from overseas.⁵⁶ In both ports boarding house guarantee societies were formed. Boarding house keepers would ensure men joined outward bound ships if owners would make unconditional advances to crews from which boarding house fees could be paid. The societies would refund the sum advanced if men failed to join.⁵⁷

The sailors' homes were just as vulnerable as the private boarding house keepers to the effects of the various anti-crimping measures. The larger homes in particular, had overheads due to large staffs and extensive buildings. Their agents were also excluded from soliciting custom on board ship and the advantage they enjoyed from having shipping offices on their premises was considerably reduced. In December 1880, the Liverpool home reported a sudden drop in income from boarders. In August 1881, it attributed a further fall off to speedier pay offs, the "...Midge System which takes directly away nearly all boarders called 'red letter men'...", the China and East India trade nearly all going to London, and the North and South Atlantic men re-engaging at once, or being married going home at once.⁵⁸ The Bristol Sailors' Home dispensed

⁵⁵ PRO, MT9/292/M53/87 and M19231/26. The 'hotel' was at 16 James Street, Liverpool. His suits cost 19s. to 55s. Farricker was also Director of the Liverpool Boarding House Guarantee Society.

⁵⁶ Dauntun, 'Jack ashore', Welsh History Review, 9 (1973), 192-5.

⁵⁷ See Dauntun for a full discussion. The advance note proper was conditional on men joining ships.

⁵⁸ Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 31 Dec. 1880, 26 Aug. 1881, MMRC, D/LH/4.

The 'Midge System' was the transmission of wages scheme, named after the river steamer used

(Footnote Continued)

with its boarding agent in April 1883.⁵⁹ The Sailors' Home at London was also affected. In 1882, the numbers entering fell to 9022 from 10049 the previous year, and in 1889 the figure dropped to 7049.⁶⁰ This further decline was attributed to the increased number of steamers in service and led to closure of dormitories, a financial review, reorganization of staff duties and a reduction in staff.⁶¹

The seamen's boarding house keepers must have been similarly affected whether or not they had previously been associated with crimping. Nevertheless significant numbers continued in business. In Cardiff there were 181 registered houses in 1911,⁶² and the number of establishments in London and Liverpool must have been at least as large. The capacity of individual houses of course varied and it seems unlikely that any would have been as large as the sailors' homes. In a cursory inspection of Liverpool census returns, houses accommodating 14 (1851), 8 (1861), 7 (1871), 22 (all Philipinos)(1881), 10 (all Spanish)(1881), seamen were noted.⁶³ It is unlikely that registered seamen's boarding houses and sailors' homes accounted for all seafarer lodgers. As well as any unlicensed lodging, separate provision was sometimes made, for example, by shipowners. Apprentices in particular had to be given special attention. One method was to have them lodge with a navigation teacher. In 1881, George J. Legge, 'naval schoolmaster', was accommodating 12 apprentices (aged 14 to 23) at his Duke Street premises in Liverpool.⁶⁴ Although

(Footnote Continued)

on the River Thames when the scheme started. 'Red letter men' were regular users of the Home whose names were entered in red in the entry books.

59 Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 12 April 1883.

60 See Appendix 11a.

61 Committee minutes, 14 Oct. 1886, 17 Feb. 1887, 1 March 1887, NMM, SAH 1/7.

62 Daunton, 'Jack ashore', 192. It is interesting to note that Daunton makes no mention of Cardiff Sailors' Home's contribution to seafarers accommodation needs. Yet the Bristol home regularly forwarded destitute men to Cardiff to find ships and the chaplains and missionaries of the Missions to Seamen were active in encouraging men to stay at the Cardiff home rather than go to low boarding houses; Bristol Sailors' Home Entry Books; Mary L. Walrond, Launching out into the deep, or the pioneers of a noble effort (S.P.C.K., 1904), 55, 170.

63 Liverpool Central Library, microfilm copies.

64 1881 Census return.

the improved levels of control indicated above had proved effective, sailors' homes were not relieved of competition from boarding houses and needed to maintain seafarers' awareness of their existence and attractions.

Despite long years of endorsement from persons concerned with seafarers' welfare, the various seamen's missions and serving seafarers influenced by missionary effort, sailors' homes retained for many seafarers the unfeeling image expressed by Mayhew's informants.⁶⁵ With experience of the Bristol and London homes, and no doubt of others, Sorrell, writing in the latter part of the century, insisted:⁶⁶

Sailors' homes do not appear to be understood by the shore people that I have come into contact with. They all seem to think that these so called homes are benevolent institutions, but I can assure them that sailors residing in them pay full value for what they receive; and when jack's money is gone out he must go just the same as if he was in the hands of the most grasping boarding house keeper at the East End; for jack appears to his most cringing friends a dangerous craft when in ballast trim.

Some seamen disliked homes because their routines were too much like those on ships and they charged too much.⁶⁷ It is understandable that, particularly following a voyage, seafarers would be looking for a relaxed atmosphere and home comforts. One seaman, who had turned to a nearby boarding house after being refused dinner at the Plymouth home (he arrived late), wrote:⁶⁸

After coming off a long voyage or being discharged from a ship we need some place to rest ourselves

⁶⁵ 'Labour and the poor', Letter XLVIII, Morning Chronicle, 19 April 1850. 5, col.5.

⁶⁶ C. Fox Smith (ed), The man before the mast: being the story of twenty years afloat (Methuen, 1928), 2. See Appendix 4a for George Sorrell's career at sea.

⁶⁷ Royal commission on loss of life at sea, RPP, 1887, XLIII, evidence Q 16315 (C. Byrne). Q 18841 (J.H. Wilson) respectively.

⁶⁸ Western Daily Mercury, 5 Jan. 1876, 5. This may have been instigated as part of local agitation against the Plymouth home by local boarding house keepers, who had received a poor press in a piece of local investigative journalism by an anonymous writer.

and to meet with something resembling the comfort of a home. In lodging houses...we receive comfort with the proprietress to attend on us. In the homes we are restricted and bound down to be in to dinner at a certain time....

At a boarding house seafarers felt they were in a home, not a reformatory; the boarding houses were rarely empty and the same men returned voyage after voyage.

The element of familiarity was clearly a factor in choosing where to stay, and might well override other factors such as conditions in some boarding houses. An example from the end of this period is the experience of the 14-year-old A.H. Rasmussen.⁶⁹ Following the practice of many Norwegian seafarers he crossed the North Sea as a passenger to find a berth on British ship, landing at South Shields. He was taken in hand by two seamen also making the crossing, who intended going to Peterson's boarding house in Palmerston Street until a ship was found. Thus Rasmussen started his career in a house every bit as rough as those run by low crimps fifty years earlier. The owners' wife fed him well and gave some motherly protection, but he slept in a dormitory of about 12 beds, filled with other men waiting for ships. On his first night a drunken brawl took place in which Rasmussen was threatened with a red hot poker. After about a week Peterson found him a ship and was assigned the advance note for two weeks wages.⁷⁰ The young Rasmussen had simply followed the lead of his elders, but they had been influenced by previous experience in their choice of lodgings, one factor being the Swedish nationality of the owner. As the earlier examples suggested, there were in many ports boarding houses catering for particular nationalities or ethnic groups. The factors which influenced a seafarers' choice of lodging were probably complex. In addition to those already indicated, influences might include his social background,

⁶⁹ A.H. Rasmussen, Sea fever (Constable, 1952), 22-34.

⁷⁰ The advance note was re-introduced in 1899.

the regime on his last ship, the opinion of peer groups with whom he was currently associating, the lead provided by those ashore whether boarding house keeper, missionary or sailors' home agent, and the presence or absence in an establishment of an overt religious or temperance atmosphere. The significance of mother attachment and the subconscious need for a mother substitute cannot be ignored in this context.⁷¹ Thus the family atmosphere, such as it might be, of a boarding house might appeal more than the more impersonal larger sailors' homes. However a small sailors' home run by a husband and wife team, such as those at Falmouth or Bristol, could generate a more appealing family atmosphere.

Sailors' homes were neither as heartless nor as rigid as their opponents suggested. With relatively small amounts of donated income, they had to cover their outgoings and were therefore just as vulnerable as boarding houses to loss from men who left without paying bills. Most homes made some provision for assisting men who had no funds, though the London Home was exceptional in having its associated Destitute Sailors' Asylum (illus. p. xcvi) to which it transferred men out of funds. The Committee of the Bristol home allowed its superintendent to grant small sums to 'deserving men' who could not be admitted, and in the 1890s admitted destitute men sent and funded by the local branch of the Missions to Seamen, at reduced rates.⁷² Homes also cashed advance notes for men they judged 'steady', running the same risk of default as boarding house keepers. The London home regularly wrote off losses.⁷³ In 1898, the Cardiff home was said to be losing as much as £40 per month, but the Bristol superintendent was more circumspect, a loss totalling £3 12s. caused by

⁷¹ See page 39.

⁷² Committee minutes, 10 Oct. 1894. The normal charge for a bed was 6d. per night. A reduced rate of 3d., the same as that charged at boarding houses, was agreed.

⁷³ In February, 1892, the accumulated loss on advance notes totalled £1200, sums of £40 to £70 being written off each month; Committee minutes 9 Feb. 1892, NMM, SAH 1/7.

Thomas Moore failing to join his ship being the 'first amount of any moment' lost by cashing advance notes in three years: nevertheless the Bristol Committee censured their superintendent.⁷⁴

Reference has already been made to the strained relationships which existed between sailors' homes and their competitors, boarding house keepers, slop-sellers crimps. From the evidence of the homes examined it seems reasonable to deduce that most if not all homes suffered in some way, though those homes which established additional services in areas which these groups perceived as their business, were, predictably, subjected to the greatest pressure.⁷⁵ At the London home, with a long history of varying arrangements with slopsellers, the difficulty of achieving any satisfactory pattern led the Committee to consider setting up its own clothing shop in 1864.⁷⁶ But it was not until 1871 the arrangements then in force were cancelled and that Home opened its own shop.⁷⁷ It had already taken a similar step for similar reasons in establishing its own carting service in 1868.⁷⁸ By 1871 the Home was seen by its opponents to have extended its activities to all spheres of service for seafarers, except a bar serving alcoholic drinks. This included the shipping office, which though technically a separate establishment under the Board of Trade, was so integrated in practice as to leave the impression that it was an operation of the Home. Though the Home was far from being able to satisfy the total need, these developments must have given the impression that the livelihoods of the small traders were being threatened by a monopoly. As a counterstroke a

74 Committee minutes, 12 Jan. 1898, 11 May 1898. The superintendent was judged to have acted imprudently and although the Committee accepted the loss, he was advised that he might have to bear the cost on a future occasion.

75 See page 91 for earlier references to such problems at the Bristol and London homes.

76 Committee minutes, 10 Nov. 1864. Further difficulties had been minuted on 10 Jan. 1861, 9 July 1863, 8 Oct. 1863; NMM, SAH 1/5.

77 Committee minutes, 8 June, 13, 20, 31 July, 12, 25 Oct. 1871; NMM, SAH 1/5.

78 Committee minutes, 13 Aug., 10 Sept. 1868.

petition to move the shipping office away from the home was presented to the Board of Trade in October 1871;⁷⁹ agitation in the form of public meetings and letters to the press continued into the spring of the following year.

The decision to leave the Sailors' Home, however, was not taken in response to the agitation, but following a re-appraisal of the Board's shipping office operations in London, in which the Sailors' Home office was shown to be more expensive to operate than the office at Hammet Street. Further, it was noted that the Home was transacting some of its business on space paid for by the Board, and analysis of the Home's finances showed that removal of the shipping office costs would make the home self supporting.⁸⁰ The Home had left itself open to criticism in this aspect of the business, and it lost the shipping office on the grounds of inefficiency. The memoranda do not suggest that the petition and agitation was seen by the Board as of any great import, though it must have had some influence. But the wider context needs to be taken into account. After twenty years various aspects of the Marine Department's operations were under review. In particular it was dissatisfied with the operation of the examination system run by another set of agencies, the local marine boards, and centralised the written elements in 1872, the same year that it withdrew its office from the Home.⁸¹ Further, there was no attempt to move the office from the Liverpool home, although it was subjected to similar agitation having that objective.⁸² In 1881, Liverpool Sailors' Home followed

79 PRO, MT9/63/M1082. The petition is contained in M9337/71. There were 112 signatories of whom 22 were known lodging house keepers (classed by the officials as 10 good, 9 fair, 4 bad) and known tradesmen (33 good, 16 fair, 2 bad). There were also three testimonials with 294 signatures of whom 162 were tradesmen and 10 lodging house keepers.

80 In 1870 the Hammet Street staff cost £1695 in wages and handled 3632 crews (51825 men, wages £97707); at the Sailors' Home the shipping office staff cost £1230 in wages and handled 1354 crews (22875 men, wages £54733). The analysis was made by Mr. Stoneham in a memorandum of 17 Nov., 1871; PRO, MT9/63/M1082, M10368/1871. The Tower Hill office was in Hammet St.

81 Kennerley, 'The education of the merchant seaman in the nineteenth century', 58-9. Sailor's Home Committee minutes, 14 Feb. 1872.

82 Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 28 Feb., 25 March 1872; MMRC, D/LH/1.

London in establishing a clothing shop and for the next year was subjected to the same harassment that London experienced.⁸³ The interpretation offered here of the circumstances attending the removal of the shipping office from the London home, is at variance with that offered by Palmer in her study restricted to the London scene, in which she seems to suggest that the principal factor influencing the Board of Trade was the agitation from local tradesmen.⁸⁴

Perhaps the last of the initiatives undertaken by sailors' homes which attracted the ire of local tradesmen, that of the sale of intoxicating drink, was one that also earned the disapprobation of seamen's missions and the temperance movement generally. It does not seem that the probably common practice of serving ale or porter with meals, inclusive in board charges or for an additional payment, as at Bristol from the day it opened or at Liverpool from 1853, was at issue.⁸⁵ Rather it was the decision to open pay bars, at London in 1874 and Liverpool in 1895.⁸⁶ Six months after the London home started selling beer the experiment was reported a great success, keeping boarders out of public houses, reducing the incidence of drunkenness. Local tradesmen again agitated against the Home, and in 1878 the Home successfully resisted a summons by the Licensed Victuallers' Protection Society for selling beer without a licence.⁸⁷ Given the efforts of the temperance movement, this initiative, presumably touching on deep seated principles, must have have exercised the committees of homes rather more than the others discussed

⁸³ Committee minutes, 25 Nov. 1881, 27 Dec. 1882, 8, 24 Jan., 30 Apr., 28 May 1883; MMRC, D/LH/4.

⁸⁴ Sarah B. Palmer, 'Seamen ashore in late nineteenth century London: protection from the crimps', in Paul Adam (ed), *Seamen in society* (Bucharest, 1980), III, 58-9.

⁸⁵ Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 4 March 1853; Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 14 Oct. 1903.

⁸⁶ Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 14 Oct. 1903; Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 9 Jan., 12 Feb., 9 July, 12 Nov. 1874.

⁸⁷ Committee minutes, 12 Feb. 1874, *Morning Advertiser*, 20 June 1878: the Home was treated as a club and did not need a licence. The case was taken to the Court of Appeal, which also found in favour of the Home, Committee minutes, 10 April 1879.

above. At London Captain Webb, the Home's manager and secretary resigned over the issue.⁸⁸ It seems likely that bars were generally well established in homes by 1903 when the British Women's Temperance League protested to the Liverpool Home's Committee. It replied simply that sales would continue. The Southampton Sailor's Home incorporated a properly designed bar facility into its new building, which opened in 1909.⁸⁹

Sailors' home facilities, customers and management

Although most of the services offered by homes have already been explored in earlier sections of this study, mainly as alternatives to those on offer from the boarding house fraternity, the facilities which those seafarers electing to stay at homes encountered require some examination. Were facilities maintained adequately, and even improved, and to what extent did homes manage to achieve the social objective of 'filling up seamen's leisure ashore'?⁹⁰

The arrangements for sleeping were set almost as a standard by the design of the London home in 1835, and seem to have been emulated throughout the country, even in the new building for the Southampton home noted above. Each resident was provided with his own small 'cabin' usually by means of subdividing a large 'dormitory'. A reasonable level of privacy, lacking on ships, was ensured though the partitions in some homes did not extend to the ceiling for light and ventilation reasons. Security was achieved by closing the space with a wire mesh. Furnishing was sparse

⁸⁸ Committee minutes, 8 Jan. 1874.

⁸⁹ Kennerley, 'Seamen's missions and sailors' homes', in Fisher (ed), Studies in British privateering, 162.

⁹⁰ Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 9 March 1848.

perhaps no more than a bed, bedding and chair.⁹¹ A small number of cabins, larger and better furnished, might be available for officers, while apprentices might be accommodated in an open dormitory. Towards the end of the century it was beginning to be recognised that the condition of some of this accommodation was inadequate, though improvement or new building schemes mostly came in the first years of the new century. The Bristol home considered a move in 1880, but did not enlarge its cabins until 1902/4.⁹² At London the need was acknowledged in 1905, and in 1907 twenty cabins were rebuilt to form ten cabins.⁹³ Major improvements were also made to the Great Yarmouth home in 1907.⁹⁴ The Devonport home, like that at Southampton, opted for a new building which opened in 1902, and survives as the Royal Fleet Club.⁹⁵ Underlying these changes were factors such as the deterioration of buildings, and in the cases of London and Bristol the under use of the accommodation which allowed space to be redistributed more generously. Earlier alterations to buildings were mainly undertaken to accommodate facilities such as the clothing departments, or to house related organizations, such as the shipping offices, which would pay rent.

The latter part of the nineteenth century was not devoid of new sailors' home initiatives, and as previously the promoters in the main were evangelically minded philanthropists. At Dundee a new home was opened in a new building in 1880, and associated with it was a new Bethel chapel. The earlier home there, a product of the movement

⁹¹ Photographs of the plans of the London and Liverpool homes are held at the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments for England, National Building Record, London; BB54/1755, 1760, 1692, 1693, also illustration in *Pictorial Times*, Nov. 1846; Liverpool Sailors' Home, BB63/2776, 2797, BB69/7562, 7563. Description of Devonport Royal Sailors' Home, *Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Herald*, 1 Jan. 1853, 5. See Appendices 11h, 13, and illus. pp. xciv, xcv.

⁹² Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 15 Dec. 1880, 8 Jan. 1902, 11 July 1904.

⁹³ Committee minutes, 13 April 1905, 11 Nov. 1907.

⁹⁴ Committee minutes, 13 Dec. 1907, NRO, SO4/3.

⁹⁵ *Western Daily Mercury*, 15 Dec. 1900, 5, 30 April 1902, 3.

of the 1850s, had not been successful and had closed many years earlier. The description of the new home, however, shows no new facilities when compared with the smaller homes of the 1850s.⁹⁶ Both the London and Liverpool homes opened branch homes in this period, at Gravesend (1879) and near Sandon Dock, Liverpool (1878).⁹⁷ That at Gravesend was used by seafarers seeking a berth, who were generally transferred there from the main home when monies expired. A new building was erected in 1886. When the Home was re-licensed to ship crews that year, it used its launch Maude to take men to outward bound ships. That at Liverpool was intended for the convenience of men from ships in the north docks; it was never a success, had debts of £7,000 in 1897, and was finally sold in 1905. Perhaps the most significant development was the opening of her 'Sailors' Rests at Plymouth (1876) and Portsmouth (1881) by Agnes Weston, in which she combined the facilities of a sailors' home with those of a seamen's institute, such as that opened by the British and Foreign Sailors' Society in London in 1856. These were buildings open to seafarers generally, whether or not they were residents.⁹⁸

If homes were to make provision for activities as alternatives to those on offer in sailortown, then suitable communal rooms had to be provided. The dining and reading or smoking rooms represent the minimum provision, though larger homes might have in addition a separate hall or chapel, class rooms and even a museum room. In winter these were likely to be the rooms with heating, the cabins probably not having any direct heating, not least for safety reasons. The Bristol home, for example, did not heat

⁹⁶ 'The Dundee Sailors' Home', The Dundee year book, 1881, 37-90. The entry is clearly transcribed from a local newspaper report in Dec. 1880.

⁹⁷ Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 11 Dec. 1879; Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 23 Aug. 1878. The minutes contain numerous references to these branch homes.

⁹⁸ For a fuller discussion see Kennerley, 'Seamen's missions and sailors' homes', in Fisher (ed), Studies in British privateering, 141-2.

its cabins until 1901, and the London home until 1911.⁹⁹ Organized events for residents during the nineteenth century often had a religious or temperance setting, and might be led by the local seamen's missionary or chaplain. At one extreme were the morning and evening prayers at the London home, full services on Sundays and even services on a mid-week evening. In contrast only missionary visiting might be allowed. In 1907, the Bristol home refused to allow the Bristol Seamen's Friend Society to hold services in its dining room on the grounds that the home was non-sectarian and the move would introduce sectarian principles.¹⁰⁰ Educational events, classes or programmes of lectures found favour as did concerts, such as those held weekly at the Liverpool home.¹⁰¹ It seems likely that the opening of refreshment bars at the London and Liverpool homes gave some focus to rooms which were otherwise characterless lounges, and did as much as other activities to keep men within the homes of an evening.

Whether homes lagged behind other institutions with respect to the installation of town community services, mains water, mains sewage, gas, electricity and telephones, is uncertain. However, the convenience of these services to such establishments might be expected to have made connection a priority once the facility was available. The "...inconvenience of emptying privies and carrying soil through the building..." was clearly the factor which led to the London home being connected to the common sewer in 1845, though it had just installed a bathroom for boarders' use.¹⁰² Perhaps owing to the primitive nature of town drainage and to their generally low lying positions, homes experienced problems with drainage at intervals throughout

99 Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 9 Feb. 1901; oil stoves were tried. Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 12 Oct. 1911.

100 Committee minutes, 9 Dec. 1907.

101 Committee minutes, 31 Aug. 1910, when they were discontinued; MMAC, B/LH/7.

102 Committee minutes, 14 Aug., 11 Dec. 1845; NMM, SAH 1/5.

the century.¹⁰³ At most homes mains water and gas was probably available when they opened. The Liverpool home had a 'heating plan for the building' set at 65°F and running hot water for baths when it opened in 1852.¹⁰⁴ Electricity was installed much later, in the London home in 1893, Bristol in 1896 and Liverpool in 1903,¹⁰⁵ and it was also in this period that the telephone was connected.

A less subjective basis for evaluating sailors' homes lies in usage data. There is no official data except the 'spot checks' found in census returns. Table 3.1 presents a comparison on this basis for six homes and illustrates the differing levels of usage. For 1881 at three homes the number of seafarers resident may also be related to the maximum capacity. As the number of residents was subject to considerable fluctuation further generalisation is unreliable. Usage data for two homes, Bristol and London, has been investigated in some detail.¹⁰⁶ The most commonly

Table 3.1

Numbers of seafarers resident at certain
sailors' homes on census nights

						Available beds (1881)
	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	
Bristol SH			35	8	6	52
Devonport SH*				78	52	
Devonport SR*					88	
Liverpool SH				118	117	342
London SH	64	74	184	134	223	522
Plymouth SH			7	15	14	

Source: Census returns.

*Sailors' Rest

103 Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 17 June 1851, 14 Sept. 1893. Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 16 Nov. 1871, 17 Sept. 1874. Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 27 June, 1892.

104 Committee minutes, 23 Aug. 1852.

105 Committee minutes respectively, 14 Jan. 1893, 9 Dec. 1896, 18 March 1903.

106 Appendix 12a contains annual data for Bristol Sailors' Home; this exists in a monthly form, which was examined for seasonality, though no such pattern was found. Appendix 11a contains annual data for the Sailors' Home, London; Appendices 11d to 11g contain an analysis of the data from random samples of seafarers entering the Home in 1870/71 and 1900/01.

quoted statistic by homes was that on the numbers of seafarers who entered, annually and from the date they had opened. Sub-sets of this data might include apprentices, shipwrecked men, destitute men, and nationality. This indicates throughput, but not extent of usage for which a better measure is the number of beds occupied. Where both categories are available a mean length of stay may be derived. Table 3.2 presents examples of such data. Bristol

Table 3.2

Mean daily numbers of seafarers entered, beds occupied and stay per man entered at Bristol and London sailors' homes, 1871-1911

	Year	Men entered	Beds occupied	Nights stay
Bristol	1871	5.3		
	1881	2.7	9.6	3.6
	1891	2.1	6.8	3.2
	1901	3.2	10.2	3.2
	1911	2.2	9.5	4.3
London	1871	27.3		8.6*
	1881	27.5		
	1891	23.6		
	1901	35.8		11.7*
	1911	34.7		

Source: App.11a, 12a. * App. 11d (random samples)

Sailors' Home's occupancy rate for the period 1879 to 1914 was 9.1 beds per night; typically only one fifth of the beds available was occupied. Higher entry figures in the 1870s suggest higher occupancy rates if the mean length of stay was of the same order as in later periods. A sailors' home of similar size to Bristol; that at Southampton, achieved the better occupancy rate of 13.4 per night over the period 1861 to 1908, but the developing use of that port by liner steamship companies provided that home with a regular clientele amongst seafarers in those ships.¹⁰⁷ Details of 'beds occupied' have not been located for the

¹⁰⁷ Southampton Sailors' Home, Annual report for 1909; Annual report for 1974 mentions the use of the Home by men from the Royal Mail Steam Packet, Peninsula and Oriental, and Union Steam Ship companies; Southampton City Record Office (SCRO), D/SH, Box 10.

Sailors' Home, London, for this period, however analysis of random samples of entries for 1870/71 and 1900/01 suggest that seafarers typically stayed twice as long as at the Bristol home. This may reflect a greater proportion of seafarers using the London home as their 'home' for the whole of their time ashore between ships, and even a few using it as a retirement home. The length of stay derived from the sample indicates an occupancy rate of 235 per night for 1870/71, that is about half the total beds available.¹⁰⁸ This is about the same as the occupancy rate at the Liverpool home in 1866 of 241 per night (70 per cent of beds available).¹⁰⁹

The scale of the larger sailors' homes may be related to that of Agnes Weston's Sailors' Rests at Devonport and Portsmouth which by the end of the period under consideration had been developed as combined institutes and homes, and had sleeping capacities approaching 600 each.¹¹⁰ In 1905/06 the occupancy rate at Devonport was 410 and at Portsmouth 437 per night.¹¹¹ However this was a different form of operation. The target population was the naval rating, attached to naval ships in port, allowed a night's leave. Beds seem generally to have been let for one night only with payment in advance (6d.), and had become so popular that booking queues formed. Often all beds were sold and men not so accommodated were provided with ad hoc bedding in public rooms. Sailors' homes also from time to time took in more men than they could accommodate and even turned men away, as happened at London in 1863.¹¹² Reserve space was also needed for unexpected influxes,

¹⁰⁸ The corresponding figure for 1900/01, 419 (about four fifths of beds available), is not offered here owing to discrepancies in the data which have not been resolved. The annual reports quote 13706 as the number of seamen entered, but the ledgers from which the sample was taken show only 5715 entries. As a distinction between long and short stay residents was reported from 1906, the ledger may record only the former category.

¹⁰⁹ Committee minutes, 30 Jan. 1867; MMRC, D/LH/3.

¹¹⁰ Agnes Weston, *My life among the bluejackets*, Nisbet, 1909, 295-6.

¹¹¹ Annual Report for 1905/06, West Devon Record Office (WDRO), 1189/1.

¹¹² Committee minutes, 11 June 1863; MMN, SAH 1/5. 394 men were accommodated and over 100 denied entry. This situation led to the extension of the Home in 1867.

such as whole shipwrecked crews, which form part of the justification in philanthropic terms for retaining apparently under used homes such as that at Bristol, from which the following example is drawn.¹¹³

19 Dec. 1880. [City of Montreal, Captain Thomas Davies, 22 men] shipwrecked in the Atlantic on 27 November and rescued on 2 December by the barque Energie of Aberdeen, & were landed at Brixham on the 18th. Came to the Home at 1.40 am on 19th & were given hot coffee and as much bread and butter as they would eat. Afterwards they all retired to bed. At 8.30 am they all had breakfast and at 1 pm they all dined. At 5.30 pm took tea and at 5.50 pm left the Home for the railway station they whole of them being passed on to Greenock [Sailors' Home].

The customers of sailors' homes are generally referred to collectively as seamen or sailors in homes' reports and in published literature. To some extent this is justified as 'seamen' was the legal term and the majority using homes were able seamen, 70 per cent in 1870/71 and 59 per cent in 1900/01 at the Sailor's Home, London.¹¹⁴ Further,

Table 3.3

Mean ages, time at sea, ages went to sea & time in last ship, of random samples of seamen staying at the Sailor's Home, London, 1870/71 & 1900/01

	1870/71	1900/01
Mean age (years)	26.5	30.0
Mean age went to sea (years)	16.0	
Mean time at sea (years)	10.5	
Mean time in last ship (months)	8.0	

Source: Sailors' Home Entry Books, 1870/71, 1900/01, NMM, SAH 52/1, 19/47 & 19/48

in 1870/1871, the majority of the remainder belonged to the 'deck department', apprentices, boys, ordinary seamen,

¹¹³ Bristol Sailors' Home, Entry Book. The costs incurred were paid by the Shipwrecked Fishermen and Mariners' Society.

¹¹⁴ See Appendices 11d to 11g on which the following discussion is based. The Entry Books are exceptionally detailed in the 1870s, less so for 1900/01. A random sample of entries for years has been analysed and the results presented in these Appendices.

carpenters, mates, with only cooks and stewards outside this division. But in 1900/01 two other groups used the Home in significant numbers, engine room ratings and cattlemen. The former were to be expected and were certainly seamen, but the latter represent a use of the Homes' slack capacity and there was some doubt, as they were carried in cattleships as supernumeries or passengers, whether they really could be classed as seamen.¹¹⁵ The data on birth places demonstrates a significant use of the Home by overseas seafarers, about one third of the total in 1870/71 and, allowing for the distortion caused by missing data perhaps a half in 1900/01 (Appendix 11d). Table 3.3 and the graphs, Appendices 11e, 11f and 11g, show both an increasing age spectrum and increasing duration of stay, when comparing 1900/01 with 1870/71, while for 1870/71 only typically, seafarers had gone to sea at 16, had some 10 years' service, and inward bound seafarers had completed an 8 month voyage probably from the eastern hemisphere. This final element confirms that at that time residents of the Home were likely to be 'in funds', hence their attraction to slopsellers and others with services to sell.

The management of homes in this period in general continued practices long established in voluntary organizations. Annually, members taking an active interest met to elect committees of management to which all policy, decision making and financial control was devolved. With little more to do than confirm the annual report and accept the financial statement, annual meetings were often stereotypes, where the only concern was to ensure sufficient names were available to maintain a viable committee. The main value of the annual meeting lay in publicity. The presence of the mayor and a few local dignitaries ensured the attendance of the press, with the

¹¹⁵ Marine Department officials were uncertain as to the status of cattlemen, PRO, MT9/542/M5171/1895.

proceedings being reported fully.¹¹⁶ Although the generally brief constitutions made no mention of interest representation on management committees, members of the local shipping community were usually involved. It was not unusual for there to be a dynastic element, and for length of service to extend to 30 or more years. At the Liverpool home two members of the Brocklebank family, shipowners, served from 1861 to 1906 and 1867 to 1900; five members of the Beazley family (shipbrokers) served between 1855 and 1949.¹¹⁷ The Bristol shipowners Charles Hill had family members on the committee of the Bristol home for many years. The London home always had several naval officers on its committee.¹¹⁸

Although committees might contain leading members of the maritime community, regular attendance at monthly or quarterly committee meetings might not be forthcoming, with the result that consistent oversight often fell to one or two members taking an especially personal interest. At the Bristol home there were long periods in the 1880s when monthly meetings lacked quorums, perhaps only the long serving Honorary Secretary, James Ford, attending to approve bills and sign cheques. The much larger operations of the London or Liverpool homes demanded more detailed oversight, and systems of visitation were devised which involved committee members in turn undertaking inspection duties.¹¹⁹ Matters of probity, policy and finance did gain the full attention of committee members. Those of the London home seem nearly always to have had some major issue before them, whether in connection with the running feud with local traders, reacting to the impact of the loss of the shipping office, taking new initiatives or handling the

116 This was the case, for example with the Bristol Sailors' Home; during the last three decades of this period press cuttings from Bristol papers were attached to the minute books.

117 Liverpool Sailors' Home, Annual Report for 1949.

118 A committee meeting on 3 April 1875 was attended by two admirals, three captains RN, and three three captains MCS (honourable company service), one of whom had served for 40 years.

119 Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, Dec. 1874. Southampton Sailors' Home, Committee minutes 23 Oct. 1905, SERO, D/SH, Box 16.

more serious staff problems. Financial irregularity in any form was most likely to lead to dismissal, while excessive drinking produced severe warnings with dismissal as the ultimate threat. At Bristol in 1877 the Committee presided at what may only be described as 'court proceedings', hearing witnesses (one represented by a solicitor), before dismissing their steward and cook for accepting bribes from clothing sellers.¹²⁰ In 1906 the Southampton home dismissed its porter for drunkenness.¹²¹ The records of all the homes studied contain such references but not so many as to suggest that incidents occurred frequently. However in the case of the larger homes it is possible that the disciplining of junior staff did not normally reach the management committees. In contrast employees giving good service to homes were treated with consideration when ill and when service ended. In 1875 the London home awarded the widow of its messenger £50 and £36 annually in superannuation; in 1876 its cashier with 12 years' service left with a grant of £240 owing to illness.¹²² When the doorkeeper at the Liverpool home became ill in 1904 at the age of 66 years (41 years service), he was granted 15s. weekly.¹²³

The level of staffing needed to run homes varied greatly. The small ones, such as that at Bristol managed with four or five, while the largest, for example London, might have forty to fifty. As a 24-hour presence was essential, most of the staff at small homes lived in, and a significant proportion were accommodated at the larger homes. It seems to have been usual to provide meals. In 1871, 24 staff were resident on census night at the Liverpool home, and 17 in 1881. In 1873, the London home employed 45 persons (excluding senior staff), of whom 24 manned the

120 Committee minutes, 27 March, 12 April 1877.

121 Committee minutes, 10 Sept. 1906.

122 Committee minutes, 9 Dec. 1875, 13 Jan. 1876.

123 Committee minutes, 31 Aug. 1904.

Home, the remainder working in its cartage, laundry and clothing departments; its weekly wages bill was £38.¹²⁴

Financially, the fortunes of those sailors' homes which have been examined, were somewhat mixed during the latter years of the nineteenth century. The decline of their original role under the pressures of social and legislative change discussed earlier left them searching for new ways of fulfilling their objects (see page 116). In 1883 the Liverpool home went so far as to visit the East India Office in London to obtain the accommodation of 156 lascars for seven weeks; in 1889 the presence of 100 Argentinian seamen in the home during the repair of their ship was noteworthy.¹²⁵ In 1893 its funds were 'nearly exhausted', and in 1897 the debts owed on its branch home caused the Committee to consider incorporation as a means of avoiding personal liability.¹²⁶ In contrast the London home, having been in a poor financial state in 1873, was reported as being self sufficient in 1876, and in profit to £3000 in 1879.¹²⁷ It not only opened the branch home at Gravesend in this period, but also used its reserves to

Table 3.4

Finances at Bristol and London sailors' homes,
1871-1910

	Bristol		London		
	1871	1908	1871	1890	1910
	£	£	£	£	£
Ordinary income	1082	484	10731	21628	11589
Ord. expenditure	1029	474	10185	19857	12533
Donated income	311	82	193	57	28
Balance on the year	53	10	551	560	(-)1855

Source: Appendices 11b & 12b

¹²⁴ See Appendix 11c.

¹²⁵ Committee minutes, 27 March 1883, 2 July 1889.

¹²⁶ Committee minutes, 29 Nov. 1892, 28 June 1897, 29 Nov. 1905; the problem was eased with the sale of the branch home in 1905. The Society was incorporated in 1933.

¹²⁷ Committee minutes, 12 Feb. 1873, 113 July 1876, 3 April 1879.

build offices adjacent to the home for the Mercantile Marine Board to rent from it.¹²⁸ However, in the early part of this century its position was less secure, and in 1911 the Society decided to seek incorporation.¹²⁹ As Table 3.4 shows, donated income at London dropped to negligible amounts, but it remained an essential element of the Bristol homes' finances, even though the amounts declined from the 1890s.¹³⁰ In 1908 this home's turnover was half that in the 1870s. With respect to London, the difference between the 1871 and 1890 figures for income and expenditure represents both an element of successful operation and the results of opening refreshments bars and a clothing shop whose takings and costs are included in the totals shown. Figures for these are only occasionally shown in the published accounts, but purchases of stock for the clothing shop in 1905 of £7930 indicate the magnitude of that operation and its impact on the totals. Although the turnover appears to have been considerably lower in 1910 than 1890, the total numbers shown as entered in 1910 (Appendix 11a), are at a high level. But the old/new and British/foreign breakdown is totalled under 'long stay' (4163). This probably represents the effective residential usage of the home; if so the decline is marked compared with the 1870s, and accounts for the financial decline. But this discounts the income and expenditure associated with 7265 short stay entries.

British seamen's missions in expansion

Unlike the network of sailors' homes, which was substantially in place by the 1870s and had reached something of a plateau by the end of the century, the

¹²⁸ Committee minutes, 24 Nov. 1892.

¹²⁹ Committee minutes, 9 Nov. 1911, 13 Nov. 1913. The Home's title was changed to the Sailors' Home and Red Ensign Club (SHREC) to emphasize the Committee's perception of its role as place for recreation as well as a lodging house.

¹³⁰ See Appendices 11a, 12a.

seamen's mission movement in this period had embarked on a fresh phase of expansion which was to carry it through to the outbreak of war. As objects for philanthropic support, the homes were at a disadvantage from their localism, their lack of a national co-ordinating organization, and from the unclear welfare image they presented. In contrast, in a period when the national voluntary welfare organization was becoming much more significant and questions were beginning to be asked about relevance and efficiency, there existed two seamen's mission societies having national and international perspectives, through which much of the expansion was to take place. As primarily evangelical bodies, they were well placed to benefit from interest generated by the mid-century evangelical revival, and from the prosperity of that period. Though the Missions to Seamen and the British and Foreign Sailors' Society were the principal agents of expansion, smaller societies, notably the Seamens' Christian Friend Society, also developed national dimensions. Where local independent seamen's missions survived, as at Plymouth, Bristol Glasgow and Liverpool,¹³¹ it seems that, as with the homes, their operations continued at much the same level as previously. However, at Liverpool, the scope of the Mersey Mission to Seamen expanded significantly within its local geography. This expansion matched the increasing numbers of seafarers passing through British ports with the increase in trade, and may be assessed through the growth in the numbers of mission stations, clergy and missionaries, the increased range of facilities offered (including accommodation), and the rise in donated funding which made it possible. It appears to have taken place without reference to duplication though in the larger ports the task was so vast as to render that consideration of low priority.

A feature of nineteenth century national voluntary

¹³¹ PSSSFSEU, BSFS, LSFS. See illus. p. lxxxiv for an example of a Bethel of this period.

organizations was the development of branch networks as part of their operations or simply for fund raising. As branches, under their local committees, were allowed considerable freedom of operation, perhaps to the extent that they had almost an independent existence despite the use of the national title, it can be difficult to distinguish branches of national societies from independent local societies having similar objects and titles.¹³² This is particularly true of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society and its relationships with the various Bethel societies. It exists in smaller measure with the Missions to Seamen, and possibly also with the Apostleship of the Sea. Although neither the constitution of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society nor that of the Missions to Seamen make any formal provision for branches or a branch relationship,¹³³ both societies certainly saw themselves at the head of a branch structure, to the extent of giving the impression that independent local seamen's missions were formally part of their organization. At its inception the Missions to Seamen went to great efforts to persuade the Bristol Mission to Seamen to agree to merge, rather than simply co-operate, and from 1874 it persisted in including the Mersey Mission to Seamen in its annual report despite that Society's formal decision to operate as a separate society.¹³⁴ The British and Foreign Sailors' Society made tenuous claims to an existence from 1818 (when the Port of London Society was formed) and thus to the foundation of all the Bethel societies of the George Charles Smith period. Thus it claimed the establishment of the Bethel at Plymouth, though Smith does not seem to have attended the inaugural meeting in 1820.¹³⁵ It is, however, true that some of the independent societies looked to the national

132 Frank Prochaska, The voluntary impulse: philanthropy in modern Britain (Faber and Faber, 1968), 25, 44, 62.

133 See Appendices 8b, 9c.

134 Walrond, Launching out into the deep, 71; MMS, Committee minutes, 3 Feb. 1874, LCRO. 361 Mar 1/1.

135 Plymouth is listed at the end of the list of BFSS stations in the 1890/91 annual report, and is likely to have been repeated in other reports of that period; Sailor's Magazine, 2 (1921), 22-23, 37.

equivalent as the 'parent society', for advice and even financial support, so that their members could become confused about the relationship. In 1869 the Plymouth Bethel affiliated to the British and Foreign Sailors' Society, but a later minute refers to a merger, which does not seem to have been the case legally.¹³⁶ In fact the BFSS made an annual grant of £80 for the salary of a replacement missionary whom it recommended. How long this was continued is uncertain, but there does not seem to have been any involvement of the national society in the appointment of the next missionary in 1898. The continued inclusion of reports from the Plymouth missionary in Chart and Compass, the BFSS magazine, does not imply any control: it was simply in the tradition of the original Sailor's Magazine, which reported all Bethel society activities.

Some idea of the spread of the national seamen's missions may be gleaned from the data published by the societies, though it must be treated with caution owing to lack of clarity about the nature of the involvement shown. Partly for the reasons indicated above, the listing provided by the Missions to Seamen seems more reliable than that of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society.¹³⁷ With the former society the main area of uncertainty lies with the role of honorary chaplains particularly at ports where there was no full time missionary or mission building. How active in work amongst seamen were these associate clergy given that they were also presumably in charge of a parish? It might be little more than a nominal representation (willing to help if asked?); alternatively it could run to systematic ship visiting with attention to seafarers' families. The Rev. H.C. Muller, Honorary Chaplain at Appledore, 1901-4 and in the 1920s, was fully involved, and represents the continuation of a personal ministry in the

136 PBSSFSBU Committee minutes, 9 March, 9 April 1869. This volume of minutes, 29 Sept. 1837 to 30 Nov. 1869, is in the possession of Mr. R. Meathrell, Plympton, Plymouth.

137 The main comparison between the two societies is through the lists of ports, staff and facilities in the MTS Annual report for 1905 and the BFSS Annual report for 1905/06.

Ashley tradition.¹³⁸ Table 3.5 illustrates a very considerable expansion of the Missions to Seamen, from which three key points emerge. The large numbers of lay readers employed emulates (though to a lesser extent) the

Table 3.5

Missions to Seamen: expansion 1860-1915

	1860	1870	1880	1890	1905	1915
Honorary chaplains	8	34	71	74	53	87
Mission chaplains	10	11	24	27	55	69
Lay readers	12	20	38	43	63	79
Mission vessels/boats			12	45	80	43
Churches & institutes			8	54	116	148
Home stations	19	24	36	44	62	71
Foreign stations		1	10	8	24	39

Source: App.9d & Missions to Seamen annual reports.

use of this form of agent by the home missions such as the city missions as the key full time worker. Trained perhaps in a bible college and then under mission clergy, they were often socially closer to the target population and could prove more effective. Often they had charge of mission stations, and might be peripatetic covering several locations as was the case from 1877 with the reader appointed to Dartmouth, Teignmouth and Exeter. Although this Mission had some small reading rooms and three floating churches in the 1860s, the main emphasis had been on visiting ships at anchor or in dock. The addition from the 1880s of substantial premises, seamen's churches and institutes, is a marked departure. Although the numbers of boats listed suggests no decline in the policy of work afloat, the increased use of power driven vessels and the continued building of enclosed docks in Britain reduced the numbers of ships at anchor awaiting favourable weather. Finally, by the end of the nineteenth century the Mission had a significant presence in British ports and clearly

¹³⁸ Exeter Weekly Gazette, 26 April 1904, 3.

began to give greater emphasis to expanding the overseas network.

The British and Foreign Sailors' Society also entered a major phase of expansion after 1880, instigated by its new Secretary, a former seafarer, Rev. E.W. Matthews. At 32 years of age he was young for such an appointment and comparatively inexperienced having, unusually, been ordained to his first post with the Society at Antwerp only

Table 3.6

British & Foreign Sailors' Society:
staff and stations, 1860-1906

	1860	1870	1880	1891	1906
Chaplains				14	29
Missionaries				68	76
Mission boats				12	45
Bethels, institutes				36	112
Home stations	16	22	24	42	62
Foreign stations	3	8	10	29	60

Source: BFSS Annual reports, 1890/91, 1905/06.
1860-80 data estimated from dates in 1906 rpt.

five years earlier.¹³⁹ Although the data in Table 3.6 is not complete before 1891, Matthews' impact on the society is evident from the figures for that year. He reversed the prevailing policy of avoiding involvement with buildings, started Chart and Compass to give the the branches a sense of corporate belonging, attended to fund raising to ensure missionaries wages were paid, established the principle that each station should be self sufficient (raising all funds needed for its operations), and engaged in overseas tours to encourage the founding of new branches.¹⁴⁰ The backbone of missionary work remained with the lay missionaries, but they were increasingly based in Bethels,

¹³⁹ Edward W. Matthews, *The king's brotherhood* (Partridge, 1911), chaps. 29-34.

¹⁴⁰ Matthews, *King's brotherhood*, 355-62, chaps. 44-59. Matthews overseas travels included: 1877 North America, 1882 France and Italy, 1890 South America, 1891 Russia, 1906 Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and North West Europe, 1908 North America, 1910 Egypt.

institutes and rests or homes, the latter representing a development of the provision of accommodation services as a means of missionary outreach. As yet this was not a major activity. In 1910/11, 23,785 seafarers stayed in BFSS accommodation in Britain, an average entry of 67 per day.¹⁴¹ Most of this was probably in London at the Passmore Edwards Sailors' Palace (1903) (Limehouse) and rests at Millwall Docks and West India Docks.

The two large societies were not alone in providing an expanded seamen's mission presence. Much smaller societies in the evangelical tradition also underwent development, and the first efforts for seafarers by Roman Catholics in the United Kingdom were added from the 1890s. The Seamen's Christian Friend Society, part of the Bethel tradition, became a small national society during the last two decades of the century. Between 1846 and 1867 it had remained a local society working in London. It had a missionary in Liverpool between 1867 and 1893, and in 1872 added the Isle of Man and the Cumberland coast to its operations. From 1881 it opened stations in Galway, Fleetwood (1886) Fowey (1886), Appledore (1888), Ayrshire (1895) and Southwick (1895).¹⁴² As its missionaries had a brief to cover all ports in their sections of coast, it allowed the Society to claim in 1900 that it missioned to forty British ports.¹⁴³ The Society also became more involved with buildings. It erected a new headquarters institute in London in 1893, and in 1905, had eight institutes, including a sailors' home at Fowey. The entirely London based Wesleyan Seamen's Mission also added accommodation to its facilities when it erected the Queen Victoria Seamen's Rest off East India Dock Road in 1902, close to the Board of Trade Shipping Office. It had had a rest and reading room on the site since 1887.¹⁴⁴ A notable aspect of the new building was the inclusion of a

141 'The British side of the year's work', *Chart and Compass*, 23 (1911), 101.

142 Manuscript register of SCFS staff from 1946, SCFS head office, Manchester; see illus. p. lxxxviii.

143 SCFS Annual report for 1899/1900, 15; see illus p. lxxxix.

144 Wesleyan Seamen's Mission, Annual reports. See also Appendix 14 and illus. p. xc.

block of model dwelling homes, in addition to the usual institute facilities and cubicles for 32 boarders. These were intended for permanent occupation by seamen's families and form a small fulfilment of the idea floated in the 1860s.¹⁴⁵ Work for Roman Catholic seamen was advocated in the Catholic press during the 1890s and papers were regularly presented at conferences organized by the Catholic Truth Society.¹⁴⁶ This produced some activity, ship visiting and literature distribution, by local volunteers in ports such as Glasgow, Bristol, Cardiff, Sunderland and on Tyneside mainly under the auspices of the local sections of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Small Catholic seamen's institutes, were opened in London (in Wellclose Square) in 1893, at Bootle, Liverpool in 1895, Portsmouth and Dublin and Belfast in 1910, and a sailors' home in Devonport. Few of these survived for long owing to weak support. It must be remembered that the British Catholic community was only thinly endowed with monied middle class people, the key supporters of the protestant societies. Further none of the work seems to have been organized by societies solely devoted to work amongst seafarers, and there was certainly no national co-ordination.

The massive expansion of British seamen's missions indicated in the fore-going paragraphs could not have been achieved without a corresponding increase in financial and in support and in volunteer activity. From Table 3.7 it is evident that a marked growth in donated income was achieved by the two large societies with which their stations were maintained. In addition legacy income was growing, and there was also investment income. These figures do not necessarily reflect the cost of new buildings as that was often met through special appeals and separate funds, as with the Queen Victoria Seamen's Rest, or through large

¹⁴⁵ See page 107.

¹⁴⁶ Anson, Church and the sailor, chap. 5.

Table 3.7

Donations, subscriptions, collections
to missions, 1870-1905

	1865	1880	1890	1905
	£	£	£	£
Missions to Seamen	6247	11725	24547	42880
Br. & Fgn. Sailors' Society			17602	26128
Wesleyan Seamen's Mission	737	959	1152	1925
Seamen's Christian Fr. Soc.			2433	2051

Source: Annual reports.

donations from single philanthropists, as with the Missions to Seamen's new Seamen's Church and Institute in Bristol opened in 1880 at a cost of £5000.¹⁴⁷

The importance of the diocesan and parish network of the Anglican church to its missions is seen clearly from a study of the reports of the Missions to Seamen. It provided the source for clerical recruits and alternative employment for those whose service with the Mission had come to an end. The interchange meant that knowledge of the Mission's work became widely dispersed throughout the established church. In addition numerous 'establishment figures', clerical and lay, lent their names and sometimes became actively involved. Thus the Mission was provided with easy access to congregations throughout the country where the 'seamen's cause' could be preached, donations solicited and fund collecting branches established. The clerical staff of the Mission were regularly involved in this 'deputation work'. Voluntary fund raisers were kept fully informed of the Mission's work through its annual reports, which soon became weighty documents with lengthy quotations from missionaries journals and detailed acknowledgement of funds donated. Whether deliberately or not, the naming of personal donations, including legacies, and of the amounts collected in each parish claimed the benefits of

¹⁴⁷ Walrond, Launching out into the deep, 195-6.

comparison, and urged even greater effort next year. Appendix 9e illustrates the results. In 1865 contributions were received from all but two of the English counties, and in all 212 churches made donations. In 1905 all the counties are listed and in all, 2029 churches contributed. Donated income increased seven fold in the forty year period. Predictably, coastal counties provided a large proportion (some 70 per cent) of this income, particularly those in the south and south east of England, but over the period income from inland counties increased from nine to fifteen per cent. Though not an ideal comparison, owing to the inclusion of sums paid direct in its London total, the county analysis (Appendix 8c) of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society deputation and collection income, shows a similar imbalance between coastal and inland counties and a similar growth between 1891 and 1906. The detailed accounts of the Missions to Seamen show that contributions made on behalf of a particular branch running mission stations drawn from its immediate hinterland play a much bigger part in 1905 than in 1865. In Hampshire, for example, collections in Southampton amounted to £38 19s. 3d. out of the county total of £194 11s. 2d. for 1865, while in 1905, £853 18s. 11d. was collected for the Southampton Branch of the Mission and £161 11s. 4d. in Southampton for central funds out of a county total of £1031 2s. 3d. Most of the coastal counties with a Missions to Seamen branch providing a local focus in 1905 show a similar pattern. Significant increases in collections in inland counties probably point to the greater effectiveness and spread of the collecting organization, for which the country was divided on a regional basis in the 1880s. In Shropshire, for example £34 1s. 0d. was collected from two towns in 1865, while in 1905 £277 5s. 1d. was collected in 25 towns. Appendix 9d shows a growing level of investments by boosted in 1905 by an exceptional amount received in legacies, a variable source trending to greater importance. On the expenditure side, the very much increased expense of branch facilities, notably buildings, is evident, but most of the heads

proportionately account for about the same or slightly less expenditure when 1905 is compared with 1865. At over one third, payments to chaplains and readers account, predictably, for the largest expenditure head in both years. Outgoings seem to have been kept comfortably within annual receipts.

But the generally increasing levels of mission incomes in this period, did not free them from the need to manage their finances with care or from having at times to take measures to counter financial setbacks.¹⁴⁸ The Missions to Seamen had, for example a bad year in 1899 when several chaplaincies and readerships were left vacant to achieve a reduction in outgoings of about £3000. In 1895 both the Mersey Mission to Seamen and the Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society spent more than they received; this was also the case for the Mersey Mission to Seamen and the Hull Mariners' Church Society in 1905. Small adverse balances could be set against favourable ones in good years. But in 1895 the Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society was in greater difficulty and had to realize part of its investments. However, with the aid of bank loans it was possible to return a deficit over a period of years as the Seamen's Christian Friend Society did between 1888 and 1917. In 1906 its deficit reached the proportionately large amount of £1888 on a turnover of £4845. Ultimately, the level of donated income received by charities depends on the trust of the giving public. The example of Smith's Mariners' Church between 1827 and 1832 shows that charisma may for a time sustain large deficits, but loss of trust in the financial management of a charity could easily lead to bankruptcy and closure.¹⁴⁹

For genuine lay seamen's missionaries as for mission

148 The following section is based on the annual reports of the societies mentioned: LSFS, LCRO, Acc. 3046; NMtS, LRCO, 361 Mer 1/2, 2/2; SCFS, at their Manchester headquarters.

149 See page 76.

chaplains, their work amongst seafarers fulfilled their vocation. In an age when longer working days than at present were the norm, they could easily exceed a twelve hour day visiting seafarers on ship in dock or taking a boat to reach ships at anchor. On shore there were visits to be made to seafarers' families. The institutes needed supervision. There were meetings to be held, preaching to be undertaken and individual seafarers to be 'engaged in conversation' (see illus p. lxxxix, xci). The missionaries of the Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society summarized a typical week's work in December, 1872. Richard Davies, attached to the North Bethel, produced the list below:¹⁵⁰

Sunday.	Morning and evening services, inviting seamen in, giving tracts; visiting ships, speaking with crews.
Monday.	Visiting emigrants' boarding houses, sick and dying, preaching occasionally.
Tuesday.	Rest and recreation, arranging subjects for meetings. Evening Band of Hope. Preaching.,
Wednesday.	Visiting ships, dock gatemen, families of seamen, distributing tracts. Evening fellowship meeting.
Thursday.	Visiting boarding houses and families of seamen. Evening total abstinence meeting.
Friday.	Visiting families who attend Bethel meetings and seamen's homes. Address an open air temperance meeting.
Saturday.	Arranging for pulpit on Sabbath. Classifying tracts. Visits.

Part of the evidence of all missions to their supporters that the work was being undertaken lay in the statistical records. Clearly they were capable of manipulation, but apart from missionary journals the figures are the only evidence of the quantity of effort. Table 3.8 lists the work undertaken by the staff of the Mersey Mission to Seamen for the month of August, 1877, but the number of

¹⁵⁰ LERO, Acc. 3046.

visits (about 3 per missionary per day) seems low for the size of its staff, two chaplains and six lay readers. However, that was the average for the national mission in

Table 3.8

Mersey Mission to Seamen: visits August 1877

	No. of visits		Persons addressed	
	total	per day	total	per day
Ships	161	5.2	876	28.2
Flats (canal barges)	387	12.5	560	118.1
Hospitals	32	1.0	115	3.7
Boarding houses	184	5.9	926	29.9
Reading rooms			2923	94.3
Totals	664	21.4	5400	174.2

Source: LCRO, MMtS records, 361 Mer.2/28

1895. It may also be compared with the records of the Plymouth Bethel society's missionary shown in Table 3.9. Allowing a meagre half hour per visit and per service and quarter of an hour per man helped this suggests a 25 hour missionary week, exclusive of travelling time, deputation

Table 3.9

Work record of W.J. Polgreen, 1898-1928
missionary to PSSSFSBU

	Total No.	No./Day	Time/day
Visits to ships	34420	3.1	1.5 hrs
Visits to homes	20510	1.9	1.0
Visits to labour shelters	1800	0.2	0.1
Individual seamen helped	21750	2.0	0.5
Services taken	10120	0.9	0.5

Source: PSSSFSBU Committee minutes, WDRO, 750/1-3.

work, preparation, and administration as the mission's only paid missionary. Allowing for exaggeration this missionary appears to have worked hard.

While the emphasis on visiting seafarers in ships and ashore in lodgings and their homes, remained a key form of ministry for all the mission societies, the development of the seamen's church institute, perhaps replacing the

earlier small mission reading room, as a focus for work ashore, seems to have been significant for the Missions to Seamen. The example in Bristol was a substantial church

Table 3.10

Attendances at Bristol Seamen's Church & Institute
(Missions to Seamen, Bristol Branch), 1880 & 1885

Services	1880		1885	
	Total No.	Average No./event	Total No.	Average No./event
Sunday mornings	2717	52	6463	124
Sunday evenings	7388	142	14158	272
Weekday mornings(all men)	7653	12	8886	14
Wednesday evenings	2109	40	3644	70
Total at services	19867		33151	
Bible class	2674	17	2188	14
Concerts, etc.	6754	86	13660	175
Grand total	29295		48999	

Source: Missions to Seamen Annual report for 1885

style building with the Institute (hall, reading room, refreshment bar) on the ground floor and church at first floor level.¹⁵¹ Table 3.10 illustrates the the usage which was built up by the team of chaplain and three lay readers, covering Bristol docks, Portishead, the River Avon and the anchorage at Kingroad. The average numbers attending each type of event have been derived using a description in the Branch report for 1882. As well as the Sunday and Wednesday evening services, two weekday morning services took place, one in the church and one at HMS Daedalus, a naval depot ship. Bible classes were held on Sunday afternoons and Tuesday and Thursday evenings. The entertainments consisted of weekly magic lantern lectures and fortnightly concerts. The breakdown of attendances suggests a reasonably typical pattern. Only the most dedicated would attend the daily morning services and might at times comprise only the staff

¹⁵¹ The following description is based on the reports from Bristol in the Missions to Seamen Annual reports 1880-1885. This building was very close to the Bristol Sailors' Home and the Mercantile Marine Office. It still stands though long disused; see illus. p. lxxxvii.

and unpaid helpers; Bible class sizes would be small partly for this reason and for teaching reasons. Sunday attendances, doubling in five years, would draw in mission supporters and seafarers' families as well as serving seafarers. Perhaps the best measure of seafarer use is attendances at entertainments, which also doubled in five years, a period in which the estimated mean total numbers of seafarers entering the customs port of Bristol daily, changed only marginally from 99 to 93. This mission branch was clearly making an impact, though its magnitude in relation to the total target population remains uncertain. Certainly there were occasions when the church was filled and overflow arrangements had to be made. From the report of other branches with church institutes, this example appears to be representative. The Cardiff mission ship was often full in 1885 and its reading room, heavily used, was a 'refuge from the crimps'. In 1907, the Tyne branch reported an average attendance of 31 at its daily evening service and a continued emphasis on work afloat.¹⁵²

Missions and homes before the 1914-18 war

From the foregoing discussion it will be clear that by the 1890s the national missions had achieved national recognition and support, a stronger financial position, and a comprehensive network of stations many of which had purpose designed modern buildings. As a whole, seamen's missions were reinvigorated and whether or not anticipating war, they were in a better condition to supply the social needs of the serving seafarer at war, and they had the experienced religious staff for those seafarers seeking spiritual support. In the prevailing jingoism, seafarers as the sinews of empire touched a chord and the missions were not slow to play upon it. A notable coup was the usurpation by the British and Foreign Sailors' Society of

¹⁵² Missions to Seamen, Annual report for 1907; see illus. p. lxxxvi, lxxxvii.

the Nelson centenary celebrations, through the simple device of booking the Royal Albert Hall for Trafalgar Day, 1905, eighteen months ahead.¹⁵³ Having obtained timber from Victory and copper from Foudroyant, its Secretary, E.W. Matthews, had mementoes manufactured, and their sale together with donations produced over £10,000 for the Society's Nelson Fund. However an appeal for funds in 1911, suggests that the Society might have over stretched it self.¹⁵⁴ Both societies also benefitted from the patronage and visitation of royalty, but the Anglican society had also obtained formal recognition from the Church hierarchy through presentations of its work at the meetings of Church congresses.¹⁵⁵

Although the missionaries of both societies still presented the evangelical message at every opportunity, the approach to seafarers, through provision for their social needs, whether for refreshment, recreation, accommodation, was more secular than in earlier years. Indeed, Anglican chaplains had long advocated avoiding the direct religious approach in favour of allowing social matters, in the first instance of greater interest to many men, to provide the lead. A church or chapel was incorporated in every Mission to Seamen institute and spiritual support could always be offered to seamen when opportunity occurred.

Not all seafarers, however appreciated the efforts of the philanthropists. Agnes Weston and her Sailors' Rests were subjected to a strong attack in 1911 for her repeated appeals nationally for funds in aid of 'poor jack'.¹⁵⁶ As much as anything this was a complaint about the social stigma attaching to the target's welfare appeals. The ill

¹⁵³ Matthews, The king's brotherhood, chaps. 41-43.

¹⁵⁴ Chart and Compass, 33 (1911), 210.

¹⁵⁵ W. Dawson, 'Church work in the army and navy' [The Missions to Seamen], Authorised report of the Church Congress held at Plymouth, 3-6 October, 1876 (W. Wells Gardner, 1877), 147-150.

¹⁵⁶ Lionel Vexley, Charity and the Navy: a protest against indiscriminate begging on behalf of 'Poor Jack' (The Fleet Ltd., 1911).

used to support the appeals had long since been rectified. The author suggests that Miss Weston was 'forty years out of date'. Perhaps this was true. To modern eyes the style of her annual reports, with its cartoons and heavy emphasis on royalty, is distasteful. In addition, although originally an Anglican, she had developed her own evangelical missionary organization in the free church style, and use of the rests was bought at the expense of the kind of direct missionary attention becoming less acceptable in the increasingly secular society of that period.

For the sailors' home societies circumstances were less easy. Although some modernization had taken place, they do not seem to have benefitted from national interest in the seafarer in the way the two main national missionary societies had, probably because they were essentially local organizations. Further, the sailors' homes originating from the 1850s and before, were facing competition. This came both from new initiatives such as that by Agnes Weston in naval ports, and provision made for north Europeans by their voluntary societies, such as the Scandinavian Sailors' Temperance Home in London (ca.1887),¹⁵⁷ and from a sector which they had previously largely complemented, the seaman's missionary societies. Although there were informal contacts from time to time between homes, they really needed to be brought into one national network. This was not an unreasonable proposition as societies like the Charity Organization Society had long existed to bring some sense to overlapping collection and provision. The need for accommodation for seafarers in port remained, though not for the majority of seafarers. As well as foreign seafarers between ships, there were British seafarers who had no homes of their own and based themselves in boarding houses or homes when taking leave, and there continued to be a

157 'Among the Norsemen', Chart and Compass, 10 (1889), 262-3. Scandinavian homes were also established in other British ports; see *illus p. xcix*.

proportion of destitute seafarers requiring support. In 1894/95, for example, the British and Foreign Sailors' Society provided 16,424 'free beds' to seafarers (45 per night), and the Missions to Seamen Bristol Branch made similar provision in Bristol.¹⁵⁸

The considerable expansion of national mission societies went a long way towards compensating for any weakness in religious provision for seafarers in locations not previously covered by local Bethel societies, for example at Manchester,¹⁵⁹ or where such societies had failed. In all, surviving local missions such as those at Liverpool, Glasgow, Plymouth and Ilfracombe, and the branches of the national missions, provided United Kingdom ports with perhaps 120 mission stations by the early years of the twentieth century. Although clearly competing with each other, the two national missions were providing co-ordination and rationalization within their spheres. Further, the growth was also a response to the great increase in the numbers of seafarers and seafarer movements through ports (see page 101). It was important in the development of recreational opportunities for seafarers separate from the unsavoury outlets in 'sailortown'. No seaman of a religious disposition could have had any doubt that his faith was fully supported when in port by the presence of seafarers' clergy and dedicated places of worship. Certainly the impression is given of seamen's churches, Bethels and institutes being well filled, but the question of the relationship of this activity to the total seafaring population cannot be answered. Missions naturally came into contact with seafarers needing support, and the possibility that religious observance was generated by the social support on offer cannot be ignored. Increasing proportions of seafarers worked in power driven ships. That

¹⁵⁸ Chart and compass, 17 (1895), 201; Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 10 Oct. 1894.

¹⁵⁹ Chart and Compass, 17 (1895), 200, reports the founding by the BFSS of the Manchester Sailors' Society.

change may well have had a stabilising effect on seafife. Steamship men were recognized as being 'family men' and much more stable than sailing ship men.¹⁶⁰ Their more regular life style may well, in United Kingdom ports at least, have, for them, rendered missions to a position of minor relevance.

¹⁶⁰ Evidence of Rev. E.W. Matthews, Secretary of the BFSS to the Royal commission on loss of life at sea, BPP, 1907 (c.5227-11), XLIII, Q15,921.

Chapter IV

WAR AND DEPRESSION: 1914 - 1939

Although sign posts pointing to change in society are identifiable well before the First World War, many historians acknowledge the war as marking a great divide.¹ For Fraser it had a profound influence on British society, sweeping away one world and creating a new one, "...the greatest watershed of modern British history."² For Hastings it represents the "...best beginning for... 'the modern world'... a new era incredibly unlike anything that had gone before...".³ The requirements of war brought about government intervention on an unprecedented scale, touching the lives of the whole population, bringing improvement to conditions of the poor through full employment, rising wages and a better diet, and levelling class divisions through increased social mixing. The poor physical condition of many conscripts revealed the damage to the nation's manpower caused by inadequate nutrition and poor living conditions, and was a factor in the establishment of the Ministry of Health. Their educational level prompted reforms in education. Shortages of manpower brought women into new areas of work, many coming into employment for the first time. Patterns of behaviour changed, becoming more relaxed as Victorian standards were pushed aside, and religion was further undermined.⁴

By 1914, the bulk of United Kingdom registered

1 J.M. Roberts, 'General editor's preface', in T.O. Lloyd, Empire to welfare state: English history 1906-1976 (2nd edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1979), vii, expresses reservations concerning the boundaries accepted in the past.

2 Fraser, The evolution of the British welfare state, 177.

3 Adrian Hastings, A history of English Christianity, 1920-1985 (Collins, 1985), 16.

4 Lloyd, Empire to welfare state, 104-5; Asa Briggs, A social history of England (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983), 252, 257, 262; Hastings, A history of English Christianity, 1920-1985, 47.

shipping, 94 per cent by tonnage, was propelled by steam and provided employment for a similar proportion of seafarers.⁵ Commercial sailing vessels and the employment they provided had ceased to be significant. But the overall trend in the numbers of merchant seafarers in United Kingdom ships was also downwards. At the end of the war, there were some 30,000 fewer seafarers, and, though there were fluctuations, by 1938 the overall figure was about 190,000, a reduction of some 70,000 from 1914 (vessels over 100 tons). Part of this decline may be attributed to war losses and effects of the depression, though the numbers of ships fell steadily from 21,000 in 1914 to some 17,000 in 1938. But in the same period the size of ships was steadily increasing and the man/ton ratio was declining. However a further factor which became significant in the 1930s, was the introduction of oil fuel, the growth of diesel engine propulsion and the substitution of oil for coal in steam ships. Once again technical change was having an impact on the composition of crews, eliminating firemen and trimmers, who were required in large numbers on coal burning ships.⁶ Nevertheless, numbers of ships arriving at United Kingdom ports were such that the estimated numbers of seafarers on average arriving each day reached 9481 in 1930, falling back to 8336 in 1935.⁷ Even allowing for the difference between ships 'entering' and ships 'arriving', the size of the target population for seafarers' voluntary societies was as large, if not larger, than the size in 1900, though the numbers of ships to be visited was perhaps a quarter fewer.⁸

5 See Appendices 1a and 1b (ii). From 1926, official returns excluded seafarers serving on vessels of under 100 tons. The overlap from 1911 to 1925 between Tables 1b (i) and 1b (ii) indicates the order of difference, the latter table, in 1914, excluding some 4000 men in sail and some 30,000 men in steam. From 1920 the smaller man/ton ratios derived in Table 1b (ii) have been used in calculating the estimates in Table 1e. However, the use of arrival as opposed to entry data in Tables 1c and 1d increases the estimates produced in Table 1e from 1920 in comparison with the estimates for the nineteenth century.

6 Robin Craig, The ship: steam tramps and cargo liners, 1850-1950 (HMSO, 1960), 54.

7 See Appendix 1e.

8 See Appendix 1d.

Although perhaps outwardly, seamen's missions and sailors' homes continued between 1914 and 1939 much as they had in the latter part of the nineteenth century, they were affected by the war and its aftermath in significant ways as was every other segment of British society. The war brought increased recognition to all seafarers' welfare organizations (not just those for serving seafarers), from the authorities as well as the public in general, seeming to increase donations, though in real terms mission income was cut severely.⁹ The role of chaplains and missionaries was enhanced by increased demand for mission social services and, in contrast with clerical experience in the army, their religious role was also more in demand. However, the war also spawned a powerful secular fund raising charity, the King George's Fund for Sailors (KGFS) and facilitated the rise of seafarers' unions. In different ways these threatened the freedom of action of individual voluntary societies, and caused them, reluctantly, and starting with co-ordinated fund-raising, to begin to take cognizance of the existence of others serving seafarers. This was a developing issue in the inter-war years and beyond. It also led to an acceptance by the state that it had a role. Nevertheless, this period saw an expansion of missionary effort, principally through the formation of a new national mission, the Roman Catholic organization, Apostleship of the Sea (AOS), and an increasing involvement of missions in the provision of accommodation. This last blurred the distinction, which had been largely true of the second half of the nineteenth century, between the operational spheres of missions and homes. Indeed by 1939 missions were the major providers of accommodation. This aspect of mission work, were it sufficiently clearly delineated from their other activities, might be treated with the work of homes. However, because homes were

⁹ See Appendix 15b for a categorised listing: 43 'institutions rendering material aid', 15 'training ships and establishments', 27 'social and religious organisations' (the concern of this study), the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, and 27 uncategorised organizations. See also page 175.

local societies with generally limited objects, they will continue here to be treated as a separate, if declining sector, and the accommodation initiatives by missions will be associated with their other secular work.¹⁰ Before turning to the operations of mission and homes in this period and examining the issue co-ordination of effort, a context is provided through an overview of religious and social trends, and a discussion of aspects of seafaring.

Religion and social policy

Church leaders had expressed support for the war in 1914, but the heavy loss of life and the ineptitude of some chaplains, did little to enhance religion amongst service men for whom human values such as loyalty and courage were more significant.¹¹ Contrary to what might have been expected, adversity brought no genuine religious revival; the war shattered the social and political role of Christianity and unveiled "...to high and low alike... ecclesiastical near-irrelevance."¹² The statistics of adherence to organised religion show a general decline in this period when related to the increase in population, though numbers were maintained or even increased slightly during the 1920s and 1930s.¹³ At an intellectual level, disbelief had long been building up, and in the post-war period 'confident agnosticism' was the norm.¹⁴ Nor was church attendance any longer important for social reasons. Within the established church clergy Anglo-Catholicism was in the ascendancy and had become the central moving force,

10 This seems to have been the generally accepted partition, and appears throughout the deliberations of the Seamen's Welfare Board during the Second World War. It is reflected in the grouping of mission and homes finances and beds provided, in Appendix 18a.

11 Roebuck, The making of modern English society from 1850, 111; Hastings, A history of English Christianity 1920-1985, 47.

12 Hastings, A history of English Christianity, 1920-1985, 48.

13 Robert Currie & Alan Gilbert, 'Religion', in A.H. Halsey (ed), Trends in British society since 1900: a guide to the changing social structure of Britain (Macmillan, 1972), 402-50.

14 Hastings, A history of English Christianity, 1920-1985, 221.

while evangelicalism was at its weakest; but amongst the laity high churchmanship had much less support, and this had an influence on the rejection of the new Prayer Book by the House of Commons in 1927 and 1928 which was achieved with non-conformist support.¹⁵ The Roman Catholic Church had made great progress organizationally during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and there had been some local attention to seafarers in Britain. The founding of the Catholic equivalent to the British Sailors' Society and Missions to Seamen, Apostleship of the Sea, in 1921,¹⁶ came in time to benefit from the "...quite marked strengthening of the Catholic presence, numerical and institutional, in almost every part of the country..." which took place in the 1930s.¹⁷

Perhaps the main advance in religion of the inter-war period was that along the ecumenical front, in Britain and at the international level. This must have had implications for the main seamen's missions which had long been operating World wide, though whether it influenced the Prince of Wales' call for a merger between the Missions to Seamen and the British Sailors' Society is uncertain.¹⁸ The origins of the movement are identified with the World Inter-denominational Missionary Conference (Edinburgh, 1910) which "...was significant for its lay initiatives and...sought to impress on the home churches the realities of the field mission experience."¹⁹ The key event came in 1937 at the Oxford Conference of Life and Work, which resolved to establish a World Council of Churches (inaugurated 1948). The British Council of

15 Hastings, A history of English Christianity, 1920-1935, chap. 11.

16 Peter F. Anson, The Church and the sailor: a survey of the sea apostolate past and present (Catholic Book Club, 1948), 102. 1920 is commonly quoted as the year of formation, but a constitution was not drafted until 1921, and the inaugural meeting would appear to be that held on 11 Oct. 1921, which Anson calls the first annual general meeting.

17 Hastings, A history of English Christianity, 277.

18 Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Lang papers, 1935, 136, ff 69-85, correspondence from Missions to Seamen. Addressing the annual meeting of the Missions to Seamen in 1929, the Prince of Wales had expressed the wish that it might have been a joint meeting.

19 Paul, A Church by daylight, 96.

Churches was formed in 1942.²⁰ The reuniting of Methodism in England (1932) and Presbyterianism (1929) in Scotland may also be seen as part of the ecumenical movement, but in the context of secularization ecumenism has been interpreted as symptomatic of religious organizations in decline.²¹

In time of war ports become important foci in the movement of goods and manpower connected with the war effort. Concern about the level of drunkenness amongst troops passing through ports during 1914 led to restrictions in licencing hours and other measures, which, together with a temperance attack on the evils of drink, produced an improved level of sobriety.²² Beer became weaker and more expensive, and collectively these changes broke the traditional links between drink and work. Though drinking continued as a social problem, and a weaker temperance movement still called for greater controls,²³ the level of drunkenness of the previous century had been lessened.

The major social problem of the decades between the wars was that of unemployment which affected seafarers as much as other workers. Almost as soon as the insurance principle had come into effect it was undermined by the demand which soon greatly exceeded the funds available.²⁴ By the 1930s, after a series of attempts to maintain the myth of an insurance base to unemployment benefit, the situation was so severe that the level of benefit had to be cut, and a means test introduced which, excepting the name, was effectively a return to the old, locally administered Poor Law. Reforms in 1934 extended the coverage of unemployment insurance and created the Unemployment

²⁰ Hastings, A history of English Christianity, 1920-1935, chap. 13.

²¹ Gilbert, The making of post-Christian Britain, 128.

²² Roebuck, The making of modern English society from 1850, 96-7.

²³ Carter, The English temperance movement, 260-2.

²⁴ Fraser, The evolution of the British welfare state, chap. 8.

Assistance Board to assume responsibility for all destitution relief on a national basis with benefit paid according to need. Although the role of the state was greatly extended in this period, there was still plenty of scope for the voluntary sector. Roof identifies the war as marking the division between the 'old philanthropy' limited by the level of donations and perhaps small amounts of state support, and the 'new philanthropy' in which a new financial relationship between public and private agencies was created such that payments for services on an agency basis greatly increased the incomes of many voluntary organisations.²⁵ The extent to which organisations for serving seafarers benefitted was probably limited. Progress was also made in the area of co-ordination, especially with the formation of the National Council for Social Service (1919) including statutory and voluntary interests and covering all areas of the country; local Councils of Social Service were also encouraged.²⁶ This role for seafarers charities was given to the King Georges' Fund for Sailors (1917); later the port welfare committees were to be given a co-ordinating role (1941).²⁷ Progress in the voluntary sector together with a range of other state social measures in addition to those concerned with unemployment, meant that social conditions had been significantly improved by 1939.

Seafaring labour

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a new force, seafarers' trade unions, was beginning to make itself felt nationally on behalf of seafarers, particularly of course

25 Madeline Roof, Voluntary societies and social policy (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957), 23.

26 Roof, Voluntary societies and social policy, 265.

27 King George's Fund for Sailors (KGFS), Royal Charter and Statutes 1920 (amended) (KGFS, 1949), 2 (objects of the Corporation); 'Seamen's welfare in ports', report of the Committee appointed by the Minister of Labour and National Service and the Minister of War Transport (Chairman H. Graham White) (HMSO, 1945), 12.

with respect to wages and conditions on board ship. Unions emerged locally and for particular categories of seafarer, ratings and officers,²⁸ but that which eventually emerged as the strongest was the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union (1894). To counter this trend, and particularly the threatened monopoly of control of seafaring labour in one organization, shipowners had also combined in the Shipping Federation (1890).²⁹ At the outbreak of war, following the success of the seamen's strike in 1911, some ninety per cent of petty officers, sailors and firemen were members of this union,³⁰ and it was shaping up for a further bout of conflict with the owners. The combination of this union's dominant position, under the established leadership of Havelock Wilson, M.P., with the circumstances of the war, produced the long cherished objective of a national bargaining forum in 1917, the National Maritime Board. This was a joint committee of seafarers' and owners' representatives under a chairman from the Ministry of Shipping,³¹ and as a major advance in the area of seafarers' employment was so successful that it was re-established as a permanent forum from 1919, but without state representation.

It seems unlikely that this step forward would have been achieved without government intervention at a critical stage in the war, which brought the owners and the seafarers' representatives together. In a situation in which "...the mercantile marine was virtually chartered by the nation and rather more than one third of it sunk",³² the state's treatment of British merchant shipping had been

28 A.G. Course, The Merchant Navy: a social history (Muller, 1963), 250-66.

29 Basil Mogridge, 'Labour relations and labour costs', in S.G. Sturmev, British shipping and world competition (Athlone Press, 1962), 293. See also L.H. Powell, The Shipping Federation: a history of the first sixty years, 1890-1950 (Shipping Federation, 1950).

30 Charles P. Hopkins, 'National service' of British merchant seamen, 1914-1919 (Routledge, 1920), 4. For the Union's perspective see Edward Tupper, Seamen's torch (Huichinson, 1938), 17-67; for that of the Federation see Powell, The Shipping Federation, 21-7.

