

ONE SHIP, THOUSANDS OF LIVES: A TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY OF SHIPBUILDING, SHIPPING AND THE
MARITIME WORLD AS SEEN THROUGH THE LIFE OF AN AVERAGE MERCHANT SAILING SHIP,
1886-1930



A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY

May 2018

By
Brandon Thomas Lindsey Tachco

Dissertation Committee:
Fabio López Lázaro (Chairperson)
Peter H. Hoffenberg
Liam Kelley
Kieko Matteson
Jonathan Padwe

Abstract

Over many generations, numerous scholars have produced impressive and useful work covering the history of shipping in countless different ways, but most have been limited by nation-based scopes and framings. When viewing this global system from the perspectives of the individual ships and the individual people that were a part of it, it becomes clear that the reality was not so easily identified or defined. Whether made for war or trade, ships often survived through multiple owners, names, and purposes, and so represented the lives of many people from many different classes, races, nationalities, and creeds. This dissertation, therefore, views the history of shipping based on the birth and life of a single merchant ship from the late-nineteenth century: the square-rigged sailing ship *Balclutha*, which was built in Glasgow in 1886 and is now a museum ship in San Francisco. Rather than falling-back on more generalized nation-based definitions, this focused framing enables the study to be more precise and specific in its analyses of these historical subjects, which provides useful insight into the history of this global shipping system, and the history of the thousands of individuals whose lives were in some way connected to, and dependent on, nineteenth-century ships.

The entirety of the dissertation looks broadly at *Balclutha's* whole life and analyzes world historical topics and people that were connected through ships like it. First, a detailed look at *Balclutha's* construction on the Clyde River and the commodity chains of materials needed for its construction reveals a local shipbuilding community with connections to other communities and people across the world. Then, analyzing the specific commodity chain example of the important shipbuilding wood, teak, connects this Glaswegian shipbuilding community and the ships they built to complex geo-politics, corporate imperialism, and teak extraction in Burma. And finally, an overview of the working lives of those that lived on *Balclutha* while the ship sailed the sea, traversed traditional historical periods, and changed owners and purposes, demonstrates a transnational and trans-social maritime space. These analyses together exemplify a world system that was dependent on various imperial negotiations and collaborations. Those with or without power and wealth were not focused in any particular geographic region, such as center or periphery, but were present to varying degrees in all parts of the system. In this way, imperial metropolises, centers, or peripheries were more socio-economic than geographical. Many of these historical subjects lived non-national or nationally indifferent lives. The local expands to the global, transnational, and back to the local, traveling on networks of investment, work, and labor, all without necessarily being mediated by the national. Thus, the national, in many instances, could be skipped over in analyses of the globalization of the world.

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....4

Preface and Acknowledgements.....7

Chapter One

Introduction: A Historical Adventure with *Balclutha* through the Age of Sail.....11

Life and Times of Balclutha: Birth.....51

Chapter Two

Glaswegian Shipbuilding: A Local International Business Community.....61

Life and Times of Balclutha: Cape Horner, Globe Trotter, and Pacific Voyager.....87

Chapter Three

Empire of Teak.....95

Life and Times of Balclutha: Star of Alaska.....133

Chapter Four

Life at Sea139

Life and Times of Balclutha: From Queen of the Pacific to Maritime Museum.....191

Chapter Five

Conclusion: The Journey Continues.....205

A Note on Archival and Primary Sources.....233

Bibliography.....237

List of Figures

On the Cover: “*Balclutha*,” Oil painting by Eric H. Swanson, 1955
 Source: San Francisco National Park, SAFR 5552

Figure 1 – View of *Balclutha* from Aquatic Park Beach.....12
 Source: taken by author, February 2016.

Figure 2 – Bow of *Balclutha* from Hyde Street Pier.....12
 Source: taken by author, February 2016.

Figure 3 – View of *Balclutha* with Thayer in foreground.....12
 Source: taken by author, February 2016.

Figure 4 – Side profile diagram of *Balclutha*.....48
 Source: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/> (accessed 10/10/17)

Figure 5 – Diagram of *Balclutha*’s decks.....49
 Source: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/> (accessed 10/10/17)

Figure 6 - View of the fo’c’sle from port side.....56
 Source: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/> (accessed 10/10/17)

Figure 7 – Original Crew of *Balclutha*, 188756
 Source: San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park Collection, P80-133n

Figure 8 – Tempura painting of *Balclutha*, Oswald Brett, 1955.....59
 Source: SFMRC, SAFR17003

Figure 9 – View of shelter deck with original decking.....69
 Source: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, (accessed 10/08/17)

Figure 10 – View from the foredeck, facing the stern.....75
 Source: taken by author, February 2016

Figure 11 – *Balclutha*’s saloon.....77
 Source: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, (accessed 10/8/17)

Figure 12 – Bow of *Glennlee*, Glasgow.....84
 Source: taken by author, July 2016

Figure 13 – Modern Shipbuilding on the Clyde.....85
 Source: taken by author, July 2016

Figure 14 – Present day shoreline of Clyde where Charles Connell yard once was.....85
 Source: taken by author, July 2016

Figure 15 – Map of *Balclutha*'s global journeys93
 Source: taken by author, February 2017

Figure 16 – British state expansion into Burma.....105
 Source: <https://www.britannica.com/>, (accessed 10/8/17)

Figure 17 – Elephant guiding logs into river.....115
 Source: Edmiston & Mitchells, photographs, Glasgow University Archives (GB 248 UGD 169/17/3)

Figure 18 – Elephant being loaded onto a ship for transportation.....115
 Source: Edmiston & Mitchells, photographs, Glasgow University Archives (GB 248 UGD 169/17/3)

Figure 19 – Elephant stacking sawed logs.....115
 Source: Edmiston & Mitchells, photographs, Glasgow University Archives (GB 248 UGD 169/17/3)

Figure 20 – Teak glasshouse.....119
 Source: Steel Brothers Records, photographs of products made of teak, London Metropolitan Archives (CLC/208/MS29565)

Figure 21 – Teak train car.....119
 Source: Steel Brothers Records, photographs of products made of teak, London Metropolitan Archives (CLC/208/MS29565)

Figure 22 – *Star of Alaska* at Alameda dockyard.....137
 Source: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, (accessed 10/8/17)

Figure 23 – *Star of Alaska* crew, pre-1911.....138
 Source: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, (accessed 10/8/17)

Figure 24 – Master's cabin.....144
 Source: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, (accessed 10/8/17)

Figure 25 – Master's bath.....144

Source: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, (accessed 10/8/17)

Figure 26 – Captain Durkee and officers.....148
 Source: San Francisco National Park, SAFR 21374

Figure 27 – Belaying pin made of teak.....153
 Source: <https://fostersshipchandlery.co.nz/products/teak-belaying-pin>, (accessed 10/8/17)

Figure 28 – Diagram of turns on belaying pins.....153
 Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belaying_pin, (accessed 10/8/17)

Figure 29 – *Balclutha* Crew List, 1901.....160
 Source: “Ship *Balclutha* Crew List,” Port Townsend, 1901, *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC

Figure 30 – Alfred and Alice Durkee.....167
 Source: San Francisco Maritime National Park, SAFR 21374

Figure 31 – Inda Frances Durkee.....172
 Source: San Francisco Maritime National Park, SAFR 21374

Figure 32 – Frank Kissinger on deck.....193
 Source:
<https://npgallery.nps.gov/SearchResults/ff7695e4ff2049d5959c224516b76a8c?view=gallery#gallery>
[lery](#) (accessed 10/10/17)

Figure 33 – Rose Kissinger aboard *Pacific Queen* during making of “Mutiny on the Bounty”198
 Source:
[https://npgallery.nps.gov/SearchResults/ff7695e4ff2049d5959c224516b76a8c?view=gallery#gal](https://npgallery.nps.gov/SearchResults/ff7695e4ff2049d5959c224516b76a8c?view=gallery#gallery)
[lery](#) (accessed 10/10/17)

Figure 34 - *Pacific Queen*, Catalina Island, ca. 1934-1935.....199
 Source:
[https://npgallery.nps.gov/SearchResults/ff7695e4ff2049d5959c224516b76a8c?view=gallery#gal](https://npgallery.nps.gov/SearchResults/ff7695e4ff2049d5959c224516b76a8c?view=gallery#gallery)
[lery](#) (accessed 10/10/17)

Figure 35 –Museum Founders onboard *Balclutha*.....203
 Source: San Francisco Maritime National Park, SAFR 21374

Preface and Acknowledgments

After living in Honolulu for a few years, going through my graduate coursework and eventually passing my comprehensive examinations, I was at the last stage in my PhD program - dissertation research and writing. I knew I could base myself anywhere while doing this and my partner had recently gotten a job in San Francisco, so I joined her on that journey. After traversing the pricy real estate and rental markets of the San Francisco Bay Area, my partner and I settled on an apartment on the bottom floor of an old Victorian house in Alameda, an island on the east coast of the San Francisco Bay, near Oakland. She went to work and I went about researching, preparing for my archival trips, and maybe, just maybe, finding that one ship. I already knew that I wanted to research shipbuilding and shipping from a transnational perspective and I believed that basing this analysis on the example of one ship would provide unique perspective and valuable conclusions. But, there are so many ships to choose from that I was not sure exactly how to find the one that was right for my study.

Wherever one lives, it is often difficult to find the time to see the local sights that tourists or visitors to the area might see. After living in Alameda for a couple of months, I was fortunate to have a visit from my family because it gave me an excuse to finally go to the San Francisco Maritime Museum and see the historic ships at Hyde Street Pier. This is when I first walked the decks of *Balclutha*. As I viewed the exhibits and overviewed *Balclutha's* history, I knew this was the perfect ship. *Balclutha* was a "British" built ship, by traditional definitions, and *Balclutha* had multiple owners across multiple nations. This made *Balclutha* what I was looking for on a technical level, but the more I learned beyond that, the more personally connected to *Balclutha* I felt. I discovered that *Balclutha* stopped in Hawaii on numerous occasions and had even been registered in the Republic of Hawaii. I too had lived there, though my Hawaii was no longer its own republic. *Balclutha*, when renamed *Star of Alaska* and working as an Alaskan salmon fishing ship, was based in Alameda for most of the year. As mentioned, this was also where my partner and I had settled after moving to the area. A historical sister ship of *Balclutha*, and another member of the same Alaskan fishing fleet during this period in *Balclutha's* life, was the *Star of India*, which is now a museum ship in San Diego. I have family in San Diego, so *Star of India* was actually the first such museum ship that I had ever visited.

Now that I had a ship, I dove into research to continue to learn everything I could about *Balclutha*. The further I went, the more connected I felt to its history. I became an instructor for the Age of Sail education program, which leads overnight educational field trips for groups of school children who are transported back to the beginning of the twentieth century and taught to be sailors for an

evening. Pursuing the clues concerning *Balclutha* has led me to questions I never imagined I would investigate as a historian. Through global trade and imperial networks I have been led to many historical regions with which I had little to no professional experience before the project began. I have tried to learn what I can and do them all justice. I hope any remaining errors or misjudgments will be viewed with patience and understanding.

Along the way, I have done research in Glasgow, London, California, and Hawaii. I have visited where *Balclutha* was born and where it has been. I have spent long nights and days living on *Balclutha*, teaching young sailors and barking orders as a 1906 merchant ship captain. I have also been the scurvy, mischievous second mate and the salty, superstitious ship cook. I have sailed, rowed, swabbed, hauled lines, and sung shanties. Just as sailors relied on grog, rum, and whiskey to get them through those rough, dangerous lives at sea, I have relied on wine and scotch to help me through those long days and nights of seemingly endless reading and writing for my dissertation. I have, as much as I could, engrossed myself in the world of the people I am studying. Now, many months, sleepless nights, and countless glasses of scotch later, I have some semblance of an end result and many people to thank for their part in its completion.

First, I want to thank my field advisors: Peter H. Hoffenberg, Liam Kelley, and Kieko Matteson. All of you pushed me, challenged me, and helped me find my research path. You never let me take the easy road and you made sure I did not lose sight of the people in the history I am studying, which can be easy when looking at the life of a ship and analyzing world historical topics. Thank you Fabio López Lázaro, my committee chair, for helping me navigate the many complex roads of world and maritime theories and historiographies. My research has taken me to many different regions and professional history fields that I never expected and had little experience with before I started, but you always knew what I should be reading. Your commitment and feedback in these past years, and in these past many months especially, have been incredibly detailed, helpful, and an essential part of the finished product. And thanks to my university representative, Jonathan Padwe, for jumping on board for this maritime adventure. I hope you enjoy this study and the journey. This dissertation would not be here without all of your teaching and guidance. I hope I meet, or exceed, your highest expectations.

Next, I would like to thank the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa history department. Everyone there has been caring and supportive throughout my program. The financial assistance I have received, such the Graduate Assistantship, made my completion of the program possible. Further, without the Jerry Bentley Prize in World History I would not have been able to make the research trip to the United Kingdom for primary sources that were key parts of my dissertation's findings. The Daniel WY Kwok

Endowment made travel back to Hawaii for my defense possible. That is always a wonderful trip, but never a cheap one. I would especially like to thank Sue Carlson, the Department & Graduate Secretary, for her bottomless knowledge of the inter-workings of the complex academic bureaucracy and for her constant support and kindness. She has helped me more times than I can count and she is always happy to do so. I could never have gotten by without her and I know that is a sentiment shared by everyone in the department.

Thank you also to all of the people who assisted me in libraries as I researched. This includes the many archivists, librarians, and historians that I met in the places that I visited. From Glasgow to San Francisco, everyone I met was kind and enthusiastic. There were many, but I want to thank Gina Bardi especially, who is the Reference Librarian at the San Francisco Maritime Research Center (SFMRC). She was the first person I met when I began this journey with *Balclutha* and has been there throughout, always excited about the project, and always willing and happy to help locate what I needed. Without the work done at these archives, our work as academic historians would not be possible.

In that regard, I would also like to thank everyone at the San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park and the San Francisco Maritime Park Association, both past and present, for all the work you have done to preserve this important history and bring it to those who visit. Keeping a 130 year old ship afloat is no easy task. It requires the daily labor of many individuals. The importance of the work all of you do is immeasurable. I must mention especially, of course, those with the education programs at Hyde Street Pier, including the managers Glenn and Michael, and my many co-instructors with Age of Sail. You have been wonderful colleagues and invaluable friends. I have learned much from everyone at the Historical Maritime Park, and I hope my study helps to further contribute, in its own way, to bringing recognition to *Balclutha* and all of your hard work.

And finally, of course, to my friends, family, and loved ones: thank you for a lifetime of support, encouragement, and faith in me. None of this would have been possible without you. A special thanks to my partner, Allison. Despite the endless ramblings of historical facts and stories; the many groggy, incoherent days after working and sleeping overnight on the ship; the monetary struggles as a poor graduate student; and the random shanty outbursts, you have stuck by me and supported me at every step.

Thank you, everyone, for your assistance and immense support. If completing this project does nothing more than make all of you pleased and proud, I will be content and happy with my work.

Chapter 1

Introduction: A Historical Adventure with *Balclutha* through the Age of Sail

Docked at San Francisco's Hyde Street Pier are a number of historic ships, each an important example of the maritime heritage of the San Francisco Bay Area. One of the first that can be seen upon entering the pier is the three-mast, wooden-hulled, schooner, *CA Thayer*, which was built in Northern California in 1895 to carry lumber from the Pacific Northwest to San Francisco. Directly across the Pier from *Thayer* sits the *Eureka*, a massive steam ferry from the turn of the twentieth century. It was one of many that were essential for transportation, for both people and cars, around the bay before bridges were first built in the 1930s. And further down the pier - looming large with masts as high as a fourteen-story building - floats the steel-hulled, three-mast, square rigged cargo sailing ship, *Balclutha*. Built in Glasgow in 1886 for the grain trade around Cape Horn to San Francisco, *Balclutha* is one of the last surviving ships of its kind (See Figures 1-3).

Hundreds of thousands of people from all over the world visit this pier annually. The pier is open seven days a week, but if one of these visitors happens to be exploring the ships in the mid-afternoon on any day from Sunday through Friday, they are likely to see a group of twenty-five or so school kids working on the decks of *Balclutha*. These kids are part of the Age of Sail overnight historical immersion program, which is the largest of many such living history programs run by the educational department on the pier. The kids, or "lads" as they are called during the program, are on an eighteen hour journey through the past. For them, it is 1906, just days after a devastating earthquake and fire destroyed most of San Francisco. They have been recruited to be the new crew of *Balclutha*, which is on a humanitarian mission to cast-off that evening in order to bring lumber back from Oregon and help rebuild the ruined, smoldering city.



Figure 1-3 – From top to bottom, left to right: View of *Balclutha* from the Aquatic Park Beach, near the Maritime Museum Building. Alcatraz Prison can be seen in the background; Bow of *Balclutha* from the pier. The Golden Gate Bridge is visible behind; View of *Balclutha* with the *C.A. Thayer* in the foreground. Photos taken by author, February 2016.

The lads learn many important sailorly skills, such as knot tying, swabbing decks, handling line, rigging and operating a bosun's chair, lowering and raising dories, rowing a long-boat, taking a sounding, keeping bell time, setting and casting-off a hawser, raising sail, and, of course, singing a decent shanty while they work. Everything during the program is done as if it is 1906. There are no cell-phones, electronics, or any other present-day conveniences. They are taught by Age of Sail Instructors, who play the roles of the ship's four officers. Though the officer's names are made-up by the instructors, the officer's characters are based on historical reality.¹

The historical immersion aspect of the program is its most important characteristic. For one afternoon, evening, and morning, the students live the life of a sailor aboard a real turn of the century merchant ship. They sleep on the same bunks *Balclutha's* crews slept in; they eat bland food when and where they are told; they stand watch through the night; they feel the rawness of their palms after hauling rough lines; they fear and respect the tyrannical first mate; and they get into mischief with the second mate and cook. They feel, in every way, what it was like to be a sailor in 1906.