31 Hopkins, 'National service' of British seamen, 44-9.

32 R.H. Thornton, British shipping (Cambridge UP, 1939), 95.

of an ad hoc nature until the formation of the Ministry of Shipping at the end of 1916 and the general requisitioning of merchant shipping in 1917. Ships were taken up for Admiralty purposes haphazardly, while the rest of the industry continued to operate within the pre-war context. Some groups of shipowners made very large profits, and this contrasted with the level of seafarers' wages which tended to lag behind the massive inflation which was taking place.³³ This was one of a number of factors which led to serious unrest amongst British seafarers in 1915/16.³⁴ Despite the removal of alien seafarers at the outbreak of war, there remained unemployment among British men which was thought to have been caused by an increase in the employment of Chinese men. There were allegations of indiscipline from naval circles brought into contact with peace time behavioural patterns amongst merchant seafarers, failure to join ships requisitioned as transports and drunkenness. The latter problem was handled using the all embracing powers of the Defence of the Realm Act, to restrict the opening of dock-side public houses.³⁵ Then there was the problem of destitution among seafarers (and their dependents) whose ships were sunk, especially those lost early in a voyage; allowing for advances and the technical end of the voyage on sinking, men were returning home without any money to support families or replace lost kit. A war risk compensation scheme introduced in 1917 at the height of the German submarine campaign covered vessels sunk but not other circumstances in which seafarers were disadvantaged owing to the war, such as men killed when an ammunition ship exploded in Halifax (Canada), or at a more mundane level, the added cost of land travel caused by ships not berthing at the port of engagement. The latter was corrected, also in 1917, by providing free rail passes.

³³ Sturmeay, British shipping and world competition, 46-55. See also the cost of living index, Appendix 2.

³⁴ Hopkins, 'National service' of British seamen, 19-36.

³⁵ 1914, 5 & 6 Geo. 5, c.8.

There were two other important developments arising out of this Government initiative: a solution to the long standing problem of supplying (shipping) seamen,³⁶ and an initiative on the training of recruits, particularly to replace merchant seafarers lost through enemy action. In the polarized situation from the 1890s both the Shipping Federation and the Union had become involved, the former shipping men accepting the 'federation ticket', the latter seeking exclusive employment for its members. Now the two parties were to control jointly the supply of seafarers to ships with Board of Trade Mercantile Marine Offices (shipping offices) as before providing the legal framework for engagement and discharge. In all 14,287 merchant seafarers lost their lives owing to the war and a significant number must have been incapacitated.³⁷ To fill the gap, as well as releasing seamen from the army and taking on more Chinese, a sea training school, again under joint control, was established at Gravesend in the Sailor's Home, London, branch home building, which was eventually purchased by the Government.³⁸

The National Maritime Board, effectively the national joint council or Whitley council for the shipping industry, was reconstituted after the 1914-18 war as the permanent forum for preventing and adjusting differences between shipowners and seafarers, for agreeing national rates of pay and conditions of employment and as the source of supply of seafarers for ships.³⁹ But it could not prevent unemployment or disruptive activity. In the post war slump (1921) the union side agreed to a cut in wages for those in employment, while significant numbers of men suffered

36 The government Mercantile Marine (or shipping) offices regulated the legal process of engagement and discharge, but finding a crew to be signed on was still an open market situation, in which private agents, shipowners, the Shipping Federation, seamen's unions, sailors' homes and others had from time to time been involved.

37 Thornton, *British shipping*, 94.

38 Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 25 Oct. 1916, NMM, SAM 1/3.

39 Hopkins, *'National service' of British seamen*, 97-92 contains the text of the draft constitution.

severe unemployment.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the employers conceded the 'closed shop' principle in 1922 for sailors and firemen, which was virtually complete by 1926 with the collapse of a rival union.⁴¹ Both this period and the great depression of the early 1930s saw serious unemployment among officers and masters as well as among seamen, with many of the former accepting ratings' jobs to achieve some income.⁴² In the worst periods it was as high as thirty per cent, but for most of the rest of the inter war period it was rarely less than twenty per cent.⁴³ Many seafarers found employment ashore, and immediately before the Second World War there were shortages in certain categories.

Sailors' homes in war and depression

The disruption caused by the war ought to have increased the demand for temporary accommodation. Yet the evidence from the sailors' homes studied indicates that they were only occasionally stretched, and that if anything they were underused. Table 4.1 shows that both the London and Bristol homes experienced slightly increased numbers of in the early part of the war followed by a decline. The rate of entries of shipwrecked men at London and Great Yarmouth shows a pattern of increase to 1916/17 and decline thereafter, which parallels the the losses of merchant ships through enemy action (the German U boat offensive peaked in 1917). However, some of the use of homes was by groups other than merchant seafarers. The Southampton home was kept busy accommodating naval ratings, the London home's Gravesend branch home accommodated troops for a time and was then left empty, and the Bristol home at first

40 Thornton, *British shipping*, 109.

41 Sturmev, *British shipping and world competition*, 298-301. The National Sailors' and Firemen's Union was renamed National Union of Seamen in this period to accommodate other ratings, though the closed shop among catering ratings was not achieved until 1942.

42 Course, *Merchant Navy*, 284.

43 Sturmev, *British shipping and world competition*, 300-1.

Table 4.1

Mean daily usage of London, Bristol and Great
Yarmouth sailors' homes, 1913-1919

	London		Bristol		Gt.Yarmouth
	Seamen entered per day	Ship- wrecked per day	Seamen entered per day	Beds occupied per night	Shipwrckd seamen per day
1913	17.2	1.1	2.1	11.7	0.1
1914	21.8	1.8	2.8	13.5	0.2
1915	23.8	2.5	4.0	20.2	0.9
1916	20.4	2.5	2.5	15.7	1.2
1917	15.5	2.9	2.6	16.3	0.5
1918	13.4	1.8	1.7	12.4	0.7
1919	14.6	0.3	1.8	13.0	0.3

Sources: Appendices 11a, 12a, & Daily log of Grt.
Yarmouth Sailors' Home, NRO, SO4/5

offered space to the Red Cross and then to the Belgian consul for refugees.⁴⁴ Evidence that demand for accommodation was not strong also comes from Liverpool where the Chairman of that home indicated there was no shortage even when shipwrecked crews arrived.⁴⁵

Though the war-time usage of homes may have brought in some out-of-the-ordinary customers, it seems likely that the most typical residents remained deck ratings and petty officers, though there was an increased presence of other categories of seafarer. Random sample analysis of 1920/21 entries to the Sailors' Home, London, show that able seamen comprised 50 per cent of the total and other deck personnel 18 per cent. But engine room ratings, 23 per cent, were a larger proportion than in 1900/01 (16 per cent).⁴⁶ Seamen using the Home were also older, with a mean age of 35 compared with 30 in 1900/01. Able seamen, in particular,

44 Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 13 Aug. 1917, 13 Jan. 1916, MM, SAH 1/7. Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 12 June 1917; Southampton Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 24 April 1917, D/SH/16.

45 Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 18 July 1917, MMRC, D/LH/7: the Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society was considering offering accommodation at its Gordon Smith Institute for Seamen.

46 See Appendices 11f and 11g.

were spread more evenly over the age groups, compared with earlier samples where there were marked peaks in the 20 to 29 age groups. The trend to increased length of stay, noted in the paragraph above, is also evident in the sample, the mean stay being 17 nights compared with 11 in 1900/01. The trend at the Bristol home to longer periods of residence is evident throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Possibly this is indicative of a residual group of older seafarers having no homes of their own, using homes as a permanent base when on leave.⁴⁷ But there was also problem of former seafarers in regular employment on shore, probably regular users of homes when at sea, who wished to remain as permanent residents.⁴⁸ Technically they ought to have been excluded but the income must have been welcome.

But it was the problem of out of funds, unemployed seafarer residents which exercised management committees of homes between the wars, bringing into focus yet again the necessity of making homes pay their way while avoiding the appearance of lacking in charity. At the London home this continued to be handled through its Destitute Sailors' Fund, and other establishments had small samaritan funds. This was the case at the Liverpool home, but, as with other societies, it was now able to obtain added financial support from the King Georges' Fund for Sailors.⁴⁹ In 1919, it had Russian and Finnish seamen who could not get jobs, who were supported by their consuls, and in 1921 large numbers of unemployed men were in arrears,⁵⁰ a problem that repeatedly occurs in the committee minutes for the 1920s and 1930s. However there were limits on the extent to which seafarers would be supported. In 1933, the Liverpool home

47 At the Bristol home the names of several seafarers recur regularly in the entry books during the 1930s; often these men were in residence for more than a month.

48 Southampton Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 27 July 1920, SCRO, D/SH/11.

49 Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 13 April, 8 June 1921, 19 Apr 1922. MMRO, D/LH/7.

50 Committee minutes, MMRO, D/LH/7, 10 June, 9 July 1919, 9 March 1921.

gave Thomas Murray, AB, two weeks notice. His arrears had reached the comparatively large sum of £55 14s. 1d.⁵¹

It seems likely that the extension of the Southampton Sailors' Home in 1930, was an exceptional initiative for sailors' homes in the interwar period.⁵² This was a move which appears to have been justified by an occupancy rate of 66 per cent in 1935 and 85 per cent in 1939 (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2

Mean daily usage of London, Bristol and
Southampton sailors' homes, 1930-1939

	London		Bristol		Southampton	
	Total beds avail	Beds occupied per night	Total beds avail	Beds occupied per night	Total beds avail	Beds occupied per night
1930	230	149	30	16		96
1935	230		30	14	134	88
1939	230	165	30	15	134	115

Source: Appendices 11a, 12a, Southampton Sailors' Home, Annual reports, SCRO, D/SH/16

The London home appears to have been generally some 60 per cent full and the Bristol home about half full. Generally, the provision of additional accommodation was by the seamen's missions (see page 173). At Liverpool, the new accommodation provided by the Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society was adjacent to the Sailors' Home and clearly had an adverse effect. Needing to enhance income, the Home attempted to rent out space, being successful with the Apostleship of the Sea from 1925, Liverpool Corporation in 1926 and the National Union of Seamen in 1936.⁵³ The network of sailors' homes, was weakened in this period by the absorption of the Plymouth home by the British Sailors'

51 Committee minutes, 13 Sept. 1933, MMRC, D/LH/9.

52 Committee minutes, 13 March 1930.

53 Committee minutes, 14 Oct. 1925, 10 Nov. 1926, 15 Jan. 1936, MMRC D/LH/3 & 9; see illus. p. xcvi.

Society in 1920, which also opened its Mayflower Hostel there that year, soon closing the original home.⁵⁴

Although voluntary work for seafarers may have been the subject for increased giving during the war, it is less certain that sailors' homes shared in this to any extent. As Table 4.3 indicates, it was a minor source for the London home, though it was more of a cushion for the Bristol home, especially in the 1930s when it began to share in flag day proceeds. Bristol did experience a

Table 4.3

Finances at London and Bristol sailors' homes
1915-1935, deflated to 1914 values using Appendix 2

London	1915	1920	1925	1930	1935
	£	£	£	£	£
Donated income	49	63	139	120	150
Dividends, rents	1052	640	1728	1913	2237
Seamen's board money	4589	3915	4695	5770	4861
Total ordinary income	12550	8847	12637	15847	13717
Total ord.expenditure	11526	8808	11494	12674	8510
 Bristol	 1916		1926	1930	1935
	£		£	£	£
Donated income	59		56	72	99
Dividends, rents	176		246	211	221
Seamen's board money	350		234	289	190
Total ordinary income	585		537	572	510
Total ord.expenditure	558		394	520	484

Source: Appendices 11b (ii) and 12b (ii)

doubling of this source in 1913 and 1914, though the reason is unclear. The London home did share in flag day proceeds during the war, receiving in 1917 £400.⁵⁵ But this appears to have been an isolated example. A more significant part in maintaining the viability of homes was played by their investment and rent income. This is particularly clear in the case of the Bristol home where seamen's board money consistently fell well short of total expenditure, and without it the Home would surely have had to close. This

⁵⁴ *Chart and Compass*, New Series 12 (1920), 132-3.

⁵⁵ Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 12 April 1917, NMM, SAH 1/9.

form of income was important for the London home, though to a lesser extent. The totals for income and expenditure are inflated by the inclusion of sales in the clothing shop and refreshment bars. Board money alone would not have covered provisions and overheads, for which dividends and rents were essential if charges for board were to be held at levels in seamen's boarding houses.

In this period, sailor's homes' operations seem to have remained much as they were in the two decades before the war. The war, rather than assisting them, brought the difficulties of handling the effects of inflation, loss of key staff, and difficulty in recruiting suitable staff.⁵⁶ Only the Great Yarmouth home seems to have done well financially, where earnings from its unusual facility, its signal station, increased from £167 in 1914 to £603 in 1918.⁵⁷

Seamen's missions in war and depression

The growth achieved by the British and Foreign Sailors' Society and the Missions to Seamen in the decades before the war, ensured that there was at least a presence and often social as well as religious facilities for seafarers at many United Kingdom ports and at principal ports overseas visited by British shipping. In addition, there was the provision made in Britain and Ireland by small missions such as the Seamen's Christian Friend Society, and local missions such as the Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society. In all, home mission stations, depending on how they are counted, must have numbered between 150 and

⁵⁶ This is evident in the committee minutes of the London, Bristol and Southampton homes. The last, in particular experienced a catalogue of staffing disasters during and immediately after the war. Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 13 Jan. 1916, 13 Aug. 1917, NMM, SAH 1/9, Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 12 June 1917, Southampton Sailors' Home, Committee Minutes, 20 April, 24 Aug., 28 Sept. 1915, 28 Aug. 1923.

⁵⁷ Annual reports, NRO, SO4/9.

200, though of course many ports, and especially larger ones, were served by more than one society.⁵⁸ But the importance of the two large national missions was not simply that they controlled over half the home mission stations and the bulk of those overseas. Nor did it lie in their national fund raising capability. Rather it lay in their national dimension. At a time when merchant shipping and seafarers came under a form of central control, part of the voluntary sector for seafarers had a degree of national coherence and could respond to the changing emphasis in port usage caused by the war. Mission resources could be redeployed on their own initiative or in response to requests. The British and Foreign Sailors' Society, for example, took on the premises of the German Sailors' Home in London as an annexe to its Sailors' Palace, and opened a station at Parkeston (Harwich).⁵⁹ Largely in response to requests to develop provision in naval ports, the Missions to Seamen added 20 stations to its network, for example those at Bo'ness (Firth of Forth) and Lerwick (Shetland Isles).⁶⁰

While the large national missions demonstrated their strength by responding to short term demands, all missions needed resilience to cope with the disruptive effect of the war on their existing operations. Indeed, it could be argued that with their long experience of dealing with a mobile population in a dangerous occupation, in the provision of comforts (clothing, tobacco, literature) and recreational activity, missions were particularly suited to a welfare role in time of war. The levels of shipping and

⁵⁸ It is not possible to be precise. The BFSS includes in its figures some stations which were really separate societies. Three ports served by one missionary as in Devon (the MTS at Dartmouth, Teignmouth, Exeter) or Cumberland (the SCFS in Maryport, Workington, Whitehaven), could be either one station or three. Several locations in one port (the BFSS in London, the MMTS on the Mersey), could be counted as one or several stations. There were also small societies, the Mariners' Friend Society, National Sailors' Society and the Incorporated Seamen's and Boatmen's Friend Society claiming more than one station about which little is at present known.

⁵⁹ BFSS, Annual report for 1920. Both were closed that year together with others at Littlehampton, Manchester and Newcastle, whose usefulness had ceased on the ending of the war.

⁶⁰ Annual reports for 1915, 1920.

types of ships using ports changed, and with this might come changes in the mission customers, and, as with sailors' homes, key staff were lost to the forces. Fowey, for example, experienced a reduction in shipping, and the Seamen's Christian Friend Society's Rest was occupied by soldiers and was then closed for repairs.⁶¹ The Bristol chaplain of the Missions to Seamen saw action as chaplain to HMS Albion, while the branch catered for fewer British ships and more neutral ones.⁶² Falmouth became a naval base and the Admiralty asked the mission branch to attend to its minesweepers there. At Hartlepool shipping fluctuated and the mission chaplain also became Senior Army Chaplain in the district. The mission institutes were used also by troops. At Plymouth many merchant transports and naval ships anchored in the Sound for lengthy periods, keeping the mission steamer and boats busy taking the chaplain on visits. Overseas, stations at enemy ports ceased to be operational. The lay reader at Hamburg found himself with a four year mission at a prisoner of war camp, but supported by correspondence and food parcels through a prisoner 'adoption' scheme based in several Mission to Seamen branches.

Was the religious message which seamen's missions offered any more acceptable to seafarers because of war circumstances? Again it may be argued that chaplains and seamen's missionaries were experienced in dealing at this level with seafarers, in contrast to the newly drafted army chaplains who proved so inadequate.⁶³ It might have been the case that with respect to the Army adversity brought no religious revival, but mission workers reported seafarers becoming more receptive. The Par and Fowey chaplain of the Missions to Seamen reported an

⁶¹ SCFS, Annual report for 1915, 38.

⁶² The examples in this section are drawn from the Missions to seamen Annual report for 1915. See also G.A. Collock, At the sign of the Flying Angel: a book of the sailor at the coastline (Longmans, Green, 1930), 64-7.

⁶³ See page 159.

"...eagerness to hear the Truth of God...", the reader at Teignmouth a willingness to talk on spiritual matters. The Mersey Mission to Seamen noted that the submarine danger gave the opportunity of getting to grips with spiritual matters.⁶⁴ In fact, although the seafaring population might have been different and non-seafarers also used mission facilities, in many respects chaplains and readers continued work along pre-war lines. The reports of all the missions studied indicate well attended services and heavy use of institute facilities during the war. Certainly the ship visiting effort, accompanied as always with literature distribution, was intensified, though social needs from posting letters for men in ships at anchor to running entertainments, such as concerts, continued to occupy much of chaplains' and missionaries' time.

It seems likely that experience during the war emphasised the value for missionary activity of missions having their own accommodation. The trend in this direction before the war has already been noted.⁶⁵ At Liverpool, the Mersey Mission to Seamen took on the operation of a Seafaring Boys Home in 1916, and stated its intention of continuing with this after the war despite protests from the Liverpool Sailors' Home.⁶⁶ Similarly the Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society provided accommodation towards the end of the war.⁶⁷ The British and Foreign Sailors' Society, becoming increasingly involved with accommodation, expanded through accretion, as at Plymouth and Aberdeen,⁶⁸ and through its own initiatives. In London, notably, it was planning the huge Empire Memorial Hostel (1926) in the latter years of the war.⁶⁹ Other missions, both local ones

⁶⁴ Committee minutes, 1 March 1917, LCRD, 361 Mer 1/5.

⁶⁵ See pages 152 & 168.

⁶⁶ Committee minutes, 9 Jan. 1916, 11 July 1923, LCRD, 361 Mer 1/5 & 1/6.

⁶⁷ Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 18 July 1917, MMRC, D/LH/7.

⁶⁸ See page 168; Duthie, 'Philanthropy and evangelism among Aberdeen seamen', Scottish History Review, (1984), 170. The BFSS absorbed the Aberdeen Sailors' Mission and Home in 1924. Duthie is almost certainly in error in labelling the BFSS the British Fisheries Seamen's Society.

⁶⁹ Annual report for 1920.

and branches of national ones, extended or adapted space to provide overnight accommodation, even though it might amount to only a few beds. One such was the Apostleship of the Sea in Liverpool which in 1928 gave a night's lodging to 1130 men.⁷⁰ The Bristol branch of the British Sailors' Society, in 1929 had 2986 and 5092 beds occupied at its Bristol and Avonmouth rests respectively.⁷¹ The Seamen's Christian Friend Society, however, excepting its home at Fowey, seems not to have helped to any extent in this way though its rests were of course used as day centres. This Society was now mainly working in small ports where seafarers were either local residents or were serving on ships visiting those ports.⁷² The postwar interest in accommodation was also linked with the high levels of unemployment among seamen. This, of course, was a particular problem for the home stations, the overseas ones being generally able to work among seafarers in employment. Support for seafarers at home stations was usually in the form of free meals and free overnight accommodation but with limits on the number of nights men were allowed to stay. But a key part of this support was the provision of recreational activities to 'occupy their minds'.⁷³ By 1939, missions were the principal providers of accommodation with 2537 beds compared to 1542 beds in sailors' homes (see Table 4.8, p. 194).

For much of this period financing mission work was complicated by the effects of inflation and by the extra demands imposed by the war, which were followed without much opportunity for recovery, by the depression. These demands could not be accommodated without increases in donated income or going into debt. Before the war, donated income to missions (the main source) seems to have peaked in 1905 (Nelson centenary year); it did not exceed such

70 Annual report for 1928.

71 Western Daily Press, 25 March 1930.

72 Annual reports, 1920-35.

73 Strong, Flying Angel, 134.

levels until the middle of the war, by which time inflation was seriously eroding money values. The impact of inflation is shown clearly in Table 4.4, where it will be noted that

Table 4.4

Donated income to missions, 1905-1939,
also deflated to 1914 values using Appendix 2

	1905	1915	1920	1925	1930	1939
	Actual values					
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Miss. to Seamen	42880	42894	88846	73657	72368	60439
Br. Sailors' Soc	26128		66257	60412		83486
Wesleyan Miss.	1925	1773	2689	2247	3397	2457
Seamen's CFS	2051	2403	2526	2297	2226	5600
	Deflated to 1914 values					
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Miss. to Seamen	46609	34315	33028	41851	46094	38012
Br. Sailors' Soc	28400		25582	34325		52507
Wesleyan Miss.	2092	1418	999	1276	2164	1545
Seamen's CFS	2229	1634	939	1350	1417	3522

Source: Appendices 9e, 9f, 18a, and annual reports.

despite the large differences between 1920 and 1915 values in the top half of the table, the 1920 receipts in real terms constituted a reduction which was severe in the cases of the two smaller societies.⁷⁴ In Table C of Appendix 15b, donated income is shown for 1916. That of the Missions to Seamen, £64,612 (£44,869 at 1914 values), suggests an improvement of 31 per cent in real terms over the previous year, which may be attributed to the war context. The 1916 figure for the British and Foreign Sailors' Society in that table was £83,917 (£58,276 at 1914 values). Deflation between the wars was of course beneficial in real terms,

.74 The differences between the three Appendices (9d, 9e, 9f) giving financial data for the Missions to Seamen reflect the problems of untangling the accounts of the large missions. To show the largest amount of donated income in Table 4.4 Mission to Seamen data has been derived first from Appendix 9e. For 1915 and 1920 the values for voluntary giving in Appendix 9f have been increased by the figures for local home station contributions and receipts in the Annual reports, which include some monies not classed as voluntary giving. Overseas giving expended locally is generally not shown in annual reports for either of the large missions. The 1939 data constitutes missions' returns to the Seamen's Welfare Board under this head.

What kind of accommodation could the typical seafarer, the able seaman, expect to find in British ports in this period, as a home if he had family, or as lodgings for himself? The rise in the population and the movement of people into the towns and cities led to considerable pressure on all forms of accommodation in towns and cities, not least in ports such as Liverpool and London. This led to dense multi-occupancy of existing dwellings and the building of extremely high density and unhealthy forms of housing, 'back to backs' often arranged around narrow 'courts'.²⁵ A seaman's wife might rent a room in such houses or might share one with relatives. Certainly Robert Day, missionary with the Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union, regularly visited seamen's families at such addresses.²⁶ Those at the bottom of the social scale were forced to live in unlit, unventilated, undrained cellars, often surviving without even the most basic of furnishings. The squalor of premises of this type, where seamen often lodged, is brought out by Dickens in his essay on seamen in Liverpool, 'Poor mercantile jack'.²⁷ Mayhew, in his investigations in London a decade earlier, came across similar conditions in the 'low' seamen's boarding houses. His informant told him:²⁸

The crimps lodging houses are chiefly in the alleys and courts in the lower part of Shadwell, Wapping, St. George's and East Smithfield. The courts are unpaved... a sensible seaman might be frightened at the look of them....The beds are bad. Men, women and children pig together.

The food was rarely fresh, but the charge was still 14s. per week. The crimps tried to ship their lodgers after a

25 See Stanley D. Chapman (ed), The history of working class housing: a symposium (Totowa, Rowman and Littlefield/David and Charles, 1971), especially A.S. Wohl, 'The housing of the working classes in London, 1815-1914', 13-54, and James H. Treble, 'Liverpool working class housing, 1815-1851', 155-220.

26 Diary of Robert Day, 1848-1850, textual references and address list at end of volume: Liverpool City Record Office (LCRO), 361 MER 2/1.

27 Charles Dickens, The uncommercial traveller (Odhams, nd), 36-42; the piece was probably published originally in an issue of All the Year Round, in 1860.

28 'Labour and the poor', Letter L, Morning Chronicle, 2 May 1850, 3, col. 3.

though the 1925 figure for the British Sailors' Society was inflated by the proceeds of a special fund raising drive. Missions to Seamen donated income continued to decline in the 1930s prompting the rationalisation noted in the next paragraph. The other societies were improving their financial position immediately before the 1939-45 war. Appendix 9e, a geographical breakdown of contributions to the Missions to Seamen, shows an improved proportion of income coming from inland areas of England. In 1930, two thirds of all income came from coastal areas of England, compared with three quarters in earlier years, and a quarter was donated in inland areas compared with a sixth or less previously. However, the strongest support continued to come from the south east of England.

In order to cater for destitute seafarers and to improve premises some mission stations built up sizeable debts, which had to be reduced by special fund raising efforts. At Swansea the Missions to Seamen buildings in an unsuitable location were disposed of, and new ones erected in the 1920s, debts being reduced through the proceeds of a maritime fair.⁷⁵ The British Sailors' Society's expenditure exceeded its income by £20,644 in 1920 and by 1924 it had started a national campaign to raise £100,000; part of this effort was a Nautical Fair held in Bristol.⁷⁶ In 1925 the Society's deficit had reduced to £919. But its income from rests remained well below expenditure. In 1920 this was £47,009, and in 1925, £36,196 while the corresponding expenditures were £65,148 and £41,675. Problems over finance were greatly eased where large charitable donations were made. The Bristol Branch of the Missions to Seamen was able to replace its limited premises at Avonmouth through a bequest of £10,000 from the estate of H.H. Wills.⁷⁷ Despite these initiatives, the inter-war

⁷⁵ Strong, *Flying Angel*, 135.

⁷⁶ Annual report for 1920, Income and Expenditure account. Total income was £74,823; *Western Daily Press*, 17 Dec. 1924. The BFGS dropped the word 'foreign' from its title in 1925.

⁷⁷ *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 5 April 1924, 29 April 1926.

years was a period of general rationalisation. The Missions to Seamen between 1930 and 1935 reduced its home stations from 66 to 43 and buildings from 161 to 148 with corresponding reductions in staffing.⁷⁸ This reduction may seem larger than it was in reality as it is evident that some home stations may have gradually become inactive as long serving readers and chaplains were allowed to continue in office until retirement. Thus three stations in Devon (Dartmouth, Teignmouth and Exeter) under one reader closed in the 1930s, and that at Plymouth under a long serving chaplain by 1940.⁷⁹ The reduction of mission vessels from 49 to 28 also suggests reduced emphasis on work afloat as well as financial savings. The Mersey Missions to Seamen decided to reduce the number of its bases on Merseyside, following a financial review in 1931.⁸⁰ It closed its central hostel, Seafaring Boys' Home and Bootle institute, sold its launch and Garston premises and realized investments over the next three years, and still had an overdraft of £3,225 in 1934. This was a belated recognition of the Liverpool Sailors' Home's case that there was a surplus of seafarers' accommodation in Liverpool.⁸¹

Although there was clearly adjustment of provision in the years of the depression, there seems to have been little change in the day to day operations of missions. Certainly the reports of chaplains, lay readers and missionaries in the 1930s seem little different from those of the 1890s.⁸² Institutes and Bethels remained focusses for quiet recreation, reading, light refreshments and games

78 See Appendix 9d.

79 Alston Kennerley, 'Education and welfare of merchant seafarers', in Fisher *et al* (eds), 'New maritime history of Devon'.

80 Committee minutes, LCRO, 361 Mer 1/7, 10 June, 3 July, 28 Oct., 11 Nov. 1931, 13 Jan., 10 July 1932, 17 May 1933, 14 Feb. 1934.

81 In 1923, the Mersey Mission had declined a request from the Sailors' Home to close its accommodation. MMTS, Committee minutes, 19 Sept. 1923. See also page 166.

82 The following discussion is based on a general reading of annual reports of the Missions to Seamen (1920-35), Seamen's Christian Friend Society (1920-35) and the minutes of the Plymouth and Stonehouse Seamen's Friend Society, 1920-1937, WDRO 750/2-4, and the Mersey Mission to Seamen, 1920-39, LCRO, 3661 Mer 1/5-7.

such as billiards, with Sunday and mid week services, and open air preaching. The small societies and branches in the Bethel tradition as at Plymouth and Appledore operated also as local chapels with regular congregations and associated activities, men's Bible classes, Sunday schools, Bands of Hope and mothers meetings. Ship and lodging visitation was maintained as was the distribution of religious and secular literature. In the Missions to Seamen the elements of a local church seem rarely to have emerged at home stations,⁸³ but the work with seafarers had the same emphasis in institute work and ship visiting. At the Mersey Mission in the early 1930s the emphasis on ship visiting had weakened. Under its new chaplain appointed in 1935 this became the primary task and by 1939 he reported that every British ship entering Liverpool received attention. Although social support might have seemed predominant, emphasis on the religious base for the work continued, in conversation and through the linking of recreational activity with service. At Liverpool chaplains collected apprentices and cadets from ships on Sunday mornings for a service of Holy Communion at the Institute, and then provided a programme of recreational activities for the rest of the day.

The collective coverage achieved in the United Kingdom especially by the existing seamen's missions might seem to have been more than adequate. Yet one important religious grouping, the Roman Catholic Church had so far made specific provision for its seafarer adherents in only a limited and piecemeal manner. From its religious perspective there was a case for special provision. Thus the major new initiative of the inter-war period was the revival of Roman Catholic attention to seafarers. This was to develop on a scale internationally within the Catholic world such that the period might be compared with

⁸³ The Runcorn station of the Mersey Mission may have fitted this pattern; the work there was amongst bargemen and their families.

that one hundred years earlier when the the Bethel movement was spreading. However this was not so much a spontaneous movement among seafarers as a full recognition of the neglect of specific Catholic attention to seafarers which compared unfavourably with provision particularly by the two British national societies, with their international dimensions. Despite minor developments before the war, attention to seafarers by that Church world wide, was, according to Anson, negligible. He could find only eleven Catholic seamen's institutes in 1920 and thirteen committees organized for concerted ship visiting.⁸⁴ More or less simultaneously in Britain, two apparently separate steps were taken to promote and co-ordinate Roman Catholic mission among seafarers, particularly, of course, to those brought up in that Faith. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul (SVP), a Catholic lay brotherhood, already involved with such work for seafarers in Britain as there was, was made responsible by Cardinal Bourne (Archbishop of Westminster) for ship visiting throughout England and Wales, and the same year, 1921, the Apostleship of the Sea (AOS) was formed in Glasgow, and was also endorsed by the Cardinal.

The provision of the British provinces of the Catholic Church with Catholic organizations working in British ports need have been taken no further as each province of that Church was responsible for Catholics within its territory. Further, there was attention to seafarers elsewhere, most notably in France, where moves also took place in the 1920s to develop a national structure.⁸⁵ However, the founders of the Apostleship of the Sea made provision in its rules for a movement transcending territorial divisions and promptly obtained

⁸⁴ Anson, Church and the sailor, 107. This work provides a comprehensive overview of the development of the Apostleship of the Sea (AOS).

⁸⁵ Anson, Church and the sailor, chap. 9.

papal blessing for their initiative.⁸⁶ In the same way that the Missions to Seamen development was facilitated through the structure of the Anglican Church, so the rapid international growth of the Apostleship of the Sea was facilitated by the international structure of the Catholic Church. This expansion is illustrated in Table 4.5. The use of honorary or part time chaplains drawn from local

Table 4.5
Apostleship of the Sea: expansion 1920-32

	1920	1927	1932
Institutes	11	17	40
Hostels (homes)	1	1	6
Full time chaplains		1	14
Honorary chaplains	1	45	127
Ship visiting committees	13	31	60

Apostolatus Maris Int. Conc., Ann. Rep., 1931-32.

clergy to oversee the work of local lay people predominates and is reminiscent of Missions to Seamen especially in its early years. The main British and Irish ports are represented in the figures in Table 4.5, but as the amount of residential accommodation offered was small this development did not impinge significantly on the established missions and homes.

For the Catholic movement to become established and spread a single identity was required and structures to provide co-ordination at national and international levels. Co-ordination of Apostleship of the Sea and Society of St. Vincent de Paul activity was achieved with the transfer of AOS headquarters from Glasgow to London, to the offices of the SVP Seafarers' Committee, and the creation of the Joint Council of the Apostleship of the Sea.⁸⁷ Effectively the Society of St Vincent de Paul deferred to the Apostleship

⁸⁶ Anson, 101-5. Peter Anson, a key figure in founding AOS, obtained papal approval in 1922, and in 1924 withdrew from active involvement, returning to the Caley Island Benedictine community of which he was an oblate brother. See Appendix 17a for the original rules of AOS.

⁸⁷ C.C. Martindale, The sea and its apostolate (Catholic Truth Society, 1929), 30.

of the Sea in terms of national title whilst remaining fully involved. A key role in the spread of the movement was played by a series of national and international Catholic maritime congresses, that at Liverpool in 1930 achieving agreement on international co-ordination.⁸⁸ The Apostolatus Maris Internationale Concilium was formed in 1931, and its secretariat based in London. Its membership were the representatives of the independent national associations of the AOS. Thus unlike the Missions to Seamen and the British Sailor's Society the Catholic equivalent had no central fund raising organization; both the national and international councils had limited funding provided ultimately by individual Apostleship of the Sea 'stations'; they were essentially advisory. Each station raised and expended funds locally and in that context were as independent as the local Bethel societies. However, the organizational control of the Catholic Church ensured that in religious matters none would step out of line while guidance on matters of social welfare from the co-ordinating body was unlikely to be ignored. This development was significant in this period not for its scale, but for the foundations which were laid and for a less austere approach compared with the Bethel societies. The Apostleship of the Sea was to evolve on a par with the Missions to Seamen and British Sailors' Society after the Second World War.

Co-ordination of voluntary welfare for seafarers

Before 1914, the need to avoid duplication of charitable effort had long been recognised by bodies such as the Charity Organization Society. In the field of seafarers' welfare the problem of fund raising by suspect groups had also been noted but there appears to have been no formal efforts to co-ordinate either fund-raising or the

⁸⁸ Anson, Church and the sailor, 116.

provision of facilities and services. While societies for seafarers were mainly local, and there were locations still requiring provision, and where it was clear that demand exceeded supply, perhaps it was unnecessary. But with respect to accommodation at least, by the twentieth century the need was less clear. Further it must have long been apparent that at small ports more than one mission constituted duplication. Again, while fund raising appeals were made to existing subscribers or to defined groups, such as members of the Anglican Church, it was possible to argue that largely distinct sections of the population were being tapped for support. But the issue changed when blanket appeals were made, as in the context of flag days which were evolving as a major way of obtaining support which was not linked with religious or specific interest groups. Here the issue was one of image and simplicity. It was all too easy to appeal on behalf of sailors, seamen or seafarers, ignoring any precise appellation which indicated the objects of most seafaring charities. Where a large powerful society made such an appeal smaller ones felt that the breadth of the appeal justified their inclusion in proceeds, and perceived their regular income as endangered. General appeals, of course, could not just attach to societies for serving seafarers, the full range of seafarers charities as indicated in Appendix 15b had to be embraced. But after the war co-ordination of fund raising was not the only issue which was to exercise the societies for serving seafarers. Pressure was building up from the unions for social welfare to be taken out of the hands of charities and placed on a state footing. This was pursued at an international level, and was a prelude to state direction during World War II.

It is perhaps no coincidence that at the same time as seafaring employment was being brought under one head (see page 163), the need to give the public a clearer focus for seafarers' charities was recognized by the formation of a national fund raising and distribution organization in 1917. However, there was a more immediate catalyst. the

competition threatened by the ambitions of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society, whose constitution was particularly wide ranging with respect to forms of provision.⁸⁹ This was brought to a head by the allocation of Sailors' Day (a flag day) in London to the Navy League and the BFSS to be held on 4 October 1916. The aims stated in the application, reasonable though they might seem, were secular and certainly crossed the interests of other societies. They were (a) to provide for seafarers' orphans, (b) the promotion of a national sea training scheme for sailors in the mercantile marine, and (c) hospitality for British and allied sailors. All societies for serving seafarers could claim an interest in the the third aim. But regardless of the detailed aims the message the public would receive would be 'for sailors'. Too much fund-raising power was being concentrated in only two organizations. Perhaps jealousy played a part, but unnecessary duplication was also threatened. The Sailor's Home, London, in concert with the Wesleyan Seamen's Mission, the Marine Society, the Seamen's Hospital Society and the Royal Alfred Aged Merchant Seamen's Institution petitioned the Lord Mayor of London:⁹⁰

...this Council of Management considers this institution, together with other bona fide societies who are working for the benefit of sailors, should share in the proceeds of monies collected on this occasion and ventures to suggest that a representative committee should be formed with a view to allocating to the various sailors' societies all money received in response to the appeal.

It added a note that the BFSS was planning to erect a building at Gravesend and to call it a sailors' home, when there was no need as their own home there had 75-100 beds.

⁸⁹ See Appendix 3b.

⁹⁰ Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 26 Sept. 1916. On 15 Nov. 1916 the Committee was told a co-ordinating committee was being set up, and on 12 April 1917, it was reported that the Sailors' Home's share of £32,000 raised on the flag day was £400.

This incident, together with rising maritime casualties, gave urgency to the idea of a national fund which was under discussion in the latter part of 1916. The involvement of senior naval and shipping industry figures together with the interest of the King, meant that the new body was authoritative and able to achieve the publicity required.⁹¹ The intention of operating as a co-ordinating body was made clear at the inaugural meeting:⁹²

To secure more efficient aid for marine benevolent institutions throughout the Kingdom without interfering with existing subscriptions.

To reduce costs of collections.

To prevent any unnecessary overlaps of responsibilities.

To promote judicious administration.

To prevent wastage of subscriptions destined for the aid and comfort of seamen.

To disseminate greater knowledge and appreciation of the national work carried on by the charities.

The first objective was particularly to be achieved by obtaining contributions 'to a large amount' from those who had not previously contributed to seafarers' charities. The objects of the Fund, the King George's Fund For Sailors (KGFS), embodied in its Royal Charter (1920), make it clear that the the creation of any new marine charities was undesirable and that existing charities would have to earn grants from the Fund by subjecting themselves to inspection and proving their efficiency.⁹³

How successful was this initiative? That the Fund

⁹¹ King George's Fund for Sailors, The story of the first fifty years. 1917-1967 (KGFS, 1967), 11-12.

The following section is based on this publication, and on the Royal Charter and statutes.

⁹² 5 July 1917.

⁹³ See Appendix 15a.

raised £207,000 in 1917, a sum roughly equal to the total donations to seamen's missions and sailors' homes in 1916, is clear evidence of its 'appeal' to the public, who were keen to be seen to be contributing to the general war effort.⁹⁴ But the recognition which it achieved amongst marine charities must also be noted in the speed at which it was able to produce the first ever listing of marine charities, within three months of formation.⁹⁵ It must be remembered that the new Fund was as much concerned for the needs of naval seafarers as those in the merchant service, and the needs of injured seafarers and of seafarers' dependents no doubt played a large part in the public response. The Fund's committee displayed considerable forethought in distributing only £55,000 in 1917. This reflected, perhaps, not so much the need to vet charities applying for grants as the need to build up its investments in anticipation of a decline in contributions after the war. It will be seen from Table 4.6 that interest soon became the major component in maintaining the level of distribution when annual contributions had plumeted.⁹⁶

Table 4.6

King George's Fund for Sailors, 1920-35
Contributions, dividends and allocations

	1920	1925	1930	1935
	£	£	£	£
Annual subscriptions	1917	1883	1915	1835
Donations	126021	4025	4744	3110
Legacies	5551	574	3170	2150
Interest, dividends	36955	38522	39565	38568
Total allocations	57000	46114	45250	46497

Source: KGFS Annual reports, income & expend. a/cs.

⁹⁴ Briggs, *Social history of England*, 260. See also Table C of Appendix 15b.

⁹⁵ See Appendix 15b. Though not a complete list for that time, the whole list is reproduced to illustrate the large number of marine charities apart from those concerned with serving seafarers, which mainly appear in Table C of the Appendix.

⁹⁶ See also Appendix 15c.

The deflation of the inter-war period also helped to raise the real value of the sums distributed.

The status and size of the Fund ought to have given it the ability to act as a regulator among marine charities. To some extent this was the case as power lay in its ability to be selective with its disposable income. In time its voice did become more influential. But its grants had to be spread amongst many charities and sums granted to particular missions and homes were not necessarily large enough (typically between £200 and £1000) to be of great influence. Its ability to make evaluations of individual charity finances, was seriously frustrated by the inadequate and confused forms of presentation. By listing the errors it implied the reforms which it expected:⁹⁷

Many submit an Income and Expenditure Account and no Balance Sheet. Moneys derived from sale of securities are frequently treated as Income, while in some instances moneys lodged for safe keeping are treated in like manner, and their return to their owners is regarded as Expenditure. Legacies are sometimes carried to the Balance Sheet without passing through the Income and Expenditure Account. But seldom the list of Subscribers or Donors are added up, and in very few instances is it possible to determine between the cost of Maintenance and Management.

Nevertheless, the analysis of income under five heads, voluntary contributions, dividends, state payments, payments by beneficiaries and legacies, was achieved, and to maintain the emphasis on charitable contributions it decided to eliminate the trading accounts of homes and rests. These, it suggested, should appear as subsidiary accounts in annual reports.

How did missions and homes respond? In the layout of the published accounts the response was by no means immediate or universal, though it is possible that

⁹⁷ King George's Fund for Sailors, First list of marine benevolent institutions (KGFS, 1917), 2.

some societies made special returns to the Fund in a form different from that published. Nevertheless, the British Sailors' Society seems to have been amongst the earliest to adapt, dividing expenditure into maintenance and management in 1920, and listing 38 sub accounts covering various funds, branches and its hostels. However, no balance sheet was published. The Wesleyan Seamen's Mission had kept its Queen Victoria Sailors' Rest account separate from its mission work from the time it opened in 1903. By 1930, like many other missions, it had added a separate Samaritan Fund through which KGFS grants were channeled thus demonstrating that that money was not absorbed in mission administration. By 1925, all KGFS grants to missions and homes were marked 'Samaritan Fund for distressed seamen', which perhaps reflects the reserve felt about the propriety of certain seamen's mission societies, a sentiment repeated in the short history published in 1967.⁹⁸ The Missions to Seamen moved the form of its accounts gradually in the direction required by the KGFS, producing a balance sheet by 1930 and improved categorization by 1935. However it is possible that changes in this period had as much to do with revised accounting procedures adopted generally in the 1920s as with the requirements of the Fund.⁹⁹ The Seamen's Christian Friend Society separated maintenance and administration in 1925 for its Malta hospital account supported by the Fund but not in its mission account. The Bristol Sailors' Home, although in receipt of KGFS grants from 1940 did not categorize its accounts or produce a balance sheet until 1948. The Sailors' Home, London, had adapted by 1945, but its long established Destitute Sailors' Fund received large annual grants (£2,000 in 1930) throughout this period. Table 4.7 illustrates the proportions of KGFS grants made to establishments for serving seafarers (excluding seamen's hospitals) in this period. It seems that the Fund was reasonably flexible,

⁹⁸ KGFS, The story of the first fifty years, 17.

⁹⁹ J.R. Edwards, A history of financial accounting (Routledge, 1989), chap. 11.

making grants whether or not it approved of the form of presentation of accounts. However, many societies did not

Table 4.7

King George's Fund for Sailors, 1920-1935,
grants to seamen's missions & sailors' homes

	1920		1925		1930		1935	
	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%
Missions	1800	3	4500	10	3920	9	5170	11
Homes	3950	7	2920	6	3480	7	2850	6
Total	5750	10	7420	16	7400	16	8020	17
All grants	57000	100	46114	100	45250	100	46497	100

Source: KGFS Annual reports, lists of grants made.

receive grants regularly. Much of these grants reached seafarers in kind, paying for accommodation and subsistence at homes and rests during unemployment.

While as a charity itself, the King George's Fund for Sailors pressed for change from within the collection of seafaring charities, there was a growing body of opinion which viewed provision of social amenities for seafarers in port in the context of charity with disfavour, considering that such facilities should be provided and controlled as a duty by the state and the maritime industry. It was a matter of entitlement rather than a privilege for seafarers to have easy access to health, accommodation, recreation and information services when in port, and regulation of port districts should ensure their protection from the evils which still persisted in such areas.¹⁰⁰ This threat to the hegemony of the voluntary sector had an important international dimension which manifested itself in Britain particularly through the social hygiene and trade union movements, both of which had developed international links in the wake of the creation of the League of Nations, with

¹⁰⁰ See Appendices 16a and 16b for a fuller expression of thinking in the 1930s. The evils persisting in port districts were those discussed extensively in Chapters II and III.

the International Red Cross and the International Labour Organization respectively. While the main thrust of the National Union of Seamen's efforts seems to have been in the international forum, it was the influence of the British Social Hygiene Council which led to the first formal grouping in 1927, the British Council for the Welfare of the Mercantile Marine (BCWMM). Though apparently not very effective, it did create a perhaps unique assembly of seafarers' charities, unions and employers.¹⁰¹ The King George's Fund for Sailor's was not a member, and though only two missions and one home joined, these were the main charities. The BCWMM's functions were:

To initiate and encourage schemes for the welfare of the merchant service.

To co-ordinate and develop local welfare efforts and further the provision of recreational and medical facilities in all ports of the world.

To consider schemes for securing the provision of funds for the welfare of seafarers.

Perhaps the latent antagonism of the unions for the missions (which will emerge below) ensured the ineffectiveness of this body from the start, but had it been able to pursue its assumed role it must have conflicted with KGFS on the financial side. It organized a national conference in 1929, surveyed conditions in ports and promoted voluntary port welfare committees.¹⁰²

The efforts of the National Union of Seamen,

¹⁰¹ PRO, MT9/1953/H16681/29, contains correspondence, the First Annual Report of BCWMM (27 July 1927 to 31 March 1929) and other documents. The member organizations were: Deep Sea Scouts, Red Cross, British Sailors' Society, British Social Hygiene Council, Honourable Company of Master Mariners (Education and Marine Welfare Committee), Imperial Merchant Service Guild, London Marine Welfare Committee, Sailors' Home and Red Ensign Club, Marine Engineers Association, Mercantile Marine Service Association, Missions to Seamen, National Union of Seamen, Shipping Federation, Young Men's Christian Association. See also Marine Magazine, 15 Feb. 1923, 11. BCWMM was accommodated by the British Social Hygiene Council.

¹⁰² The proceedings of the conference were published in Health & Empire (4, June 1929). It still existed in 1932 when its joint secretary F. Bowes presented a paper to the Royal Sanitary Institute: 'Promotion of seamen's welfare in port', Journal of the Royal Sanitary Institute, (1932), 263-69.

increasingly influential in the inter-war period, were much more significant in that they culminated in the acceptance of the British government that it had a role in seamen's welfare, which was to become effective in the coming war, though originally it was very wary of such an initiative. The Union used its involvement with the international labour movement to press for a legal basis to the provision of facilities and the promotion of seafarers' welfare.¹⁰³ It had been developing its international contacts before the war through membership of the International Transport Workers' Federation, based in Berlin, which collapsed when the war started.¹⁰⁴ In 1918 it was involved in the formation of the International Seamen's Federation which included in its objects attention to working hours in harbour, and to the economic and social interests of all seafarers. These topics were kept before a series of international labour conferences in the 1920s and 1930s, culminating in a policy statement in 1936.¹⁰⁵ The list of recommendations put forward by Havelock Wilson for discussion at the 1929 Conference (Appendix 16a), avoided the thorny issue of state control of charitable institutions, a direction in which Britain did not wish to move. The Marine Department of the Board of Trade had briefed the British delegate to be careful to avoid support for any proposals for Government control of British institutions.¹⁰⁶ Wilson's proposals would have made familiar reading to reformers like George Charles Smith 100 years earlier! The ILO recommendation of 1936 couched in diplomatic language, is very similar to the 1929 statement.

103 International Labour Conference, The promotion of seamen's welfare in port (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1929). See especially the appendix to this discussion document, by J. Havelock Wilson and T. Salvesson, whose recommendations are reproduced in Appendix 16a.

104 Hopkins, 'National service' of British seamen, 81 and appendices XLIX, L. LV.

105 International Labour Conference, Recommendation 48, 'Recommendation concerning the promotion of seamen's welfare in ports, adopted at its twenty-first session, Geneva, 24 October 1936.'

106 PRO, MT9/1953/12237/29.

It is reproduced in Appendix 16b because British Government acceptance in 1938 was the basis for state intervention in seafarers' welfare during the 1939-45 war and after.¹⁰⁷

Whether the charities represented in the British Council for the Welfare of the Mercantile Marine approved or not, in promoting voluntary port welfare committees it was following the line being developed through ILO. The Sailors' Home, London, considered that setting up a committee for London was 'irregular and redundant'. That initiative had been taken by the Port Health Committee and the British Social Hygiene Council without involving seafarers' charities initially.¹⁰⁸ The Sailors' Home was following the KGFS line on the matter. Glasgow had not been convinced of the necessity, and the only other ports where voluntary committees appeared were Liverpool, Cardiff and Swansea.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the London Port Welfare Council was formed in 1935 opening information centres near the docks, publishing a port information hand book and concerning itself with the needs of Indian seamen.¹¹⁰ Thus it provided something of a model for state intervention in 1940.

It was perhaps in a response to the apparent bias in the British Council for the Welfare of the Mercantile Marine that the King George's Fund for Sailors instigated a separate forum for seafarers' voluntary organizations, the Representative Council of Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes (RCSMSH), in 1930, in an attempt to persuade them to indulge in collective self regulation. The Missions to Seamen considered that the Prince of Wales' intervention

107 Ministry of Labour and National Service/Ministry of War transport, Seamen's welfare in ports (HMSO, 1945), 11. Here in after referred to as the Graham White Report.

108 Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 11 April 1935, NMM, SAH 1/11.

109 Powes, 'The promotion of seamen's welfare in ports', J.Rov.San.Inst., 293; Graham White Report, 10.

110 PRO, LAB 26/55; London Port Welfare Council, Seamen's guide to London (LPWC, 1936).

in 1929 had also influenced the initiative.¹¹¹ The RCSMSH seems to have concentrated on the regulation of sailors' flag days and the problem of duplication of facilities. At issue with public collections was the ability of 'inefficient societies' to acquire funds from the general public, as well as the need to present united appeals. Local authorities were asked to check with KGFS any applications from seamen's charities and to favour group appeals. Thus at Bristol, the Bristol Sailor's Home from 1933 made an annual joint application with the local British Sailors' Society and Missions to Seamen branches, agreeing to a one-fifth share in the proceeds; it was very put out when a fourth society was included in the group for 1935 and protested to the Bristol Town Clerk.¹¹² Overall such moves seem to have been successful and the approach received state endorsement when the Collecting Charities (Registration) Act was passed in 1940.¹¹³

Co-ordination of provision touched much more closely the ability of voluntary organizations to operate freely within their objectives. Bristol Sailors' Home felt threatened just by the formation of the Representative Council of Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes and ignored the invitation to join in 1930.¹¹⁴ Other societies joined and either withdrew when initiatives were rejected by a vote of members or simply proceeded with plans regardless. A particularly sharp difference occurred over the British Sailors' Society decision to rebuild its Jellicoe Rest at Southampton. The Southampton Sailors' Home had opened an extension to its premises in 1930 and considered further accommodation was unnecessary. An independent report from a

111 LPL, Lang papers, 1935, 136, ff.49-55. In an address to the annual meeting of the Missions to Seamen in 1929, the Prince of Wales, in possibly a casual remark, had expressed the wish that he had been speaking at a joint meeting with the British Sailors' Society. Whatever his intention, the comment was taken as a serious hint that the two societies should merge.

112 Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 10 Oct. 1933, 9 Jan. 1934, 14 May 1935.

113 KGFS, *The story of the first fifty years*, 16-17; 3 & 4 Geo.6, c. 31.

114 Committee minutes, 12 August 1930; it joined in 1939 when it realized that it was the 'only reputable body' which had not joined, Committee minutes, 10 May 1936.

representative of the Charity Organization Society also took this view, noting that the Missions to Seamen was also well established in the port. In 1934 the RCSMSH voted 13 to 3 against the British Sailors' Society development, whereupon that society resigned and proceeded with its plans.¹¹⁵ The Apostleship of the Sea had also opened accommodation in 1933 despite protests and had similarly resigned.¹¹⁶ This was not the only case of duplication discussed at that meeting. Seven societies were operating at Hull and rationalization was needed in both the religious and social contexts. At Fowey, there was duplication between the Seamen's Christian Friend Society's home and that of the Missions to Seamen, and the latter was asked to consider closing. A war-time example was the British Sailors' Society's restoration of the derelict premises of the National Sailors' Society at Garston in 1941, 'before any one knew of it'; the Port Welfare Officer reported that residential accommodation there was not needed.¹¹⁷

Seafarers' welfare provision in 1939

By 1939, largely owing to pressure from bodies external to seamen's missions and sailors' homes, progress had been made along the paths of co-ordinated fund raising and provision of social welfare facilities, while more efficient approaches to financial management were being adopted by many seafarers' charities. But despite members of the RCSMSH having signed an agreement in 1931 to report proposed developments and comply with the Council's verdict on proposals, some societies having funds continued to pursue their own goals. Where religious work was

115 Southampton Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 25 Sept. 1929, 13 March 1930, 30 Jan., 26 June, 24 July 1934, 23 Sept. 1941; Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 24 May, 14 June, 12 July 1934, 10 March 1938. The British Sailors' Society rejoined the RCSMSH in 1938.

116 PRO, MT9/4084/M13087.

117 PRO, LAB 24/100, Minutes of the Seamen's Welfare Board.

concerned, there was a case for making provision, for example, for Roman Catholic seamen, in small institutes operated by the Apostleship of the Sea despite the existence of those run by other missions, provided overnight accommodation was not created. Over supply in this was the real area of contention. But provided buildings complied with sanitary regulations, there remained nothing to prevent duplication where voluntary restraint failed.

The increasing, if reluctant, level of co-ordination of voluntary welfare provision for seafarers brought about by the financial power of the King George's Fund for Sailors made possible the compilation of data illustrating the scale of provision for serving seafarers in Britain as a whole. The situation at the start of the Second World War is summarized in Table 4.8. It is clear that the missions were by then the dominant providers of overnight accommodation with 62 per cent of the beds available, while among the missions the British Sailors' Society with 30 per cent of all beds was well ahead of other missions. If the usage data (average beds occupied per night) of the homes

Table 4.8
British missions and homes in 1939

	Sailors' homes		Seamen's missions		Totals	
	1939	1914	1939	1914	1939	1914
Homes/hostls	16		56		72	
Institutes	4		75		79	
Beds avail.	1542		2537		4079	
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Donations	3273	2058	186452	117265	189725	119324
Dividends	7608	4785	22992	14460	30600	19245
Sales	48557	30539	98198	61760	146755	92299
Totl Incm.	59438	37382	307642	193486	367080	230868
Totl Expnd.	57271	36019	304620	191584	361891	227604
Legacies	750	472	46505	29248	47255	29720
Investmnts	99374	62499	524189	329679	623563	392178

Source: Appendix 18a.

where it was given (an average of 53 per cent) applied in the missions' accommodation then there was more than ample provision for peace time. However, it seems likely that the voluntary sector was by then already responding to war-time needs in 1939. Data in the Graham White Report for 1938 shows 2556 beds available and an average daily occupancy of 1767.¹¹⁸ If the figures are representative the occupancy rate of 69 per cent was reasonably high. Day centre provision, as might be expected, was almost totally in the hands of the missions. The finances of the two sectors are not, strictly, comparable. However certain points may be noted. All the sailors' homes had very low levels of donated income and legacies. The two national missions together received three quarters of all donated funds. The Missions to Seamen received a much higher legacy income than the British Sailors' Society and had built up much larger investments. Of the other societies, the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen, the third largest mission, was particularly strong financially with investments approaching the level of those of the Missions to Seamen. Expressed in 1914 terms the funding of missions and homes for merchant seafarers (the table excludes Agnes Weston's Sailors' Rests in naval ports) seems to have been at no higher level than that at the outbreak of the First World War. The importance of sailors' homes had clearly reduced. While missions, especially the national ones, had a significant presence in ports and had assisted many unemployed men during the depression, the advent of structured secular interest in seamen's welfare was undermining both their autonomy and the religious association with this form of welfare provision.

¹¹⁸ See Appendix 13a(ii).

Chapter V

WAR, STATE INTERVENTION, AND RECONSTRUCTION: 1939-1970

Once again war on a global scale was to have profound effects on British society, and egalitarianism was to be an important feature.¹ Government intervention was rapid and total, people's lives were regulated as in a totalitarian state, and 'equality of sacrifice' had the effect of standardizing the level of subsistence. Taxation fell heavily on the wealthy but also affected the poor; rationing meant reduced supplies for all but raised the dietary standards of the poor; there was full employment but conscription and direction of labour; the bombing meant that a large section of the civilian population had first hand experience of front line conditions. Perhaps as never before the population became united with a common purpose. Evacuation added another dimension to social mixing, broadening awareness of the degradation of urban poverty,² and social investigation in the interest of the war effort, for example to facilitate the direction of labour and assess morale, added to official understanding of the 'condition of the people'. As before the shipping industry rose to the challenge, only to endure appalling losses, but it was to recover by the 1950s, a decade of shipping prosperity.³ Planning for post-war reconstruction and social reform started early,⁴ and would lead to measures having a major impact on voluntary organizations, including those concerned with seafarers, after the war. Recovery from the war took some years, but more prosperous times returned, though by the 1970s the future was less certain.

1 Lloyd, Empire to welfare state: English history, 1906-1975, 252-69.

2 Roebuck, The making of modern English society from 1850, 146-7.

3 Sturges, British shipping and world competition, 180.

4 Fraser, The evolution of the British welfare state, chap. 3.

At the outbreak of World War II the net tonnage of shipping registered in the United Kingdom was just under eleven million tons, and although it fell slightly during the war it was at the same level in 1946.⁵ A level of approximately eleven million tons was maintained for the next twenty years. Although technically ships were increasingly more advanced, the now long established grouping into cargo and passenger liners, tramps, tankers and coasters was maintained, and ship sizes were not yet significantly larger. The industry was reinstated on pre-war lines. The decade of the 1950s marked the culmination of the development of the cargo liner. The 1960s saw the development of very much larger ships and of ships which were increasingly specialised, and included the start of the container revolution, one of the factors which contributed to the decline of traditional British shipping companies in the 1970s and 1980s.⁶ Assessing the size of the seafaring workforce, never easy, becomes more difficult in this period, as the regular assessment by the Registrar General of Shipping and Seamen was discontinued after 1938. Then the size was given as about 191,599, some 17 per cent over the 158,912 men recorded by the Census of seamen that year which excluded men on leave.⁷ War losses account for some of the reduction to about 145,000 for the early 1950s appearing in the post war figures from the General Council of British Shipping (GCBS) which used a different method of counting. Its figure for 1961, 148,104, is greater than the 142,457 recorded by the 1961 Census of Seamen, but if men on leave are added at the same rate as in 1938, perhaps the GCBS figure under-estimates seafaring manpower. However, there seems little doubt that by 1971, when the Census of seamen that year recorded 89,156 men, that fewer than 100,000 men were employed in United Kingdom registered

⁵ See Appendix 1a.

⁶ Jackson, *History and archaeology of ports*, 151-6; Kennerley, 'Cargo handling and stowage' in Fisher (ed), *British ships and seamen*, 25. The 1950s was the decade of the authors' own sea-going experience in British cargo liners.

⁷ See Appendix 1b and the note to Appendix 1a. For a discussion of war losses see page 204.

ships.⁸ Estimates for the numbers of seamen entering United Kingdom ports daily in this period are incomplete. However, values have been attempted for 1960 and 1965. Allowing for some exaggeration it seems possible that the target for seamen's missions was upwards of 6000 men on average arriving in port daily during the 1950s and 1960s.

For seamen's missions and sailors' homes, the years from 1939 to 1948, particularly in the United Kingdom, were perhaps the most challenging of their whole existence. In addition to the strictures faced by all organizations during the Second World War and immediately after, they were under unprecedented pressure on at least three fronts. The combined effects of the total disruption of peace-time shipping movements, control of inland travel and the bombing of the docks produced a demand for accommodation and recreation facilities well in excess of previous experience. The Government through the Seamen's Welfare Board, responded to this need, but the voluntary sector, having all the existing facilities, except of course private boarding houses (there was a re-emergence of crimping), and considerable experience, was essential in providing the core of facilities, and responded by expanding provision. The second area of pressure, applying particularly to missions, was the need for spiritual support felt by seafarers in a period when the rate of loss of life through enemy action probably exceeded by some margin, that of the worst periods of shipwreck in earlier times. Taken together, these two must have constituted the best missionary opportunity in the twentieth century. The third area of pressure came from the state. For the first time the voluntary sector became subject to direction from a secular authority. Not only was its freedom of action curtailed, but it was also subjected to severe criticism for the poor condition of its facilities, and the nature of its services. Further, a secular state network of hotels

⁸ '1971 census of seamen', Trade and Industry, 8 (13 July 1972), 84-5.

and clubs for seamen was created to supplement but also as an alternative to existing provision. Added to this, throughout the war missions and homes laboured under the threat that much of their social provision would eventually be assumed formally by the state. Although all the signs were present that seamen's welfare would parallel the better known evolution of the welfare state, the state did not take the final step and the voluntary sector emerged as self-regulating partners in a dual system, co-ordinated by the state, the shipping industry and the voluntary sector. The large national missions managed considerable reconstruction in the post-war years, but for the independent sailors' homes this was generally a period of decline to extinction, and later, most surviving local mission societies were to disappear. As well as examining developments among missions and homes in this period, the interaction of the voluntary sector with the state will be evaluated, but before this, the context is explored through discussions of social policy, religion and seafaring.

Social policy and religion

Owing to the involvement of the state from the outbreak of war in social matters, such as control of labour and food supply, and the need to motivate the population for the war effort, it was an easy step for it to make provision in areas of welfare, whether it was attention to medical provision, school meals, public entertainment or the chain of 'British Restaurants'.⁹ This was a context into which the formation and work of the Seamen's Welfare Board (1940) clearly fitted.¹⁰ But a further effect of war conditions on society was the extent to which thoughts turned to achieving social improvement once it was over. Attention was given, for example, to town planning and housing,

⁹ Briggs, A social history of England, 272-3.

¹⁰ See page 228.

education, health and social security. This last was the subject of the famous Beveridge Report which provided for unemployment insurance and benefit, a health service and medical insurance, family allowances and pensions schemes.¹¹ Such measures would of course apply to seafarers, and ought to remove destitute British seafarers from the scope of missions and homes. But most serious as far as the missions and homes were concerned, was the investigation undertaken by the Graham White Committee into seamen's welfare in port, which might well set the pattern for their operation after the war.¹² Some social reform measures were enacted during the war, such as those in education and catering wages, the latter having financial implications particularly for voluntary organizations such as sailor's homes and missions,¹³ but it was 1948 before the future of seamen's welfare was finally settled.

The series of measures which collectively implemented what is called the British welfare state, came into force in July, 1948. They provided a social security network protecting everyone from destitution and a comprehensive health service open to all. The poor law was finally erased, and the state assumed complete responsibility in areas of social concern which were the prime object of many voluntary organizations, principally the voluntary hospitals which were nationalised. Nevertheless, though at the end of the 1940s some thought that the voluntary sector had come to the end of its useful life, there has remained a role for it as an agent for the state, in experimental work, filling the gaps in state provision, and in new spheres of need not covered by legislation.¹⁴ Thus the welfare scene was set for the next two decades. Inflation, however, would also undermine the increasingly costly welfare state, as it did some seafarers' societies. Fraser

¹¹ Fraser, Evolution of the welfare state, 250.

¹² The Graham White Committee was set up in Nov. 1943; it reported in Jan. 1945.

¹³ Education Act, 1944, 7 & 8 Geo. 6, c.31; Catering Wages Act, 1943, 6 & 7 Geo. 6, c.24.

¹⁴ Roiff, Voluntary societies and social policy, 277-8.

identifies 1973 with its oil crisis as the end of an era in social history; rampant inflation demanded retrenchment, and unemployment would rise to 1930s proportions; thereafter the ideal of welfare was in decline.¹⁵ If anything, general voluntary effort was to increase rather than decline.

Decline, however, in participation in organised religion is the pattern which the statistics show as far as the Church of England and the non-conformist churches were concerned; the increase in Roman Catholicism almost halted but would be resumed after the war.¹⁶ The established church experienced some recovery in the 1950s, followed by decline, but for the non-conformists decline continued. However, within the churches there was an upsurge of sacramental renewal: in particular "...the Anglican parish communion and the Methodist sacramental fellowship... responded to the needs of ordinary people at war...".¹⁷ Ecumenicalism also made progress during the war years, locally as well as nationally. The only religious issue with even the remotest chance of finding its way into the general histories of modern Britain,¹⁸ was that of church schools and the 1944 Education Act. In return for the provision for religious education in all schools, the Anglican Church relinquished control of four fifths of its schools, but in view of its failure to become fully involved in religious instruction after the war and the poor quality of much of what was provided, it emerged the net loser, with much of its influence in education dissipated.¹⁹ The Catholic Church, insisting on controlling the education of Catholics, was the real beneficiary under the Act.

¹⁵ Fraser, The evolution of the British welfare state, 250-3.

¹⁶ Currie and Gilbert, 'Religion'.

¹⁷ Hastings, A history of English Christianity, 1920-1985, 391.

¹⁸ See Gilbert, The making of post-Christian Britain, 2.

¹⁹ Hastings, A history of English Christianity, 1920-1985, 417-22.

It was in the 1950s that evangelicalism, led by the evangelicals in the Church of England, came to the fore again, after a period of quiet revival from the end of the 1930s. It was a period (continuing into the 1960s) of missions and crusades with American revivalists such as Billy Graham once again making the headlines. In the same period the main churches were becoming less exclusive, as indicated by moves towards mergers, closer co-operation between churches, and greater commonality in liturgies. Hastings writes of an advance towards a single recognizable Christian community.²⁰ But in the latter years of the 1960s religious adherence dropped markedly, affecting even the Roman Catholic Church, as a result of secular forces such as materialism. At the same time the seamen's missions were increasing co-operation and rationalizing their efforts through agencies such as the International Maritime Christian Association formed in 1969,²¹ and pooling resources to work out of shared premises (seamen's centres), a return perhaps to the ecumenism of the original missions of the 1820s.

Seafaring in war and peace

Although the inter-war period had not been easy for seafarers owing to unemployment, and a shortage of men emerged towards the end of the 1930s, the shipping industry was in some respects much better prepared for war than in 1914. On board ship improvements in safety resulting from the International Safety of Life at Sea (SOLAS) Conferences and Conventions (1913/14, 1929), were working their way through the merchant fleet. These covered key areas such as life saving appliances, radio communication and load lines, while the National Union of Seamen had been influential in

²⁰ Hastings, A history of English Christianity, 1920-1985, 565.

²¹ W.J.D. Down, 'The historical experience of seafaring apostolates and the past response of churches to the needs of seafaring people', Proceedings, East Asia Conference on Maritime Ministries (Manila, Apostleship of the Sea, 1987), 17-40.

securing improved accommodation.²² The shore training of ratings had continued at the Gravesend Sea School and in anticipation, Merchant Navy Defence Courses were provided from 1937.²³ The contribution of merchant seafaring in the 1914-18 war had been recognized by the grant of a standard uniform in 1918 and the official title 'Merchant Navy' in 1922, quasi military designations offering something in status and cohesion which would be of value in the coming conflict.²⁴ On shore, the unified approach to employment through the National Maritime Board agreements and the joint supply system in the ports, was well tried and would easily adapt to a war context. The creation of a Merchant Navy Reserve in 1938 produced a list of nearly 13,000 seafarers ashore, by the outbreak of war, who had indicated a willingness to return to sea if required.²⁵

At an official level, it seems that the Board of Trade's Mercantile Marine Department may not have given sufficient thought to planning for war. It had planned for a Ministry of Shipping, but "...in many respects the plans for the Second World War began where the experience of the First World War had stopped".²⁶ Notably, it had failed to foresee a shortage of shipping. However, measures affecting seafarers had been prepared, in particular a scheme which equated merchant seafarers with naval seafarers with respect to compensation, including pensions.²⁷ The creation of continuous service arrangements for merchant seafarers was completed in May 1941, with pay, and allotments to seafarers' dependents being, made continuous. Leave was granted at the rate of approximately one month per year, and men who had served at sea at any time since 1936 were tied to service at sea under the administration of the

22 Course, The Merchant Navy, chap. 11.

23 Powell, Shipping Federation, chap. 7.

24 British Mercantile Uniform Act, 1919, 9 & 10 Geo. 5, c.62.

25 Powell, Shipping Federation, 87.

26 C.B.A. Behrens, Merchant shipping and the demands of war (History of the Second World War series, HMSO/Longmans, Green, 1955), 38-9. The Ministry of Shipping was formed in October 1939.

27 The war pensions and detention allowances (Merchant Navy) scheme, 1939.

Merchant Navy Pool.²⁸ The Pool was run by the Shipping Federation on behalf of the Ministry of War Transport with the unions in consultation, using a Central Register of Seamen compiled by the Registrar General of Shipping and Seamen to allocate men to ships, and to keep track of them ashore and afloat. The Federation was already concerned on behalf of the Government with relief for shipwrecked crews and their dependents.²⁹ More so than in the First World War these measures in effect placed seafarers in one organization, the closest that the Merchant Navy would ever get to being a fourth armed service. Yet the owners remained the employers and pay bargaining continued, while boys, too young at sixteen for service in the armed forces, could 'join up' and experience battle conditions almost immediately. This anomalous employment situation was³⁰

...typical of a service which belonged neither to the world of fighting men nor to the world of civilians and in which the practices of peace and war were combined after a fashion that only the British...with their habit of grafting the new to the old...could ever have contrived or made to work.

Proportionately, the war fell much more heavily on merchant seafarers than on any of the three armed services proper. Behrens discusses casualties in some detail, estimating that on a mean man-power figure of not more than 145,000, about 39,000 men (excluding lascars) lost their lives or were 'permanently damaged'.³¹ The Registrar-General of Shipping and Seamen put deaths due directly or indirectly to the war at 31,908. These figures of themselves give some measure of the impact on families ashore and the need for support. In addition the numbers of survivors of shipping casualties was just as numerous,

28 Essential Work (Merchant Navy) Order, 26 May 1941. In May 1941, the Ministry of War Transport was created by merging the Ministry of Shipping with the Ministry of Transport. Behrens, Merchant shipping and the demands of war, 170-1.

29 Powell, Shipping Federation, 90.

30 Behrens, Merchant shipping and the demands of war, 174.

31 Behrens, Merchant shipping and the demands of war, chap. 7 and appendices 26-30.

requiring aid wherever they were landed. These, men standing by to join ships and the replacements under training to maintain manpower levels,³² produced a greatly increased demand for temporary accommodation and recreational facilities in British ports, which will be examined below. Although merchant seafarers continued to serve in ships carrying cargoes as diverse as ever, and weather conditions were no different, the disruption (compared with peace time) to shipping movements and therefore manpower movements was total. Life on board was altered by the different emphasis given to certain duties, such as lookout and signalling, by additional activities, such as gunnery, and by the mixing of personnel.³³

In the larger ports, especially those on the west coast, the presence of large numbers of seafarers, many in funds after voyages and looking for relaxation, and the pressure on accommodation, produced a situation ripe for the re-emergence of crimping and the revitalisation of 'red light' districts. Boarding house keepers and prostitutes may have been less prominent than in the nineteenth century, but they had never disappeared. The reports from the Seamen's Welfare Officers (SWO), now based in ports by the Seamen's Welfare Board (SWB), highlighted these old social problems and showed that there still existed some men who were socially alienated from society ashore. The Liverpool SWO, generalising, reported that the majority of hostels (run by charities) were unsatisfactory, overcrowded and unattractive, while the boarding house system run by private enterprise 'beggars description', though those run

32 Powell, Shipping Federation, chap. 7.

33 Conditions at sea during the war have been well covered through films, such as San Demetrio, London (ca 1942); publications during the war, such as Frank H. Shaw, The Merchant Navy at war (Stanley Paul, nd., ca. 1943), Archibald Hurd (ed), Britain's Merchant Navy (Odhams, nd ca 1944); compilations of war experiences such as A.B. Campbell, Salute the Red Duster (Christopher Johnson, 1952); company histories such as S.W. Roskill, A merchant fleet in war: Alfred Holt & Co. 1939-1945 (Collins, 1962).

by shipping companies were better. He went on to describe typical crimping activity:³⁴

...when a shipwrecked crew is landed, or a ship pays off...the crew are immediately surrounded by touts, who undertake to 'assist' them in getting their pay and/or compensation. These touts then take the men to the boarding houses, where it is not unknown for seamen of good character to lose £40 to £80 in two days. Cases have been reported to me by most of the consuls of seamen losing their identification papers and wallets, and being quite unable to give any explanation of how or where the loss occurred.

At Cardiff the cafes in Bute Street were re-emerging as hotbeds of vice, liquor, gambling and prostitution, a situation which before the war had been cleaned up. However, owing to the bye-laws on seamen's lodging, the 60 licensed boarding houses in Cardiff were inspected by the sanitary inspector and provided fairly satisfactory facilities.³⁵ Most were clean, especially those run by Arabs. This report added a further note from the past:

Seamen tend to patronise the same houses whenever in port and come to regard them in many instances as 'home from home'...

Problems with increased prostitution were also noted at Hull. At Liverpool the number of cases of venereal disease treated at the Seamen's Dispensary increased from 335 in the first quarter of 1938 to 587 in the first quarter of 1941.³⁶

As has been noted with the Cardiff example, the existence of local bye-laws on seamen's lodging houses served to improve and maintain standards. The condition of a number of seamen's boarding houses in Liverpool reflected

³⁴ SHB, Committee minutes, 24 April 1941, PRO, LAB 25/98.

³⁵ Although there had been much improvement in seamen's shore accommodation by the 1930s, the Barry Seamen's Lodging Houses Order, 1934 (SRO 697), and the Falmouth Seamen's Lodging House Keepers Order, 1934 (1172/1933), are evidence of the continued need for special control, and of the ongoing provision by the private sector in competition with that of the voluntary sector.

³⁶ SHB, Committee minutes, 10 July 1941, PRO, LAB 26/100.

the lack of such control there as well as the difficulty of enforcing the general sanitary regulations. Clearly the Seamen's Welfare Officer played an important part in obtaining a general inspection by the Liverpool Public Health Department of all seamen's accommodation, and the report, when it eventually appeared in September 1942, listed over 1000 defects and statutory nuisances.³⁷ Even where licensing existed, as in London, the sanitary inspectors waged a never ending battle even to achieve the minimum standards. One seamen's lodging house there was inspected regularly between 1933 and 1962. It was licensed for 43 men in 1934, but the public health requirements were not complete until 1937 and in that period it was inspected monthly (and for a time weekly).³⁸ Renewal was refused in 1945, but the licence was renewed in 1948. It was satisfactory in 1962, but due to be demolished. Whether a licence existed or not men were still being accommodated. There was a similar saga with the Maritime Hall (a private establishment accommodating Chinese seamen), West India Dock Road, London, between 1946 and 1949 when a licence was finally issued.

Following the war British shipping made a rapid recovery, returning both to its pre-war size and patterns of operation.³⁹ It was particularly prosperous during the 1950s, and seafarers benefitted from this and from war time developments in employment. The casual nature of seafaring was reduced by replacing the Merchant Navy Reserve Pool in 1947 with the Merchant Navy Established Service Scheme (National Maritime Board), under which men

37 See Appendix 18b for the details. Liverpool's Bye-Laws on Seamen's Lodging Houses had been repealed when the city boundaries were extended, and control had as a result been limited to the provisions of the Public Health Act, 1936, 26 Geo 5 & 1 Edw 8, c.43, and the Liverpool Corporation Act, 1921, 11 & 12 Geo. 5, c.lxxiv. It was difficult even to identify houses used for lodging seamen; even then the co-operation of the lodging house keepers was essential in maintaining standards.

38 Reports on seamen's lodging houses (a manuscript record book), Tower Hamlets Local History Library, PG 884.

39 Sturges, British shipping and world competition, chao. 7.

between voyages who voluntarily held themselves ready for engagement were paid a 'retainer'.⁴⁰ Liner companies also enrolled their men who served regularly with them on 'company contracts', providing another group with continuous employment. Entitlement to a paid period of leave following each voyage, as in the war, was agreed in 1950, which, with the other measures indicated, came close to achieving the continuity of income while the seafarer was ashore idealised by Toynbee and Rowe in the 1860s and 1870s.⁴¹ A range of other improvements in conditions and accommodation were brought in during this period but basic wages barely kept pace with inflation which continued at the war time rate.⁴² Where unemployment occurred, seafarers and their families were now covered by the national social security provisions.

In the 1960s, shipping entered a more difficult period which was a foretaste of the rapid decline of the British industry in the following decade and after. The pre-war order was giving way to new types of cargo handling, ships and shipping operation (palletization, roll-on/roll-off, containerization), the massive growth in ship sizes started, a large world over capacity developed. Passenger shipping gave way to passenger transport by air. Much British shipping, for example, was laid up in 1962. Subsidised competition, flags of convenience and other factors began to combine against the British and other west European shipping industries where decline became increasingly apparent in the 1970s, and there was a parallel change and decline in the ports system.⁴³ Over all

40 Powell, Shipping Federation, 48-50.

41 See pages 107-8, Course, Merchant Navy, 294.

42 In addition overtime was payable and there were other benefits which increased total wages. At 1914 prices AB's basic wages were 1912 £3, 1939 £6, 1943 £11, 1954 £6, 1962 £10; values given in Course and Behrens (cited above), deflated by the index in Appendix 2.

43 Jackson, The history and archaeology of ports, 131-67, reviews the shipping revolution and the collapse of British ports.

there was a steady decline in numbers of seafarers required by the British industry.⁴⁴

Sailors' homes in war and peace

Given the war-time demand for accommodation in ports, it seemed certain that whatever their limitations, sailors' homes would be used to the full. Although homes continued operating within their existing facilities, they did benefit from grants from the King George's Fund for Sailors' and the new charity, the Merchant Navy Comforts Service (MNCS), which allowed renovation and improvement, for example at the Bristol Sailors' Home⁴⁵. This went some way to meeting the higher standards being demanded by the Seamen's Welfare Board.⁴⁶ Early in the war the new seamen's welfare officers often reported scathingly on the conditions that they found in homes. At Hull, the Sailors' Home, the only specialist accommodation then available, was dirty, verminous and inadequately supervised; it served poor food and its accommodation was inferior. At Cardiff nine establishments were surveyed. The Missions to Seamen Bute institute had recreational facilities of a high standard, a popular chaplain and attracted large numbers of seafarers, but its Penarth institute was inaccessible. The Cardiff Sailors' Home, in old, depressing, dirty premises, was 'not patronised by the best type of seaman'. The Scandinavian Sailors' Home, 'one of the best in Cardiff', had recently been bombed. Overall, the SWO at Cardiff was not impressed. Though not all reports were so direct, other

44 For a concise overview of the dramatic changes affecting British shipping from the mid 1960s see Tony Lane, *Grey dawn breaking: British merchant seafarers in the late twentieth century* (Manchester University Press, 1986), 2-25. There is no better work than this for gaining an understanding of seafaring in this period, which is examined through interviews with a large number of seafarers in sections covering seafarers, hazard, voyages and hierarchy.