By directly experiencing so much of what past people experienced, these students gain historical empathy, which is key to properly understanding the past. They also gain a better appreciation for the present and learn many important life lessons. The lads are given specific orders by the Captain and, just like proper sailors, they are expected to complete their tasks on their own. As silent observers, their parent chaperones and classroom teachers cannot help them. Therefore, the only way the students can accomplish the objectives given to them is through communication and cooperation. As a result, they learn about critical thinking, active listening, problem solving, self-respect, teamwork, and leadership. By the time they leave the ship in the morning, the students are transformed, in their minds, from half-pint green hand lads to tarry-handed seadog sailors. They have developed self-confidence and self-reliance, which in turn fosters a sense of responsibility for themselves, their shipmates, and their community.

¹ For part of this immersion script, which is based on what we know generally speaking about typical conditions aboard a ship like *Balclutha* c.1900, see the "Conclusion" chapter.

This active educational experience gives the students an understanding of their local maritime heritage that goes well beyond anything possible in the usual classroom setting. Some of San Francisco's most famous landmarks can be seen from *Balclutha's* decks. Alcatraz Prison Island lies in the middle of the bay, just a mile north; Golden Gate Bridge is just a few miles to the west, usually shrouded in fog; Hyde Street is on the edge of the Fisherman's Wharf District, where tourists swarm daily and eat clam-chowder and Boudin sourdough; Ghirardelli Square is just across the street, with its giant sign facing the bay and lit-up at night for all to see; and Coit Tower, Transamerica, and the Bay Bridge are all clearly visible to the southwest, even on foggier days.

Another very common sight on the bay is the massive container ships bringing cargo to be unloaded at the Port of Oakland on the east coast of the San Francisco Bay. Though not exactly landmarks, they are still an essential part of the area and its history. As the lads work on the decks of *Balclutha*, learning about history by experiencing life as merchant sailors in 1906, they can see *Balclutha's* present-day equivalent steaming through the Golden Gate and across the waters of the bay.

In an age dominated by air travel, it is easy to forget how much we still rely on shipping for most of the daily goods we have come to need. These impressive ships can reach over 1300 feet long and carry over 21,000 twenty-foot long shipping containers.² The Port of Oakland processes around 2,200 containers a year. That is about six containers a day, but is still nothing compared to the busiest ports in the United States: Los Angeles and Long Beach, which together processed 15,352 containers in 2015. And even that is dwarfed by the two busiest ports in the world, Shanghai and Singapore, which tower above other world trading ports at 36,516 and 30,922 containers respectfully.³ Most might think of

² The amount of Twenty-foot Equivalency Units (TEU) is probably the most common way of categorizing modern cargo ships. Each unit equals one twenty-foot long shipping container. There are also containers that are forty-feet, which equal two TEU.

³ These statistics are from <http://www.worldshipping.org/about-the-industry/global-trade/ports> (accessed 10/8/2017), representing container traffic as measured in TEU from 2015. Los Angeles and Long beach are ranked 19 and 20 on the list. Seven of the top ten are ports in China. If measured by total cargo volume, these rankings change slightly, but the top two remain the same. Honolulu is 93 on the list with 1,213 containers.

computers, telephones, or the internet as the driving forces behind today's globalization, but it is actually the engines of ships like these that are the "prime movers," as argued by Vaclav Smil, of our current interconnected world. Smil compares these machines to Cinderella because they are "doing virtually all the work of modern globalization with scant recognition." Therefore, they deserve much more attention and understanding.⁴

The technology we enjoy, the clothes we wear, the food we eat – most of it was certainly on one of these behemoth cargo ships at one point before it reached our homes. These goods represent an immense global maritime trade network. Though often taken for granted, this network connects people from across the globe through a complex web of ships, shipbuilders, materials, companies, investors, laborers, politicians, and consumers. *Balclutha* represents the origins of this system as it existed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. San Francisco, along with countless other cities and regions around the world, owes its very existence to ships like this one. Therefore, ships like *Balclutha* were the "prime movers" of globalization for their time, and their "Cinderella roles" also deserve much more recognition. The web of materials and people needed to construct a ship stretched worldwide and involved a number of world historical themes, including, but not limited to migration, business, social class, labor, environment, and state, corporate, and regional imperialism. Because of this, shipbuilding and shipping have the potential to be two of the strongest examples of global and international endeavors from the 1800s through the early 1900s.

These are claims that few would protest. However, while numerous scholars over many generations have done important and useful work in covering the history of shipbuilding and shipping in countless different ways, most have been limited by nation-based scopes and framings. "British" and

⁴ Vaclav Smil, *Prime Movers of Globalization: The History and Impact of Diesel Engines and Gas Turbines* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), 209-210.

“American” shipping and shipbuilding, for example, have particularly large historiographies.⁵ Such studies are incredibly detailed and comprehensive, but they begin with the presumption of connections or similarities based on national grouping and boundaries. When viewing the global system of shipping and shipbuilding using the analytical focus of the individual ships and the individual people that were a part of it, it becomes clear that the reality of this system cannot be so easily identified with nation-state based definitions.⁶

Rather than beginning the study within nationally defined parameters, therefore, one goal of this dissertation is to add a transnational perspective to an already rich body of historical studies by beginning instead with the ship itself. A ship represents a space that was uniquely transnational. Ships were constructed to move between other physically, geographically, socially, and economically constructed spaces, such as nations, cities, regions, and businesses. Thus, while ships were connected to

⁵ For just a few examples, see Sydney Pollard and Paul Robertson, *The British Shipbuilding Industry, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979); Jan Glete, *Navies and Nations: Warships, Navies and State Building in Europe and America, 1500-1860, Vol. I. & II* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993); Ian Johnston and Ian Buxton, *The Battleship Builders: Constructing and Arming British Capital Ships* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2013); Anthony Slaven, *British Ship Building, 1500-2010* (Lancaster, UK: Crucible, 2013); and Frederick C. Matthews, *American Merchant Ships, 1850-1900* (New York: Dover Publications, 1987). These are just a few examples, chosen here as representations because of their detail and contributions to the field. They are all essential reads for anyone interested in modern shipbuilding. While some, like Glete, are impressive international studies, this dissertation hopes to contribute by adding a more transnational perspective.

⁶ For other examples of one ship or vessel guiding a study, see Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (London: Penguin Books, 2007); Kevin M. Baily, *The Western Flyer: Steinbeck's Boat, the Sea of Cortez, and the Saga of Pacific Fisheries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015). Also, museum ships tend to have works written about them sponsored and published by their respective museums. These works are usually very detail oriented, focused on what the ship did and when, leading up to their eventual destinations and restorations as museum ships. See, for example, Jerry MacMullen, *Star of India: The Log of an Iron Ship* (Berkeley: Howell-North 1961); Colin Castle and Iain MacDonald, *Glenlee: The Life & Times of a Clyde-Built Cape Horn* (Glasgow: Brown, Son, & Ferguson, 2005); Hamish Hardie, *The Rescue and Restoration of the Clydebuilt Three Masted Barque Glenlee* (Glasgow: The Clyde Maritime Trust, 2014); and Ian Ramsay, *Glenlee: How a Riveted Sailing Ship was Built* (Glasgow: The Clyde Maritime Trust, 2014); And finally, a fiction trilogy, Amitav Ghosh, *Sea of Poppies* (2008), *River of Smoke* (2011), and *Flood of Fire* (2016). Ghosh's historical fiction series takes place in the early-nineteenth century and details the journeys of multiple characters whose fates are tied to the fate of one ship, the *Ibis*. Though fiction, Ghosh's interpretation of the people and the complex blending of politics and private business that characterized imperial control and expansion in the region at the time of the first Opium War is remarkably accurate in a way that even few historical studies are. This colonial environment affected people in different ways and Ghosh is able to detail those personal experiences through the common thread of the ship.

these other spaces, they also often existed independently from them as they travelled the space between.

In viewing the ship as its own space, my research focuses on the life of a single merchant ship from the late-nineteenth century, the square-rigged, steel-hulled sailing ship *Balclutha*. The entirety of my dissertation looks broadly at *Balclutha's* whole life, beginning with its construction and the many international materials needed to bring it together. Over the course of *Balclutha's* life, it physically traversed the globe, visiting nearly every continent, thereby connecting world regions, both directly and indirectly, through the complex web of shipping and shipbuilding.

Though the research for this dissertation spans multiple centuries, the bulk of it will focus on the period between 1886 and 1930, which are the years that *Balclutha* was active as a “working” ship. This was also arguably the period when international shipbuilding was most complex, as steam and sail competed for supremacy and new technologies that utilized new materials were constantly introduced. It was also a period in which the world was politically, economically, and socially transformed and interconnected on an unprecedented scale.⁷ This was the height of the period that has been famously defined by Kenneth Pomeranz as “The Great Divergence,” in which economic, cultural, political, and technological world centers shifted from Asia to Europe and “neo-Europes,” as Alfred Crosby defined them, like North America and Australia.⁸ As this study will demonstrate, ships like *Balclutha* were not just parts of these massive global transformations, they were key contributors.

⁷ Transformed by markets and trade as characterized by Steven C. Topik and Allen Wells, *Global Markets Transformed, 1870-1945* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012); and Steven Topik, *The World that Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1999).

⁸ See Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: Europe, China, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); “Neo-Europes,” as defined by Alfred Crosby in *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Pomeranz’s work sparked a debate about how exactly this divergence occurred. For portions of this debate, see: Yong Xue, “A ‘Fertilizer Revolution’? A Critical Response to Pomeranz’s Theory of ‘Geographic Luck’,” *Modern China* 33 (2007): 195-229; Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World that Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006); and Prasannan Parthasarathi, *Why Europe*

This dissertation has been researched and written in conjunction with current trends in maritime and world history. The fields of maritime history and world history, in many ways, can trace shared origins, such as with Fernand Braudel's pivotal study of the Mediterranean.⁹ In fact, the field of maritime history is innately world historical. According to Jerry Bentley, the purpose of world history is to work beyond the notion that national divisions are the natural way of organizing the world.¹⁰ In this regard, maritime history's focus on waterways, which are generally seen as peripheries and obstacles by land-based national histories, is a perfect beginning for a world historical study. Patrick Manning defined world history simply as "the story of connections within the global community."¹¹ In recent history, especially, maritime experiences have certainly led to global exchanges that had worldwide impacts.¹²

Though maritime history is innately world historical, much of maritime historical scholarship has still traditionally been very focused on nation. The field of naval history, for example, has countless studies done by both academic and "amateur" historians. This field has contributed to a large portion of maritime historiography.¹³ But, there are many historians in the past couple decades who have called

Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁹ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Instead of being restricted to the study of political history and the convention of nation-states, as professional historians were at the time, he looked at economic systems and everyday people connected across the Mediterranean. Even the title, which focuses on a state leader, was too nation-centric for him and was only done by necessity.

¹⁰ Jerry Bentley, "The Task of World History," in *The Oxford Handbook of World History*, Jerry Bentley, ed. (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 2011), 1-16.

¹¹ Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History* (New York: Palgrave, 2003). For further scholarship outlining the purposes of world history, see Laura Benton, "How to Write the History of the World," <http://www.bu.edu/historic/hs/march04.htm#2>, (accessed 9/25/2017); Ross Dunn, "The Two World Histories," *Social Education* (September 2008); Ross Dunn, *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion* (New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2000); and Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global Perspectives on Global History: Theories and Approaches in a Connected World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

¹² This is referring to the unprecedented interconnectivity following European voyages to the Americas and around Africa. See Amélia Polónia, "Maritime History: A Gateway to Global History?" *Research in Maritime History No. 43. Maritime History as Global History*. Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia, eds. (St. John's, Newfoundland, 2010), 1-20, 1.

¹³ For discussion of this phenomenon, see Maria Fusaro, "Maritime History as Global History? The Methodological Challenges and a Future Research Agenda," *Research in Maritime History No. 43. Maritime History as Global History*. Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia, eds. (St. John's, Newfoundland, 2010), 267-282.

for a combination of the two fields.¹⁴ World historical theories have helped shift maritime histories from the nation and maritime historical theories have provided world historical studies with a non-national geographic space from which to frame research and analysis. Instead of beginning with a waterway, such as a river, lake, sea, or ocean, this dissertation begins with a uniquely maritime space that was constructed to work and move through these other transnational maritime spaces.

Whether made for war or trade, ships often lived through multiple owners, names, and purposes, and so represented the lives of many people from many different classes, races, nationalities and creeds. By viewing the ship as its own space my study hopes to provide unique insight into the history of this global shipping system and the history of the thousands of individuals whose lives were in some way connected to, and dependent on, ships that were built and worked during this age of global “divergence.”

The Multi-National Birth and Lives of Ships

As John Lynch stated in his book, *Belfast Built Ships*, “ships are like people.” Some have long productive lives full of travel and experience; “some live long and uneventful lives;” some have lives that are short and tragic; and some live lives that end mysteriously.¹⁵ Ships went through numerous identities and names, despite the superstition that it was bad luck to rename a ship. As we will see, *Balclutha* itself was given three different names on four separate occasions. Some ships could even be

¹⁴ See, for example, Philip De Souza, *Seafaring and Civilization: Maritime Perspectives on World History* (London: Profile, 2001); Daniel Finamore ed., *Maritime History as World History* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2004); Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, eds., *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Barbara Watson Andaya, “Oceans Unbounded: Transversing Asia across ‘Area Studies,’” *The Journal of Asia Studies* 65 (2006), 669-690; Kären Wigen, “Forum: Oceans of History,” *American Historical Review* 111 (2006), 717-80; Jerry Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Kären Wigen, eds., *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchange* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007); Helen Rozwadowski, “Ocean’s Depths,” *Environmental History* 15 (2010), 520-525; Manning, Patrick, “Global History and Maritime History,” *International Journal of Maritime History* 25 (2013), 1-22; and Marcus Rediker, “Against Terracentrism: The Sea and History,” Unpublished paper: video presentation of the paper is accessible online at <http://www.marcusrediker.com/Lectures/lectures.htm>, (accessed 9/25/2017).

¹⁵ John Lynch, *Belfast Built Ships*, (The History Press, 2012), 7.

renamed 5 or 6 times during their life.¹⁶ The changing of names for a ship is significant because it usually meant a change in economic identity. Ships were bought and sold multiple times by companies based in many different regions, nations, and cities.

People all over the world have been building different types of ships for thousands of years. Naturally, the period of global connectivity and divergence that this dissertation is centered on was not the first example of connections between people across oceans and other maritime spaces. The Pacific is the largest ocean in the world and Austronesian peoples, from the Lapita to the Polynesians, were sailing across it for thousands of years before Europeans arrived.¹⁷ This means that for hundreds of years before Columbus sailed across the Atlantic, Pacific peoples had well-established ocean based trade networks extending for thousands of miles.¹⁸ Also for hundreds of years before Europeans forced their way on the scene there was a thriving trade centered on the Indian Ocean. This trade connected Africa with regions as far as China and Japan via complex networks through India and Southeast Asia.¹⁹ There were also extensive and well-researched connections across the Atlantic. After Columbus's voyages, trade across the Atlantic boomed and grew into the first global trade.²⁰

¹⁶ John Lynch, *Belfast Built Ships*, 79.

¹⁷ See Howe, K. R., ed.. *Vaka Moana, Voyages of the Ancestors: The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

¹⁸ See Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6 (1994), 147-161; and for more general studies of the Pacific as a maritime space of historical study, see David Iglar, *The Great Ocean: Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush* (Oxford University Press, 2013); Kornel Chang, *Pacific Connections: The Making of the US-Canadian Borderlands* (University of California Press, 2012); Paul D'Arcy, *The People of the Sea: Environment, Identity, and History in Oceania* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006); and Matt Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

¹⁹ See, for example, K.N. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University of Press, 1990); Michael Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Rene Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century* (Armonk: Sharpe, 2002); and Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

²⁰ See, for example, Nuala Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Barry Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and Its Peoples, 8000 BC - AD 1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Elijah Gould, "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery," *American Historical Review* 112 (2007), 764-86; Alison Games, *Migrations and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); and Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities." *American Historical Review* (2006), 741-57.

These are just a few such examples of waterway-based trade networks, and each of these had shipbuilding centers that developed to accommodate the trade. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for example, there were ships built in China that were three times larger than any ships built in the British Isles until the beginning of the nineteenth century.²¹ For the trade through the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia, even at the turn of the nineteenth century as the period of divergence was underway, there were many shipbuilding centers that were as developed, if not more developed, than those in the United Kingdom during the same period. Pre-colonial Nguyen Vietnam was one of these prominent ship-builders of this region. There were 1482 teak ships built there between 1778 and 1819, especially in shipyards on the Mekong Delta.²² Many of these were privately built to be sold to foreign interests like Chinese and European merchants. The strength of shipbuilding here was recognized both by Chinese officials, who meant to copy Vietnamese designs when considering their defense against the British during the Opium Wars, and French colonial accounts.²³ During the same period and to accommodate the same trade, there were also major dockyards in Bombay and Rangoon, not to mention the myriad local construction industries for non-European style boats and ships.²⁴

Nevertheless, from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century global shipbuilding output was dominated by dockyards based in the United Kingdom. From 1894-1913, the British shipbuilding industry averaged 62.7% of the world's total shipbuilding output.²⁵ These ships were being

²¹ Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World that Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present*, 47.

²² Li Tana, "Ships and Shipbuilding in the Mekong Delta, 1750-1850," *Water Frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Delta, 1750-1880*, edited by Li Tana and Nola Cooke (National University of Singapore Press, 2005), 121.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ For more shipbuilding from Southeast Asia, see Adrian Horridge, *Sailing Craft of Indonesia* (Oxford University Press, 1986). Other shipbuilding centers in the region, such as Bombay and Rangoon, will be discussed in later chapters. For studies related to the importance of sailing and the ocean to Southeast Asian Island cultures, see Cynthia Chou, *Indonesian Sea Nomads: Money, Magic and Fear of the Orang Suku Laut* (London, 2003); and Michael Southon, *The Navel of the Perahu: Meaning and Values in the Maritime Trading Economy of a Butonese Village* (Canberra: Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1995).

²⁵ Anthony Slaven, *British Ship Building*, pg. 47.

commissioned, bought, and re-bought by companies and states all over the world. In Norway, for example, freight companies that specialized in transporting bulk materials, such as lumber, bought second-hand British built sailing ships because the British were selling them for practically nothing and sailing ships were better suited for such cargo. In fact, between 1875 and 1925, 700 of 810 sailing ships purchased by Norwegian shipowners were built in shipyards based in Britain.²⁶ *Balclutha* was built during this shipbuilding boom, so before delving into a study framed around *Balclutha's* life, as the following chapters will do, it is important to gain historical context by first looking at the secondary scholarship that has already analyzed British shipbuilding as it has been traditionally defined.