45 Committee minutes, 2 Feb. 1945.

46 The minutes of the second meeting of the Seamen's Welfare Board, 21 Nov. 1940 refer. Seamen's Officers (SWO) to the ILO Recommendation 48 of 1936 on standards, PRO, LAB 26/94. The comments which follow come from SWO reports in the minutes of the meeting of 5 March 1941, PRO, LAB 26/97.

seamen's welfare officers had similar reservations about conditions at other ports. The appointment of seamen's welfare officers at ports certainly promised to be beneficial both to seafarers staying at homes, and of help to home managements, and could be considered long overdue. At Bristol a complaint to the SWO from seamen led to the replacement of the superintendent and a general raising of standards of cleanliness; but later the home's management was able to enlist the help of the SWO to effect the removal of two mentally ill men and to support bids for improvement grants.⁴⁷ Like other dock area buildings, homes suffered bomb damage,⁴⁸ the two large sailors' rests for naval seafarers at Plymouth and Portsmouth, for example, being destroyed in 1941.⁴⁹ Of the sailors' home buildings which survived complete destruction, many were elderly. The newest dated from the early years of the century, while some were still in their original buildings. The oldest, the London and Liverpool homes, were being overtaken advancing building regulations, the latter being advised early in 1945 that the lighting in its cabins no longer conformed.⁵⁰ The combined pressures for higher standards and the mass destruction all around them caused by the particularly intensive phase of bombing in 1940/41, led early to thoughts about rebuilding or at least major refurbishment after the war. The Sailors' Home, London, led the way, and eventually entered into an agreement with the MNCS for that body to act as its fund raiser.⁵¹

As in World War I, the importance of facilities for merchant service personnel was not understood by local armed service authorities, who again requisitioned sailors' home (and mission) premises for use by naval ratings, and

47 Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 11 Nov. 1941, 5 Oct. 1942.

48 Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 12 Sept. 1940, 15 March 1941. NMN, EAH 1/11; the Home operated fire watches and had a proper fire party procedure. Liverpool Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 9 Oct. 1940, MMRC, D/LH/9.

49 Local History Library, Plymouth Central Library, has photographic records of the bombed buildings.

50 Committee minutes, 12 Feb. 1945, MMRC, D/LH/9.

51 Committee minutes, 15 March 1941, when a sub-committee was formed; 9. 30 Dec. 1943, 7 Jan. 1944.

it fell to the Seamen's Welfare Board to make representations to the Admiralty for their release.⁵² Homes at Falmouth and Glasgow were so affected as was other seafarer accommodation at Liverpool and Grimsby. Although

Table 5.1
Mean daily usage of London and Bristol
sailors' homes, 1939-70

	London		Bristol
	seamen entered	beds occupied	beds occupied
1939		165	14.7
1940	49.8		14.9
1941	29.6	138	12.1
1942			21.9
1943	49.2	159	23.4
1944	58.1	165	22.3
1945	55.8	168	22.8
1950	81.7	169	22.3
1955	59.7	113	15.9
1960			20.1
1965		191	20.2
1970		171	23.2

Source: Appendices 11a, 12a, 18a

there may have been pressure on accommodation in west coast ports such as Liverpool and Glasgow, it is evident from Table 5.1 that the homes at London and Bristol were not used to the maximum in the early years of the war. At the London home the low figure for 1941 may well relate to the reduced amount of shipping using that port, being closest to the continent and more vulnerable than west coast ports. Usage clearly increased once the worst bombing phase had passed, and in 1945 the Home was reported as often being full.⁵³ The use of the Bristol home continued at pre-war levels until 1942. With only 30 beds it must often have been full in the latter part of the war. Both homes, as was probably the case elsewhere, had a proportion of more or

⁵² GWR minutes, 16 Jan. 1941, PRO, LAB 26/95.

⁵³ Committee minutes, 12 July 1945, NMM, SAN 1/11.

less permanent residents, which for London helped its staffing difficulties as some employees, being residents, were granted a cash bonus in lieu of two weeks leave.⁵⁴ The usage of the London and Bristol homes show a decline in 1955. The London home was rebuilding and numbers recovered when the new building opened in 1958, while the Bristol home was undergoing major renovations.⁵⁵

Part of the pressure on accommodation during the war was the need to provide for the crews of allied and neutral ships, who in peace-time would have remained with their ships. For the London home, at least, this led to a preponderance of overseas residents. The risk of enemy infiltration was considered sufficiently serious to attempt to segregate such residents from British seafarers, and for London the Representative Council of Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes selected the London home for this role.⁵⁶ The heavy use of the London home by overseas seafarers continued after the war. The random sample analysis of men entered in 1950/51 shows nearly equal numbers of British and overseas seafarers, the latter containing 30 men born in Poland out of 106 overseas men in the sample.⁵⁷ The average age of residents had decreased slightly to 33 years from 35 in 1920/21, though the spread suggests marginally more seafarers in the 20 to 29 age range. The mean length of stay, 15 nights compared with 17 nights in 1920/21, shows little difference and there was the same preponderance of men staying less than six nights. The main change was in the composition of residents. Able seamen comprised only 20 per cent and the deck department only half the residents, and there is a notable increase in

54 Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 9 Aug. 1940; NRM, SAH 1/11. Staff shortages temporarily closed the home's Beresford Rest, and it was at this time that an injured merchant seaman was employed whilst recuperating; interview with Mr. Dick Sweetnam.

55 Bristol Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 12 Dec. 1955, 9 Dec. 1957.

56 Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 15 Jan., 14 Nov. 1940; Consular officers were already sending large numbers of aliens to the Home. This was probably the last decision of the RCMCH which does not appear again in the records consulted.

57 See Appendix 11d. For the following discussion see also Appendices 11f and 11g.

the numbers of deck and engineer officers, some of whom might have been staying at the Home whilst studying for maritime qualifications.

As far as is known, only the London home entered into a major rebuilding programme following the war. Its experience in trying to finance this development shows the difficulties encountered by local societies which lacked a church base for voluntary funding and could not be certain of support from the two main grant making agencies, the King Georges' Fund for Sailors and the Merchant Navy Welfare Board (MNWB)(1948), the latter being the post-war co-ordinating body.⁵⁸ The Home's building was temporarily refurbished in 1946 pending the start of building works.⁵⁹ Construction contracts were signed at the end of 1950, but work progressed very slowly, with rising costs. Both the KGFS and the MNWB disapproved of the initiative and refused building grants, but, in the post war situation, lacked any power to prevent it. This reveals a degree of self interest on the part of the members of the MNWB sub-committee which declined support, which the Committee of the Sailors' Home clearly felt could have taken a more balanced view:⁶⁰

It was difficult to get a true picture of any problems which the other societies' representatives had as they seemed loathe to give an account of the day to day workings of their hostels...[the SHREC] Club's problems are quite different from those at other hostels in as much as we had no source of income such as they through their religious connections.

The new building was finally opened by the Queen in 1957, and in 1962 the builders were paid off.⁶¹ The MNWB and the KGFS had in the end helped with interest free loans totalling £50,000. The MNWB allowed the home a fund raising appeal in 1962, but restricted to London, and its existing

⁵⁸ See page 201 for a discussion of its role.

⁵⁹ Committee minutes, 9 May 1946, 14 Dec. 1950, NMM, SAH 1/12.

⁶⁰ Sailors' Home, Committee minutes, 11 Dec. 1953, NMM, SAH 1/13.

⁶¹ Committee minutes, 9 April 1957, 18 Jan. 1962, NMM, SAH 1/13; see illus. p. xcvi.

and past subscribers, and it was not to 'poach' on the territories of other societies.⁶²

In terms of financial support from the public, sailors' homes fared much better during the Second World War than the First,⁶³ though there was a lag of perhaps two

Table 5.2

Finances at London and Bristol sailors' homes
1940-1970, deflated to 1914 values using Appendix 2

London	1940	1945	1955	1965	1970
	£	£	£	£	£
Donated income	1254	2715	953	1044	1018
Income from funds			404		
Dividends, rents	1221	4707	695	1691	1358
Seamen's board money	4407	5555	4037	7373	6967
Totl ordinary income*	15323	18893	13550		17888
Totl ord.expenditure*	14656	17102	13688		
Bristol					
Donated income	143	295	157	85	73
Income from funds	56	15	108	99	133
Dividends, rents	192	174	110	125	135
Seamen's board money	151	388	285	564	640
Total ordinary income	452	872	660	874	981
Total ord.expenditure	455	869	630	928	925

Source: Appendices 11b (ii) and 12b (ii)

*Includes finances of clothing shop/refreshment bar

years before this becomes apparent in the accounts. In Table 5.2 there is a marked difference between 1940 and 1945 donations to the London and Bristol homes. Part of the increase derives from local flag day proceeds where homes benefitted from general appeals. The London home's seven per cent share of the large appeals in London was £2100 in 1942 and £4850 in 1943 (£1010 and £2235 at 1914 values), but both homes also experienced significant increases in direct donations and subscriptions.) Predictably, this source declined after the war, compensated for the Bristol

⁶² Committee minutes, 13 Oct. 1962, NMH, SAH 1/15.

⁶³ See Table 4.3, page 169.

home by regular annual maintenance grants from the King George's Fund for Sailors, though the London home received little from this source. The operating finances at the Bristol home were stabilised from the 1950s by increased receipts from seamen's board money, caused by the increasing proportion of long stay residents funded by social security payments. These covered costs whereas rates charged direct had been to some extent subsidised by the home.⁶⁴ The drop in dividend income in 1955 shown in Table 5.2 was caused by the application of reserves to rebuilding and renovation.

By the end of the 1960s the London and Bristol homes might seem to have survived the difficult years and achieved some stability. London had made major repayments to its creditors and in 1969 had a reasonable occupancy rate of 181 per night. However, it still owed £39,000.⁶⁵ But usage declined rapidly thereafter and failure to overcome financial problems led to a merger with the Marine Society and closure in 1974.⁶⁶ From the end of the war, the future of the Liverpool Sailors' Home was always in doubt. It was as unsuccessful as the London home in gaining the support of the KGFS and the MNWB, the latter declaring it sub-standard in 1949.⁶⁷ Despite spending its reserves on improvements, it was banned from using its inner cabins by the Medical Officer of Health, and it must have been clear that the rest of its accommodation barely satisfied the latest regulations.⁶⁸ By 1963, rebuilding was under consideration, but nothing came of this and the home closed in 1969. The Great Yarmouth home, with almost no income except that from investments, was hit by inflation and progressively realised investments, finally

⁶⁴ These observations are based on a general reading of the Bristol Sailors' Home Committee minutes for this period and discussions with the current Superintendent, Mr. J. Mohide.

⁶⁵ Committee minutes, 26 March 1969, 24 Sept. 1969, NMM. SAN 1/15. See also Appendix 11a.

⁶⁶ Committee minutes, final meeting 9 Oct. 1974.

⁶⁷ Committee minutes, 8 Dec. 1949, MMRD, D/LH/9.

⁶⁸ Committee minutes, 29 Jan., 29 Feb. 1952, MMRD, D/LH/10: see also Appendix 13. first floor plans.

closing in 1964.⁶⁹ The Bristol Sailors' Home, probably the last of the 1850s local foundations serving merchant seafarers, has managed to survive, despite an eighteenth century building which has required extensive maintenance, through paring its activities to the minimum, for example by transferring to self catering and by becoming a home for aged seafarers.⁷⁰ The two naval sailors' homes, Portsmouth and Devonport, survive as service clubs (illus. p. c).

Missions in war and peace

Arguably, seamen's missions, collectively, ought to have been at least as well prepared for what war would bring, as they had been twenty five years earlier.⁷¹ Senior committee members and senior chaplains would have had ample experience in the first war, and the demands made then were well recorded in chaplains' reports and society publications. More recent experience covered the stresses caused by unemployment among seafarers during the depression. In terms of manpower and deployment, the Missions to Seamen entered the war with every station fully manned, but some were lost to the forces and some were in overseas ports which fell to the enemy, and in 1942 the Mission was appealing for extra chaplains and lay readers to support the expanded work.⁷² The British Sailors' Society had in particular developed its accommodation to become the largest provider, and in 1942 was operating 57 hostels in Britain.⁷³ But the Apostleship of the Sea still only had full time chaplains at London and Liverpool, and Anson argues that the war caused a serious set back to the international development of the Catholic society, though

⁶⁹ Committee minutes, 1947-54, NRO, S04/3. Other sailors' homes which closed were the Royal Cornwall Sailors' Home (1955), Southampton Sailors' Home (1971) and the Glasgow Sailor's Home (mid 1970s).

⁷⁰ Based on a general reading of the minutes and discussions with the Superintendent.

⁷¹ See page 172.

⁷² Strong, *Flying Angel*, 146; Missions to Seamen, Annual report for 1941.

⁷³ See page 194; BSS, General Secretary's Standing Orders, forward, 15 Oct. 1942.

in Britain it expanded during the war especially in northern locations.⁷⁴ It was probably the smaller societies on marginal incomes which were the least prepared for the demands of war, though the Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society, for example, responded to war demands as fully as the national societies.⁷⁵

The war brought many similar problems to those faced by the voluntary sector in the First World War, but the general intensity was far greater. There was the same dislocation and need to expand rapidly in unlikely locations. As before there were crews from ships lost to enemy action to be cared for, the bereaved to be notified and seafarers 'standing by' to be counselled and 'relaxed'. In contrast to First World War experience, mission premises also suffered physically. In addition to heavy wear and tear, many buildings were bombed or suffered blast damage, owing to their dock area locations and the heavy bombing to which British ports were subjected. Again in contrast to earlier experience, there were, theoretically, no destitute seafarers to be sustained. Perhaps for the first time, the total energies of missions could be focused on the serving seafarer, though there were many more retained ashore while body or mind were being repaired, and there were those whose war had finished and were passed on to other caring services.

The same spirit of 'things as usual' which pervaded other sections of British society permeated the seafarers' voluntary sector and the same 'rallying round' to this end as elsewhere was evident. Missions always had their bands of voluntary helpers, but their paid workers were augmented further, as many members of the public responded to appeals for assistance and to the general feeling that all should

74 Anson, Church and the sailor, 172, 191.

75 See Appendix 18b.

'do their bit' to support the war effort.⁷⁶ The irregular comings and goings of seafarers meant that many missions found themselves at times offering nearly a twenty four hour service, which could only be maintained with voluntary assistance.

There is ample evidence that, as well as the residential accommodation, the 'club' facilities providing opportunities for recreation and 'normal' socialising were heavily used by seafarers throughout the war.⁷⁷ The experience of the Apostleship of the Sea in Liverpool provides an example. The Society had developed a successful club at Bootle, Atlantic House, early in 1939, but this was requisitioned at the outbreak of war. At very short notice a new Atlantic House was opened in a Catholic church's parish rooms in Great Howard Street nearer the centre of Liverpool from which a full programme of activities was offered, 10am to 10pm.⁷⁸ Dancing, with Catholic hostesses carefully selected from Liverpool Catholic congregations, was the main evening activity. The range of other facilities is illustrated in Appendix 17c. The AOS efforts in Liverpool certainly impressed the Port Welfare Officer, who, presumably taking a secular viewpoint, reported:⁷⁹

This is the most alive of any of the seamen's organisations in the port. Their recreation rooms are always open and dances take place three nights a week. Social evenings take place on the other four. It is not unusual to find 200 hundred seamen attending these dances...75 per cent of those who use it are not Catholic...

Other missions, and the Merchant Navy Clubs, also offered similar programmes. In most of the larger British ports, as well as many over seas, seafarers were in this way

76 Strong, *Flying Angel*, chap. 20, summarizes the war experiences and efforts of that Mission.

77 Examples include: MMTS, committee minutes, 10 Sept. 1941, LCRD, 311 Mar 1/7; Missions to Seamen, Annual report for 1941; Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society, Annual report for 1944.

78 Peter F. Anson, *The Apostleship of the Sea in England and Wales* (Catholic Truth Society, 1947), 24-5.

79 SHS, Minutes, 10 July 1941, PRO, LAB 26/100.

brought into contact with local communities to an extent never previously attained. In some seafarers could choose between several venues. At Liverpool, in addition to Atlantic House, similar entertainments, with the main offering being dancing, could be found at the Ocean Club (Liverpool Seamen's Welfare Centre), Mersey Mission to Seamen's Central Club, and at the Gordon Smith Institute for Seamen (Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society). Although rationalization came when the war ended, these were operational patterns which stood the test of time and continued well into the post war era.

Dancing partners were of course essential to this form of recreational provision, and those mission voluntary helpers who accepted the role of hostesses, had to function at a different level of socialising from that required of earlier voluntary workers in seafarers' missions whether in a missionary role or more usually simply helping behind the scenes. As with securing financial support, the ability to appeal to the church or chapel network provided the mission societies with an advantage over the secular clubs for seafarers which now existed. The Apostleship of the Sea was particularly careful to set this form of service in the religious context, as well as ensuring through its procedures that the young women concerned were fully chaperoned and were safely returned to their homes at the end of an evening. Hostesses were required to join a sisterhood, the Guild of Our Lady of the Ships.⁸⁰ They were expected to be strict in their observance of their religious duties, and should opportunity occur, to encourage seafarers in religious observance and perhaps to join the AOS as seafaring members. Hostesses also performed domestic duties in the mission, but, they were told:⁸¹

⁸⁰ Apostleship of the Sea, Guild of our Lady of the Ships (Liverpool, AOS, after 1947). This is the booklet issued to all Atlantic House hostesses, containing a description of sea life, rules for behaviour in spiritual and social matters, set firmly in the context of the New Testament.

⁸¹ AOS, Guild of our Lady of the Ships, 26.

At the nightly dance...you will meet the sailors and mix more freely with them. Here, perhaps, more than in any other place, you will have the opportunity of influencing them. At least you can show that a girl can be good and modest, and at the same time, joyful and entertaining....you will treat them just as you would a friend in your own home.

Fraternizing with seafarers elsewhere (eg. meeting them outside after the dance) was strictly prohibited. The intention that this should be a form of missionary outreach, is, however, clear. Dances, and other entertainments always ended with a short act of worship, Benediction, but those who did not wish to participate were given time to clear the hall. Non Catholic missions had similar arrangements. Thus, although outward appearances and often now the title of the building were secular, the presence of clergy and regular small acts of worship were reminders of the ultimate spiritual objective.

This 'quiet', unintrusive religious approach, was adopted by the three national societies, and indeed had long been a policy with the Missions to Seamen. But it did not mean that clergy and missionaries did not respond to personal approaches from seafarers, amounting to individual religious counselling. In general the missions during the war and after progressed considerably towards the seamen's union call for social facilities without religious pressure. They would have satisfied the observation of one contemporary observer:⁸²

The merchantman shies from compulsory religion, but if the comforts of the Christian faith are made available, without undue advertisement, he is pretty certain to avail himself when in the mood for such facilities, but he insists on becoming a voluntary convert.

The war time guidance of the British Sailors' Society

⁸² Shaw, The Merchant Navy at war, 131.

emphasised the 'demonstration of practical Christianity in the service of the sailor'. But in the list of missionaries' responsibilities, the supply of comforts and literature, and information on shore facilities, social activities and sport, came ahead of religious items, supplying new testaments, asking (tactfully) about holding a service on board ship, and information on services ashore.⁸³ Missionaries and chaplains were warned against 'preaching' at seafarers, to be cautious in raising religion, to be well equipped to debate religious issues (seamen were not illiterate), and to be genuine in their personal religious observances.

During the war as in earlier periods, it was rare, for practical reasons, for seafarers to have clergy on board during voyages. This, of course, contrasts with the experience of naval seafarers, for whom the naval chaplaincy had long existed. Larger naval vessels carried their own chaplains, while chaplains moved amongst smaller ones as occasion allowed. Only occasionally on passenger ships might clergy take passage to a new posting. Missions were well aware that generally merchant seafarers who were Christians had no support at sea. The days of the 'Bethel captains' were long gone, and it took a particularly strong conviction to practice religious observance publically. It was extremely rare for ships' masters to give a lead by holding Sunday services. Indeed, the only formal act of worship that might take place was the reading of the burial service. There had been a pre-war example in the form of Captain E.G. Carre, Master with the British India Company, who had acted as seamen's missionary in the evangelical tradition on his own ship. In effect he worked for his own seamen's mission society, as he visited other ships when in port and financed his own tracts.⁸⁴ To counter the normal

⁸³ BSG, 'Missionary work', General Secretary's Standing Orders, 63501, 15 Sept. 1942.

⁸⁴ E.G. Carre, Through stormy seas: some of the spiritual crises in my life afloat (Pickering and Inglis, 1937).

situation in merchant vessels the mission societies had long concentrated on 'the distribution of religious literature. They had also formed seafarers' brotherhoods, such as the Seamen's Christian Brotherhood/International Sailors' Brotherhood (BSS, 1909/1917),⁸⁵ Seamen's Guild (Missions to Seamen)⁸⁶ and the Apostleship of the Sea, Seafarers' Branch. In the middle of the war, however, a rare attempt to carry a chaplain on a regular basis was initiated by the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company, on its tankers. The arrangement seems to have been made with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Missions to Seamen may not have been involved. In 1945, the Revd. Eric W. Jackson reported having sailed on 26 vessels and visited 40 ports:⁸⁷

In comparison with parishes ashore, the proportion of the population attending services is in most cases higher....Sea going chaplaincies are to my mind the only way of providing adequately for the merchant service.

The sea going chaplaincy was maintained at least until October 1947.⁸⁸ Larger passenger ships might be fitted with a small chapel, and the Apostleship of the Sea attempted to maintain at least small altars in such ships, serviced by an AOS Ships' Altar Committee in home ports.⁸⁹ Such arrangements, which disappeared with the demise of the scheduled passenger ship, were exceptional. In general, external support for the Christian impulse on board ship, except in port, can rarely be manifest, if only for reasons of manpower.

The ending of the war and the progressive easing of

⁸⁵ Chart & Compass, 23 (1911), 63; BSS, General Secretary's Standing Orders, 1942.

⁸⁶ Gollock, At the sign of the Flying Angel, 236.

⁸⁷ LPL, Fisher papers, 6, f.46, 2 May 1945.

⁸⁸ LPL, Fisher papers, 30, ff.331-2. The 'Fleet Padre'. Revd. S.M.M. Hawkins reported on 9 Oct.. on two years' service on 25 ships, endorsing the system.

⁸⁹ F.S. Frayne, Land Ahoy! An account of the Apostleship of the Sea (Catholic Truth Society, 1959), 25.

restrictions on building materials, financial compensation for war damage, support from the shipping industry and a higher level of voluntary giving (for a time at least), combined to facilitate a general reconstruction of in port facilities for seafarers, to the improved standards which had been set during the war. For new developments in the provision of accommodation and club facilities, this was a period which at least matched and perhaps exceeded that of the 1850s and 1860s when the original network of sailor's homes was being established. However, with the exception of the Sailors' Home, London, the 1950s and 1960s was a period when the missionary societies were especially active, though in Britain, of course, there were also the secular clubs and hotels provided by the Merchant Navy Welfare Board. The British Sailors' Society and the Missions to Seamen also had a major task in manning and reopening their overseas facilities which had been under enemy occupation. None of the rebuilding work in Britain was easy as it had to be achieved against continued inflation, which meant that building delays caused not only inconvenience, but serious added cost. One of the earliest, was a new Atlantic House for the Apostleship of the Sea in Liverpool, opened in 1947.⁹⁰ This included double rooms to allow wives to stay, and larger single rooms with wash basins. In London, the Queen Victoria Seamen's Rest, extended 1932, planned enlargement 1943, bombed 1944, opened its extended premises in 1953.⁹¹ The Mersey Mission to Seamen, having been a major war time provider of accommodation, decided to concentrate its work in one building close to the Pier Head. Kingston House opened in 1958 and an extension was added in 1966.⁹² But it was left with a large overdraft of £29,000 and realised all its investments to reduce its

⁹⁰ See Appendix 17d. It was subsequently extended to 92 rooms and regularly boasted a 90 per cent occupancy rate; closed 1985. Annual reports, AUS, Liverpool, 1950, 1985.

⁹¹ Seamen's Mission (Wesleyan), Annual reports; see illus. p. xc.

⁹² MMTS Committee minutes, 16 Feb. 1958, 2 May 1966, MMTS, Bootle, Merseyside. It closed in 1983.

debt.⁹³ The AOS was particularly active in this period. In addition to Atlantic House, Liverpool, it opened newly built club/hotel facilities, in Hull, South Shields, London, Birkenhead, Bootle, Ellesmere Port, Salford and Tilbury.⁹⁴ Typical amenities now included family suites, single and double bedrooms, study rooms, television lounge, shop, library, bar lounge, games room, restaurant, ball room, chapel, and at Salford a swimming pool.

Just as the shipping industry in Britain, once the immediate aftermath of war had passed, re-established itself along pre-war lines, so the Missions to Seamen and

Table 5.3

Donated income to missions, 1940-1970,
also deflated to 1914 values using Appendix 2

	1940	1945	1950	1960	1965	1970
	Actual values					
	£	£	£	£	£	£
M.toSeamen	89487*	119257	68065	84190	97597	115943
Br.S.Soc.		287190	125530	135024	153860	
Wesleyan SM	3123	3510	2505	2736	2829	6684
SCFS	4493*			6931		
Mersey MtS	3957	5725	4887	6361	5011	
	Deflated to 1914 values					
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Miss.to S.	45657*	52077	23967	19903	19403	19324
Br.S. Soc		125410	44201	36374	32811	
Wesleyan SM	1735	1533	882	647	562	1114
SCFS	2292*			1639		
Mersey MtS	2198	2500	1720	1446	1504	996

Sources: Appendices 8e, 9f and annual reports.*1941 Missions to Seamen data omits donations to branches

the British Sailors' Society after their period of post-war adjustment, resumed similar levels provision. The number of stations maintained by the former in 1935 had been 94 and in 1950 was 85.⁹⁵ The latter was working in 64 ports in

⁹³ Committee minutes, 13 Feb. 1967, 13 Feb. 1968. In 1969 and 1970 its occupancy rate was 80 per cent, MMtS, Bootle, Merseyside.

⁹⁴ AOS, The Church and the seafaring world (AOS, 1966); see illus. p. xcii.

⁹⁵ See Appendix 9d.

1955, but was in association with other seamen's organizations in a further 21 ports.⁹⁶ However, British missionary activity was being maintained in the face of inflation. In real terms, as Table 5.3 shows, voluntary giving to missions had increased during the war, then declined to 1970, though the actual sums raised were increasing for the national missions from 1965. The Missions to Seamen maintained its operations by applying increasing amounts of legacy income, from £8,643 in 1950 to £19,464 (1914 values) in 1970.⁹⁷ The British Sailors' Society seems to have applied all its legacy income to current purposes,⁹⁸ though this was a less fruitful source than it was for the Missions to Seamen. The geographical breakdown for the Missions to Seamen reflects the decline in donated income, with a more even spread across England in 1970 than before.⁹⁹ London seems to provide significantly less than in 1930 and 1950 though it is possible that some London money is included in the large amount 'paid direct' in 1970.

The expansion of the Apostleship of the Sea in Britain has been noted above (see page 180). The organization resumed its drive internationally immediately after the war. Its status within the Catholic Church, was consolidated by the grant in 1952 of its own Secretariat in Rome under the Congregation of Bishops, making it part of the pastoral fabric in the general area of the spiritual care of migrants and other travellers. In 1957 it was provided with its own body of canon law.¹⁰⁰ As the AOS national and international structure was concerned with policy and development, and not with finances, it is not directly comparable with the Missions to Seamen and British

⁹⁶ BSS, Annual report for 1955.

⁹⁷ See Appendix 9f.

⁹⁸ See Appendix 9e. BSS accounts may include branch income, and should not be directly compared with MTS income.

⁹⁹ See Appendix 9e.

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix 17b. See also The Church and the seafaring world, 12-17.

Sailors' Society structures. Each Archdiocese has its own AOS society and in this sense AOS is more comparable with the independent Bethel societies, though with the key difference that all AOS societies operate within the overall control of Rome.¹⁰¹

Although the three large missions appear to have maintained the immediate post-war levels of activity well into the 1970s, by which time many of the independent sailors' homes had closed, many of the independent seamen's missions had ceased to exist, through closure or absorption. Of the Anglican societies, only the Mersey Mission to Seamen in Britain remained independent, the St Andrew's Waterside Church Mission having merged with the Missions to Seamen in 1939.¹⁰² Most of the Bethel societies had closed, merged with the British sailors' Society, or become local free churches, not working among seafarers: For example, it seems likely that the Plymouth Bethel Society did little work among seafarers in the post war period; in the 1970s it had become an evangelical free church and the missionary was then called its pastor.¹⁰³ The Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society remained active into the 1970s but had closed by the end of that decade.¹⁰⁴ The Dundee Seamen's Friend Society also probably closed in the same period. However, the Seamen's Christian Friend Society was still maintaining eight small stations in Britain and Ireland in 1970.¹⁰⁵

Rationalization of missionary society provision for seafarers, coming later than the run down of sailors' homes, matched more closely the decline of the shipping

101 See the diagram, Appendix 17e.

102 MTS Annual report for 1941.

103 Alston Kennerley, 'Education and welfare of merchant seafarers', in Fisher *et al* (eds), 'New maritime history of Devon'. The society was wound up in 1980.

104 The Gordon Smith Institute was refurbished as offices, in 1980, *Building*, 10 Dec. 1982, 39-46.

105 Annual report for 1970. This society has since given up all mission premises but maintains husband and wife seamen's missionary partnerships working from their own homes in twelve ports, *Seafarers* (SCFS newsletter), Summer (1986).

industry and the resultant changes in British ports. Those independent missions active among seafarers seemed to have in general outlived by a few years the last of the sailors' homes, though they must have been equally affected by inflation. The large societies, already influenced by their experience in the war and after under the MNWB, were in the 1960s showing signs of a willingness to co-operate in world wide provision. In 1969 the International Christian Maritime Association (ICMA) had been formed as a forum and to provide a world wide directory of religious and club provision in ports.¹⁰⁶ Despite the changes, in 1984, twenty six British and Irish ports still had club or hotel premises for seafarers, mostly provided by the three international societies, at several locations sharing buildings, for example the International Seamen's Club at Avonmouth.

Government intervention in seamen's welfare

The acceptance by the Government in 1938, of the 1936 International Labour Conference recommendations on seamen's welfare,¹⁰⁷ following the efforts of King George's Fund for Sailors, ought to have alerted British voluntary societies to the possibility of state action and to the importance of presenting a unified, co-operating front if they were to remain significant in the field of temporal welfare. It must be remembered that temporal welfare had long been seen as the main means of achieving their spiritual objective. However, endorsement of an external recommendation was no guarantee of governmental action, and it is possible that had the war not intervened the seafarers' unions might have pressed in vain for implementation. Although provision in ports was surveyed by government officials in 1939, it was

¹⁰⁶ W.J.D. Down, 'The historical experience of seafaring apostolates and the past response of churches to seafaring needs', East Asia Conference on Maritime Ministries (AOS, Manila, 27 April to 1 May 1987), 17-40; ICMA, ICMA directory (Felixstowe, ICMA, 4th ed., 1984).

¹⁰⁷ See pages 190-1

the 'special war-time needs of seafarers' which led to state action and which dictated much of the detail.¹⁰⁸ In the event the voluntary societies were excluded from any direct involvement in the central Seamen's Welfare Board (SWB), established in October 1940 by the Ministry of Labour and National Service, or, subsequently, in the departmental Committee on Seamen's Welfare in Ports (1943). In both instances the KGFS Secretary¹⁰⁹ provided the link with the voluntary sector, the other members being drawn from the shipowners, unions, government and civil servants.¹¹⁰ Although a new Central Consultative Committee of Voluntary Organizations was formed to provide liaison, it does not seem to have been effective.¹¹¹

In practice, the voluntary societies were able to express their views locally through the Port Welfare Committees (PWC), though the SWB was careful to restrict

Table 5.4

Membership of port welfare committees, 1941

	Trade Unions			
	Ship owners	& officers' associations	Voluntary societies	Others
London	5	5	3	5
Bristol	4	4	3	3
Hull	4	4	2	6
Mersey	6	6	3	6
Newcastle	4	4	3	4
Glasgow	4	4	3	2
Leith	4	4	2	8
Cardiff	3	3	?	?

Source: SWB minutes, May 1941, PRO, LAB 26/99.

¹⁰⁸ Graham White Report, 11-12.

¹⁰⁹ Lt. General G.R.S. Hickson, RM.

¹¹⁰ PRO, LAB 26/94, minutes of the second meeting of the Seamen's Welfare Board (SWB), 21 Nov. 1940. The minutes of the first meeting have not been located. Some SWB minutes and those of the Committee on Seamen's Welfare in Port are also found in the papers of the Ministry of War Transport, PRO, MT9/4796/M4897/47.

¹¹¹ Graham White Report, 13.

their representation to one or two persons by requiring that no particular interest should be 'over weighted'. The other 'interests' were the local representatives of the shipowners, unions, consular corps, allied trade missions, local authorities and the mercantile marine office. Table 5.4 illustrates the relative position of voluntary sector representatives on the PWCs when they had been formed. The PWC convenors and secretaries were the Seamen's Welfare Officers (SWO). As the SWOs were appointed by the SWB and paid by the Ministry of Labour they were not responsible to the PWCs, but took orders from and reported to the SWB. Although neither the SWB, SWOs or PWCs had statutory authority, the allocation of funds in the hands of the KGFS, and particularly the regulatory control of building materials, were generally sufficient to ensure the co-operation of those voluntary organizations wishing to have existing premises refurbished or to expand their facilities.¹¹²

While the Port Welfare Committees were delegated the job of implementing the International Labour Conference proposals, it was the Seamen's Welfare Officers who were the focus of all initiatives and their reports and recommendations greatly influenced the decisions made centrally by the Seamen's Welfare Board. The SWB appointed the SWOs before the PWCs were formed; indeed their first task was to survey provision and then to recommend membership of their PWC for approval by the Board. In this way the SWB asserted its position and the status of its SWOs.¹¹³ It is perhaps not surprising that the Board had difficulty finding suitable candidates for these

¹¹² Graham White Report, 21. This is a reference to the Civil Building Licensening System, Ministry of Works; no license would be granted unless the need were proved and the Ministry of Labour supported the scheme.

¹¹³ SWOs and PWCs were planned initially for Bristol, Cardiff, Glasgow, Hull, Leith, London, Merseyside and Newcastle. The issue of control probably coloured the SWB decision not to adopt the London Port Welfare Council (1935) as the PWC for London; PRO, LAB 26/74.

potentially trying positions.¹¹⁴ SWOs needed experience of port conditions, yet had to be seen as impartial and thus would not come from the main interest groups, the unions, employers or the voluntary sector; and they needed tact and powers of persuasion.

Collectively, the reports of the Seamen's Welfare Officers constitute possibly the first national survey of facilities for serving seafarers in ports by presumably impartial investigators. The voluntary sector was found wanting, though some allowance must be made for the natural tendency to concentrate on negative aspects. The Cardiff officer noted the¹¹⁵

...complete lack of co-ordination and not much tendency to co-operation, between these various welfare agencies. Each seems to be perfectly content to plough its own furrow and...its relations with every other organization is marked at best by indifference, often by jealousy and suspicion, and in some cases by hardly concealed antagonism.

It seems probable that Cardiff was not the only port where the voluntary sector was found wanting in this respect. A statement of the duties of SWOs drafted by the SWB, was issued as a Ministry of Labour circular on 25 May 1941. The SWOs were "...to induce local organizations to work together and in harmony...". It warned that those bodies whose co-operation was reluctant or whose standards were unsatisfactory could not hope to receive assistance in securing supplies of food, tobacco, etc., nor financial assistance. Such circumstances were to be reported to the SWB by the SWOs.

An issue which exercised the Seamen's Welfare Board throughout its existence, and which undoubtedly influenced its decision to recommend the establishment of a state

114 PRO, LAB 25/95, SWB minutes, 16 Jan. 1941.

115 PRO, LAB 25/97, SWB minutes, March 1941.

network of Merchant Navy Houses (hostels) and Merchant Navy Clubs, was that of providing alcoholic drinks in premises intended for use by seafarers. The temperance ideal was still powerful in all the long established mission societies and in some sailors' homes which were under the influence of the Bethel movement. It seems unlikely that any of the members of the Board subscribed to such views as at its second meeting it agreed that "...hostel accommodation at a port could not be regarded as adequate if all the hostels were run on a temperance basis."¹¹⁶ Except for the Roman Catholic societies and the London and Liverpool sailors' homes (which already served drink), all the other voluntary bodies refused to deviate from their policies, some stating that they risked losing financial support or would have to change their constitutions.¹¹⁷ For the leaders of the National Union of Seamen this issue, its dislike of the religious impulse and its dislike of charity, combined in a general antagonism against the voluntary societies which emerged from time to time in the discussions. On the drinks issue, C. Jarman (Acting General Secretary) confused appeals with publicity to seafarers when he advocated:¹¹⁸

... steps should be taken to ensure that future appeals for funds made by the voluntary organisations should mention that merchant seamen were precluded from obtaining a glass of beer in their hostels and institutes.

The Seamen's Welfare Board was also exercised by two other aspects of voluntary activity related to seafarers which became more marked in the war period, uncontrolled fund raising and duplication of effort. With fund raising, the issues were the continued efforts of dubious seafarers' charities who failed to apply sufficient funds to seafarers' welfare, appeals by general charities not

¹¹⁶ PRO, LAB 25/94, 21 Nov. 1940.

¹¹⁷ Report of the Central Consultative Committee which had sounde the societies, PRO, LAB 25/95.

¹¹⁸ SMS, Committee minutes, Dec. 1942, PRO, LAB 25/112.

normally associated with marine work, and the maverick activity of an aggressive new charity. Undoubtedly, the questioning of the activities of the Mariners' Friend Society (MFS) and the Incorporated Seamen's and Boatmen's Friend Society (ISBFS), derived from earlier doubts held by the Charity Organization Society and shared by the KGFS and the major seamen's charities.¹¹⁹ After receiving further reports on these societies, the SWB carried the proposal:¹²⁰

...that the work done by the...[ISBFS & MFS]...for the welfare of seamen is negligible, and does not justify...appeals to the public in the name of merchant seamen by means of flag days, street collections or house to house collections. That these two societies be not recognised by the Seamen's Welfare Board or the Ministry of Labour and National Service as societies working for the welfare of seamen.

The resolution was circulated to the Home Office in an effort to have the societies banned from making public collections, but it reported that such powers did not exist. The ISBFS protested to no avail at being denied approval, but the Board did not prevent it giving evidence to the Graham White Committee. However, although that Committee reported that there were 'not many fraudulent or questionable seamen's societies', there is little doubt as to which ones it had in mind.¹²¹ The general charities which worried the Board were the YMCA and the Salvation Army, both of which at times provided for seafarers. The concern here was the use of the current high profile of seafarers' needs to attract funds which were not then exclusively applied to seamen's welfare, but there was

¹¹⁹ See pages 106-7.

¹²⁰ SWB minutes, 4 Feb. 1942, 12 March 1942, P&O, LAB 26/105, LAB 26/106.

¹²¹ Graham White Report, 21. The funds (ca. £3000) of the MFS (long dormant) were transferred to the SCFS in 1966, Charity Commission reference L1/127,345. The ISBFS is also believed to have ceased to exist in the post war period.

little the Board could do except to urge restraint on the societies concerned.¹²²

That the ability of the Seamen's Welfare Board to regulate the voluntary sector outside areas of statutory control, rested on the willingness of charities to work co-operatively, was illustrated by the formation in 1942 of a new secular voluntary society, the Merchant Navy Comforts Service (MNCS). This threatened to upset the balance of effort in appeals and provision of services, being established through the Board's efforts. The original concern of the MNCS was the provision of 'comforts', items of clothing such as gloves, scarves, pullovers, small supplies of tobacco or cigarettes, sweets, etc. to seafarers on ships and for the immediate relief of shipwrecked men on rescue vessels or where they were landed. Aggressive fund raising trading on the cases of distress and conditions at sea in winter brought in very large sums of money, £959,534 in its first two years.¹²³ As early as July 1942 it was duplicating work in the provision of comforts, particularly rescue kits where the supply, distribution and stock-piling had been co-ordinated between the Shipwrecked Mariners' Society and societies such as the Sailors' Home, London, and complaints were also received from the Comforts Department of the Royal Navy.¹²⁴ Although the Vice-Chairman of the Shipping Federation, E.H. Watts, was closely involved in the formation of the MNCS,¹²⁵ it seems to have become closely identified with the National Union of Seamen enabling that union to have an influence in the distribution of charitable funds from which it was largely excluded with respect to the missions and homes.¹²⁶

122 SWB minutes, 12 Dec. 1941, PRO, LAB 26/104.

123 Graham White Report, 51.

124 PRO, MTG/3706/M9904/42 and M11644/42 contains correspondence on this issue.

125 Powell, *Shipping Federation*, 121.

126 A briefing memorandum for Mr Bevin, Minister of Labour, 24 Dec. 1942, mentions the strong support for the MNCS by the NUS and the view of the Officers' Federation that the MNCS was a propaganda

(Footnote Continued)

By July 1941, the Seamen's Welfare Board had sufficient information on the need for accommodation and recreational provision in ports and of voluntary sector provision and capability, to conclude that further augmentation was required. It was already encouraging the expansion of voluntary sector provision though no state finance was involved, and it might have relied on an agency relationship for state input. However, there were the reservations about standards, drink, religion and charity, indicated above. Further, the SWB was motivated by the ideal that seafarers deserved better standards and equal opportunities, and¹²⁷

...should be treated as ordinary citizens. When they have to seek accommodation away from home they should not have to go to religious bodies for such accommodation.

The standard should at least include proper bedrooms with hot and cold running water, bathrooms and showers, communal dining, smoking and writing spaces, and wet and dry canteen, for all of which proper payment should be made. Of course, the very provision of facilities reserved for seafarers separated them from the ordinary citizen, and gave them access to supplies not perhaps (in the austere circumstances of the day) available to non-combatants. Thus the Board decided to found its own establishments using funds from the Ministry of Labour and entered into an agreement with the National Service Hostels Corporation (set up by the Ministry) for their management.

Perhaps inevitably, state provision emulated that of the voluntary sector, in that there were to be two types of establishment, Merchant Navy Houses providing residential

(Footnote Continued)

organization; PRO, MT/3708/M1144. See also LPL, Fisher papers, 17, f.121, 27 March 1946, an interview with D.S Tennant, Secretary of the Navigators and Engineer Officers Union, who asserted that the MNCS made grants to suit itself and the NUS.

¹²⁷ SWB minutes, 10 July 1941, PRO, LAB 25/100.

accommodation and Merchant Navy Clubs offering restaurant, bar, games, dances and other entertainments. It will be

Table 5.5

Merchant Navy Houses opened by the Seamen's
Welfare Board: usage third quarter 1944

	Opened	Beds	Av. No. beds occ.	Av. weekly deficit £
Cardiff	25/7/42	54	50	23
Glasgow	22/3/43	149	125	96
Glasgow	17/5/43	63	54	98
Grimbsy	27/9/43	24	24	25
Hull	25/5/42	54	47	43
Leith	31/8/43	24	22	39
Liverpool	8/6/42	50	49	18
London	5/7/43	112		
Middlesborough		45		
Newcastle	16/2/42	31	27	26
Newcastle	21/6/43	24	22	48
Newport	24/1/44	39	34	53
Totals		669	454	470

Source: SWB minutes, 26 Oct. 1944, PRO, LAB 26/137

seen from Tables 5.5 and 5.6 that some twenty premises were opened as Houses or Clubs between 1942 and 1944. Except for the Merchant Navy House at Glasgow the residential accommodation offered similar numbers of beds to the smaller sailor's homes, and it will be noted that total provision at 669 beds was far outstripped by that in the voluntary sector.¹²⁸ However occupancy rates were high. Most of the buildings were requisitioned, but converting and equipping the Houses and Clubs had reached £217,000 and subsidising running costs £45,000 by 30 June 1944.¹²⁹ The rates charged, 28s. per week for full board, were slightly lower than those at the Sailors' Home, London (30s.), but applied at all Merchant Navy Houses, except that at London where rates were higher.¹³⁰ The operating subsidy, thus, approached £1 per bed per week, a situation

¹²⁸ See Appendix 19a.

¹²⁹ Graham White Report, 17.

¹³⁰ Sailors' Home, London, Committee minutes, 9 Sept. 1943, NMM, SAH 1/11.

Table 5.6

Merchant Navy Clubs opened by Seamen's Welfare
Board: usage third quarter 1944

	Opened	Av. weekly deficit £
Aberdeen	2/ 5/1944	41
Avonmouth	11/ 6/1943	25
Barry	21/ 2/1944	16
Hull	7/11/1942	43
Newport	25/ 7/1942	34
South Shields	8/ 6/1944	28
Swansea	22/ 3/1943	28
West Hartlepool	3/ 1/1944	27
Total		242

Source: SWB minutes, 26 Oct. 1944, PRO, LAB 26/137

which parallels the donated income received by the sailors' homes. The provision of bars at the Board's premises may have been seen as socially desirable, but, excluding wages, at the Merchant Navy Houses they lost money while at the Clubs they were profitable, but not excessively so. Overall the clubs required similar levels of subsidy.

In contrast to the costs incurred with its own establishments, state support for hostels and clubs run by non-state bodies, totalling no more than £11,000 to 1944, was negligible. Four mission premises were aided with cash grants towards equipment and adaptations, but nearly half the total, £5000, went to the Liverpool Seamen's Welfare Centre for its Ocean Club. This was a secular organization supported by the unions and shipowners, and presumably found special favour for that reason; unlike the Board's establishments the Ocean Club made a small profit (£56 weekly) in the third quarter of 1944.¹³¹ The existence of three other clubs at London, Glasgow and Cardiff, supported with funds from the British War Relief Society of America, administered by the Merchant Navy Club Co.Ltd, and also managed by the National Service Hostels Corporation, must

¹³¹ SWB committee papers, PRO, LAB 26/120, 26/139.

also be noted here as part of the war time initiative associated with the SWB.

War conditions undoubtedly contributed to the levels of co-ordination achieved by the Seamen's Welfare Board, and it facilitated the expansion of voluntary sector provision. Further, it provided an example of state intervention and provision and exposed the possibility of the 'nationalisation' of social welfare provision for seafarers. However, charitable funds and the extensive voluntary network, were vitally important in the rapid expansion of facilities for war needs. In the final analysis the total provision had remained a partnership between the state and the voluntary sector.

Post-war planning, the state and the voluntary sector

By the end of 1942, when provision for seafarers' welfare for war needs had taken shape, Ministry of Labour officials and the Seamen's Welfare Board began to give attention to broader issues, particularly the respective roles of the state and the voluntary sector in the future. It was clear the Board did not want the missions to have total control of the provision of accommodation: they should confine themselves to spiritual welfare. General Hickson (KGFS) saw accommodation as the sphere of the sailors' homes and the Merchant Navy houses while the missions might continue to operate from institutes and clubs.¹³² The Board planned a conference with the voluntary sector to bring the issues out into the open. At the same time the Minister of Labour was being briefed on the policy options he might adopt. As a minimum the voluntary societies must be required to define their spheres clearly, standards should be set and fund raising co-ordinated. Here the Minister might establish an advisory

¹³² SWB minutes, 24 Nov. 1942, 7 Jan. 1943, PRO, LAB 26/112 & 113.

council. The maximum policy was to absorb all societies into one welfare organization under an independent chairman; this would include the National Maritime Board and the KGFS.¹³³ However the societies valued their independence, but if the Missions to Seamen and the British Sailors' Society could be persuaded to merge the smaller ones might follow. The Minister was advised that to survive in seafarers' social welfare the missions must adopt first class modern standards, make the provision for its own sake without pushing religion, select the 'right' staff, and satisfy the only test from the state's viewpoint: was the right service being provided? The decision in 1943 to form a committee of inquiry over took the idea of a conference of voluntary societies, which was abandoned.

The Committee on Seamen's Welfare in Ports, appointed jointly by the Minister of Labour and National Service (Ernest Bevin) and the Minister of War Transport (Lord Leathers) in November 1943, was almost a sub-committee of the Seamen's Welfare Board. Four of its seven members had been members of the Board from the start while a fifth, Capt. D.S. Tennant, General Secretary of the Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union, had succeeded to Capt. W.H. Coombes' place on the Board.¹³⁴ Only the Chairman, H. Graham White, MP, and R.A. Witty, President of the Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors, seem to have been new faces. Their terms of reference placed their deliberations firmly in the context of International Labour Conference Recommendation 48 (Appendix 16b), against which they were:¹³⁵

...to consider the activities and functions respectively of the Government, the Shipping

133 24 Dec. 1942, PRO, MT9/3709/M11644. By this time the activities of the GWS had been reported in two white papers, Welfare work outside the factory, Cmd.6310, 1940/41. Seamen's welfare in port, Cmd. 6411, 1941/42.

134 The four were J.W. Booth, Chairman of Booth Steamship Co. Ltd., Lt.Gen. G.R.G. Hickson, KGFS, C. Jarman, Acting General Secretary, NUS, and R. Sneddon, General Manager, Shipping Federation; Graham White Report, 2.

135 Graham White Report, 5.

Industry and the Voluntary Organisations in the establishment and maintenance of hotels, hostels, clubs, recreational facilities and other amenities for Merchant Seamen in Great Britain...

They were also to consult the voluntary sector on appeals for funds for that form of welfare and for 'benevolent and samaritan' purposes whether applied in Britain or overseas. Recommendations were required on both areas.

With all the information already acquired by the Seamen's Welfare Board to hand, the Committee on Seamen's Welfare in Ports (CSWP), with a minimum of updating, could concentrate on reviewing past developments and seeking clarification of the attitudes of the interested parties to the minimum and maximum policies indicated above. Given the success of the Merchant Navy houses and clubs, the SWB had hoped to persuade the voluntary societies to relax their policies with respect to alcoholic drink and the admission of women, particularly seafarers' wives. This aim was clearly pursued by the CSWP when taking oral evidence. It tried to arrive at a single collective view from the voluntary sector on these points and on playing down of religion as well as on the issues of co-ordinated provision and control of appeals. The result is tabulated in Appendix 18c. The Committee reported approval of the war-time arrangement, recognition of the right of the shipping industry to be involved in seafarers' welfare, support for the preservation of the voluntary principal and opposition to the separation of hotel and club work from other welfare work.¹³⁶ On the drinks issue the sailors' homes generally favoured provision, and, significantly, the Mersey Missions to Seamen had changed its stance, though the two large national societies were still against provision. Most societies were now in favour of controlled admission of female companions. In contrast, the viewpoint of the

¹³⁶ Graham White Report, 19.

shipping industry, employers and employees, as represented by the National Maritime Board, was clear in favouring statutory control through a body comprised of owners and unions representatives, financed largely by levies on owners and seafarers, using the services of the voluntary societies if they conformed to standards.

Although the Committee on Seamen's Welfare excluded spiritual welfare from its deliberations,¹³⁷ it was inevitable that in making recommendations it would be also making a statement on the place of religious mission among seafarers. The evolution of welfare history from workmen's compensation, through unemployment insurance to the Beveridge Report,¹³⁸ pointed to welfare provision through state agencies based on employer and employee contributions without any involvement of the religious impulse. Although both the Seamen's Welfare Board and the CSWP excluded religious sector representation,¹³⁹ and therefore might be seen as biased against seamen's missions, to have recommended a laissez faire approach or to have suggested a central role for missions in a statutory controlling body, would have been contrary both to emerging government policy and to the spirit prevailing in government circles on social matters.

In the event the CSWP adopted the National Maritime Board stance and recommended a statutory Merchant Navy Welfare Board with executive and supervisory powers.¹⁴⁰ Although the members were to be appointed by the Minister (responsible for shipping), this was in effect a gift to

137 Graham White Report, 7. It accepted temporal welfare (satisfaction of purely material needs) and benevolent or samaritan welfare (relief of distress).

138 Social insurance and allied services (Cmd 5404, Nov. 1942).

139 The KBFS (a secular organization) represented the voluntary sector, but the part played by General Hickson does not come through as being particularly favourable towards the societies and there is little sign of his being especially concerned for religious motives, any more than the other members of these bodies.

140 See Appendix 16d for the list of powers recommended by the CSWP and a summary of its conclusions and recommendations.

the NMB which was to recommend equal numbers of owners and seafarers representatives. Powers over inspection, take over, standards and closure alone would have seriously curtailed voluntary sector freedom in making provision, but they would also have to prove their legitimacy by seeking registration with the Board which would approve all appeals, and comply with standards of management and financial procedures: almost every aspect of their operations would be invaded by the proposed Board. The only sop to the voluntary sector was the suggestion of an advisory council on which their representatives could sit.

Matters were now polarized. Undoubtedly most missions saw temporal welfare as integral to their religious mission, without which they were 'emasculated'. In its evidence to the CSWP, the British Sailors' Society representative, however, had almost denied its religious motivation when questioned about its prime aim:¹⁴¹

Religious work could not be said to be the most important part of their work because it did not employ nearly so many people as the running of hostels...[which was]...the major part of the Society's business...and an end in itself.

But it restated the absense of a dividing line between temporal and spiritual welfare in its almost violent response to the publication of the report (see Appendix 8d). This statement saw little justification in any of the conclusions or recommendations of the Report. However it highlights a fundamental problem with such organizations, particularly those having adequate funds, that of finding it difficult if not impossible to view their chosen sphere except from within their own perspective. The BSS response was an arguement for self preservation, not for a balanced provision. In contrast the Missions to Seamen had emphasised to the CSWP the religious work of their chaplains, accommodation being incidental; if industry took

¹⁴¹ CSWP minutes, 17 Feb. 1944, PRO, MT9/4084/M13087/43.

charge of temporal welfare the Society would still be appealing for funds to maintain its other work. Nevertheless this Mission was seriously troubled by the Report and the best way to respond, but unlike the BSS it could turn to its Church for counselling.

It is possible that the Graham White Report's ideas were couched in terms too strong to ensure their carriage into effect. Certainly officials in the Ministry of War Transport saw them as controversial, and judged that the seamen's missions had the ability to mount a strong opposition against the proposals. As the industrial side, unions and owners, were not without powerful voices this could lead to a situation where legislation might be in the balance.¹⁴² The argument seems valid as the missions could certainly turn to their phalanxes of bishops, naval officers, aristocratic patrons as well as middle class supporters all over the country, while the industry could turn to the labour movement (though not yet to a Labour government). Shipowners might seem to have had something of a dilemma, though their support was more to the sailors' homes and secular welfare, while for them the religious imperative would not have justified thwarting the seamen's unions. Further, the National Maritime Board gave the industry a unified voice, which, in religious terms, the missions lacked. While the British Sailors' Society might gesticulate, and the smaller missions were either too weak or discredited, only the Missions to Seamen could produce a national religious leader. Thus the reaction of seamen's missions collectively really hinged on the stance taken by the Anglican mission. However, it was not a case of simply preventing the creation of a statutory body; a permanent peacetime co-ordinating body having some authority had to be formed to replace the Seamen's Welfare Board,

142 Memorandum from J.D.Walker to the Archbishop of Canterbury's assistant, 30 Jan. 1943, LPL.
Fisher papers, 5, ff.25-7.

essentially a war-time mechanism, which would lose its influence once the restrictions which gave it power were removed. The shipping industry was now used to having a hand in seafarers' welfare and its claim to be involved had to be recognized; equally the voluntary sector as the major providers deserved a proper voice in any new body.

The three years between the publication of the Graham White report (5 January 1945) and the formation of the Merchant Navy Welfare Board (March 1948), during which the Seamen's Welfare Board continued to function, was a period of re-adjustment and behind the scenes negotiation in which the voluntary sector came to accept control on a voluntary basis, involvement of industry and more flexibility in some of the matters which antagonised the unions, while the unions were persuaded to accept that the voluntary sector was an essential element in seafarers' welfare and to adopt a more conciliatory approach. There is strong evidence to support the contention that the Revd. Mervyn Armstrong played a major role in this process, being equipped by experience and character to act as a mediator.¹⁴³ The sources indicate that, as well as in 1944/45, throughout the time he was Vicar of Margate he was advising Archbishop Fisher and meeting with the various parties concerned. His evaluation was that the missions were not being co-operative or responding to changing circumstances, and that they were wrong to hold out for their own hostels instead of concentrating on spiritual work. Legislation was unlikely, but the Government was urging them to work out an agreed scheme. Without co-operation, unpleasant controversy would break out.¹⁴⁴ Fisher was relying totally on

143 1906-1966. Missions to Seamen Chaplain, Victoria Dock, London, 1943-44. Seconded to Ministry of War Transport as Advisor on Seamen's Welfare & member of London FWC, 1944-45. Vicar of Margate, 1946-49, Crockfords Clerical Directory (1976). This assessment is based on a sizeable correspondence and other documentation in the LPL. Fisher papers, 1944-49. Assessment of Revd. S.G. Hooper, "...first class... a man's man...so much a man of the world... secular outlook..."; 27 Oct. 1945, 114, f.263. His War Transport experience is summarised in 6, f.21, 4 Dec. 1944.

144 Armstrong's Memoranda on the Graham White Report, LPL. Fisher papers, 4 June 1945, 6, f.60,

(Footnote Continued)

Armstrong's advice and judgement, to the extent that he drafted the Archbishop's address to the Annual Meeting of the Missions to Seamen in May 1946. This made a passing reference to the Graham White Report, paid tribute to the Minister of War Transport, and referred to the search for a workable scheme which the missions could support, effectively signalling the need for a change of direction. Though the KGFS and the shipping industry saw this as a positive move, it was a shock to the Missions to Seamen. However, it led to them undertaking a major policy review. Later in the year, Armstrong drafted a conciliatory letter on co-operation which was signed by the unions and sent to Archbishop Fisher, and he was also involved in assisting the Missions to Seamen with their policy review which was to be submitted to the Archbishop.¹⁴⁵

It was only after lengthy negotiations during 1947, that the Merchant Navy Welfare Board (MNWB) emerged as a non statutory company limited by guarantee and governed by articles of association, a kind of National Maritime Board. Each of the three main groupings, the shipowners, the unions and the voluntary societies were equally represented with eight members each, while the Government had four representatives.¹⁴⁶ Although the MNWB constitution embodied the key elements of the Graham White Report (preventing duplication, setting standards, controlling appeals, a regional welfare structure), there were no statutory powers, the registration of seafarers' charities was omitted, and finance was not to come from an industrial levy. The scope of this new Board was, however, extended to include welfare overseas. Perhaps a key element in securing the co-operation of the voluntary sector was the ability of

(Footnote Continued)

11 Oct, 1946, 6, f.85. He was officially representing the Archbishop in the negotiations, and by 27 March 1946 had already met officials at the Ministry of Transport, Officers' Federation, Shipping Federation. The Archbishop gave him a free hand to use his own judgement. 17, ff.118-34.

145 Fisher papers, 117, f.168, 14 Oct. 1946; 117, ff.132-77.

146 A copy of the draft constitution dated January, 1948, MNWB records, held at its head office. Lancaster Gate, London. See Appendix 19a.

the MNWB to make grants to outside bodies, while industrial co-operation was further influenced by an agreement with the Ministry of National Insurance for a financial contribution which would form the main source of income. In effect a proportion of the National Insurance contributions paid by shipowners in respect of non-domiciled seafarers, was made available for welfare work.¹⁴⁷ Table 5.7 shows

Table 5.7

Merchant Navy Welfare Board, income 1950-1970
(1914 values in brackets)

	Ministry of Nat. Insurance	Other sources	Grants to vol. socs.
	£	£	£
1950	102500 (36092)	19200 (6761)	24277 (8548)
1955	166300 (44825)	7841 (2113)	31573 (8510)
1960	170000 (40189)	15076 (3564)	45804 (10828)
1965*	138200 (27475)+	15126 (3007)	56231 (11179)
1970	200000 (33333)	16175 (2696)	73067 (12178)

Source: Appendix 19b.* 40 wks.+ 52 wks=£179660(35718)

the significance of this source. As the main source of income was linked to the manpower, it could be expected to decline with the reduction in Merchant Navy manpower.

The constitution of the Merchant Navy Welfare Board was perhaps the best balance that could be achieved between the interests concerned, while the lack of executive power was not too significant in the post-war context. Mechanisms for local as well as national co-ordination were preserved in the regional seamen's welfare structure. Rising inflation, the obvious need to refurbish or rebuild premises, and the ability of the Board and the KGFS to make financial grants in aid, were all devices tending to constrain subscribers to the constitution. But the Board may also have been lacking in initiative. As early as 1950,

¹⁴⁷ MNWB, Annual report for 1948/49. Thirty organizations subscribed to the constitution in 1946, see Appendix 19b. National insurance funding was discontinued in at the end of 1962 (Secretary, MNWB).

comments were made that its executive machinery was weak, and that it had "...to be constantly prodded into action, and is content to let difficulties arise rather than take steps to avoid them."¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless the MNWB did expand its provision to seven hotels and three clubs by 1970, after continuing the rationalization started by the Seamen's Welfare Board at the end of the war.¹⁴⁹ In 1970, its hotels together accommodated an average of 270 seafarers each night, thus continuing to satisfy the unions' objective of having secular accommodation available at least in some of the more important ports. However it should be noted that overall the hotels and clubs always made operating losses, at times in excess of twenty per cent of expenditure.

By 1970, the independent sailors' homes sector was at an end. With the exception of the Methodist run Queen Victoria Seamen's Rest in London, seafarers' institutes or clubs and accommodation was provided by national bodies, missions, or the Merchant Navy Welfare Board, of which the missions had remained the major providers. The Board's co-ordinating role, locally through its port welfare committees, and nationally, was accepted and the existence of this machinery provided a forum for all the welfare agencies working for seafarers in the United Kingdom, including those which have remained outside the scope of this study. In the International Christian Maritime Association (1969), the missions now had a forum for their religious work world-wide. The future for them pointed to increasing co-operation.¹⁵⁰ But in Britain the shipping industry was about to enter rapid decline. By 1985, the MNWB had disposed of all but three establishments, though

¹⁴⁸ Ministry of Transport, discussions on seamen's welfare in any future war, 17 Nov. 1950, and 20 Dec. 1950, which contains a policy statement for war time arrangements; PRO, NT9/5493/M5032/50.

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix 17c.

¹⁵⁰ For missions' current perception of their role see W.J.D. Down, On course together: a survey of the churches' ministry in the seafaring world in the late 1980s (Missions to Seamen, 1989).

the co-ordinating function was still important, and missions were having rapidly to adapt their operations in Britain.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

In order to bring into perspective 150 years of British voluntary spiritual and social welfare activity for seafarers, this final chapter opens with an overview of general social welfare and religious developments in Britain and considers seafarers' organizations in those contexts. The discussion then turns to aspects of change in shipping and seafaring, and the role of the shipping industry in the welfare of its manpower. The main lines of development in seamen's missionary activity and in sailors' homes are then considered. Before coming to some final conclusions, four other areas are discussed, the image presented by the dual system of voluntary provision for serving seafarers, secularisation and the missions, the extent to which missions were central to seafaring needs, and the limited nature of state intervention. It will be suggested that collectively, in its origins and evolution, provision for seafarers' religious and social welfare was typical of the wider voluntary sector.

Well before the nineteenth century, social welfare provision had been based on a dual system of state and voluntary provision. The former, the parish centred 'poor law', catered only for the utterly destitute, while the latter though of wider scope, was fragmented and haphazard and certainly not universal. In contrast to the low level of concern during the eighteenth century, the following century evolved as an age of great social conscience and massive activity in the voluntary sector. Despite attempts at reform, state provision remained rooted in the 'poor law', though increasingly the state contributed to welfare provision often by means of funding the efforts of the voluntary sector. The change in attitude was significant and the reasons for it complex. The revival of religion was

certainly a key element, though it had its harsh face in its evangelicalism, notably the doctrine of self help. Poverty became more apparent as the growing population packed into the towns and cities, and awareness of social deprivation became extensive through the increase in popular publishing, newspapers, magazines and books, writers like Charles Dickens, and towards the end of the century, social research such as that of Charles Booth. Fear of social upheaval if the needs of the underprivileged masses were not given attention also played its part, but so did the growing middle class with increasing wealth and leisure. The twentieth century has seen an increased acceptance of the state's role in social matters, evident in the provisions for national insurance before World War I, advanced through the effects of that war, held back by the depression, but brought to a maximum through World War II, leading to the full 'welfare state' from 1948. Here the social leavening of both wars is acknowledged as being of key importance. But state provision did not negate the voluntary sector, which remained in an agency relationship or moved the base line by seeking higher standards or identifying new needs deserving attention. The nineteenth century voluntary sector, often motivated by religious principle and frequently focusing on particular forms of need, evolved large national organizations, many of which survive to the present, though often without the overt religious features of the past. The twentieth century also produced such bodies, but they were much less likely to have a religious basis. Support for voluntary causes was as widely spread, if not more so, and more likely to be given out of human concern without any underlying religious justification.

This is a scenario which the evolution of social welfare for seafarers matches closely. Where it diverges to some extent is in the continued provision of a major proportion of welfare amenities for seafarers by religious bodies, the seamen's missions, though even here parallels may be found in, for example, the social work of the

Salvation Army. Despite Agnes Weston, organizations for serving seafarers had fewer women in their leadership, as missionaries or on management committees, than the voluntary sector generally, though they are in ample evidence in the lists of subscribers. However, missions epitomised voluntary welfare in the last century in their embracing of that pseudo-religious tenet of faith typical of voluntary societies in that century, temperance. Although the temperance movement failed in its objective then, the reduction in drunkenness in the first half of this century being attributed to changes in society more than as a legacy of the temperance movement, seamen's missions may have been somewhat atypical in their adherence to temperance principles beyond 1945.

Of the broad threefold division of the Christian religion in Britain, Anglicanism, non-conformity and Roman Catholicism, only the second was showing signs of vitality in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Methodists, Baptists and Congregationalists in particular were building on the religious revival of the previous century and would continue to expand through the nineteenth. The Roman Catholics were still very much a minority and the Established Church, in a sense most widespread, was still in decline as a force except for its as yet uninfluential evangelical wing. But the evangelicalism of the free churches with that of Anglicans, became the most potent form of Christianity and might be said to be a particular mark of nineteenth century religion. It was certainly bound up with the revival of the Church of England from the 1840s and was closely associated with the bulk of voluntary welfare. As the century progressed, high church Anglicanism became more influential, especially in inner city parishes, and the Roman Catholics became much more organized and significant. Although participation in organized religion reached its peak in the 1880s, well over half the total population remained outside, the extent of irreligion being revealed through clerical experience in World War I. The decline in

religious affiliation has continued throughout the twentieth century, though particular sectors could show growth from time to time. For the traditional free churches the trend has been steadily downward, in contrast to which the Roman Catholic Church has had a period of significant expansion. In the Church of England, Anglo-catholicism was in the ascendancy in the 1920s and evangelicalism in the 1960s, though overall participation has declined. Even the now much stronger Catholic Church experienced decline in the 1960s. A notable feature of more recent years has been the the dispelling of traditional distrust of Roman Catholicism and acceptance of it as an equal by the other two main sectors of English Christianity, and a growing ecumenism in Christianity generally.

Relating the development of seamen's missions to the foregoing, it may, as with voluntary social welfare, also be argued that in many respects the religious dimension of the voluntary sector for serving seafarers was typical of the religious scene in Britain generally. Certainly it arose out of the evangelicalism and revivalism prevalent in Britain as a whole, and its origins were very much rooted in ordinary people. Though its ecumenism in the 1820s was perhaps some what unusual for its time, close parallels may be seen in the home mission movement, notably the city missions, and in its overseas dimension even to some extent in the nineteenth century foreign missions. New initiatives, as with the emergence of a national Anglican mission in the 1850s and the formation of the Roman Catholic national mission in the 1920s, reflect resurgences in those churches while the seamen's missions' ecumenism in recent years has its parallel in that of Christianity generally. The missions in the Bethel tradition adhered to evangelicalism throughout and many of the Anglican mission chaplains were of that allegiance during the nineteenth century though in the present century that approach seems to have had less emphasis.

For the shipping industry and the seafarers employed

by it, the contrast between 1820 and 1970 is massive along almost every dimension except the fundamental desocialising effects of separation from 'normal' life ashore. This includes deprivation from religious support (for those who want it), and the requirement for seafarers in port for certain basic needs to be satisfied with ease, whether accommodation, recreation, communication, or support in stressful circumstances. Technical change in shipping, including wood to steel, sail to power, coal to oil, general traders to containerships, port elaboration and migration, flag signalling to VHF radio, has had a major impact on seafarers' working conditions and on the skills and composition of the workforce. Seafaring, though still a dangerous occupation, has been made much safer, and the workforce lost some of its notorious instability. While technology was important, a part was also played by the huge amount of regulation to which shipping and seafaring has been subjected in the period of this study. The circumstances surrounding the seafarer in port, in particular, were adjusted by the mid-nineteenth century regulation of the employment process, but a part in this was also played by social welfare activity. However, the gradual reduction of the more extreme anti-social activities of parasites in port districts owe as much to general factors, such as the advance of the steamship or the spread of the rail network, as to particular measures. But it should be noted that similar activities may reappear where and whenever conditions combine to permit it, as in Liverpool during World War II. In the second half of the nineteenth century the needs of steam engines and the huge growth in British trade drew into merchant seafaring large numbers of labourers to handle the coal and significant numbers of seafarers from other countries to fill traditional capacities. In the twentieth century, larger, more efficient ships reversed this trend, and latterly, with overseas competition, produced a rapid decline in British manpower. This same scenario, however, led to ever increasing numbers of men, British and foreign, passing through United Kingdom ports increasingly rapidly,

multiplying the effort required of those mission chaplains and lay workers who attempted to reach every seafarer visiting 'their' ports. The through-put of ships was at a maximum, approaching 1,000 ship entries per day between 1875 and 1910, while it seems likely that the numbers of seafarers arriving in United Kingdom ports, peaked in the 1930s at perhaps 9,000 daily.¹

Taking the period under consideration as a whole, the involvement of the shipping industry, in the form of the shipowners, in the satisfaction of seafarers' needs has been small and fragmented. Of course there were notable examples of provision, such as Green's Sailors' Home, in London. The involvement of owners in the voluntary sector, particularly the sailors' homes must also be recognised, though closer analysis of donations and committee attendance, where data exists, might reveal a lower level of active involvement than annual reports suggest. Until the formation of the Merchant Navy Welfare Board there was no industry-wide involvement with provision for seafarers' needs, and even then owners were not called upon to provide much financial support until the 1970s. It might be argued that the existence of the voluntary sector obviated any responsibility the shipping industry might have felt for the seafaring workforce between voyages. But did any employer accept a responsibility for its employees which had been 'laid off' owing to a reduction in business? However, the shipping industry can never avoid its responsibility for the adverse affects of payment arrangements, retained into the twentieth century, which encouraged crimping activity of the worst kind in ports over such a long period. Though crimping reappeared during the second world war at least the element of entrapment (artificial destitution) was not present.

The rapid spread of seamen's missions in the 1820s

¹ See Appendices 1d and 1e.

ensured there was a missionary presence, at least for a time in many United Kingdom ports. The main purpose was evangelization and the bulk of volunteer and paid missionary effort went into that. It seems unlikely that more than a few societies had sufficient funding to achieve much in the way of social welfare after financing Bethel lofts and chapels, though the need was recognised, not least by George Charles Smith, leading to the formation of separate societies, though of these only the sailors' homes form part of this study.² The method of missionary outreach involving visitation, literature distribution, correspondence and preaching, may be identified in three forms, the independent, self-motivated, self-financed ministry, the voluntary team ministry, a kind of religious brotherhood, under the auspices of a society and the paid ministry using chaplains and lay missionaries, where the society members in the main only provided finance. In the first two may be seen the true application of the evangelical principle of the ministry of all Christians, whereas in the third it was delegated. The first is exemplified by John Ashley's early work, the second by the Bethel company approach, and third ultimately by Smith himself and then by all seamen's missions after the early years. It is important to note here, the role of serving and former seafarers in the initial spread of seamen's missions and subsequently, and they also played a part in the development of the network of sailors' homes. Indeed, the numbers of former seafarers later identified in the roles of seamen's chaplains and missionaries, and those serving on committees, supports the argument that seafarer involvement in mission and social welfare activity was significant throughout the period under discussion. The naval presence looms large on committees, but merchant seafarers were also involved.

² For a recent outline of seafarers' welfare organisations in general see Jon Press, 'Philanthropy and the British shipping industry, 1815-1850', International Journal of Maritime History, 1 (1989), 107-27.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, the bulk of seamen's mission work was through paid missionaries though some unpaid part-time support often existed. The 1830s and 1840s saw something of a decline after the enthusiasms of the 1820s, until the main new foundation of the mid-century years, the Anglican Missions to Seamen, appeared in 1856. At this stage the only other mission having national and international aspirations had been the still comparatively weak British and Foreign Sailors' Society. Like the Bethel societies, this new mission was at first mainly concerned with its spiritual work, little direct provision being made for seafarers' social needs. It was the marked expansion of the branch networks of these two national societies in the latter decades of the last century, rather than any growth in local missions, which went some way to matching the expansion of shipping and ensured a presence in the majority of United Kingdom ports as well as in some overseas. But this was also the period in which missions moved positively into the provision of social amenities, including accommodation, until then the sphere of sailors' homes. This was achieved on the strength of more efficient fund raising and growing stature. Thus missionary activity in considerable measure moved from direct evangelistic confrontation to the offering of social facilities backed by religious services and 'quiet' discussion where opportunity occurred, the predominant form in the middle years of the twentieth century. The two World Wars, raising public awareness of seafarers, benefitted missions financially, with the 1939-45 war proving particularly significant for missions' social and religious work as well as financially. Missions proved themselves reluctant to accept co-ordination or direction in the inter-war years, particularly in the provision of accommodation which they now dominated to the detriment of sailors' homes. But the creation of a new secular section, the Merchant Navy houses and clubs, and the threat of state assumption of their social activities, then considered essential to the religious effort, ensured their acceptance of the post-war compromise, participation in the

Merchant Navy Welfare Board. The Missions to Seamen and the British Sailors' Society with the now very active Apostleship of the Sea, survived to dominate the provision of social amenities for serving seafarers in the 1950s and 1960s, though many local missions had been absorbed, had closed or were unlikely to last much longer.

Sailors' homes were developed as the main answer to the social needs of seafarers in port as perceived by the missionaries and philanthropists of the first half of the nineteenth century. The conceptualisation in detail was that of George Charles Smith, but establishing both the original London and Liverpool homes, and the extended network in the 1850s was the work of Anglicans. Homes were intended as the answer to the manipulation of seafarers by boarding house keepers and crimps and for a minority of seafarers they served this purpose. Sailors' homes had an important exemplary role in providing employment and financial services for seafarers, in competition against the less than satisfactory practices of shipowners and private agencies, whether or not associated with crimping. They provided both a trial operation and a model for the state run service. The resultant agency relationship was particularly close in the large homes in the third quarter of the last century, and although it was reduced later when the Board of Trade's Marine Department developed its own premises in many ports, homes were part of the referral network and some retained reduced agency roles. Their role as focuses for a port's voluntary effort for seafarers must also be noted. Again it was most noticable in the larger ports such as London and Liverpool, and it existed into the second half of the twentieth century as well as in the nineteenth. Homes also led the way in the provision of secular recreational activities for residents, though it was the missions, who through their institutes developed secular as well as religious activities accessible to all seafarers. Nevertheless, given the size of ports like London and Liverpool, though the homes were well used, only a small proportion of men in port at any one time could

have stayed in them. However, with numbers of residents in the hundreds, they offered the largest concentration of seafarers, and were seen as a threat by boarding house keepers, slopsellers and others who made a living from seamen. The extension of the network in the 1850s produced well used homes, as at Portsmouth, and marginal ones as at Plymouth, while it is clear from the Bristol example that several must have been underused. After the 1860s, there were no completely new initiatives, unless the Rests for naval seamen established by Agnes Weston are included. Homes from the 1850s were local and largely static institutions though some managed rebuilding before World War I. Some were clearly adversely affected from the 1880s with the introduction of 'transmission of seamen's' wages which eliminated the necessity of non local seafarers remaining in the port of arrival until ships paid off. While temporary increases in use could be achieved by accommodating groups like cattlemen, and war conditions might produce increased use, with the exception of London, homes were generally not redeveloped. In the 1950s while missions and Merchant Navy houses were fulfilling their accommodation role to better standards, any role they had had with men in need had become a matter for the welfare state. As a group homes had effectively disappeared by the 1970s. Their collective weakness may be seen in the absence of a national organization, which had it existed might have obviated the separate development of a state network under the Seamen's Welfare Board in the 1940s. From this viewpoint, it was unfortunate that although the state had endorsed the establishment of homes in 1850 at the same time as it created the Marine Department, the time was not right for a more positive move into this form of state operation.

It was unfortunate for seamen's welfare organizations, that the social welfare mission was developed along two fronts leading to confusion in both seafarers' and supporters' eyes as to their proper role. In this context no distinction is made between missions so called and

sailors' homes as to the varying degrees over the years to which both serviced the religious and social welfare objectives. Missions and homes both functioned as places of final resort for destitute seafarers, in the 1890s and 1930s as well as the 1820s, which left some people, seafarers and the public ashore, with the impression that they were concerned only with those seafarers who had fallen to the bottom of the social ladder. In practice much of the social welfare effort was directed at providing alternative facilities to those offered in the open market. But even where this was recognised, what the voluntary societies offered was seen as having strings attached in the form of high charges, lack of the right atmosphere, inflexibility, and religion itself. The continued existence of privately run seamen's boarding houses, in the larger ports into the 1960s, is evidence of a sizeable body of seafarers requiring such accommodation and using it in preference to missions or homes, or, from the middle of World War II, the Merchant Navy houses/ hotels. However, voluntary sector subsistence and accommodation at least widened seafarer choice and offered an alternative to those who wished to be sure of avoiding the less reputable boarding houses. For seafarers who were 'religiously minded' their attraction must have been especially strong. A preference for voluntary sector establishments also existed among shipowners, responsible for maintaining their apprentices on shore, and foreign consuls supporting their own 'distressed' seafarers.

An issue which affects all religious organizations is that of secularization, the progressive adoption of secular norms and practices at the expense of religious standards and activities, in order to retain a place for a religious organization in society. Arguably, this process commenced in seamen's missions as soon as their attention was diverted from religious work into forms of social welfare, in the early 1820s in the case of some Bethel societies. The counter argument that no religious progress can be made until basic human needs are satisfied, in the case of the

seafarer, subsistence and accommodation in port, does not stand up in this context as anything which is allowed to interfere with the primacy of religious truths must have a secularizing effect. However, if, as with some of George Charles Smith's social welfare societies, the religious promoters withdrew to concentrate on religious mission it might be argued that secularization had been at least temporarily arrested. Secularization is generally a gradual process and in the early years of seamen's missions, social welfare provision was so heavily encumbered with religious activity that its effects could pass unnoticed. The separate development of the mainly secular sailors' homes might also be seen as separating secular aspects from the missions themselves. Certainly the Missions to Seamen in its early development avoided the intrusion of secular influences. However, once seamen's missions accepted the need to have their own seamen's institutes providing non religious recreational activities, cafeteria facilities, with perhaps education and accommodation, religious aspects were inevitably removed to one side, and the forces of secularization might be seen to have penetrated the whole movement. This may be placed as early as 1856 when the British and Foreign Sailors' Society opened its Sailors' Institute in London, and from the 1870s in the case of the Missions to Seamen. As churches and chapels generally were similarly increasingly involved in secular activities it might be argued that seamen's missions were in step with national trends. From the late nineteenth century, seafarers generally must have begun to associate missions as well as homes with the satisfaction of social needs to which might be attached a price tag of a religious overtone. Once identified with these activities missions were drawn increasingly into the management of secular establishments to the detriment of religious mission. Even in the nineteenth century the names adopted for mission establishments, 'sailors' institute' and 'sailor's rest', tended to conceal the religious objective of the building. The use of the term 'seamen's church and institute' by the Missions to Seamen is significant here. But the general

thesis might also be true of the word 'Bethel' as those ignorant of Hebrew might not recognise that it was a synonym for church or chapel. In the middle years of this century the religious base was further concealed with the use of names such as 'Anchor House', 'Atlantic House' and 'Kingston House', while titles like 'International Seamen's Centre' could attach as well to seamen's facilities in communist China. Pressure from the Seamen's Welfare Board during the 1939-45 war undoubtedly increased the process, of which the abandonment by some missions of their stand against drink, which had achieved almost the status of a tenet of religion, must from this standpoint be seen as particularly important stage in secularization.

Perhaps Gilbert's analysis of the rise and decline of religious organizations (p. 104) might provide a basis for the evaluation of seamen's missions, though as missions are not churches his four phases, progressive, marginal, recessive and residual might not be a proper match. His analysis related to membership retention but it is almost impossible to quantify seafarer membership even if it is defined as habitual usage. Certainly the progressive phase may be seen in the Thames revival and the rapid spread of the Bethel movement. The marginal phase is linked with membership retention and internal regeneration through improved facilities for recruitment of members children. To some extent the special focus on youthful seafarers, deck boys and apprentices, fits as does the increased involvement of missions with institutes from the 1870s. If so the marginal phase for seamen's missions in Britain lasted to the 1970s. The rationalisation of mission activity in line with the decline of British shipping activity might be identified with Gilbert's recessive phase, except that activity overseas remains strong. Certainly the major missions cannot be considered residual. However, Gilbert's analysis can be applied to individual Bethel societies having free church similarities. The Plymouth Bethel society seems to match more closely the approximate dates which Gilbert gives his phases. Again its

progressive phase was in the 1820s, followed by the marginal phase between the 1830s and the 1920s. The recessive phase spanned the inter-war years, with the decline of organized seamen's mission activity, while the post war years to closure in 1980, with little serious seamen's mission activity, marked the residual phase.

But there is another dimension to marginality: the significance of seamen's missions to the seafaring population as a whole. Even at times of high unemployment, the majority of British seafarers were always in employment, and it was from the shipowners or the masters of ships that income came, though some control came to be exercised by the state. Seamen's missions were certainly important pressure groups for social improvement among seafarers, but seafarers in need were also among the generality of the population assisted by general welfare organizations, including those of the state. This became particularly the case after the Second World War. Nor of course were seafarers exclusively the preserve of the seamen's missions, as on shore those so minded could always frequent local churches and chapels. The early missionary activity had shown that seafarers were as religiously minded as the rest of the population, but if seafarers were typical then as with the rest of society, especially the poorer classes, for many it would have been irrelevant, and as time progressed it would have been marginal for an increasingly larger proportion of seafarers. The place of religion in the lives of merchant seafarers requires further study, but the marginality suggested here appears in Lummis' study of East Anglian fishermen.³ The attitude to religion was utilitarian, a form of entertainment or

³ Trevor Lummis, *Occupation and society: East Anglian fishermen, 1850-1914* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), chap. 12, 'Religion: practice and belief'. The extent to which this example was typical amongst British fishing communities needs investigation. Discussion at the North Sea Society Conference on the 'Social history of maritime labour' (Stavanger, 25-27 August 1989), suggested a less marginal role for the specialist fishermen's missions among North Sea fishermen in the second half of the nineteenth century.

valued only for the material aid offered. Sunday working was normal and superstitious practices attracted deeper commitment.

State intervention in seafarers' welfare on shore was negligible until the developments during the 1939-45 war, when through the activities of the Seamen's Welfare Board the circumstances were changed dramatically. Indeed, the Graham White report was such a close parallel to the Beveridge report that it might have seemed that merchant seafarers could have been provided with their own version of the welfare state. Certainly that phase of seafarers' welfare provision was coloured by the same collective thinking that influenced the proposals on welfare nationally. The question as to why the Merchant Navy Welfare Board did not emerge as a statutory body when state control of many other services was being introduced is not easily answered, though it might lie in the comparatively small size of seafarers' welfare compared with the scale of other nationalisation issues then being handled. With the inclusion of seafarers in the national welfare system, it might have been felt that enough had been achieved, though that alone would have fallen well short of the International Labour Conference recommendations of 1936. As hospitals were absorbed into the health service the absorption of sailors' homes, clubs and hostels into a state seamen's welfare system should not have been difficult. The full involvement of the state lasted the nine years of the Seamen's Welfare Board though the Merchant Navy Welfare Board was an influential legacy in which the state retained representation for a number of years. Missions and homes emerged from this phase relatively unfettered though more prepared to co-operate to achieve a balanced level of provision.

As focuses for philanthropy and voluntary effort seamen's missions and sailors' homes seem to have been typical nineteenth century products progressing from a local to a national dimension and in the latter context

showing considerable success in fund raising. Although no name of the stature of a Shaftesbury or a Barnado attaches to missions, perhaps the nearest being Passmore Edwards, missions had their share of large donors as well as royal and aristocratic support. Missions were also typical in their adherence to and advocacy of temperance principles and activities. Despite the discussion on religious marginality, missions and homes made themselves the principal providers of social and religious welfare support for serving seafarers throughout the period under discussion. Often the sole providers, they fulfilled a role that the shipping industry or the state would not or could not service. Even if only a minority of seafarers made use of them few could have been unaware of what was available such was the almost blanket coverage of British ports (as well as a considerable provision in overseas ports) that was achieved. Many seafarers have benefitted in some way or another from their existence. A weakness in overall provision lay in the lack of a co-ordinating system for much of the period, and in the inconsistencies which could appear. The multiplicity of local societies was untidy, and deprived them of support nationally. Some of those that survived beyond 1945 can be accused of self-perpetuation in the interest of employees, and of fulfilling their constitutional role inadequately. Others have continued in genuine service of the seafarer adapting to the changing context with a spiritual and social mission which is much less centred on buildings, focuses more on individual contact with seafarers, and is ecumenical to a considerable degree.

In a study having a context of some complexity and covering a lengthy time scale, it is inevitable that some facets have to be given scant treatment while it is likely that others emerge for which separate research studies are required. The lack of individual academic studies of the three international seamen's missions has hindered the

integrated approach which has been attempted here. Such studies would reveal the internal workings of those missions, and provide a more accurate understanding of the scale of seamen's mission work over their lengthy existence. Although there would be some repetition, more studies of local missions and homes would show differences between societies as well as establishing the longevity of those societies. Indeed, of the wide range of sources consulted in this study, some merit more detailed investigation. For example, it has only been possible to examine small random samples of the extensive Entry Book data for the Sailors' Home, London. There is much to be learned about the social composition of seafarers using that Home from a more elaborate analysis of those ledgers, both as a contribution to the understanding of the seafarer ashore and for comparing sailors' home users with the generality of seafarers. Records of missions and homes are also capable of providing insights into the staffing of voluntary sector institutions, while the survival of numerous illustrations, descriptions and plans, provides ample material for an architectural study. Individual merchant seafaring careers have been little studied to reveal the detail of seafarers lives in port and between voyages, and in this context to show the extent to which voluntary establishments featured. Those included in Appendix 4 provide examples, that of Wainwright being especially complete and deserving of more detailed analysis in a study concerned with such careers. The collective attitude of seafarers to religion is not well understood, and there is scope for a study using oral techniques to provide insights covering the middle of this century. An example is the oral archive of seafarers' reminiscences at the National Maritime Museum compiled by Campbell McMurray, which could not be consulted for this study owing to pressure of time. Unfortunately most autobiographical works say little about seafarers' lives ashore. Nevertheless studies of a wider range than those seen by this author, together with that of maritime literature, suggest another avenue of investigation which deserves

attention. Studies of other private sector provision for seafarers' needs in particular ports would also be of value, while, as far as is known, voluntary provision for the welfare of seafarers in the Royal Navy has yet to receive attention. Finally, there is scope for the more general study of social and economic maritime history in the twentieth century, not least for statistical studies of the numbers of merchant seafarers.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1a

NUMBER AND NET TONNAGE OF SHIPPING REGISTERED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1815-1970

YEAR	SAILING SHIPS					STEAM SHIPS					MOTOR SHIPS					ALL SHIPS		
	No.	%	'000 TONS	%	AV. TONS	No.	%	'000 TONS	%	AV. TONS	No.	%	'000 TONS	%	AV. TONS	No.	'000 TONS	AV. TONS
1815	21661	100	2447	99	112	8	0	1	0	125						21869	2478	113
1816	22014	100	2503	100	114	12	0	1	0	83						22026	2504	114
1817	21761	100	2420	100	111	14	0	1	0	71						21775	2421	111
1818	22005	100	2450	100	111	19	0	2	0	105						22024	2453	111
1819	21973	100	2449	100	111	24	0	3	0	125						21997	2452	111
1820	21935	100	2436	100	111	34	0	3	0	88						21969	2439	111
1821	21593	100	2350	100	109	59	0	6	0	102						21652	2356	109
1822	21153	100	2307	100	109	85	0	9	0	106						21238	2315	109
1823	20941	100	2293	100	109	101	0	10	0	99						21042	2303	109
1824	21164	99	2338	100	110	116	1	12	1	103						21280	2349	110
1825	20442	99	2313	99	113	153	1	16	1	105						20595	2327	113
1826	20738	99	2387	99	115	230	1	24	1	104						20968	2411	115
1827	19269	99	2154	99	112	255	1	27	1	106						19524	2181	112
1828	19372	99	2165	99	112	274	1	28	1	102						19646	2193	112
1829	18821	98	2170	99	115	289	2	30	1	104						19110	2200	115
1830	18876	98	2168	98	115	298	2	30	1	101						19174	2202	115
1831	19126	98	2192	99	115	324	2	33	1	102						19450	2224	114
1832	19312	98	2226	98	115	352	2	36	2	102						19664	2262	115
1833	19302	98	2233	98	116	387	2	39	2	101						19689	2271	115
1834	19545	98	2268	98	116	430	2	44	2	102						19975	2312	116
1835	19797	98	2307	98	117	503	2	53	2	105						20300	2360	116
1836	19827	97	2289	97	115	561	3	60	3	107						20388	2350	115
1837	19912	97	2264	97	114	624	3	70	3	112						20536	2334	114
1838	20234	97	2346	97	116	678	3	75	3	111						20912	2421	116
1839	20947	97	2491	97	119	723	3	80	3	111						21670	2571	119
1840	21883	97	2680	97	122	771	3	88	3	114						22654	2768	122
1841	22669	97	2839	97	125	793	3	96	3	121						23461	2935	125
1842	23121	97	2933	96	127	833	3	108	4	130						23954	3041	127
1843	23040	96	2898	96	126	858	4	110	4	128						23898	3008	126
1844	23116	96	2931	96	127	900	4	114	4	127						24016	3044	127
1845	23471	96	3004	96	128	917	4	119	4	130						24388	3123	128
1846	23808	96	3069	96	129	963	4	131	4	136						24771	3200	129
1847	24167	96	3167	96	131	1033	4	141	4	136						25200	3308	131
1848	24520	96	3249	96	133	1118	4	151	4	135						25638	3401	133
1849	24753	96	3326	95	134	1149	4	160	5	139						25902	3486	135
1850	24797	95	3397	95	137	1187	5	168	5	142						25984	3565	137
1851	24816	95	3476	95	140	1227	5	187	5	152						26043	3662	141
1852	24814	95	3550	94	143	1272	5	209	6	164						26086	3759	144
1853	25224	95	3780	94	150	1385	5	250	6	181						26609	4030	151
1854	25335	94	3943	93	156	1524	6	306	7	201						26659	4249	158
1855	24274	94	3969	91	164	1674	6	381	9	228						25948	4349	168
1856	24480	94	3980	91	163	1697	6	387	9	228						26177	4367	167
1857	25273	93	4141	91	164	1824	7	417	9	229						27097	4559	168
1858	25615	93	4205	90	164	1926	7	452	10	235						27541	4658	169
1859	25784	93	4226	91	164	1918	7	437	9	228						27702	4663	168
1860	25663	93	4204	90	164	2000	7	454	10	227						27663	4659	168
1861	25905	92	4301	89	166	2133	8	506	11	237						28038	4807	171
1862	26212	92	4396	89	168	2228	8	538	11	241						28440	4934	173
1863	26339	92	4731	89	180	2298	8	597	11	260						28637	5328	186
1864	26142	91	4930	88	189	2490	9	697	12	280						28632	5627	197
1865	26069	91	4937	86	189	2718	9	823	14	303						28787	5760	200
1866	26140	90	4904	85	188	2831	10	876	15	309						28971	5779	199
1867	25842	90	4853	84	188	2931	10	901	16	307						28773	5754	200
1868	25500	90	4878	84	191	2944	10	902	16	306						28444	5780	203
1869	24187	89	4765	83	197	2972	11	948	17	319						27159	5714	210
1870	23189	88	4578	80	197	3178	12	1113	20	350						26367	5691	216
1871	25510	99	4374	77	171	3382	13	1320	23	390						25892	5694	220
1872	22103	86	4213	73	191	3673	14	1538	27	419						25776	5751	223
1873	21698	85	4091	70	189	3863	15	1714	30	444						25561	5805	227
1874	21464	84	4108	69	191	4033	16	1871	31	464						25497	5979	234
1875	21291	84	4207	68	198	4170	16	1946	32	467						25461	6153	242
1876	21144	83	4258	68	201	4335	17	2005	32	463						25479	6263	246
1877	21169	82	4261	67	201	4564	18	2139	33	469						25733	6400	249
1878	21058	81	4239	65	201	4826	19	2316	35	480						25894	6555	253
1879	20538	80	4069	62	198	5027	20	2511	38	500						25565	6580	257
1880	19938	79	3851	59	193	5247	21	2724	41	519						25185	6575	261
1881	19325	78	3688	55	191	5505	22	3004	45	546						24830	6692	270
1882	18892	76	3622	52	192	5814	24	3335	48	574						24706	6957	282
1883	18415	75	3514	49	191	6260	25	3728	51	596						24675	7242	293
1884	18053	73	3465	47	192	6601	27	3944	53	597						24654	7409	301
1885	17018	72	3457	47	203	6644	28	3973	53	598						23662	7430	314
1886	16179	71	3397	46	210	6653	29	3965	54	596						22832	7362	322
1887	15473	70	3250	44	210	6663	30	4085	56	613						22136	7335	331
1888	15025	69	3114	42	207	6871	31	4350	58	633						21896	7464	341
1889	14640	67	3041	39	208	7133	33	4718	61	661						21779	7759	356
1890	14181	66	2936	37	207	7410	34	5043	63	681						21591	7979	370
1891	13823	64	2972	36	215	7720	36	5307	64	687						21543	8279	384
1892	13578	63	3080	36	227	7950	37	5565	64	700						21528	8645	402
1893	13239	62	3038	35	229	8088	38	5740	65	710						21327	8778	412
1894	12943	61	2987	33	231	8263	39	5969	67	722						21206	8956	422
1895	12617	60	2867	32	227	8386	40	6122	68	730						21003	8989	428
1896	12274	59	2736	30	223	8522	41	6284	70	737						20796	9020	434
1897	11911	58	2590	29	217	8590	42	6364	71	741						20501	8953	437
1898	11566	57	2388	27	206	8838	43	6614	73	748						20404	9002	441
1899	11167	55	2247	25	201	9023	45	6917	75	766						20196	9164	454

Appendix 1a (continued)

NUMBER AND NET TONNAGE OF SHIPPING REGISTERED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1815-1970

YEAR	SAILING SHIPS					STEAM SHIPS					MOTOR SHIPS					ALL SHIPS		
	No.	%	'000 TONS	AV. TONS		No.	%	'000 TONS	AV. TONS		No.	%	'000 TONS	AV. TONS		No.	'000 TONS	AV. TONS
1900	10773	54	2096	23	195	9209	46	7208	77	783						19982	9304	466
1901	10572	53	1991	21	188	9484	47	7618	79	803						20056	9608	479
1902	10455	52	1951	19	187	9803	48	8104	81	827						20258	10055	498
1903	10330	51	1869	18	181	10122	49	8400	82	830						20452	10269	502
1904	10210	50	1803	17	177	10370	50	8752	83	844						20582	10555	513
1905	10059	49	1671	16	166	10522	51	9065	84	862						20581	10736	522
1906	9857	47	1555	14	158	10307	53	9612	86	881						20764	11167	538
1907	9648	46	1461	13	151	11394	54	10024	87	880						21042	11485	546
1908	9542	45	1403	12	147	11626	55	10139	88	872						21168	11541	545
1909	9392	44	1301	11	139	11797	56	10285	89	872						21189	11586	547
1910	9090	43	1113	10	122	12000	57	10443	90	870						21090	11556	548
1911	8830	42	981	8	111	12242	58	10718	92	876						21072	11699	555
1912	8510	41	903	8	106	12382	59	10992	92	888						20892	11895	569
1913	8336	40	847	7	102	12602	60	11273	93	895						20938	12120	579
1914	8203	39	794	6	97	12862	61	11622	94	904						21065	12415	589
1915	8019	39	779	6	97	12771	61	11650	94	912	1914 Register Act increased the number of steamships recorded.					20790	12427	598
1916	7669	38	715	6	93	12405	62	11037	94	890						20074	11752	585
1917	7186	38	625	6	87	11534	62	9608	94	833						18720	10232	547
1918	6856	38	604	6	88	11334	62	9497	94	838						18190	10101	555
1919	6555	36	593	5	90	11791	64	10335	95	877	From 1923 Republic of Ireland ships excluded.					18346	10928	596
1920	6309	34	584	5	93	12307	66	10777	95	876						18616	11361	610
1921	6272	33	610	5	97	12660	67	10932	95	864						18932	11542	610
1922	6184	33	574	5	93	12787	67	11223	95	878						18971	11797	622
1923	5962	32	551	5	92	10813	59	10897	93	1008	1624	9	263	2	162	18399	11711	637
1924	5642	32	522	4	89	10690	58	10810	92	1011	1823	10	385	3	211	18355	11716	638
1925	5785	32	520	4	90	10526	58	10965	92	1042	1965	11	499	4	254	18276	11983	656
1926	5678	31	517	4	91	10262	57	10760	90	1049	2170	12	629	5	290	18110	11907	657
1927	5609	31	507	4	90	10032	56	10577	89	1054	2340	13	770	6	329	17981	11853	659
1928	5408	30	496	4	92	9959	55	10754	88	1080	2681	15	1009	8	376	18048	12259	679
1929	5249	29	480	4	91	9855	55	10675	86	1083	2940	16	1214	10	413	18044	12369	685
1930	5098	28	468	4	92	9729	54	10561	85	1086	3237	18	1425	11	440	18064	12454	689
1931	4960	28	462	4	93	9529	53	10233	83	1074	3483	19	1579	13	453	17972	12274	683
1932	4773	27	472	4	99	9248	52	9774	82	1057	3650	21	1617	14	443	17671	11863	671
1933	4632	27	466	4	101	8900	51	9062	81	1018	3863	22	1642	15	425	17395	11170	642
1934	4435	26	432	4	97	8622	50	8621	80	1000	4168	24	1692	16	406	17225	10745	624
1935	4351	25	414	4	95	8306	48	8253	79	994	4494	26	1819	17	405	17151	10486	611
1936	4288	25	419	4	98	8032	47	8114	77	1010	4888	28	2057	19	421	17208	10590	615
1937	4185	24	415	4	99	7702	45	7902	75	1026	5294	31	2236	21	422	17181	10533	613
1938	4019	23	402	4	100	7441	43	7819	73	1051	5789	34	2481	23	429	17249	10702	620
1939						Steam and motor vessels.					13303		10511		790			
1940											13254		10412		786			
1941											12822		9674		754			
1942											12185		9000		739			
1943						Includes foreign ships on bareboat charter.					12169		9119		749			
1944											12525		9994		798			
1945											12700		10341		814			
1946	3610	22	408	4	113						12581	78	10315	96	820	16191	10723	662
1947	3250	21	380	4	117						12481	79	10371	96	831	15731	10751	683
1948	3193	20	370	3	116						12795	80	10461	97	818	15988	10831	677
1949	3149	19	367	3	117						13103	81	10453	97	798	16252	10820	666
1950	3104	19	365	3	118						13429	81	10738	97	800	16533	11103	672
1951	3056	18	349	3	114						13473	82	10606	97	787	16529	10955	663
1952	3065	18	343	3	112						13598	82	10643	97	784	16663	11006	661
1953	2835	17	321	3	113						13649	83	10811	97	792	16484	11132	675
1954	2771	17	317	3	114						13685	83	10978	97	802	16456	11295	686
1955	2676	16	316	3	118						13671	84	10966	97	802	16347	11282	690
1956	2637	16	312	3	118						13764	84	11053	97	803	16401	11365	693
1957	2600	16	312	3	120						13837	84	11207	97	810	16437	11519	701
1958	2588	16	304	3	117						14045	84	11349	97	808	16633	11653	701
1959	2496	15	294	2	118						14202	85	11627	98	819	16698	11921	714
1960	2482	15	291	2	117						14532	85	11797	98	812	17014	12088	710
1961	2493	14	279	2	112						15008	86	12001	98	800	17501	12280	702
1962	2550	14	276	2	108						15580	86	11501	98	738	18130	11777	650
1963	2596	14	270	2	104						16115	86	11462	98	711	18711	11732	627
1964	2622	14	266	2	101						16722	86	11315	98	677	19344	11581	599
1965	2829	14	272	2	96						17483	86	11426	98	654	20312	11698	576
1966											18413		11668					
1967											19277		11736					
1968											20317		12671					
1969											21647		13574					
1970											23250		14700					

(estimated)

Sources:

B.R. Mitchell & Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British historical statistics* (Cambridge U.P., 1962), 217-219.
 B.R. Mitchell & H.G. Jones, *Second abstract of British historical statistics* (Cambridge U.P., 1971), 101.
 Great Britain, *Annual abstract of statistics 1972* (Central Statistical Office, 1972), Table 263.

Appendix 1b (i)

NUMBER OF SEAMEN EMPLOYED ON MERCHANT SHIPS REGISTERED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1815-1970

YEAR	SAIL			STEAM			BRITISH		FOREIGN		LASCARS		TOTAL No.	MEN /100 TONS
	No.	%	MAN -TON	No.	%	MAN -TON	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
1815													162603	6.56
1816													161961	6.47
1817													155542	6.42
1818													158488	6.46
1819													158830	6.48
1820													159210	6.53
1821													154283	6.55
1822													151317	6.54
1823													150738	6.55
1824													153548	6.54
1825													151124	6.49
1826													153559	6.37
1827													134195	6.15
1828													135069	6.16
1829													134516	6.11
1830													133649	6.07
1831													136016	6.12
1832													138432	6.12
1833													140089	6.17
1834													142026	6.14
1835													143109	6.06
1836													142131	6.05
1837													143462	6.15
1838													147357	6.09
1839													155263	6.04
1840													165527	5.98
1841													172341	5.87
1842													176024	5.79
1843													175155	5.82
1844													175691	5.77
1845													183166	5.87
1846													186169	5.82
1847													188978	5.71
1848													191477	5.63
1849													192900	5.53
1850													193170	5.42
1851	131277	92	3.78	10660	8	5.70	136144	96	5793	4			141937	3.88
1852	146286	92	4.12	13277	8	6.35	153863	96	5700	4			159563	4.24
1853	155006	90	4.10	17519	10	7.01	165204	96	7321	4			172525	4.28
1854	146522	90	3.72	15894	10	5.19	149216	92	13200	8			162416	3.82
1855	147288	87	3.71	21249	13	5.58	155610	92	12927	8			168537	3.88
1856	151080	87	3.80	22838	13	5.90	160597	92	13321	8			173918	3.98
1857	151434	86	3.66	24953	14	5.98	162012	92	14375	8			176387	3.87
1858	152655	86	3.63	25177	14	5.57	165498	93	12334	7			177832	3.82
1859	146208	85	3.46	26298	15	6.02	160210	93	12296	7			172506	3.70
1860	145487	85	3.46	26105	15	5.75	157312	92	14280	8			171592	3.68
1861	144949	84	3.37	27008	16	5.34	Not separated						171957	3.58
1862	146047	84	3.32	27816	16	5.17	157767	91	16096	9			173863	3.52
1863	153651	83	3.25	31076	17	5.21	165794	90	18933	10			184727	3.47
1864	158276	81	3.21	37480	19	5.38	173833	89	21923	11			195756	3.48
1865	158589	80	3.21	39054	20	4.75	177363	90	20280	10			197643	3.43
1866	156568	80	3.19	39803	20	4.54	Not separated						196371	3.40
1867	153229	78	3.16	43111	22	4.78	174523	89	21817	11			196340	3.41
1868	153840	78	3.15	43662	22	4.84	177239	90	20263	10			197502	3.42
1869	152186	78	3.19	43304	22	4.57	175332	90	20158	10			195490	3.42
1870	147207	75	3.22	48755	25	4.38	177961	91	18001	9			195962	3.44
1871	141035	71	3.22	58703	29	4.45	181973	91	17765	9			199738	3.51
1872	137101	67	3.25	66619	33	4.33	183129	90	20591	10			203720	3.54
1873	130877	65	3.20	71362	35	4.16	182399	90	19840	10			202239	3.48
1874	128733	63	3.13	74873	37	4.00	182687	90	20919	10			203606	3.41
1875	126240	63	3.00	73427	37	3.77	178994	90	20673	10			199667	3.25
1876	125811	63	2.95	72827	37	3.63	177727	89	20911	11	Lascars		198638	3.17
1877	123563	63	2.90	72999	37	3.41	173926	88	22636	12	first		196562	3.07
1878	120085	61	2.83	75500	39	3.26	172242	88	23343	12	separated		195585	2.98
1879	115177	60	2.83	78371	40	3.12	169145	87	24403	13	in 1886		193548	2.94
1880	108668	56	2.82	84304	44	3.09	169692	88	23280	12			192972	2.93
1881	102498	53	2.78	90405	47	3.01	168098	87	24805	13	Masters		192903	2.88
1882	97201	50	2.68	98736	50	2.96	169920	87	26017	13	first		195937	2.82
1883	95306	47	2.71	105421	53	2.83	172414	86	28313	14	included		200727	2.77
1884	91383	46	2.64	108271	54	2.75	171871	86	27783	14	in 1888		199654	2.69
1885	90968	46	2.63	107813	54	2.71	171585	86	27196	14			198781	2.68
1886	85415	42	2.51	119055	58	3.00	162614	80	25183	12	16673	8	204470	2.78
1887	81442	40	2.51	121101	60	2.96	160912	79	24046	12	17585	9	202543	2.76
1888	90594	41	2.91	133079	59	3.06	179969	80	25277	11	18427	8	223673	3.00
1889	87765	38	2.89	142498	62	3.02	183473	80	26841	12	19949	9	230263	2.97
1890	84218	36	2.87	151890	64	3.01	186417	79	27227	12	22734	10	236108	2.96
1891	81189	34	2.73	159291	66	3.00	186176	77	30267	13	24037	10	240480	2.90
1892	80789	33	2.62	160496	66	2.88	185437	77	30899	13	25399	11	241735	2.80
1893	78306	32	2.58	162668	68	2.83	186628	77	29549	12	24797	10	240974	2.75
1894	74851	31	2.51	165607	69	2.77	183232	76	31050	13	26175	11	240458	2.68
1895	71606	30	2.50	158880	70	2.76	180074	75	32235	13	28077	12	240486	2.68
1896	68207	28	2.49	173832	72	2.77	178994	74	33046	14	29999	12	242039	2.68
1897	63915	27	2.47	177016	73	2.78	175549	73	33898	14	31484	13	240931	2.69
1898	59167	24	2.48	183386	76	2.77	174980	72	35308	15	32265	13	242553	2.69
1899	54333	22	2.42	189802	78	2.74	174266	71	36064	15	33805	14	244135	2.66

Appendix B (111)

Before 1926 the total persons employed, including foreign and Lascars seamen, is the sum of the number of persons actually employed on the engaged for the first crew of each vessel during the year, and the number of persons engaged for the first crew of each vessel not employed on the day of the Census, but employed some time during the year, including vessels under 100 tons. From 1926, men claiming to be British, but unable to prove it, were listed as foreign, having previously been included in the British total. The foreign total was increased by approximately 4000.

Sources & Notes

YEAR	IN	SAIL	MAN	IN	STEAM	MAN	MOTOR	MAN	BRITISH	FOREIGN	LASCARS	MAN	TOTAL
	No.	%	-TON	No.	%	-TON	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
1911	15268	6	1.56	22095	94	2.17	95	2.17	174538	69	30027	12	47211
1912	12611	5	1.41	229075	95	2.17	95	2.17	177923	69	30415	12	46848
1913	11544	5	1.26	251676	96	2.16	96	2.16	177923	69	30415	12	46848
1914	10146	4	1.28	251676	96	2.16	96	2.16	177923	69	30415	12	46848
1915	15268	6	1.56	22095	94	2.17	95	2.17	174538	69	30027	12	47211
1916	12611	5	1.41	229075	95	2.17	95	2.17	177923	69	30415	12	46848
1917	11544	5	1.26	251676	96	2.16	96	2.16	177923	69	30415	12	46848
1918	10146	4	1.28	251676	96	2.16	96	2.16	177923	69	30415	12	46848
1919	5290	2	.89	22845	98	2.21	170288	73	16648	7	46599	20	235525
1920	4942	2	.85	240226	98	2.23	175176	71	15219	6	50540	21	245168
1921	4079	2	.67	238361	98	2.18	173110	71	15219	6	50540	21	245168
1922	3199	1	.56	223573	99	2.14	169943	71	11271	5	55266	24	235291
1923	2527	1	.46	222764	99	2.14	169943	71	11271	5	55266	24	235291
1924	2294	1	.44	220293	99	2.15	163078	72	12285	5	49654	23	234517
1925	2034	1	.39	223198	98	2.15	170364	72	11894	5	49654	23	234517
1926	515	0	.10	219846	94	2.04	154089	68	10875	8	56565	25	223668
1927	660	0	.13	221109	94	2.09	159881	68	10875	8	56565	25	223668
1928	507	0	.12	222266	93	2.07	152446	68	10875	8	56565	25	223668
1929	507	0	.11	220413	93	2.06	162174	68	10875	8	56565	25	223668
1930	363	0	.10	213194	91	2.03	160865	66	10907	7	55737	26	218229
1931	363	0	.08	188368	88	1.84	140553	66	10907	7	55737	26	218229
1932	307	0	.07	173169	88	1.80	131277	66	10907	7	55737	26	218229
1933	242	0	.05	16321	88	1.80	125833	66	10907	7	55737	26	218229
1934	191	0	.04	159944	87	1.86	124933	66	10907	7	55737	26	218229
1935	177	0	.04	156815	86	1.90	125765	69	1617	5	48009	26	182321
1936	153	0	.04	155488	83	1.92	123775	70	1406	5	48009	26	182321
1937	130	0	.03	153941	83	1.92	123775	70	1406	5	48009	26	182321
1938	118	0	.03	155290	81	1.99	125299	70	1406	5	48009	26	182321

Appendix B (11)

Annual statements of trade and navigation: BPP, 1831/32, XXVI, 193; 1843, LII, 408; 1852-53, XCIVIII, 309; Report of the select committee on merchant shipping, 1860, LXIX, 795; Annual statements of navigation and shipping, BPP, 1871, LXI, 214; 1876, LXVII, 32; 1886, LIX, 34; 1910, LXXXIX, 1920 (C65) [100]; 1921 Cmd. 1419 [89]; 1921 Cmd. 1442 [5]; 1923 (149); 1925, LXXI, 1812; 1926 (169); 1927 (169); 1928 (169); 1929 (169); 1930 (169); 1931 (169); 1932 (169); 1933 (169); 1934 (169); 1935 (169); 1936 (169); 1937 (169); 1938 (169); 1939 (169); 1940 (169); 1941 (169); 1942 (169); 1943 (169); 1944 (169); 1945 (169); 1946 (169); 1947 (169); 1948 (169); 1949 (169); 1950 (169); 1951 (169); 1952 (169); 1953 (169); 1954 (169); 1955 (169); 1956 (169); 1957 (169); 1958 (169); 1959 (169); 1960 (169); 1961 (169); 1962 (169); 1963 (169); 1964 (169); 1965 (169); 1966 (169); 1967 (169); 1968 (169); 1969 (169); 1970 (169); 1971 (169); 1972 (169); 1973 (169); 1974 (169); 1975 (169); 1976 (169); 1977 (169); 1978 (169); 1979 (169); 1980 (169); 1981 (169); 1982 (169); 1983 (169); 1984 (169); 1985 (169); 1986 (169); 1987 (169); 1988 (169); 1989 (169); 1990 (169); 1991 (169); 1992 (169); 1993 (169); 1994 (169); 1995 (169); 1996 (169); 1997 (169); 1998 (169); 1999 (169); 2000 (169); 2001 (169); 2002 (169); 2003 (169); 2004 (169); 2005 (169); 2006 (169); 2007 (169); 2008 (169); 2009 (169); 2010 (169); 2011 (169); 2012 (169); 2013 (169); 2014 (169); 2015 (169); 2016 (169); 2017 (169); 2018 (169); 2019 (169); 2020 (169); 2021 (169); 2022 (169); 2023 (169); 2024 (169); 2025 (169); 2026 (169); 2027 (169); 2028 (169); 2029 (169); 2030 (169); 2031 (169); 2032 (169); 2033 (169); 2034 (169); 2035 (169); 2036 (169); 2037 (169); 2038 (169); 2039 (169); 2040 (169); 2041 (169); 2042 (169); 2043 (169); 2044 (169); 2045 (169); 2046 (169); 2047 (169); 2048 (169); 2049 (169); 2050 (169); 2051 (169); 2052 (169); 2053 (169); 2054 (169); 2055 (169); 2056 (169); 2057 (169); 2058 (169); 2059 (169); 2060 (169); 2061 (169); 2062 (169); 2063 (169); 2064 (169); 2065 (169); 2066 (169); 2067 (169); 2068 (169); 2069 (169); 2070 (169); 2071 (169); 2072 (169); 2073 (169); 2074 (169); 2075 (169); 2076 (169); 2077 (169); 2078 (169); 2079 (169); 2080 (169); 2081 (169); 2082 (169); 2083 (169); 2084 (169); 2085 (169); 2086 (169); 2087 (169); 2088 (169); 2089 (169); 2090 (169); 2091 (169); 2092 (169); 2093 (169); 2094 (169); 2095 (169); 2096 (169); 2097 (169); 2098 (169); 2099 (169); 2100 (169); 2101 (169); 2102 (169); 2103 (169); 2104 (169); 2105 (169); 2106 (169); 2107 (169); 2108 (169); 2109 (169); 2110 (169); 2111 (169); 2112 (169); 2113 (169); 2114 (169); 2115 (169); 2116 (169); 2117 (169); 2118 (169); 2119 (169); 2120 (169); 2121 (169); 2122 (169); 2123 (169); 2124 (169); 2125 (169); 2126 (169); 2127 (169); 2128 (169); 2129 (169); 2130 (169); 2131 (169); 2132 (169); 2133 (169); 2134 (169); 2135 (169); 2136 (169); 2137 (169); 2138 (169); 2139 (169); 2140 (169); 2141 (169); 2142 (169); 2143 (169); 2144 (169); 2145 (169); 2146 (169); 2147 (169); 2148 (169); 2149 (169); 2150 (169); 2151 (169); 2152 (169); 2153 (169); 2154 (169); 2155 (169); 2156 (169); 2157 (169); 2158 (169); 2159 (169); 2160 (169); 2161 (169); 2162 (169); 2163 (169); 2164 (169); 2165 (169); 2166 (169); 2167 (169); 2168 (169); 2169 (169); 2170 (169); 2171 (169); 2172 (169); 2173 (169); 2174 (169); 2175 (169); 2176 (169); 2177 (169); 2178 (169); 2179 (169); 2180 (169); 2181 (169); 2182 (169); 2183 (169); 2184 (169); 2185 (169); 2186 (169); 2187 (169); 2188 (169); 2189 (169); 2190 (169); 2191 (169); 2192 (169); 2193 (169); 2194 (169); 2195 (169); 2196 (169); 2197 (169); 2198 (169); 2199 (169); 2200 (169); 2201 (169); 2202 (169); 2203 (169); 2204 (169); 2205 (169); 2206 (169); 2207 (169); 2208 (169); 2209 (169); 2210 (169); 2211 (169); 2212 (169); 2213 (169); 2214 (169); 2215 (169); 2216 (169); 2217 (169); 2218 (169); 2219 (169); 2220 (169); 2221 (169); 2222 (169); 2223 (169); 2224 (169); 2225 (169); 2226 (169); 2227 (169); 2228 (169); 2229 (169); 2230 (169); 2231 (169); 2232 (169); 2233 (169); 2234 (169); 2235 (169); 2236 (169); 2237 (169); 2238 (169); 2239 (169); 2240 (169); 2241 (169); 2242 (169); 2243 (169); 2244 (169); 2245 (169); 2246 (169); 2247 (169); 2248 (169); 2249 (169); 2250 (169); 2251 (169); 2252 (169); 2253 (169); 2254 (169); 2255 (169); 2256 (169); 2257 (169); 2258 (169); 2259 (169); 2260 (169); 2261 (169); 2262 (169); 2263 (169); 2264 (169); 2265 (169); 2266 (169); 2267 (169); 2268 (169); 2269 (169); 2270 (169); 2271 (169); 2272 (169); 2273 (169); 2274 (169); 2275 (169); 2276 (169); 2277 (169); 2278 (169); 2279 (169); 2280 (169); 2281 (169); 2282 (169); 2283 (169); 2284 (169); 2285 (169); 2286 (169); 2287 (169); 2288 (169); 2289 (169); 2290 (169); 2291 (169); 2292 (169); 2293 (169); 2294 (169); 2295 (169); 2296 (169); 2297 (169); 2298 (169); 2299 (169); 2300 (169); 2301 (169); 2302 (169); 2303 (169); 2304 (169); 2305 (169); 2306 (169); 2307 (169); 2308 (169); 2309 (169); 2310 (169); 2311 (169); 2312 (169); 2313 (169);

05 _____

YEAR	IN SAIL		IN		STEAM		BRITISH		FOREIGN		LASCARS		TOTAL		MEN / 100 TONS	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1905	37567	1.4	2.25	1219	86	2.49	39711	68	39711	15	4383	16	23686	2.46	2.46	
1906	35522	1.3	2.29	1569	87	2.45	38084	68	38084	14	4367	16	237091	2.42	2.42	
1907	33059	1.2	2.26	24087	88	2.45	37694	70	37694	14	44604	16	227146	2.41	2.41	
1908	30535	1.1	2.18	245186	90	2.42	34725	71	34725	13	441521	16	2175721	2.39	2.39	
1909	28334	1.0	2.18	245973	89	2.39	31873	72	31873	12	43960	16	273307	2.37	2.37	
1910	25533	.9	2.32	250473	91	2.40	201910	73	30462	11	43934	16	276306	2.39	2.39	
1911	20728	.7	2.11	265072	94	2.43	30783	73	30783	11	45452	16	261806	2.40	2.40	
1912	17338	.6	1.96	30960	73	2.45	30960	73	30960	11	47211	16	268806	2.41	2.41	
1913	16166	.6	1.91	289891	95	2.45	32639	73	32639	11	46248	16	2392057	2.41	2.41	
1914	14094	.5	1.78	281558	95	2.42	31396	72	31396	11	51616	17	2396552	2.38	2.38	
1915-1919	Statistics omitted owing to war conditions															
1919	7232	.3	1.22	249428	97	2.41	193158	75	16903	.7	46599	18	256660	2.35	2.35	
1920	6783	.2	1.16	271810	98	2.52	212880	76	15440	.6	50273	18	278595	2.45	2.45	
1921	5743	.2	.94	264473	98	2.34	200433	75	11726	.4	53566	21	267057	2.36	2.36	
1922	4672	.2	.81	262385	98	2.26	200065	75	11477	.4	55935	21	266925	2.27	2.27	
1923	4068	.1	.73	261937	99	2.40	198513	75	12537	.5	54954	21	265037	2.26	2.26	
1924	3660	.1	.70	261387	99	2.42	197586	75	12537	.5	54954	20	268206	2.24	2.24	
1925	3384	.1	.65	264022	99	2.42					54969	20				

Appendix B (continued)

Appendix 1c

TONNAGE OF SHIPPING (000 TONS) THAT ENTERED (FROM 1910 ARRIVED AT) BRISTOL, LIVERPOOL, LONDON, PLYMOUTH, SOUTHAMPTON AND UNITED KINGDOM
ANNUALLY AT INTERVALS OF FIVE YEARS, 1915-1970

YEAR	BRISTOL						LIVERPOOL						LONDON						PLYMOUTH						SOUTHAMPTON						UNITED KINGDOM					
	OVERSEAS			C'ST		O'S*	OVERSEAS			C'ST		O'S*	OVERSEAS			C'ST		O'S*	OVERSEAS			C'ST		O'S*	OVERSEAS			C'ST		O'S*						
	BR	FGN	TOTL	WISE	TOTL		BR	FGN	TOTL	WISE	TOTL		BR	FGN	TOTL	WISE	TOTL		BR	FGN	TOTL	WISE	TOTL		BR	FGN	TOTL	WISE	TOTL		BR	FGN	TOTL	WISE	TOTL	
1915																																				
1920	54	6	60				228	167	395			655	123	778			17	1	18			1327	747	2074												
1925	74	11	85				315	222	537			759	302	1061			26	3	29			1668	440	2116												
1930	66	8	74				368	272	641			744	208	952			32	5	37			2145	958	3103	8652											
1935	54	5	59				517	270	787			740	189	929			37	4	41			2443	867	3310	10189											
1940	91	14	105				573	469	1042			935	354	1289			59	10	69			3198	1460	4658	9616											
1945	82	14	97				914	942	1407			1109	393	1502			142	8	151			4311	1735	6046	10975	17021										
1950	100	38	138				954	651	1605			1377	528	1905	3251	5156	40	16	55			145	191	336	4700	2400	7100	12565	19665							
1955	88	42	130	401	531		1021	1053	2074	1336	3410	1528	692	2421	2852	5273	51	23	74	362	436	189	27	216	187	403	5271	3680	8951	14790	23741					
1960	130	106	236	474	710		1502	1271	2773	1493	4266	1829	1152	2981	3155	6136	62	36	99	418	517	247	79	327	276	602	6809	5289	12178	17003	29181					
1965	136	97	234	505	739		2196	448	2645	1580	4224	2483	1163	3646	3065	6712	52	35	87	422	509	298	114	412	237	650	9623	4694	14318	18228	32546					
1970	177	171	349	583	912		2723	634	3417	1602	5019	2985	1104	4089	2850	6939	67	37	104	438	542	409	157	566	236	802	12380	5735	18113	18300	36414					
1975	226	176	402	684	1066		3499	903	4402	2028	6430	3404	1508	4911	3893	8804	102	52	154	520	674	593	110	703	406	1108	15191	7502	22693	33913	56606					
1980	371	145	516	713	1229		4015	899	4913	2352	7245	4451	1519	5970	4484	10454	129	72	201	526	727	759	97	856	560	1416	20491	8583	29074	40074	69148					
1985	487	100	587	673	1260		4291	883	5173	2504	7677	4911	1992	6903	5301	12204	163	77	240	624	864	692	219	911	628	1539	22900	8882	31862	44561	76423					
1990	464	93	557	674	1231		4842	940	5782	2626	8408	5349	2360	7709	5433	13141	152	49	201	613	814	733	155	888	781	1669	26770	10050	36836	47739	84574					
1995	504	93	677	747	1424		4891	707	5590	3077	8675	6051	2385	8436	6556	14991	147	69	216	628	845	999	422	1421	1097	2517	29175	10826	40002	54305	94306					
2000	573	147	720	722	1441		5182	820	6002	3314	9316	6272	3303	9581	5972	15553	152	83	234	651	885	1138	476	1614	1191	2805	31445	17777	49223	55829	105051					
2005	628	141	769	1118	1887		7195	612	7807	3209	11015	7573	3241	10814	6375	17189	241	71	312	830	1149	1317	770	1888	1415	3303	35201	20423	55624	60067	115691					
2010	1156	215	1371	1126	2498		10312	709	11021	3293	14314	9275	3586	13260	6477	19737	1813	1586	3399	898	4297	2352	2733	5084	1469	6553			90104	61809	151913					
2015			1961	857	2818				9763	3002	12764			11137	4530	15668			2090	479	2570			642	805	1477	28551	24805	53356	48266	101622					
2020	1097	339	1436	1202	2638		8059	1218	9277	3502	12779	8613	2703	9824	4743	14567	1294	1183	2477	498	2975	2897	967	3863	1032	4895			64194	50251	116445					
2025	1707	563	2270	1020	3290		11779	1812	13591	2258	15849	12667	5585	18252	5339	23591	2712	2155	4867	421	5288	6627	2647	9274	1144	10418	71391	35566	106957	47217	154174					
2030	1830	742	2572	975	3547		12270	2034	14304	2628	16932	14701	7881	22582	6651	29233	3605	3837	7442	541	7982	7937	3445	11383	1538	12921	82682	44401	127163	54979	182142					
2035	1820	823	2643	912	3556		11379	2606	13985	2655	16641	13662	8167	21829	7845	29674	2326	2924	5250	550	5800	6664	4091	10755	1753	12509	70223	43921	114145	60728	174873					
2040																																				
2045																																				
2050																																				
2055																																				
2060			4524	1638	6222				17293	3695	20978			34166	10022	44188			1270				20034	4393	24427				142699	75671	218370					
2065			4094	2133	6227				17963	4710	22673			36528	9563	46091			632				20287	4625	24912				158782	82957	241739					
2070			2607	1779	4386				16544	5244	21788			35684	7052	42736			339				19396	6026	25422				180564	81386	261950					

Sources

*A return...from 1816-1845 of the number of vessels and their tonnage entered inwards at each of the 12 principal ports of the United Kingdom...".
BPP, 1847 (S19) LX, 123. 'Annual statements of trade and navigation of the United Kingdom...': BPP, 1856 (2139) LVI; 1861 (2894) LX; 1866 (3723) LXXIII.
'Annual statements of navigation and shipping...': BPP, 1871 (C.437) LXIII; 1876 (C.1571) LXXII; 1881 (C.2920) LXXXVII; 1886 (C.4827) LXIV;
1890/91 (C.6300) LXXXII; 1896 (C.8089) LXXXIII; 1901 (C.604) LXXV; 1906 (C.3093) CXVII; 1911 (C.5840) LXXIX; 1919 (C.327) XLIV; 1921 (C.1442) XXXIV.
Great Britain, Board of Trade, Navigation and shipping of the United Kingdom, Annual statements for 1925, 1930, 1935 (HMSO, 1926, 1931, 1937).
'Statistical abstract for the United Kingdom': BPP, 1926 (C.2620); 1930-31 (C.3767).
Great Britain, Central Statistical Office, Annual abstract of statistics for 1970 (HMSO, 1972).

Note

The returns were compiled from customs data on ships entering customs ports as currently defined, which were not necessarily coincident with commercial ports bearing the same names. Before 1910 the figures are for ships entered at customs; this occurred at the first United Kingdom port entered from overseas. Ships which moved to another UK port were not entered again. From 1910 the data is for all ships which arrived at customs ports.

Appendix 1d

NUMBERS OF SHIPS THAT ENTERED (FROM 1910 ARRIVED AT) BRISTOL, LIVERPOOL, LONDON, PLYMOUTH, SOUTHAMPTON AND UNITED KINGDOM
DAILY AVERAGES AT INTERVALS OF FIVE YEARS, 1815-1935

YEAR	BRISTOL					LIVERPOOL					LONDON					PLYMOUTH					SOUTHAMPTON					UNITED KINGDOM				
	OVERSEAS			C'ST WISE	O'ST	OVERSEAS			C'ST WISE	O'ST	OVERSEAS			C'ST WISE	O'ST	OVERSEAS			C'ST WISE	O'ST	OVERSEAS			C'ST WISE	O'ST					
	BR	FGN	TOTL			BR	FGN	TOTL			BR	FGN	TOTL			BR	FGN	TOTL			BR	FGN	TOTL			BR	FGN	TOTL	BR	FGN	TOTL
	V/Ls	V/Ls	TOTL	V/Ls	V/Ls	TOTL	V/Ls	V/Ls	TOTL	V/Ls	V/Ls	TOTL	V/Ls	V/Ls	TOTL	V/Ls	V/Ls	TOTL	V/Ls	V/Ls	TOTL	V/Ls	V/Ls	TOTL	V/Ls	V/Ls	TOTL			
1815																														
1820	.9	.1	1.0			3.1	1.7	4.9			9.2	2.3	11.5					.9	.0	.9			24.3	14.6	38.9					
1825	1.0	.2	1.2			4.2	2.4	6.6			10.9	4.8	15.7					.9	.1	.9			30.9	9.5	40.4					
1830	1.0	.1	1.1			4.5	2.9	7.4			10.7	3.5	14.2					.9	.1	1.0			37.2	19.1	56.3					
1835	.8	.1	.9			5.9	2.2	8.2			10.4	2.9	13.3					.9	.1	1.0			37.1	14.7	51.8					
																							39.2	16.5	55.6					
1840	1.2	.2	1.4			6.0	3.0	9.0			12.5	6.1	18.5					1.0	.2	1.2			49.0	27.9	76.9					
1845	1.0	.2	1.2			6.0	3.4	9.4			14.0	6.7	20.7					1.7	.3	2.0			57.5	31.9	89.5	365.6				
1850	1.3	.7	2.0			8.1	4.3	12.4			17.8	9.4	27.2	59.6	86.8	1.0	.6	1.6			4.9	6.4	62.2	41.5	103.7	373.0				
1855	1.1	.5	1.6	14.3	15.8	6.9	4.6	11.5	23.1	34.6	15.7	11.0	26.8	52.2	78.9	1.2	.3	1.5	9.1	10.6	1.9	.4	2.3	4.6	6.9	62.4	49.8	112.3		
1860	1.4	1.1	2.5	18.8	21.2	8.1	5.3	13.4	24.4	37.8	17.3	13.3	30.6	50.3	80.9	1.4	.6	2.0	9.0	11.0	2.2	.8	3.0	4.9	7.9	72.6	67.6	140.2		
																							4.9	7.9	72.6	67.6	140.2	421.3		
1865	1.4	1.0	2.5	18.0	20.4	10.0	3.2	13.2	21.3	34.5	20.0	11.8	31.8	40.9	72.7	1.1	.8	1.9	8.3	10.2	2.7	1.3	4.0	4.6	8.6	87.6	66.0	153.7	403.0	
1870	1.7	1.3	3.1	20.8	23.9	10.1	3.7	13.9	19.9	33.8	20.8	9.4	30.2	35.0	65.2	1.3	.5	1.8	7.8	9.6	3.5	1.0	4.5	4.1	8.6	96.4	66.8	163.1	386.4	
1875	2.0	1.5	3.4	23.9	27.4	10.7	4.3	15.0	25.0	40.0	20.7	10.3	31.0	89.5	120.5	1.7	1.1	2.7	7.9	10.6	3.7	1.1	4.8	17.0	21.8	98.9	74.5	173.5	732.7	
1880	2.0	.9	2.9	23.8	26.7	10.6	3.8	14.4	31.5	45.9	21.3	9.8	31.0	105.7	136.7	1.5	.7	2.2	7.8	10.0	4.3	.6	4.9	20.4	25.2	109.4	73.8	183.2	788.0	
1885	1.8	.5	2.3	21.1	23.4	9.5	3.3	12.8	33.4	46.2	19.3	9.8	29.1	114.5	143.5	1.5	.6	2.1	8.3	10.4	4.3	.7	5.0	21.7	26.8	100.9	61.8	162.7	794.4	
																														957.1
1890	1.5	.5	2.0	19.9	21.9	9.4	3.3	12.7	35.8	48.5	18.4	10.6	29.0	110.6	139.6	1.3	.5	1.8	8.5	10.4	4.5	.6	5.1	22.5	27.6	106.2	65.9	172.2	841.8	
1895	1.7	.5	2.2	20.7	22.9	8.0	2.2	10.2	43.1	53.3	17.6	10.4	28.0	119.7	147.7	1.2	.5	1.7	7.3	9.0	5.2	.7	5.9	25.9	31.8	102.0	63.5	166.3	806.6	
1900	1.4	.6	2.0	20.7	22.7	7.3	2.3	9.6	46.0	55.6	16.4	14.0	30.5	40.3	70.7	1.2	.6	1.8	6.1	8.0	5.3	.8	6.1	27.5	33.5	103.9	83.9	187.8	780.6	
1905	1.5	.6	2.1	32.6	34.7	8.0	1.6	9.7	46.1	55.7	16.4	13.3	29.7	44.8	74.5	1.2	.5	1.7	8.4	10.1	5.2	.9	5.8	29.7	35.5	99.1	84.0	183.1	834.9	
1910	2.0	.7	2.7	25.9	28.6	10.0	1.8	11.9	45.2	57.0	16.4	13.9	30.3	43.9	74.2	2.2	1.2	3.4	8.3	11.7	6.4	1.6	8.0	32.6	40.6			226.7	795.8	
																														1022.5
1915			2.5	19.4	21.9				10.1	35.2	45.3		19.9	25.2	45.1			2.6	4.3	6.9			4.2	23.5	27.7	58.9	87.4	146.2	516.7	662.9
1920	1.2	.7	1.9	23.2	25.1	6.7	1.8	3.6	28.5	32.2	17.6	8.8	23.9	23.0	47.0	1.4	1.6	2.9	3.0	6.0	4.9	.8	5.7	22.3	28.0			176.6	490.4	
1925	2.4	.9	3.4	17.3	21.0	16.9	2.9	19.9	24.1	44.0	22.8	15.9	38.6	29.4	68.0	2.5	2.2	4.6	3.9	8.5	7.7	1.5	9.2	28.6	37.8	148.5	97.4	245.9	503.3	
1930	2.5	1.3	3.8	16.9	20.7	18.3	3.0	21.3	22.1	43.4	21.9	22.2	44.1	32.7	76.8	2.5	2.1	4.6	4.7	9.4	7.4	2.1	9.5	34.1	43.6	155.4	108.4	263.8	517.0	
1935	2.2	1.4	3.6	18.1	21.6	15.6	3.7	19.3	20.8	40.0	16.8	21.6	38.5	41.4	79.8	1.8	1.6	3.4	5.2	8.6	5.2	2.0	7.2	35.6	42.8	120.6	100.0	232.9	551.5	

Sources

'A return...from 1816-1845 of the number of vessels and their tonnage entered inwards at each of the 12 principal ports of the United Kingdom...'. BPP, 1847 (519) LX, 125. 'Annual statements of trade and navigation of the United Kingdom...'. BPP, 1856 [2139] LVI; 1861 [2894] LX; 1866 [3723] LXXIII. 'Annual statements of navigation and shipping...'. BPP, 1871 [c.437] LXIII; 1876 [c.1571] LXXII; 1881 [c.2920] LXXXVII; 1886 [c.4827] LXIV; 1890/91 [c.6380] LXXXII; 1896 [c.80897] LXXXIII; 1901 [c.604] LXXV; 1906 [c.3093] CXVII; 1911 [c.5840] LXXIX; 1919 [c.327] XLIV; 1921 [c.1442] XXXIV. Great Britain, Board of Trade, Navigation and Shipping of the United Kingdom, Annual statements for 1925, 1930, 1935 (HMSO, 1926, 1931, 1937). 'Statistical abstract for the United Kingdom'. BPP, 1926 [c.2620]; 1930-31 [c.3767]. Great Britain, Central Statistical Office, Annual abstract of statistics for 1970 (HMSO, 1972).

Note

The returns were compiled from customs data on ships entering customs ports as currently defined, which were not necessarily coincident with commercial ports bearing the same names. Before 1910 the figures are for ships entered at customs; this occurred at the first United Kingdom port entered from overseas. Ships which moved to another UK port were not entered again. From 1910 the data is for all ships which arrived at customs ports. The figures in the annual returns have been divided by 365 and rounded to the first decimal place.

Appendix 1c

ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF SEAFARERS THAT ENTERED (FROM 1910 ARRIVED AT) BRISTOL, LIVERPOOL, LONDON, PLYMOUTH, SOUTHAMPTON AND UNITED KINGDOM.
DAILY AVERAGES AT INTERVALS OF FIVE YEARS, 1915-1970

YEAR	BRISTOL					LIVERPOOL					LONDON					PLYMOUTH					SOUTHAMPTON					UNITED KINGDOM													
	OVERSEAS		CIST	O'S	TOTL	OVERSEAS		CIST	O'S	TOTL	OVERSEAS		CIST	O'S	TOTL	OVERSEAS		CIST	O'S	TOTL	OVERSEAS		CIST	O'S	TOTL	OVERSEAS		CIST	O'S	TOTL									
	BR	FGN				BR	FGN				BR	FGN				BR	FGN				BR	FGN				BR	FGN				BR	FGN							
1915																																							
1920	10	1	11			41	30	71			117	22	139								3	0	3			239	134	373											
1925	13	2	15			56	40	96			135	54	189								5	0	5			298	80	379											
1930	11	1	12			61	45	107			124	35	159								5	1	6			381	170	552	1538	2090									
1935	9	1	10			66	45	111			123	31	154								5	1	6			363	126	489	1370	1859									
1940																					5	1	6			406	144	550	1692	2241									
1945	15	2	17			94	77	171			153	58	211								10	2	11			524	239	763	1575	2339									
1950	13	2	15			147	79	226			178	63	242								23	1	24			693	279	972	1765	2737									
1955	15	6	20			142	97	239			204	78	283	483	766						20	3	21	28	50	698	356	1054	1866	2920									
1960	9	4	14	43	56	109	112	220	142	363	162	95	257	303	561	6	2	8	38	46	20	3	23	20	43	560	391	952	1572	2524									
1965	13	11	23	48	72	151	128	280	151	430	184	116	301	318	619	6	4	10	42	52	25	8	33	28	61	695	533	1228	1714	2942									
1970	17	16	33	53	86	206	42	248	148	387	233	109	343	288	631	5	3	8	40	48	28	11	39	22	61	904	441	1345	1713	3058									
1975	20	16	36	59	95	312	80	392	181	573	303	134	437	347	784	6	3	10	41	51	39	15	53	22	76	1167	540	1707	1725	3432									
1980	30	12	41	57	99	322	72	394	187	582	357	122	479	360	839	9	5	14	46	60	53	10	63	36	99	1353	658	2021	3020	5040									
1985	36 <td>7</td> <td>43</td> <td>49</td> <td>93</td> <td>315</td> <td>65</td> <td>380</td> <td>184</td> <td>584</td> <td>351</td> <td>146</td> <td>507</td> <td>389</td> <td>896</td> <td>10</td> <td>6</td> <td>16</td> <td>42</td> <td>58</td> <td>51</td> <td>6</td> <td>69</td> <td>45</td> <td>114</td> <td>1645</td> <td>689</td> <td>2334</td> <td>3217</td> <td>5551</td>	7	43	49	93	315	65	380	184	584	351	146	507	389	896	10	6	16	42	58	51	6	69	45	114	1645	689	2334	3217	5551									
1990	38 <td>8</td> <td>45</td> <td>55</td> <td>100</td> <td>343</td> <td>76</td> <td>469</td> <td>213</td> <td>682</td> <td>434</td> <td>191</td> <td>625</td> <td>441</td> <td>1086</td> <td>12</td> <td>6</td> <td>18</td> <td>46</td> <td>63</td> <td>51</td> <td>16</td> <td>67</td> <td>46</td> <td>113</td> <td>1687</td> <td>652</td> <td>2339</td> <td>3272</td> <td>5611</td>	8	45	55	100	343	76	469	213	682	434	191	625	441	1086	12	6	18	46	63	51	16	67	46	113	1687	652	2339	3272	5611									
1995	43	7	50	55	105	359	82	441	226	637	444	175	619	491	1101	12	4	16	50	66	59	13	72	63	135	2172	816	2987	3871	6859									
2000	42	11	52	53	105	378	80	437	242	679	457	241	698	435	1133	11	5	16	46	62	73	31	104	91	185	2142	795	2937	3987	6924									
2005	42	10	52	75	127	485	41	526	216	742	510	218	729	430	1158	11	6	17	47	64	63	35	118	87	204	2292	1296	3587	4069	7656									
2010	76	14	90	74	164	675	46	722	216	937	607	261	868	424	1232	16	5	21	56	77	75	52	127	95	223	2372	1376	3749	4048	7797									
1915											Statistics omitted owing to war conditions																												
1920	65	20	85	71	156	477	72	549	207	756	510	160	591	291	862	77	70	147	29	176	171	57	229	61	290			3917	2974	6891									
1925	93	31	123	55	178	639	98	737	122	860	687	303	990	290	1280	147	117	264	23	287	359	144	503	82	565	3873	1929	5802	2561	8363									
1930	95	39	134	51	185	639	106	745	137	881	785	410	1176	346	1522	188	200	387	28	416	413	179	593	90	673	4304	2315	6619	2862	9481									
1935	87	39	126	43	170	542	124	667	127	793	651	389	1041	374	1415	111	139	250	26	276	318	195	513	84	596	3348	2034	5441	2895	8336									
1940																																							
1945																																							
1950																																							
1955																																							
1960				149	56	205			569	121	690			1123	329	1453																							
1965				116	60	176			507	133	640			1031	270	1301										569	144	803		4691	2488	7179							
1970				106	72	178			671	213	883			1447	286	1733										572	131	703		4481	2341	6822							
																										786	244	1031		7321	3300	10622							

Source

The figures in this table have been calculated using the man/ton ratios for the appropriate year derived in Appendix 1b (i) (to 1910), 1b (ii) (1920-1930), and 1b (iii) (1960-1970), and the annual tonnage of shipping entered (from 1910 arriving) at selected ports and at all United Kingdom ports given in Appendix 1c, reduced to a daily basis.

Note

The data in this table is derived using net registered tonnages (NRT), the earning capacity of ships, which are less than corresponding gross registered tonnages (GRT). NRT understates the size of ships, typically by the size of engine spaces and crew accommodation. Using the same manpower figures, NRT produces a larger man/ton ratio than GRT. The 1961 Census of Seamen gives a ratio of 0.76 men per 100 GRT, which suggests that the value 1.21 per 100 NRT is exaggerated but not excessively so. Thus the estimated figures in this table from 1950 may similarly be enlarged. In the 1971 Census of seamen, the ratio was 0.37 men per 100 GRT, indicating that the ratio of 1.48 men per 100 NRT used in this table for the 1970 estimate is certainly excessive. '1971 Census of seamen', Trade and Industry, 8 (13 July 1972), 64-85.

In 1976 at Liverpool, 102750 men were shipped and 100190 paid off; the numbers paid off averaged 292 per day which may be compared with the estimated daily figure for seamen arriving in British ships in the foreign trade of 312; evidence of Revd. J. Nugent, Chaplain to Liverpool Gaol, to the Select Committee on Intemperance, 1877, BPP, 1877 XI, q 8216.

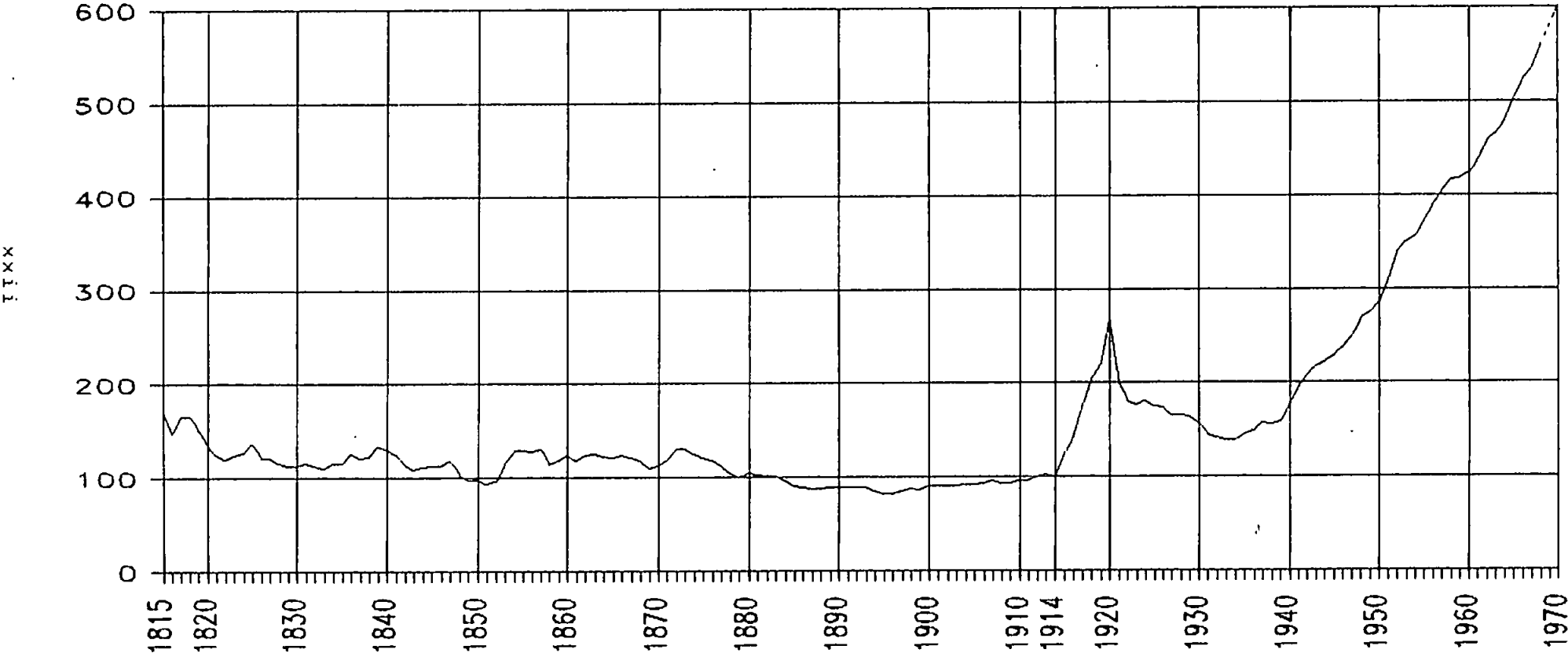
INDEX USED TO DEFLATE FINANCIAL DATA TO BASE 1914

ROUSSEAU PRICE INDEX (a)					COST OF LIVING INDEX (b)					COST OF LIVING INDEX (c)					ROUSSEAU PRICE INDEX (a)					COST OF LIVING INDEX (b)					COST OF LIVING INDEX (c)				
1865					1865					1865					1865					1865					1865				
100 =	85	1880	1914	1880	100 =	85	1880	1914	1880	100 =	85	1880	1914	1880	100 =	85	1880	1914	1880	100 =	85	1880	1914	1880	100 =	85	1880	1914	1880
1815	164	161		161						1893	82	80	89	85															89
1816	144	141		141						1894	74	73	85	81															85
1817	161	158		158						1895	72	71	83	79															83
1818	160	157		157						1896	73	72	83	79															83
1819	147	144		144						1897	74	73	85	81															85
1820	132	129		129						1898	78	76	88	84															88
1821	121	119		119						1899	84	82	86	82															86
1822	116	114		114						1900	91	89	91	87						58		91							91
1823	120	118		118						1901	86	84	90	86						58		91							91
1824	122	120		120						1902	86	84	90	86						58		91							91
1825	133	130		130						1903	86	84	91	87						58		91							91
1826	117	115		115						1904	83	81	92	88						59		92							92
1827	117	115		115						1905	86	84	92	88						59		92							92
1828	112	110		110						1906	93	91	93	89						59		93							93
1829	110	108		108						1907	97	95	95	91						61		96							96
1830	109	107		107						1908	87	85	93	89						59		93							93
1831	112	110		110						1909	91	89	94	90						60		94							94
1832	109	107		107						1910	97	95	96	91						61		96							96
1833	107	105		105						1911	102	100	97	93						62		97							97
1834	112	110		110						1912	104	102	100	95						64		100							100
1835	112	110		110						1913	106	104	102	98						65		103							103
1836	123	121		121						1914			100	95						64		100							100
1837	118	116		116						1915										80		125							125
1838	119	117		117						1916										91		144							144
1839	130	127		127						1917										114		179							179
1840	128	125		125						1918										130		205							205
1841	121	119		119						1919										141		221							221
1842	111	109		109						1920										171		269							269
1843	105	103		103						1921										127		199							199
1844	108	106		106						1922										115		181							181
1845	110	108		108						1923										113		177							177
1846	109	107		107						1924										115		181							181
1847	115	113		113						1925										112		176							176
1848	100	98		98						1926										111		174							174
1849	95	93		93						1927										105		166							166
1850	95	93		93						1928										105		166							166
1851	91	89		89						1929										104		164							164
1852	94	92		92						1930										100		157							157
1853	112	110		110						1931										92		145							145
1854	125	123		123						1932										90		142							142
1855	125	123		123						1933										89		140							140
1856	124	122		122						1934										89		140							140
1857	127	125		125						1935										92		145							145
1858	111	109		109						1936										95		149							149
1859	115	113		113						1937										100		157							157
1860	120	118		118						1938										99		156							156
1861	115	113		113						1939										101		159							159
1862	120	118		118						1940										115		180							180
1863	121	119		119						1941										125		196							196
1864	119	117		117						1942										132		208							208
1865	117	115		115						1943										138		217							217
1866	120	118		118						1944										141		221							221
1867	118	116		116						1945										146		229							229
1868	115	113		113						1946										151		237							237
1869	107	105		105						1947										159		250							250
1870	110	108		108						1948										170		267							267
1871	115	113		113						1949										175		275							275
1872	128	125		125						1950										181		284							284
1873	127	125		125						1951										197		310							310
1874	121	119		119						1952										215		338							338
1875	117	115		115						1953										222		349							349
1876	115	113		113						1954										226		355							355
1877	110	108		108						1955										236		371							371
1878	101	99		99						1956										248		390							390
1879	98	96		96						1957										257		404							

Appendix 2 (continued)

Appendix 2

INDEX USED TO DEFLATE FINANCIAL DATA TO 1914 VALUES



Sources: see Appendix 2
(table: combined index)

Appendix 3a

ANNUAL TOTALS (POUNDS) OF SEAMEN'S MONEY HANDLED BY BOARD OF TRADE FACILITIES

SEAMEN'S SAVINGS BANKS			SEAMEN'S MONEY ORDERS						TRANSMISSION OF SEAMEN'S WAGES					
YEAR ENDING 31st DEC	AMOUNT REC'D	AMOUNT REPAID	YEAR	ORDERS ISSUED		ORDERS PAID			RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS			
				NUMBER	AMOUNT	NUMBER	AMOUNT	AV	HOME	FOREIGN	HOME	FOREIGN		
	£	£		£	£	£	£		£	£	£	£		
1856 ^a	1639	344												
1857	11353	4572												
1858	11006	7105												
1859	13539	6418												
1860	14959	9653												
1861	17112	12681												
1862	17089	15343												
1863	17098	14090												
1864	20583	17201												
1865	21216	18397												
1866	24040	22803												
1867 ^b	32747	30397	1867	48674	295622	6.1	48621	295153	6.1					
1868	30120	28522	1868	53003	294022	5.5	52995	294182	5.6					
1869	37030	34929	1869	56740	318047	5.6	56707	318860	5.6					
1870	33174	32131	1870	58039	312482	5.4	57947	311587	5.4					
1871	39813	36659	1871	60632	338631	5.6	60289	337569	5.6					
1872	37625	34424	1872	59350	323010	5.4	59201	322596	5.4					
1873	43715	39493	1873	59816	355748	5.9	59717	355468	6					
1874	50183	45964	1874	60808	371367	6.1	60568	372064	6.1					
1875	48370	47617	1875	62006	388647	6.3	61759	387525	6.3					
1876	50732	47116	1876	64650	415072	6.4	64324	415440	6.5					
1877	56496	53601	1877	67489	411048	6.1	67363	408644	6.1					
1878	51436	47967	1878	71120	421069	5.9	71072	420749	5.9	1878 ^c	22225		21926	
1879	59114	59670	1879	70802	428510	6.1	72284	430607	6	1879	27967		27327	
1880	58549	53295	1880	68159	381910	5.6	68130	431630	6.3	1880	62978		62814	
1881	58247	53809	1881\1882 ^c	94513	475360	5.0	94450	474711	5	1881\1882 ^f	148758		147942	
1882	66337	60230	1882\1883 ^d	85318	437622	5.1	85298	436727	5.1	1882\1883	159105		158780	
1883	66029	61794	1883\1884	85098	461797	5.4	84993	461528	5.4	1883\1884	187808		187704	
1884	67606	68207	1884\1885	86327	447674	5.2	86278	447838	5.2	1884\1885	169283		168318	
1885	69450	71629	1885\1886	86469	436928	5.1	86456	436080	5	1885\1886	189534		190629	
1886	60385	61111	1886\1887	86148	425141	4.9	86202	425244	4.9	1886\1887	177072		176432	
1887	57333	55880	1887\1888	86180	413167	4.8	86112	413227	4.8	1887\1888	175706		176178	
1888	64662	59027	1888\1889	87324	416167	4.8	87369	417020	4.8	1888\1889	176298		176405	
1889	77326	70194	1889\1890	87839	456093	5.2	87708	454359	5.2	1889\1890	212815		211934	
1890	87789	78742	1890\1891	81861	460893	5.6	82095	461083	5.6	1890\1891	221775		221188	
1891	85253	82327	1891\1892	80573	481967	6	80750	483130	6	1891\1892	219905		220346	
1892	83042	87480	1892\1893	74998	458025	6.1	74876	426887	5.7	1892\1893	189333		189196	
1893	84799	87828	1893\1894	77942	438522	5.6	78087	440059	5.6	1893\1894	195630		195321	
1894	82563	76793	1894\1895	76105	384473	5.1	75937	381235	5	1894\1895	181069	8128	179962	7619
1895	80313	78817	1895\1896	71703	385925	5.4	71773	389045	5.4	1895\1896	178753	16001	179867	16142
1896	82707	78194	1896\1897	70089	373187	5.3	71050	371195	5.2	1896\1897	164118	9357	163498	9553
1897	87248	85288	1897\1898	63529	335678	5.3	63531	337027	5.3	1897\1898	149532	50300	150677	49370
1898	88579	86272	1898\1899	58653	330447	5.6	58664	329930	5.6	1898\1899	138585	64603	138188	64234
1899	90206	91204	1899\1900	55271	320031	5.8	55299	321339	5.8	1899\1900	156084	72833	156049	73629
1900	86156	91210	1900\1901	51376	323770	6.3	51399	322810	6.3	1900\1901	186457	49578	186793	48811
1901	93483	96108	1901\1902	50328	328288	6.5	50356	329272	6.5	1901\1902	173963	62552	173475	63413
1902	98528	101210	1902\1903	49210	324641	6.6	49224	324024	6.6	1902\1903	193595	62132	193553	61532
1903	91779	98226	1903\1904	47822	297115	6.2	47840	297827	6.2	1903\1904	153735	59658	154241	59579
1904	86581	100709	1904\1905	48176	298895	6.2	48200	298697	6.2	1904\1905	162471	67522	162257	66979
1905	86486	89954	1905\1906	50508	300802	6	50548	307330	6.1	1905\1906	153767	59805	153410	61069
1906	92402	100402	1906\1907	50956	322850	6.3	50955	322036	6.3	1906\1907	171196	60416	170835	57705
1907	85674	95057	1907\1908	55591	346671	6.2	55385	345080	6.2	1907\1908	184029	74148	182859	76721
1908	82016	96201	1908\1909	58021	359379	6.2	58089	360224	6.2	1908\1909	166381	83832	167720	82099
1909	78648	89438	1909\1910	61603	345805	5.6	61636	345696	5.6	1909\1910	152022	66514	150318	67948
1910	71197	77860	1910\1911	67534	384851	5.7	67519	383818	5.7	1910\1911	164918	76042	165595	76050
1911	74259	80492	1911\1912	68327	399514	5.8	68086	397773	5.8	1911\1912	184193	77971	181317	78071
1912	74155	80224	1912\1913	71481	431275	6	71581	432084	6	1912\1913	225536	84660	225925	84827
1913	75546	80064	1913\1914	70973	430800	6.1	71051	431575	6.1	1913\1914	229975	77162	226061	77250

Sources & notes

Sources: BPP, 1890, LXVI, 50; 1893/94, LXXX [c.7179], 387; 1913, LX [cd.7033], 111.

- a. From 1 October. b. Temporary deposit bank opened in Liverpool. c. Five quarters. d. April to March. e. Eleven months. f. April to March. g. Facility extended to seamen paying off in foreign ports

Dis. 3b. Transmission of Seamen's Wages.



No 51

ISSUED BY THE
BOARD OF TRADE,
FEBRUARY, 1882.Name of Ship { *Belle of Devon* Official No. {

SEAMAN'S APPLICATION AND RECEIPT FOR ADVANCE AND RAILWAY OR STEAMBOAT TICKET WARRANT.

Seaman's Christian and surname. (1.)	Wages to be drawn at (2.)	Railway or Steam- boat Ticket to (3.)	Cartage Fare. (4.)	Cash advanced by Superintendent (5.)	Railway or Steamboat Fare. (6.)	Amount of Deduction in Ship's Books, including advance, but not allotment. (7.)
<i>Herbert J. Mew</i>	<i>1 Bell</i>	<i>London</i>		<i>5/-</i>	<i>7/-</i>	<i>2.5.0</i>

I hereby request that the amount due to me for Wages in respect of the voyage now ending may be transmitted to the Port above named (Column 2), there to be paid to me by the Superintendent of the Mercantile Marine Office.

I also hereby certify that the deductions from my account of Wages as shown above (Column 7) are correct, and should be deducted in my account accordingly.

I further hereby acknowledge the receipt of the advance above named (Column 5) for Subsistence Expenses, and of a [Railway] [Steamboat] Ticket Warrant to the place above named (Column 3), fare as shown above (Column 4), [also the cost of cartage (Column 5) above-named], the value of all of which I desire to have charged to my Balance of Wages when handed to you.