The business end of British shipbuilding has been especially well researched. Recent overviews of British shipbuilding by historians such as Anthony Slaven are extraordinarily detailed and impressive works of historical scholarship. However, they begin with the assumption of connections between actors within the sovereignty of nation-states. This is not necessarily intentional, nor is it necessarily a weakness, but framing any study within the boundaries of a nation is going to invite assumptions. When looking at nationally framed secondary sources on British shipbuilding we can begin to see that calling a shipbuilding company “British,” simply because it was based under the sovereignty of the British nation-state, might not always be entirely accurate.²⁷ In this way, maritime historical scholarship on

²⁶ Berit Eide Johnsen, “Cooperation across the North Sea: The Strategy behind the Purchase of Second-Hand British Iron and Steel Sailing Ships by Norwegian Shipowners, 1875-1925,” *International Journal of Maritime History* 17 (2005), 151-169, 151. 85 were German, French, or Dutch, 152. See also, Brautaset and Stig Tenold, “Lost in Calculation?” Norwegian Merchant Shipping in Asia, 1870-1914,” *Research in Maritime History No. 43. Maritime History as Global History*. Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia, eds. (St. John’s, Newfoundland, 2010), 203-221.

²⁷ Some scholars have complicated the idea of a “British” national definition in their studies of the British Empire. See, for example, Stephen Conway, *Britannia’s Auxiliaries: Continental Europeans and the British Empire, 1740-1800* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017). Though Conway believes the Empire remained essentially “British” (see Chapter 6, “British Empire,” pp. 176-211), his chronicle of the “foreign” involvement in the investment, growth, and administration of the British Empire demonstrates that it was not only British citizens who benefited from the success of the Empire. See also, David Armitage, “Making the Empire British: Scotland in the Atlantic World, 1542-1707,” *Past and Present* No. 155, (1997), 34-63, in which Armitage looks at specifically Scottish expansion in the early-modern Atlantic World as it relates to what is traditionally referred to as the British Empire. Armitage argues that the “origins of the British Empire lay within the Three Kingdoms,” 35. As will be addressed in detail later in the dissertation, there are many regions within the traditionally defined British Empire that should be considered locally, further complicating the definition of “British Empire.” See, for

shipbuilding has fit into the same category as maritime scholarship on navies in that both have traditionally been nationally focused. The analysis below will demonstrate the possibilities for expanding this scholarship by framing British shipbuilding studies from a transnational perspective.

Specific shipbuilding companies and regions in the United Kingdom have received a significant amount of scholarly attention, but these are often still framed within the context of the nation. One such shipbuilding company is the Belfast shipbuilding company, Harland & Wolff, which was founded in 1861. The amount of attention given to Harland & Wolff is partly because the now almost mythic *Titanic* was built in Belfast by this company, but Belfast was also one of the British Isles' main centers of shipbuilding for 150 years, so Harland & Wolff represents the most successful company from one of the most successful shipbuilding regions in the world during this period.²⁸ Harland & Wolff, then, provides an interesting example for the purposes of this dissertation because it was a successful shipbuilding company that was also based in a part of the United Kingdom that had only been legally integrated into the nation mere decades before the company was founded. Its location on the island of Ireland already represents a complex transnational imperial relationship with the nation of Britain.

Aside from its location, the corporate nature of shipbuilding is important to note when looking at shipbuilders like Harland & Wolff. Like all companies, shipbuilders were concerned firstly with making profit. Though they might sometimes contract with each other to build separate parts of a specific shipbuilding commission, they usually competed with one another for such commissions. The competition between British shipbuilders often led to the success of some and the decline of others.²⁹

example, Frank Broeze, "Underdevelopment and Dependency: Maritime India during the Raj," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 18, no. 3 (1984), 429-457.

²⁸ John Lynch, *Belfast Built Ships*, 7. Claims such as this are usually based on total tonnage produced, and Lynch explains later that by the twentieth century, Belfast yards were producing up to 10 percent of the annual shipping tonnage in Britain, John Lynch, *Belfast Built Ships*, 17. Other major shipbuilding regions were Newcastle, Clyde, and Sunderland, but there were also numerous smaller shipbuilding cities all along the coasts of the British Isles.

²⁹ See, for example, Albert Faucher, "The Decline of Shipbuilding at Quebec in the Nineteenth Century," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue canadienne d'Economique et de Science politique*, 23.2 (May, 1957), 195-215, in which he argues that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, shipbuilding in Quebec was a strong competitor in the shipbuilding business, but it eventually lost out to competition with shipbuilding

These shipbuilding companies, therefore, represent the many conflicting interests that often existed within Empires. There was no immediate attachment or loyalty to each other, to the British state, or to the British Empire as we define it. Most historians would not assume that there was such loyalty, but labeling these companies first as British, a nationalist definition, implies these loyalties and attachments.

After the Naval Defense Act of 1889, the Admiralty began relying more and more on private shipyards to build their warships.³⁰ The Royal Dockyards were the exclusive builders of naval ships until the evolution of steam and iron technology in the nineteenth century. Because it was private industry that developed these technologies, the Admiralty had to rely more on private shipyards to build their ships.³¹ The same goes for the machinery and armaments used.³² Thus, as the technical knowledge needed to build warships evolved, a greater degree of negotiation and collaboration was required for their construction.³³ Every single component needed to build a ship - from anchors, to gears, to paint, to galley equipment - was usually produced by a separate company that specialized in the production of that specific ship part.³⁴

companies based in the British Isles; and Michael K. Stammers, "The High Character Obtained by Cumberland Ships": A Shipbuilding District in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of Maritime History* 10.1 (1998), 121-150.

³⁰ Ian Johnston and Ian Buxton, *The Battleship Builders: Constructing and Arming British Capital Ships* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2013), 13. The Naval Defense Act of 1889 was an act of the British Parliament intended to increase the construction of naval warships, which was an important part of the arms race leading up to World War I. For a more in depth analysis, see Robert Mullins and John Beeler, eds. *The Transformation of British and American Naval Policy in the Pre-Dreadnought Era: Ideas, Culture and Strategy* (Springer International Publishing, 2016).

³¹ Ian Johnston and Ian Buxton, *The Battleship Builders*, 54. For more discussion of the development of maritime technologies by private industry, see William H. Thiesen, "Origins of Iron Shipbuilding," *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 89, No.12 (2000), 89-109.

³² Ian Johnston and Ian Buxton, *The Battleship Builders*, 56.

³³ There are important transnational aspects of this evolution of knowledge as it relates to empire and imperial negotiations. See, for example, Daniel Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850-1940* (Oxford University Press, 1988).

³⁴ See Ian Johnston and Ian Buxton, *The Battleship Builders*, 118, for a list of equipment and their respective manufacturers.

Despite this increased state reliance on private shipyards working with the Admiralty was actually not very profitable.³⁵ In fact, the first admiralty commission Harland & Wolff received, the *Lynx*, almost bankrupted them, making them avoid Admiralty orders in the future.³⁶ The problem when dealing with the admiralty was that the contractual money amounts agreed upon were often not enough to pay for the construction, resulting in monetary loss, rather than gain.

Even though building warships for the Admiralty was not necessarily that profitable, building warships for foreign governments could be very profitable. When a shipbuilding company was approached by the British state, represented by the Admiralty, to build a warship, the main purpose for accepting such a commission was for the international recognition and resulting foreign warship commissions that building a naval ship might bring.³⁷ So, private shipyards that specialized in building warships for the navy also sought out foreign commissions as much as possible. From 1906 to 1914, British shipyards built battleships for Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Greece, Japan, and even Turkey, a country the British state would be at war with only a few years later.³⁸ In total, British shipyards built thirteen battleships for foreign governments during these few years alone, and these statistics do not include other types of warships built, or warship contracts that were canceled somewhere along the building process and were never finished.

While building warships for foreign nations could be profitable, companies like Harland & Wolff preferred commissions from other companies, like freight and passenger lines, and they were not discriminatory about where these companies were based. They built ships for companies based all over

³⁵ Ian Johnston and Ian Buxton, *The Battleship Builders*, 242. Though this also depended greatly on which part of the ship a company was building. Two of the main parts of the ship, hulls and machinery, were not profitable, but building armaments could be very. See Ian Johnston and Ian Buxton, *The Battleship Builders*, 245.

³⁶ John Lynch, *Belfast Built Ships*, 126. The HMS *Algerine* is another example.

³⁷ John Lynch, *Belfast Built Ships*, 118.

³⁸ Ian Johnston and Ian Buxton, *The Battleship Builders*, 227.

the world, from the United States, to mainland Europe, to Manila and Tokyo.³⁹ One of Harland & Wolff's biggest customers was a passenger line company based in Hamburg, the Hamburg America Line.⁴⁰ Gustav Wilhelm Wolff, one of the company's founders, had direct connections with this company because he was actually an immigrant from Hamburg.⁴¹ This demonstrates how looking in more detail at the owners of shipbuilding companies can further complicate the relationships these companies had with the British state. Finding out who these owners were, and where they were coming from, could potentially be extremely important in analyzing how British these companies were. Just as Wolff was not born in the British Isles, one wonders how many of the countless dockyard and ship owners were equally, or more, "foreign" to Britain.

Based on the few times scholars have looked closely at shipowners, it is clear that ships were complex corporations in themselves, with investors from all parts of society. For example, the owners of one ship, the *Loudon Hill*, as studied by John Lyman in his article, "The Part-owners of a British Sailing Vessel, 1887-1910," was owned by a few larger firms, a couple of smaller ones, and numerous individual investors with professions ranging from schoolmaster, to grocer, to farmer.⁴² And the owners shifted and changed throughout the ship's life.

Compared with most other manufacturing investments, ship building resulted in a product that was extraordinarily large and required an enormous amount of capital, which meant the investment risk

³⁹ A few examples of foreign companies that Harland & Wolff and Workman Clarke (the second largest shipbuilding company in Belfast) built for: Holland-Amerika Line, based in Rotterdam; Soc di Nav a Vap, based in Genoa; Anglo-American Oil Co., based in New Jersey; Red Star Line, based in Antwerp; Compagne Belge Maritime du Congo, based in Antwerp; Z.J. de Aldecoa, based in Manila; and Nippon Yusen K.K., based in Tokyo.

⁴⁰ John Lynch, *Belfast Built Ships*, 25.

⁴¹ Stephen Cameron, *Belfast Shipbuilders: A Titanic Tale* (Belfast: Colourpoint Books, 2011), 142. Wolff was a dual-national. He left Hamburg for Liverpool in 1848, which would have been a period of unrest for Hamburg. He eventually did become a citizen of the United Kingdom and even served in Parliament. For a study about the line, see Otto J. Seiler, *Crossing the Tracks of Columbus: German Liner Shipping to Latin America, the Caribbean and the West Coast of North America Down the Years* (Berlin: Verlag, 1992).

⁴² John Lyman, "The Part-owners of a British Sailing Vessel, 1887-1910," *Mariner's Mirror* 58.4 (Nov. 1972), 463-465, 464.

was high.⁴³ Loss of a ship at sea was a constant danger. In fact, between 1872 and 1878, ship casualty according to Lloyd's was 20 percent.⁴⁴ As an investor, this would be devastating, as a loss of a ship means not only the loss of a long term investment in the cargo trade, it also means the loss of all of the cargo the ship was carrying at the time. In her article, "Waiting for Her Ship to Come in? The Female Investor in Nineteenth-Century Sailing Vessels," Helen Doe demonstrates that, even though shipbuilding investment has traditionally – and stereotypically - been considered a risky arena only suited for aggressive male investors, women were in fact making big investments in shipping and ship building in Britain through the purchase of shares for individual ships.

As we prepare to look at the life of *Balclutha* by reviewing current scholarship on shipbuilding, it has already become clear that British shipbuilding was much more transnational and trans-social than it is usually defined. It was private interests that build ships in the British Isles. These interests did not have any apparent loyalty or connection to the British state, nor were these interests necessarily native to the British Isles. The investors in the companies that built ships and the investors in the ships themselves were from a range of social backgrounds. All of these aspects of British shipbuilding will be important considerations in the analysis of *Balclutha's* birth and life as a merchant ship. What will become clear is the importance of the local context, rather than the national. Local business and labor communities traversed the globe through connections to other local communities of the same or similar business. As a result of these economic and labor connections, many localities might have had more similarities to a locality across the world, than one that was a few miles away in the same nation-state. This will exemplify how globalization and imperialism did not necessarily happen through the nation.⁴⁵

⁴³ Dennis Chapman, "The New Shipwright Building Company of Dundee, 1826 to 1831," *The Economic History Review*, 10.2 (Nov. 1940), 148-151, 148.

⁴⁴ Helen Doe, "Waiting for her ship to come in? The female investor in nineteenth-century sailing vessels," *Economic History Review*, 63.1 (2010), 85-106, 86.

⁴⁵ For further discussion of these ideas, see Alessandro Stanziani, *Bondage: Labor and Rights in Eurasia from the Sixteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries* (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2014).

Reframing Empire outside the Nationalist Narrative

The world *Balclutha* was born into was one of empires. As we traverse the life of *Balclutha*, and especially as we see the source of the materials needed for its construction, we will trace the complex imperial networks required to make *Balclutha's* birth possible. British imperial networks, as they have been traditionally defined, will be especially relevant. In British imperial historiography, the distinction between direct and indirect imperialism has been an important one, which stems from the pivotal work of Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher.⁴⁶ Based on their analyses, indirect imperialism usually refers to control of foreign government or elites through investment or business. Direct imperialism, in contrast, constituted political control through military occupation or colonization. The idea of “gentlemanly capitalists,” as outlined by Peter J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, represents the interrelationship of direct and indirect imperialism.⁴⁷ Gentlemanly capitalists were British business elites - who could also be government elites - that were connected socially to government officials and were able to use their connections and wealth to lobby parliament in order to get whatever they needed done, whether it be

⁴⁶ In the historiography of British imperialism, the discussion of indirect vs. direct imperialism is related to the discussion of whether the British Empire was driven from the metropole or the periphery. For more on this, see John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, “The Imperialism of Free Trade,” *The Economic History Review, New Series, Vol. 6, No. 1* (1953), 1-15, 1. Since Robinson and Gallagher published this article, informal empire has become an integral part of studies on the British Empire, and there have been a number of different works done which apply the idea of informal empire to all different parts of the world. A few Asian examples include: David Mclean, “Informal Empire` before the First World War,” *The Economic History Review, New Series, vol. 29, No. 2* (May, 1976), 291 – 305, in which he discusses Turkey, Persia, and China; Jürgen Osterhammal, “Semi-Colonialism and Informal Empire in Twentieth-Century China: Towards a Framework of Analysis,” *Imperialism and After*, Edited by Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammal (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986), 290 – 309, in which he gives a detailed overview of the definition of informal empire and then applies it to semi-colonialism in China; Ian Brown, “British Financial Advisors in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn,” *Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 12, No.2* (1978), 193-215; and see R.E. Robinson and J. Gallagher, “The Partition of Africa,” *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire*, Edited by Anil Seal (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 19-72. In this article they claimed that both the African and Asian empires were not the objects of serious European national desires, and that the European powers did not have any great imperial when they expanded in these areas; and Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-1970* (London and New York: Longman, 1975); Eric Stokes, “Late Nineteenth century Colonial Expansion and the Attack on the Theory of Economic Imperialism: A Case of Mistaken Identity?” *The Historical Journal, Vol. 12, No. 2* (1969), 285 – 301, in which he lays out previous economic theories and reconciles them with the theories of Robinson and Gallagher; ⁴⁶ D.C.M. Platt, *Finance, Trade, and Politics in British Foreign Policy 1815 – 1914* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

⁴⁷ Perter J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688 – 1914* (New York: Longman, 1993).

countering a law that was not in the interest of their business or declaring war on a foreign elite that was not cooperating with their business ventures. What we will see in the analyses of the following chapters will support many of these scholarly conclusions. However, this dissertation will also complicate these imperial distinctions even further, and force rethinking labeling empires based on nation-state definitions. In short, as the analysis gets deeper, the question will begin to arise: whose empire was it really?

Though not usually asked directly, this question is not entirely new. For example, Ruth Pike complicates the meaning of Spanish Empire in her article, "The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World," by identifying the pivotal role that the trade and investment of families from Genoa who became residents of Seville in the 1400s and 1500s played in Spanish expansion in the Americas.⁴⁸ The definition of Spanish Empire has been further complicated by other works such as Matthew Restall's *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*. As Restall argues, the narrative given by the writings of conquistadors, though littered with their own cultural and social preconceptions and misconceptions, is largely still the narrative used today when describing Spanish Empire in the Americas. For Restall's purposes, myth "is used to mean something fictitious that is commonly taken to be true, partially or absolutely."⁴⁹ The book compares two forms of historical myth, each based on varying types of sources. One is the myth created at the moment in history, and the other is created by historians who are working to objectively understand the historical moment in question. The myth of empires as distinctly national endeavors, which Restall critiques, fits well into this framework. Studies like these demonstrate that Empire was not as simple and not as nation-centric as it is usually portrayed.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ruth Pike, "The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World," *The Journal of Economic History* 22 (1962), 348-378.

⁴⁹ Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (Oxford University Press, 2003), xvi.

⁵⁰ See also Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Michael Adas, ed., *Islamic and European Expansion: The Forging of a Global Order* (Philadelphia: Temple Press, 1993); Christopher Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden: Blackwell, 2004); Christopher Bayly, *Imperial*

There is growing consensus amongst scholars for a greater appreciation of the complex interdependence of empires. In the introduction to *Negotiated Empire: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, Amy Bushnell and Jack Green criticize the “indiscriminate use of the coercive and centralized model of imperial organization, in which powerful nation-states preside over colonies and authority flows downward from the center to subject populations in distant peripheries.”⁵¹ Elizabeth Mancke, in her chapter, “Negotiating Empire: Britain and Its Overseas Peripheries, c. 1550-1780,” from the same book, argues that oceanic empires were “intrinsically international arenas.”⁵² This was the case with the British Empire especially, as British colonies often contained many people from other areas of Europe.⁵³ Overseas empires like the British Empire, therefore, were the “products of . . . negotiations.”⁵⁴ Empire was not the work of a single entity, but a negotiation between countless individuals and groups of individuals, often with competing interests, both at the metropole and on the peripheries.⁵⁵

The history of shipbuilding is an interesting example of the relationship between private industry and the state, since the period covered in this dissertation can reasonably be argued to be a period of an increase in the power of both. This relationship, therefore, is also a strong example of one

Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830 (London: Longman, 1989); Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Ronald Chilcote, ed., *Imperialism: Theoretical Directions* (Amherst: Humanity Books, 2000); John Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); and Stephen Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries: Continental Europeans and the British Empire, 1740-1800* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁵¹ Amy Turner Bushnell and Jack P. Greene, “Peripheries, Centers, and the Construction of Early Modern American Empires: An Introduction,” In *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*. Edited by Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy. Introduction by Jack P. Greene and Amy Turner Bushnell. (Routledge, 2002), 11.

⁵² Elizabeth Mancke, “Negotiating Empire: Britain and Its Overseas Peripheries, c. 1550-1780,” In *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*. Edited by Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy. Introduction by Jack P. Greene and Amy Turner Bushnell, 235-265. (Routledge, 2002), 235.

⁵³ Amy Turner Bushnell and Jack P. Greene, “Peripheries, Centers, and the Construction of Early Modern American Empires: An Introduction,” 3.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth Mancke, “Negotiating Empire: Britain and Its Overseas Peripheries, c. 1550-1780,” 236.

⁵⁵ European colonial expansion was characterized by “often unplanned and uncoordinated efforts of countless individuals,” Amy Turner Bushnell and Jack P. Greene, “Peripheries, Centers, and the Construction of Early Modern American Empires: An Introduction,” 1.

of the many imperial negotiations that existed during this period. Private shipbuilders often complained bitterly about state intervention in their business, while not being afraid to insist on state assistance when necessary.⁵⁶ These shipbuilding businesses did what they could to remain as autonomous as possible. In fact, new shipbuilders during the nineteenth century tended to settle in small towns where it was easier for builders to control labor, keep low wages, and influence local society and politics.⁵⁷

A Commodity Made of Many Commodities

While it is clear through this review of secondary literature that British shipbuilding was an international industry, it is also clear that the ship itself was an international commodity. As such, ships were certainly some of the most complex commodities being sold at the time. They were constructed of many different pieces, large and small, and most of these pieces were themselves commodities that were the result of a global chain of trade, labor, and business or political networking.

Easy and cheap acquisition of ship parts and materials was essential to a successful shipbuilding business. At the turn of the twentieth century, materials cost equaled about 60 percent of the total cost of ship construction.⁵⁸ There are a number of works that discuss these elements, but not many that trace where the materials come from or the various international and transnational links required to acquire them. Much of the research discussing specific shipbuilding components has been done by archeologists. An example of one such work is Michael McCarthy's, *Ships' Fastenings: From Sewn Boat to Steamship*. This is an extraordinarily ambitious, detailed, and well researched book that attempts to identify and analyze every type of ship fastening ever used. As McCarthy explains, ship fastenings are often overlooked as "mundane" and "small," but they are still a "central" and "essential" element of

⁵⁶ Sydney Pollard and Paul Robertson, *The British Shipbuilding Industry, 1870-1914* (Harvard University Press, 1979), see Chapter 10, "The Influence of the State," 201-229.

⁵⁷ Sydney Pollard and Paul Robertson, *The British Shipbuilding Industry, 1870-1914*, 68.

⁵⁸ Anthony Slaven, "Shipbuilding," *Reviews of United Kingdom Statistical Sources, Vol. XVI*, (Pergamon Press, 1984), 109.

shipbuilding.⁵⁹ In the period that is the focus of this dissertation, for example, the riveting of ships required 35 to 40 percent of the labor expended while building an iron or steel vessel, and rivets themselves accounted for 7.5 percent of the material cost.⁶⁰ Also, while McCarthy does not go into the original sources of the materials much, it is clear that supposedly mundane pieces of a ship such as rivets can also be an important example of the transnational nature of shipbuilding. As McCarthy explains, when it comes to ship fastenings, there was considerable “cross-fertilization within Europe and across the Atlantic,” meaning that there was much sharing and adoption of technologies and materials invented and produced in different parts of this world system.⁶¹

Another example of an archeologist looking at a small and specific piece of a ship is Furio Ciciliot’s work from the proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology, in which he discusses ship nails from the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries. Ciciliot looks at notary records and analyzes the many different steps required to make even this tiny ship component. His piece, like McCarthy’s, is an example of how detailed the history of even the smallest ship component can be. He also remarks in his conclusion that “The role of raw materials in naval constructions merits separate discussion. Up to now, the research in the field of naval design has been considered more important than the studies of the materials used. However, we believed that such factors are just as important and that they should be researched at the same time. A precise design is needed to build a good vessel but also excellent raw materials.”⁶² If this is true in archaeology, it is certainly also true in history, and can be remedied.

Jan Glete, in the first volume of his two volume work, *Navies and Nations: Warships, Navies and State Building in Europe and America, 1500-1860*, has a short section on the types of wood used in

⁵⁹ Michael McCarthy, *Ships’ Fastenings: From Sewn Boat to Steamship* (Texas A&M University Press, 2005), 3.

⁶⁰ McCarthy, *Ships’ Fastenings*, 149.

⁶¹ McCarthy, *Ships’ Fastenings*, 96.

⁶² Furio Ciciliot, “Nails in Shipbuilding (13th-20th Centuries),” in *Boats Ships and Shipyards: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology, Venice 200*, edited by Carlo Beltrame, 119-123. (Oxbow Books, 2003), 123.

shipbuilding with some discussion of the usual sources for these woods. In the early-modern world economy, shipbuilders still tended to use what was closer and more easily accessible. Oak was used in Europe and North America, while teak was used in India. In Latin America, mahogany was used.⁶³ Elm, beech, spruce, pine, and fir could also be used, though only for specific parts of the ship.⁶⁴ Pine was especially weak and splintered easily, so it was generally only used in the Russian navy as it was abundant in Russian forests.⁶⁵ Supply of new lumber was unpredictable, so during the age of wooden ships nations with standing navies tended to keep as much extra lumber stores as possible.⁶⁶

However, during times of war especially, lumber stores were often not enough. In her article, “‘A Great Object with Us to Procure this Timber...’: The Royal Navy’s Search of Ship Timber in the Eastern Mediterranean and Southern Russia, 1803-1815,” Patricia Crimmin discusses British timber supply during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1805, the British defeated the French at the Battle of Trafalgar, securing their naval superiority in the war with Napoleon. However, the British supply of timber was low, and Napoleon, who controlled most of mainland Europe, was determined to out-build the British by constructing ships in allied shipyards. As Crimmin argues in this article, if Britain wanted to maintain naval superiority over France, it would have to find new sources of timber. She discusses British attempts to gain lumber from the regions of the Black Sea, Balkans, and the Eastern Mediterranean, which she claims were ultimately unsuccessful.⁶⁷

Thus, as European shipbuilding industries, especially those in the United Kingdom, began to reach the mid-late nineteenth century when the *Balclutha* was built, they were forced to rely on sources of wood that came from much further away than they were used to. This meant relying on long

⁶³ Jan Glete, *Navies and Nations: Warships, Navies and State Building in Europe and America, 1500-1860, Vol. I.* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993), 31.

⁶⁴ Jan Glete, *Navies and Nations*, 32-33.

⁶⁵ Jan Glete, *Navies and Nations*, 32.

⁶⁶ Jan Glete, *Navies and Nations*, 34.

⁶⁷ Patricia K. Crimmin, “‘A Great Object with Us to Procure this Timber...’: The Royal Navy’s Search of Ship Timber in the Eastern Mediterranean and Southern Russia, 1803-1815,” *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (1992), 83-115.

commodity chains. In “Commodity Chains in the World-Economy Prior to 1800,” Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein and Terence K. Hopkins outline a frame for historical research called the commodity chain. As they explain, the commodity chain “refers to a network of labor and production processes whose end result is a finished commodity. In building this chain we start with the final production operation and move sequentially backward . . . until one reaches primarily raw material inputs.”⁶⁸ This method holds strong possibilities when thinking of the ship as a finished commodity. Indeed, the ship is the main example they use in their article to explain their idea.

The commodity chain method has been used myriad times since its inception. It is a framing that is especially useful for world historical studies as commodity chains reveal connections between people that before might have seemed completely disparate.⁶⁹ From salt, to maize, to beverages, to guano, studies framed around commodities comprise a significant group of scholarship.⁷⁰ Studies framed around commodities, however, do not necessarily constitute commodity chain studies. Further, sailing ships like *Balclutha* were likely the largest and most complex commodities from the period. Tracing just one of the smaller commodities needed to build this larger commodity is a massive undertaking. Acquiring the materials for ship construction meant relying on connections between hundreds of businesses and thousands of individual investors, merchants, and laborers. But the reality was even more complex than these rather simplified divisions.

⁶⁸ Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein and Terence K. Hopkins, “Commodity Chains in the World-Economy Prior to 1800,” in Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *The Essential Wallerstein* (New York: The New Press, 2000), 223.

⁶⁹ As explained in Steven C. Topik and Allen Wells, *Global Markets Transformed, 1870-1945* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 7. This work contains a chapter that traces numerous commodities from this period. Though now a few years old, for a guide to current trends in commodity chain research, see Jennifer Blair, ed., *Frontiers of Commodity Chain Research* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

⁷⁰ See, for example, Mark Kurlansky, *Salt: A World History* (New York: Walker and Company, 2002); James C. McCann, *Maize and Grace: Africa's Encounter with a New World Crop, 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Tom Standage, *A History of the World in 6 Glasses: From beer to Coca-Cola, the six drinks that have helped shape human history* (New York: Walker & Company, 2005); and Gregory T. Cushman, *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World: A Global Ecological History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Understanding these divisions and links in the commodity chain, therefore, requires an analytical framing that might help understand the many overlapping businesses, merchants, workers, and investors involved. In his article, “The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795-1800,” N. Draper introduces the idea that links between shareholders and businesses comprised of “concentric circles.” That is, the center, in our case direct investment in shipbuilding, worked in tandem with larger scale investments extending outwards to businesses such as ironworks or individual ship part manufacture, to investment in shipping of materials, and to investment in resource extraction itself.⁷¹ Individual investors often invested in multiple, sometimes contradictory industries, which is why thinking of businesses as concentric, overlapping circles like this can help us better understand inter-investment, inter-firm, and inter-corporate relationships. Further, individuals negotiating for power in an empire were not necessarily restricted to just one group, and were often in fact a part of many different competing groups. For example, an individual who owned a company and identified first as a businessman, might also be connected to the state in some way, either as a local official or as an elected representative in London. Likewise, an individual who primarily identified as a state official might also have invested capital interests in many different businesses. Overlapping concentric circles can help us better understand this reality as well.

In the case of shipbuilding, both the ideas of concentric circles for business and commodity chains for materials can be brought together. Each link in the material chain that forms the finished commodity of the ship is coupled with some kind of investment of capital, contract, agreement, or general negotiation between investors or businesses. These negotiations depended on imperial networks. Therefore, Draper’s concept of concentric circles helps to remind us of the fact that investors came from different backgrounds and could even have been invested in many seemingly conflicting industries, but this dissertation will look more at overlapping networks than radiating circles of

⁷¹ N. Draper, “The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795-1800,” *Economic History Review*, 61.2 (2008), 432-466, 434.

investment as Draper envisions them. Everything is connected and each link in the chain has a very human element as they each involve countless investors, businessmen, specialists, and general laborers. To keep the commodity and the business links separate would not do justice the complex reality.

Material Extraction, Nations, and Forests

As this dissertation will show, the historical topics of shipbuilding, empire, commodities, and material extraction are interrelated. Some historians would argue that European imperialism was inseparable from subjects related to the history of global environmental change, such as material extraction and environmental conservation.⁷² Framing studies about empire through an environmental lens can provide a unique non-national perspective, and there are many historians who have done this.⁷³ This dissertation traces the commodity chain of teak and will touch on imperialism and how it connects with these interrelated environmental subjects of material extraction and conservation. Therefore, we must first gain some context on these topics.⁷⁴

⁷² As was argued in William Beinart and Lotte Hughes. *Environment and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). This book is even divided accordingly with the first half dedicated to material extraction and the second half dedicated to conservation. A similar observation was expressed in the introduction to Edmund Burke III and Kenneth Pomeranz, eds., *The Environment and World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

⁷³ See, for example, the above mentioned *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); as well as Jared M. Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: WW Norton, 1998); Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); Richard Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Janet Browne, "Biogeography and Empire," in *Cultures of Natural History*, Jardine et al., eds., 305-321 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); John McNeill, *Mosquito Empires: Ecology and War in the Greater Caribbean, 1620-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); and Geoffery Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

⁷⁴ Because this dissertation is analyzing teak, forests will be especially important, but for some examples of works focused on the extraction and control of other specific resources, see Thomas G. Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); David Biggs, *Quagmire: Nation-building and Nature in the Mekong Delta* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010); Jeffrey Bolster, *The Mortal Sea: Fishing the Atlantic in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012); Greg Grandi, *Fordlandia* (New York: Picador, 2009); Sara B. Pritchard, *Confluence: The Nature of Technology and the Remaking of the Rhône* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Richard White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996); and for a more general study see Suzana Sawyer and Edmund Terence Gomez, eds. *The Politics of Resource Extraction: Indigenous Peoples, Multinational Corporations, and the State* (London: Palgrave, 2012).

Forests, like those from which teak was harvested, have been central to the relationship between empire, state-development, material extraction, and conservation.⁷⁵ This has been the case since ancient history, and perhaps even longer, but the development of nation-states in the last five-hundred years has been directly related to attempts to control and preserve forests for the purposes of construction, energy, and military development. In France, for example, a part of Louis XIV consolidation of state power was to claim control over the forests. This was continued over the next couple hundred years through legal suppression of traditional communal forest uses in favor of military and state industrial uses, with little regard for the needs of the lower class people who had lived in and relied on those forests for generations. These locals were losing their way of life, but resisted how they could by killing forest guards or by burning trees when they were not supposed to.⁷⁶

This does not mean, however, that conservators or forest guards working to preserve forests for a nation-state were full nation-state agents in favor of the growth of state power and control. States, like empires, are complex constructions requiring the negotiation and cooperation of many individuals. Conservators were more often first concerned, genuinely, with preserving the integrity of these forests. They preferred a more romantic view of forests, rather than a rational, scientific one. This put them in

⁷⁵ As mentioned in note 74, this dissertation will focus on forests, but works discussing the origins of conservation and present-day environmentalism as related to state development are far-reaching. See, for example, Arun Agrawal, *Environmentality: Technologies of Government and the Making of Subjects* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Chris Coggins, *The Tiger and the Pangolin: Nature, Culture, and Conservation in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003); John McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2001); Joachim Radkau, *Nature and Power: A Global History of the Environment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Frank Zelko, *Make it a Green Peace! The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); and Greg Barton, *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁷⁶ See Kieko Matteson, *Forests in Revolutionary France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Studies in Environment and History Series, 2015); and Kieko Matteson, "The Revival of Tradition in France's Forests," *Solutions*, Vol. 3 (February 2013).

conflict with businessmen from their own nations and with the other agents of the nation-states under which they served.⁷⁷

As European-style concepts of state development such as boundaries, central sovereignty, and nationalism were exported worldwide through colonialism and imperial networks, so too were European concepts of forestry and conservation.⁷⁸ In general, the German system of scientific forest conservation was adapted by many other European states and then exported. However, as was often the case in imperial networks, this was not a straight exportation of the European ideas to the rest of the world. Instead, the European concepts of forestry were often blended with local interpretations and adapted to local circumstances.⁷⁹

One region where forests have been especially tied to pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial history is Southeast Asia. Here, one of the areas in which teak grows natively, control of forests for the procurement of materials like teak was an important aspect of state development even before Europeans entered the trade. European businessmen forced the exponential increase in forest control and extraction. This extraction rate only increased further as post-colonial nation-states developed and exerted their control over forests. At each step, local circumstances dictated the type of forestry control and extraction, while the people whose survival had depended on these forests for generations continued to lose rights and suffer.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ See Greg Barton and Brett M. Bennett, 'There is a Pleasure in the Pathless Woods': The Culture of Forestry in British India,' *Britain and the World*, 3/2 (September, 2010), 219-234.

⁷⁸ See, for example, Sunseri Thaddeus, "Reinterpreting a Colonial Rebellion: Forestry and Social Control in German East Africa, 1874-1915," *Environmental History* 8, 3 (2003), 430-51. Reprinted in Owen White (ed.), *The Rise and Fall of Modern Empires, Vol 1: Social Organization* (Ashgate: 2013), 103-24; and Sunseri Thaddeus, *Wielding the Ax: Scientific Forestry and Social Conflict in Tanzania, c. 1820-2000* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2009).

⁷⁹ See, for example, Kuang-Chi Hung, "When the Green Archipelago Encountered Formosa: German Forestry, American Technology, and the Japanese Empire in Taiwan (1895-1945)," Presented at the Japan's Environmental History Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 28-29, 2011.

⁸⁰ See Christine Padoch and Nancy Lee Peluso, *Borneo in Transition: People, Forests, Conservation, and Development* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 2003); Jeyamalar Kathirithamby-Wells, *Nature and Nation: Forests and Development in Peninsular Malaysia*. (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2005); Peter Vandergeest and Nancy Lee Peluso, "Empires of Forestry: Professional Forestry and State Power in Southeast Asia, Part 1," *Environment and History* 12 (2006), 31-64; and Peter Vandergeest and Nancy Lee Peluso, "Empires of

A Note on Terminology

Analyzing historical evidence concerning the transnational birth and lives of ships has shown that we can be more precise in our descriptions and labels when discussing these subjects. To use the Harland & Wolff example once again, it was a British company in that it was based on one of the British Isles and the majority of its managers and workers also originated somewhere in that geographic region. To be more precise, it was a company based in the city of Belfast on the island of Ireland, which was an island that was only officially integrated into the United Kingdom six decades before the company's formation. This company's main purpose was to build ships via commission for profit. It was founded and managed by a man from Northern England and a man from Hamburg. These men travelled extensively to learn from foreign shipyards and companies, and sought commissions from all shipping companies from all parts of the world, while generally avoiding commissions from agents of the British state. It is an example of how the British Empire, as we define it, was not one entity, but an agglomeration of many different actors, each negotiating with each other for varying and often contradictory purposes in order to function, thrive, or simply survive.