I further hereby submit to, and agree to abide by your decision in any questions which may arise in the final settlement of my Wages Account, and as to the Allotment Payments to be charged against my Wages.

[I also beg to state that the sum of _____ is due to me for in addition to my Wages.]

Signed *Herbert John Mew*Witnessed by *W. H. Deacon*
this 1st day of Oct. 1883To the Superintendent,
Mercantile Marine Office,
Port of *Plymouth*

Note.—Erase the words in brackets, or otherwise, which do not apply.

SEAMAN'S RECEIPT AND RELEASE.

Received by the hands of the Superintendent of the Mercantile Marine Office at the Port named below from the Master of the above-named Ship, the sum of *five pounds*

being the balance of Wages, as shown in account annexed, less amounts as shown above, for [Advance and] [Railway Ticket] [and Cartage,] due to me for the voyage now terminated, and in respect of which voyage I hereby release the Ship, and the Master and Owner or Owners thereof, from all claims for Wages or otherwise.

Received also my Certificate of Discharge and Character for the voyage in question.

Signature *Herbert John Mew*In the presence of *John Deacon*
Superintendent.Port of *Plymouth*
day of *Oct* 1883Form returned to the Superintendent at
day of *Oct* 1883

W.J.D. 600 6-83

Port of *Plymouth*

Source: Devon Record Office, Crew agreements, 1883.

This form was signed by Herbert John Mew when he signed off the Belle of Devon in Plymouth on 1 Oct. 1883. The ship was registered at Plymouth, owned by W.H. Shilston, Official No. 83950, 108 tons gross.

Appendix 4a

GEORGE SORRELL, AB

Career at sea, 1860 - 1879

The table which follows has been compiled from George Sorrell's own reminiscences of his years at sea, which appear to have been written down at intervals between 1885 and 1893. They were subsequently published by Methuen in 1928 under the title The man before the mast: being the story of twenty years afloat, edited and introduced by C.Fox Smith. As a teenager, Sorrell left his home in Essex to work for a baker in London, going to sea after a few months, perhaps at the age of fifteen or sixteen. He sailed without telling his relatives and did not contact them for seven years, though he visited London on several occasions. The text centres on his ships, conditions on board and where they went. Some episodes on shore overseas are described, but Sorrell is largely silent on how he occupied himself ashore between ships. There were, though several occasions when he sailed almost immediately on another ship; it was his policy never to serve on the same ship twice. There is no information on his private life, why he left the sea in, presumably, his mid thirties or on his subsequent life ashore. The text is interesting because it is rare for an AB to write autobiographically, and because his sea career and his attitudes seem to exemplify typically those of merchant seamen of the period.

DATE	SHIP	BELONGING TO	TYPE	TONS	O.No.	REMARKS
1/1/1860	<u>Isabella</u>	Shoreham	Brig	272	14147	London-Shields-Newhaven (to London by rail)
	<u>Indiana</u>	London	Aux	1798	13849	London-Portsmouth-Gibraltar-Corfu-Trinidad-St. Lucia-Gravesend (trooping)
30/5/1860	<u>Benjamin</u>	London	Barque	528	4683	London-Falmouth-Mauritius-London (26 Jun 1861)
	<u>Buck Green</u>					(money runs out, walks to L'pool to find ship; living on scraps)
-/3/1861	<u>Lancashire Lass</u>	Sligo	Schooner	103	284	16 months coasting between west coast of England and Scotland and Irish ports. Leaves at Troon, July 1862.
4/8/1862	<u>White Star</u>	Caernarvon	Brig	166	39227	Ardrossan-Cette-Beyrouth-Latakiah-Falmouth-Lynn (18 Feb 1863).
28/2/1863	<u>Truelove</u>	Hull	Barque	296	5591	Hull-Baffin Bay (whaling)-London (5 Nov 1863) (ship built 1764).
1863	<u>Maria</u>	London	Brig			London-Adelaide (overland to Goolwa, River Murray)
1864	<u>Lady Daly</u>	Adelaide	Paddle Steamer	218	43134	Goolwa-1700 miles to head of river-Goolwa (overland to Adelaide).
1864	<u>Eastern Empire</u>	London	Ship	1014	35170	Adelaide-Madras-Calcutta (cyclone, October, 1864)
-/1/1865	<u>Fort William</u>	Bombay	Ship	624	30564	Calcutta-Bombay
-/3/1865	<u>Behar</u>	London	Steamer	1090	26995	(P&O) Bombay-Galle-Penang-Singapore-Hong Kong-Canton- (same ports back to Bombay).
1865	<u>Helen Morrow</u>	London		393	41394	Bombay-Cochin (Jan 1866)-London.
1866	<u>Ben Lomand</u>	Aberdeen	Ship	986	45201	London-Sydney-London (February, 1867).
1867	<u>Huntress</u>	London	Ship	775	45066	London-New Orleans
1867	(US ship) Calais (USA)		Brig			New Orleans-Pensacola (overland to Mobile).
1867	<u>Fanny Eales</u>	Nassau(WI)	Barque	431	51848	Mobile-Cadiz (steamer to Gibraltar, overland to Malaga)
1867	<u>Restless</u>	Maitland (NS)	Brig	289	54071	Malaga-New York (1868)
1868	<u>Arkwright</u>	New York	Ship			New York-Liverpool (19 days)
1868	<u>Zigia</u>	Liverpool	Schooner			Liverpool-St Michaels, Azores
1868	<u>Zouave</u>	Liverpool	Schooner	127	1142	Azores-Liverpool (15 days)
18/4/1868	<u>Melicete</u>	Liverpool	Ship	1133	24105	Liverpool-Quebec-Liverpool (23 Jul 1868)
1868	<u>David</u>	St. John's (NB)	Ship	931	6121	Liverpool-Quebec-Liverpool
1868	<u>Criffel</u>	Maryport	Barque	509	44390	Liverpool-Torrey (1 Jan 1869)-Valparaiso (150 days)
1869	<u>Midas</u>	Bath (USA)	Barque			Papo (Chile)-Montevideo-Buenos Aires-Stanley-Valparaiso-Caracas (Peru)-Lobo-Caracas-Callao-Chincha Is-Callao
1870	<u>Queen of Nations</u>	Liverpool	Ship	1462	46915	Callao-Stanley (jumps ship)

Appendix 4a (continued)

DATE	SHIP	BELONGING TO	TYPE	TONS	O.No.	REMARKS
-/5/1871	<u>Foam</u>	Stanley (FI)	Schooner	71	11135	Stanley-Montevideo
1871	<u>Cevette</u>	Trieste (Austria)	Brigantine			Montevideo-Havre (steamer to London, rail to Cardiff)
1871	<u>Sidwell Jane</u>	Bideford	Barqtime			Cardiff-Pernambuco-Rio Grande-Bristol (entered at Bristol Sailors' Home, 10 Feb 1872) (rail to Cardiff).
11/3/1872	<u>Leander</u>	Padstow	Barque	450	6141	Cardiff-Cape Verde Is-Sanguenay River-Swansea (20 August, 1872)
31/8/1872	<u>Oxfordshire</u>	London	Steamer	1228	65632	London-Suez-Calcutta-London (7 Jan 1873)(Captain Jones-seamen from this ship entered Sailors' Home London, on this date)
1873	<u>Hidalgo</u>	Hull	Steamer	1270	68235	London-Brest-Suez-Colombo-Madras-Calcutta-Bombay-Suez-Malta-London.
1873	<u>Celestial Queen</u>	London	Ship	843	50184	London-Lyttleton (emigrants) (overland to Timaru).
1873	(surf boats)		Boat			Ship to shore cargo handling; pay £156 pa; in 1875 tries several NZ ports for a ship.
1875	<u>Annie Lisle</u>	Melbourne	Barque	347	52459	Jumps ship after a few days; travels to Dunedin.
1875	<u>Harriet</u>	Sydney (NSW)	Barque	233	30967	Dunedin-Sydney.
	<u>Armitage</u>					
1875	<u>Rob Roy</u>	Sydney (NSW)	Brigantine			Sydney (unseaworthy, leaves)
1875	<u>Darling Downs</u>	London	Ship	1634	7887	Sydney-London (lower pay)
1875	<u>Himalaya</u>	London	Ship	1008	48594	London-Plymouth (emigrants)-Lyttleton.
1875	<u>Volunteer</u>	Lyttleton NZ	Schooner	22	48387	Coasting in NZ; pay 1/3 profits; leaves in 1876; visits Timaru; to Dunedin; hurts foot, laid up 1 month.
1876	<u>Wellington</u>	Glasgow	Ship	1247	71676	Dunedin-UK (longer than usual in UK this time); (entered Sailors' Home, London, 4 October, 1876)
1877	<u>Juno</u>	Liverpool	Ship	969	48477	UK-Melbourne (rail to Echuca on R. Murray;
				or 1454	70901	cruises for about 2 months).
1877	<u>Waradgery</u>	Melbourne	Stern Paddler	125	52359	River work; rail to Melbourne
1877	<u>Maria</u>	Melbourne	Schooner	29	31703	Coasting in Australia
21/11/'77	<u>Salamis</u>	Aberdeen	Ship	1079	70443	Melbourne-London (18 February, 1878; entered Sailors' Home, London, 19 February, 1878)
1878	<u>Cuzco</u>	London	Steamer	2437	65901	London-Adelaide-Melbourne-Sydney (to Melbourne by sea).
1878			Boat			Coasting in Australia
-/11/1878	<u>Kapunda</u>	London	Ship	1084	70733	Adelaide-London (April 1879; leaves the sea). (Sailors' Home, London, has entries from this ship for 1 April, 1879).

NOTES

Precise dates are as given in Sorrell's text, or from the sailors' homes entry books; others are approximations. Ships' names, ports and types are as given in the text. One or two may not be accurate, eg. Sidwell Jane or Zigia, which have not been clearly identified in the Mercantile Navy List or Lloyd's Register of the appropriate date. Where the identification seems accurate, tonnages and official numbers are from these publications. Sorrell's name does not appear on the crew agreement of the Isabella (PRO, BT 98/6530), but that ship is given as his last ship on that of the Indiana (PRO, BT 98/6521), against the name of George Battle (sic), boy, age 17. The full entries in the Sailor's Home, London, Entry Books (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, SAH 52) are:

24 October, 1876; ledger No. 6203; 1 chest, 1 bag; advances 10/-, 5/-; Wellington; East India Dock; from Otago; age 32; AB; born London; 3 months in ship; departed 27 October, 1876, for Bristol.

19 February, 1878; ledger No. 10837; cabin 608; 1 chest; advance 10/-; Salamis; South West India Dock; from Melbourne; age 33; AB; born London; 3 months in ship; left 22 February for Bristol.

Sorrell's name does not appear in the Bristol Sailors' Home entry books for either of these visits to Bristol.

Appendix 4b

WILLIAM GEORGE WAINWRIGHT, Master Mariner (1862-1942)

Career at sea, 1878 - 1919

The table which follows has been compiled from Captain Wainwright's own discharge certificates and books, testimonials, certificates and other documents, in the author's possession. His service as ship's officer (holding a Board of Trade Certificate of Competency as Master of a Foreign-Going Ship, No. 020468) and master, has been compared with entries in Lloyd's Captain's Register (now deposited in the Guildhall Library, London).

FROM	TO	CAPACITY	AGE	SHIP	REGISTERED	TYPE	TONS	H.P.	O.No.	REMARKS
7/ 8/1878	9/ 9/1878	Boy	15	<u>Sardinian</u>	Glasgow	Steamer	2577	600	71695	Liverpool-Montreal-Liverpool
17/ 9/1878	22/10/1878	Stwd	15	ditto						ditto
30/10/1878	2/12/1878	Boy	15	ditto						ditto
10/12/1878	14/ 1/1879	Boy	16	ditto						Liverpool-Baltimore-Liverpool
22/ 1/1879	4/ 3/1879	Boy	16	ditto						ditto
13/ 3/1879	14/ 4/1879	Boy	16	ditto						ditto
23/ 4/1879	27/ 5/1879	Boy	16	ditto						Liverpool-Montreal-Liverpool
4/ 6/1879	8/ 7/1879	Boy	16	ditto						ditto
16/ 7/1879	17/ 8/1879	Boy	16	ditto						ditto
27/ 8/1879	29/ 9/1879	Boy	16	ditto						ditto
7/10/1879	10/11/1879	CaptStwd	16	ditto						ditto
18/11/1879	22/12/1879	CaptStwd	16	ditto						Liverpool-Baltimore-Liverpool
30/12/1879	3/ 2/1880	CaptStwd	17	ditto						ditto
11/ 2/1880	24/ 3/1880	CaptStwd	17	ditto						ditto
31/ 3/1880	3/ 5/1880	Boy	17	ditto						ditto
12/ 5/1880	18/ 6/1880	CaptStwd	17	ditto						Liverpool-Montreal-Liverpool
24/ 6/1880	27/ 7/1880	Stwd	17	ditto						ditto
4/ 8/1880	6/ 9/1880	Stwd	17	ditto						ditto
15/ 9/1880	18/10/1880	Stwd	17	ditto						ditto
26/10/1880	1/12/1880	Stwd	17	ditto						ditto
21/12/1880	16/ 2/1881	3rd Stwd	18	<u>AqiaSophia</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1694	300	20460	L'pool-Alexandria-L'pool
27/ 2/1881	20/ 4/1881	3rd Stwd	18	ditto						ditto
28/ 4/1881	30/ 5/1881	Stwd	18	<u>Parisian</u>	Glasgow	Steamer	3440	800	84294	Liverpool-Montreal-Liverpool
9/ 6/1881	11/ 7/1881	Stwd	18	ditto						ditto
19/10/1881	22/11/1881	Stwd	18	ditto						ditto
2/ 3/1882	16/ 4/1882	2nd Stwd	19	<u>Roumelia</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1384	260	76502	Liverpool-Malta-Liverpool
22/ 4/1882	29/ 5/1882	2nd Stwd	19	ditto						ditto
2/ 6/1882	19/ 7/1882	2nd Stwd	19	ditto						L'pool-Mediterranean-L'pool
6/ 8/1882	22/ 9/1882	2nd Stwd	19	ditto						ditto
28/ 9/1882	13/11/1882	2nd Stwd	19	ditto						ditto
16/11/1882	22/12/1882	2nd Stwd	19	ditto						ditto
7/ 1/1883	28/ 2/1883	2nd Stwd	20	ditto						ditto
4/ 4/1883	20/ 5/1883	2nd Stwd	20	ditto						ditto
3/ 6/1883	26/ 7/1883	2nd Stwd	20	ditto						ditto
5/ 8/1883	30/ 9/1883	2nd Stwd	20	ditto						ditto
10/10/1883	9/12/1883	2nd Stwd	20	ditto						ditto
15/12/1883	14/ 2/1884	2nd Stwd	21	ditto						ditto
2/ 3/1884	2/ 5/1884	2nd Stwd	21	ditto						ditto
20/ 6/1884	9/10/1884	AB	21	<u>Fanny</u>	Belfast	Barque	608		52150	Barrow-St.Johns NB-Belfast
14/11/1884	23/ 4/1885	AB	21	<u>Atkinson</u>	ditto					Belfast-Foreign-Belfast
30/ 4/1885	10/ 7/1885	AB	22	ditto						ditto
21/ 7/1885	22/11/1885	AB	22	ditto						Belfast-Chatham NB-L'pool
17/12/1885	26/ 5/1887	AB	23	<u>QueensIsland</u>	Belfast	Barque	2038		90126	Cardiff-San Francisco-Hull
26/ 6/1887	24/ 8/1887	AB	25	<u>Macedonia</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1865	300	55073	L'pool-Mediterranean-L'pool
3/ 9/1887	10/11/1887	AB	25	ditto						ditto

Appendix 4b (continued)

FROM	TO	CAPACITY	AGE	SHIP	REGISTERED	TYPE	TONS	H.P.	O.No.	REMARKS
20/11/1887	24/12/1887	AB	25	<u>Ararat</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1305	200	65892	ditto
12/ 2/1888	6/11/1888	AB	25	<u>William Wright</u>	L'pool	Barque	748		35105	Cardiff-Mobile-Liverpool
8/ 1/1889	7/ 7/1889	2nd Mate	26	<u>Dundonald</u>	Liverpool	Barque	591		42645	Newport-Foreign-Rangoon
8/11/1889	30/ 1/1890	2nd Mate	26	<u>Shelley</u>	London	Steamer	1302	200	85038	Liverpool-Port Said-Barry
8/ 2/1890	10/ 4/1890	3rd Mate	27	<u>Arcadia</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1221	230	1738	L'pool-Mediterranean-L'pool
18/ 5/1890	4/ 7/1890	3rd Mate	27	<u>Ararat</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1305	200	65892	ditto
1/ 9/1890	20/ 9/1890	2nd Mate	27	ditto						ditto
1/10/1890	21/11/1890	2nd Mate	27	ditto						ditto
12/12/1890	31/ 1/1891	2nd Mate	28	ditto						ditto
23/ 2/1891	2/ 4/1891	3rd Mate	28	ditto						ditto
23/ 4/1891	31/ 5/1891	3rd Mate	28	ditto						ditto
23/ 6/1891	28/ 7/1891	2nd Mate	28	ditto						ditto
10/10/1891	29/11/1891	3rd Mate	28	<u>Roumelia</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1417	260	76502	ditto
12/12/1891	21/ 1/1892	3rd Mate	29	ditto						ditto
22/ 2/1892	31/ 3/1892	3rd Mate	29	ditto						ditto
24/ 4/1892	6/ 6/1892	3rd Mate	29	ditto						ditto
25/ 6/1892	9/ 8/1892	3rd Mate	29	ditto						ditto
26/ 8/1892	28/10/1892	3rd Mate	29	<u>Palm</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1393	140	63185	ditto
16/12/1892	28/ 1/1893	3rd Mate	30	<u>Ararat</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1305	200	65892	ditto
19/ 2/1893	31/ 3/1893	3rd Mate	30	ditto						ditto
13/ 4/1893	10/ 6/1893	3rd Mate	30	<u>Macedonia</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1865	300	55073	ditto
24/ 6/1893	12/ 8/1893	3rd Mate	30	ditto						ditto
20/ 8/1893	10/10/1893	3rd Mate	30	ditto						ditto
17/10/1893	22/11/1893	3rd Mate	30	ditto						ditto
17/12/1893	15/ 2/1894	3rd Mate	31	<u>Ararat</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1298	212	65892	ditto
4/ 3/1894	27/ 4/1894	3rd Mate	31	ditto						ditto
4/ 5/1894	19/ 6/1894	3rd Mate	31	ditto						ditto
27/ 7/1894	25/ 2/1895	2nd Mate	31	<u>Mab</u>	Newcastle	Steamer	1846	220	97977	Barry-India-America-Hull
5/ 3/1895	21/ 1/1896	1st Mate	32	ditto						Hull-Foreign-Hamburg
27/ 1/1896	26/ 7/1896	1st Mate	33	ditto						Hamburg-USA-Baltic-Newcastle
9/11/1896	28/ 1/1897	1st Mate	33	ditto						Hamburg-Savannah-Barry
28/ 1/1897	4/ 6/1897	1st Mate	34	ditto						Barry-Halifax NS-Bristol
18/ 6/1897	20/ 8/1897	1st Mate	34	ditto						Bristol-Hopewell-Cape-Barry
20/ 8/1897	16/ 2/1898	1st Mate	34	ditto						Barry-Philadelphia-Newport
4/ 3/1898	20/ 6/1898	1st Mate	35	ditto						Newport-River Plate-Newcastle
22/ 6/1898	8/ 8/1898	1st Mate	35	ditto						Newcastle-Montreal-Hull
15/ 8/1898	14/11/1898	1st Mate	35	ditto						Hull-C.Verde-Barry
18/11/1898	28/ 2/1899	1st Mate	35	ditto						Barry-Brindisi-Cardiff
15/ 3/1899	26/ 7/1899	1st Mate	36	ditto						Cardiff-Foreign-Rotterdam
26/ 7/1899	9/10/1899	1st Mate	36	ditto						Rotterdam-New Orleans-Newcastle
12/10/1899	24/ 3/1900	1st Mate	36	ditto						Newcastle-Galle (landed ill)
16/ 8/1900	5/10/1900	3rd Mate	37	<u>Roumelia</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1417	260	76502	L'pool-Mediterranean-L'pool
20/10/1900	28/11/1900	3rd Mate	37	ditto						ditto
5/12/1900	12/ 2/1901	3rd Mate	38	<u>Britannia</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	3040	380	91193	ditto
26/ 2/1901	9/ 4/1901	3rd Mate	38	ditto						ditto
25/ 4/1901	17/ 6/1901	2nd Mate	38	<u>Plantain</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1359		81316	ditto
6/ 7/1901	20/ 9/1901	2nd Mate	38	ditto						ditto
2/10/1901	24/11/1901	2nd Mate	38	ditto						ditto
18/12/1901	6/ 2/1902	2nd Mate	39	ditto						ditto
21/ 2/1902	31/ 3/1902	2nd Mate	39	ditto						ditto
8/ 4/1902	23/ 5/1902	2nd Mate	39	ditto						ditto
10/ 6/1902	4/ 8/1902	1st Mate	39	ditto						ditto
23/ 8/1902	8/10/1902	1st Mate	39	ditto						ditto
29/10/1902	26/12/1902	1st Mate	39	ditto						Liverpool-Odessa-Liverpool
14/ 1/1903	14/ 3/1903	1st Mate	40	ditto						L'pool-Mediterranean-L'pool
20/ 3/1903	21/ 8/1903	1st Mate	40	ditto						ditto
28/10/1903	24/12/1903	3rd Mate	40	<u>Roumelia</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1417	260	76502	ditto
3/ 1/1904	24/ 2/1904	3rd Mate	41	ditto						ditto

Appendix 4b (continued)

FROM	TO	CAPACITY	AGE	SHIP	REGISTERED	TYPE	TONS	H.P.	O.No.	REMARKS
2/ 3/1904	21/ 3/1904	2nd Mate	41	<u>Minho</u>	Liverpool	Steamer			97774	Lisbon and Oporto
24/ 3/1904	9/ 4/1904	2nd Mate	41	ditto						ditto
14/ 4/1904	1/ 5/1904	2nd Mate	41	ditto						ditto
18/ 5/1904	30/ 7/1904	1st Mate	41	<u>CityofVenice</u>	Glasgow	Steamer	2229		71726	L'pool-Mediterranean-L'pool
10/ 8/1904	8/10/1904	1st Mate	41	ditto						ditto
14/10/1904	2/12/1904	1st Mate	41	ditto						ditto
10/12/1904	8/ 2/1905	1st Mate	42	ditto						ditto
15/ 2/1905	21/ 4/1905	1st Mate	42	ditto						ditto
9/ 5/1905	13/ 7/1905	1st Mate	42	ditto						ditto
2/ 8/1905	12/10/1905	1st Mate	42	ditto						ditto
19/10/1905	19/12/1905	1st Mate	42	ditto						ditto
15/ 1/1906	28/ 5/1906	1st Mate	43	<u>Lustleigh</u>	Plymouth	Steamer	2092		111359	L'pool-New Orleans-Cardiff
2/ 6/1906	20/ 9/1906	1st Mate	43	ditto						Barry-Persian Gulf-Barry
29/ 9/1906	7/11/1907	1st Mate	43	<u>Kirby Bank</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	2092		111359	Barry-Foreign-Cardiff
22/11/1907	16/ 1/1908	1st Mate	44	ditto						Penarth-Foreign-Cardiff
1/ 2/1908	8/ 2/1909	1st Mate	45	ditto						Penarth-Foreign-Antwerp
	2/1909	3/1911	Master	46 <u>Dunkeld</u>	Liverpool	Steamer			120521	US-South America-Coasting
21/ 5/1911	9/ 1/1912	1st Mate	48	<u>Bankdale</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	2463		124045	Barry-Foreign-Barry
3/ 2/1912	27/ 3/1912	1st Mate	49	<u>Laataka</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	917	320	131374	Liverpool-Demerara-Liverpool
13/ 4/1912	2/ 6/1912	1st Mate	49	ditto						ditto
10/ 6/1912	29/ 7/1912	1st Mate	49	ditto						ditto
	8/1912	3/1914	Master	49 <u>Amakura</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	1497	250	101820	West Indies
29/ 5/1914	13/ 7/1914	1st Mate	51	<u>Laataka</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	917	320	131374	Liverpool-Demerara-Liverpool
25/ 7/1914	8/ 9/1914	1st Mate	51	ditto						ditto
19/ 9/1914	11/11/1914	1st Mate	51	ditto						ditto
28/11/1914	19/ 2/1915	1st Mate	51	ditto						ditto
16/ 3/1915	27/ 5/1915	1st Mate	52	ditto						ditto
16/ 7/1915	28/ 9/1915	1st Mate	52	ditto						ditto
	2/11/1915	18/12/1915	1st Mate	52 <u>Asuncion</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	2692	431	115311	Glasgow-New York-Glasgow
30/12/1915	29/ 3/1916	1st Mate	53	<u>de Larrinaga</u>	ditto					Glasgow-New York-Dundee
	3/ 4/1916	30/ 5/1916	1st Mate	53 ditto						Dundee-US-London
16/ 7/1916	14/ 8/1916	3rd Mate	53	<u>DaltonHall</u>	W.Hartlpl	Steamer	2280		106998	Barry-Admiralty-Glasgow
27/ 9/1916	17/11/1916	1st Mate	53	<u>Clydesdale</u>	Sunderland	Steamer	2295		106403	Liverpool-Admiralty-Leith
22/11/1916	24/ 2/1917	1st Mate	53	ditto						Leith-OHMS-London
11/ 3/1917	31/ 5/1917	1st Mate	54	<u>Kildale</u>	Whitby	Steamer	2436		118858	Liverpool-Adm-sunk 12/4/1917
16/ 5/1918	12/ 7/1918	2nd Mate	55	<u>Lady Gwendolen</u>	Dublin	Steamer	1336	210	132505	London-Coasting-Dundee
21/ 8/1918	18/ 9/1918	1st Mate	55	<u>Eastern Coast</u>	L'pool	Steamer	865			Liverpool-Coasting-Liverpool
19/ 9/1918	13/11/1918	2nd Mate	55	<u>Lady Cloe</u>	London	Steamer	737	220	139129	Liverpool-Home trade-Liverpool
13/11/1918	2/ 2/1919	1st Mate	55	<u>DevonCoast</u>	Liverpool	Steamer	392		128001	Home trade-Sunderland
14/ 8/1919	4/10/1919	1st Mate	56	<u>NewPioneer</u>	Manchester	Steamer	320	97	119596	Garston-Home trade-Manchester

W.G. Wainwright, the author's maternal grandfather, was born in Rock Ferry, Birkenhead, on 2 December 1862. It was to be expected, therefore, that he would sail mainly in Liverpool ships. The dates are those of engagement and as discharge. The first port under remarks was that of engagement and the last that of discharge. The voyage is also as described in the discharge papers. The age was his age when engaged. Wainwright clearly decided to advance his career in 1884. By December 1888, when he probably passed his second mate's examination, he had served almost exactly the four years on deck in sail required. He passed the examination for Master (ordinary, foreign-going) on 7 September 1896. His first period of command (16 March to 20 June 1898) was obtained when the master fell ill and was landed at Las Palmas outward bound to the River Plate. Precise dates are not available for the two periods of command proper as service as master does not appear in the discharge books. His command of the Dunkeld was terminated to free that appointment for a master much more senior in that company; that of the Amakura ended when ship was laid up. He probably made five voyages in Dunkeld and six in Amakura. The voyage on the Dundonald ended when the ship foundered and Wainwright probably returned from Rangoon as a 'distressed British seaman' (1889). He lost his berth in the Mab when he was landed ill in Ceylon (1900) and he needed six months recuperation. His last seagoing appointment recorded at Lloyds and the Registrar General of Shipping and Seamen was in the Kildale which was sunk by enemy submarine on 12 April 1917. Subsequent coastal service was recorded in separate discharge slips, copies presumably not reaching the authorities. His final working years, for which no record has so far been located, are believed to have been as master on the ferries from Liverpool to the Isle of Man.

THE FORMATION OF SEAMEN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DATE FORMED	TITLE	SHORT FORM and REMARKS
1814	Type Union Bible Society	
1816	Whitby Marine Bible Association	
1817	Mull Marine Bible Association	
23 March 1818	Zetland, Davis Straits, Greenland Fishery, and Marine Bible Society	
February 1818	Aberdeen Marine Bible Association	
13 January 1818	Liverpool Marine Bible Society	
1818	Merchant Seamen's Auxiliary Bible Society (London)	MSABS Dissolved 1 August 1855; activities to BFS
1818	Bristol Marine Bible Association	
18 March 1818	Port of London Society for promoting religion among Seamen	PLS; Floating Chapel, The Ark
12 November 1819	Bethel Seamen's Union, British & Foreign (London); 6/10/1820 renamed British & Foreign Seamen's Friend Society & Bethel Union	BFSFSBU
21 November 1819	Camberwell Auxiliary	Auxiliary to BFSFSBU
4 January 1820	North-East London Bethel Seamen's Union Society, Letter B	Auxiliary to BFSFSBU
6 January 1820	Greenock Seamen's Friend Society	Floating Chapel
7 February 1820	Edinburgh and Leith Seamen's Friend Society	Leith Floating Chapel, 18 March 1821 in London. Chapel ashore 1821.
7 July 1820	Cambrian Union Society, for promoting religion among Welsh Seamen	
4 August 1820	Bristol Seamen's Friend Society	Floating Chapel, 29 August 1821
12 October 1820	United Seamen's and Soldiers' Friend Society, Chatham	Auxiliary
24 October 1820	Sheerness & Queenborough Auxiliary Seamen & Soldiers' Friend Society & BU	
20 October 1820	Portsmouth and Portsea Seamen's Bethel Union	Chapel ashore
25 November 1820	Plymouth, Plymouth Dock and Stonehouse Soldiers' and Seamen's Friend	
22 December 1820	Gravesend and Milton Bethel Union Society	PPOSSFSBU Chapel ashore 1831.
1820	Thames Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	
9 January 1821	Saltash Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	Auxiliary to PPOSSFSBU
14 February 1821	Woolwich Seamen and Soldiers' Friend Society and Bethel Union	Auxiliary to BFSFSBU
19 February 1821	Catdoun, Oreston, & Turnchapel Seamen's Friend Society & Bethel Union	Auxiliary to PPOSSFSBU
20 February 1821	Barking Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	
28 February 1821	Sailors' Children's Bethel Union Society at Newlyn, Mount's Bay	
19 April 1821	Port of Hull Society for the religious instruction of Seamen	Floating Chapel, 23 October 1821
23 April 1821	Blackwall, Poplar and Limehouse Auxiliary BFSBU	Auxiliary to BFSFSBU
21 July 1821	Dover Auxiliary Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	
12 September 1821	Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	Floating Chapel, 16 May 1822
20 September 1821	Stepney and Wapping Bethel Mission Society	
November 1821	Dorchester Bethel Union	
1821	North Shields Auxiliary Seamen's Friend Society	
1821	Barnstaple, Falmouth, Margate > Annual Report of BFSFSBU (1821) mentions societies formed at these places	
2 January 1822	Aberdeen Seamen's Friend Society	
2 January 1822	Bideford and Appledore Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	Mariners' Ch. ashore, 8 Jan. 1823. Collapsed 1843
20 March 1822	Newport and Pillgwenilly Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	
15 April 1822	Milford Haven Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	
24 April 1822	Greenwich Seamen and Watermen's Auxiliary Bethel Union Society	
9 May 1822	Cardiff Bethel Union Society	
13 May 1822	Glasgow Seamen's Friend Society	
July 1822	Carnarvon Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	Seamen's chapel ashore, 27 March 1825
9 August 1822	Warrington Bethel Union	
25 September 1822	Port of Dublin Society for promoting religion among Seamen (Anglican)	Floating chapel, 1823
September 1822	Belfast Seamen's Friend Society	
23 December 1822	Newcastle Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	Seamen's chapel ashore
1822	Ipswich Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	
1822	Salisbury Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	
1822	Dundee Seamen's Friend Society	
1822	Colchester, Wivenhoe, Harwich, Lynn, Boston, Gainsborough >	
	Bridlington, Scarborough, Whitby, Stockton on Tees, Sunderland >	
	South Shields, Blythe >	
	Harport, Whitehaven, Waterford, Voughal >	Annual Report of BFSFSBU (1822) mentions societies formed at these places
	Watchet, Bridgewater, Brimham, Torpoint, Deal, Deptford >	
15 January 1823	Wixbeach Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union	
September 1823	Clifton, Hotwells and Pill Seamen's Friend Society	Floating Chapel 'Clifton Ark', 2 June 1824
1824	Falmouth, Poole, Sidwell and Wapping > Annual Report of BFSFSBU (1823) mentions societies formed at these places	
1824	Swansea society	Chapel ashore, 1825
1824	Ilfracombe Bethel Union	
26 April 1825	Liverpool Mariners' Church Society (Anglican)	Floating Mariners' Church 17 May 1827
20 July 1825	Episcopal Floating Church Society (London) (Anglican)	Floating Church, Good Friday 1829. Abandoned 1847
1825	Jersey Seamen's Friend Society	
6 September 1825	Mariners' Church Society (London) 1827 renamed British and Foreign Seamen's and Soldiers' Friend Society	MCS Church in Wellclose Square BFSFS Collapsed August 1832
1826	Dublin Mariners' and Rivermen's Bethel Union	
15 February 1827	Port of London and Bethel Union Society	
1827	Quilford Auxiliary Soldiers and Seamen's Friend Society	Merger of PLS and BFSFSBU
29 January 1828	Mariners' Church Society, Hull (Anglican)	Church ashore 17 February 1828; rebuilt 15 June 1834
1830	Cork society (Anglican)	Floating chapel
10 October 1832	London Mariners' Church Society or Bethel Flag Union Apr 1833 renamed British and Foreign Sailors' and Soldiers' Bethel Flag Union.	BFSFSBU 13 February 1845 ejected (debt) from Church
6 May 1833	Sailors' Church Society of St. Vincent de Paul approved	Mariners' Church leased by BFS as its Sailors' Church
3 July 1833	British and Foreign Sailors' Society (National and International)	BFS Sailors' Society absorbed PLBUS. Continues
1835	Scottish Sailors' and Soldiers' Bethel Flag Union (Edinburgh)	Discontinued mid 1840s
1837	Bristol Channel Mission (Anglican)	
1842	Sunderland Sailors' Missionary Society	Reformed in 1845 as Bristol Channel Seamen's Mission
1843	Wesleyan Seamen's Mission (London) (Methodist)	Auxiliary to BFS 1843-51 & 1884 on
23 February 1844	Thames Church Mission (Anglican)	Chapel 1849. Continues as Queen Victoria Seamen's Pest
14 January 1846	Seamen's Christian Friend Society (London) (National)	Merged with Missions to Seamen 1904
1846	Seamen's and Boatmen's Friend Society (National)	SCFS; continues
1847	St. Paul's Church for Seamen (Sailors' Home, Dock St, London) (Anglican)	Merger of two earlier societies; dissolved 1960s (?)
1848	Mariners' Friend Society (London) (National)	Successor to Episcopal Floating Church Society
ca 1850	Scottish Coast Missions	1968 dormant; Charity Come, transfer assets to SCFS
1855	Bristol Missions to Seamen (Anglican)	Merged with BFS
20 February 1856	Society for Promoting Missions to Seamen Afloat at Home and Abroad (London) (Anglican) (National and International)	Reformed from the Bristol Channel Seamen's Mission
24 November 1856	Harvey Mission to Seamen (Liverpool) (Anglican)	Renamed Missions to Seamen after merger with Bristol
December 1856	Aberdeen Sailors' Mission	Missions to Seamen, 19 May 1858
January 1864	St. Andrew's Waterside Church Mission (Gravesend) (Anglican)	Continues
1861	Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen	1924 merged with BFS
June 1891	Catholic Truth Society Seamen's Committee (London)	Mission vessels. Merged with Missions to Seamen 1939
April 1893	Sailors' Church Society of St. Vincent de Paul approved	
20 September 1893	Catholic Sailors' Club, Wellclose Square, London	Continues
1895	Seamen's Branch of the Apostleship of Prayer (Catholic)	Moved to Lambert Road, Silvertown, 1913
January 1895	Catholic Seamen's Club, Bootle, Liverpool	
1899	Catholic ship visiting Glasgow	
1910	Catholic Seamen's Institute, Dublin	Ended 1907
1920	Preparations by Peter F. Anson & others for a national Catholic society	An earlier Sailors' Club remodelled
11 October 1921	Insurgical meeting of Apostleship of the Sea, Glasgow (Catholic) (National & International) (Continues)	

Sources: Sailor's Magazine (and successors) 1820-31; Kuerndel, Seamen's Missions; Anson, Church and the Sailor

Unless otherwise stated all the societies listed were 'non-denominational' though after the early years their main support was non-conformist. This list is unlikely to be complete, but it demonstrates clearly the general pattern of development amongst individual societies. It does not reflect the continued development of the seamen's mission movement by the national societies through their spreading branch network from the 1850s. It is possible that some of the societies accorded formal titles by the Sailors' Magazine may not have been formally constituted. Some were short lived. There was considerable unstructured seamen's missionary activity throughout the nineteenth century at times giving an impression of formal organization. It is unclear to what extent Catholic initiatives in the 1890s produced new societies distinct from existing Church activities. Kuerndel's main source is the Sailor's Magazine but it is supported by extensive researches in society records and contemporary publications. Anson seems to have based his work almost exclusively upon reports in the Catholic press.

Appendix 6a

ANALYSIS OF CERTAIN SEAFARERS' MISSIONARY SOCIETY CONSTITUTIONS
AS REPORTED IN THE SAILOR'S MAGAZINE

Items specified in resolutions passed at inaugural meeting		LONDON BFSFSBU	GREENOCK SFS	BRISTOL SFS	PLYMOUTH POSSFSBU	LIVERPOOL SFSBU	LONDON EFCS
Acknowledges developments elsewhere			x	x	x		
Targets	seamen seamen's families others assoc. soldiers	x	x	x	x	x	x
Purpose	religious moral comfort happiness	x	x	x	x	x	x
Places of worship	ashore afloat			x		x	x
Prayer meetings		x	x		x	x	
Bethel flag emblem		x	x	x		x	
Schools	day Sunday nautical			x		x	
Literature distribution	scriptures tracts other suitable	x	x	x	x	x	
Libraries							x
Lodging houses	recommendation operation	x	x			x	
Doctrines statement	repentance faith glory peace grace	x		x		x	
Denominations	all embraced	x		x		x	Anglican
Management	President		1			1	1
	Vice Presidents					2+	x
	Treasurer	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Secretaries	6	1	3	2	4	
	Committee	17	32	20	20	12	21
	all clergy		x		x	x	
	meetings	monthly as needed			monthly	monthly fortnight	
	quorum	5	8		5	5	5
	life member	£10 10s 0d		£10 10s 0d		£10 10s 0d	
	annual sub.	10s 6d	5s	10s 6d	2s 6d	10s 6d	£1 1s 0d
	collector	x		1			
	AGM	x	December	x		September	
	sub-committees				3	x	
Bethel	companies		x	x		x	
Employees	clergy missionaries						1
Sailor's Magazine subscriptions					2		
Rev. G.C. Smith role acknowledged				x		x	
Sailors' Magazine reference		1(1820), 1(1820), 1(1820), 2(1821), 2(1821), 6(1825), 426-427 185-186 352-353 22-24 383-386 316-320					

Although not all the items listed were mentioned in the resolutions published, societies
societies in practice adopted many of these principles.

BETHEL SEAMEN'S UNION,

British and Foreign.

Resolutions unanimously adopted by the Committee of this Institution:—

I. **THE NAME.**—That this Society shall in future be designated "THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY, AND BETHEL UNION."

II. **THE OBJECTS.**—To extend the Christian Religion, improve the Morals, and promote the general good conduct of British and Foreign Seamen; and, in consequence of recent measures adopted at Chatham and Sheerness in the formation of Auxiliary Seamen's Friend Societies, this Institution considers it desirable to promote the spiritual improvement of Soldiers in every Town and City where it may be found practicable.

III. **THE MEANS.**—First, Domestic and Social Worship of Almighty God, by the union of a ship's crew at sea, or the collection of various Captains and Seamen in Port under the Bethel Flag. Secondly, the distribution of Bibles and Religious Works published by the most respectable Institutions for Piety and Morality. Thirdly, the encouragement of Religious Assemblies, and preaching by suitable Ministers on various parts of the River Thames, particularly the Upper and the Lower Pools. Fourthly, The establishment of Bethel Signal Flags and Divine Worship on board of different Ships in every Seaport. Fifthly, A correspondence with Foreign Nations to promote similar Establishments throughout the World. Sixthly, The extensive circulation of the "SAILOR'S MAGAZINE," as a suitable mode of Instruction, a Monthly medium of Intelligence, and an interesting compilation of Anecdotes and Narratives from the correspondence of zealous Friends to the Temporal and Eternal welfare of Seamen. Seventhly, The providing suitable boarding-houses for Sailors on their arrival from foreign voyages.

IV. **THE SPIRIT.**—Christian Philanthropy, as expressed in the Gospel, "Glory be to God in the highest; Peace on Earth, and good will towards men;" Christian Candour, as displayed in the Apostolic Benediction, "Grace be with all them who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity;" The sentiments to be promoted will be agreeable to the articles and homilies of the Church of England, and the doctrines inculcated are, "Repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ."

V. **THE CONSTITUTION.**—The most respectable and honorary patron-

age, an efficient Committee, British and Foreign Secretaries, Treasurer, and Collector.

VI. THE RULES.

I. That the following Gentlemen be Members of the Committee, with power to add to their Number:—

Captain C. M. FARIAN, R. N.	G. F. ANGAS, Esq.
Captain Sir G. M. KEITH, R. N.	H. ASHLEY, Esq.
Captain P. LAMB, R. N.	Mr. G. YEOLAND.
Lieut. E. SMITH, R. N.	Mr. H. PARKS.
Lieut. W. H. NICHOLS, R. N.	Mr. F. COLLINS.
Lieut. J. F. ARNOLD, R. N.	Mr. J. CONGDON.
Lieut. J. NORRIS, R. N.	Mr. S. CHEESWRIGHT.
Rev. W. B. COLLYER, D. D.	Captain G. ORTON.
Rev. J. IRONS.	

II. That the following Gentlemen be the Officers of the Society, viz.:—

BENJAMIN SHAW, Esq. *Treasurer.*

Captain C. ALLEN, R. N.	} <i>Corresponding Secretaries.</i>
Lieut. T. G. NICHOLS, R. N.	
Mr. T. PHILLIPS	
Captain W. H. ANGAS	} <i>Foreign Secretaries.</i>
Rev. G. C. SMITH	
Mr. E. M. SPARKES	<i>Secretary.</i>
Rev. A. BROWN	} <i>Minister for the Society to Address the Seamen in the Upper and Lower Pools.</i>
Mr. M. CLARKE, R. N.	
	<i>Collector.</i>

III. The Committee to meet monthly for the transaction of business, and that five be considered a quorum.

IV. A Subscription for carrying into effect the objects of this Society shall be opened, and a donation of 10 guineas or upwards constitute the donor a life member, and an annual Subscription of half a guinea, or more, a member of this Society.

V. That an Annual Meeting of this Society be held in the City of London; when a report of its proceedings will be read, and the audited accounts of its receipts and disbursements communicated to the public.

Donations and Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, Secretaries, and Members of the Committee; also, at the Banking-house of Sir John Perring, Bart. Shaw, Barber, and Co. 72, Cornhill.

Committee Room, 18, Aldermanbury,

Oct. 6, 1820.

BRISTOL BETHEL COMPANIES.

BEFORE Mr. Smith left Bristol, he formed four Bethel Companies of praying men from all denominations, twelve in each company. They collected money, and purchased Bethel Flags, which were publicly presented to them on the deck of an Irish trader after preaching. The following plan has been generally adopted for their government:—

BRISTOL SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

REGULATIONS OF THE BETHEL COMPANIES.

I. EACH Company to consist of twelve Persons of different denominations, three of whom to be managers of the Company. The managers to be chosen every three months.

II. Each Company to hoist a Bethel Flag one evening in each week, and to be at liberty to hoist it oftener if they think proper.

III. Each Company will take up two Sailor's Magazines, at a Subscription of One Penny per Month each Member.

IV. Each Company will feel themselves at liberty to withdraw from any one of their number whose conduct may be considered improper, and to elect another in his room.

V. There shall be four Companies, distinguished by the letters A B C D, and one person of each Company will form a Sub-Committee, to communicate with the General Committee of the BRISTOL SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY. The Sub-Committee to be chosen every three months.

VI. There shall be a general monthly Prayer Meeting, the first Friday evening in each month of the four Companies; and, at least, two of each Company will then engage in prayer.

VII. Each Company will be particularly careful to engage Sailors to pray as often as they can at the Meetings on board ships.

VIII. If any preacher of the gospel should be present at these meetings, the Manager for the time being may request him to deliver a short Address.

IX. A portion of the Scriptures to be read at the commencement of every Meeting, and Tracts to be distributed when they can be obtained.

At a General Meeting of the four Companies, held Monday Evening, August 28, 1820, the following persons were unanimously chosen Managers of each Company for three months:—

I.	II.	III.	IV.
Mr. Merrick	Mr. Williams	Mr. Parker	Mr. G. Pocock
Mr. Skinner	Mr. Hopkins	Mr. Lewellin	Mr. Hamley
Mr. Thompson	Mr. Sladon	Mr. Baker	Mr. S. Smith.

And Messrs. Merrick, Williams, Parker, and Pocock, were chosen the Sub-Committee for three months.

Source: Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1820), 373.

CONSTITUTION OF GREENOCK SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY

Greenock, Jan. 6, 1820.

AGREABLY to intimation, a Meeting was held this evening in the new church, for the purpose of considering the best means to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of Seamen; when it was resolved:—

I.—That the principles of morality and religion are of vital importance to society, and that therefore every prudent scheme to extend their influence ought to be put into active and immediate operation.

II.—That while it is the duty of Christians in general to "do good to all men as they have opportunity," it is peculiarly incumbent on British Christians to direct their attention to Sailors, as a class of men who have been rendered the instruments of promoting the commerce and defending the shores of these favoured Isles.

III.—That amidst the extensive and valuable exertions for the good of mankind, little has hitherto been done by a Christian public to discharge their obligations to Seamen.

IV.—That this Meeting hails with the most cordial gratification the recently-awakened attention to the best interests of that deserving class of men, and they mention, with distinguished approbation and regard, the late proceedings in the River Thames of the Bethel Seamen's Union Society, in conjunction with the Merchant Seamen's Bible Society, and the London Religious Tract Society.

V.—That it would be desirable in a high degree, that societies for similar purposes with those in London, already named, were instituted generally throughout the maritime ports of the kingdom.

In the spirit of the last resolution, it was moved that the Meeting do now resolve itself into a Society, and that the following be its designation, object, and regulations.

1st.—The Society shall be designated the "Greenock Seamen's Friend Society."

2nd.—Its object shall be to promote as far as possible the temporal and spiritual interests of Seamen trading to or connected with this Port.

3rd.—The means by which the Society shall be prosecuted are these:

I.—By furnishing Bibles to Seamen, either at reduced or full prices as circumstances may dictate, and for this purpose, the countenance and co-operation of the Greenock and Port Glasgow, West Renfrewshire Bible Society, shall be solicited. (II.) By distributing Religious Tracts on board of ships, and particularly to those sailing on distant voyages.—The better to promote this branch of the object, a correspondence shall be instituted with the Societies in London and elsewhere; and supplies of their publications obtained for the purpose specified.—(III.) By establishing and encouraging Prayer-meetings on board of ships in the harbour, to which Seamen shall be invited by a flag with the word "Bethel" inscribed, displayed at the mast-head of the ship in which the meeting is to be held.—(IV.) By soliciting clergymen to preach to Seamen occasionally, both on ship board and in places of worship on shore; and (V.) By recommending stranger Seamen on their arrival to well-regulated boarding houses, to be opened under the patronage of this Society.

4th.—The expences of this Society shall be defrayed by voluntary contributions and annual subscriptions. Five shillings per annum shall constitute a member.

5th.—The prosecution of the object of the Society and the management of its affairs shall be vested in a Committee, viz: A President, Treasurer, and thirty-two Directors, to be elected annually, but eligible for re-election.—The minister of the Town and the directors of the Marine Society for the time being to be members of the Committee, *ex officio*.—Eight to be a quorum.

6th.—The Sub-Committee to be composed of four Directors from the general Committee, who shall be on active duty each week in rotation. During its respective term, such Sub-Committee shall visit every ship arriving and about to sail, and endeavour to further the designs of the Society as above-stated in the best manner possible.—They shall respectfully recommend that the Scriptures be read steadily to the crew, both at sea and in foreign parts, and, if practicable, that public prayer be held on board.—They shall likewise recommend, that any seamen and apprentices unable to read, be sent to the adult school, and that their savings and

The following Committee was elected for carrying the above designs into effect, and to receive subscriptions to defray the expences of the Society.

John Denniston, Esq.—President.

William Johnston, Esq.—Treasurer.

Directors.

Ministers of the Town and Directors of the Marine Society, pro tempore.

1st Sub-Committee.

Messrs. Alan Ker
Neil M'Arthur
Robert Lane
Daniel Robb

2nd Sub-Committee.

Messrs. Alexander Laird
J. M'Farlane
Wm. Turner
R. D. Ker

3rd Sub-Committee.

Messrs. Rob. Glass
Jas. Stevenson
John Alexander
Alexander Mackay

4th Sub-Committee.

Messrs. Wm. Simmons
Wm. M'Intire
John Ker
J. Sommerville

5th Sub-Committee.

Messrs. Quintin Leitch
Thomas Hogg
John M'Nab, Jun.
Thomas Lang

6th Sub-Committee.

Messrs. Andrew Muir
Daniel Bruce
Jas. Darrock
Wm. Heron

7th Sub-Committee.

Messrs. John M'Gour
Rob. Lusk
Archibald M'Naught
Daniel Weir

8th Sub-Committee.

Messrs. Archibald Langwell
Rob. Carswell
John Douglas
James Jamieson.

wages be lodged in the Provident Bank. It may be expected that small contributions shall be made in aid of the Society, by the seamen among whom the Tracts are distributed, and who appreciate the object held in view.

7th.—A general Meeting of the Society shall be held annually on the first Monday of December, when a report of the preceding year's transactions shall be read,—the Treasurer's accounts be presented and settled, and the office-bearers for the following year chosen.—The Committee shall meet as frequently as business may require the Secretary to be the convener.

Subscriptions in aid of the Fund will be received by Mr. Daniel Weir, at the Society's Depository, No. 3, Cathcart Street, where Seamen may be furnished with Bibles and Tracts.

Appendix 6e

PLYMOUTH, PLYMOUTH DOCK AND STONEHOUSE SEAMEN AND SOLDIERS' FRIEND SOCIETY AND BETHEL UNION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

"A Statement of Doctrines professed in common by the Committee of the Bethel Union Society copied from a Schedule annexed to the trust deed, bearing date June 14th 1841.

The exclusive and Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures and their entire sufficiency as a standard of religious belief and practice

The Unity of God in connexion with the proper Deity of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit

The universal and total depravity of Man, and his exposure to eternal death as the wages of Sin

The justification of the ungodly through Faith in the obedience unto death of the Lord Jesus Christ

The absolute necessity of the Holy Spirit's influence to regenerate sinners, and to increase and perfect their conformity to the image of Christ

The immutable and eternal obligation of the moral law as a rule of human conduct

The imperative duty of all who hear the Gospel to believe in Christ Jesus and to adorn his doctrine by denying ungodliness and Worldly lusts and by living soberly, righteously and godly in this present World

The resurrection of the just and the unjust at the last day

The everlasting happiness of the righteous and the endless misery of the impenitent

By the Trust Deed above referred to it is provided that a Declaration of belief in the Doctrines above-mentioned, shall be made in his own hand writing by every Minister, or Preacher who may officiate in the above aforesaid Chapel, School room & premises, and each such Minister or Preacher shall also pledge himself not to introduce into his discourses or lectures therein, any sentiment which he may know to be peculiar to himself or objectionable to any denomination of Christians comprehended in the aforesaid Bethel Union.

Plymouth May 7 1832."

Source: Loose sheet back of 1837-1869 Minute Book

Note: The trust deed was for the land in Castle Street, Barbican, Plymouth, on which the first Bethel Chapel proper was erected in 1831. Originally it had used sail lofts for meetings at Mutton Cove, North Corner, Stonehouse and the Barbican. By the 1850s Plymouth Dock (renamed Devonport in 1824) had been dropped from the original title given above, indicating a split in the society as a separate society certainly existed in Devonport in the second half of the nineteenth century, with a Bethel chapel at 6 Webster's Ope, Cornwall Street, Devonport (1851 Census) and one at Mutton Cove (OS 1894).

Appendix 7

ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE STATEMENTS FOR SOME SEAMEN'S MISSIONS FOR CERTAIN YEARS, 1822-1865

SOCIETY	ACCOUNTING YEAR	INCOME											EXPENDITURE											BALANCES		
		SUBS	a	COLL	b	FUNDS	c	COLLE	a-d	INT	SALE	LEGA	FROM	INTST	MISC	STAFF	1	BOOKS	DEPTN	o	o	o	TOTAL	THIS	PREV	TOTAL
		a	%	b	%	c	%	d	%	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	p	q	r	s	t	u	v
		£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Liverpool SFSBU	pt 1822	518	50	110	11				61		405			1033	32	1465	35	2	32	32	53	8	1549	(616)		(616)
Liverpool SFSBU	1840/1841	146	19	199	27	149	20	35	71				220	749	63	47	357	61	26	39	61	12	590	(159)	(255)	(96)
Liverpool SFSBU	1844/1845	161	33	164	33	130	26	37	100					492	52	87	230	46	24	63	42	9	498	(6)	(39)	(44)
Liverpool SFSBU	1850/1851	172	31	195	35	168	30	14	100			3		551	157	25	303	53	40	23	24	4	574	(23)	(113)	(133)
Pt of London BUS	1826&1827	321	71	113	25				96			20		454	23	213	102	25	21	39	9	2	409	45	38	83
Br & Fgn SSFS	1827/1828	618	32	678	35	409	21	44	90	20	166			1936	163	279	565	29	---	623	305	17	1936			(799)
Br & Fgn SSFS	1828/1829	531	16	984	29	841	25	62	72	79	861			3357	355	469	888	26	172	917	557	23	3357	(799)		(1700)
Plymth PDSSFSBU	1829/1830	82	80	15	15				95	3	2			102	44	24			24	9			102	(5)		(5)
Plymouth SSSFSBU	1858/1859	86	88	10	10			1	99		1			98		15	79	81		4			98	(2)		2
Wesleyan SMS	1855	334	73	88	19	11	2	27	100					459	78	88	206	44		41	57	12	471	(12)	36	24
Wesleyan SMS	1860	372	69	101	19	11	2	42	98					539	66	15	337	61	34	43	53	10	549	(22)	9	(13)
Wesleyan SMS	1865	475	48	136	14	5	1	92	72		11	270		989	65	153	398	54	29	44	42	6	731	257	25	282

Sources: Liverpool SFSBU, *Sailor's Magazine*, 4 (1823), 93, annual reports; Port of London Bethel Union Society, *Sailor's Magazine*, 8 (1827), 324; BFSFS, *New Sailor's Magazine*, 1 (1828), 234, 2 (1829), 291-292; Plymouth PDSSFSBU, WDR0 1107/4, SSSFSBU, annual report; Wesleyan SMS, annual reports

All figures rounded to nearest pound; totals calculated on actual figures before rounding.

a. Subscriptions and donations. b. Collections in chapels or churches, at events, etc. c. Funds raised by auxiliary organisations. d. Collecting boxes in ships and locations ashore. e. Interest, rents, loans. f. Sales of ships gear (Liverpool), publications. g. Legacies. h. Transfer from reserve fund. i. Total income. j. Interest, taxes, rates, rents. k. Miscellaneous, incl. insurance, gas, coals, candles, repairs. l. Wages and salaries of clergy, ministers, lay missionaries, ship keepers; m. Purchase of books, tracts, book and collecting boxes. n. Printing magazines, annual reports, tracts, posters, etc. o. Expenses of deputation work and collecting subscriptions. p. Total expenditure.

Liverpool SFSBU. 1822 (year formed): 'Miscellaneous' includes purchase price (£935) of ship William, and cost of conversion (£516) to floating chapel; 'sales' comprises sale of redundant ship's gear.

Pt of London BUS This account represents the state of the society following the merger of PLS with BFSFSBU. Most outgoings concern the PLS floating chapel. Outstanding debts amounted to about £331, of which £271 were printers bills, incl. £170 for the *Sailor's Magazine*.

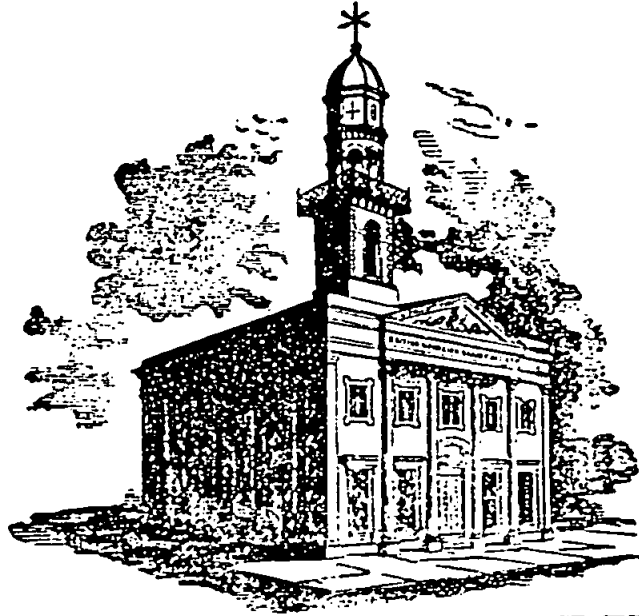
Br & Fgn SSFS Both these accounts are presented with out references to balances; ie. some expenditure has been made to fit exactly the the income received, with further expenditure, amounting approximately to the debit balances shown, being omitted. This is Smith's broad vision 'metropolitan establishment' based on the Mariner's Church, Wellclose Square, London. 'Sales' income and 'printing' expenditure was for his New sailor's magazine.

Plymouth SSSFSBU In 1831 Plymouth had built its own chapel, and by 1858 had cleared the debt this caused; Devonport had separated by 1851. In 1858/59 wages paid the missionary £39 and school teacher £40. The society also had debts amounting to £27.

Wesleyan SMS. This was also a London society, formed in 1843.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN SAILORS' SOCIETY
PUBLICITY LEAFLET FOR ITS LONDON INSTITUTE, OPENED 1856

SEAMEN WANTED!



SAILORS' INSTITUTE, MERCERS' STREET, SHADWELL.

PATRON, HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE CONSORT.

Free to all Seafaring People.

A READING ROOM, supplied with a good Library, the "Times," "Shipping Gazette," and other Newspapers, Magazines, Maps, Charts, Writing Materials, &c.

A COFFEE ROOM, where Provisions of the best quality can be obtained at moderate prices. Tea, Coffee, Chops, Eggs, &c. always ready.

A NAUTICAL SCHOOL, connected with the Board of Trade, where a sound general Education can be obtained by youths intended for the Sea, at very low charges.

CLASS ROOMS, for Day and Evening Instruction of Adults in Navigation, Mathematics, Writing, and Arithmetic.

A BANK, a Branch of the "Seamen's Savings' Bank," established by the Board of Trade, where Seamen may deposit their earnings with safety, and obtain Interest for the same.

A LECTURE HALL, open as follows:—

SUNDAY ...Bethel Service at 11, 3, and
5 past 6 o'Clock.

MONDAY ...at 7 p.m. ...Bethel Service.

WEDNES ...at 8 p.m. ...Temperance Meeting.

THURS ...at 7 p.m. ...Bethel Service.

FRIDAY ...at 8 p.m. ...Lecture on some
popular topic.

SATUR ...at 7.30 p.m. ...Temperance Meeting.

TO THE TOWER, free access is allowed; and from this commanding elevation, a most extensive and delightful prospect of the River, Docks, Shipping, and suburban districts can be obtained.

A LAVATORY for Washing, free of charge, is provided.

Letters for Captains & Seamen may be addressed to the care of the SECRETARY, at the Institute, who will charge himself with their due delivery on application.

THE BUILDING IS OPEN FROM 10 A.M. TILL 10 P.M.

Seamen are earnestly invited to avail themselves of the advantages thus freely offered.

THOS. A. FIELDWICK, Secretary.

Source: inserted in Minute Book (1958),
Great Yarmouth Sailors' Home, NRO, S04/1

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE

British & Foreign Sailors' Society.

1.—The object of this Society is the religious, intellectual, and social elevation of British and Foreign Seamen.

2.—The means employed may include:—

The distribution of the Sacred Scriptures, and Religious Tracts, Preaching; Domiciliary and Ship Visitation.

Nautical Instruction; Publications; Lectures; and Libraries, on board Ship and on Shore.

Institutes, Homes, Rests; Model Lodging-houses; a Savings' Bank; or any other means adapted to secure the object of the Society.

3.—Subscribers of One Guinea annually, and the officers of affiliated institutions, shall be Members of the Society.

4.—The Society shall be managed by a Board of not less than twenty Directors, half of whom at least shall be laymen. Five to form a quorum. The Board may from time to time adopt Rules and Bye-Laws for the regulation of the several departments of the Society's operations, and also fill up any vacancy which may occur in the Board of Directors or amongst the Officers, during the year.

5.—It shall be an unalterable law that the Religious instruction given shall be confined to those doctrines of Christianity which are held in common by all Evangelical Churches; and at no time hereafter shall any regulation be adopted the effect of which would restrict the management, or abridge the operations or advantages of the Society to the peculiarities of any religious community.

6.—An Annual Meeting of Members shall be holden in the month of April, to receive the Report of the proceedings of the Board of Directors, together with an audited statement of the Finances of the Society—to elect the Officers, Directors, and Auditors for the year ensuing, and to transact any other business. A Special Meeting shall at any time be convened, at a notice of not less than fourteen days by the Secretary, under the Direction of the Board; or at the request of any twenty Members of the Society, within twenty-eight days from the receipt of such request, the object of such Meeting being defined in writing.

7.—The property of the Society shall be vested in not fewer than Three Trustees, who shall be appointed at a General or Special General Meeting of the Members; and they shall hold such Trust property subject to the foregoing Laws or any resolution (not at variance therewith) which the Members may adopt at a meeting duly convened for that purpose.

Source: BFSS Annual report for 1890/91

Appendix 8c
BRITISH AND FOREIGN SAILORS' SOCIETY
CONTRIBUTIONS & COLLECTIONS 1890/91 & 1905/06
TOTALLED BY COUNTY OR OTHER AREA

County/Country	1890/91		1905/06	
	£	%	£	%
Bedfordshire	2	.0	26	.2
Berkshire	13	.2	50	.3
Buckinghamshire	3	.0	11	.1
Cambridgeshire	19	.3	50	.3
Cheshire	73	1.2	129	.8
Cornwall	105	1.7	121	.8
Cumberland	89	1.4	87	.5
Derbyshire	17	.3	11	.1
Devonshire	116	1.8	126	.8
Dorsetshire	9	.1	23	.1
Durham	38	.6	234	1.5
Essex	21	.3	216	1.4
Gloucestershire	48	.8	144	.9
Hampshire	50	.8	481	3.0
Channel Islands	95	1.5	125	.8
Herefordshire			6	.0
Hertfordshire	23	.4	56	.4
Huntingdonshire			2	.0
Isle of Man	8	.1	54	.3
Kent	147	2.3	347	2.2
Lancashire	311	4.9	238	1.5
Leicestershire	3	.0	60	.4
Lincolnshire	1	.0	50	.3
Middlesex			146	.9
London	2507	39.7	6496	40.6
Monmouthshire			2	.0
Norfolk	95	1.5	206	1.3
Northamptonshire	15	.2	18	.1
Northumberland	8	.1	18	.1
Nottinghamshire	36	.6	25	.2
Oxfordshire			19	.1
Shropshire	12	.2	17	.1
Somersetshire	36	.6	114	.7
Staffordshire	125	2.0	107	.7
Suffolk	70	1.1	247	1.5
Surrey	4	.1	281	1.8
Sussex	70	1.1	647	4.0
Warwickshire	142	2.2	152	1.0
Westmoreland	28	.4	54	.3
Wiltshire	22	.3	76	.5
Worcestershire	26	.4	24	.2
Yorkshire	138	2.2	410	2.6
Total coastl counties	3959	62.7	10754	67.2
Total inland counties	566	9.0	952	6.0
England	4525	71.6	11706	73.2
Wales	474	7.5	835	5.2
Scotland	697	11.0	1163	7.3
Ireland	583	9.2	1392	8.7
Overseas	39	.6	348	2.2
Ladies Guild			554	3.5
Totals	6319	100.0	15993	100.0

Source: Annual reports for 1890/91, 1905/06
Excludes branch income (£12830 in 1890/91, £10944 in 1905/06). Owing to the inclusion of of sums received after accounts closed, in this list, it has not been possible to reconcile exactly the totals with figures in the income statements.

MEMORANDUM BY THE BRITISH SAILORS' SOCIETY

ON

The Report of the Committee appointed by the Minister of Labour and National Service and the Minister of War Transport in 1943

(SEAMEN'S WELFARE IN PORTS)

The Board of the British Sailors' Society has given very careful consideration to the Report prepared by the Graham White Committee on "Seamen's Welfare in Ports," and makes the following statement for the information of the public.

1. The Report recommends the setting up of a Central Welfare Board with extensive powers and authority to control the whole organisation of seamen's welfare ashore, including the operations of the Voluntary Organisations and their appeals for funds.

In the opinion of our Board, the Report establishes no case for setting up the elaborate and expensive machinery it recommends. The Report states that up to 1940 the history of seamen's welfare is almost entirely a history of the work of the Voluntary Organisations and that their record is one of which these bodies may be proud.

It is not suggested that the Voluntary Organisations have been negligent or inefficient in their work. On the contrary, the Report affirms that both before the war and during the war their contribution has been valuable.

There is nowhere in the Report any finding that after the war the number of clubs and hostels provided by the existing Voluntary Organisations will be inadequate for the needs of seamen.

On the contrary, it is anticipated that there will be too many, and that redundant premises will have to be closed.

Our answer is that the Voluntary Organisations will themselves close those of their clubs and hostels that are not wanted. No elaborate and costly machinery is needed to require the Voluntary Organisations to do what they will naturally do in the ordinary course and of their own accord. They have not maintained superfluous establishments in the past and there is no reason to suppose that they will do so in the future.

We entirely dissent from the statement that the only possible solution is that there should be a central authority to ensure the elimination of redundant premises.

It is suggested in the Report that the provision made by Voluntary Organisations is insufficient in two respects:

- (a) that they do not supply beer;
- (b) that they do not admit women.

This may be a reason for providing additional hostels in ports where these particular needs can be shown to exist. It is no reason for setting up a Board to supervise and control those Voluntary Organisations whose constitution precludes them from catering for these requirements, or whose premises, though admirable in all other respects, are not suitable for the provision of a bar or the accommodation of women.

The only other reason assigned for setting up machinery for supervising and controlling the activities of Voluntary Organisations is the allegation that there is redundancy and extravagance in the public appeals for money made by the Voluntary Organisations.

The Report states that there are some organisations appealing to the public whose work for seamen by reason of inefficiency or decay has definitely become redundant and which in the best interests of the community should close down. It also says that in some instances the funds collected are in excess of actual requirements for which appeals have been made.

Assuming that the evidence justifies this statement, that is no reason for restraining or interfering with the freedom and discretion of those Voluntary Organisations which have made and are making a valuable contribution to seamen's welfare.

There is no justification in precedent or in principle for restricting the appeals of Voluntary Organisations which are admittedly carrying on useful humanitarian work or for preventing them from asking the public in any legitimate manner for money to carry on that work; or for dictating to them in what way or on what scale they may be permitted to appeal to the public. There is no case for making the drastic

or revolutionary change suggested.

2. The distinction which the Report seeks to draw between temporal and spiritual welfare work is artificial, arbitrary and unsound.

All welfare work undertaken for seamen ever since its inception a hundred years ago has been and still is animated by the fundamental principles of Christianity; a feeling of responsibility, founded on Christian teaching, for the care and well-being of one's fellow men.

So far as the British Sailors' Society is concerned, there is no dividing line between temporal and spiritual welfare work. They are one, and indivisible. The establishment and maintenance of clubs (both residential and non-residential) is an integral and auxiliary part of this Christian work.

There is no precedent on the Statute book for legislation imposing restraint on the activities of any Voluntary Organisations undertaking humanitarian or religious work. If, however, the Committee's recommendations are carried into effect, the Seamen's Welfare Board will have power to control the operations of the Voluntary Organisations and to close down or curtail such activities as it may think unnecessary, or of which it may disapprove.

3. The recommendations of the Committee in as far as they propose to give to the Seamen's Welfare Board arbitrary powers of control over the Voluntary Organisations are also objectionable on two other main grounds:

(1) The Voluntary Organisations have no voice in the election of this Board, and are wholly unrepresented upon the Board. On the Standing Joint Advisory Council the Voluntary Organisations are in a minority, and in any case the Council can recommend only, and its recommendations need not be adopted by the Board.

(2) Those responsible for the conduct of the undertakings of the Voluntary Organisations are placed in an impossible position when the projects they are charged by their subscribers and supporters to carry into effect are liable to be vetoed or restricted by a body of men to whom for one reason or another such projects do not commend themselves.

4. The establishment and maintenance of Merchant Navy clubs and hostels subsidised to a large extent by public funds as recommended by the Committee will tend to undermine and seriously weaken the position of the Voluntary Organisations.

If public funds are to be used for seamen's welfare work a large part of the public will see no reason for continuing to subscribe to the Voluntary Organisations and the Voluntary Organisations will accordingly lose much of the support on which they at present depend for carrying on their work at home and overseas.

5. The Committee refers to the rather intangible factor that many Merchant Seamen feel when using some of the Societies' premises that they are "objects of charity."

If any such feeling in fact exists (which as far as our clubs and hostels are concerned we absolutely deny) it must persist none the less, when in accordance with the Committee's recommendation the greater part of the cost of establishing and maintaining seamen's clubs is defrayed out of public funds. For this is merely "charity" by another hand.

6. The Report states that the recommendations can be effective only if the parties most concerned bring the utmost goodwill to the working of the scheme. This a Society such as ours could never do, seeing that the recommendations, if adopted, would mean the end of our freedom of action and usefulness in achieving many of the aims that are vital to our work.

Appendix 8e

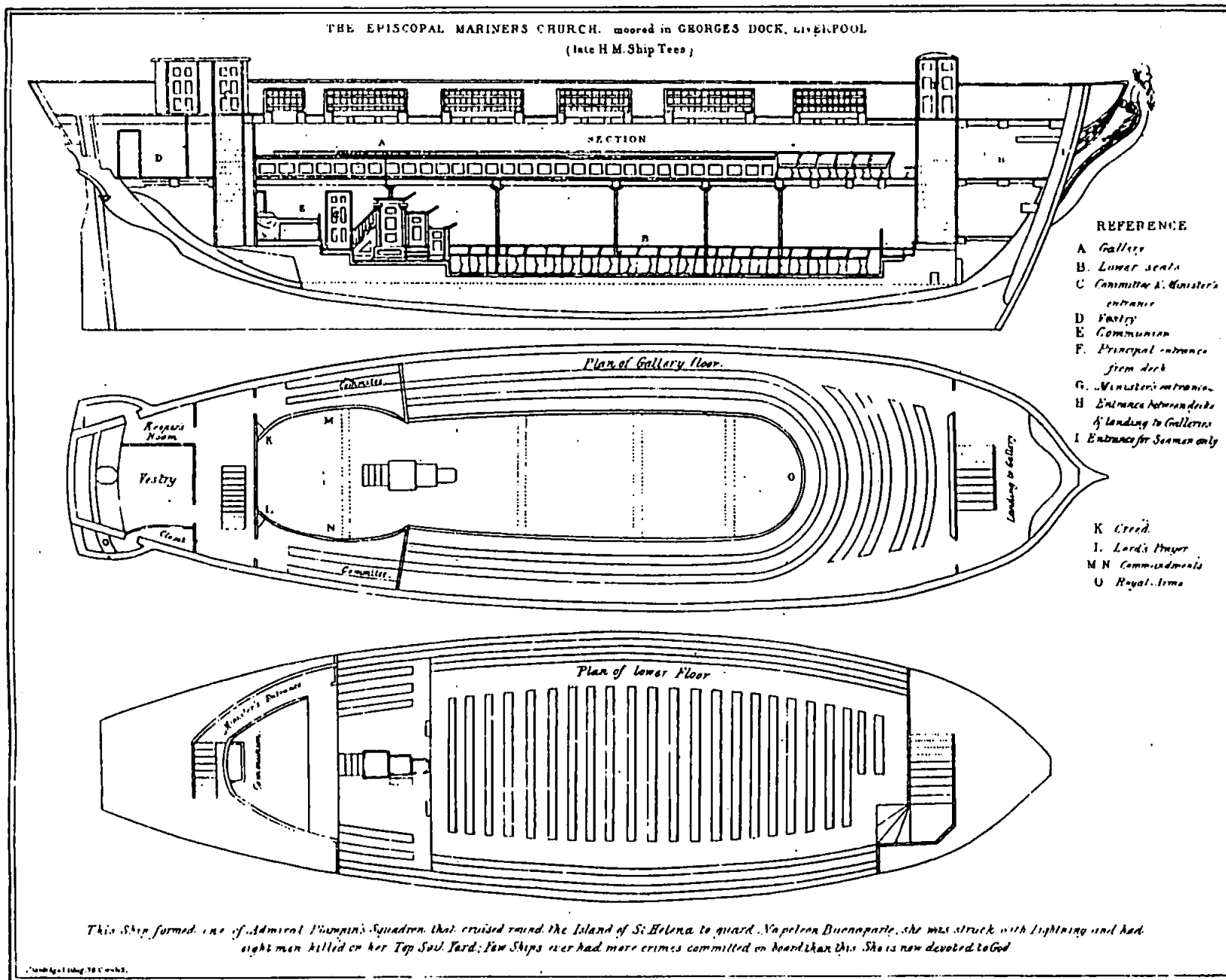
BRITISH SAILORS' SOCIETY: INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, 1945 TO 1965

INCOME														EXPENDITURE														BALANCE	INVEST																
VOLUN TARY GIVING	%	RUFS ETC.	INT RENT DIVS	%	HOSTEL INCOME	%	OTHER INCOME	%	TOTAL ORDNRY INCOME	%	LEGA CIES	%	OTH ER	TOTAL INCOME	MISSNRY STAFF	WK OTHER	%	MISSION STAFF	HALLS OTHER	%	HTLS/CLINTS STAFF	%	PROVNS	%	GRA NTS	HEALTH EDUCN	ADMIN STAFF	OTHER	%	APPLS EXPNS	%	TOTAL ORDNRY EXPND	EXTRA ORDNRY EXPND	TOTAL EXPND	CT/ OF (-)	MENTS									
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	aa	ab	ac	ad	ae	af	ag	ah	ai	aj	ak	al								
ACTUAL VALUES																																		1914 VALUES USING INDEX APPENDIX 2											
1945	207190	41	3746	17026	3	376282	53	685044	21046	3	1090	707181	25159	32567	9	73999	120700	50092	213173	42	10043	24521	16222	4162	3	61500	9	646137	391	640520	50653	406462													
1950	125530	23	8396	21700	4	329946	60	485652	60208	11	1207	547147	23520	27597	9	53937	104832	60170	210960	47	6444	15663	21038	8549	5	53096	9	595414	653	596067	40920	462242													
1955	135024	25	4300	12330	2	308429	57	469005	75582	14	2508	530143	23404	29262	10	48928	76008	54512	181298	45	5306	7779	25072	9841	7	59842	11	520942	629	521571	16572	264216													
1960	153860	26	5191	14631	2	330929	55	504611	90627	15	1689	596927	26038	28313	10	---	35966	---	360318	86	---	21153	4	76003	14	547071	---	547071	49056	208249															
1965	165037	23	3250	10802	3	440980	62	656149	87378	12	751	724278	32116	41255	10	---	42218	---	490320	67	---	32985	5	80324	12	727210	---	727210	243598	---	---														
DEFLATED TO 1914 VALUES USING INDEX APPENDIX 2																																													
1945	125410	41	1636	7784	3	164315	53	299146	9190	3	476	300813	10906	14221	9	32314	52707	25368	93089	42	4386	10708	7004	1017	3	26856	9	203029	171	203200	25613	212429													
1950	44201	23	2956	7669	4	116178	60	171004	21200	11	453	192657	6285	9717	9	10992	36913	24004	74202	47	2269	5515	7689	3010	5	10977	9	209653	230	209803	17225	162761													
1955	36395	25	1159	3323	2	83135	57	124012	20364	14	676	145052	6308	7887	10	13188	20407	14693	48867	45	1452	2097	6974	2653	7	15006	11	140416	170	140505	4467	71217													
1960	36374	26	1227	3459	2	78234	55	119293	21425	15	399	141117	6156	6693	10	---	8503	---	85182	66	---	5001	4	17987	14	129520	0	129520	11597	49231															
1965	32011	23	646	3754	3	89260	62	130447	17371	12	149	143992	6385	8202	10	---	8393	---	97479	67	---	6550	5	17559	12	144576	0	144576	504	40429															

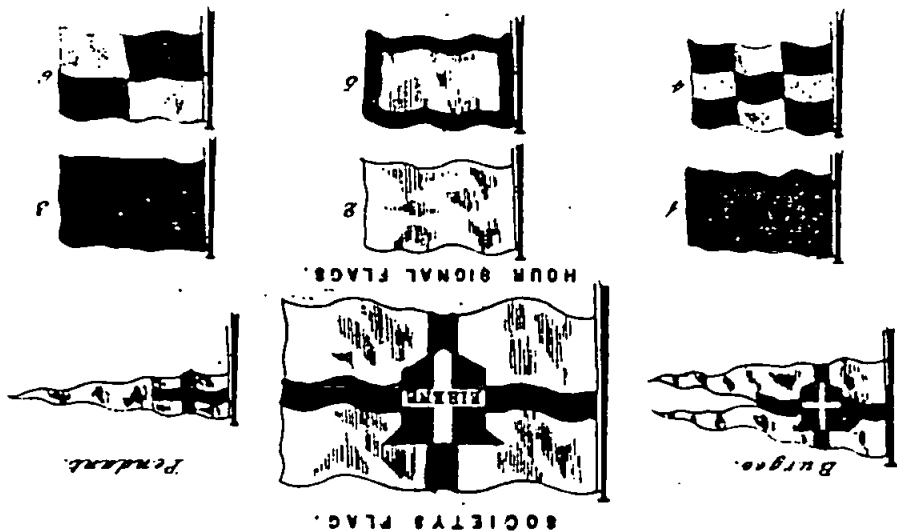
Source: British Sailors' Society, Annual reports, 1945-1965

a. Subscriptions, donations, collections, flag days. b. Contributions from external funds. c. Interest, dividends, rents, tax refunds. d. Payments for services rendered. e. Total ordinary income. f. Legacies. g. Other extraordinary income. h. Total income. i. j. Missionary and welfare work, including libraries, lighthouse work, etc. k. l. Mission hall and establishment expenses. m. n. Hostel canteens, provisions cigarettes, tobacco, also staff wages for educational establishments. o. Various small grants. p. Medical expenses, recreation, entertainments, outings, comforts. q. r. Head office administration. s. Fund raising expenses, including Chart & Compass, deputations, provincial centres. t. Total ordinary expenditure. u. Extraordinary expenditure, various small items. v. Total expenditure. w. Balances. x. Investments at market value.