That being the case, I think it is essential to define terminology as clearly as possible, so I have provided the notes below on some general terms. Most of the time, general terms like these will not be used because framing a study on one ship, as this one does, usually requires specificity. But, it must be made as clear as possible what these terms mean when they are used.

First, the term **"average"** is used in connection with *Balclutha* as an "average" merchant ship with acknowledgment of its possible weaknesses. When viewed from certain angles, the history and life of *Balclutha* are obviously not average. One glaring example of this is the simple fact that *Balclutha* is still around. It has survived to be over 130 years old, which is quite remarkable for any sailing ship from

Forestry: Professional Forestry and State Power in Southeast Asia, Part 2," *Environment and History* 12 (2006), 359-93. Greg Barton, Brett Bennett, and Raymond Bryant have all done extensive work regarding Burma specifically, and their works will be cited and utilized in Chapter 2.

this period. From this perspective, *Balclutha's* life after the careers that this study focuses on can and should be considered very exceptional. However, during the period of *Balclutha's* life that is the focus of this study, it could easily be argued that *Balclutha's* working life was very average. This is because *Balclutha* was built for the same purpose as most ships built in that place and time. Once that purpose was fulfilled as world technologies, economy, and trade networks changed, there were only so many possible uses for ships like *Balclutha*. This is why many of the sailing merchant ships built around the same time as *Balclutha* ended up having very similar career paths and changes. *Star of India*, for example, which is now a museum ship in San Diego, could be considered a historical sister-ship of *Balclutha*, as they both followed similar paths, including shared owners.⁸¹

Next, it is not in the purpose or scope of this dissertation to question or define what it means to be “**British**” in the social, cultural, or nationalistic sense. However, as this dissertation will demonstrate, the idea of shipbuilding or Empire being distinctly “British” is erroneous, especially when applied to the historical evidence and contexts connected to *Balclutha's* life as they will be discussed in the coming chapters. Ideally, we can one day move past these nation-centric definitions as they can distort historical realities, but for the sake of easy discussion, this dissertation will stick to the terms used by the secondary literature it is analyzing. Therefore, rather than just adding quotes every time the term “British” is used, the author would like to clarify that whenever this work refers to British shipbuilding it is referring to shipbuilding companies based somewhere on one of the many islands that make up the British island group, but mainly the island of Britain and the island of Ireland. “British built ships,” therefore, refers to ships built by one of the dockyard companies based somewhere in this general geographic region. The term “British Empire” will still be used in the traditional context; that is, as the

⁸¹ This will be discussed more in the following chapters, but were owned by J.J. Moore, registered in the Republic of Hawaii, and were a part of the Alaska Packers’ fleet. See Jerry MacMullen, *Star of India: The Log of an Iron Ship* (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1961). *Glenlee*, now a museum ship in Glasgow, also had a similar career history. See Colin Castle and Iain MacDonald, *Glenlee: the Life and Times of a Clyde-Built Cape Horner* (Glasgow: Brown, Son, and Ferguson, 2005)

contemporary agents of the British nation-state would have defined it: any land or peoples over which the state claimed partial or total sovereignty, as would have been demonstrated by the imperial maps made at the time. But, as will be shown, the umbrella term “British Empire” is a very general one that becomes increasingly less-accurate as we look closely at local developments within its traditional framing.

And finally, the term “**transnational**” needs to be addressed. Emily Rosenberg characterizes the “realm of the ‘trans-’” as a fluid one.⁸² As she rightly observes: “Many non-state networks existed more or less independently from governments (or sometimes operated loosely through them).”⁸³ This dissertation will focus mainly on these fluid non-state networks (or more specifically, non-nation state networks), so the term “transnational” will be an important one. Indeed, it has already been used multiple times in this introduction.

Transnational is an understandably debated term as it can often be overused. I have tried not to do that here. When I do use it, this is not to imply that nation-states do not exist or have any power during this period, even though they are, at their base, socially imagined constructs.⁸⁴ Legal regimes, of course, always matter. As Kenneth Pomeranz said in his 2014 AHA Presidential Address, “Who, after all, would call nations, classes, and ethnic groups completely fictional?”⁸⁵ As a space that was constructed to spend most of its time on the ocean, where the presence of land-based nation-states is less evident, *Balclutha* is an innately transnational space. However, as we will see in the following chapters, that does

⁸² Emily S. Rosenberg, *Transnational Currents in a Shrinking World* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 4.

⁸³ Emily S. Rosenberg, *Transnational Currents in a Shrinking World*, 2.

⁸⁴ This is a reference, of course, to Benedict Anderson’s pivotal work, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).

⁸⁵ Kenneth Pomeranz, “Histories for a Less National Age,” American Historical Association Presidential Address, 2014. Video can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kVei7p2x3I0> (accessed 10/11/17) Text can be found at <http://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/presidential-addresses/kenneth-pomeranz> (accessed 10/11/17)

not mean that the presence of the nation-state was not an influence on its history, or the history of the thousands of people connected to it.

For the purposes of this dissertation, therefore, the term “transnational” will be used to refer specifically to historical aspects of its research where the influence of the nation-state, or nation-state actors, was fluid, limited, or all-together non-existent. National, therefore, would be referring to historical aspects that fit inside the bounds of the sovereignty or traditional boundaries of a nation-state. International, in that regard, will be used to describe aspects that come and go between two or more separate national boundaries or sovereignties.

To clarify further, it is useful to refer to the idea of national indifference as a category of historical analysis, as outlined by Tara Zahra in her article on “Imagined Noncommunities.” As Zahra explains, “the study of indifference offers a promising strategy for problematizing preconceived relationships between individual subjectivity and collective affiliation.”⁸⁶ Individual loyalty or connection to a particular nation-state should never be assumed simply because that individual lies within the constructed geographic or legal boundaries of that state. In reality, individuals were usually much more concerned with their immediate, everyday lives: their loved-ones, their work, and their survival. In Zahra’s case, she read letters that her grandfather wrote to her grandmother while he was fighting in Europe during World War II hoping to find exciting information about the horrors of the war. What she found instead was love letter after love letter with little to no mention of the difficult life of a soldier or the international political ideals that he was fighting for. In the case of this dissertation, as will be shown, *Balclutha’s* life was mainly one of national indifference. A ship, certainly, is incapable of perceiving its own national identity, but the many people who were connected to it usually reflected the ship’s usually nationally indifferent, transnational social space.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Tara Zahra, “Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis,” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (Spring, 2010), 93-119, 118.

⁸⁷ The author would like to note that consideration will be given to national and international maritime law

Journeying with *Balclutha*

Choosing one ship to focus on was difficult, oddly, because it is, in fact, so easy. There are countless examples of ships from this period that would be suitable as a focus for such a study, but that is part of this dissertation's purpose: to demonstrate the amazing world historical relevance of "average" ships and "average" people from the turn of the twentieth-century. There are many reasons why an average merchant sailing ship from the late-nineteenth century can serve as such a strong frame for a historical study of the world at the turn of the twentieth century.

First, when it comes to literature on ships, naval ships tend to get the most attention. Their roles in warfare mean their success or failure can be easily codified and their lives are often viewed as more exciting. Merchant ships get decidedly less attention, despite their importance to global connectivity. The very existence of the world as we know it, and as it was known then, relied on the success of merchant ships carrying cargo across the globe. While naval ships in this period were constructed to represent a nation-state in combat or for intimidation, a merchant ship was built to represent business, owners (or multiple owners) in carrying and trading cargo internationally all over the globe. Also, as we will see, the lives of merchant ships were not necessarily less eventful than that of a naval ship. The people who serve on naval ships while at war face death on a daily basis. But the dangers of the sea meant that sailors on merchant ships in the late-nineteenth century also faced the possibility of death on a daily basis.

Second, sailing ships were still very much in demand at the turn of the twentieth century. This was a period of many different types of propulsion, but it is generally seen as a period when steam power overtook sail, implying that steam ships were more advanced and thus, somehow, more important at this time. However, that was not the case. While countries like Britain, Germany, France,

throughout, as it will be relevant in many cases, and attention will be paid especially to ship registration in the conclusion. However, these subjects will not be this dissertation's focus.

and Belgium were quick to adopt steam, many other countries like Finland, Norway, Canada, and the United States continued to use mostly sail.⁸⁸ This was not because these countries were less-advanced, but because iron and steel sailing ships were in many instances still more efficient and more profitable than steam. In fact, the relative profitability between steam and sail fluctuated from year to year.⁸⁹ After 1870, sailing ships were still used for international trade of bulk, low-value cargo such as lumber, grain, coal, nitrate, and petroleum.⁹⁰ This is because, given the lack of need to refuel, sailing ships were still more cost-effective than steam for long-distances.⁹¹ Investors in sailing ships during this period, such as those in Norway, are often portrayed as “laggards” who were not economically savvy enough to understand that steam was the future. In reality, such investors were purposely following existing trends in sailing ship profitability as long-distance “tramp” shippers.⁹² Sailing ships were in close competition with steam right up until the introduction of diesel engine powered ships at the beginning of the twentieth century. New building materials like iron and steel improved sail efficiency just as they improved steam.⁹³ This means that while many still view steam as the progressive technology of the time sail and steam were actually just better suited for different purposes.⁹⁴ Sailing ships like *Balclutha*

⁸⁸ Berit Eide Johnsen, “Cooperation across the North Sea,” 154.

⁸⁹ Berit Eide Johnsen, “Cooperation across the North Sea,” 155.

⁹⁰ Berit Eide Johnsen, “Cooperation across the North Sea,” 156.

⁹¹ Berit Eide Johnsen, “Cooperation across the North Sea,” note 14, 156-157.

⁹² Berit Eide Johnsen, “Cooperation across the North Sea,” 167. Unlike ships that are part of a shipping line and have set schedules and ports of call, “tramp shipping” consists of ships that trade as the trade comes and have no set schedules or ports.

⁹³ The maximum length that a wooden ship could reach was around 300ft. See Stephen Cameron, *Belfast Shipbuilders*, 178.

⁹⁴ See also the Chapter, “Belief in Steamers: Making Trustworthy the Iron Steamship,” In Ben Marsden and Crosbie Smith, *Engineering Empires: A Cultural History of Technology in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Palgrave, 2005), in which the authors show that, despite the often stressed importance of the steamship in the mid-late nineteenth century, it was actually a relatively unreliable technology, and sailing ships would continue to be the most produced types of ships up until World War I. The authors, therefore, focus more on the “failures” of the steamship, of which there were many, rather than the teleological “successes.” They also look at the many ways in which steamship companies and investors tried to improve the image of the steamship. See also Gerard S. Graham, “The Ascendancy of the Sailing Ship 1850-85,” *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 9.1 (1956), 74-88, in which Graham argues against the narrative that the “growth of the world-wide British trading empire was based principally on the steady development” steam, 74. Actually, it took steam much longer than previously believed to supplant steam and “the great days of sail lie not before but after the middle of the century,” 75.

were still built through the early twentieth century because they were better suited for carrying bulk cargo long distances around the world.

This dissertation will be covering three main topics, each taking up one chapter. *Balclutha* will be our guide throughout, so each chapter will be accompanied by a short section about *Balclutha's* life, beginning with its birth, and continuing through its main sailing careers. *Balclutha* was an ocean-going ship for forty-three years. These sections will provide an overview of *Balclutha's* life until it became a museum ship in 1955. Each of the chapters following these sections will provide in-depth analysis of turn of the twentieth century world historical trends as represented by *Balclutha* and ships like it. As *Balclutha's* story progresses, the analysis of each chapter will come to include examples crossing its careers and crossing conventional historical periods. Instead of traditional historical periods and regions, it will be the life of the ship that leads us.

Chapter Two, "Glaswegian Shipbuilding: A Local International Business Community," will look at the construction of *Balclutha* and how it fits into the context of British shipbuilding from the time. A beginning of the commodity chain analysis for teak will look at the many lumber companies that were connected to *Balclutha's* construction. This chapter will show the local shipbuilding community of the Clyde River and its complex business relationships that connected this community to people across the world.

Chapter Three, "Empire of Teak," will continue the commodity chain to the source. It will show how teak connects *Balclutha's* construction in Glasgow to geo-politics, corporate imperialism, and teak extraction in Burma. It will also analyze the nature of this Empire of Teak and give an idea of what it meant to be a part of it through discussion of first-hand accounts of the extraction process and life in Burma. Finally, it will look at the transnational investors who funded the corporations that aggressively and violently expanded for the purposes of teak extraction and export.

Using *Balclutha's* example, Chapter Four, "Life at Sea," will look at what life was like living on a turn of the twentieth century merchant ship. Some experiences changed over *Balclutha's* careers, but life on *Balclutha* was always very transnational. Throughout its life, *Balclutha* has been home to people from many different national, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds. Though from seemingly disparate locations and historical periods, these people were all connected through *Balclutha* and their – largely nationally indifferent - need to work. Analyzing and comparing the working lives of these different people will show how the maritime space of the ship was both uniquely disconnected from life on land in many ways, while still an extension of life on land in many others. In most instances, persons' work or jobs are preferred for individual categorization.

Finally, while the introduction has set the stage and the three middle chapters will lead us on a journey through *Balclutha's* life and the world historical themes that were connected to it, the conclusion will bring everything together. It will finish connecting any remaining disparate threads and provide any remaining historiographic context and discussion for the many historical discoveries along the way. It will also further discuss how this dissertation's findings contribute to the fields of maritime and world history, and provide possibilities for more expansive research.

A ship, of course, is nothing without the people connected to it. One of the benefits of framing a world historical study around a smaller topic, such as the life of one ship, is the ability to focus more on the people that make the history. Throughout our journey, we will get a glimpse of the lives of many different people that lived and worked in seemingly disconnected regions, but were actually very much connected through the workings of the ship. Today, thanks to the work of museum employees in San Francisco, school kids travel through time and live the life of a 1906 sailor for an afternoon, evening, and morning. Through historical immersion and direct experience, they become connected, as much as possible, to those in the past about whom they are learning. It is my hope that by the end of this dissertation the reader too will have a similar experience and feel a similar connection to the

importance of these ships and the thousands of people who were directly and indirectly dependent on them.

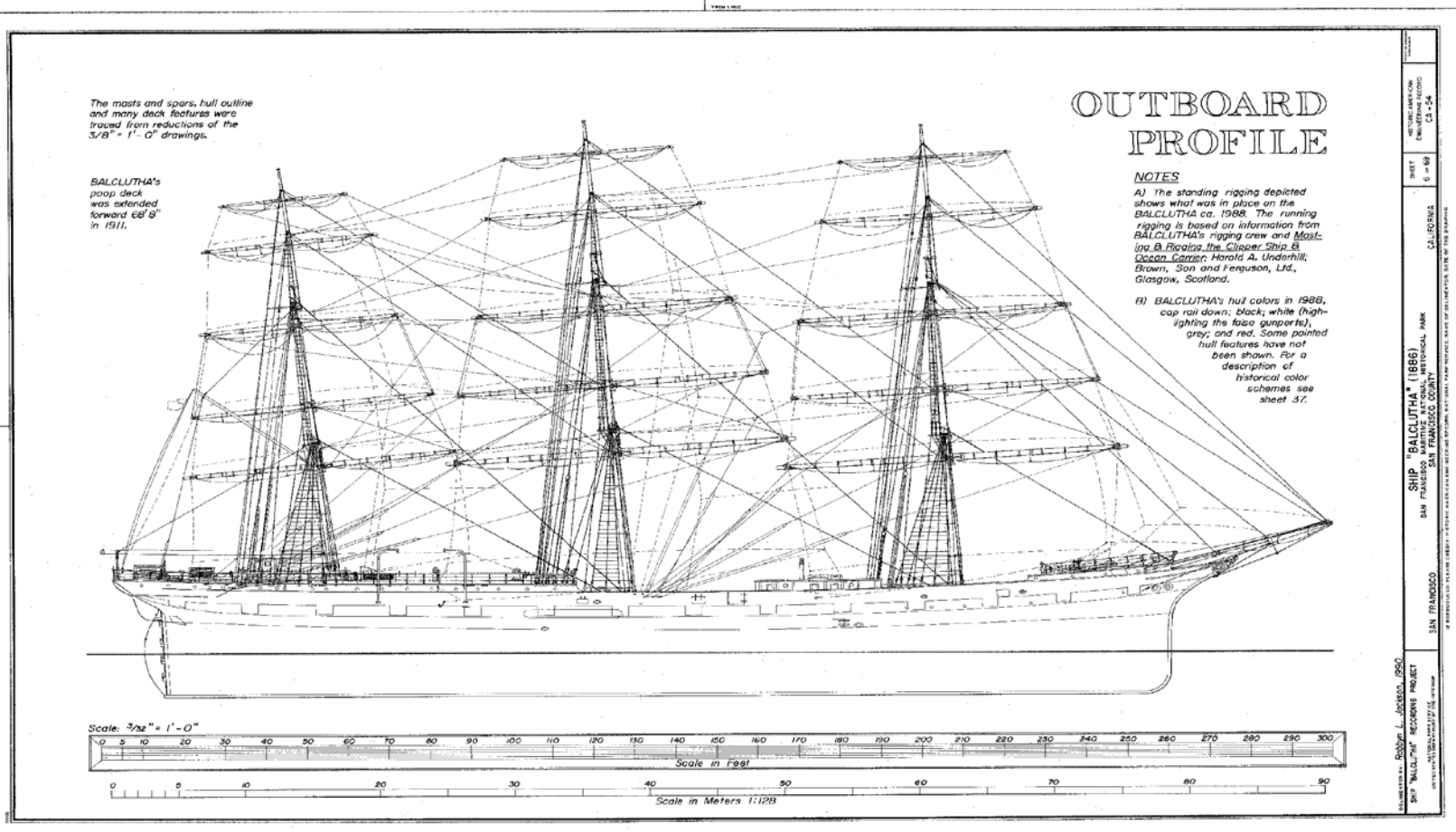


Figure 4 – Side profile diagram of *Balclutha*. This is a more recent diagram, so the poop deck is extended, but the basic ship orientations are the same. Forward is towards the front of the vessel. Aft is towards the back. On the far right of the image is the bow, with the bowsprit extending outward. The nearest mast is the foremast. The mast in the middle is the mainmast. The aft-most mast is the mizzen. The cross-sections from the masts are the yards. And, the very back of the ship is the stern.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ HAER, Ship *Balclutha*, Sheet 6 of 69, delineated by Robbyn L. Jackson, 1990. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/> (accessed 10/10/17)