The presentation of the accounts was revised for the 1960 and 1965 accounts. Items summarized in the heads were regrouped. A precise match with the earlier layout cannot be achieved for expenditure. The figures in the various columns are the closest that can be derived from the published accounts. In 1945 the USS Accounts showed 41 endowment funds, 14 building and equipment funds, and 13 general funds. In 1965 the numbers were respectively 47, 2, 10. No legacy equalization fund has formed, legacies being treated as annual income throughout.



The London Committee of these 'Stags will donate 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.



Director Channel Mission.

THE MISSIONS TO SEAMEN

CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY

1.—The Society shall be called THE MISSIONS TO SEAMEN, and shall be conducted by a Patron, Vice-Patrons, a President, Vice-Presidents, and a Committee, Treasurer, and Secretaries; all of whom, as well as the Chaplains and Lay-Readers, shall be members of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

2.—Annual Subscribers of One Guinea and upwards or, if Clergymen, of Half-a-Guinea, shall be members of the Society during the continuance of their Subscription. Benefactors of Ten Pounds or upwards, and Clergymen making Congregational Collections to the amount of Twenty Pounds, shall be members for life.

3.—The Committee shall consist of not more than thirty-six members, and shall meet at such time and place as they may deem best. Three members shall form a quorum, and the meetings shall be opened with prayer.

4.—The Committee shall have power to appoint such officers and assistants, and also such Sub-Committees composed of members of their own body, as they may judge necessary and suitable.

5.—A General Meeting of the members of the Society shall be held annually in London, when the proceedings of the foregoing year shall be reported, a statement of the Accounts presented, and a Committee chosen for the ensuing year.

6.—None of the standing Rules of the Society shall be repealed or altered nor any new ones established, but at the Annual Meeting, or a special General Meeting called for that purpose.

7.—The Committee shall appoint annually two or more Auditors for the purpose of auditing the accounts of the Society.

THE OBJECTS AND REGULATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1.—The Object of the Society is the spiritual welfare of the seafaring classes at home and abroad.

2.—In pursuance of this object, the Society will use every means consistent with the principles and received practice of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

3.—The operations of the Society shall for the most part be carried on afloat, and for this purpose its Chaplains and Lay Readers shall, as far as possible, be provided with vessels and boats for visiting the ships in Roadsteads, Rivers and Harbours.

INTERCESSORY PRAYER

To be used every Sunday Morning.

O ETERNAL GOD, Lord of land and sea, of earth and heaven, we beseech Thee to have mercy upon all whose lives are spent upon the deep. To Thy favour and protection we commend them. May Thy Holy Spirit keep them from all evil, strengthen them in the hour of temptation, and teach them to do Thy will. Comfort those who long after Thee, when deprived of any of the means of grace in Thy Church.

Grant that shipowners, officers, and crews may, in all their thoughts, words, and deeds, seek Thy Glory and the increase of Thy Kingdom.

Bless to them the ministrations of Thy servants. Especially do we pray for the Agents of The Missions to Seamen; its Chaplains, Committee, Officials, and all who aid its operations, that Thou wouldst inspire them with wisdom from on high, and give to them zeal, love, and prayerful minds intent on advancing Thy Glory, and Thy Glory alone.

Protect from all evil and from bodily harm the wives and families of absent sailors, and lead them to the knowledge and love of the truth; and at last bring us all to the haven of everlasting rest, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Source: Missions to Seamen Annual report for 1945, identical to 1880.

Appendix 9d

MISSIONS TO SEAMEN: ANNUAL STATISTICS, 1856-1970

YEAR	NET INCM a	LEGACIES & DIVS b	INVESTMENTS c	CHS GIVING OFFS d	CHAPLAINS MONO RARY e	FULL TIME f	LAY READERS g	LAY HELPERS h	ENGR BOAT MEN i	INST KEEPERS j	STATIONS HOME k	ABRD l	VESS ELS m	SMNS CHS& INST n
/~~~~ACTUAL VALUES~~~~\														
1857	2849			18	7	8	6				13	<---		
1858	4007			28	6	6	7				13	<---		
1859	4556			55	8	7	9				15	<---		
1860	5449	10	35	80	8	10	12				19	<---		
1861	5647	54	1670	111	19	12	12				21	<---		
1862	6154	97	1690	118	23	12	12				21	<---		
1863	7264	117	1700	209	19	13	18				24	<---		
1864	7161	68	1815	199	19	14	19				27	<---		
1865	8071	258	2477	212	23	12	25				30	<---		
1866	8169	166	2195	203	28	11	23				29	<---		
1867	7399	163	2224	193	30	12	25				29	<---		
1868	8535	162	2338	210	30	13	23				28	<---		
1869	7770	286	2352	210	35	12	25				29	<---		
1870	7769	201	2326	200	34	11	20				25	<---		
1871	7929	209	2579	230	29	13	26				32	<---		
1872	8592	472	2838	213	28	15	30				36	<---		
1873	7811	897	2735	188	33	14	23				33	<---		
1874	8628	621	2735	203	40	15	32	3			34	<---		
1875	10418	814	2735	276	46	14	35	4			36	<---		
1876	9782	648	2925	358	50	13	38	4			36	<---		
1877	10754	413	2925	379	58	17	38	5			43	<---		
1878	11383	330	2925	342	69	14	37	5			42	<---		
1879	12787	436	2925	473	76	21	36	7			46	<---		
1880	14233	524	2925	594	71	24	39	5			46	<---		
1881	16177	344	3015	641	71	23	41	4			46	<---		
1882	17756	324	3253	670	76	23	41	5			46	<---		
1883	18665	946	4049	727	81	25	43	4			49	<---		
1884	21966	256	4144	813	77	25	43	4			49	<---		
1885	18784	209	4193	735	72	25	41	5			51	<---		
1886	21526	300	4597	835	74	24	43	5			50	<---		
1887	21168	1465	5865	796	74	23	45	7			52	<---		
1888	27812	1181	6616	873	70	24	45	9			53	<---		
1889	26758	3346	10194	906	68	25	43	8			52	<---		
1890	28037	942	8742	1024	74	27	43	7	13	9	44	8	45	54
1891	30951	1412	9701	973	74	32	44	8			58	<---		
1892	35496	6573	16128	1023	78	32	49	8			62	<---		
1893	33586	1081	12790	1112	70	36	52	8			64	<---		
1894	36346	1454	13001	1144	71	38	54	6			65	<---		
1895	37413	4444	13783	1110	74	43	56	8	18	33	51	17	67	85
1896	38291	1829	14092	1239	71	41	58	13			67	<---		
1897	36597	3071	14461	1170	71	45	58	9			67	<---		
1898	43284	6242	15095	1313	74	46	64	8			70	<---		
1899	40444	1155	12465	1304	75	50	64	11			73	<---		
1900	48835	1504	11727	1254	75	46	58	10	24	46	56	18	72	103
1901	43957	2194	12609	1244	66	49	54	8			74	<---		
1902	47734	2973	16087	1291	62	53	53	9			75	<---		
1903	49701	2142	16728	1318	57	54	61	7			76	<---		
1904	48847	2939	16218	1306	55	55	64	10			86	<---		
1905	63408	15441	30522	2029	53	55	64	13	30	70	62	24	81	111
1906	58232	4136	30166	1495	58	61	71	20			90	<---		
1907	56454	6991	30449	1442	60	64	68	21	26	83	93	<---		
1908	54030	7294	30643	1351	63	65	69	21	25	90	95	<---		
1909	50398	3960	29085	1382	71	61	69	19	28	86	96	<---		
1910	50649	3372	26012	1392	70	63	67	21	28	88	100	<---		
1911	54313	3493	26889	1475	75	62	69	22	27	91	102	<---		
1912	55100	2922	25963	1496	79	61	69	19	31	116	99	<---		
1913	54054	7794	28370	1509	84	64	74	21	29	115	102	<---		
1914	53637	2989	30176	1510	86	63	73	22	26	115	104	<---		
1915	62393	7343	40259	1511	87	69	79	23	26	112	110	<---		
1916	68940	4506	55044	1519	88	73	83	17	26	117	114	<---		
1917	107429	7190	70662	2021	87	92	77	15	28	120	124	<---		
1918	125947	11986	95619	2513	77	87	82	18	27	116	124	<---		
1919	38478	6565	98856	2141	77	76	82	16	27	117	122	<---		
1920	125111	7107	98450	2198	75	77	76	15	25	116	121	<---		
1925	120613	14265	111755											
1930	59917	15166	105431											
1935	67873	14375	114902		74	61	55<---		15	114	43	51	28	148
1941	30606	19205	205958		78	66	40<---				42	58	23	188
1945	121453	25569	379953			63	39<---				43	55	17	187
1950	71423	31321	368408				50	33<---			37	48	14	89
1955	67448	54528	410189											
1960	108367	60667	451371		144	65	39	10			--->	85		
1965	125501	132288	629196											
1970	149854	140469	596370											
/~~~~1915 TO 1970 FINANCIAL DATA DEFLATED TO 1914 VALUES USING INDEX IN APPENDIX 2~~~~\														
1915	49914	5874	32207		1925	68530	8105	63497		1950	25149	11029	129721	
1916	47875	3129	38225		1930	44533	9660	67154		1955	18180	14698	110563	
1917	60016	4017	39476		1935	46809	9914	75243		1960	25619	14342	106707	
1918	61438	5847	46643		1941	46228	9798	105081		1965	24950	26300	125089	
1919	44560	2971	44731		1945	53036	11166	165918		1970	24976	23412	99395	
1920	46510	2642	36599											

Source and notes

Annual Reports, 1857-1970, held at Missions to Seamen Headquarters, St. Michael Paternoster Royal, College Hill, London.

For the years 1857 to 1920 the data in columns a to k are from a table entitled 'Yearly state of the Society' in the Annual report for 1920. All other data comes from the annual reports for the years stated.

- a. Net income (excludes monies raised and spent locally in ports abroad).
b. Legacies and dividends. c. Investments. d. Number of Churches giving offertories.
e. Monitory chaplains. f. Chaplains (excludes Chaplain Superintendents (2-3)).
g. Lay readers. h. Lay helpers and lady workers. i. Boatmen and engineers.
j. Institute keepers. k. Mission stations in Britain and Ireland.
l. Mission stations abroad. m. Mission boats and launches.
n. Seamen's churches and institutes.

Appendix 9e
CONTRIBUTIONS AND COLLECTIONS FOR MISSIONS TO SEAMEN, SELECTED YEARS 1865-1970
TOTALLED BY COUNTY, DIOCESE OR OTHER AREA, AND THOSE FOR OTHER CHURCH OF ENGLAND MISSIONS FOR THE SAME YEARS
Data for the years 1925-1970 also deflated to 1914 values using the index in Appendix 2

County/Country	1865		1885		1905		1925			Diocese/Country	1930			1950			1970		
	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	£	%		£	£	%	£	£	%	£	£	%
Bedfordshire	15	.2	127	.8	219	.5	293	166	.4	Arch D Berkshire	456	290	.6	1060	376	1.5	1331	222	1.1
Berkshire	46	.7	53	.3	397	.9	607	345	.8	Wakefield	1299	827	1.8	201	71	.3	635	106	.5
Bristol & Clifton	310	5.0	862	5.1	1066	2.5	1116	634	1.5	Bristol	710	457	1.0	1633	575	2.2	584	97	.5
Buckinghamshire	3	.0	40	.2	297	.7	537	305	.7	Buckingham	1922	2498	5.3	3435	1210	4.7	1560	261	1.4
Cambridgeshire	12	.2	280	1.7	611	1.4	561	319	.8	Ely	490	312	.7	168	59	.2	206	48	.2
Cheshire	41	.7		.0		.0	499	284	.7	Chester	936	596	1.3	1058	373	1.4	54	9	.0
Cornwall	132	2.1	464	2.8	464	1.1	898	510	1.2	Truro	414	264	.6	415	146	.6	533	89	.5
Cumberland	15	.2	93	.8	163	.4	281	160	.4	Carlisle	295	188	.4	506	178	.7	456	73	.4
Derbyshire	32	.5	44	.3	237	.6	503	286	.7	Derby	1808	1152	2.5	2989	1052	4.1	998	166	.9
Devonshire	332	5.3	599	3.6	893	2.1	1693	962	2.3	Exeter	1965	1252	2.7	2002	705	2.7	1654	276	1.4
Dorsetshire	168	2.7	222	1.3	453	1.1	1002	569	1.3	Rochester	5268	3355	7.2	727	256	1.0	3323	554	2.9
Durham	110	1.9	1739	10.4	2418	5.6	7626	4333	10.2	Durham	1100	701	1.5	1795	632	2.4	275	46	.2
Essex	3	.0	150	.9	584	1.4	803	456	1.1	Chelmsford	536	341	.7	582	205	.8	5012	835	4.3
Gloucestershire	272	4.4	173	1.0	402	.9	516	293	.7	Gloucester	3922	2498	5.3	3435	1210	4.7	884	147	.8
Hampshire	195	3.1	649	3.9	1085	4.4	5945	3378	8.0	Winchester	1668	1062	2.3	2081	733	2.8	2427	405	2.1
Isle of Wight	78	1.2	187	1.1	298	.7	662	376	.9	Portsmouth	313	199	.4	350	123	.5	542	90	.5
Channel Islands	15	.2	35	.2	20	.1	188	107	.3	Hereford	1996	953	2.0	3009	1060	4.1	2864	477	2.5
Herefordshire	49	.8	128	.8	179	.4	256	145	.3	St. Albans	1681	1071	2.3	2309	813	3.1	840	140	.7
Hertfordshire			180	1.1	755	1.8	1052	620	1.5	Ripon	423	269	.6	270	95	.4	902	150	.8
Huntingdonshire	2	.0	12	.1	84	.2	116	66	.2	Blackburn	1403	894	1.9	2184	769	3.0	4232	705	3.7
Isle of Man	1	.0	92	.5	1	.0				Canterbury	1401	892	1.9	281	99	.4	181	30	.2
Kent	411	6.6	1135	6.8	2971	6.9	3503	1990	4.7	Leicester	491	306	.7	569	200	.8	671	112	.6
Lancashire	26	.4		.0	807	1.9	2183	1240	2.9	Lincoln	414	264	.6	236	83	.3	166	28	.1
Leicestershire	14	.2	100	.6	207	.5	505	287	.7	Southwark	2592	1651	3.5	2189	771	3.0	3865	644	3.3
Lincolnshire	65	1.0	141	.8	356	.8	429	244	.6	London	12541	7988	17.1	20175	7104	27.4	7670	1278	6.6
Middlesex	605	9.7	1490	8.9	8948	20.9	1025	1037	2.4	Norwich	2083	1327	2.8	714	251	1.0	576	96	.5
London							10311	5859	13.8	Peterborough	213	136	.3	567	200	.8	244	41	.2
Monmouthshire	58	.9	531	3.2	736	1.7	1488	845	2.0	Newcastle	294	187	.4	293	103	.4	500	83	.4
Norfolk	146	2.3	101	.6	1065	2.5	1089	619	1.5	Southwell	387	246	.5	289	102	.4	566	94	.5
Northamptonshire	25	.4	58	.3	144	.3	253	144	.3	Oxford	1876	1195	2.6	2236	787	3.0	473	79	.4
Northumberland	99	1.6	199	1.2	250	.6	290	165	.4	Sheffield	204	130	.3	471	166	.6	393	66	.3
Nottinghamshire	17	.3	85	.5	399	.9	280	159	.4	Birmingham	1265	806	1.7	1031	363	1.4	4619	770	4.0
Oxfordshire	12	.2	76	.5	364	.8	324	184	.4	Bath & Wells	894	569	1.2	1026	361	1.4	1285	214	1.1
Rutland		.0	3	.0	21	.0	34	19	.0	Lichfield	1198	763	1.6	1422	501	1.9	1670	278	1.4
Shropshire	34	.5	59	.4	277	.6	312	177	.4	St. Ed. & Ipswich	625	398	.9	913	321	1.2	795	133	.7
Somersetshire	296	4.7	420	2.5	622	1.5	887	504	1.2	Oxford	2503	1594	3.4	2573	906	3.5	3038	506	2.6
Staffordshire	23	.4	115	.7	239	.6	550	313	.7	Chichester	3103	1976	4.2	4199	1479	5.7	4045	674	3.5
Suffolk	49	.8	414	2.5	897	2.1	1263	718	1.7	Coventry	416	265	.6	396	139	.5	2074	346	1.8
Surrey	211	3.4	442	2.6	2446	5.7	3490	1983	4.7	Bradford	213	136	.3	689	243	.9	654	109	.6
Sussex	433	6.9	631	4.9	1695	4.0	2980	1693	4.0	Salisbury	1724	1098	2.3	1700	599	2.3	2563	427	2.2
Warwickshire	84	1.3	262	1.6	548	1.3	1237	703	1.7	Worcester	746	475	1.0	798	281	1.1	991	165	.9
Westmoreland	13	.2	49	.3	107	.2	245	139	.3	York	2731	1739	3.7	784	276	1.1	692	115	.6
Wiltshire	33	.5	60	.4	137	.3	236	134	.3										
Worcestershire	55	.9	106	.6	354	.8	519	295	.7										
Yorkshire	302	4.8	1639	9.8	2319	6.8	4922	2797	6.6										
Total coastal counties	4260	68.2	12565	74.8	31446	73.3	55053	31280	73.7	Total csl dioceses	47910	30516	65.3	48717	17154	66.3	41350	6893	35.7
Total inland counties	590	9.4	1888	11.2	6497	15.2	9296	5282	12.5	Total inland dioceses	16185	10309	22.1	21617	7612	29.4	27020	4503	23.3
England	4850	77.6	14453	86.1	37943	88.5	64349	36562	86.2	England	64095	40825	87.3	70334	24765	95.7	68378	11396	59.0
Wales	424	6.8	1034	6.2	2976	6.9	3374	1917	4.5	Wales	4505	2920	6.2	409	144	.6			
Scotland	7	.1	53	.3	152	.4	2159	1227	2.9	Scotland	1763	1123	2.4						
Ireland	362	5.8	1028	6.1	1041	2.4	1303	740	1.7	Ireland	2513	1601	3.4	2203	776	3.0			
Overseas	11	.2	220	1.3	736	1.7	3374	1917	4.5	Overseas	370	236	.5	558	196	.8			
Sums paid direct	596	9.5									54	34	.1				47545	7924	41.0
Totals	6247	100.0	16788	100.0	42880	100.0	74657	42419	100.0	Totals	73378	46738	100.0	73504	25882	100.0	115943	19324	100.0
Hersey Mission	991		1613		4641		6289	3573						4874	1716				
Mediterranean Mission			175				2350	1335											
Hull Mariners' Ch & SR					434		1060	602			911	580							
Grand totals	7238		18575		47955		84356	47930			74289	47318		78378	27598				

Source: Missions to Seamen Annual Reports for the years indicated. Includes branch income. For data below, 1914 values in [.....].

1925 Contributions include £1000 [£568] from KOPS. Investment income totalled £3939 [£2238]. Legacy equalization income totalled £1805 [£5129].

1930 Contributions include £1000 [£637] from KOPS. Investment income totalled £4283 [£2728]. Legacy equalization income totalled £24546 [£8643].

1950 Contributions include £3350 [£1180] from KOPS. Investment income totalled £6755 [£2579]. Legacy equalization income totalled £116782 [£19464].

1970 Contributions incl. £2125 MNMB, £2125 [£354] KOPS. Investment income totalled £23687 [£39483].

Appendix 9f

MISSIONS TO SEAMEN: INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, 1915 TO 1970

INCOME										EXPENDITURE													BALANCES											
VOLUN TARY GIVING	a	KGFS MMMB ETC.	b	RENT DIVS ETC.	c	TOTAL ORDINARY INCOME	d	LEGACIES	e	TOTAL INCOME	f	MISSIONARY STAFF	g	MIS SION WORK	h	INSTI TUTES CHURCHES	i	MISCE LLANEOUS	j	ADMIN ISTRATION	k	PUBLI SHING	l	APPLS EXPNS	m	TOTAL ORDINARY EXPEND	n	EXTRA ORDINARY EXPEND	o	TOTAL EXPEND	p	BALANCE CT/DT	q	
ACTUAL VALUES																																		
1915	34265	89		1276	3	35541		2821	7	38362		18173	55	3581		2665				3908	12	1032		3439	10	32798				32798		5564		
1920	61491	84		6502	9	67993		5057	7	73050		37183	47	7363		14322				6831	9	2785		10356	13	78840				78840		-5750		
1925	44986	68	6035	9	4859	7	55880	10472	16	66352		34556	45	4853		19311				6536	8	2300		9391	12	76947				76947		-10595		
1930	51750	76	1000	1	4942	7	57692	10598	16	68290		34576	52	1162		4627		7603		6208	9	3012		9389	14	66600				66600		1690		
1935	41116	70	2684	5	4033	7	48833	9517	16	58350		29406	49	1543		6294		6544		3428	6	883		11591	19	59689		99		59788		-1438		
1941	89487	81	1650	1	5682	5	96819	13548	12	110367		32955	36	1672		31728		6144		4519	5	1063		11068	12	89149		1270		90419		19948		
1945	119257	81	2150	1	9569	7	130975	16047	11	147022		38955	32	4624		46683		5450		6359	5	1768		12521	10	116361		3784		120146		26876		
1950	68065	66	3350	3	6783	7	78198	24546	24	102744		50110	49	2452		16993		5176		6056	6	1821		18147	18	100755		1325		102080		664		
1955	75791	55	6500	5	9343	7	91634	45185	33	136819		61094	44	495		16375		22484		8549	6	2277		28123	20	129397		8575		137972		-1153		
1960	84190	47	31650	18	10667	6	127687	50000	28	177687		59321	36	---		---		49708		11695	7	1525		34817	21	157066		6039		163105		14562		
1965	97597	37	35504	13	22583	9	155684	109705	41	265389		84249	34	---		---		83146		17191	7	1587		42725	17	238682		9784		248466		16923		
1970	115943	40	33911	12	23687	8	173541	116782	40	290323		---	---	---		---		208465		17466	6	8064		64983	22	298978				298978		-8655		
DEFLATED TO 1914 VALUES USING INDEX APPENDIX 2																																		
1915	27412	89		1021	3	28433		2257	7	30690		14538	55	2865		2132				3126	12	826		2751	10	26238				26238		4451		
1920	22859	84		2417	9	25276		1880	7	27156		13823	47	2737		5324				2539	9	1035		3850	13	29309				29309		-2152		
1925	25560	68	3429	9	2761	7	31750	5950	16	37700		19634	45	2757		10972				3714	8	1307		5336	12	43720				43720		-6020		
1930	32962	76	637	1	3148	7	36746	6750	16	43497		22023	52	740		2947		4843		3954	9	1918		5980	14	42420				42420		1076		
1935	28356	70	1851	5	2781	7	33678	6563	16	40241		20280	49	1064		4341		4513		2364	6	609		7994	19	41165		68		41233		-992		
1941	45657	81	842	1	2899	5	49397	6912	12	56310		16814	36	853		16188		3135		2306	5	542		5647	12	45484		648		46132		10178		
1945	52077	81	939	1	4178	7	57194	7007	11	64202		17011	32	2019		20386		2380		2777	5	772		5468	10	50813		1652		52466		11736		
1950	23967	66	1180	3	2368	7	27535	8643	24	36177		17644	49	863		5993		1823		2132	6	641		6390	18	35477		467		35944		234		
1955	20429	55	1752	5	2518	7	24639	12179	33	36878		16467	44	133		4414		6060		2304	6	614		7580	20	34878		2311		37189		-311		
1960	19903	47	7482	18	2522	6	30186	11820	28	42006		14024	36	---		---		11751		2765	7	361		8231	21	37131		1428		38559		3447		
1965	19403	37	7058	13	4490	9	30951	21810	41	52761		16749	34	---		---		16530		3418	7	316		8494	17	47452		1945		49397		3364		
1970	19324	40	5652	12	3948	8	28924	19464	40	48387		---	---	---		---		34744		2911	6	1344		10831	22	49830				49830		-1443		

Sources: Missions to Seamen, Annual reports, 1915-1970

a. Subscriptions, donations, collections, flag days. b. Contributions from external funds. c. Interest, dividends.

d. Total ordinary income. e. Legacies, proportion from legacies equalization account. f. Total income.

g. Chaplains' and readers' salaries. h. Missionary work, boat expenses, light ship work, etc. i. Institutes & church expenses.

j. Pensions, grants, and miscellaneous. k. Administration at head office, salaries, expenses, etc. l. Publishing.

m. Appeals and deputation expenses. n. Total ordinary expenditure. o. Extraordinary expenditure. p. Total expenditure. q. balances.

This data does not include monies raised and expended locally by branches.

Changes in the presentation of the accounts were being made continuously after 1955. It has not been possible to show some sub-divisions of expenditure for the later years in this table. The 1960 and 1965 published accounts were arranged to show deficits before the application of legacy income to balance the accounts.

Appendix 10

THE FORMATION OF SAILORS' HOME SOCIETIES IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DATE FORMED	TITLE	REMARKS
8 January 1828	Destitute Sailors' Asylum, Dock Street London.	Opened 8 January 1828
1829	Sailors' Home, Well Street, London	Opened 1 May 1835; closed 1974
1829	Sailors' Rest Asylum, Wellclose Sq. London, \Shipwrecked and Distressed Sailors' Asylum	Transferred to Canon-Street Road, Spring 1830
22 December 1837	Liverpool Sailors' Home	Temporary premises April 1845, new building 1850
1841	Green's Sailors' Home, East India Dock Road, Poplar, London	Built & supported by G. & R. Green, shipowners;
1849	Dublin Sailors' Home	Opened 28 July 1849 \closed ca 1870
1849	Gloucester Sailors' Home	Provided by Francis Barnfield
2 September 1851	Royal Cornwall Sailors' Home and Hospital, Falmouth	Leased house opened 17 May 1852; closed 1957
16 September 1851	Bristol Sailors' Home	Building leased and opened 4 January 1853
1851	Portsmouth Royal Sailors' Home	Now a residential club naval petty officers
1851	Devonport Royal Sailors' Home/Royal Fleet Club	Opened 31 December 1852, St Aubyn St; \moved to Duke St., 1865; new bldg, Morice Sq., 1902
ca. 1851	Aberdeen Sailors' Home	Closed 1853
1852	Greenock Sailors' Home	Under Greenock Seamen's Friend Society
1852	Plymouth Sailors' Home	Opened 9 May 1853; closed 1920
December 1852	Belfast Sailors' Home	New building May 1859
1852	Royal Cork Sailors' Home	Opened 21 December 1852
1852	Sailors' Home Institution/Society (Captain W.H. Hall) \for promoting sailors' homes)	Offices in London; survived to ca. 1870
1 January 1853	Dover Sailors' Home	
Open by 1853	Dundee Sailors' Home	Closed after a few years
Open by 1853	Glasgow Sailors' Home	
Open by 1853	Sunderland Sailors' Home	
Open by 1853	Stornoway Sailors' Home	
Open by 1853	Tyne Sailors' Home, North Shields	Built by Duke of Northumberland
February 1854	Poplar Sailors' Home, London	Closed after a few years
1857	Strangers' Home (for asiatic seamen), West India Dock Road, London	
23 July 1858	Great Yarmouth Sailors' Home	Temporary home opened 3 February 1859; new building
1859	Milford Sailors' Home	\opened 1860; closed 1964; now a maritime museum
Open by 1860	Cardiff Sailors' Home	Built and supported by Marquess of Bute
Open by 1860	Hull Sailors' Home	
Open by 1860	Leith Sailors' Home	
To open in 1860	Limerick Sailors' Home	
Open by 1860	Royal Queenstown Sailors' Home	
22 August 1860	Southampton Sailors' Home	Opened August 1861
March 1869	Home opened at Rotherhithe by 'Sailors' Home Society	
1874	Sailors' Rest Society (Agnes Weston)	Plymouth Rest opened 8 May 1876;
16 December 1880	Dundee Sailors' Home	A new society.
1890	Sailors' Home at Cardiff (seamen's union)	Closed by 1893
1902	Torquay Incorporated Sailors' Rest Association	
1924	Tot H Seafaring Boys Home, Southampton	

Sources: Sailor's Magazine (and successors) 1820-31; Kverndal, Seamens' Missions; Return of sailors' homes, BPP 1860 LX, 387-401; Nautical Magazine; various sailors' home records and secondary sources.

The list is unlikely to be complete. It does not include residential accommodation provided by the missionary societies. Owing to the use of the terms 'home' and 'rest' by the missions for their accommodation, where detailed knowledge is lacking it may not be possible to distinguish a branch activity from an independent sailors' home society; thus one or two mission branches may appear above.

Most of the data referenced here is of a historical nature. It has not so far been possible to find out whether the data reported in the review of discrepancies between the two sets of figures for the Entry Book, local entries for 1890 and 1910 probably matches the figure of 19,700 for the 1910 census, but for the 1920 census, the figure is 20,000. The figures for 1930 and 1950/51 stand only at 515, 2085 and 2462 entries respectively. The very large increase between 1920 and 1921 is not reflected in the figures for 1930 and 1950/51. No statistical study has so far been made of the figures for 1930 and 1950/51. It is needed to clarify the figures.

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Appendix 11b (1)

SAILORS' HOME, LONDON (Well Street and Dock Street): ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE AT FIVE YEARLY INTERVALS, 1830-1970

YEAR ENDING 30 APR / 31 DEC 30 SEP	ORDINARY INCOME (pounds)											EXTRAORDINARY INCOME			TOTAL INCOME	ORDINARY EXPENDITURE (pounds)											EXTRA ORDINARY EXPEND	TOTAL EXPEND	BAL ANCE	INVT MENTS CR	ACCD VOISP OSD		
	SUBS A	SPEC COLL B	A+B C	DONS FROM FUNDS J	SEAMEN'S BOARD MONEY D	ADV NOTE DISC E	SALES OF CLOTH F	REFRS OF HANTS CANTN G	LNDRY BSEND BILLO H	SUM D-H I	MISC DIVS INT J	TOTL ORD INCOM K	LEGA CIES L	SPEC DONS M		PROV IS IONS N	CANT EEN O	CLOTH IND P	OTHR SERV Q	SUM R-P R	ESTAB LISH MENT S	STAFF COSTS T	ADMIN COSTS U	TOTAL ORDINARY EXPEND V									
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n		o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v										
1830																																	
1835																																	
1840	3233		55		2490	200			45		5923							42	8	237	47	71	14	508	377	2130	2638		-517				
1845	731	233	18		4349	67			81	81	5461	187						291	62	234	5	637	13	955	20	4783		377	5160	763			
1850	592	127	12		4964	41			85	146	2	5870	21					298	60	631	13	1158	24	3	4756	262	5513		378	811	372		
1855	378	71	6		6669	65			89	388	5	7571						300	64	1267	17	1379	18	102	1	7603	413	8016		-445			
1860																																	
1866	251	53	3		9551	235			93	390	4	10540	262					92	69	1357	15	1300	14	196	2	9100	50	9158	1644	107			
1871	193	35	2		9854	274			94	365	3	10731	55					172	62	1422	14	2294	23	106	1	10185	50	10235	551	187			
1875																																	
1880	123		1		20815		<---	<---	89	97	442	2	21469	1050		22519	13090	<---	<---	1856	73	2676	13	2683	13	265	1	20570	1335	21905		614	2000
1895	90		0		21540		<---	<---	<---	96	853	4	22491			22491	11700	<---	<---	2607	74	1506	10	2678	14	341	2	19512	1580	20892		1599	1024
1890	57		0		20670		<---	<---	<---	96	893	4	21820	18		21646	13595	<---	<---	2390	81	1464	7	2227	11	181	1	19857	1229	21086		560	
1895	43		0		16402		<---	<---	<---	93	1144	7	17589		2024	19613	10412	<---	<---	2699	62	5919	28	1979	9	201	1	21209		21209		-1596	
1900	29		0		14650		<---	<---	<---	92	1315	8	16002			16002	12977	<---	<---	1667	74	2867	15	2014	10	180	1	19713	699	20411		-4409	474
1905	25		0		13838		<---	<---	<---	94	823	6	14686			14686	4552	<---	<---	7930	1240	90	815	5	0	603	4	15220		15220		-534	-900
1910	28		0		6620		<---	<---	<---	1412	87	1521	13	11589		11589	8108	<---	<---	258	67	2519	20	1501	12	149	1	12533	911	13444		-1055	
1915	61		0		5736		<---	<---	<---	1972	91	1315	8	15688		15688	8904	<---	<---	453	65	3036	21	1871	13	143	1	14407	565	14972		716	
1920	169		1		10531		<---	<---	<---	582	92	1721	7	23684	115	23739	16460	<---	<---	417	71	2912	12	3260	14	705	3	23694	832	24526		-727	
1925	245		1		8263		<---	<---	<---	85	3041	14	22241	500	65	22806	3910	2381	7706	343	71	1378	7	3358	17	1153	6	20229	995	21224		1582	500
1930	109		1		9059		<---	<---	<---	87	3003	12	24315		42	24357	6563	8903	<---	139	78	2989	15	873	4	431	2	19898	988	20887		3470	2475
1935	229		1		7048		<---	<---	<---	83	3244	16	19889			19889		7744	<---	157	64	3040	25	856	7	542	4	12339	940	13287		6602	1243
1940	2258		8		10274		<---	<---	<---	121	84	2197	8	27581	500	28091	6038	4023	6705	362	65	3281	12	5084	19	888	3	26391	55	26436		1645	
1945	3218	3000	14		10778		<---	<---	<---	726	77	3778	9	43266	86	43352	4992	8008	11339	927	64	5225	13	8068	21	704	2	39163	82	39245		6107	
1950	2359	570	5	1000	2	15253		<---	<---	638	86	4151	7	56880	1637	58517	5454	13051	18167	767	64	8277	14	12038	20	1174	2	58930	66	58996		-479	
1955	2935	600	7	1500	3	14978		<---	<---	211	85	2580	5	50270	2412	52682	6102	11929	13782	382	63	6774	13	10778	21	1034	2	50781	66	50847		1835	
1960																																	
1965	4891	360	7		37088		<---	<---	<---	82	8508	11	77738	2850		80596				295	1	13242	24	39375	72	1940	4	54852	55	54907		25689	
1970	6109		6		41801		<---	<---	<---	87	9146	8	107328	1685		109013				423	1	18765	25	55066	72	2078	3	76272	2008	78280		30733	

Source: Annual Reports, held at the Marine Society and National Maritime Museum (SMH 60)

All figures rounded to the nearest pound.

- a. Subscriptions and donations. b. Special collections: supporting associations in the provinces / share of London Flag Day. c. Donations from King George's Fund for Sailors.
d. Seamen's board money. e. Advance note discounts. f. Sales of clothing. g. Sales in refreshment room & canteen.
h. Laundry, monies from branch home at Gravesend, transport of seamen, billiards. i. Dividends, interest, rents, miscellaneous. j. Total ordinary income.
k. Legacies (includes transfers from legacies equalization account). l. Special donations (for purchase of property, improvements and major repairs).
m. Provisions. n. Refreshment room and canteen. o. Clothing shop. p. Other services: library, mission work, chapel, billiards, entertainment, transport.
q. Establishment: rent, rates, water, coals, oil, gas, electricity, taxes, laundry, insurance, cleaning, repairs, renewals, alterations, improvements, miscellaneous.
r. Staff costs: wages, salaries, national insurance, guarantees, superannuation.
s. Administration: stationery, postage, telephone, printing, advertising, appeals, porters, legal costs, annual meeting, audit. t. Total ordinary expenditure.
u. Extraordinary expenditure: purchase of property, major improvements, grants to London Nautical Cookery School, donations. <--- <--->. Included in entry to left (right).

For the years 1885-1895 the published accounts do not show seamen's board money and payments for other services separately. The figure in column d has been derived by deducting money repaid to seamen (shown under expenditure) from money paid in by seamen (shown under income). The latter includes a figure for advance note money collected and it has been assumed that the former also includes a similar sum for advance notes cashed for seamen, though it is not separately stated. For example, in 1879/80 seamen's money paid in (income) totalled £92,286 (including advance notes collected £6499 and ready money payments of £32777); seamen's money repaid totalled £61472; the difference, £20815, represents payment for sailors' home services, but almost certainly includes some monies owing to seamen who have not claimed them. For 1905 staff costs of about £1500 have been omitted.

a. Subscriptions and donations. b. Special collections: supporting associations in the provinces / share of London Flag Day c. Donations from King George's Fund for Saltores. d. Sales of clothing. e. Sales of clothing. f. Special collections from legacies equalising account. g. Sales in refreshment room a canteen. h. Laundry. i. Donations from branch home at Gravesend, transport of seamen, billiards. j. Students, interest, rent, miscellaneous. k. Local ordinary income. l. Local ordinary expenditure, audit. m. Local ordinary expenditure: purchase of property, major improvements, grants to London Nautical Cookery School, donations. n. Local ordinary expenditure: postage, telephone, printing, advertising, general expenses. o. Clothing shop. p. Other services: library, mission work, chapel, billiards, entertainment, transport. q. Refreshment room and canteen. r. Refreshment: gas, electricity, candles, laundry, insurance, cleaning, repairs, refreshments, miscellaneous. s. Refreshment: postage, telephone, printing, advertising, general expenses. t. Refreshment: gas, electricity, candles, oil, gas, electricity, candles, laundry, insurance, cleaning, repairs, refreshments, miscellaneous. u. Refreshment: postage, telephone, printing, advertising, general expenses. v. Refreshment: gas, electricity, candles, oil, gas, electricity, candles, laundry, insurance, cleaning, repairs, refreshments, miscellaneous. w. Refreshment: postage, telephone, printing, advertising, general expenses. x. Refreshment: gas, electricity, candles, oil, gas, electricity, candles, laundry, insurance, cleaning, repairs, refreshments, miscellaneous. y. Refreshment: postage, telephone, printing, advertising, general expenses. z. Refreshment: gas, electricity, candles, oil, gas, electricity, candles, laundry, insurance, cleaning, repairs, refreshments, miscellaneous.

Appendix 11c
SAILORS' HOME, LONDON: WEEKLY WAGES OF STAFF AND ANNUAL SALARIES OF OFFICERS AT VARIOUS DATES

INSTITUTE	1862			Aug. 1873-Jan. 1874			Aug. 1885-Dec. 1885			OFFICERS	1862					
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d		SH	OSA	BoT	TOTL		
Super/Entry Off	2	0	5	Mr. Weston	2	17	9	Mr. Weston	2	17	9	Secretary/Manager	150	50	250	450
Entry Officer								E. Cross	1	10	0	Assistant Secretary	150			150
Storekeeper	1	5	0	P. Cox		17	6					Chaplain, Church	150	100	50	300
Barnan								P. Cox	1	5	0	Cashier	170	30	90	290
Barnan								W. Perry		17	6	Superintendent	115		105	220
Doorkeeper	1	2	0					J. Bastard	1	6	0	Accounts Clerk	110			110
Doorkeeper				E. Smith	1	2	6	E. Smith	1	2	6	Accounts Clerk	85			85
Messenger	13	4		J. Heron	1	16	2					Accounts Examiner	40	1		41
Steward	12	6		W. Johnson		15	0	E. Augustine		17	0	Surgeon	30	40		70
Librarian				J. McMahon		15	0	J. Wesson		10	0					
Night Watchman	10	0		R. Cramp		15	0	J. Smith		12	0	Totals	950	171	445	1716
Waiter	8	6		H. Jones		14	0	H. Jones		14	0	SH: paid by Sailors' Home				
Waiter	10	0		R. Murton		11	6	R. Murton		14	0	OSA: paid by Destitute Sailors' Asylum				
Waiter	10	0		A. McDonald		10	0	J. Herbert		10	0	BoT: paid by Board of Trade				
Waiter	10	0		J. Pizley		8	6	S. Day		11	6	(shipping office)				
Waiter	8	6		W. Burton		6	0	W. Burton		13	6					
Waiter	8	6		Fastjem (?)		6	0	J. Smith		7	0					
Waiter	8	6		J. Kist		10	0	J. Kist		10	6					
Waiter	6	0														
Porter	7	6		J. Forward		15	0	J. Fell		15	0					
Porter's Mate	6	0		Stevens		7	0	G. Jackson		7	0	OFFICERS	SH			
Porter's Mate								O. Olvin		7	0		£			
Porter's Mate								J. West		5	0	Secretary/Manager	500			
Porter's Mate								Wallace		5	0	Assistant Secretary	200			
Yardman								J. Williams		5	0	Assistant Manager	200			
Dining Hall								Baird		5	0	Cashier	230			
Scullery								T. Pond		7	0	Inspector/Secretary	150			
Steward's Mate	5	6		J. Downing		15	0	Palmer		7	0	Chaplain	100			
Door Messenger				W. Brown		4	6					Total (annually)	1380			
Lifeman				Barker (?)		7	0									
Cook	1	10	0	C. Tibbey		1	10	J. Barlow		1	12	6				
2nd Cook/Baker	1	0	0	G. Barlow		1	7	R. Coe		1	5	0				
Cook's Mate	5	0		R. Coe		14	0									
Cook's Help	5	0		Augustus		8	6	J. Faldy		10	0					
Boy				J. Mercer		6	0	J. Smith		5	0					
Dining Room								W. Conroy		7	0					
Dining Room								H. Eggers		7	0					
Dining Room								J. Bowen		5	0					
CARTAGE DEPARTMENT																
Foreman				J. Kitchen		1	10	0	Dixon		1	12	0			
Carnan				J. Dixon		1	6	0	Dorkins		1	5	0			
Carnan				W. Dorkey		1	2	0	Collins		1	4	0			
Carnan				T. Tooker		1	1	0	Morsewell		1	3	0			
Carnan				C. Langridge		1	1	0	Thorpe		1	0	0			
Carnan				J. Jones					Elliot		16	0				
Stableman				H. Wheeler		1	0	0	Galloway		19	0				
Boy				F. Toffin		8	0									
						5	6									
LAUNDRY DEPARTMENT																
Forewoman				Mrs. Brown		1	2	6	Beasley		1	1	0			
Washerwoman				Mrs. Reaves		15	0	Williams		16	0					
Washerwoman				Mrs. Sims		15	0	Sims		16	0					
Washerwoman				Mrs. Ward					Extra		13	4				
Man/Bathman				Mrs. Watter		15	0				18	6				
Fireman				Carruthers		14	0	Carruthers		18	6					
Help								Brown		10	0					
								Hunter		5	0					
CLOTHING DEPARTMENT																
Cutter				Roltman		2	2	0	Roltman		2	5	0			
Asst. Cutter				Marriner		1	1	0	Marriner		1	1	0			
Shopman/Foreman				Beeching		15	6	Beeching		2	7	6				
Shopman						10	0	Barnes		1	6	0				
Shopman				Wheeler		6	0	Oates		15	0					
Clerk				O. Coleman		8	0									
Barber								Nichols		10	0					
AGENTS																
Paytable Agent				W. Dandy		1	0	0								
Dock Agent				J. Higgins		1	1	0								
Totals (weekly)	13	18	3		38	3	11		43	16	1					
Sources: Wages books, 2 Aug. 1873 to 10 Jan. 1874, 7 Aug. 1885 to 25 Dec. 1885, NMM, SAM 54/1. Committee minutes, 13 Feb., 27 Oct. 1862, NMM, SAM 1/5; 13 Mar, Dec. 1873, NMM, SAM 1/6.																

Sources: Wages books, 2 Aug. 1873 to 10 Jan. 1874, 7 Aug. 1885 to 25 Dec. 1885, NMM, SAM 54/1.
Committee minutes, 13 Feb., 27 Oct. 1862, NMM, SAM 1/5; 13 Mar, Dec. 1873, NMM, SAM 1/6.

Appendix 11d
RANDOM SAMPLES OF SEAFARERS STAYING AT THE SAILORS' HOME, WELL STREET/DOCK STREET, LONDON
BIRTH PLACES 1870/71, 1900/01, 1920/21, 1950/51
WHERE LAST SHIP CAME FROM AND DESTINATIONS ON LEAVING THE HOME, 1870/71

SEAFARERS STAYING AT THE HOME IN 1870/71								SEAFARERS STAYING AT THE HOME IN							
AREA	PORT SHIP FROM BIRTH PLACE			DESTINATION ON LEAVING THE HOME		DESTINATION SAME AS/NEAR BIRTH PLACE		1900/01		1920/21		1950/51		AREA	
	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
ENGLAND, N E	1	22	7.43	24	8.11	8	2	11	4.76	11	4.78	9	4.04	ENGLAND, N E	
ENGLAND, S E	1	35	11.82	13	4.39	6	4	31	13.42	55	23.91	30	13.45	ENGLAND, S E	
ENGLAND, N W		26	8.78	37	12.50	7	3	9	3.90	10	4.35	12	5.38	ENGLAND, N W	
ENGLAND, S W		24	8.11	10	3.38	1	4	5	2.16	9	3.91	9	4.04	ENGLAND, S W	
WALES		6	2.03	12	4.05	0	2	5	2.16	9	3.91	7	3.14	WALES	
SCOTLAND		62	20.95	41	13.85	4	26	17	7.36	28	12.17	26	11.66	SCOTLAND	
IRELAND		17	5.74	5	1.69	1	1	12	5.19	16	6.96	16	7.17	IRELAND	
N W EUROPE	7	56	18.92	10	3.38	0	6	47	20.35	20	8.70	46f	20.63	N W EUROPE	
MED & BLACK SEA	17	2	.00	4	1.35	0	0	2	.87	18	7.83	29	13.00	MED & BLACK SEAS	
INDIAN OCEAN	62d	2	.00	7	2.36	0	0	1	.43	1	.43	5	2.24	INDIAN OCEAN	
FAR EAST	35	1	.34	9	3.04	0	0	0	.00	14	6.09	0	.00	FAR EAST	
AUSTRALIA, N Z	32	0	.00	12	4.05	0	0	14	6.06	8	3.48	15	6.73	AUSTRALIA, N Z	
SOUTH AFRICA	10	0	.00	3	1.01	0	0	1	.43	0	.00	4	1.79	SOUTH AFRICA	
NORTH AMERICA	26	10	3.38	6	2.03	0	0	15	6.49	18	7.83	6	2.69	NORTH AMERICA	
SOUTH AMERICA	20	1	.34	1	.34	0	0	0	.00	2	.87	1	.45	SOUTH AMERICA	
WEST INDIES	10	3	1.01	2	.68	0	0	9	3.90	1	.43	0	.00	WEST INDIES	
MISCELLANEOUS a	4	17b	5.74	12	4.05			1	.43	0	.00	2	.90	MISCELLANEOUS	
U K TOTAL	6	192	64.86	154	52.03	27	42	91	39.39	138	60.00	111	49.78	U K TOTAL	
O'SEAS TOTAL	219	90	30.41	54	18.24c	0	6	89	38.53	82	35.65	106	47.53	OVERSEAS TOTAL	
TOTALS	225	282	95.27	208	70.27	27	48	180	77.92	220	95.65	217	97.31	TOTALS	
MISSING DATA	71	12	4.05	88	29.73			51e	22.08	10	4.35	6	2.69	MISSING DATA	
SAMPLE TOTAL	296	296	100.00	296	100.00			231	100.00	230	100.00	223	100.00	SAMPLE TOTAL	
TOTAL ENTRIES	9970	9970		9970				5715		2846		2402			

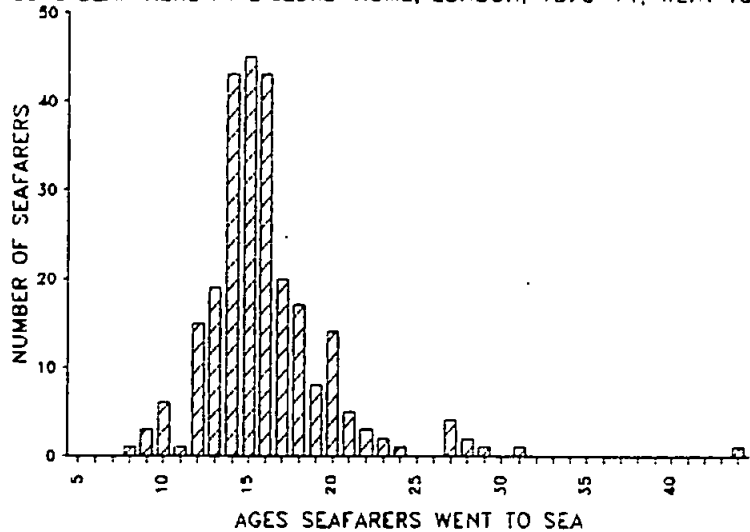
Source: Sailors' Home Entry Books, 1870/71, 1900/01, 1920/21, 1950/51
NMH SAM 52/1, 19/47 & 19/48, 19/77, 19/91 & 19/92

- a. Includes coasting, yacht, shipwrecked, on leave, friends, England.
- b. No birth place given, but as supported by consulates, assumed to be from Europe.
- c. Includes 43 seafarers who joined named ships bound from London to named ports.
- d. Calcutta 32, Callao 10; all other ports listed less than 10 times.
- e. Includes 34 cattlemen (the "Houlder contract"); only arrival and departure dates entered.
- f. Includes 30 born in Poland.

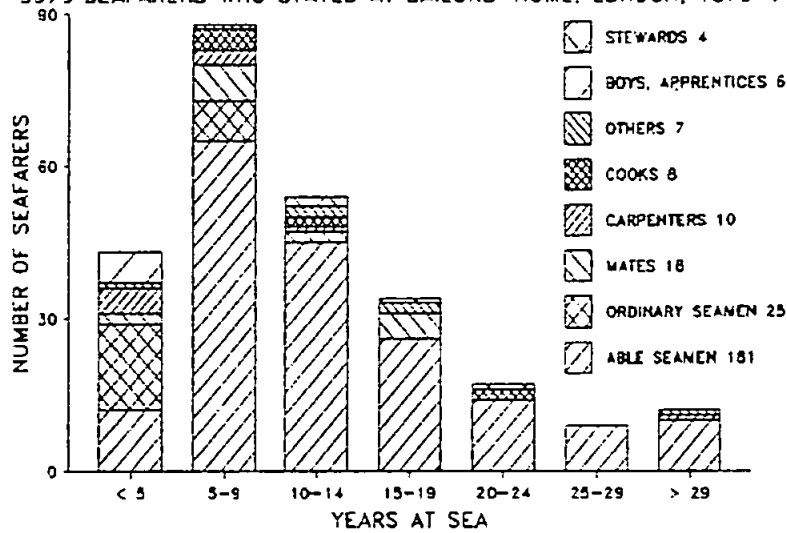
Appendix 11e

AGES MEN WENT TO SEA,
TIME AT SEA &
TIME IN LAST SHIP
1870-71

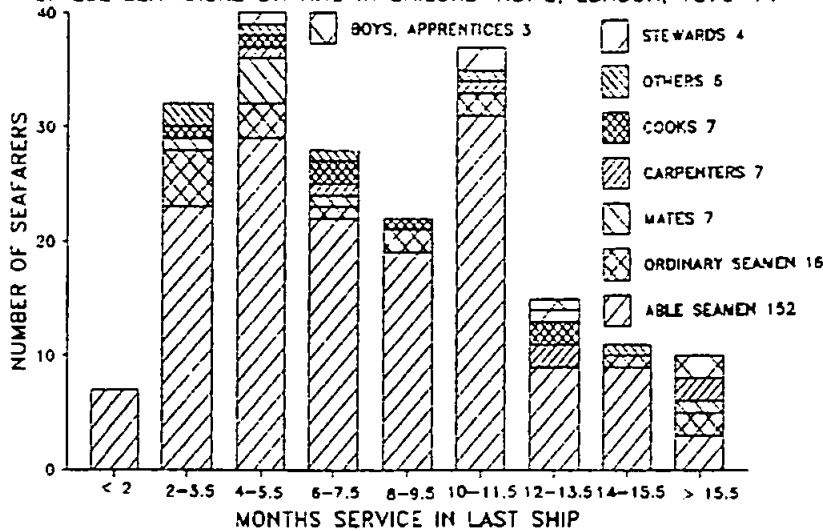
AGES AT WHICH RANDOM SAMPLE OF 255 FROM
9970 SEAFARERS AT SAILORS' HOME, LONDON, 1870-71, WENT TO SEA



TIME AT SEA OF RANDOM SAMPLE OF 257 FROM
9970 SEAFARERS WHO STAYED AT SAILORS' HOME, LONDON, 1870-71



TIME IN LAST SHIP (MONTHS) OF RANDOM SAMPLE
OF 202 SEAFARERS STAYING IN SAILORS' HOME, LONDON, 1870-71

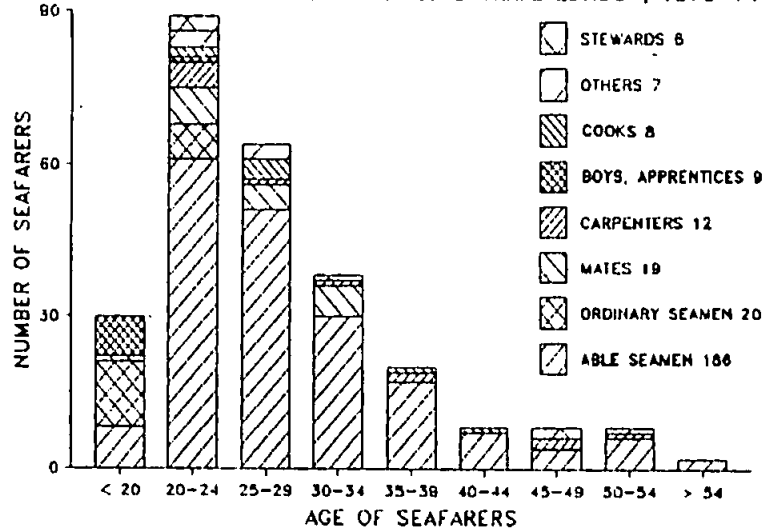


Source:
Sailors' Home,
London,
Entry Books, 1870-71,
NMM, SAH 52/1

AGES OF SEAFARERS STAYING AT SAILORS' HOME, LONDON

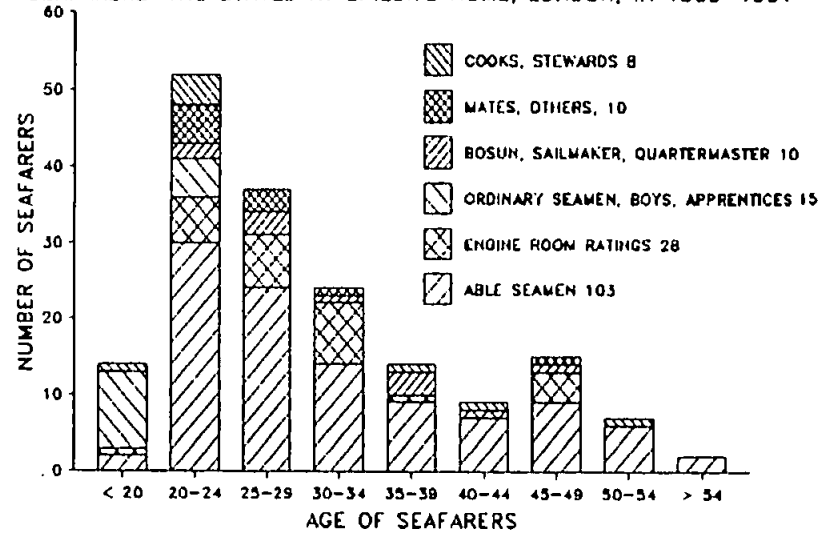
AGES OF A RANDOM SAMPLE OF 267 FROM 9970

SEAFARERS WHO STAYED AT SAILORS' HOME LONDON, 1870-71



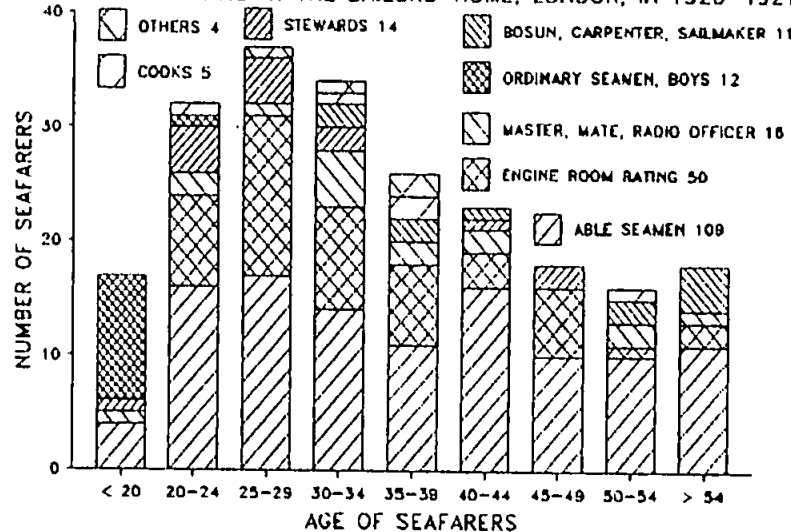
AGES OF A RANDOM SAMPLE OF 174 FROM 5715

SEAFARERS WHO STAYED AT SAILOR'S HOME, LONDON, IN 1900-1901



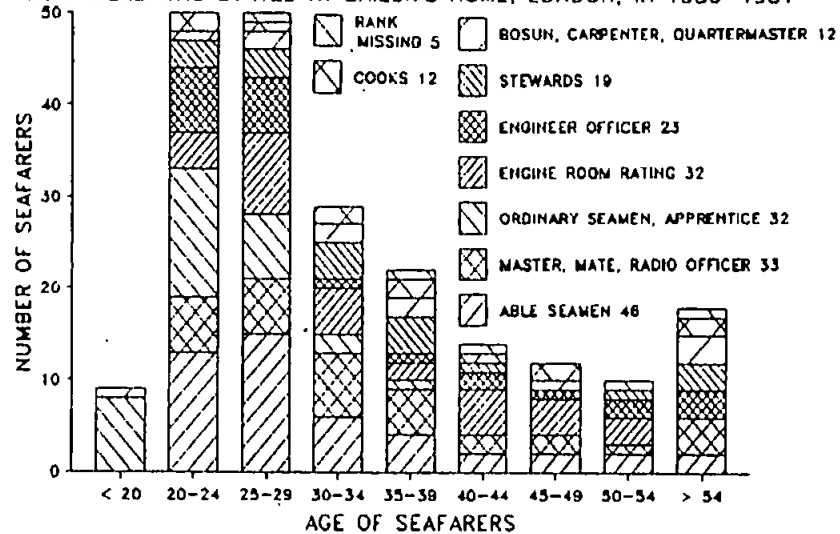
AGES OF A RANDOM SAMPLE OF 221 FROM 2846

SEAFARERS STAYING AT THE SAILORS' HOME, LONDON, IN 1920-1921



AGES OF A RANDOM SAMPLE OF 214 FROM 2402

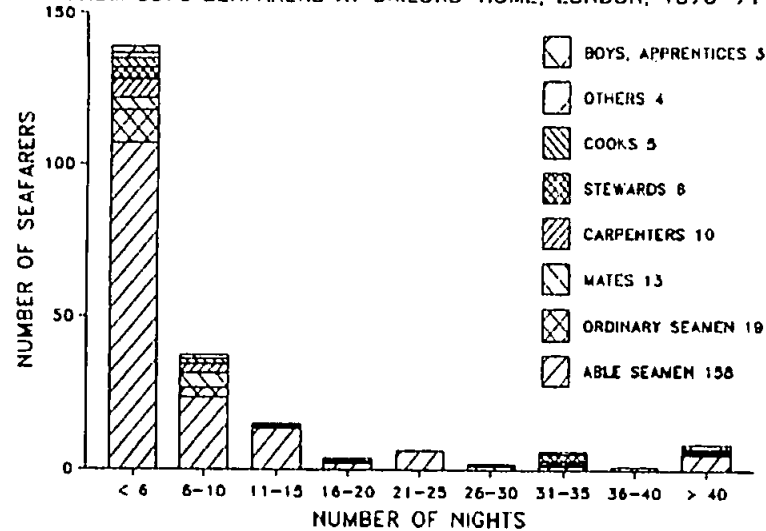
SEAFARERS WHO STAYED AT SAILOR'S HOME, LONDON, IN 1950-1951



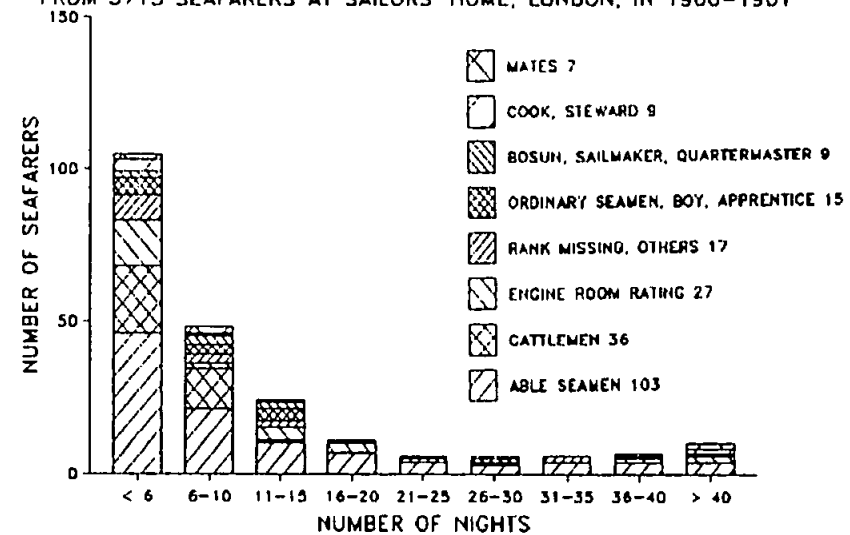
Source: Sailors' Home Entry Books, 1870-71, 1900-01, 1920-21, 1950-51, NMM, SAH 52/1, 19/47 & 19/48, 19/77, 19/91 & 19/92.

LENGTH OF STAY OF SEAFARERS STAYING AT SAILORS' HOME, LONDON

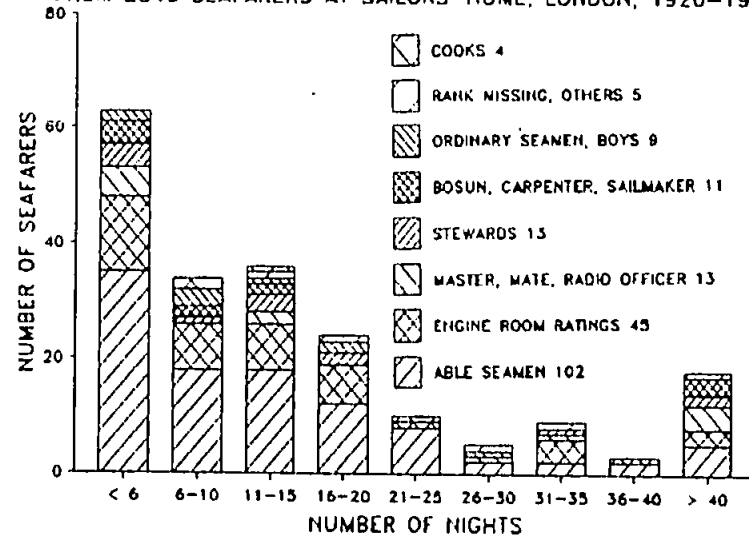
LENGTH OF STAY OF A RANDOM SAMPLE OF 218
FROM 9970 SEAFARERS AT SAILORS' HOME, LONDON, 1870-71



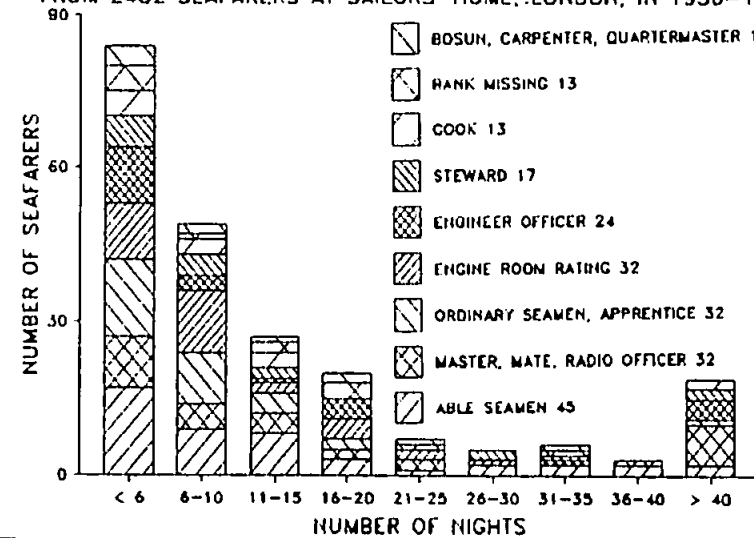
LENGTH OF STAY OF A RANDOM SAMPLE OF 223
FROM 5715 SEAFARERS AT SAILORS' HOME, LONDON, IN 1900-1901



LENGTH OF STAY OF A RANDOM SAMPLE OF 202
FROM 2846 SEAFARERS AT SAILORS' HOME, LONDON, 1920-1921

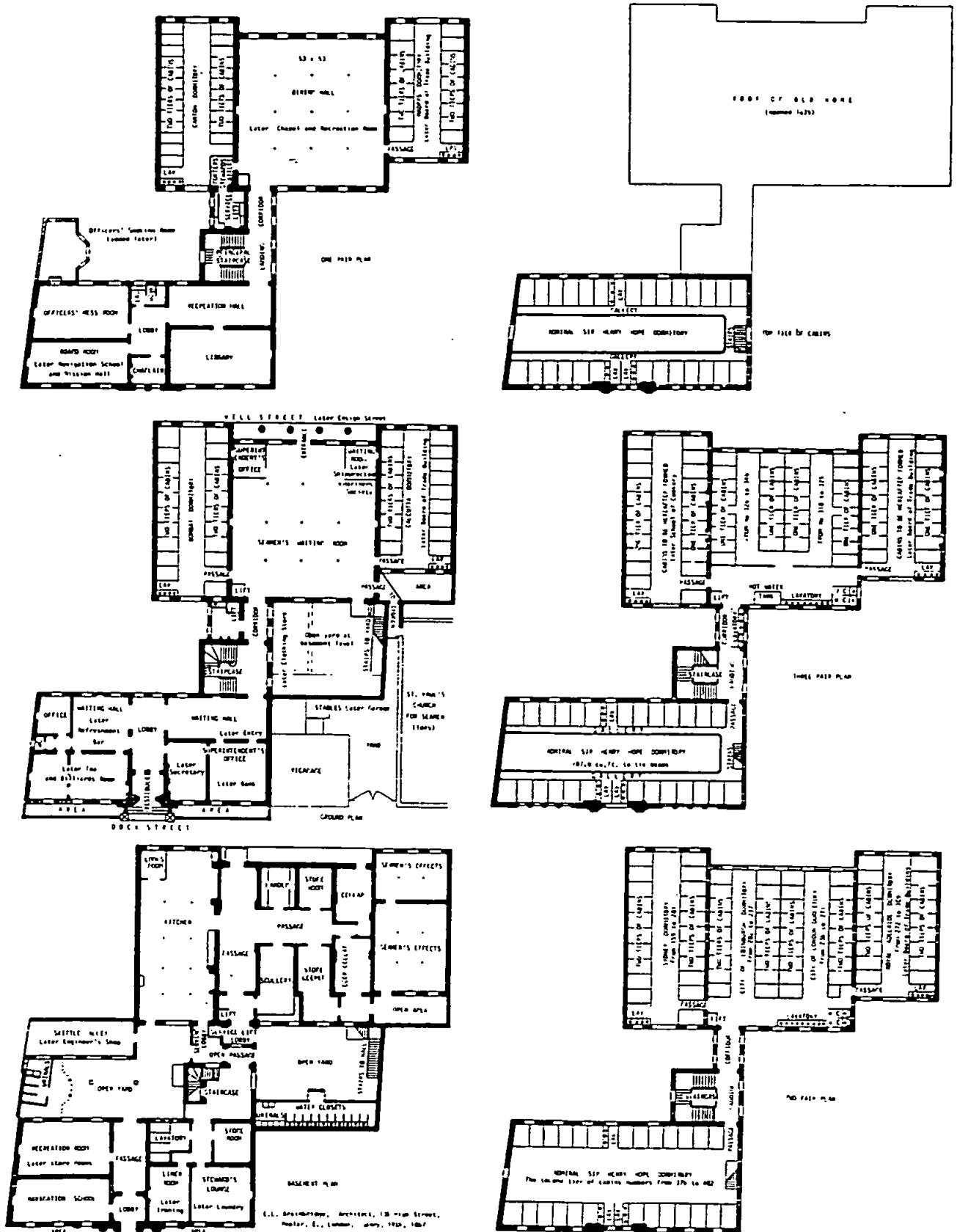


LENGTH OF STAY OF A RANDOM SAMPLE OF 220
FROM 2402 SEAFARERS AT SAILORS' HOME, LONDON, IN 1950-1951



Source: Sailors' Home Entry Books, 1870-71, 1900-01, 1920-21, 1950-51, NMM, SAH 52/1, 19/47 & 19/48, 19/77, 19/91 & 19/92.

Appendix 11 h
SAILORS' HOME, LONDON: PLANS, 1867

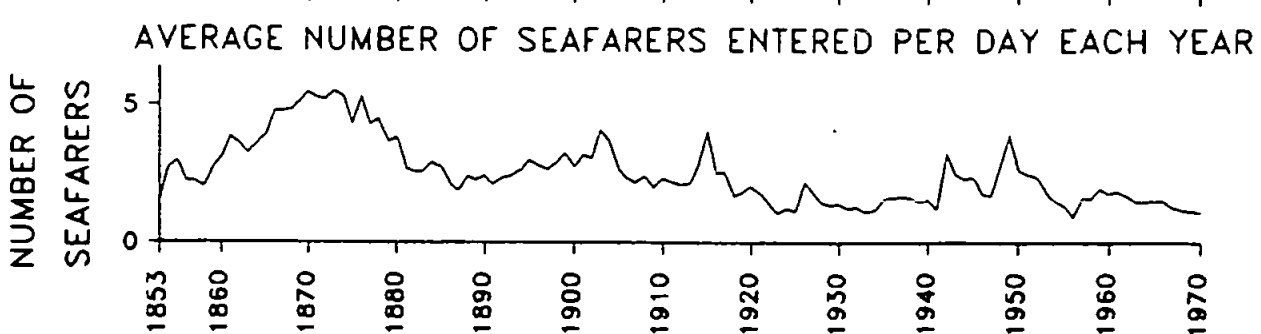
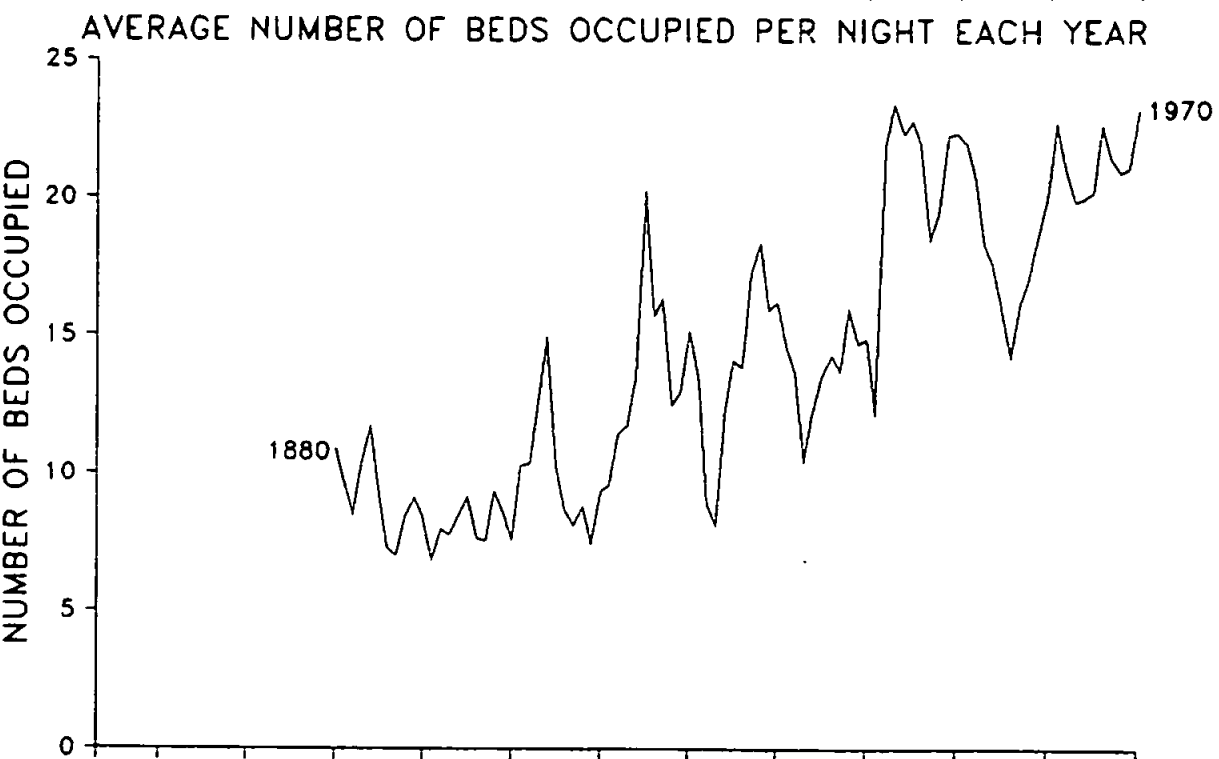
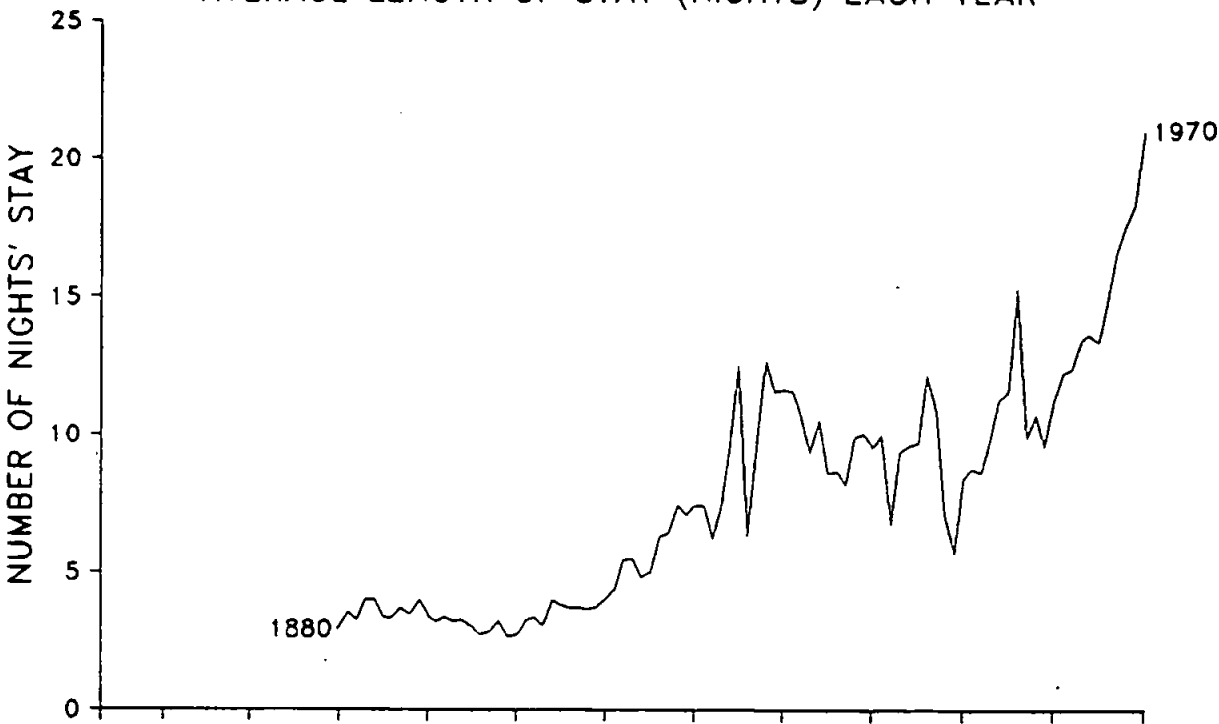


Sources: Illustrations collection, Tower Hamlets Local History Library and NBR, BB/54/1692/1766

YEAR	SEAFARERS STAYING AT SAILORS' HOME, BRISTOL, 1853-1970		BROUGHT BY SHIPMAKERS		DESTITUTE APPRENTICES		BEDS OCCUPIED		MEN'S SERVED SEAFARERS' MONEY					
	ENTERED NO./MD/DY	NO. STAYING	NO. STAYING	NO. STAYING	NO. STAYING	NO. STAYING	NO. STAYING	NO. STAYING	NO. STAYING	NO. STAYING				
1853	550	1-5	147	13-0	862	61-2	109	7-7	96	6-1	42	3-0	106	1-06
1854	582	2-7			791	58-6	86	6-5	102	7-7	33	2-5	113	1-16
1855	1084	3-0			791	58-6	86	6-5	102	7-7	33	2-5	113	1-16
1856	910	3-2			791	58-6	86	6-5	102	7-7	33	2-5	113	1-16
1857	917	2-2			791	58-6	86	6-5	102	7-7	33	2-5	113	1-16
1858	743	2-0			791	58-6	86	6-5	102	7-7	33	2-5	113	1-16
1859	968	3-7			791	58-6	86	6-5	102	7-7	33	2-5	113	1-16
1860	1132	3-1			791	58-6	86	6-5	102	7-7	33	2-5	113	1-16
1861	1409	3-9			791	58-6	86	6-5	102	7-7	33	2-5	113	1-16
1862	1332	3-6			791	58-6	86	6-5	102	7-7	33	2-5	113	1-16
1863	1332	3-6			791	58-6	86	6-5	102	7-7	33	2-5	113	1-16
1864	1332	3-6			791	58-6	86	6-5	102	7-7	33	2-5	113	1-16
1865	1407	3-9			791	58-6	86	6-5	102	7-7	33	2-5	113	1-16
1866	1735	4-8			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1867	1735	4-8			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1868	1735	4-8			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1869	1862	5-1			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1870	1995	5-5			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1871	1918	5-2			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1872	2008	5-5			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1873	1931	5-5			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1874	1559	4-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1875	1559	4-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1876	1547	4-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1877	1547	4-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1878	1547	4-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1879	1547	4-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1880	1379	3-6			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1881	983	2-7			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1882	939	2-6			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1883	939	2-6			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1884	939	2-6			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1885	1012	2-8			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1886	796	2-2			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1887	690	1-1			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1888	690	1-1			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1889	827	2-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1890	885	2-4			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1891	775	2-1			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1892	775	2-1			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1893	880	2-4			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1894	954	2-4			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1895	1096	3-0			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1896	1096	3-0			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1897	964	2-6			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1898	964	2-6			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1899	1190	3-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1900	1002	2-7			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1901	1161	3-2			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1902	1161	3-2			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1903	1489	4-1			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1904	1489	4-1			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1905	975	2-7			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1906	852	2-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1907	782	2-2			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1908	782	2-2			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1909	721	2-0			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1910	849	2-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1911	800	2-2			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1912	775	2-1			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1913	775	2-1			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1914	1023	2-8			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1915	1478	4-0			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1916	912	2-5			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1917	931	2-6			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1918	610	1-7			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1919	671	1-8			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1920	747	2-0			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1921	655	1-8			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1922	519	1-4			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1923	395	1-1			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1924	444	1-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1925	411	1-1			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1926	800	2-2			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1927	641	1-8			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1928	500	1-5			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1929	500	1-5			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1930	509	1-4			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1931	458	1-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1932	458	1-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1933	458	1-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1934	458	1-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1935	575	1-6			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1936	601	1-6			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1937	611	1-7			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1938	553	1-6			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1939	554	1-5			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1940	558	1-6			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1941	441	1-2			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1942	1107	3-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1943	914	2-5			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1944	848	2-3			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1945	840	2-4			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1946	656	1-8			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1947	622	1-7			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1948	1007	2-8			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1949	1007	2-8			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1950	772	2-7			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1951	916	2-5			1070	61-7	220	13-2	72	4-1	55	2-2	184	2-24
1952</														

SEAFARERS STAYING AT SAILORS' HOME, BRISTOL

AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY (NIGHTS) EACH YEAR



Source: Appendix 12a (table).

Bristol Sailors' Home: Annual Income and Expenditure, 1852-1970

YEAR	ORDINARY INCOME										EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										TOTAL INCOME	ORDINARY EXPENDITURE										TOTAL EXPENDITURE	BALANCE	STOCK PURCHASES																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
	SUBS DOMS	SPEC COLL	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC		SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC				SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC	SPEC

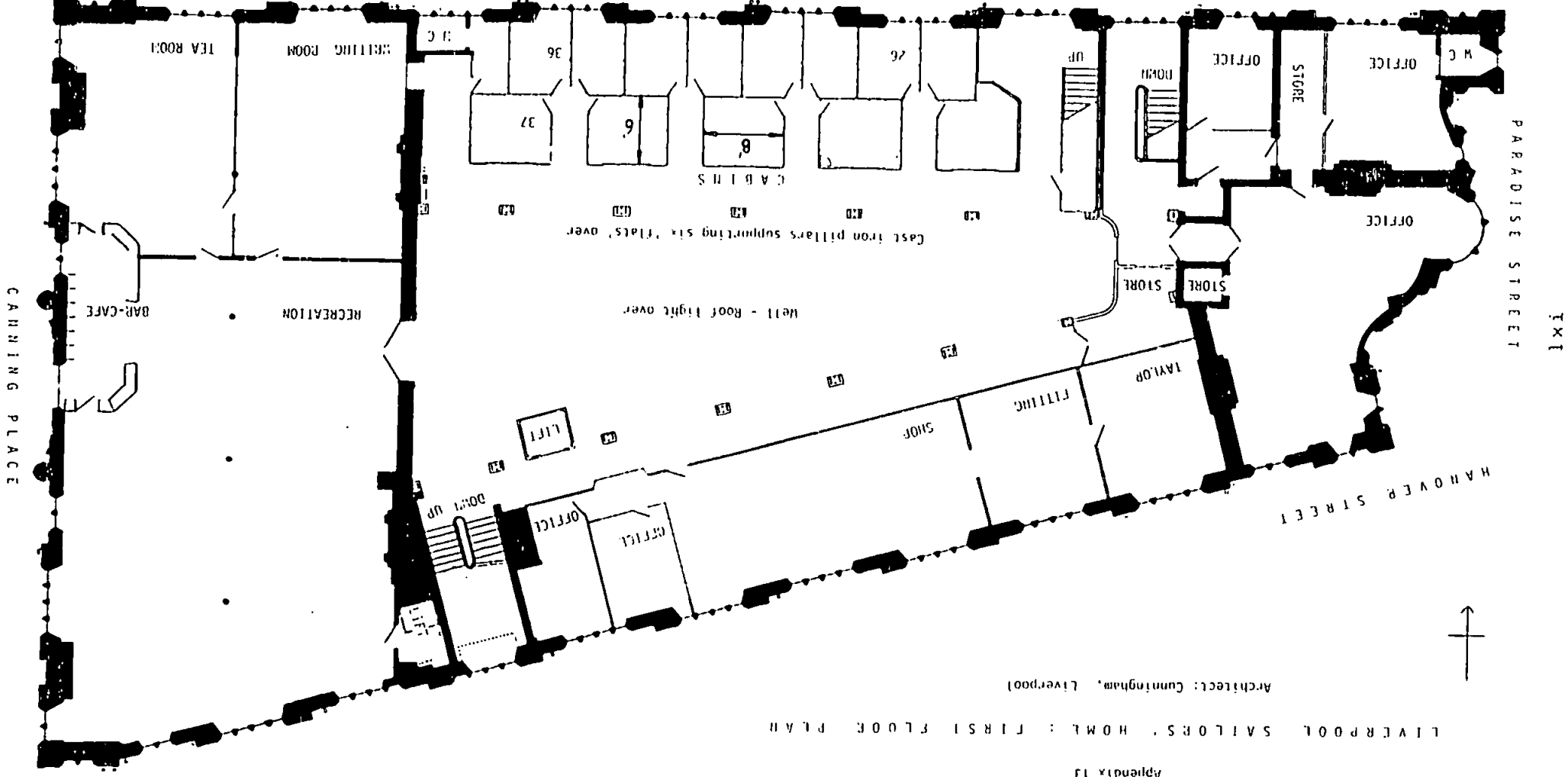
Appendix 12b(11)
BRISTOL SAILORS' HOME: ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, 1852-1970
Deflated to 1914 values using the index derived in Appendix 2

YEAR	OPORDINARY INCOME										EXTRAORDINARY INCOME			TOTAL INCOME	ORDINARY EXPENDITURE										EXTRAORDINARY EXPENDITURE	BAL. STOCK PURCHASES
	SUBS. A	SPEC. COLL.	DOMS. FROM FUNDS	DOMS. C	SINKS & MONEY	DIVS. & RENT	TOTAL INCH.	LEAS. & LICENS.	SEC. & DOMS.	INCH.	INCH.	INCH.	PROV. 1		ESTAB. 2	STAFF 3	ADMIN. 4	TOTAL 5	PROV. 1	ESTAB. 2	STAFF 3	ADMIN. 4	TOTAL 5			
1852	119	95	25	21	425	64	59	443	6	5	125	1780	392	47	19	23	22	27	40	50	60	1681	1762	19		
1853	159	25	21	21	545	74	50	473	477			1209	412	42	14	21	89	13	75	12	589	569	54			
1854	157	21	21	21	545	74	50	473	477			1209	412	42	14	21	89	13	75	12	589	569	54			
1855	147	23	23	23	461	74	52	413				551	357	61	132	21	95	20	15	2	586	586	21			
1856	139	25	25	25	361	70	51	430				480	264	56	104	22	92	20	11	2	470	470	11			
1857	114	24	24	24	336	70	51	430				480	264	56	104	22	92	20	11	2	470	470	11			
1858	115	20	20	20	337	68	40	491				491	271	56	103	21	105	22	4	2	489	489	3			
1859	182	27	27	27	369	66	5	590				590	360	56	115	18	145	25	24	4	640	640	-50			
1860	161	25	25	25	446	69	28	645				645	361	66	130	19	153	22	17	2	601	785	-140			
1861	159	62	26	26	718	71	38	1017				1017	539	60	166	16	167	21	12	1	903	903	113			
1862	157	62	26	26	560	64	38	948				948	437	64	172	21	185	23	15	2	809	809	40			
1863	156	71	31	31	472	63	41	574				742	369	52	134	19	186	25	10	1	736	598	102			
1864	156	71	31	31	472	63	41	574				742	369	52	134	19	186	25	10	1	736	598	102			
1865	156	71	31	31	472	63	41	574				742	369	52	134	19	186	25	10	1	736	598	102			
1866	156	71	31	31	472	63	41	574				742	369	52	134	19	186	25	10	1	736	598	102			
1867	156	71	31	31	472	63	41	574				742	369	52	134	19	186	25	10	1	736	598	102			
1868	156	71	31	31	472	63	41	574				742	369	52	134	19	186	25	10	1	736	598	102			
1869	156	71	31	31	472	63	41	574				742	369	52	134	19	186	25	10	1	736	598	102			
1870	156	71	31	31	472	63	41	574				742	369	52	134	19	186	25	10	1	736	598	102			
1871	152	159	29	29	603	66	45	5909				909	450	52	206	24	198	23	11	1	865	865	128			
1872	110	143	27	27	614	64	70	7937				937	503	60	149	18	176	21	11	1	839	939	90			
1873	111	150	32	32	480	59	74	9814				814	371	49	103	24	132	25	7	1	754	754	340			
1874	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1875	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1876	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1877	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1878	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1879	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1880	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1881	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1882	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1883	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1884	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1885	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1886	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1887	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1888	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1889	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1890	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1891	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1892	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1893	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1894	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1895	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1896	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1897	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1898	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1899	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1900	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1901	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1902	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1903	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1904	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1905	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1906	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1907	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1908	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1909	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1910	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1911	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1912	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1913	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1914	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1915	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1916	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1917	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1918	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1919	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1920	149	178	29	29	635	64	76	8999				999	467	56	161	19	195	23	0	1	831	831	168			
1																										

- a. Subscriptions, donations, collections, events, b. Unpublished, c. Items on ships entering Bristol/Wireless Sailor's Flag day share.
- d. Contributions from KUSC, NCS, NMB, d. Green's Board money
- e. Dividends, interest, sub-let rent, tax refunds, miscellaneous income, f. Total ordinary income, g. Legacies.
- h. Special donations mostly for major repair/improvements, i. Prizations
- j. Laundry, coal, gas, electricity, water, rent, rates, insurance, cleaning, repairs, renewal, postage, miscellaneous.
- k. Total ordinary expenditure, l. Total income, m. Total expenditure, n. Total income less expenditure, o. Total ordinary expenditure, p. Total income less ordinary expenditure, q. Total income less ordinary expenditure, r. Total income less ordinary expenditure.
- NOTE: Totals calculated using two totals rounded to nearest penny.

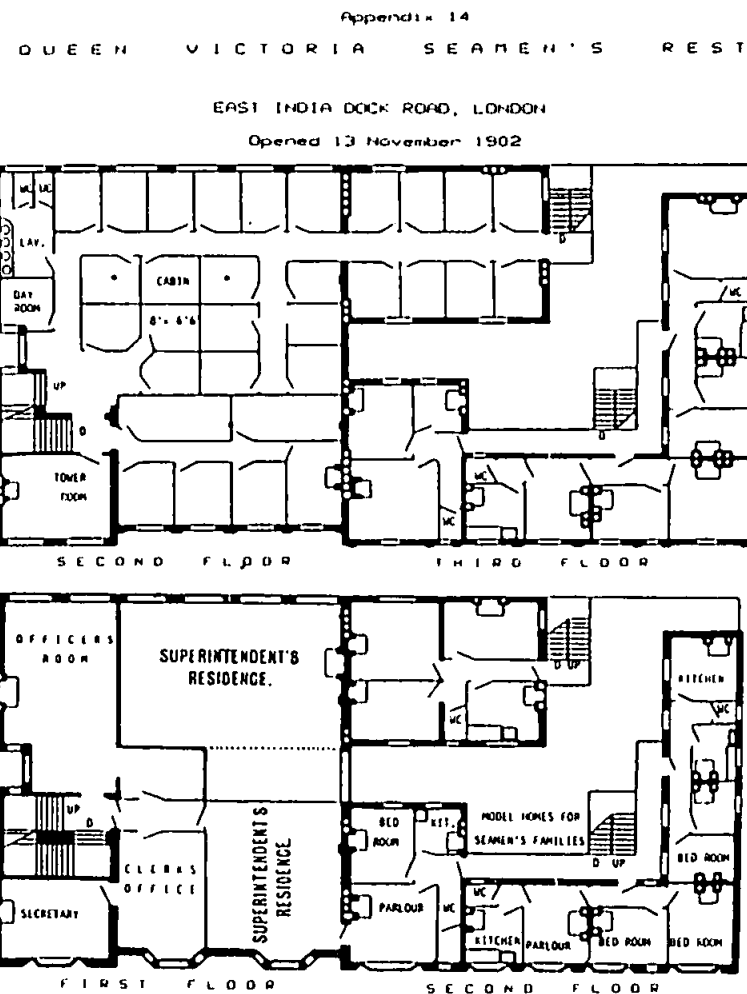
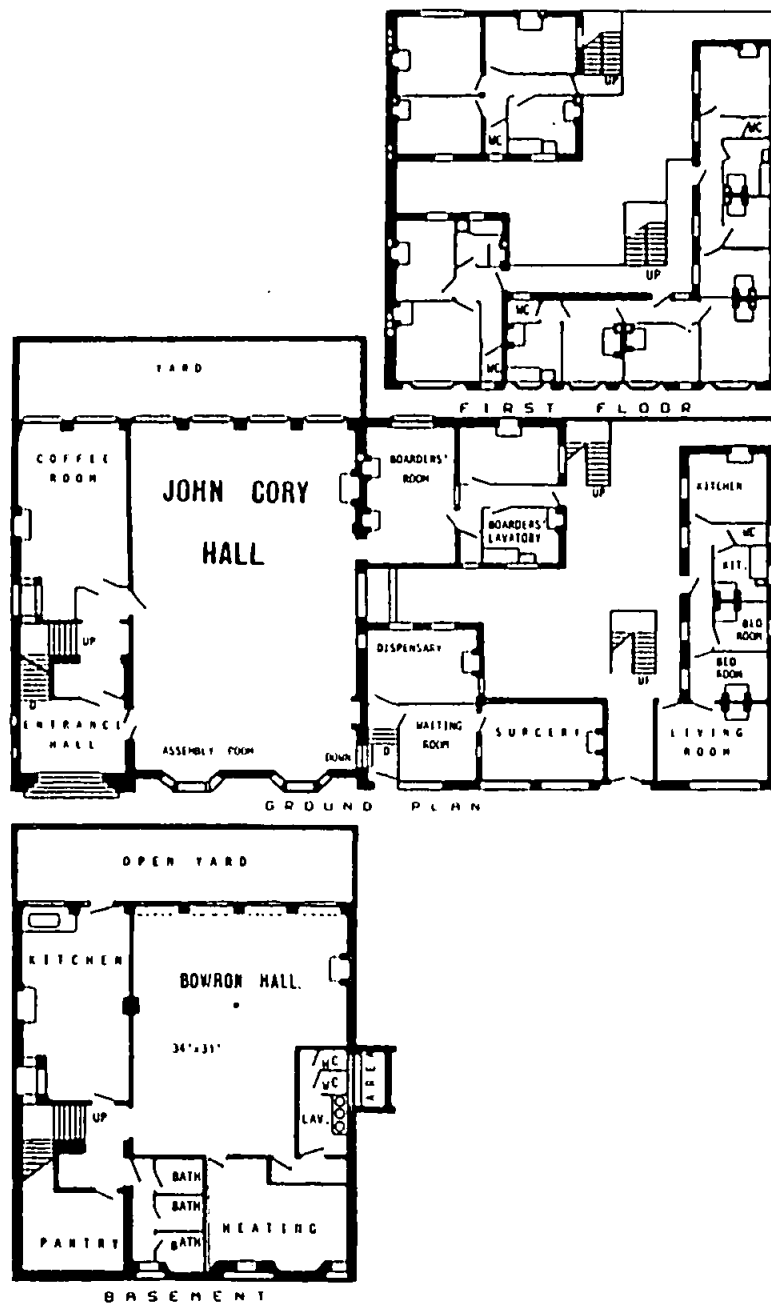
LIVERPOOL SAILORS' HOME: FIRST FLOOR PLAN

Architect: Cunningham, Liverpool



Source: Simplified versions of plans drawn in 1962, National Monument Record, BB 63/2796

Note: Opened 1852, burnt down 1860, reopened to same plan 1862



Source: Wesleyan Seamen's Mission, Annual Report for 1902

Appendix 15a

KING GEORGE'S FUND FOR SAILORS: OBJECTS

1. THE objects of the Corporation shall be the following: —

(a) *To secure more efficient aid and support for approved Marine Benevolent Institutions established within the British Empire supported wholly or in part by Public Contributions, by endowments or by the income of endowments, or by any combination thereof, and to obtain from public benevolence by means of subscription, donation, bequest or otherwise gifts of money or property.*

(b) To apply any moneys so obtained in making grants to Institutions and in creating a capital fund to be applied with the income thereof for the benefit of Institutions.

(c) To invest any moneys so obtained and hold the investments of the same and to execute any special trusts in connection with moneys or property held or obtained by the Corporation not being inconsistent with the objects of this Charter.

(d) To promote the interests of Institutions which have been in existence not less than three years rather than to encourage the formation of new Institutions.

(e) To arrange for and to appoint independent visitors to inspect and report upon Institutions making application for aid.

(f) To require all or any Institutions receiving grants to keep their accounts and statistics in a prescribed manner and if thought fit on a uniform basis according to groups, and to show the proportion of cost of administration and management to that of maintenance.

(g) To publish annually a statistical record of the work done in all Institutions benefited.

(h) In every way and especially by encouraging personal service on the part of large numbers of persons to further the interests and promote the adequate maintenance of Institutions.

(i) To do anything incidental or conducive to the foregoing objects or any of them.

(j) *In exceptional circumstances when the Corporation is satisfied that it is proper so to do to make a grant or grants to any foreign Organisation situate outside the British Empire not being an Institution as hereinafter defined which has rendered or is rendering meritorious service to Sailors.*

Source: KGFS Royal Charter & Statutes, 1920.

Appendix 15b

LIST OF MARINE BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS & FINANCES, 1916

List of Marine Institutions which for one reason or another are not included in the detailed alphabetical List.(overleaf)

Admiralty Compassionate Fund.
Army and Navy Pensioners' Employment Society.
Blinded Soldiers' and Sailors' Care Committee.
Captain Cook's Almshouse Fund.
Church of England Soldiers' and Sailors' Institutes.
Duke of Connaught Soldiers' and Sailors' Home.
"Edgar" Boat Fund.
Greenwich Royal Hospital.
Howard Institute.
Imperial College, Windsor.
Incorporated Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society.
Kelly's College, Tavistock.
King William IV. Naval Asylum.
Naval Officers' Widows' Fund.
Partis College, Bath.
Princess Christian Home for Soldiers and Sailors.
Royal Caledonian Asylum.
Royal Naval Fund.
Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation.
Royal Victoria Patriotic Asylum.
Sir John Hawkins' Hospital.
Tancruff's Charities.
Travers' Foundation.
Sailors' Home, Liverpool.
Stocks' Trust, Christ's Hospital.
Naval School Training Ship "Mercury."
Queen Victoria's School for Sons of Scottish Sailors and Soldiers in connection with South African War.

Appendix 15b (continued)

Table A—INSTITUTIONS RENDERING MATERIAL AID.

	INCOME.						EXPENDITURE.		
	Voluntary Contributions.	Dividends.	State Payments.	Contributions of Beneficiaries.	Legacies.	Total.	Management.	Maintenance.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Aged Merchant Seamen and Widows' Fund	4,531 5 10	525 15 7	.....	.....	350 0 0	5,410 1 5	.....	.....	2,976 9 5
Andrew Gibson Memorial Home for Seamen's Widows	371 12 9	113 14 11	.....	.....	.....	815 7 5	.....	.....	882 8 11
British Seamen's Orphan Boys' Home	531 9 2	.....	1,071 12 6	.....	.....	1,603 7 2	.....	.....	1,605 3 1
British Shipmasters', Officers' and Widows' Benevolent Fund	916 19 0	167 12 1	.....	.....	.....	1,414 11 1	.....	.....	529 8 10
British Merchant Seamen and their Dependents' Fund .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Capt. Charles Fryatt Memorial	4,474 11 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,474 11 3	.....	.....	557 4 1
Destitute Sailors' Fund	157 16 6	17 14 0	.....	7 5 8	.....	152 16 2	.....	.....	102 2 2
Glasgow Aged Seamen Relief Fund	658 2 8	470 6 2	.....	.....	.....	1,128 3 10	.....	.....	1,182 15 0
Hull Seamen's and General Orphanage and Schools	2,017 12 1	1,306 15 9	247 12 9	.....	600 0 0	4,672 0 7	.....	.....	4,722 14 3
Imperial Merchant Service Guild War Fund	15,000 0 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,000 0 0	.....	.....	14,000 0 0
Liverpool Homes for Aged Mariners	1,149 5 11	2,620 19 9	.....	.....	1,600 0 0	5,370 9 5	.....	.....	4,714 17 6
Liverpool Seamen's Orphan Institution	5,341 9 8	6,412 14 11	431 14 3	.....	1,384 8 5	13,573 7 8	.....	.....	14,573 18 10
Liverpool Seamen's Pension Fund	98 6 6	2,870 19 9	.....	.....	.....	2,969 6 3	.....	.....	3,177 10 7
Liverpool Shipwreck and Humane Society	138 16 6	363 9 6	.....	.....	.....	1,052 6 0	.....	.....	594 0 3
Lloyd's Patriotic Fund	110 6 0	4,980 0 0	.....	.....	.....	5,090 6 0	.....	.....	4,354 9 8
Margaret Ismay Seamen's Widows' Fund	25 0 0	1,068 2 0	.....	.....	.....	1,093 2 0	.....	.....	1,045 3 2
Mercantile Marine (Widows) Fund	26 1 0	537 13 8	.....	.....	.....	563 14 8	.....	.....	287 6 11
Mine Sweepers' Fund	12,915 14 2	11 3 0	.....	.....	.....	12,929 17 2	.....	.....	12,566 12 4
Navy League Overseas Relief Fund .....	.....	6,800 0 0	.....	.....	.....	6,800 0 0	.....	.....	.....
Navy Employment Agency .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nelson Day Fund (Navy League) .....	.....	440 0 0	.....	.....	.....	440 0 0	.....	.....	.....
Naval and Military Emigration League .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Queen Adelaide Naval Fund	225 11 0	135 1 0	.....	.....	200 0 0	561 12 0	.....	.....	311 4 6
Ramsgate General Hospital and Seamen's Infirmary	1,145 11 5	766 9 7	40 0 0	526 19 6	1,481 9 6	3,963 10 1	113 6 1	2,769 0 0	2,882 6 1
Royal Alfred Aged Merchant Seamen's Institution	8,409 10 0	1,343 7 4	.....	.....	2,632 2 9	13,025 0 1	1,182 18 6	6,306 11 7	3,189 10 1
Royal Cornwall Sailors' Home and Hospital	210 5 11	109 3 4	.....	.....	.....	319 9 5	.....	.....	413 15 9
Royal Naval and Marine Orphan Home, Portsmouth	6,109 7 6	808 1 9	683 14 3	.....	.....	7,601 3 6	.....	.....	7,775 8 3
Royal Hamadryad Seamen's Hospital	2,481 13 4	637 7 4	71 14 0	.....	.....	3,190 14 5	.....	.....	3,951 17 7
Royal Merchant Seamen's Orphanage	10,294 9 5	1,478 13 5	.....	.....	677 1 1	12,450 3 11	.....	.....	11,521 5 2
Royal Naval Benevolent Society	740 17 3	3,391 0 1	.....	.....	.....	4,131 17 4	.....	.....	3,418 15 2
Royal Naval Scholarship Fund and Royal Naval School Corporation	512 6 2	1,006 5 3	.....	.....	810 0 1	2,328 11 5	.....	.....	829 12 3
Royal Sailors' Orphan Girls' School and Home	1,951 16 4	235 14 9	335 18 10	.....	.....	2,523 9 11	316 10 7	2,393 2 11	2,609 13 6
Royal School for Naval and Marine Officers' Daughters	746 10 8	975 15 0	.....	2,248 19 6	.....	3,971 14 2	.....	.....	3,929 14 3
Royal United Service Orphan Home for Girls	2,610 7 2	1,351 2 9	.....	353 5 0	814 8 10	5,659 3 9	.....	.....	3,226 9 4
Sailors' Orphan Cottage Homes	4,664 14 7	3,440 5 6	350 0 0	108 7 6	1,667 6 2	10,230 13 4	.....	.....	9,540 0 6
Sailors' Orphan Society of Scotland	3,611 1 8	1,391 9 8	.....	108 3 0	1,051 12 2	6,602 7 5	.....	.....	6,655 0 4
Seamen's Hospital Society	23,233 2 3	3,792 6 10	11,580 11 2	.....	1,175 0 0	39,731 0 5	3,207 15 7	27,195 5 6	30,403 1 1
Shetland Fishermen's Widows' Relief Fund	1 5 0	499 8 5	.....	.....	.....	500 13 5	51 9 6	473 14 0	525 3 6
Shipwrecked Fishermen & Mariners' Royal Benevolent Society	29,645 4 9	3,231 11 6	924 1 10	4,599 8 9	6,127 2 2	44,577 9 0	.....	.....	36,219 11 4
Stanley Sailors' Hospital	551 8 11	144 11 9	953 7 0	.....	.....	1,649 7 8	.....	.....	1,417 14 11
Sunderland Orphan Asylum	662 15 10	398 16 2	.....	.....	.....	1,471 15 0	.....	.....	1,752 0 3
Trafalgar Orphan Fund	11,868 14 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	11,868 14 2	.....	.....	11,853 0 11
War Fund (Mercantile Marine Service Association)	5,639 16 1	65 12 4	.....	.....	.....	5,705 8 5	.....	.....	6,184 5 0
TOTAL	£ 163,925 14 8	57,142 4 10	16,693 12 0	8,452 9 8	20,573 11 1	266,787 12 3	.....	.....	220,477 15 2

Table B.—TRAINING SHIPS AND ESTABLISHMENTS.

	INCOME.						EXPENDITURE.		
	Voluntary Contributions.	Dividends.	State Payments.	Contributions of Beneficiaries.	Legacies.	Total.	Management.	Maintenance.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
"Arethusa" Training Ship	4,445 16 6	371 6 5	2,261 0 6	..	..	7,078 3 5	..	..	8,201 19 8
"Clio" Industrial Training Ship ..	375 4 0	237 16 2	7,889 17 11	1,007 15 7	..	9,510 14 8	..	..	9,510 14 8
"Cornwall" Training Ship	17 0 0	115 0 0	8,185 0 0	..	..	8,317 0 0	..	..	8,317 0 0
"Empress" Clyde Industrial Training Ship Association	533 5 6	109 1 4	7,476 19 1	76 10 5	45 0 0	8,240 16 4	..	..	10,619 13 2
"Indefatigable" Training Ship ..	1,900 17 5	1,283 9 9	2,762 6 0	166 12 11	..	6,115 6 1	..	..	7,734 13 8
Lancashire and National Sea-Training Homes for Boys (Liscard) ..	2,098 12 7	627 4 4	4,766 10 10	..	..	7,492 7 9	..	..	7,568 10 2
"Lord Nelson" Training Brig ..	174 18 6	..	..	..	..	174 18 6	..	..	96 18 1
Marine Society	2,703 19 9	8,331 2 7	1,802 10 5	55 10 0	1,000 0 0	13,893 2 9	..	..	15,486 8 7
"Mars" Training Ship	466 4 6	688 19 4	8,613 14 1	110 14 6	745 18 10	10,624 19 3	..	..	9,541 7 7
"Mount Edgcumbe" Training Ship ..	137 1 0	41 4 2	6,920 13 3	367 19 5	..	7,466 17 10	..	..	7,552 1 3
Northampton Training Ship ..	322 12 6	..	..	..	..	322 12 6	..	..	1,224 15 10
Somerset Incorporated National Nautical School	291 0 0	..	9,704 0 0	..	..	9,995 0 0	..	..	11,176 0 0
"Stork" West London Training Ship ..	639 5 4	..	..	171 17 7	..	811 2 11	..	..	790 6 11
Watts' Naval Training School ..	1,275 11 4	579 11 4	2,014 1 4	..	..	3,869 4 0	..	..	10,117 9 6
"Wellesley" Training Ship and Green's Home	450 5 0	474 11 5	9,620 15 10	1,518 19 11	75 0 0	12,139 12 2	..	..	12,996 12 1
TOTAL	15,831 13 11	12,861 6 10	72,017 9 3	3,478 1 4	1,865 16 10	108,051 18 2	..	..	121,022 7 5

* NOTE.—For 15 months to 31st March, 1917.

Table C.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS.

	INCOME.						EXPENDITURE.		
	Voluntary Contributions.	Dividends.	State Payments.	Contributions of Beneficiaries.	Legacies.	Total.	Management.	Maintenance.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Bristol Sailors' Home	84 9 11	249 10 5	..	..	..	334 0 4	..	..	300 0 0
British and Foreign Sailors' Society ..	83,916 16 2	271 7 2	..	4,287 12 4	2,190 0 0	90,965 15 8	54,769 4 8	7,032 16 11	61,802 1 8
Cardiff Sailors' and Soldiers' Rest ..	2,001 13 3	..	..	..	..	2,001 13 3	..	..	2,000 0 0
Dundee Seamen's Friend Society ..	135 15 5	61 11 9	..	..	..	197 10 2	..	..	219 0 0
East Coast Mission	579 10 6	..	..	438 19 11	..	1,018 10 5	..	..	988 13 11
Glasgow Seamen's Friend Society ..	965 6 1	306 6 1	..	..	3,000 0 0	4,271 12 2	..	..	2,055 13 2
Incorporated Seamen's and Boatmen's Friend Society	2,903 18 0	155 19 6	..	1,456 4 2	25 0 0	4,539 1 8	..	..	4,484 15 3
Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society ..	1,448 8 5	176 6 1	..	..	..	1,624 14 6	..	..	1,630 12 0
Mariners' Friend Society	2,231 0 7	9 0 0	..	..	140 9 2	2,380 9 9	397 18 1	1,740 4 4	2,138 2 5
Mersey Mission to Seamen	5,395 19 4	328 1 7	..	114 16 6	..	5,838 17 7	..	..	4,709 9 1
Miss Weston's Royal Sailors' Rests ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Missions to Seamen, The	64,612 0 0	1,398 0 0	..	..	2,920 0 0	68,940 0 0	..	..	56,053 0 0
Missions to Seamen Institute, The ..	728 19 2	..	..	..	50 0 0	778 19 2	..	..	713 3 0
National Sailors' Society	3,657 9 11	..	..	398 19 7	..	4,056 9 8	629 7 5	2,674 2 7	3,303 10 0
Newcastle-on-Tyne Sailors' Society ..	177 0 2	56 9 6	..	85 17 0	..	319 6 8	..	..	288 11 1
Plymouth and Stonehouse Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union ..	101 10 9	104 10 6	..	..	..	206 1 3	..	..	262 9 11
Royal National Mission to Deep-Sea Fishermen	16,935 9 4	1,045 0 3	..	5,567 5 0	..	23,550 13 7	4,572 4 5	18,756 14 3	23,328 18 8
Royal Naval Scripture Readers' Society ..	2,565 1 7	33 0 6	..	..	..	2,598 2 1	..	..	2,308 18 1
Sailors' Home and Red Ensign Club ..	44 16 0	849 7 11	..	..	..	894 3 11	..	..	219 8 7
St. Andrew's Waterside Church .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mission	3,143 12 6	329 19 0	..	47 13 6	396 11 0	3,827 16 0	..	..	2,801 10 1
Scandinavian Sailors' Temperance Home	375 16 5	114 13 0	..	..	..	490 9 5	..	..	490 9 5
Scottish Coast Mission	1,361 5 8	133 11 4	..	..	105 0 0	1,600 0 0	..	..	1,742 9 3
Seamen's Christian Friend Society ..	2,061 11 0	..	..	114 11 3	40 0 0	2,216 2 3	..	..	2,365 10 3
Seamen's Friendly Society of St. Paul ..	1,742 11 5	25 15 3	..	..	..	1,768 6 11	354 18 4	1,166 11 7	1,521 9 11
Seamen's Mission	2,266 2 5	..	..	..	..	2,266 2 5	..	..	2,425 5 5
Southampton Sailor's Home	255 13 10	149 4 0	..	..	..	354 17 10	..	..	307 0 0
TOTAL	199,645 3 1	5,795 13 10	..	12,511 19 8	9,087 0 2	227,039 16 9	..	..	179,480 1 2

* NOTE.—For nine months ended 31st December, 1916.

Table D.—THE ROYAL NATIONAL LIFEBOAT INSTITUTION.

	INCOME.						EXPENDITURE.		
	Voluntary Contributions.	Dividends.	State Payments.	Contributions of Beneficiaries.	Legacies.	Total.	Management.	Maintenance.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Royal National Life Boat Institution ..	81,871 10 2	32,647 13 8	..	..	49,273 1 6	163,792 5 4	108,950 3 3	8,698 12 7	117,648 15 10

Source: K6FS, First list of marine benevolent institutions (K6FS, 1917).

Appendix 15c

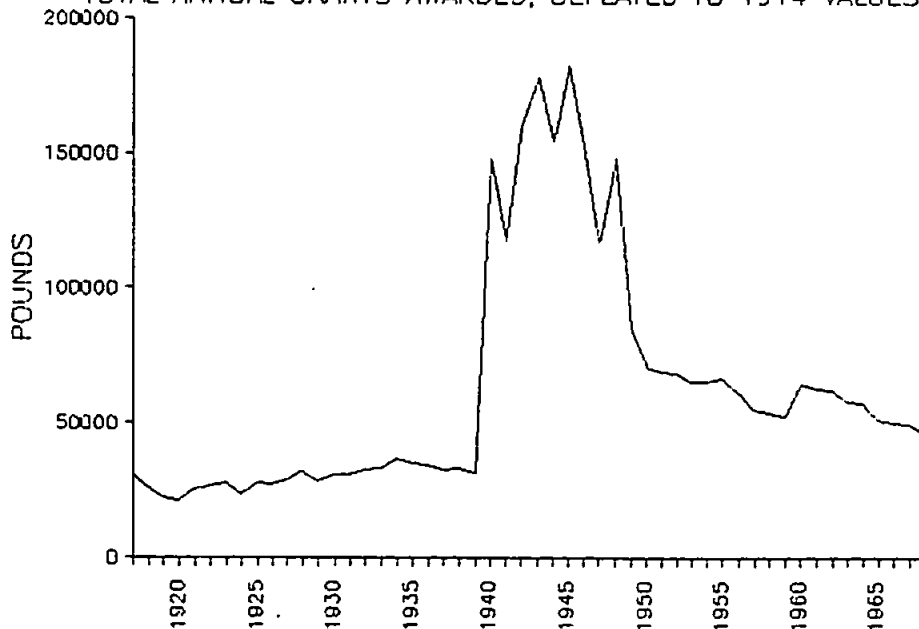
KING GEORGE'S FUND FOR SAILORS
TOTAL ANNUAL GRANTS AWARDED, 1917-1977

YEAR	ACTUAL VALUE £	1914 VALUE £	YEAR	ACTUAL VALUE £	1914 VALUE £	YEAR	ACTUAL VALUE £	1914 VALUE £
1917	55000	30726	1937	51060	32522	1957	222433	55058
1918	52905	25807	1938	51679	33128	1958	223677	53769
1919	49370	22339	1939	50268	31615	1959	220113	52659
1920	57000	21190	1940	60257	33476	1960	272723	64474
1921	50500	25377	1940	205714	114296	1961	273063	62486
1922	47430	26204	1941	64500	32908	1962	292397	61929
1923	49212	27803	1941	165544	84451	1963	269356	57926
1924	42650	23564	1942	74700	35913	1964	274002	57084
1925	48984	27832	1942	257923	124001	1965	257811	51255
1926	47450	27270	1943	76800	35392	1966	263382	50360
1927	48250	29066	1943	310050	142890	1967	264227	49388
1928	53000	31928	1944	85330	38611	1968	260899	46506
1929	46525	28369	1944	254984	115377	1969	262884	
1930	48193	30696	1945	84510	36904	1970	268232	
1931	44170	30462	1945	332796	145326	1971	299093	
1932	46300	32606	1946	360510	152114	1972	316876	
1933	46570	33264	1947	290770	116308	1973	378023	
1934	51655	36896	1948	394488	147748	1974	362390	
1935	50555	34866	1949	233302	84837	1975	407930	
1936	51550	34597	1950	200952	70758	1976	422834	
			1951	213375	68831	1977	426559	
			1952	230028	68056			
			1953	227813	65276			
			1954	230779	65008			
			1955	247146	66616			
			1956	238329	61110			

Source: King George's Fund for Sailors, *The story of the first sixty years* (KGFS, 1977), vii, 30.

Note: For 1940-45 the second sum listed comprises grants from the War Fund. The two sums (deflated to 1914 values) have been added together for plotting the graph below. The totals here are larger than those appearing in Table 4.1 because they include monies distributed from subsidiary funds administered by the main fund.

KING GEORGE'S FUND FOR SAILORS, 1917-68
TOTAL ANNUAL GRANTS AWARDED, DEFLATED TO 1914 VALUES



HAVELOCK WILSON'S RECOMMENDATIONS ON SEAMEN'S WELFARE, 1929

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee submit that the Joint Maritime Commission should consider whether the whole problem should be laid before the Ninth International Labour Conference, to be held next June in order that a Resolution may be adopted. The Committee propose for consideration the following points:

A. (1) That local authorities particularly in all large seaports should appoint committees of interested men and women, including representatives of shipowners and seamen, to investigate, in co-operation with the public authorities, the conditions prevailing in harbour and adjacent areas. Such committees should be afforded all necessary facilities and adequate authority. These committees should be entrusted with the duty of submitting proposals for ameliorating the conditions and have regard to the following proposals and others:

(2) The establishment and enforcement of a definite closing time for all places where strong drinks are served in or near the harbour. It is recommended that the time of closing should not be later than 10 p.m.

(3) Prohibition against the unlicensed sale and use of narcotics, and heavy punishment for transgression of the law.

(4) Reduction of the number of taverns in or near dock areas, the most inferior being closed first and as soon as possible.

(5) Prohibition against the employment of female attendants in places where strong drinks are served, and the lodging of seamen thereat. Board and lodging houses should be subject to public control and licence.

(6) Strict medical control of women who have illicit intercourse with men; transmission of venereal diseases should be a punishable offence; adoption of prophylactic measures against venereal diseases.

(7) Prohibition against the boarding of ships by pedlars and other unauthorised persons. Persons visiting the ships on business should carry passes. The dock areas should be fenced in as far as possible.

(8) Boatmen to be under control.

(9) A sufficiently well paid and reliable police force, for the enforcement of the laws in the harbour and adjacent areas. Practical co-operation between the consuls and the public authorities should be arranged. Seamen placed in custody should be given ample opportunity to communicate with their consuls.

(10) Adequate lighting in the dock and other areas where ships are moored.

(11) The removal of loafers or beachcombers and others who have no legitimate business in the harbour. They should be put to compulsory work, or, if they are foreigners, they should be sent back to their own countries.

(12) Supervision of private employment agencies.

B. (1) In order to keep seamen away from undesirable places, it is recommended that suitable refreshment and recreation rooms should be conveniently available. The rooms should have a bright and pleasing appearance, and food and drink should be served at reasonable prices. Newspapers from various countries should be kept.

(2) Easy and cheap access to suitable places of amusement and places of interest. The men should be provided with land leave passes entitling them to cheap conveyance and other benefits. The necessary information could be conveyed to the crews by means of booklets.

(3) Easy admittance to hospitals with equal attendance and access for representatives of all religious professions.

(4) Ships should be provided with good reading matter for the use of the crews.

(5) Seamen with their national papers in order should be exempt from expenses connected with passports and the like.

(6) The International Convention of 1923-1924 for the suppression of the circulation of and traffic in obscene publications should be supported and made effective.

(7) Remittance home of a large part of the men's wages, and as little advances as possible.

(8) The International Labour Office should follow up the work and report from time to time on its progress.

The Committee desires to record its appreciation of the helpful co-operation of all Governments and institutions and persons who have afforded assistance in this enquiry, particularly the Norwegian Foreign Office, the Norwegian Shipowners' Association and the International Labour Office.

(Signed) T. SALVERSEN.

(Signed) J. HAVELOCK WILSON.

Source: International Labour Conference, Promotion of seamen's welfare in port (Geneva, ILO, 1929).

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS ON SEAMEN'S WELFARE, 1936

Recommendation 48

RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING THE PROMOTION OF SEAMEN'S WELFARE IN PORTS.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-first Session on 6 October 1936, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the promotion of seamen's welfare in ports, which is the third item on the agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts this twenty-fourth day of October of the year one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Seamen's Welfare in Ports Recommendation, 1936:

Whereas by the nature of their calling seamen are frequently deprived for long periods of the advantages of family life and may be exposed while in ports, particularly in foreign countries, to special dangers and difficulties and whereas it is not always possible for them to have the benefit of arrangements made to organise the spare time, promote the welfare and safeguard the health of the general body of workers;

Whereas certain Governments and different private associations have successfully taken various measures for the special help and protection of seamen in ports and whereas such protection should be extended to as large a number of seamen as possible; and

Whereas it is important, notwithstanding differences which may exist in national and local needs and customs, to develop and co-ordinate nationally and internationally the principal forms of action, in a manner which draws no distinction of race between seamen;

The Conference recommends that each Member of the International Labour Organisation should take the following principles and methods into consideration for the promotion of the welfare of both national and foreign seamen in ports.

PART I. GENERAL ORGANISATION

1. It is desirable to create in every important port an official or officially recognised body, which might comprise representatives of shipowners, seamen, national and local authorities and the chief associations concerned, for the purposes of—

(a) collecting, as far as possible in conjunction with the different authorities or organisations concerned, including the consular authorities of maritime States, all useful information and suggestions on the conditions for seamen in the port;

(b) advising the competent departments, authorities and associations as to the adoption, adaptation and co-ordination of measures for the improvement of such conditions; and

(c) collaborating if required with other competent bodies in carrying out such measures.

2. It is desirable, in order to enable the International Labour Office to inform the Governments of the maritime States and to assist them to co-ordinate their action, that each of them should keep in touch with the Office and furnish it every three years with all useful information on the experience acquired in the promotion of seamen's welfare in ports and on the progress made in this field.

PART II. REGULATION

3. There should be laws or regulations to protect seamen, by measures including the following, from the dangers to which they are exposed in certain establishments or in the docks as such:

- (a) the regulation of the sale of intoxicating liquor;
- (b) the prohibition of the employment in public houses of young persons of either sex under a certain age;
- (c) the application of the provisions of international agreements limiting the sale and use of narcotics to all seamen without distinction of nationality;
- (d) the prohibition of the entry into the docks and harbour area generally of undesirable persons;
- (e) the fencing off of dock areas and the protection of the edges of wharves and quays and other dangerous parts of docks by fixed or movable barriers, wherever such measures are practicable;
- (f) the provision of sufficient lighting and, where necessary, of signposts for docks and approaches.

4. In order to ensure the strict enforcement of the measures indicated above and to increase their efficacy, there should be arrangements for supervision, including—

- (a) supervision of establishments where intoxicating liquors are sold and, where necessary and practicable, of hotels, cafés, lodging houses and other similar establishments in the harbour area;
- (b) supervision, which might be carried out jointly by masters and the public authorities, of persons visiting ships, including boatmen plying between ships and the shore, with a view to preventing intoxicating liquor or narcotics being wrongfully brought on board or the fulfilment of any other illicit purpose;
- (c) the maintenance in the harbour area of adequate police forces, specially trained and equipped, which should keep in touch with the other supervising bodies.

5. For the better protection of foreign seamen, measures should be taken to facilitate—

- (a) their relations with their consuls; and
- (b) effective co-operation between consuls and the local or national authorities.

PART III. HEALTH

6. Soliciting and enticing, whether directly or indirectly, in the neighbourhood of the harbour and in districts frequented by seamen should be energetically repressed.

7. All suitable measures should be taken to make known to seamen entering the port, irrespective of their nationality—

- (a) the dangers and means of preventing diseases to which they are exposed, including more particularly tuberculosis and tropical and venereal diseases;
- (b) the necessity for persons suffering from disease to undergo treatment and the facilities available for such treatment; and
- (c) the dangers arising from the habit of using narcotics.

8. The treatment of seamen suffering from disease should be facilitated by suitable measures including—

- (a) as wide extension as possible, especially in the dock area, of free and continued treatment for venereal diseases, as provided, for example, by the Agreement concerning Facilities to be given to Merchant Seamen for the Treatment of Venereal Diseases, signed at Brussels, 1 December 1924;
- (b) the admission of seamen to clinics and hospitals in ports, without difficulty and irrespective of nationality or religious belief;
- (c) as wide application as possible to foreign seamen of the provision made for the protection of nationals against tuberculosis;
- (d) the provision, whenever possible, of arrangements, designed to ensure, when necessary, continuation of treatment with a view to supplementing the medical facilities available to seamen.

PART IV. ACCOMMODATION AND RECREATION

9. Arrangements should be made, at least in the larger ports, for the material and general assistance of seamen while in the port and such arrangements should more particularly include—

- (a) the institution or development of seamen's hostels of a satisfactory character and furnishing suitable board and lodging at reasonable prices;
- (b) the institution or development of institutes—which might be distinct from the seamen's hostels, but should keep as far as possible in touch with them—providing meeting and recreation rooms (canteens, rooms for games, libraries, etc.);
- (c) the organisation, where possible in co-operation with ships' sports clubs, of healthy recreations, such as sports, excursions, etc.;
- (d) the promotion, by every possible means, of the family life of seamen.

PART V. SAVINGS AND REMITTANCE OF WAGES

10. In order to help seamen to save and to transmit their savings to their families—

- (a) there should be adopted a simple, rapid and safe system, operating with the assistance of consuls, masters, ship-owners' agents or reliable private institutions, for enabling seamen, and more especially those who are in a foreign country, to deposit or remit the whole or part of their wages;
- (b) a system for enabling seamen, at the time of their signing on or during the voyage, to allot, if they so desire, a proportion of their wages for remittance at regular intervals to their families should be instituted or made of more general application.

PART VI. INFORMATION FOR SEAMEN

11. In view of the fact that the success of most of the measures recommended above must depend to a large extent on suitable publicity among seamen, such publicity should be organised and undertaken by the public authorities, the bodies referred to in Part I of this Recommendation, and the competent associations, assisted as far as possible by the ship's officers and doctor and by ships' sports clubs.

12. Such publicity might include—

- (a) the distribution on shore and, subject to the consent of the master, on board ship, of pamphlets in the most appropriate languages giving clear information as to the facilities available for seamen in the port of call or in the next ports for which the ship is bound;
- (b) the creation in the larger ports of information offices, either at shipping offices or elsewhere, easily accessible to seamen and staffed by persons capable of giving directly such explanations or guidance as may be useful;
- (c) the inclusion of some useful information for the physical well-being and general protection of seamen in seamen's books, discharge books or other documents habitually carried by seamen, or in notices posted in a conspicuous place in the crew's quarters;
- (d) the frequent publication of articles of general and educational interest to seamen in periodicals read by seamen, both of specialised and general interest, and also the use of the cinema for this purpose;
- (e) the distribution of information concerning the tariffs of local transport and of local places of interest and entertainment.

PART VII. EQUALITY OF TREATMENT

13. Governments, authorities and organisations which may have to administer funds for the welfare of seamen are specially urged not to concern themselves solely with seamen of a particular nationality, but to act as generously as possible in the spirit of international solidarity.

The foregoing is the authentic text of the Seamen's Welfare in Ports Recommendation, 1936, as modified in accordance with the second report of the Committee on Constitutional Questions of the Twenty-ninth Session of the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation, adopted by the Conference on 8 October 1946.

Appendix 17a
APOSTLESHIP OF THE SEA: SUMMARY OF RULES, 1922

- (1) *Objects.* The Apostleship of the Sea is a society of Catholic men and women united together in prayer and work for the greater glory of God, and the spiritual welfare of seafarers throughout the world.
- (2) *Methods employed.* (a) *Active work*—ship visiting in ports, distribution of Catholic literature, etc., the provision of means and places of recreation for Catholic seafarers, no work for the welfare of seafarers being foreign to the society, according to the needs of each place. To keep Catholic seafarers in touch with the Church and each other by means of an International Sailors' League.
(b) *Prayer*—Daily prayer for the objects of the association and the obligation of receiving Holy Communion at least once a year (or saying Mass for—in the case of priests) for the intentions of the Apostleship.
- (3) *Membership.* Ordinary members are bound to do some active work of charity on behalf of seafarers, according to their occupation or
Honorary members contribute at least 5s. annually, and help in the work by their prayers.
- (4) *Organisation*—*Parochial committees*, consisting of Chaplain, secretary, treasurer and librarian. *Central Committee* in such seaport towns where there are more than two Parochial Committees.
Diocesan Councils—with members elected from the Central Councils.

In the event of the work being taken up on a large scale, a *Superior Council* would be formed to overlook the organisation of the Society as a whole.

Source: Anson, *The Church and the sailor*, 101-2.

Appendix 17b
APOSTLESHIP OF THE SEA: LAWS ENACTED BY THE SACRED CONSISTORIAL CONGREGATION
WITH THE AUTHORITY OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS XII, 1957

1. The Apostleship of the Sea, first founded in the city of Glasgow, in Scotland, in 1920, for the spiritual, moral, and social welfare of seamen, and approved by the Apostolic See in the reign of Pope Pius XI, is subject, by the order of Pope Pius XII, to the direction of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation (Apostolic Constitution 'Exsul Familia', tit. 1., A.A.S., XLIV, p. 674).
2. The name 'seamen', here, comprises all those who, by their exercise of the art of sailing or fishing, whether in a position of command, or in a subordinate capacity, are forced to spend their lives continually in ships, and therefore can avail themselves but rarely and with difficulty of the normal care of a Parish Priest; or those who are attached to ports to make preparations for sea-journeys.
3. § 1. A special body, or International General Secretariate, has been formed within this same Sacred Consistorial Congregation, for the direction of the Apostleship of the Sea.
The Assessor of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation controls this Secretariate as its President; the Delegate for Works of Emigration is its Secretary.
§ 2. The following persons may be appointed to this Secretariate:
1°. Those Ecclesiastics who are chosen as Directors of the Apostleship of the Sea by the Bishops in their respective countries or districts.
2°. Other priests who deserve a fitting tribute of recognition because of their special merit in the promotion of this work. (Ibid. Tit. 2., Art. 8., §§ 1, 2, 3; A.A.S., XLIV, p. 695s.)
4. From among those Ecclesiastics who are appointed to the International General Secretariate of the Apostleship of the Sea, one is chosen by the aforesaid Congregation as International Promoter, and another appointed to be Executive Secretary.
5. § 1. According to the rules recently laid down by the Apostolic See, a special body, or Episcopal Committee, is to be set up in each country or district, whose duty it will be to promote, foster, and direct the Apostleship of the Sea therein.
§ 2. If it is impossible to set up this Episcopal Committee in any country, let the Bishops depute at least one of their number, preferably, if possible, the Ordinary of a diocese whose see, or the greater part of whose territory, happens to extend along the coast; let him devote himself to the promotion of the Apostleship of the Sea.
6. The Episcopal Committee, or the Ordinary who is specially deputed as Promoter, is bound to present to the Sacred Consistorial Congregation a priest, (as referred to in n. 3, § 2, 1°), so that the Sacred Consistorial Congregation may approve him, and appoint him to the office of Director of the Apostleship of the Sea for the whole country or district.
7. § 1. Those priests are to be considered lawfully assigned to their office as Chaplains of the Apostleship of the Sea, who, upon presentation by their respective Ordinaries, have obtained from the Sacred Consistorial Congregation a special rescript witnessing to the fact of their having been thus approved

Appendix 17b (continued)

and appointed. (Prescriptions and Faculties for priests engaged in the spiritual care of seamen, ii, 3).

- § 2. Nuncios, Internuncios, and Apostolic Delegates, having appropriate faculties from the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, can approve and nominate, by a special rescript, priests presented by their own Ordinary, to the office of Chaplain of the Apostleship of the Sea, so that they may be able, according to the rules published by order of Pope Pius XII, 11th April, 1954, (A.A.S. XXXXVI, pp. 248-252) to carry out their office validly and lawfully.

8.

For those priests who have been appointed to the office either of Chaplain or Director of the Apostleship of the Sea, the same provisions apply, after making due allowances, as are prescribed in the Apostolic Constitution 'Exsul Familia', tit. 2, ch. iii, for Chaplains of those who are sailing on ships at sea, and the Directors of these Chaplains (Prescriptions & Faculties, II, 4).

9.

The Chaplains of the Apostleship of the Sea and their Directors discharge their office under the direction of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, through the Delegate for Works of Emigration (Exsul Familia, art. 11.).

10.

The duty of a Chaplain of the Apostleship of the Sea, and the office of a Director does not involve excommunication, and gives exemption neither from his own Ordinary or Religious Superior, nor from the Ordinary of the place in which the Chaplain happens to be.

11.

The Directors of Chaplains of the Apostleship of the Sea have no power to exercise jurisdiction either territorial or personal, by virtue of their office, except as mentioned below.

12.

The following are the chief rights and duties of the Director :

- 1°. To confer with the Bishops of their country about all those matters which pertain to the spiritual welfare of seamen.
- 2°. To direct the Chaplains of the Apostleship of the Sea, having due regard to the rights of Ordinaries (Exsul Familia, *ibid.*, 20).
- 3°. To make due preparations and carefully ensure that priests making sea-journeys, although there is no Chaplain on board, nor any legitimately erected oratory, may find all ready for celebrating Holy Mass according to the liturgical laws.

13.

The Director of the Apostleship of the Sea ought therefore to ascertain :

- 1°. Whether the Chaplains are living a life in accord with the sacred canons, and performing their duties carefully.
- 2°. Whether these Chaplains duly carry out the decrees of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, and of the local Ordinary.
- 3°. Whether they carefully observe the due splendour and cleanliness of the Churches, Chapels, or Oratories, and the sacred furnishings, especially in the reservation of the Most Holy Sacrament and the celebration of Mass.
- 4°. Whether the sacred functions are celebrated according to the prescriptions of the liturgical laws, and the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites ; whether ecclesiastical goods are carefully administered, and the duties connected therewith, especially Mass obligations, are duly fulfilled ; finally, whether the parochial books, to be mentioned below (Exsul Familia, *ibid.*, 21), are carefully written up.

14.

So that the Director may the better carry out all these duties, let him make it his business to visit frequently the houses of the Apostleship of the Sea, especially those known as 'Stella Maris', and the ports and ships.

15.

The Director, with the consent of the Episcopal Committee or National Promoter, will call together, as time and circumstances allow, the Chaplains of the whole country, so that they may make retreats together, or hold conferences about the better conduct of their ministry.

16.

- § 1. At least once a year, he must give to the Episcopal Committee or National Promoter, a faithful report on the life of the Chaplains and the state of the houses of the Apostleship of the Sea ; he must state not only what good work has been done within the year, but also any evils that may have crept in, what remedies have been used to correct them, and whatever he feels ought to be done for the promotion of the Apostleship of the Sea.
- § 2. The Chairman of the Episcopal Committee, or the National Promoter, must examine this report, state what, before God, is his opinion of it, and send it on to the Sacred Consistorial Congregation.

17.

- § 1. The spiritual care of seamen is not to be entrusted to any priest unless he has been properly trained to discharge this special office in a praiseworthy manner, and has been acknowledged as suitable. The Apostleship of the Sea Chaplain should, therefore, be commended for his blameless life, his zeal for souls, prudence, learning, and skill in languages ; he should enjoy good health, and be devoted exclusively, as far as possible, to the care of seamen.
- § 2. Those to whom this work is entrusted should be, as far as possible, permanently appointed ; but this does not mean that they cannot be removed for some reasonable cause.

18.

The Apostleship of the Sea Chaplains carry out the spiritual care of seamen under the jurisdiction of the local Ordinary.

19.

The Apostleship of the Sea Chaplains have as their office the care of souls, except in matters concerning matrimony.

20.

Chaplains are provided with their special rules and faculties by the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, as will be stated below,—canon 883 retaining its force.

21.

The Apostleship of the Sea Chaplain is bound *ex officio* to carry out his spiritual duty in the houses known as 'Stella Maris', in schools for seamen, and finally in hospitals for seamen. Let him also, in like manner, in the fulness of charity, pay attention to the seamen who are ill in other hospitals.

22.

He shall strive to mould the minds and spiritual standards of men and women chosen primarily from the ranks of Catholic Action, so that they may become suitable and zealous assistants in the Apostolate.

23.

The Chaplain should avoid, as far as possible, undertaking the economic administration of the 'Stella Maris' houses ; this he should entrust to an able and suitable man of good character, whose duty it will be to give an account to a Committee, over which he himself will preside.

24.

If for any reason a ship's Chaplain is absent during a voyage, the care of the sailors and passengers will become the duty of the Apostleship of the Sea Chaplain.

Therefore — bearing in mind that he has been specially appointed for seafarers — he will celebrate, every Sunday and Holy Day of Obligation, one Mass for the passengers, and one for the seamen; the Mass should be said at a convenient time, and in a suitable and dignified place; and let him make arrangements in good time with the master of the vessel or responsible official.

25.

Apostleship of the Sea Chaplains are also bound to keep the books of Baptisms, Confirmations, and Deaths, and give them to the Director to be kept in the Archives.

26.

With regard to the keeping of these books, and the sending to the Curia of an authentic copy of them, the Sacred Consistorial Congregation decrees that:—

- 1°. The authentic copy of the books of Baptisms, Confirmations, and Deaths, recorded by Chaplains of the Apostleship of the Sea, is to be sent to the Curia of the diocese in which the office of Director has been set up.
- 2°. It is the duty of the Director alone to send to the Curia such copies made by him.
- 3°. The same Director must, at the beginning of each year, send a report of the year just completed to the Sacred Consistorial Congregation and to the Ordinary of the aforesaid diocese. In this report, he will state the number of persons who have been confirmed by Chaplains of the Apostleship of the Sea in virtue of the faculty given below (n. 29, 1°), and also the manner in which these extraordinary ministers have proceeded in the exercise of this faculty.
- 4°. The prescriptions of the sacred canons in this matter being carefully observed, the parish priests of the domicile of the persons entered in these books is to be notified to that effect as soon as possible by the Director.
- 5°. The National Director is to have his own seal, and also a record room or archives, in which to keep the above-mentioned books, together with the correspondence from the Sacred Consistorial Congregation and the Bishops, and any other documents which are to be kept, as usefulness or necessity dictates.
- 6°. It is the Director's exclusive right to give testimonial letters to those needing them.

27.

In celebrating Mass and reciting the Divine Office priests at sea may use, during the voyage, the Calendar of the Universal Church.

28.

During the voyage, the name of the Pope is mentioned in the Canon of the Mass, but not the name of any Bishop.

29.

The following faculties and privileges are granted to the Chaplains of the Apostleship of the Sea, and their Directors, for the duration of their office:

- 1°. The faculty of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation to sailors in danger of death from grave sickness, according to the rules of the decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Sacraments 'Spiritus Sancti Munera', (A.A.S., XXXVIII, pp. 349ss).
- 2°. The faculty of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, during the course of a voyage, to any child or adult who has first received Holy Communion on the ship, provided that there is no Bishop present who is in communion with the Holy See, and it is foreseen that the person to be confirmed, through age, or ignorance of the language, or local circumstances, would receive the sacrament in his place of destination only with great difficulty. All the requirements of law are to be observed; especially, as far as the rite is concerned, the Instruction for a simple priest administering Confirmation by delegation of the Apostolic See is to be followed, as found in the Appendix to the Roman Ritual.
- 3°. The privilege of a portable altar, provided that the Mass must be celebrated for the benefit of sailors; this privilege may be used even at sea, taking care to carry out the prescriptions of the Apostolic Constitution 'Exsul Familia', especially Title 2, article 28.
- 4°. The faculty of celebrating the Sacrifice of the Mass on board ship, even where there is no lawfully

erected Oratory, on Christmas Day, beginning it at midnight. Any danger of irreverence must always be removed, and all other requirements of law must be observed.

As far as possible, prayers for the space of at least half-an-hour should precede the celebration of Mass.

- 5°. The faculty of celebrating Mass on board ship, even even where there is no lawfully erected Oratory, every year on the night of New Year's Eve, with the faculty of beginning the Mass at midnight, provided that there be prayers for the space of about two hours, including the time for the celebration of the Mass. Any danger of irreverence must always be removed, and all other requirements of law must be observed.
- 6°. The privilege of celebrating one Mass on Holy Thursday.
- 7°. The faculty of offering Mass for the benefit of seamen twice or three times on Sundays or Holy Days of Obligation, and also on other days whenever there is a pressing need to provide for their spiritual welfare through the celebration of Mass.
- 8°. As regard the celebration of Mass in the evening or at a late hour, they must abide by the common law. But the Ordinary of the diocese in which a ship habitually docks has power to grant the faculty of celebrating evening Mass for the benefit of the faithful who are on board the ship during a sea voyage, according to the decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, May 31, 1953 (A.A.S. XLV., p. 426).
- 9°. The faculty to absolve, during the voyage, any penitents from the censure incurred for abortion (can. 2350, §1). The requirements of law must be observed.
- 10°. The faculty to absolve, during the voyage, (Observing the prescriptions of law, and the regulations which the Sacred Penitentiary usually lays down in such circumstances, and in cases in which the Ordinary himself can absolve, according to the prescriptions of Canon 2314, §2), any penitents whatsoever regardless of the reason they may be on board, from the censures and penalties incurred for apostasy, heresy, or schism, and the faculty to receive their abjuration in juridical form. But excluded from this faculty are those heretics who, of set purpose, spread heresy among the faithful, both where this was done without being heard or noticed, and where the heresy was expressed or communicated.
- 11°. The National Directors, and they alone, have the faculty of hearing the confessions, in case of necessity, of any of the faithful who approach them in the coastal districts of their country, provided that the Director has been approved for hearing confessions by his own Ordinary.
- 12°. The faculty of blessing the sacred vestments, altar cloths and altar linen, corporals, tabernacles, or vessels for the reservation of the Holy Eucharist, and the other things used for divine worship.
- 13°. The faculty of blessing, with the rites prescribed by the Church, rosaries, crucifixes, small statues and medals, with all the indulgences usually granted by the Holy See; and moreover the faculty of attaching to rosaries the Brigidine and Crosier Indulgences.

30.

Seamen may fulfil their Easter Duties at any time throughout the whole year.

31.

The faithful on board ship can gain a plenary indulgence on August 2, as often as, after Confession and Holy Communion, they reverently visit a lawfully erected Oratory on board, where the Holy Eucharist is reserved by Apostolic Indult, and there devoutly recite six times at each visit the Pater, Ave, and Gloria for the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff.

32.

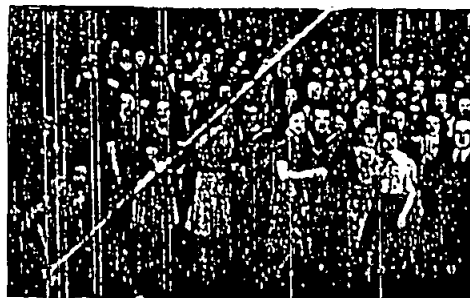
The same faithful, on November 2, can, under the same conditions, gain a plenary indulgence applicable to the Souls in Purgatory, as often as they reverently visit the aforesaid Oratory, and there devoutly recite six times at each visit the Pater, Ave, and Gloria for the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff.

Given at Rome, from the offices of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, on November 21st, 1957, the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Star of the Sea.

✠ Fr. Adeodatus John S.R.E. Card. Piazza,
Bishop of Sabina & Poggio Mirteto,
Secretary.

Joseph Ferretto, Assessor.

LEAFLET PUBLICISING
ATLANTIC HOUSE
(AOS), LIVERPOOL
(ca. 1940)



ALL ACTIVE SEAMEN WELCOME.
(Irrespective of creed, race, or colour.)

SHIP'S EVENINGS:

SUNDAY.	Cinema (Talkies).....	6 p.m.
	Dancing.....	7-10 p.m.
	Benediction.....	10 p.m.
MONDAY.	Dancing.....	7 p.m.
	Benediction.....	10 p.m.
TUESDAY.	Dancing.....	7 p.m.
	Benediction.....	10 p.m.
WEDNESDAY.	Dancing.....	7 p.m.
	Benediction.....	10 p.m.
THURSDAY.	Dancing.....	7 p.m.
	Benediction.....	10 p.m.
FRIDAY.	Cinema (Talkies).....	7 p.m.
	Dancing.....	8-10 p.m.
	Benediction.....	10 p.m.
SATURDAY.	Dancing.....	7 p.m.

(There is no obligation to remain for Benediction.)

TO ASSIST CATHOLIC SEAFARERS.

Port Chaplains:—

Rev. George Worley (Liverpool), Rev. John O'Connor (Liverpool)
Rev. Hugh McIlush (Hirkenhead) Rev. R. Neulens (Helen)
Rev. Henri Josko (Pillish).

NEAREST CATHOLIC CHURCHES.

Gladstone Dock—

Our Lady, Star of the Sea, Church Road, Seaforth.
Sunday Masses..... 8, 9, 10, 11.

St. Joan of Arc, Peel Road, Bootle.

Sunday Masses..... 8, 9, 10, 11.

Hornby, Alexandra, Langton, Brocklebank and
Canada Docks—

St. Winefride, Derby Road, Bootle.

Sunday Masses..... 7, 8, 9, 10-15, 11.

Huskinson, Sandon, Wellington, Bramley Moore,

Nelson, Salisbury & Collingwood Docks—

St. Alban, Aithol Street, Liverpool.

Sunday Masses..... 8, 9, 10, 11.



Clarence, Trafalgar, Victoria, Waterloo,
and Princes Docks, & Landing Stage—

St. Augustine, Great Howard Street.

Sunday Masses..... 7-10, 9, 10, 11.

Apostleship of The Sea, Atlantic House,
Little Howard Street.

Sunday Mass..... 10.

Canning, Salthouse, Albert, Wapping, King's,

Queen's, & Coburg Docks—

St. Vincent de Paul, St. James Street.

Sunday Masses..... 7-15, 9, 10, 11.

Brunswick, Toxteth, Harrington,

and Herculaneum Docks—

St. Patrick, Park Place.

Sunday Masses..... 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

St. Malachy, Beaufore Street.

Sunday Masses..... 8, 9, 10, 11.

Garston Docks—

St. Francis of Assisi, Earp Street, Garston.

Sunday Masses..... 8, 10, 11.

OPEN DAILY 10 a.m. - 10 p.m.

Free: DENTAL TREATMENT. WOOLLENS.
ENTERTAINMENTS. DANCING.
BILLIARDS. BOOKS.
WRITING ROOM. RADIO.
BAGGAGE ROOM. DARTS.

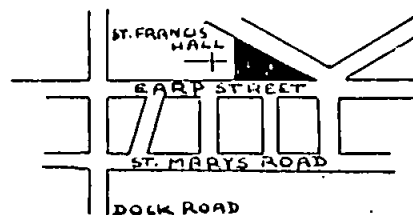
HOSPITALS VISITED WEEKLY.

CANTEEN FULLY EQUIPPED.



**GARSTON DOCKS
RECREATION
CENTRE**

ST. FRANCIS HALL, EARP STREET



OPEN DAILY, 6-10 p.m.—11 p.m.

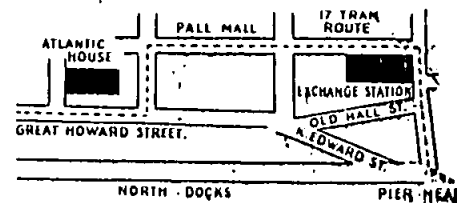
BILLIARDS SNOOKER
LIBRARY WOOLLENS

DANCING FRIDAYS, 7 p.m.—10 p.m.

Times of Holy Mass—See inside

APOSTLESHIP OF THE SEA.

**SEAMEN'S
RECREATION CENTRE**



DIRECTIONS—17 TRAM (Seaforth—Pier Head).

8 mins. walk: PIER HEAD or EXCHANGE STATION.

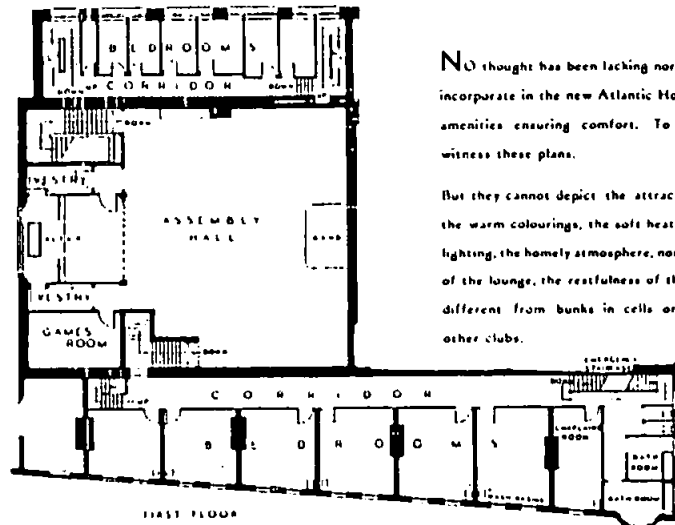
ATLANTIC HOUSE.

LITTLE HOWARD STREET,
(50, GREAT HOWARD STREET),
LIVERPOOL, 3.

TEL.—ADVANCE 1597

Source:
AOS records,
Stella Maris,
Bootle,
Merseyside.

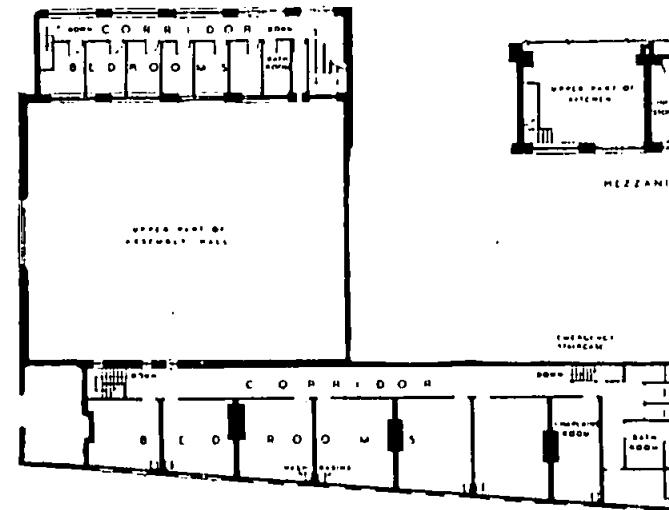
FUND RAISING LEAFLET FOR ATLANTIC HOUSE, AOS, LIVERPOOL, ca. 1947



FIRST FLOOR

No thought has been lacking nor pains spared to incorporate in the new Atlantic House all possible amenities ensuring comfort. To this will bear witness these plans.

But they cannot depict the attractive furnishings, the warm colourings, the soft heating and cheerful lighting, the homely atmosphere, nor yet the comfort of the lounge, the restfulness of the bedrooms - so different from bunks in cells or dormitories of other clubs.



SECOND FLOOR



MEZZANINE FLOOR

THE NEW ATLANTIC HOUSE

will, in enhanced surroundings, carry on the traditions that have made famous the old Atlantic House and endeared it to the hearts of Sailors throughout the world. Nor will those enhanced surroundings detract from the homeliness that constituted its particular charm.

That atmosphere is created largely by the wonderful body of some 150 hostesses who voluntarily minister to the comfort and entertainment of Seamen.

Selected as girls of unimpeachable character, they provide the refining female influence of which the Seamen have been deprived during their long days afloat. Night after night, summer and winter - as they did throughout the "blizzards" - they come from their homes, their offices and their workrooms to partner the men in their dances, to serve them with their refreshments, to darn, to sew, to talk - in a word, to make home.

Our Last Word

Is our work worth while - in your opinion?

Is the Sailor deserving of our services in general? of the care we are devoting to the new Atlantic House for his comfort?

Is there a debt of gratitude still to be paid for his war services? (After all we did depend on him for our food and very existence)

This is to be our lasting memorial and expression of gratitude . . . The new Atlantic House. You would surely be proud to be associated with it.

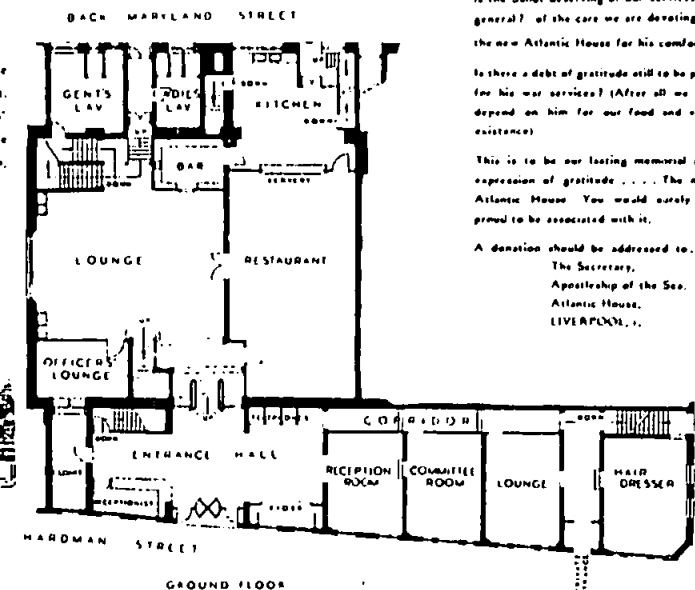
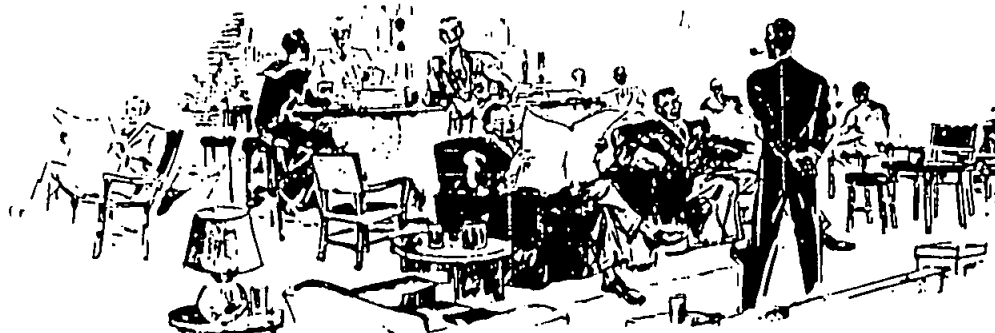
A donation should be addressed to:
The Secretary,
Apostrophe of the Sea,
Atlantic House,
LIVERPOOL, 1.

£40,000

will be the cost of the completed and furnished new Atlantic House. Over the course of years we have acquired rather more than half of this.

The second half now causes anxiety for, as the work proceeds apace, we need it quickly.

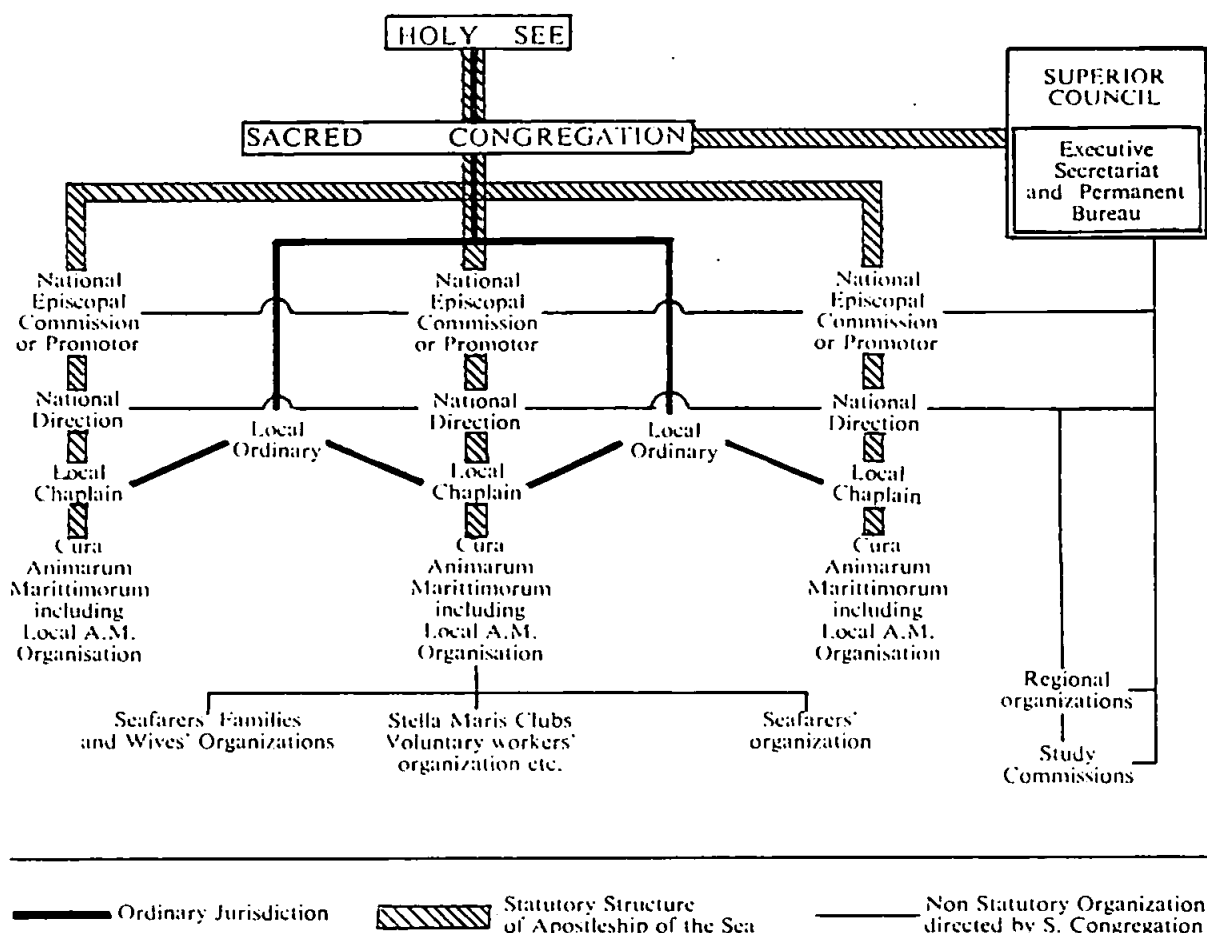
Will YOU help us with a donation? - small as it need be, large as you can make it.
No given twice who gives quickly.



GROUND FLOOR

AFPOSTLESHIP OF THE SEA, 1966

ORGANISATION DIAGRAM



Source: AOS, *The Church and the seafaring world*.