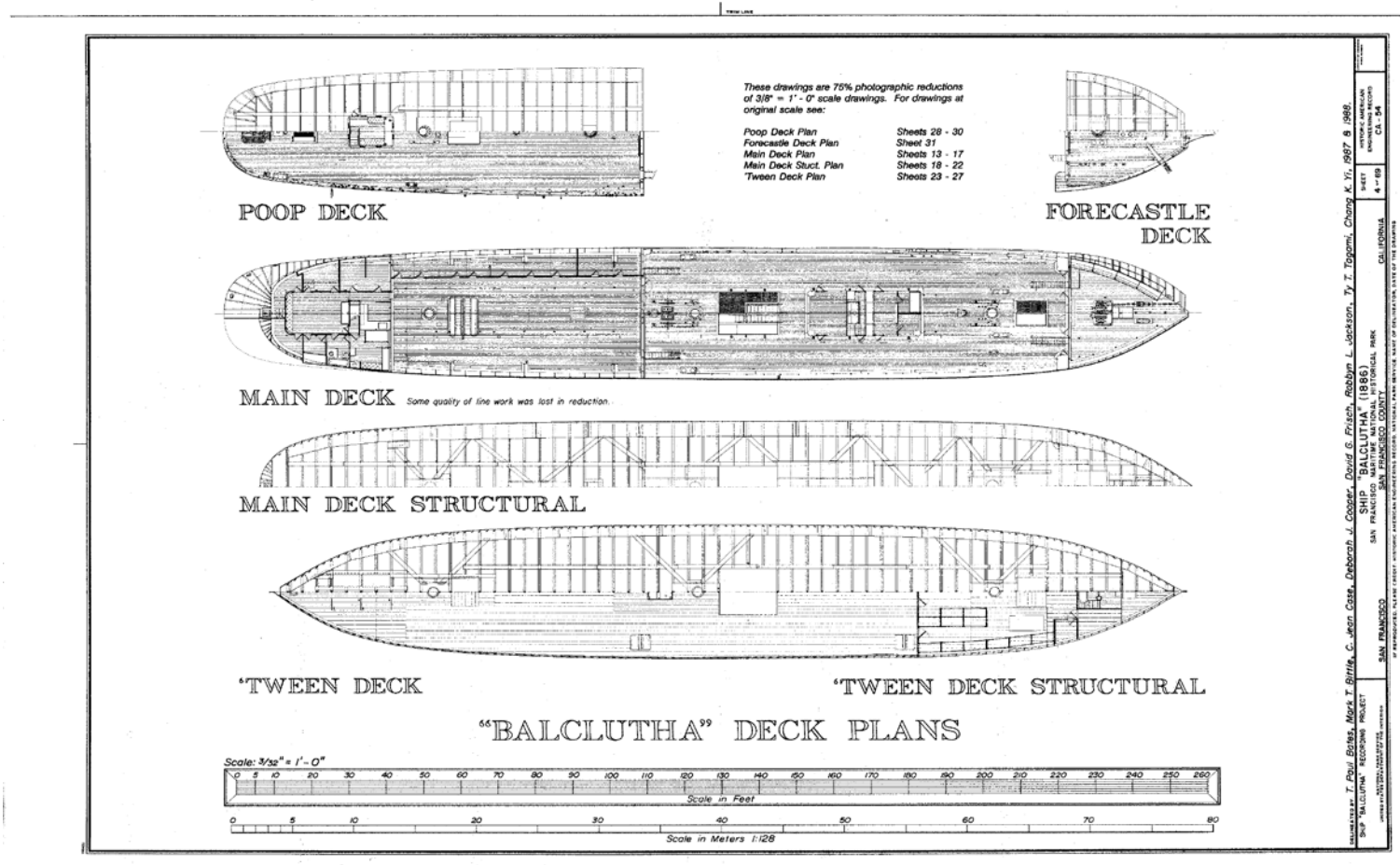


Figure 5 – Diagram of *Balclutha*'s decks. The top shows the raised decks: the poop deck at the stern (left of image) and the foredeck at the bow (right of image). On the poop deck is the chart house, where the captain navigated. The second from the top shows the main deck, including layout of the fo'c'sle at the bow, under the foredeck, and the shelter deck toward the stern, which is under the poop deck and the after cabins, where the office bunks and saloon are. Under the main deck is the 'tween (or between) deck, which was usually the first deck where cargo would have been held. Below the 'tween deck (not depicted here) is the hold.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ HAER, Ship *Balclutha*, Sheet 4 of 69, delineated by T/ Paul Bates, Mark T. Bittle, C. Jean Case, Deborah J. Cooper, David G. Frisch, Robbyn L. Jackson, Ty T. Tagami, Chang K. Yi, 1987 & 1988. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/> (accessed 10/10/17)

Life and Times of *Balclutha*

Birth

The *Balclutha* was born in 1886 on the River Clyde in Scotstoun, Scotland, just five miles from the center of Glasgow. It was built by the dockyard company Charles Connell & Co. for Robert McMillan of Dumbarton, Scotland, just a few miles down the river from the Charles Connell dockyard. McMillan commissioned the ship with the hopes of profiting from the then booming wheat trade with California. The British Isles received 60 to 80 percent of all of America's grain exports in the 1870s. This import expanded even further due to crop failures in Europe from 1879-1881.⁹⁷

Wheat was the first of what would become a long line of agricultural products grown in California's central San Joaquin Valley, on which California would come to depend for so much of its economic success during its history as a part of the United States.⁹⁸ After the Gold Rush, there were just about 122 wealthy individuals in San Francisco and Sacramento that owned an average of 71,983 acres of land in the valley.⁹⁹ One San Francisco merchant, Isaac Friedlander, was the first to recognize the

⁹⁷ *Ship Balclutha, Historical American Engineering Record (HAER), No. CA-54*, Researched by Norman J. Brouwer, (1991), 37-39. This source can be found at the San Francisco Maritime Research Center (SFMRC). Brouwer visited Glasgow, San Francisco, and scoured archives to compile a general history of *Balclutha*. It is a detailed overview of *Balclutha's* life, beginning with its construction in Glasgow and chronicling its careers and voyages. This unpublished record has been used by the museum for informational tours and exhibit construction. It is one of a couple of such overviews of *Balclutha's* life available at the SFMRC. These and the other research done by SFMRC archivists and historians over the last sixty years have been essential especially for compiling the complete history of *Balclutha's* life that exists in this dissertation's "Life and Times of *Balclutha*" sections. These sections expand on the *HAER* by combining its information with other such chronicles and primary sources not used in the *HAER*, especially those involving the sources of construction materials. The larger argument of this dissertation expands on the *HAER* by, as explained in the dissertation's introduction, placing the story of *Balclutha's* life in a world historical context.

⁹⁸ For a study of this and California's maritime history, see Timothy G. Lynch, *Beyond the Golden Gate: A Maritime History of California* (Fort Schlyer Press, 2015)

⁹⁹ David Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 98.

agricultural opportunities and became the first “Wheat King” of California.¹⁰⁰ By 1880, there were 36,000 Californian farms on 10.6 million acres.¹⁰¹

Though California’s central valley is naturally arid, a combination of dams, canals, railroads, and industrial farming technology allowed for unnatural but extensive and quick agricultural growth. From the 1860s to the 1890s, wheat dominated this agricultural empire, and California was the leading producer of wheat in the United States.¹⁰²

For decades, this agricultural boom precipitated a boom in merchant ship construction half-way across the world in Glasgow, where tramp cargo ships like *Balclutha* were being built to accommodate this trade. Wheat would be loaded in San Francisco and sailed around the Southern horn of South America, one of the most dangerous shipping passages in the world, to England and Europe, where wheat was needed. Then, the ships would return with a variety of British and European goods, but mostly coal, which would be used to light and warm California metropolises like San Francisco and power the steam ships of the bay.¹⁰³

During its construction, *Balclutha* was simply called Number 147, being the one-hundred forty-seventh ship built at the Connell yard. McMillan was tasked, as all shipowners would have been, with naming the ship. Connell asked McMillan in a series of letters what the name should be, until late-October, 1886, a little over half way through its construction, when McMillan finally decided that the name should be *Balclutha*, which is translated from the Scottish Gaelic phrase, “Baile Chluaidh,”

¹⁰⁰ San Francisco Maritime Museum, “‘Balclutha’: Her History & Restoration,” *Nautical Research Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 3-4, (March-April 1955), 47. This source, similar to the *HAER*, is a brief history of *Balclutha* that is now mostly used for internal museum purposes. See “Note on Archival and Primary Sources.”

¹⁰¹ John G. B. Hutchins, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789-1914* (New York: Russell & Russell 1969), 374.

¹⁰² David Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 98-99.

¹⁰³ The wheat boom in California was also connected to a boom in shipbuilding on the east coast of the United States. Shipyards in New England began producing the famed ships commonly called “down-Easters.” At first, these ships were built of wood, since wood was still rather plentiful in the United States. See San Francisco Maritime Museum, “‘Balclutha’: Her History & Restoration,” *Nautical Research Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 3-4 (March-April 1955), 44-46.

meaning “city on the Clyde.” This is a poetic salute to its birthplace, Glasgow, which was the largest city on the River Clyde, and the center of Clyde shipbuilding and shipping industries.¹⁰⁴

Balclutha was launched at 11am on Thursday, December 9, 1886. *Balclutha*’s first captain was Joe Frederick Constable. As such, he would have overseen the final stages of *Balclutha*’s construction. Mrs. Constable, his wife, performed the christening.¹⁰⁵ Following traditional Scottish launching ceremony procedure, Mrs. Constable would likely have broken a bottle of wine or other beverage on the bow, and then received a gift of jewelry for her ceremonial sponsorship.¹⁰⁶

Balclutha sailed on December 29th from Glasgow to Cardiff, where it took on 2650 tons of coal, then set sail on January 15, 1887 to make its first trip around the Horn.¹⁰⁷ Captain Norman J. Pearce, then just an able bodied seaman, served on *Balclutha* for its first round-trip around the Horn.¹⁰⁸ Pearce had spent many years serving in small coastal vessels, which most of his family had also done. He joined the crew of *Balclutha* in search of foreign travel and, eventually, he hoped to captain square rigged ocean ships just like it and continue to travel the world. In a letter, written in 1954 from Pearce to Karl Kortum, the founder of the San Francisco Maritime Museum that eventually purchased *Balclutha*, Pearce explained:

¹⁰⁴ There is also a town in New Zealand named “*Balclutha*” that has been referenced as the ship’s namesake. However, I’ve found no direct connection between the two. It is more likely that the name is simply symbolic of their shared origins, as the town in New Zealand was founded by Glaswegian immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century. It has also been referenced that “Bal” actually means “rock” in Scottish Gaelic, making the literal translation of *Balclutha* as “rock on the Clyde,” which supposedly would have been a reference to Dumbarton Rock, which McMillan could see from his house. See “Letter written from Mrs. Carroll L. Dunn to Karl Kortum, November 22, 1954,” in *Balclutha – Masters and Crew, Binder 2, SFMRC, VM6.5 B3 M3*. However, a quick use of a Scottish Gaelic dictionary confirms that Balclutha does indeed translate to “town” or “city” on the Clyde, not “rock.” Of course, this does not mean McMillan knew the exact, correct translation. *Balclutha* was also not the first ship of its name. There were two built by R. Steele and Co, in 1832 and 1850, and one passenger ship built by Caird and Co in 1860.

¹⁰⁵ *HAER*, 32.

¹⁰⁶ *HAER*, 32-33, referencing *Song of the Clyde: A History of Clyde Shipbuilding*.

¹⁰⁷ *HAER*, 35

¹⁰⁸ Pearce’s story in “Letter from Captain Norman J. Pearce to Karl Kortum, March 24, 1954,” *Balclutha – Masters and Crew, Binder 2, SFMRC, VM6.5 B3 M3*. These binders are collections of primary sources regarding various aspects of *Balclutha*’s history. They were essential for this research. See “A Note on Archival and Primary Sources.”

As I was born and bred on Mylor Creek, Falmouth Harbour, with the love of the sea in my bones, and with several uncles, brothers of both my parents, shipmasters, but all in the coasting trade, I just had to follow them. It was not long before I craved for something more – big square rigged ships and foreign travel. Nothing then would suit me but the highest certificate.

After several years in small coasters, I thought it was time to do something more. It meant at least on year in a foreign-going square rigged sailing ship.

A friend of my father was a ship broker at Cardiff, so being there at the time, I asked him what chance I had of getting such a trip. His answer was ‘We are brokers for a new ship loading coal at Penarth for San Francisco, and she will sail his week. She is a new ship called the BALCLUTHA and we can get you a berth as A.B. on her’.

It was soon fixed up and two days later I had signed articles to join her the following day.¹⁰⁹

Balclutha's first crew, as Pearce described it, was diverse and well-experienced. Figure 7 contains pictures of the crew. The regular seamen, like himself, included several “half-castes” from the West Indies (whom Pearce described as “good sailors”), one Brazilian, and some Scandinavians, who served as the ship handymen. There were four apprentices, or young teenage boys who were training to be officers, all of whom were Scottish. The Captain, who must have been Captain Constable, was a gentleman from London. The first mate was from Jersey. He was “not a bad fellow but very irritating at times, and holding a captain’s certificate.” The second mate was a man from Plymouth, and he had a first mate’s certificate. Pearce liked him. Then, there was the third mate, who Pearce said was “fussy” and constantly trying to pick a fight with him. And finally, the ship’s cook, “an elderly coloured man and quite a decent fellow, did his best with what he was allowed to use but it was not much for us young chaps.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

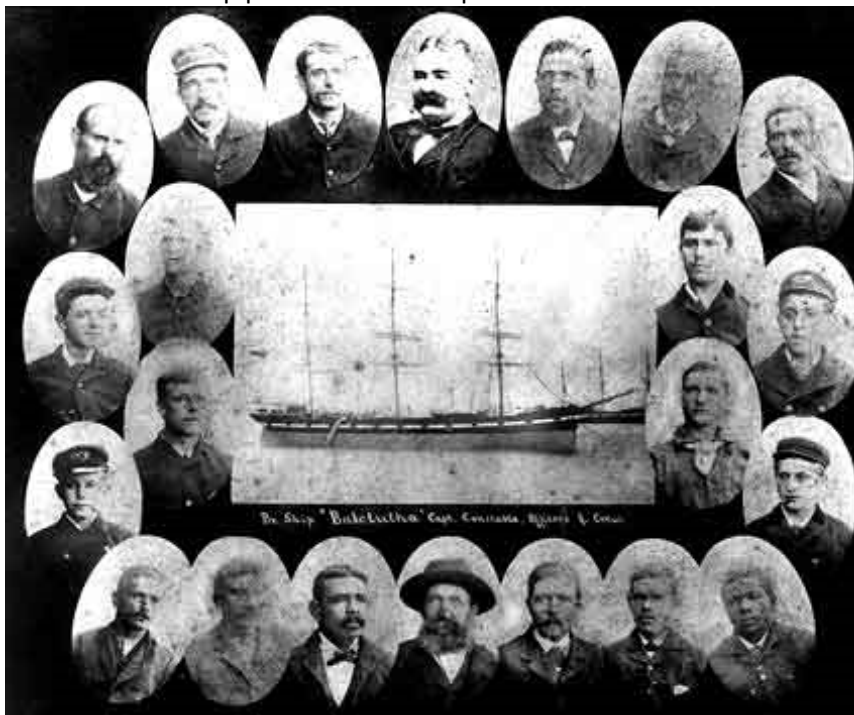
¹¹⁰ Ibid.

The first incident Pearce remembers was in the Irish Sea. His bunk was in the fo'c'sle at the bow of the ship under the fore deck.¹¹¹ The bunks for the sailors were crammed into the available space, surrounding the "grand piano," which was a giant cog connected to the capstan on the foredeck, which is used to haul up the anchor chain, each link of which can weigh hundreds of pounds. In the very front of the fo'c'sle are two hawse pipes, which are large holes that are used to run the anchor chain through and also, when the ship is at port, hawsers, which are large, thick lines that are made to hold a ship to a dock or pier (See Figure 6). Usually, these holes would be plugged while under sail, but since *Balclutha* was a new ship, it did not have every detail finished, including the plugs for the hawse pipes. This meant that, once *Balclutha* was out on the open sea and began to experience high swells for the first time, it dipped into these swells, water came rushing over the bow, and gallons of cold sea water came gushing through these hawse holes and through the fo'c'sle. And so, right at the beginning of his voyage, all of Pearce's clothes, blankets, and other personal belongings were washed out on deck and drenched completely.

¹¹¹ "Fo'c'sle" is shortened, as sailor vocabulary often is, for "fore castle." This name is derived from some of the first European ships in the middle ages, when there would literally be a small fortification or castle at the front of a ship, from which archers could fire arrows and other missile weapons at enemy ships.



Figure 6 - View of the fo'c'sle from port side. Bunks are wood with little personal space. Anchor chains and hawse pipes as from description above are visible.¹¹²



Figures 7 –Original crew of Balclutha, 1887, with Captain Constable in the top middle.¹¹³

¹¹² HAER CAL,38-SANFRA,200—61, “View of bow stoppers (compressors) from port side looking forward.” <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, accessed 10/7/17.

¹¹³ San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park Collection, P80-133n. The Violet Camlin copy negatives (P80-133, SAFR 14756) consists of 2 copy negatives the 3-masted ship Balclutha and her original crew which was taken in San Francisco, photographed possibly by Wilton, from 1887 to 1890.

Pearce describes little after that, until the ship reached Cape Horn. *Balclutha's* first trip around the Horn was actually rather uneventful, or at least as uneventful as a trip around the Horn could be. They "beat about" through heavy winds, but they fortunately did not see any ice or more dangerous storms. The winds were still so bad though that the Brazilian sailor fell from the yard, smashing into the ship rail, and fell inwards onto the main deck. The only injury he received from this was a dislocated shoulder, which healed before they escaped the Horn. One more inch to the other side of the ship rail and he would have fell overboard and been lost forever in the violent seas.