Appendix 18b

RESULTS OF INSPECTIONS OF SEAMEN'S LODGING HOUSES IN LIVERPOOL, 1942
REPORTED BY GEORGE BINNS CHIEF SANITARY INSPECTOR, 28 SEPTEMBER 1942

SERIAL No.	LOCATION	INDICES	DETAILS OF INSPECTIONS	NUMBERS
1	37 Aigburth Drive	3	Number of lodging houses inspected	80
2	22 Alfred Street	4	Number considered unsuitable for such use	8
3	127 Bedford Street South	5	Houses in which nuisances exist,	78
4	54/56 Berry Street	4	Number of statutory nuisances	1383
5	2 Canning Place	5M	Number of notices issued to occupiers	34
6	4 Canning Street & 1 Percy St	2	Number of notices issued to owners	78
7	38 Canning Street	1	Houses in which defects exist	70
8	40 Canning Street	1	Number of defects	1051
9	42 Canning Street	1		
10	64 Canning Street	5		
11	93 Canning Street	5	<u>Natural light and ventilation</u>	
12	19 Cleveland Square	4		
13	15 Cornwallis Street	5M	Houses without adequate natural light	27
14	143 Crown Street	4	Rooms without adequate natural light	128
15	146 Crown Street	4	Houses without adequate ventilation	66
16	156 Crown Street	4	Rooms without adequate ventilation	404
17	151 Crown Street	4		
18	54 Crompteth Road	3		
19	56 Crompteth Road	3	<u>Drainage and sanitary accommodation</u>	
20	123 Duke Street	5M		
21	126 Duke Street	5	Houses with defective drainage	5
22	42 Falkner Street	5	Houses without adequate sanitary accommodation	18
23	Gordon Smith Inst. LSFS	2	Houses without suitable sanitary accommodation	1
24	96 Paradise St. GS Ext. LSFS	2		
25	GS Annexe, Paradise St LSFS	2		
26	Nethrind Hse, Prdse St. GSIS	2	<u>Dustbin accommodation</u>	
27	1 & 2 Gambier Tce, Plimsoll House	3		
28	27 Great George Place	5M	Houses without adequate dustbins	15
29	6 Great George Square	5		
30	11 Great George Square	5		
31	12 Great George Square	4	<u>Ablution facilities</u>	
32	19 & 20 Great George Square	4		
33	28 Great George Square	4	Houses without adequate wash basins	33
34	31, 32 & 33 Great George Square	4	Houses without baths	12
35	34 Great George Square	4	Houses without adequate baths	10
36	7 Great George Street	5	Houses without installation of hot water supply	12
37	29 Great George Street	5M	Houses without sufficient hot water supply	10
38	14 Grenville Street South	5	Houses without adequate clothes washing accom	25
39	48 Grove Street	4		
40	51 Grove Street	4		
41	53 Grove Street	4	<u>Overcrowding</u>	
42	127 Grove Street	5		
43	1 Hanover St, Mersey M to S	2	Houses found overcrowded	18
44	12 Hanover St, MM to S Annexe	2	Rooms found overcrowded	72
45	16 Nelson Street	4M	Beds in excess of permitted number allowed	35
46	22 Nelson Street	4		
47	24/26 Nelson Street	4		
48	36 Nelson Street	4M	<u>Cleanliness</u>	
49	40/42 Nelson Street	5		
50	44 Nelson Street	4	Houses found verminous	6
51	47/49 Oxford Street	4	Houses in which beds were found verminous	3
52	60 Oxford Street	4	Houses not clean in all respects	24
53	62 Oxford Street	4	Houses with dirty floors	14
54	66, 68 & 70 Oxford Street East	4	Houses with dirty stairs and passages	3
55	54 Park Lane	4	Houses with dirty walls and ceilings	21
56	60 Park Lane	4	Houses with dirty yards	1
57	2a Parkfield Road	1	Houses in which beds were found dirty	4
58	4a Parkfield Road	1		
59	9 Parkfield Road	3		
60	12 Parkfield Road	3	<u>Food store</u>	
61	22 Parkfield Road	3		
62	14/16 Price Street	4	Houses without suitable food store	24
63	12 Princes Avenue	5		
64	13 Princes Avenue	5		
65	Canning Place, Liverpool SH	2	<u>Dining rooms, day rooms, etc.</u>	
66	84 St. James Street	4		
67	136 St. James Street	4	Houses without adequate dining rooms in which meals are provided	8
68	45/47 Seely Street	4		
69	49 Seely Street	4	Houses providing central feeding	6
70	2 Trinity Place	4M	Houses provided for by central feeding	27
71	28 Ullet Road	3	Houses without adequate day room	31
72	130 Upper Hill Street	5	Houses without proper storage for baggage	70
73	114 Upper Huskinson Street	4	Houses without lockers for lodgers' personal effects	72
74	116 Upper Huskinson Street	4		
75	120 Upper Huskinson Street	4	<u>References to:</u>	
76	122 Upper Huskinson Street	4		
77	124 Upper Huskinson Street	4	The City Building Surveyor	14
78	3 & 5 Upper Parliament Street	4	The City Architect & Director of Housing	34
79	51, 63, 65 Upper Parliament Street	3	The City Engineer and Surveyor	6
80	51 Upper Pitt Street	4	The City Water Engineer	4

Source: PRO, MT9/4412, Minutes of Seamen's Welfare Board

Key to indices

- 1 - Under direct control of shipping companies
- 2 - Under direct control of charitable institutions
- 3 - Under direct control of allied governments
- 4 - Contracted out by shipping companies to lodging house keepers
- 5 - Providing accommodation by private arrangement
- M - Considered unsuitable for use as seamen's lodging house

Appendix 18c

FUTURE OF SEAMEN'S WELFARE IN PORTS
SUMMARY OF THE VIEWS OF THE VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS, 1944

SOCIETY	CONTROL OF	CONTROL OF	SECULAR	ADMITTANCE	PROVISION
	APPEALS	OPERATION	OF WOMEN	OF ALCOHOL	
Liverpool Seamen's Welfare Centre	central body	yes	yes	yes	yes
Seamen's Christian Friend Society	co-ordination	no	no	no	no
	of temporal wlt.			objection	
British Sailors' Society	against	no	no	no	no
Missions to Seamen	voluntary	flag days	no	limited	no
	collaboration	only		(known)	
Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society	accepts	yes	no	no	no
	co-ordination			objection	
Queen Victoria Seamen's Rest	grants from	yes	no	no	no
	govt./industry				
Apostleship of the Sea	supervision	no	no	limited	yes
				(known)	
Glasgow Sailors' Home	yes	yes	yes	limited	no
Leith Sailors' Home	no control	yes	not	limited	no
	approved				
Liverpool Sailors' Home	supervision by	yes	no	no	yes
	government				
Mersey Mission to Seamen	voluntary	yes	no	limited	yes
	co-ordination				
Sailors' Home, London	vol. provision	yes	not	limited	yes
	of facilities				
Society of St. Vincent de Paul	Vol. orgs.	yes	secular	yes	yes
	control		atmosphere		
Southampton Sailors' Home	not govt.	yes	yes	no	yes
	control				
Swansea Sailors' Society & Home	government	no	no	yes	yes?
	oversight		compulsion	supervised	

Source: Committee on Seamen's Welfare in Ports, minutes, 12 April 1944, PRO, MT(14064/13087.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

A. The Committee have come to the following general conclusions:—

- (1) that special residential and non-residential clubs for seafarers are necessary, but that after the war a number of clubs may be redundant, and that the reduction must be controlled;
- (2) that the standard laid down by the Seamen's Welfare Board for clubs for seafarers must be maintained as a minimum;
- (3) that appeals to the public for money must be controlled;
- (4) that the shipping industry should take over the functions of co-ordinating and supervising the provision of residential and non-residential clubs exercised by the Government during the war; and
- (5) that voluntary organisations should continue the work which they have been doing with success in the provision of residential and non-residential clubs, subject to the supervision of a controlling body representing the industry, and subject to registration and to control of their appeals for money.

B. The Committee recommend the following steps:—

(1) *Merchant Navy Welfare Board* (Section XXIII).

A Merchant Navy Welfare Board should be set up by statute, composed of equal numbers of representatives of shipowners and of seafarers to be nominated by the National Maritime Board, to deal with all questions concerning the welfare of seafarers in ports in Great Britain.

(2) *Standing Joint Advisory Council* (Section XXIV).

It should be a statutory obligation of the Merchant Navy Welfare Board to create, as part of its machinery, a Standing Joint Advisory Council. This Council would be composed of ten representatives of the Merchant Navy Welfare Board and ten representatives of the voluntary organisations, two of whom should be nominated by King George's Fund for Sailors. The Chairman of the Standing Joint Advisory Council should be one of the two representatives of King George's Fund for Sailors.

The functions of the Council should be to advise the Merchant Navy Welfare Board on all questions concerning the position of the voluntary organisations.

(3) *Regional Welfare Organisation* (Section XXV).

Port or Regional Welfare Committees should be established in all important port areas to advise the Merchant Navy Welfare Board on local port conditions and to co-ordinate the work being done in these areas for the welfare of merchant seamen. Regional Welfare Officers should be appointed to act as the liaison officers between the Merchant Navy Welfare Board and the Port or Regional Welfare Committees.

(4) *Powers of Merchant Navy Welfare Board* (Section XXVI).

The Board should have powers to decide what clubs are required in each port, to establish new clubs and to close those considered to be redundant. It should have the power to lay down standards as to the type of accommodation, amenities, meals and prices which must be observed in all clubs for seafarers, and power to close those clubs not up to the standard laid down or otherwise improperly administered.

Before exercising its powers of closing premises and fixing standards the Board should be under a statutory obligation to consult the Standing Joint Advisory Council.

(5) *Finances of Merchant Navy Welfare Board* (Section XXVII).

The expenses of the Board should be met by a levy on the members of the shipping industry based on a joint contribution not exceeding 6d. per head per week, payable half by shipowners and half by seafarers. A contribution to the capital expenditure to be incurred by the Board should be made by the State.

(6) *Special Recommendations concerning Clubs* (Section XXVIII).

Detailed recommendations have been made as regards the provision of licensed clubs, admission of women guests, and provision for married couples and for younger seamen.

(7) *Recommendations regarding Certain Categories of Seamen* (Section XXIX).

Special clubs should be provided for Indian and Chinese seamen under the supervision of the Merchant Navy Welfare Board.

Recommendations have also been made regarding the provision of welfare amenities for other categories of seamen not resident in the United Kingdom, and in particular Colonial seamen.

(8) *Registration of Voluntary Organisations* (Section XXX).

All voluntary organisations which claim to work for the benefit of merchant seamen and their dependants in the fields of temporal, benevolent and humanitarian welfare should require to be registered under the Merchant Navy Welfare Board. No organisation not so registered should be allowed to appeal in any form in the name of merchant seamen or their dependants.

The Board should be able to refuse or withdraw registration on certain specified grounds, including redundancy.

(9) *Control of Charitable Appeals* (Sections XXXI and XXXII).

(a) All appeals to the public for money for purposes claimed to benefit merchant seamen or their dependants should require the prior approval of the Merchant Navy Welfare Board. Before coming to any decision upon any application for permission to make an appeal the Board should be statutorily obliged to consult the Standing Joint Advisory Council (Section XXXI).

(b) So far as possible national appeals for funds for the welfare of merchant seamen should be combined and such combined appeals should be made under the auspices of King George's Fund for Sailors (Merchant Navy Section) (Section XXXII).

(10) *Appeals from Decisions of Merchant Navy Welfare Board* (Section XXXIII).

There should be a right of appeal by a voluntary organisation from decisions of the Merchant Navy Welfare Board on certain matters to a person or tribunal to be appointed by the appropriate Minister.

(11) *Position of Government* (Section XXXIV).

The Seamen's Welfare Board should be dissolved and the Merchant Navy Welfare Board should in future be consulted by the Government Departments concerned on all questions affecting the welfare of merchant seamen whether arising out of the provisions of Recommendation No. 48 of the International Labour Office or otherwise.

Appendix 19a
MERCHANT NAVY WELFARE BOARD: CONSTITUTION

It being generally understood that there is a widely expressed desire for the co-ordination and proper provision of welfare ashore for merchant seafarers present or past, and their dependents, it is agreed that a Welfare Board should be established with the object of implementing such a policy.

It is further agreed that the term "Welfare" shall be interpreted to embrace everything which is considered conducive to the wellbeing of seafarers and their dependents.

Title

The Board shall be known as the MERCHANT NAVY WELFARE BOARD.

Objects

To promote co-operation in providing for merchant seafarers suitable facilities by way of residential and non-residential clubs or other centres, in provision of educational facilities for seafarers or their dependents, in granting assistance to seafarers, their dependents and to the aged and disabled, in preventing undesirable overlapping and duplication of appeals for money to the public, and in such other matters as the Board may decide.

In particular, the Board

- (a) shall draw up minimum standards of accommodation etc., ashore which shall be observed, and
- (b) shall advise when, in the opinion of the Board, additional welfare facilities are required or existing facilities are excessive, unnecessary or sub-standard; due regard being had to spiritual and educational needs.

It being agreed that

- (i) the Board shall be informed in advance of all new welfare facilities proposed to be established or existing facilities proposed to be extended, and its advice and observations shall be sought; and
- (ii) the Board shall be informed in advance of any "public appeals" which it is intended to make in the United Kingdom and the advice of the Board shall be sought. The type of "public appeal" which

the Board have in mind are as follows, but the list may, by agreement, be changed from time to time.

Flag Days, Merchant Navy Weeks', organised street or house to house collections, Wireless appeals, Major Public Entertainments, Exhibitions, or collections thereof, Advertisements in newspapers, periodicals and trade journals, Public Poster and Postal Appeals campaigns designed to bring in new subscribers.

The Board shall be empowered to hold/or appeal for funds for welfare and welfare properties, and itself to provide welfare facilities should it so decide.

Scope

In carrying out the objects described in the preceding clause welfare abroad as well as in the United Kingdom shall be included.

Machinery

(a) The Merchant Navy Welfare Board shall be established in London and shall consist of twenty-eight members :- eight representatives appointed by Shipowners, eight representatives from the seafarers'

Unions and Associations, eight representatives from the Voluntary Societies concerned with seafarers and four representatives from the appropriate Government Departments.

(b) The Chairman shall be elected by and from members of the Board.

(c) For convenience and expedition the Board shall create Panels to deal with specific problems or examine questions falling under different categories of welfare, such as "Club and Residential Premises", "Orphanages", "Public Appeals", "After-care" etc., membership of the Board not being a necessary condition of membership of a Panel.

(d) The Board shall establish Port or Regional Welfare Committees to implement locally the objects of the Board. These Committees in the United Kingdom shall include representatives of Shipowners, Seafarers, Voluntary Societies and Government Departments concerned; overseas they shall be organised as may be desirable according to local circumstances. The precise composition of each Committee shall be decided or confirmed by the Board.

Appendix 19b

MERCHANT NAVY TRAINING BOARD: INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, 1950 TO 1970 and list of welfare organizations subscribing to the MNMB constitution in 1949

ACCOUNTING YEAR	INCOME							EXPENDITURE														GRANTS TO VOL SOCS	TRANS TO RESERVE	SURPLUS CARRIED FORWARD	FUNDS IN RESERVE					
	MIN NAT INS	a %	DON ATI ONS	b %	INT DIVS	c %	TOTL INCM	HOUSES/CLUBS		+f %	REGIONAL WELFARE OFFICERS	g %	CENTRAL OFFICE ADMIN			h-j %	TOTAL EXPEND	BALANCE												
								LOSSES	EXPENSES				WAGES	RENTS	MISC															
																			e	f	k					g	h	i	j	k
a	d	b	d	c	d	d	e	f	k	g	d	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p										
CURRENT VALUES																														
1950/51	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	£	£	%	£	%	£	£	£	%	£	£	£	%	£	£	£	£	£	£				
1950/51	102500	84	17831	15	1373	1	121704	17630	20163	73	9173	18	2685	400	1583	9	51634	70070	24277	20	25000	35793	65000							
1955/56	166300	95	1095	1	6748	4	174141	35690	592	69	8537	16	4517	1500	3243	18	52579	121562	31573	18	54000	35989	250000							
1960/61	170000	92	860	0	14216	8	185076	51372	4085	80	4538	7	5615	1500	1905	13	69015	70257	45804	25	10000	60257	396658							
*1965	138200	90	1589	1	13537	9	153326	33624	23581	82	4557	7	8063	<---	<---	12	69825	83501	56231	37		27270	355896							
1970	200000	93	341	0	15834	7	216175	37244	56734	72	8092	6	25145	<---	2513	21	129728	86447	73067	34		13380	230606							
DEFLATED TO 1914 VALUES USING INDEX APPENDIX 2																														
1950/51	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	£	£	%	£	%	£	£	£	%	£	£	£	%	£	£	£	£	£					
1950/51	36092	84	6279	15	483	1	42854	6208	7100	73	3230	18	945	141	557	9	18181	24673	8548	20	8803	12603	22887							
1955/56	44825	95	295	1	1818	4	46938	9620	160	69	2301	16	1218	404	874	18	14172	32766	8510	18	14555	9701	67385							
1960/61	40189	92	203	0	3361	8	43753	12145	966	80	1073	7	1327	355	450	13	16316	16609	10828	25	2364	14245	93773							
*1965	27475	90	316	1	2691	9	30482	6685	4688	82	906	7	1603	<---	<---	12	13882	16601	11179	37		5421	70755							
1970	33333	93	57	0	2633	7	36029	6207	9456	72	1343	6	4191	<---	419	21	21621	14408	12178	34		2230	38434							

Sources: MNMB Annual reports, April to March, 1950/51, 1955/56, 1960/61, *40 weeks April to December 1965, January to December 1970.

- a. Contributions from Ministry of National Insurance (and successors). b. Donations and subscriptions. c. Interest, dividends. d. Total income.
e. Net running costs (expenditure minus income at all MNMB establishments. f. renovations, repairs, depreciation, replacements.
g. Regional welfare organization, wages, office expenses, travelling. h. Wages, pensions. i. Rents and rates.
j. Miscellaneous: stationery, printing, travelling, postage, audit, depreciation, sundries. 1970 figure is loss on sale of investments.
k. Total expenditure. l. Balance. m. Grants to voluntary organizations. n. Transfer to reserve. o. Reserves, including investments at cost.

ORGANIZATIONS SUBSCRIBING TO THE MNMB CONSTITUTION IN 1949

Apostleship of the Sea	Liverpool Seamen's Welfare Centre	Seafarers' Education Service
Bristol Sailors' Home	Marine Society	Seamen's Christian Friend Society
British Sailors' Society	Mercantile Marine Service Association	Seamen's Friendly Society of St. Paul
Catholic Seamen's Home	Merchant Navy Comforts Service	Shipwrecked Mariners' Society
Destitute Sailors' Fund	Mersey Mission to Seamen	Society of St. Vincent de Paul
Glasgow Sailors' Home	Port of Hull Society	Southampton Sailors' Home
Glasgow Seamen's Friend Society	Queen Victoria Seamen's Rest	Swansea Sailors' Home
Glasgow Seamen's Friend Society Ladies Auxiliary	Royal Alfred Aged Merchant Seamen's Institution	Swansea Sailors' Society
Institute of Marine Engineers	Royal Liverpool Seamen's Orphan Institution	Talbot House Seafaring Boys Club
King George's Fund for Sailors	Royal Merchant Navy School	The Missions to Seamen
Liverpool Sailors' Home	Sailors' Home and Red Ensign Club	Trinity House
Liverpool Seamen's Friend Society	Sailors' Orphan Society of Scotland	Tyne Mariners' Benevolent Institution

Source: MNMB Annual report 1948/49

Appendix 19c

MERCHANT NAVY WELFARE BOARD, 1948 TO 1985
 Grants received and made, and hotel and club usage

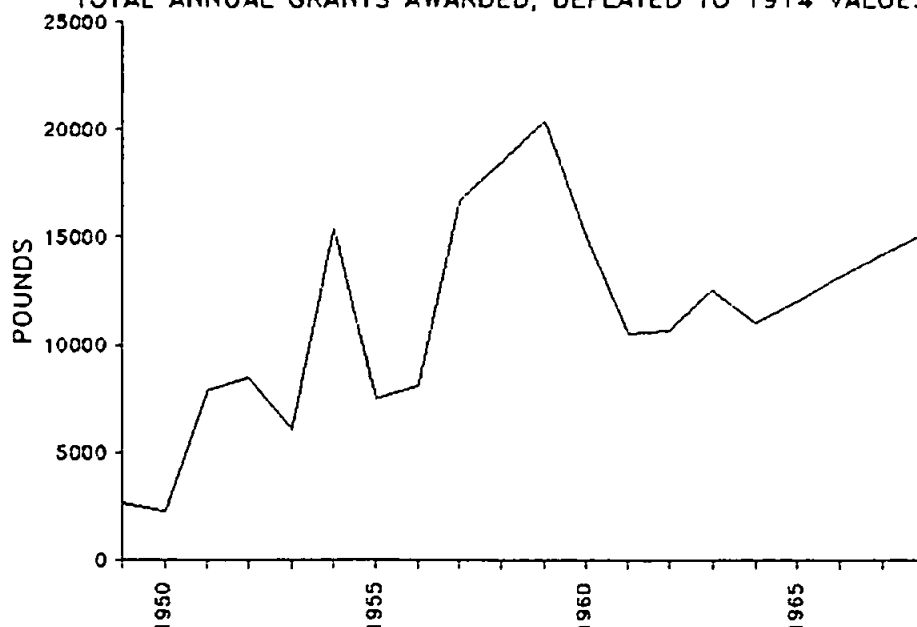
YEAR ENDG MARCH	NAT INS FUNDS		GRANTS TO VOLUNTARY ORGNS				ALL HOTELS/CLUBS					
	CURRENT VALUES	1914 VALUES	HOME	OVER SEAS	TOTAL	1914 VALUES	HOT ELS	CLU BS	BEDS OCCUPIED	AV. DAY	MEALS SERVED	AV. DAY
	£	£	£	£	£	£	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
1949	33300	12109	7309		7309	2658	5	4	45390	124	132000	362
1950	103000	36268	5148	1210	6358	2239	4	2				
1951	102500	33065	22137	2140	24277	7831	4	2				
1952	127935	37851	24901	3559	28460	8420	4	4	60000	164	300000	822
1953	131000	37536	18460	2480	20940	6000	4	4	65000	179	350000	959
1954	159800	45014	31038	23564	54602	15381	4	4	60000	164	300000	822
1955	137800	37143	17448	10195	27643	7451	4	4	54849	150	369000	1011
1956	166300	42641	23160	8413	31573	8096	4	3	60000	164	400000	1096
1957	171800	42525	36924	30336	67260	16649	4	3	62000	170	350000	959
1958	193200	46442	34180	42541	76721	18443	5	2	63770	175	321616	881
1959	197500	47249	55978	28989	84967	20327	5	2	63180	173	325278	891
1960	167500	39598	47232	15902	63134	14925	5	2	69882	191	343259	940
1961	170000	38902	26576	19228	45804	10481	6	2	73040	200	353576	969
1962	171600	37632	35892	12756	48648	10668	6	2	74648	205	376425	1031
1963	181400	39011	41377	17012	58389	12557	7	2			373869	1024
1964	170300	35479	41999	10748	52747	10989	7	2	90266	247	426752	1169
1965	164000	32604	44170	16200	60370	12002	7	2	98565	270	438870	1202
CAL YR												
1965	138200	27475	33626	22605	56231	11179	7	2				
1966	212700	40669	30501	38262	68763	13148	7	2			430365	1179
1967	191600	35813	53448	22608	76056	14216	7	2				
1968	208500	37166	43208	42032	85240	15194	7	3	94767	260	388914	1066
1969	203000		48579	17812	66391		7	2	80318	220	341055	934
1970	200000		53155	19912	73067		7	3	98373	270	410164	1124
1971	205400		108103	16352	124455		7	3	110925	304	437200	1198
1972	151100		71966	18624	90590		7	3				
1973	102700		31387	3541	40928		7	3	106000	290	308000	844
1974	162479		47712	5318	53030		7	3			316691	868
1975	266620		56887	1750	58637		7	3				
1976	235538		77438	13645	91083		7	3				
1977	197614		45680	10073	55753		7	3				
1978	175693		54511	13574	68085		7	3	91056	249	296797	813
1979	100941		38988	12	39000		6	3				
1980	95189		31382	128	31510		4	2				
1981	103922		24804		24804		4	1				
1982	94994		48698		48698		3	1				
1983												
1984			18700	6300	25000		2	1				
1985			25500	6000	31500		2	1				

Source: MNWB Annual reports, 1949 to 1985. 1965 (cal.yr.) data is for Apr.-Dec.

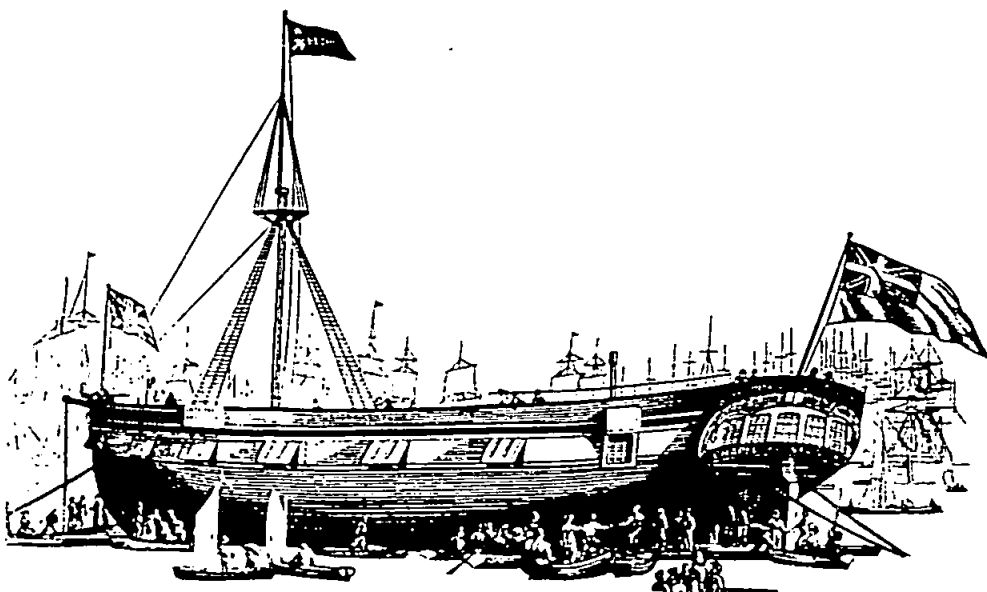
Index in Appendix 2 has been used to deflate financial data to 1914 values. From 1974 totals under National Insurance funds includes funds from Department of Trade and Industry and General Council of British Shipping as follows:
 1974 - DTI £59279, 1975 - DTI £36813 GCBS £62658, 1976 - DTI £39700 GCBS £188322,
 1977 - DOT £28900 GCBS £167714, 1978 - DOT £17500 GCBS £157943,
 1979 - DOT £13550 GCBS £87391, 1980 - DOT £6750 GCBS £88439,
 1981 - DOT £1750 GCBS £102172, 1982 - GCBS £94994.
 From 1983 the MNWB no longer received grants from these sources, and has been financed entirely from investment income, increased through sales of properties.
 In 1985 investments amounted to £1,353,561 (at cost).

MERCHANT NAVY WELFARE BOARD, 1949-1968

TOTAL ANNUAL GRANTS AWARDED, DEFLATED TO 1914 VALUES

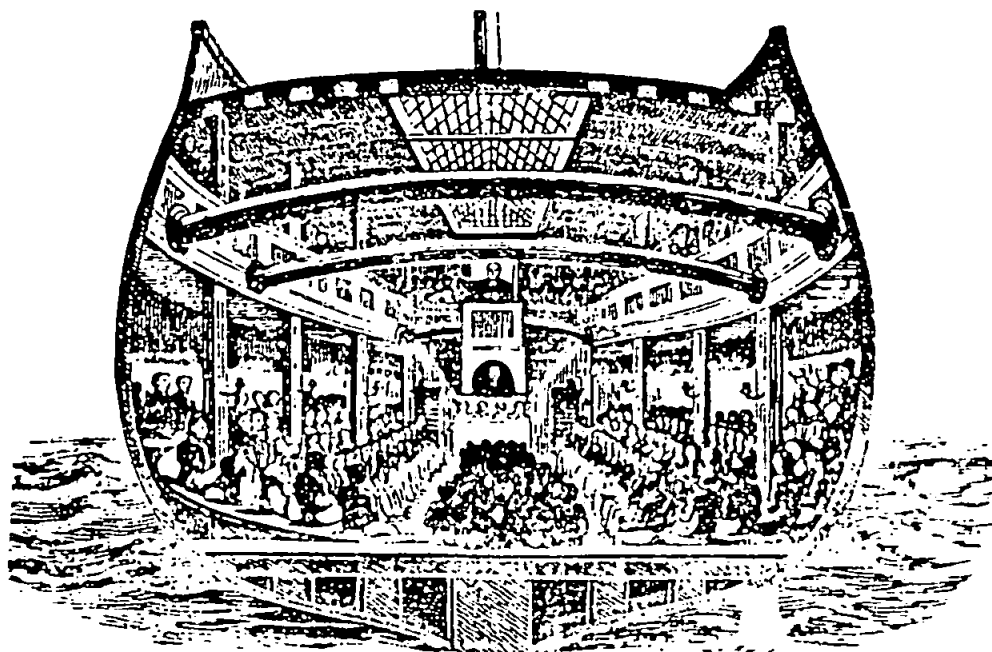


ILLUSTRATIONS

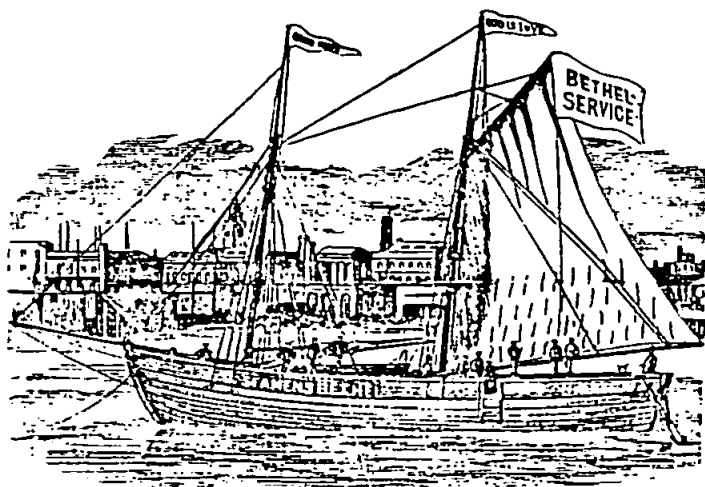


The first seamen's chapel on the River Thames.
 The Port of London Society's Ark (HMS Guesdy), opened by Revd. Rowland Hill, May 1812.
 Source: Chart & Compass, 3 (1881), 168; RGS Annual review for 1785-86, 1.

ROWLAND HILL PREACHING IN THE "ARK."



Source: Chart & Compass, 1 (1979), 61.



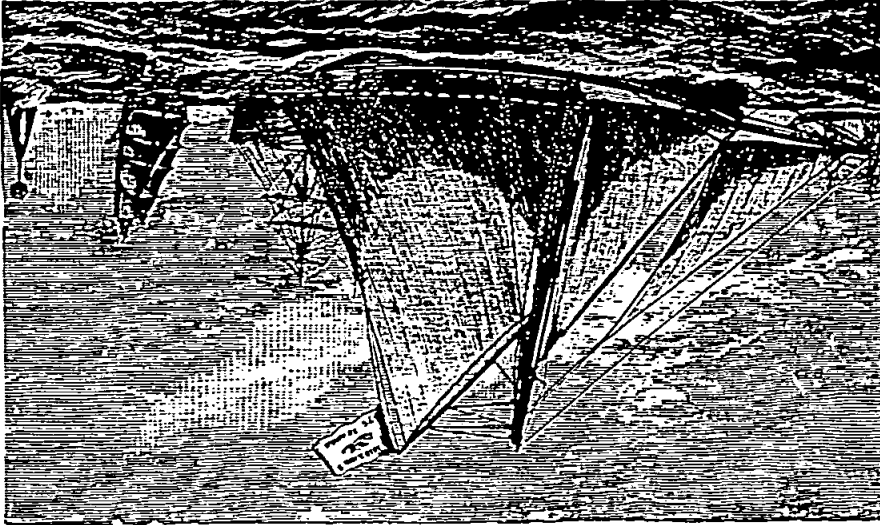
British and Foreign Sailors' Society, Bethel ship.
Source: Chart & Compass, 1 (1879), 344.



Glasgow Seamen's Friend Society, Seamen's Bethel.
Source: Chart & Compass, 6 (1884), 223.

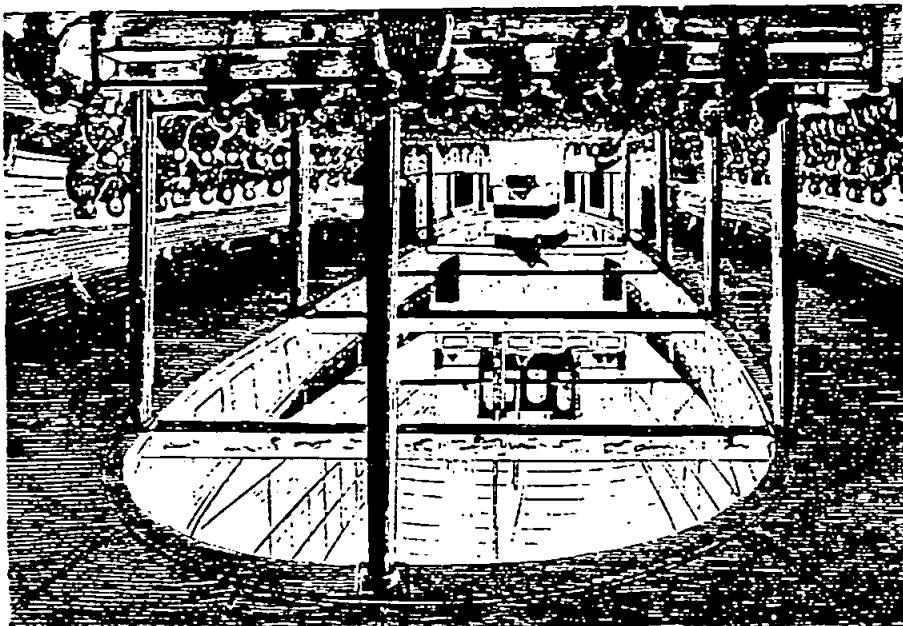
Source: *Malround*, Launching cut into the deep, 85.

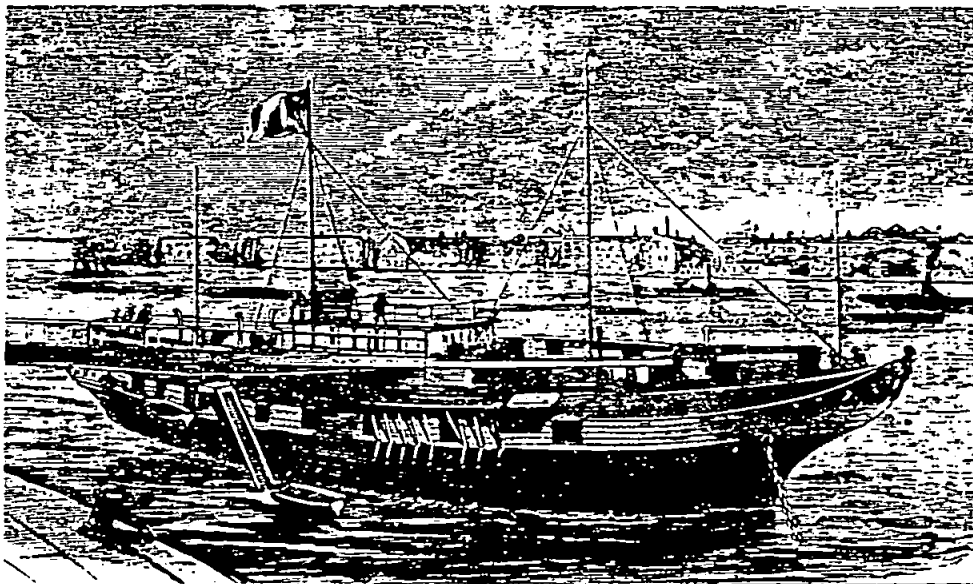
The Missions to Seamen Cutter *Sixty*, Falmouth Roads, October 31, 1877.



This is a view of the interior of the Mariners' Church, which was capable of seating a large congregation. The three-decker pulpit will be noticed at the back, and the organ and choir stalls still higher above. A commodious gallery also extended all round.

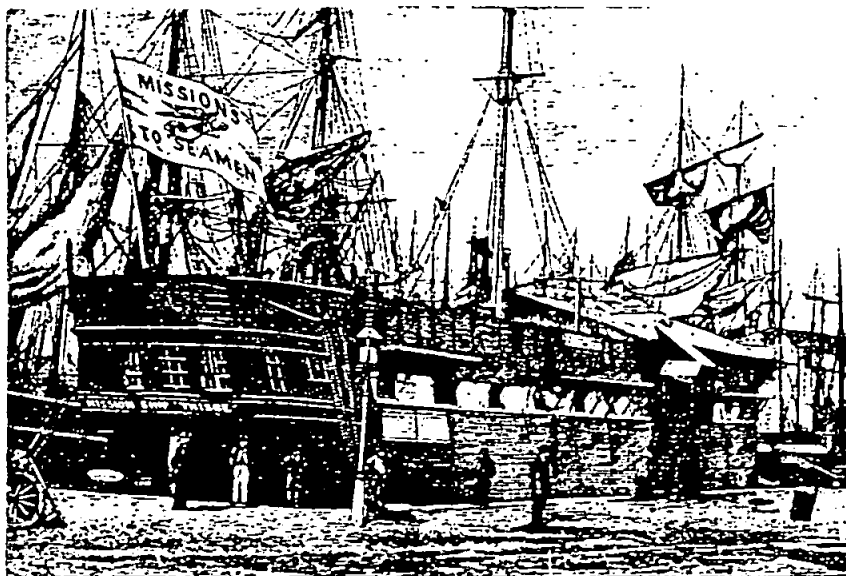
Interior of the Episcopal Mariners' Church, Liverpool (RMS 1885). Source: *Sea Breeze*; the PSNC Magazine, 2 (1921), 173.





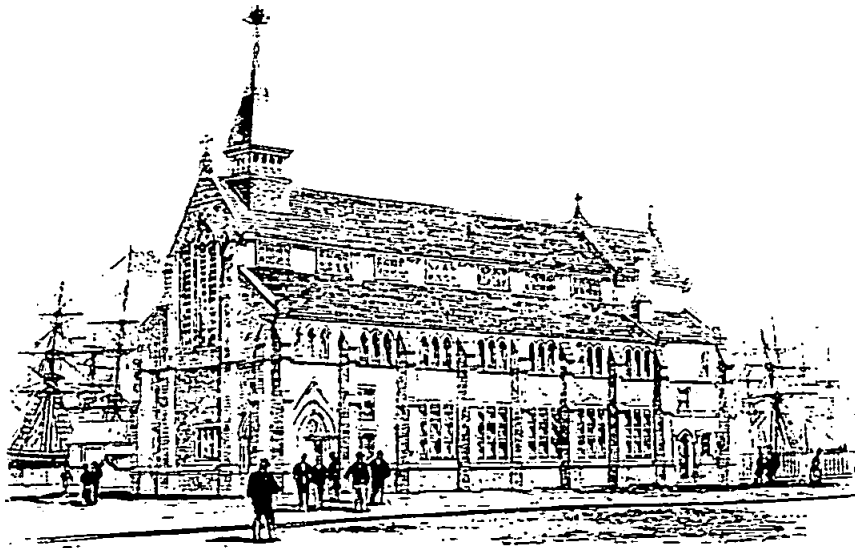
THE TYNE MISSION SHIP.

Source: Missions to Seamen, Annual report for 1880, 57.



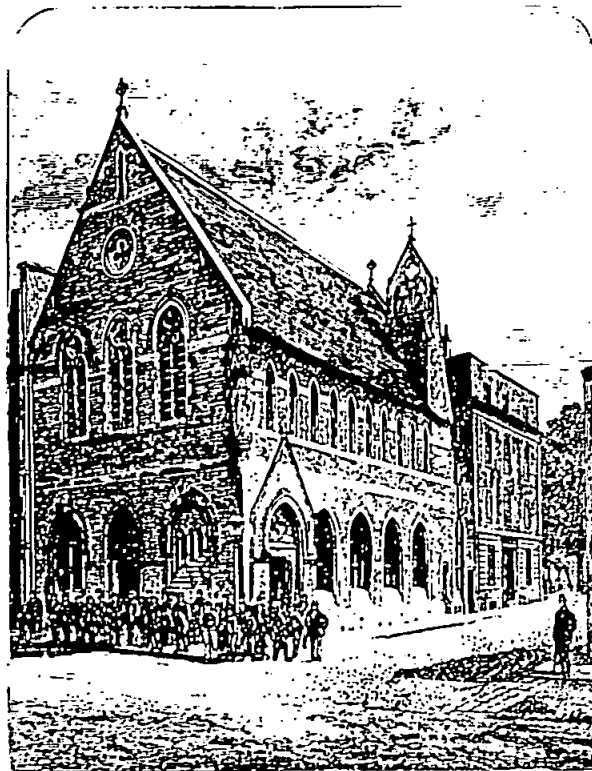
THE MISSION-SHIP "THISTLE"

The Missions to Seamen ship Thistle, Cardiff Docks, 1863-91.
Source: Missions to Seamen, Annual report for 1895, 49.



The Missions to Seamen Church and Institute, Cardiff Dock, 1874

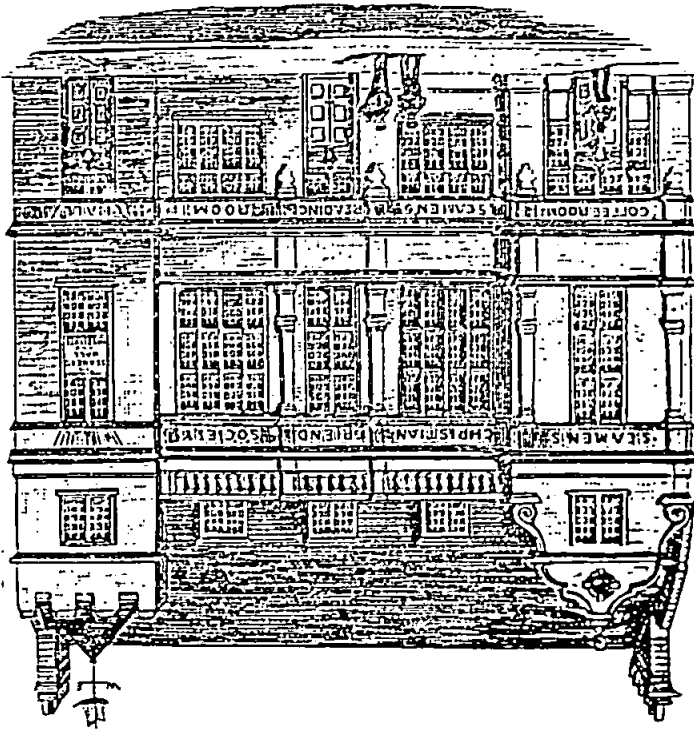
Source: Walrond, Launching out into the deep, 175.



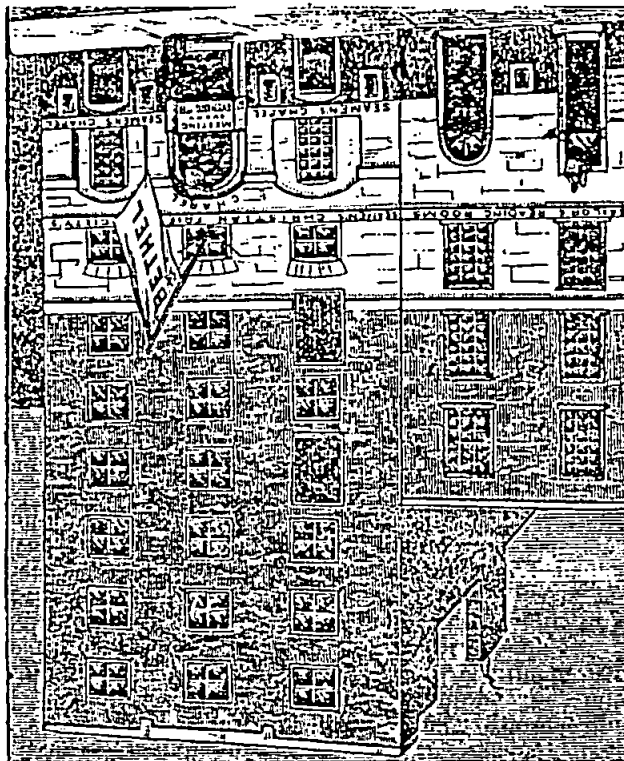
The Missions to Seamen Church and Institute, Bristol Harbour, 1880.

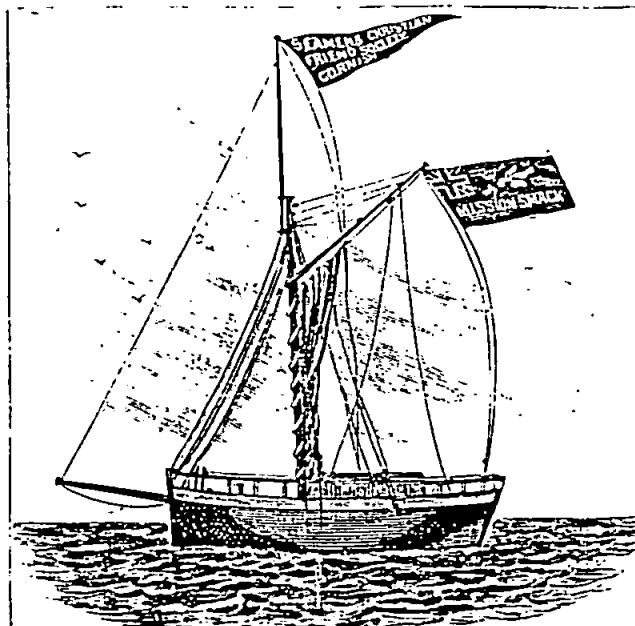
Source: Missions to Seamen, *Annual report for 1882*, 34.

Source: SCFS, Annual report for 1894-95, 14.
The SCFS new building in London on the Raticliff site (ca. 1893).
HEAD-QUARTERS OPPOSITE LONDON DOCKS.



Source: SCFS, Annual report for 1889-90, 13.
A former warehouse on the Raticliff Highway, at the heart of sailortown.
Seamen's Christian Friend Society, London headquarters.

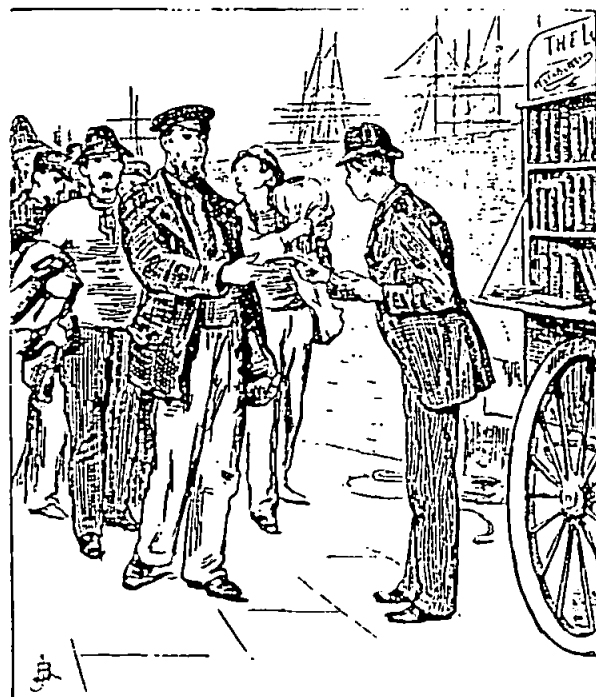




Seamen's Christian Friend Society,
South Cornish Coast, mission smack.
Source: SCFS, Annual report for 1889-90, 37.



SCFS, Liverpool Branch, Bible carriage.
Source: SCFS Annual report for 1884-85, 32.



SCFS Missionary giving tracts to seamen.
Source: SCFS, Annual report for 1889-90, 39.



THE QUEEN VICTORIA SEAMEN'S REST.

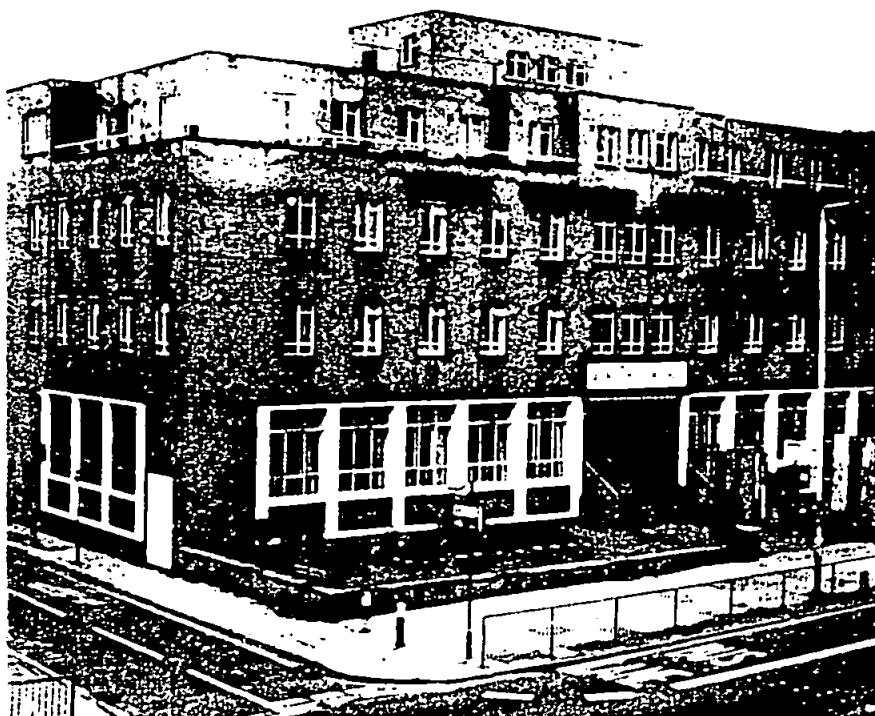
Foundation Stones laid 17th December, 1901.
The Buildings opened 13th November, 1902.

Total Cost £16,000. Amount yet to be raised £8,000

Erected to the Glory of God, and for the salvation and uplifting of Merchant Seamen of all Nationalities.

Jeremiah Street, Poplar, London.

Source: Wesleyan Seamen's Mission, Annual report for 1902, 12.

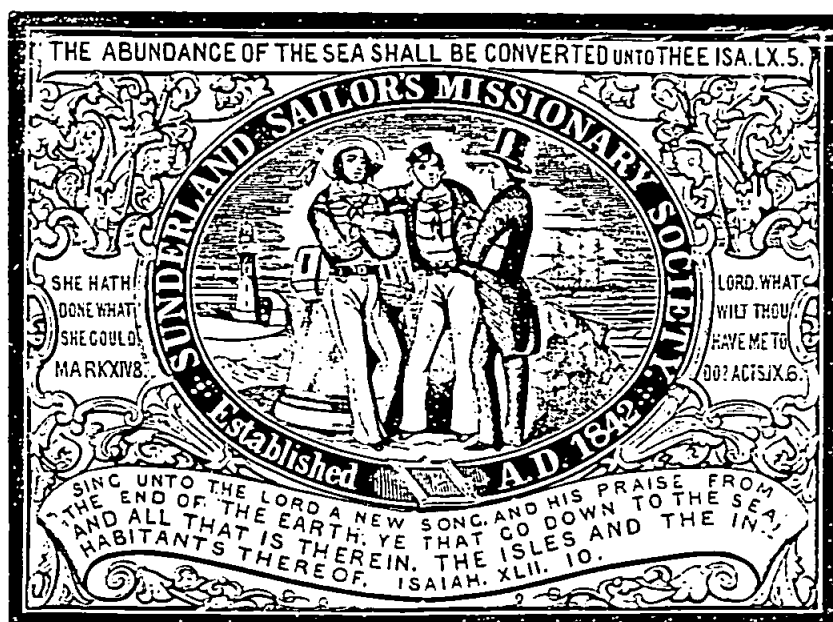


Queen Victoria Seamen's Rest, extension (ca. 1950).
Facing East India Dock Road; still in full use (1989)
(Wesleyan) Seamen's Mission, Annual report for 1985-86, 25.



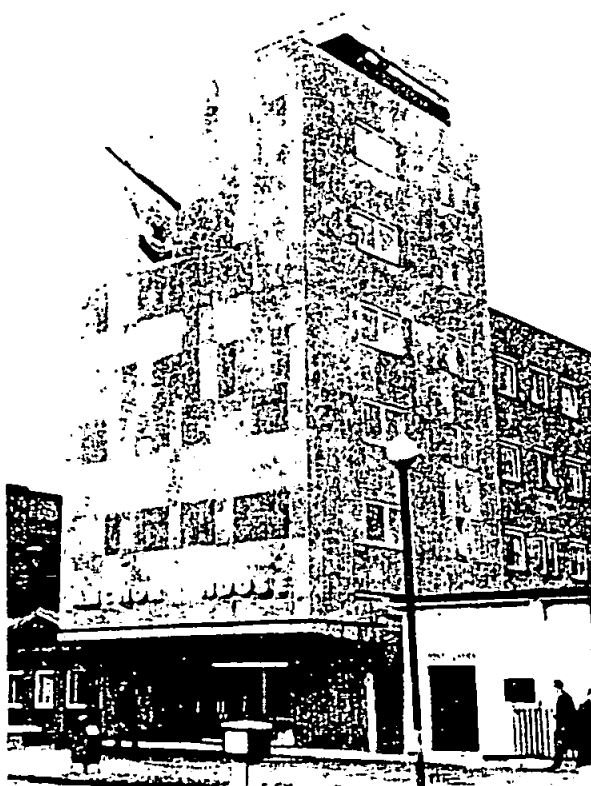
A Wesleyan "Sailors' Bible Woman" encouraging seafarers to seek out the truth in the Scriptures.

Source: (Wesleyan) Seamen's Mission, Annual report for 1926-27, 16 (ca.1860).



Seamen's missionary engaging seamen in conversation.
Sunderland Sailor's Missionary Society, 1842, banner.

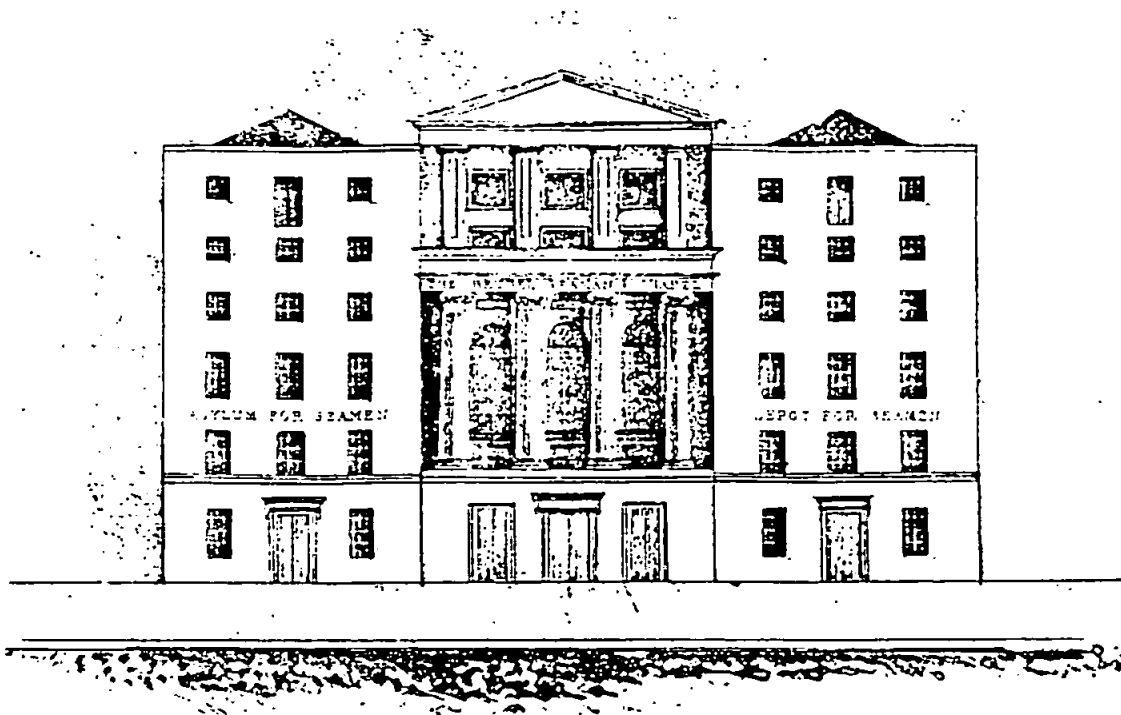
Source: Chart & Compass, 7 (1825), 16.



Apostleship of the Sea, Anchor House (Canning Town, London)) (ca. 1960).
Source: AOS, The Church and the seafaring world, 27.



Apostleship of the Sea, Anchor House (Hull) (ca. 1960).
Source: AOS, The Church and the seafaring world, 26.

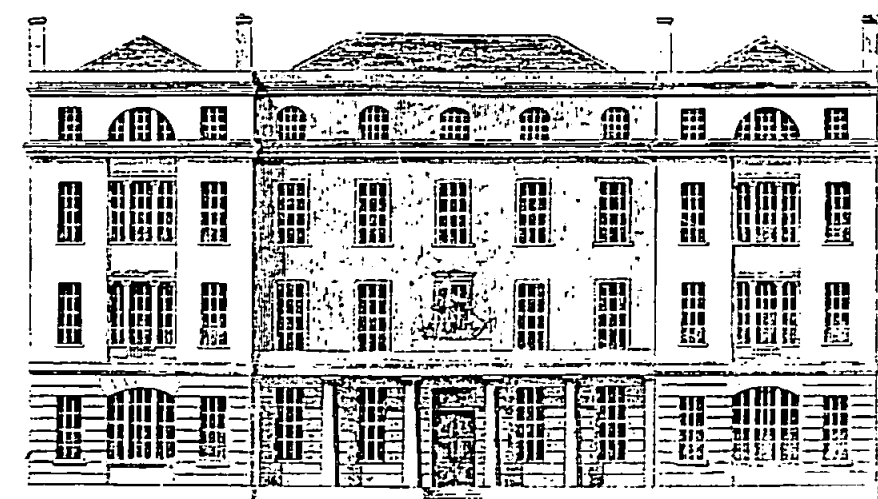


View of the Intended SAILORS' ASYLUM, &c. to be built on the
Site of the late Brunswick Theatre in Well Street.

London. Published by W. H. Widdowfield, 12, Pall Mall Square, Feb. 1, 1828.

Front elevation of the building as Revd. G.C. Smith envisaged it.

Source: New Sailor's Magazine, 1 (1828), 540.



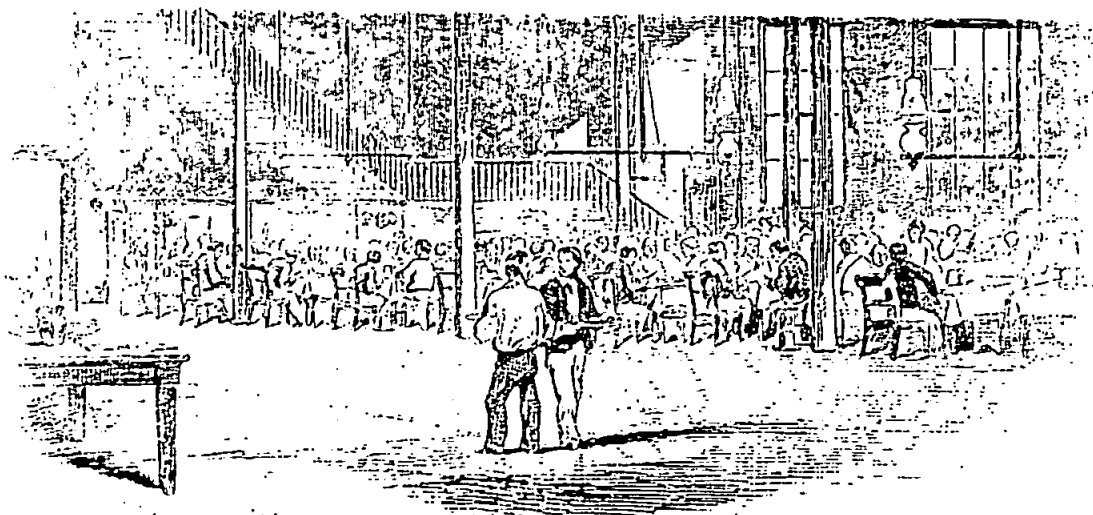
THE SAILORS' HOME, OR BRUNSWICK MARITIME ESTABLISHMENT.
WELL STREET, LONDON DOCKS.

Front elevation of the building actually erected

Source: Nautical Magazine, 17 (1848), 537.



Sailors' Home, Wells Street, St. Georges East.
Source: contemporary engraving ca. 1836.

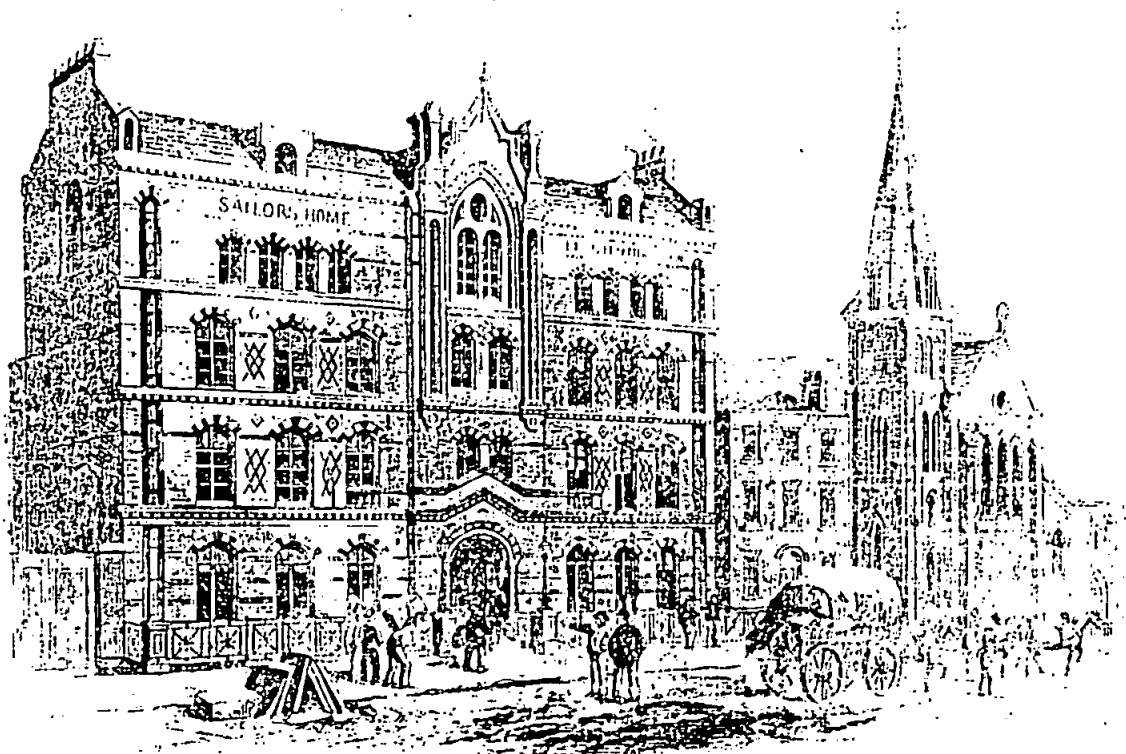


THE SAILORS' HOME, LONDON.

Dining Hall, First Floor, Sailors' Home, London, Well Street.
Source: Pictorial Times, Nov. 1846.



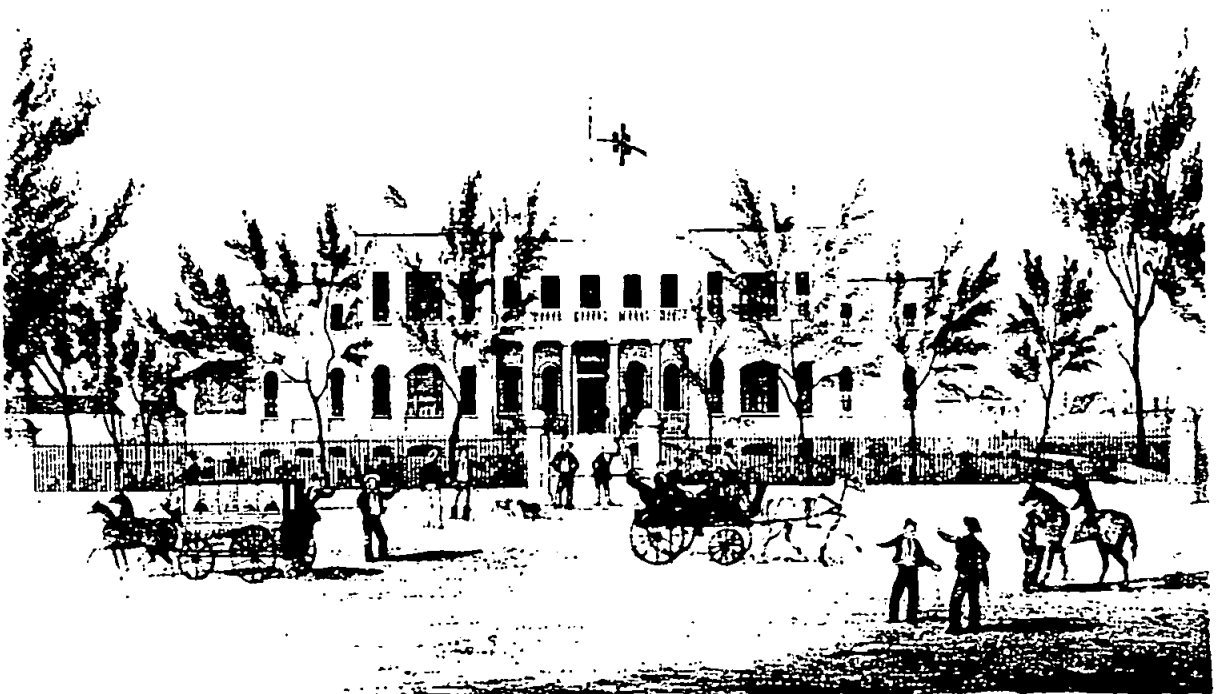
Dormitory (two tiers of cabins) Sailors' Home, London.
 From information in the picture this is probably the Bombay or the
 Calcutta Dormitory, ground floor, facing Well Street.
 Source: Pictorial Times, Nov. 1846.



Sailors' Home, London, Dock Street extension (1865) & St. Paul's Church for Seamen
 Source: Illustrated Times, 27 May 1865.



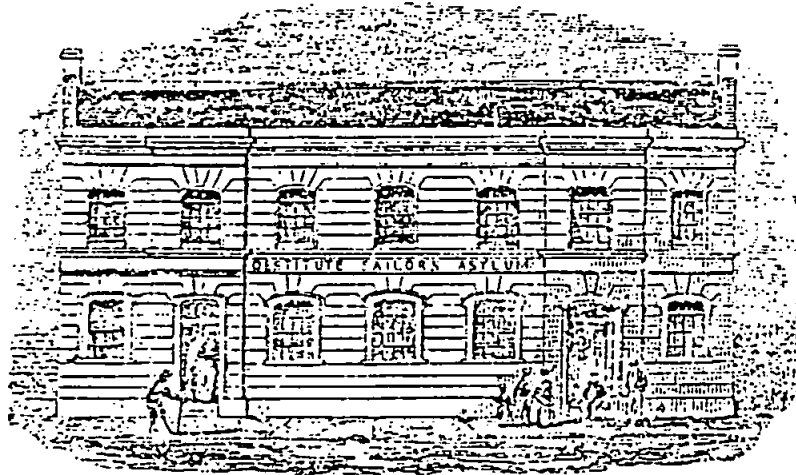
Sailors' Home, London, new Dock Street building (ca. 1960).
Source: Publicity leaflet, artist's impression.



Sailors' Home, East India Dock Road, Poplar, London.
This was the home provided in 1841 by Richard Green, shipowner. From ca. 1870 it
it was used by the Board of Trade as a Mercantile Marine Office.
Source: A contemporary engraving (copy provided by Alan Pearsall, NHM).

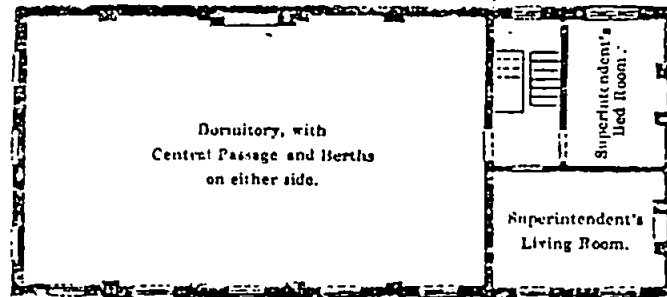
THE ASYLUM FOR DESTITUTE SAILORS,

DOCK-STREET, LONDON DOCK.



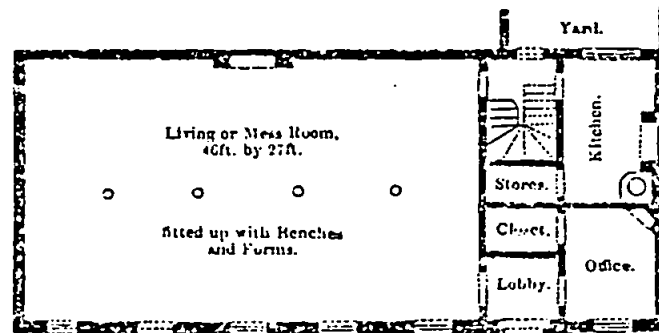
ELEVATION.

PLAN OF DORMITORY FLOOR.



The open Roof extends over the Superintendent's Apartments, and is ventilated at each end. With an additional Story this building would accommodate with berths 150 persons.

PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR.



The Yard contains arrangements for Washing, and a Store for Drying and Purifying Clothes, with a Bath and other requisite conveniences.



Destitute Sailors' Asylum, Well Street building, ca. 1850.

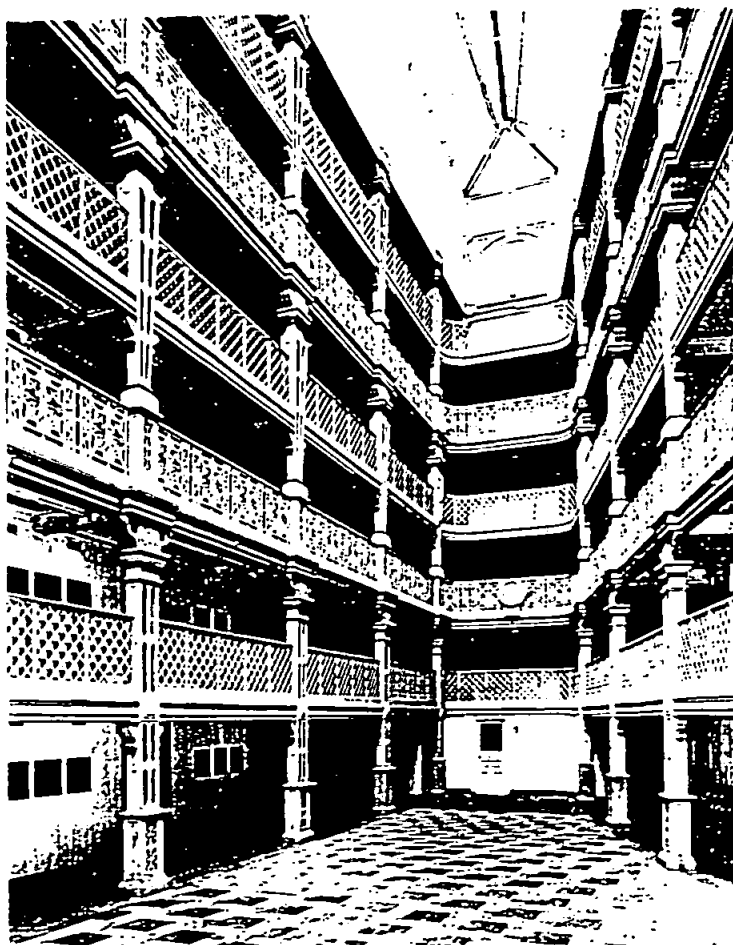
Source: DSA, Annual report for 1855.



Liverpool Sailors' Home and the Gordon Smith Institute for Seamen (LSFS).

This photograph, from in front of the former Mersey Missions to Seamen Central Institute, looks south along Paradise Street. The GSIS is to the left of the Home.

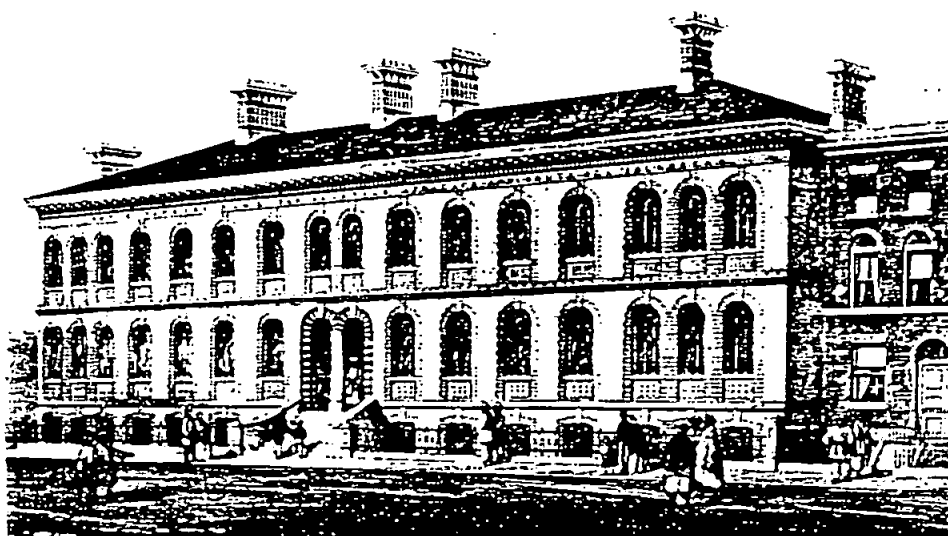
Source: A photograph (ca. 1969), NBR BB 69/7525.



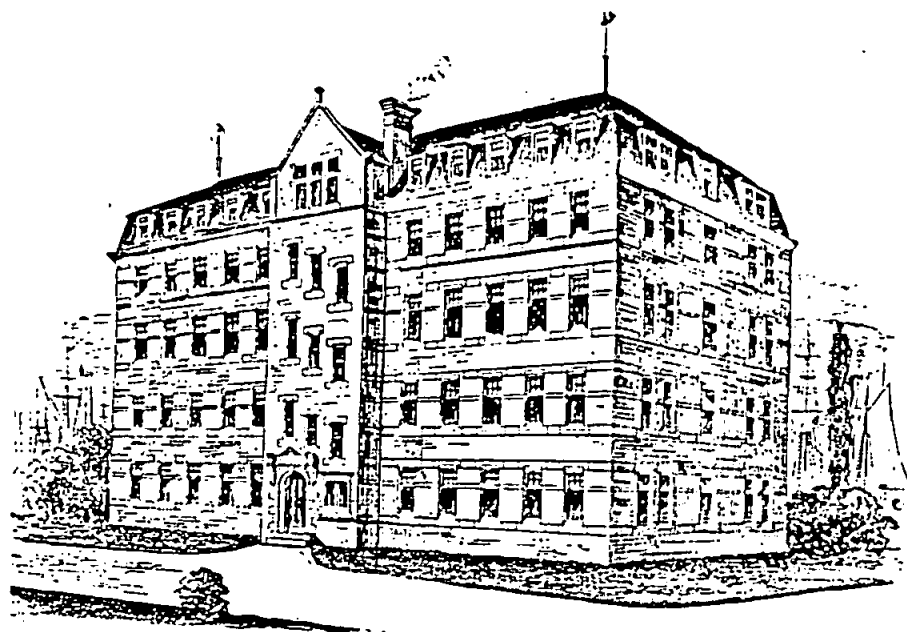
Interior view of Liverpool Sailors' Home.

The photograph, shows the central 'well', cast iron pillars supporting the 'flats' and skylight.

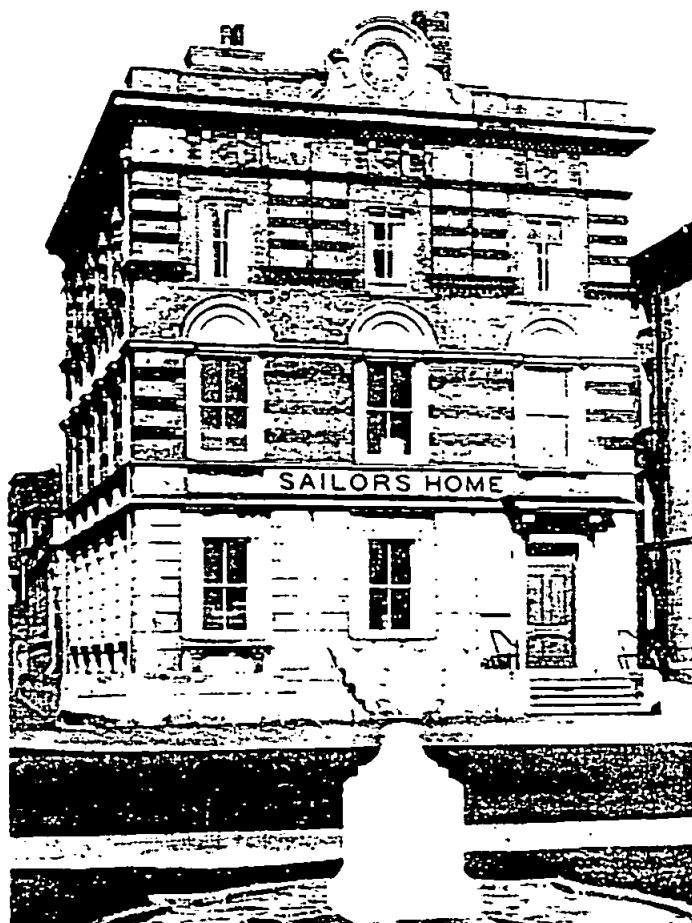
Source: A photograph (ca. 1969), NBR BB 69/7541.



The Strangers Home for Asiatics, Africans and South Sea Islanders.
The building, opened in 1857, was in West India Dock Road, London.
Source: Illustrations collection, Tower Hamlets Local History Library



Scandinavian Sailors' Temperance Home, London (1897).
Source: Chart & Compass, 10 (1898), 263.



Great Yarmouth Shipwrecked Sailors' Home opened 1860.
Source: A photograph on a publicity leaflet (ca. 1950).



Devonport Royal Sailors' Home, now the Royal Fleet Club.
This is the new building opened on 1902 in Morice Square, Devonport.
Source: A photograph taken by the author, 1966.

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