One dislocated shoulder and some high winds is a tame trip around the Horn. Eric Newby, an early-twentieth century travel writer who sailed around the Horn on the four mast steel-hulled *Moshulu*, described the experience:

The waves were like great black walls of water, a quarter of a mile apart and as high as a three-story house. . . The noise was indescribable – the shrieking of the wind in the shrouds, the clanging of freeing ports, and the thunder of the sea as it came over the rail like a mill race. . . We no longer cared that we were wet, only leaping for the lifelines when we were in danger of being washed overboard.¹¹⁴

Recalling what he thought might have been a quote from Washington Irving, one of *Balclutha's* future captains, Alfred Durkee, described the eerie howl of the wind on a sailing ship as a storm was coming in:

The whistling of the wind through the rigging sounded like funeral wailing. There is often a peculiar whistle to the wind at sea before a gale, one might call it a moaning or

¹¹⁴ Eric Newby, *Learning the Ropes: An Apprentice on the Last of the Windjammers* (Random House Times Books, 1999), 122-126. *Moshulu* was built in Glasgow in 1904. This trip Newby is describing was taken in 1938 to transport wheat from Australia to Europe. It was one of the last voyages of a sailing cargo ship.

sighing. We always felt sure there was a storm coming when we heard it, but after we got the wind, it would change to a shrill shriek sounding like ten thousand devils.¹¹⁵

It could take weeks for a ship to get around the Horn with conditions like these a near constant for the entire trip. Sometimes a ship might fight its way close to the end, almost ready to turn northward and out of the dangerous waters, only to be pushed back again by even stronger storms and winds. The sailors would develop salt water boils on their wrists and arms as they worked with sea spray and ocean swells washing over the deck for days and weeks on end. The ocean swells were so high and violent that a ship can seem almost completely submerged as the sea poured over the decks and knocked the ship about (See Figure 8). Water washed away all kinds of tools and belongings, rushed through the galley and washed away the cook's cooking gear and dousing his fires, making it difficult to even get food or coffee to the poor, sore, drenched, cold, exhausted sailors. Winds were so strong they could easily completely destroy the masts if the ship and sails were not expertly handled. Helmsmen had to be lashed to the helm in order to prevent them from being blown or washed overboard, for were he lost and control of the ship was not regained, it would not take long for the ship to be lost, as well.¹¹⁶

Going around the Horn, with conditions like these, death was a daily possibility. Between 1850 and 1900, over 100 ships were lost going around the Horn.¹¹⁷ *Balclutha* was more fortunate. After a few weeks rounding Cape Horn, *Balclutha's* crew caught a kind wind that helped them north. From there,

¹¹⁵ Durkee, *A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee, Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, SFMRC, pg. 3 – recalling a quote from Washington Irving. This document was written by Durkee and now provides some of the most useful personal accounts of serving on *Balclutha* and ships like it during this period.

¹¹⁶ This account matched many descriptions of going around the Horn, but many of these specific examples are taken from *A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee, Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, SFMRC, 18.

¹¹⁷ Dallas Murphy, *Rounding the Horn : being a story of Williwaws and windjammers, Drake, Darwin, murdered missionaries and naked natives -- a deck's-eye view of Cape Horn* (Basic Books, 2004), 161. There are many descriptions of what it was like to sail around Cape Horn, but nothing compares with experiencing or seeing it for oneself. One of the easiest ways to do that today is by seeing Captain Irving Johnson's footage from *Around Cape Horn*. This can now be found on DVD or on Youtube.com. Taken in the 1920's, Johnson films the experience from all parts of the ship, including far up in the rigging. It is some of the only known footage of the journey.

“sailing up the Pacific was a sailor’s dream, with fine weather until we were well north of the equator.”

Balclutha sailed north for its first visit to San Francisco, a city which would one day be its home.¹¹⁸



Figure 8 - Tempura painting by Oswald Brett, 1955. This depiction of swells washing over *Balclutha* is an accurate portrayal of any stormy situation, such as it often was going around the Horn.

Notice the sailors like spiders up on the yard furling the sail. Good weather conditions were sailing conditions, so there would not have been as much need to climb up the lines to furl sails. It was in poor weather conditions like these when such a job became especially important and dangerous. It was a matter of life or death for the ship and crew.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Pearce story found in “Letter from Captain Norman J. Pearce to Karl Kortum, March 24, 1954,” *Balclutha – Masters and Crew, Binder 2*, SFMRC.

¹¹⁹ SFMRC, SAFR17003

Chapter 2

Glaswegian Shipbuilding: A Local International Business Community

As Pearce's accounts demonstrate, the sea was a dangerous place for ships and those that served on them. And his experiences were tame by comparison to most, for it was not just storms or the Horn that could sink a ship.

At the end of its second voyage around the horn from San Francisco, the sailing merchant ship *Sirenia* was en route to the coast of France. It had made a quick stop in Ireland before heading for Dunkirk, where its crew would unload their cargo of California wheat. On March 9, 1888, *Sirenia* was sailing through dense fog off the coast of the Isle of Wight just south of England. Visibility was as poor as it could be and there was no wind, so the crew could do little to control *Sirenia* as it drifted through the heavy mist. Harry Cotton, a resident of the island, was walking along the beach when he heard a loud crash coming from the sea. He looked toward the sound to see what seemed to be a "great white cloud billowing" above the water. He quickly realized that it was the sails of a ship run aground. *Sirenia* had struck the Atherfield Ledge, a shipping hazard that has been a ship graveyard for hundreds of years.

There were thirty-two people on board, including seamen, the captain, the captain's wife and family, and a family nurse. Luckily for them, the ship had simply run aground and was not yet completely wrecked or sinking. Captain McIntyre, therefore, hoped he could sail away again with the rise of the tide. But, conditions soon became worse and worse. In his book about Isle of White shipwrecks, Lord Mottistone describes the dangerous conditions that were often the cause of such accidents in the area.

He writes:

It often happens on our coast, that when a fog comes on without a breath of wind, great rollers come tumbling in; first with a boom like distant thunder as occasional waves break on the outer ledges; then with a loud continuous roar, as the waves from the Atlantic increase in size so that each one breaks on the outer ledge, and then, pressed

forward by its follower, gathers impetus to hurl itself on the shore. Meanwhile there is still the uncanny absence of wind to account for this great disturbance of the sea.¹²⁰

Fortunately, Harry Cotton had rushed to give news of the accident to the Brighstone lifeboat crew.

Though the seas were rough and dangerous, Coxswain Moses Munt led a thirteen man rescue crew in a small lifeboat from Brighstone to aid the ship. Their ability to launch their boat through heavy waves breaking on the beach is a testament to their skill and seamanship. They then struggled to row toward *Sirenia* through mountainous swells. After two and a half hours of fighting rough seas and waves, the boat crew was able to rescue the women and children and get them ashore safely.

On the lifeboat's return trip, however, conditions had grown even worse. Shortly after getting thirteen seamen from the ship onto the lifeboat, the boat was capsized by a series of large waves and everyone was washed into the sea. Most of the men were able to hold on to the boat or make it back via lifelines, but four men, two sailors and two from the lifeboat crew, including Coxswain Munt, went missing. The remaining men made way back to shore.

By this time, a second lifeboat, which came from Brook to the north, rowed six miles through these violent seas to reach *Sirenia* and assist in the rescue efforts. While moored with the ship and loading sailors, the Brook boat was also struck by a large wave, washing three men overboard. Only two of them were able to hold on via lifelines. The third, a man named Reuben Cooper, was lost. After many more hours of fighting the sea, almost an entire twenty-four hours in total, the majority of *Sirenia's* crew was finally rescued, but a total of five men had died in the effort. Three bodies were later found and buried in the Brighstone churchyard.

There was no attempt to salvage the ship. Though *Sirenia* might have been in working order when it originally ran aground, as Captain McIntyre had assessed, the turbulent seas of the following twenty-four hours had changed that completely. The steel plating of the hull had been punctured on the

¹²⁰ Maj. Gen. Seely, *Launch, a Life-Boat Book* (London: Hodder and Stoughton 1932), 45.

rocks. Water flooded in through the hole and caused the cargo of wheat to swell and expand, eventually bursting through the wooden decks. It was not long before the power of the waves broke the rest of the hull up on the rocks and the ship eventually sank below the outer edge of the reef.¹²¹

The story of *Sirenia's* end is a harrowing tale of bravery, seamanship, and the dangers of the sea. Stories like this one were not uncommon, but *Sirenia's* story has more relevance than as an example of the risks of shipping. The story of *Sirenia's* end is also an example of the importance of every detail when constructing a ship. *Sirenia* was the only near sister-ship of *Balclutha* and was built in the Charles Connell yard just a year before. While most ships were commissioned by a ship owner or shipping company, sometimes shipyard owners like Connell would begin construction of a ship without having an owner lined-up. The hope was that they would be able to find a buyer by the end of the ship's construction, or shortly thereafter. *Sirenia* was one such ship and its buyer was Robert MacMillan.

Unlike *Balclutha*, the *Sirenia* was plagued with problems from the start. After *Sirenia's* first trip around the horn to San Francisco and back to the British Isles, her captain, McIntyre, complained about the poor stability of the vessel, as well as excessive condensation in the cargo hold and a defective topsail brace runner, for which Charles Connell reimbursed McMillan.¹²² "Near" sister-ship, therefore, is an important distinction. While not often relevant for historians, the designation of sister-ship can be very valuable to ship archeologists or those who restore ships for maritime museums. In this case, for two or more ships to be designated as sister-ships, they had to have the same designs, same original owner, and have been constructed by the same dockyard company.¹²³ This way, in the absence of plans for the original, a ship restorer could turn to the sister-ship for guidance. As we will see, while *Balclutha* started as a twin of *Sirenia*, its dimensions ended up varying slightly over the course of its construction.

¹²¹ This story and its details can be found in *HAER*, 14-17

¹²² *HAER*, 13-14.

¹²³ There is a brief discussion of sister-ships in *HAER*, 13, explaining how the distinction is not necessarily important to historians, but is important as a construction guide for ship restorers of today and ship builders of the period.

When *Sirenia* was wrecked off the coast of the Isle of Wight, *Balclutha* was just a few hundred miles away, having sailed from Swansea, Wales six days before.¹²⁴ *Balclutha* was on a course for its second round-trip journey around Cape Horn to San Francisco. Sailing around the Horn is a hazardous voyage that *Balclutha* would eventually make seventeen times. *Sirenia*, sadly, only made the round-trip twice before meeting its end. Incredibly, *Balclutha*, a ship that is almost identical, would go on to visit nearly every continent on Earth and live 130 years longer and counting. Certainly, fortunate had a part to play, but it all begins with the ship construction.

This chapter will look at shipbuilding on the Clyde River with a focus on the construction of *Balclutha*. The analysis of *Balclutha*'s construction will not be limited to a simple assemblage of parts. Each piece of the ship, whether large or small, is an essential component of the final product. This analysis, therefore, will include a look at the shipbuilding materials and their origin, with teak as the key example. These combined analyses will show how Glasgow, the city where most of the shipbuilding industries and connected businesses on the Clyde were centered, is an interesting example of a locality that was in many ways independent from the rest of the nation-state while very much connected to world economic trends and geo-political regions. Therefore, the people of the Clyde, as a shipbuilding center in the British Isles, were in many ways much more economically connected to each other and to regions abroad, than they were to other parts of the nation that held sovereignty over them.

¹²⁴ HAER, 145.

Shipbuilding on the Clyde River and the Construction of *Balclutha*

*With the ship finally plated, the decking goes down.
Norse pitch pine is laid on iron beams.
It is fitted and bolted, with margins of teak,
And caulked watertight in the seams.*

*And now you Balclutha, you're ready to sail.
We wish you Godspeed on the sea.
It was McMillian's silver that gave you your start,
And Connell decreed what you'd be.*

*But those shipwrights and riveters gave you your soul,
And they were who gave you your worth.
If you voyage through decades we trust you'll recall
The Scots River Clyde of your birth.¹²⁵*

Stephen Canright, "Ode to a Scottish Ship," 2012

This poem, written by the current Park Curator of Maritime History at the San Francisco Maritime National Park, emphasizes the fact that, while *Balclutha* might have been constructed of parts from all over the world and gone on to live a long, full life of global travel, its origin will always be the Clyde River. Like people, the place of a ship's birth and beginning guides the course of its life.

Shipbuilding on the Clyde River goes back many hundreds of years. There was a royal dockyard at Cardross, where King Robert the Bruce built ships in the 1320s, which was still being used by King James VI at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Although the Clyde was important in controlling the west coast, it was strategically less significant than the eastern seaboard, which had rich farmland and extensive connections with continental Europe. This means that while there was shipbuilding on the Clyde in its earlier history, other rivers - like the Forth, Tay, and Dee - were the principle centers of shipbuilding in Scotland.¹²⁶

It was not until the early eighteenth century that private shipbuilding on the Clyde began. With the growth of fishing industries on the west coast of Scotland, many fishing vessels were needed. This

¹²⁵ Excerpt from Stephen Canright, "Ode to a Scottish Ship," Revised October 2012, SFMRC. Stephen Canright is the Park Curator of Maritime History at the San Francisco Maritime National Park.

¹²⁶ Michael Moss, *The Clyde: A portrait of a River* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 1997), 11.

was also about the time that Scotland's Atlantic trade began to develop. The river, which was naturally much shallower than its east-coast relatives, was deepened in the mid-eighteenth century so that ocean going vessels could make it all the way up river to Glasgow. This deepening of the river would continue over the next couple centuries. There was also a canal constructed to connect the Clyde with the Forth. The deepening of the river and the building of the canal in the eighteenth century encouraged the expansion of private shipbuilding. By the 1780s, Clyde shipbuilders were constructing around 6000 tons a year.¹²⁷

The east-coast continued to be the center of Scottish shipbuilding, however, until the mid-nineteenth century when companies like J & G Thompson and Randolph, Elder & Co made the Clyde the center of iron-shipbuilding in Britain. Between 1856 and 1860, 75% of all iron ships built in the United Kingdom were constructed on the Clyde. During the American Civil War, many Glaswegians were Confederate sympathizers, and many of these iron steamship building companies on the Clyde built blockade runners for the Confederacy, including the *Shenandoah*, which destroyed 37 Union vessels during its career.¹²⁸ The fact that many Glaswegians supported the Confederacy is important to observe when considering shipbuilding on the Clyde as a relatively autonomous industry, since the United Kingdom was officially neutral in this American conflict.

By the late-nineteenth century, the Clyde became known for building large, iron and steel hulled, sailing ships that specialized in tramp-shipping, like *Balclutha*. The most successful of the Clyde tramp builders was Russel & Co of Port Glasgow, founded in 1874. Between 1882 and 1892 Russel & Co built 271 ships and a greater total tonnage than any other yard on the river.¹²⁹ Charles Connell was, therefore, not the largest or most successful ship builder on the Clyde, but he was capable of building

¹²⁷ Ibid. This dropped to 3000 in the 1790s, but rose again quickly and exponentially in the nineteenth century.

¹²⁸ Moss, *The Clyde*, 17. Napier & Sons in your brief summary of Clyde shipbuilding history, as the company, and especially its founder David Napier (engineer) were really important for making the Clyde a center for steam. See John Shields, *Clyde-Built: A History of Shipbuilding on the Clyde* (Glasgow: Maclellan, 1947).

¹²⁹ Moss, *The Clyde*, 190

larger ships.¹³⁰ The Clyde became such an important center for shipbuilding that even Harland & Wolff eventually expanded their business by purchasing shipyards on the Clyde in the early twentieth Century.

There are many famous ships that were built on the Clyde. The tea-clipper, *Taitzing*, was built by Charles Connell. *Lusitania*, completed at Clydebank, and *Queen Mary* are two of the more famous passenger ships that were built on the Clyde. The aforementioned *Shenandoah* had an especially famous career. After having destroyed so many Union ships, learning that the South had lost, the *Shenandoah's* commander, Lieutenant Waddell, took the ship from the North Pacific 122 days at sea and 23,000 miles to surrender his command to the British at Liverpool.¹³¹ The ship was then sold to the Sultan of Zanzibar to be used as a yacht and eventually wrecked on the shore of Africa in 1879.¹³²

The Danish ship, *Rolf Krake*, Europe's first turreted ironclad, was built by Napier & Sons, a Clyde company, for the Danish navy. It was commissioned in 1862. Its turrets were designed by an American admiral and its guns were made in Sweden.¹³³ It was used to fight an invasion from allied Prussian and Austrian forces. While it was not sunk, it could never have been enough to hold off the superior numbers of the invaders. Badly damaged, it was retired not too long after. Despite this ship's importance as the first turreted ironclad and as a multi-nationally constructed ship, it has gotten little attention, likely because of its less than glorious career.¹³⁴ Like people, ships tend to only draw the attention of historians if they live eventful lives.

Many of the sailing merchant vessels of similar type and purpose to *Balclutha* that survive today were also built on the Clyde. The *Glenlee*, which is currently a museum ship in Glasgow, was built in 1896. The *Falls of Clyde*, which is the only surviving sail oil tanker and is now fighting for its life in Honolulu, was built in 1888. The *Cutty Sark*, now housed at the British Maritime Museum in Greenwich,

¹³⁰ Moss, *The Clyde*, 20

¹³¹ Blake, *Down to the Sea: the Romance of the Clyde, its Ships and Shipbuilders* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937), 170.

¹³² Blake, *Down to the Sea*, 171

¹³³ Arnold A. Putnam, "Rolf Krake: Europe's First Turreted Ironclad," *Mariner's Mirror* 84.1 (Feb. 1998), 56-63, 57.

¹³⁴ Arnold A. Putnam, "Rolf Krake," 63.

was built at Dumbarton.¹³⁵ And, of course, there is *Balclutha*, built in 1886. Looking at the construction of these individual ships can provide insight into the history of what is generally referred to as “British” shipbuilding. Mainly, it will complicate what it means to be a “British” built ship, and show that each shipbuilding region deserves attention separate from nation-state distinctions.

Though Charles Connell & Co had been building iron or composite iron ships for some time, *Balclutha* and her near sister ship, the *Sirenia*, were the first steel-hulled sailing ships built by the dockyard company.¹³⁶ Both ships were owned by McMillan. *Balclutha*, however, was specifically commissioned by McMillan from the beginning. There are a number of sources that help provide insight into *Balclutha*’s construction, including the Connell letter books, Account Books, and Construction Ledgers.¹³⁷ None of these provide a complete picture on their own, but when analyzed together they demonstrate what a complex and intricate process the construction of just one ship was, requiring thousands of British pounds in capital, thousands of hours of labor, and the involvement of hundreds of different companies with thousands of different people and connections that stretched around the world.

Given his background as a shipbuilder, McMillan perhaps had a bit more involvement in the design and construction of *Balclutha* than many shipowners would have. It was common to keep shipowners up to date on the progress of their ship’s construction, even sending ship designs for approval, but letters sent between McMillan and Connell show that Connell was in contact with MacMillan throughout the construction, asking for his approval of plans for all parts of the ship, from the decks, to the chart house, to the masts and spars. At many of these stages, McMillan requested

¹³⁵ George Blake, *Down to the Sea*, 12.

¹³⁶ *HAER*, 18.

¹³⁷ One source that was invaluable for this section is *Ship Balclutha, Historical American Engineering Record (HAER)*, No. CA-54, Researched by Norman J. Brouwer, 1991. This can be found at the San Francisco Maritime Research Center (SFMRC). This source was already mentioned in an earlier note. For this section of *Balclutha*’s construction details especially, Brouwer had already compiled the details of the construction from the primary sources mentioned. I use both this record and the primary sources for my analyses, which goes beyond the simple construction details as given in the engineering record.

specific changes to design aspects, instead of simply giving his approval. This includes a request to use 4” by 4” wood planks for the main deck of the ship, rather than the more common 4” by 5”. This meant a more costly deck, as the planks would have to be specially cut, so Connell tried to convince McMillan to use the more common planks as were used for *Sirenia*, but McMillan insisted. Changes like these are what made *Balclutha* slightly different in design and dimension than the *Sirenia*. Given the problems and eventual fate of the *Sirenia*, it might very well have been suggested changes like this that helped to keep the *Balclutha* afloat for longer, though it is difficult to know this for sure. When visiting the *Balclutha* today, the remains of this original planking requested by McMillan can still be seen in the shelter-deck (See Figure 9).



Figure 9 – View of shelter deck with original decking. The ceiling here was added later in *Balclutha*’s history when the poop deck above was extended and this space was used for more cabins.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ HAER CAL, 38-SANFRA, 200—62, “View looking aft from starboard side.”
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, accessed 10/08/17

The total construction of *Balclutha* took about seven months, from late-May to late-December, 1886. Work began with the first commissions of designs and small pine models of the ship and ended with the necessary rigging work that was done after *Balclutha* was ceremonially launched, the final step required before the ship was capable of sailing and carrying cargo. According to the Connell ledgers, the first payment of wages for *Balclutha's* construction was on May 20th. This included carpenters, joiners, smiths, and blockmakers. On June 3rd, wages increased, including the first payments made to riggers, finishers, laborers, and hole borers. The first payments made to fitters, caulkers, and riveters were at the beginning of July, with painters beginning on August 5th. From there, almost continuous payments were made for each type of laborer until December 30th when the wages account terminated.¹³⁹

The final pieces - the spars, rigging, sails, and other supplies - were completed after the official launching ceremony at Queen's Dock, Glasgow, just up river from the Connell dockyard. On December 20th, Charles Connell supplied McMillan with the final measurements: 256.f ft. long (not including the bowsprit), 38.65ft breadth (or width), and 1689.30 gross tonnage. Subtracting the 75.68 tonnage that was devoted to crew quarters and storage, the net tonnage was 1613.62. On December 27th Charles Connell and Captain Constable went into the city to complete the final paperwork before *Balclutha* could go to sea. The ship was registered under the name of Robert Macmillan. *Balclutha* finally sailed for Cardiff, Wales, on December 29th, where it was loaded with its first shipment and sent on its first adventure around Cape Horn to San Francisco.¹⁴⁰ By the end, *Balclutha's* construction cost a total of about £14,500.¹⁴¹ That is around £1,802,296 today, or 2,341,282 US dollars.¹⁴²

It is clear that, like all ships from this period, there were many different components and materials that went into *Balclutha's* construction. In fact, material costs equaled about 63 percent of

¹³⁹ HAER, 26

¹⁴⁰ HAER, 33

¹⁴¹ *Charles Connell Company Ledgers, 1886-1893*, Mitchell Library, Glasgow (T/CO 1/5), 163-164. Number rounded down.

¹⁴² Inflation adjustment was done at <http://www.in2013dollars.com/> in the summer of 2017.

Balclutha's total construction cost.¹⁴³ *Balclutha's* construction ledger has all of these construction costs organized into broader categories according to specific company accounts: the wages account, which details how much money was spent on pay for all the workers involved; the iron account covers both iron and steel parts of the ship; the store accounts cover all the various tools and supplies that were needed for the ship's construction and for the ship's outfitting. These accounts represent many different raw materials that were extracted, processed, and traded through numerous channels before reaching the Charles Connell yard. From the smallest nail to the largest steel plating, tracing the source of each individual material would be a monumental task. So, for the purpose of this study, teak will serve as the key example for the complex global networks that were required for some of these materials.

Based on these accounts, wages and iron were the most expensive. The total cost of each was about 3,300 and 4,300 pounds respectfully. The total cost of timber was about 1,400. It might seem odd, then, to pick teak, a part of the less expensive lumber account, to be the material to trace. But, as has been explained, every small piece is an essential piece. Teak was an important material for ships even in this period. Also, while the majority of *Balclutha* is steel or iron, a ship's hull is usually the focus when discussing shipbuilding, which means that the other components of a ship often get less attention than they deserve.¹⁴⁴ Further, the complex local shipbuilding community of businesses on the Clyde meant that many of the metal materials could be found locally.¹⁴⁵ In contrast, as will be shown, lumber was a product that was much more difficult to acquire in Britain, and teak especially serves as the best

¹⁴³ This was calculated using the total general costs found in the *Charles Connell Company Ledgers, 1886-1893*, Mitchell Library, Glasgow (T/CO 1/5), 163-164 and the costs of the individual accounts found in *Charles Connell Ship Account Books, No. 147*, Mitchell Library, Glasgow T-CO 10.1; Copies also available at SFMRC, *Balclutha Construction Ledger Accounts*, SFMRC, VM6.5.B3B37C.3.

¹⁴⁴ Classifying a ship based on the make-up and design of its hull is an easy and reasonable way to categorize and distinguish between different kinds of ships, which is why it has been the focus of shipbuilders and historians for so long. See Charles Desmond, *Wooden Ship-Building* (Vestal Press, 1998); Organization of historical sources and statistics – *Reviews of United Kingdom Statistical Sources, Vol. XVI*, "Iron and Steel," by David W. Heal and "Shipbuilding," by Anthony Slaven (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1984); and shipbuilding instructional texts – *Elijah Baker III, Introduction to Steel Shipbuilding* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1953).

¹⁴⁵ Steel, bolts, nails, etc. could all usually be acquired nearby. See Anthony Slaven, *British Shipbuilding, 1500-2010*, (Lancaster, UK: Crucible, 2010), 50-53.

example of the transnationality of many shipbuilding materials. The story of the teak that was required for *Balclutha's* construction connects *Balclutha* and Glasgow to other people, world regions, and geopolitical situations in ways that are not often acknowledged or imagined.

Importance of Teak (*Tectona grandis*) for Nineteenth-Century Ships

Teak had an established reputation for durability and resilience in the face of the many dangers and challenges that ships faced at sea. There were numerous examples that earned teak this reputation, but the story of the *Salsette* is one of the strongest.

During the winter of 1808-1809, HMS *Salsette*, a 36-gun frigate of the Royal Navy, was part of a convoy escorting twelve merchant ships across the Baltic Sea. For over six months, *Salsette* had been fighting in the Anglo-Russian War. Its crew had captured a privateer, blockaded Russian ports, and captured or assisted in capturing at least eight Danish and Russian ships. As the convoy sailed together, the cold of winter came quickly and they found themselves trapped by ice. Soon, they were all completely surrounded and encased. Nearly every ship in the convoy was lost or seriously damaged, except for the *Salsette*. For the entire winter, nine long weeks, *Salsette* was stuck in the ice only to sail away undamaged once the ice receded. It was fighting in the war against Napoleon just a few months after. *Salsette's* survival was not chance. Unlike the rest of the convoy, the *Salsette* was built in Bombay's Dockyards by the famed Wadia family master builders, and it was built entirely of teak.

The *Salsette* is just one such example of the resilience of teak as a ship wood.¹⁴⁶ As evidenced by scientific research, archeological excavations, and historical observations and analyses, teak was superior to European shipbuilding woods like oak in almost every way. Life at sea is hard on people and ships alike, and ice was just one of many possible dangers faced by wooden sailing ships in the early

¹⁴⁶ For references to the *Salsette* story, see B. Arunchalam, ed., *Essays in Maritime Studies* (Mumbai: Maritime History Society, 1998); and the papers of Vice Admiral Sir Samuel Hood (1762-1814), UK National Maritime Museum. Another famous example of the survivability of a teak ship built in Bombay is the *Trincomalee*, which is currently a museum ship in Hartlepool, England, and is the oldest Royal Navy sailing ship still afloat.

nineteenth century. Another even greater danger was *Teredinidae*, a marine creature commonly referred to as shipworm.

There are over 70 known species of shipworm. Ship worms, contrary to their name, are actually mollusks. They damage ship wood by burrowing into it at their larval stage and then continuously burrowing and feeding as they grow to adulthood. One ship worm can live up to three years and, as hermaphrodites, they can procreate several million larvae per year. The expansion of global trade using European style wooden ships after 1492 also precipitated the global migration of ship worms.¹⁴⁷ As a result, ship worms are and were a problem for wooden hulled ships all over the world, but especially in warmer waters. Their ability to reproduce means they can completely destroy the wooden hull of an ocean vessel after just a few years of free exposure.¹⁴⁸

Teak, however, contains high levels of chemicals, oils, and compounds, such as silicon dioxide and tectoquinones, which are toxic to many of the organisms that cause wood rot and decay, like fungus, termites, and ship worms.¹⁴⁹ Teak also weighs less than oak and splinters less easily.¹⁵⁰ Splintering less-easily is an especially important quality for naval ship lumber, since splinters were a leading cause of injury and death during naval warfare of the time. Military commanders serving on teak ships during battle testified to this characteristic.¹⁵¹

It was, therefore, well-known by many sailors, shipbuilders, merchants, shipowners, mast-makers, blockmakers, and other maritime professionals, that teak was superior for ship construction.

¹⁴⁷ Johann Müller, "Tree species used in historical shipbuilding and their risk of being attacked by Teredinidae," Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Unterwasserarchäologie (German Society for the Promotion of Underwater Archeology), <http://www.deguwa.org/data/File/Bohrmuschel-Mueller.pdf>, (accessed 4/11/2017), 6

¹⁴⁸ Müller, "Tree species used in historical shipbuilding and their risk of being attacked by Teredinidae," 2.

Specifically, water from around 2 to 27 degrees Celsius.

¹⁴⁹ Sila Tripathi, S.R. Shukla, S. Shashikala, and Areef Sardar, "Teak (*Tectona grandis* L.F.): a preferred timber for shipbuilding in India as evidenced from shipwrecks," *Current Science*, Vol. 110, No. 11 (June 2016), 5. See also "Management of Teak Plantations for Solid Wood Products," 14.

¹⁵⁰ Sila Tripathi, S.R. Shukla, S. Shashikala, and Areef Sardar, "Teak (*Tectona grandis* L.F.): a preferred timber for shipbuilding in India as evidenced from shipwrecks," *Current Science*, Vol. 110, No. 11 (June 2016), 6

¹⁵¹ R.A. Wadia, *The Bombay Dockyard and the Wadia Master Builders* (Bombay: Godrej Memorial Printing Press, 1957), 187.

John Hillman, a British shipbuilder from the early nineteenth century, stated that “an India-built teak ship, after she has performed six voyages, is equal to one of ours, after she has performed three.”¹⁵²

Indeed, while a ship built of oak in Britain in the eighteenth century lasted 10-15 years, there were examples of teak built ships that were in working order after 50 to 60 years or more.¹⁵³

By the mid-late nineteenth century, few ships had wooden hulls, but teak’s incredible durability meant it continued to be important even after ships were no longer constructed entirely of wood. Not only were some other shipbuilding woods like oak, which was widely used in British shipbuilding until it became rare on the British Isles, less-durable and resilient than teak, they also contained chemicals that increase the rate of corrosion when contacted with metals like iron. Teak, on the other hand, protects iron from corrosion, and so was ideal for the composite ships, iron ships, and eventually steel ships, like *Balclutha*, that were being built in the middle and late-nineteenth century.¹⁵⁴

Teak was especially used for many parts of *Balclutha* that would suffer the most weather and wear, but were also in direct contact with *Balclutha*’s iron and steel.¹⁵⁵ This included some of the margins of the ship, such as skylights, animal pins, deckhouse and chart house doors, and all of the ship and ladder railings (See Figure 10). Thus, teak was an important part of *Balclutha*’s construction and used in many parts of the ship. Analyzing the source of this important material can provide interesting insight into the shipbuilding industry of the Clyde.

¹⁵² Some more specific quotes and examples given in Wadia, *The Bombay Dockyard and the Wadia Master Builders*, 184-185.

¹⁵³ Money, W. T., *Observations on the Expediency of Shipbuilding at Bombay, for the Service of His Majesty and of the East India Company* (London: Longman, 1811), 48-50.

¹⁵⁴ Money, W. T., *Observations on the Expediency of Shipbuilding at Bombay, for the Service of His Majesty and of the East India Company*, 44.

¹⁵⁵ Many parts of the ship have been renovated today with different woods, but as far as the author is aware, many of these pieces are still teak.



Figure 10 – View from *Balclutha*'s foredeck, directly above the fo'c'sle, looking toward the stern. The foredeck rails are clearly visible in the foreground, but there are also rails visible on either side of the main deck near the hull. On the starboard side, left in the image, is the ladder leading down from the foredeck to the main deck. In the middle of the image, just aft of the foremast, is the deckhouse with an animal pin in front. All of these items were mentioned in the sources as having been made, or partly made, of teak. Photo taken by author, February 2016.

Lumber Companies and the Local International Shipbuilding Community of Glasgow

One of the parts of the ship that best represents the large variety of wood used is the ship saloon. Also called the after-cabin by American sailors, the saloon was the part of the ship that was at the stern, or the farthest back end of the ship. It is a room that was used only by the captain, his family, and his guests, and was the only part of the ship that attempted to re-create some of the elegance and comfort of life on shore. It was well decorated, well-furnished, and garnished with the finest wood and wood-craft available. Depending on the size of the ship, it would have a fine-dining table, padded chairs, sofas, and even a hearth. Though it was reserved for the captain's use, its purpose was not to provide the captain with comfort. Instead, its main purpose was to allow the captain to entertain local businessmen, officials, and dignitaries in whatever port the ship was visiting. It was meant as a reflection of the shipowner and the pride they had in their ships.

In 1855 Nathaniel Hawthorne, then serving as United States Consul at Liverpool, observed the elegance of the ship saloon. He said:

There is no such finery on land, as in the cabin of one of these ships in the Liverpool trade, finished off with a paneling of rosewood, mahogany and bird's eye maple, polished and varnished, and gilded along the cornices and the edges of the panels. It is all a piece of elaborate cabinet work; and on edoes not altogether see why it should be given to the gales, and the salt-sea atmosphere, to be tossed upon waves and occupied by a rude shipmaster, in his dreadnought clothes, when the finest lady in the land has no such boudoir.¹⁵⁶

Balclutha's saloon survives today mostly as it existed when it was first built (See Figure 11). It is framed out in yellow pine and finished in teak, oak, mahogany, and bird's eye maple. The furnishings

¹⁵⁶ HAER, 29

were ornately carved, which was done partly by the shipyard workers and partly by the same company that carved the ship figurehead.¹⁵⁷



Figure 11 – *Balclutha*'s saloon as viewed from the entrance looking toward the stern of the ship.¹⁵⁸

Because there were so many types of wood used to construct ships like *Balclutha*, there were also many different lumber companies with which Charles Connell did business. Most of these companies were general lumber suppliers that owned, invested in, or had connections with saw mills and other timber extraction businesses all over the world, depending on what type of wood they were importing. There were a number of lumber importers that Charles Connell did business with on a regular

¹⁵⁷ "Charles Connell to A. & D.G. Reid, October 2, 1886," Charles Connell letters, Mitchell Library, Glasgow (T-CO 11/9).

¹⁵⁸ HAER CAL, 38-SANFRA, 200—65, "Saloon looking aft toward built-in sofa." <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, accessed 10/8/17.

basis, but more often than not, he simply sent out requests for quotes on specific orders and just bought from the lowest bidder. He even bought lumber from individuals as well as companies, including, at one point, a ship stevedore.¹⁵⁹

That being the case, it is difficult to determine exactly which of these companies sold Charles Connell the teak that eventually became a part of *Balclutha*. It could even be that it came from multiple sources. However, through a detailed analysis and comparison of company ledgers, account books, and letters, it is possible to come up with reasonable hypotheses and create an intricate overview of the complex shipbuilding community that existed in Glasgow at the time. General company ledgers give the companies with whom Charles Connell did business and when. The company account books do not give details about companies, but do explain in detail which specific materials were bought and when. Cross-analyzing the company ledgers and the specific account books is key to narrowing down which companies might have sold teak to Charles Connell over the course of *Balclutha's* construction. Letters sent between Charles Connell and these companies can then provide further insight.

Based on these sources, there were about forty different companies or individuals with whom Charles Connell had lumber transactions between the years of 1878 and 1893.¹⁶⁰ By limiting this timeframe to a period when it is most likely that these materials might have been used for *Balclutha*, this number is reduced to fourteen.¹⁶¹ Charles Connell charged the Timber Accounts for teak for *Balclutha* at least once in each month from August to December of 1886.¹⁶² Only nine of the fourteen companies above did business with Connell during this time. These are the nine companies that are

¹⁵⁹ *Charles Connell Company Ledgers, 1878-1885*, Mitchell Library, Glasgow (T-CO 1.4), pg. 673. In 1880, the stevedore of the SS Ottawa.

¹⁶⁰ *Charles Connell Company Ledgers, 1878-1885 and 1886-1893*, Mitchell Library, Glasgow (T-CO 1.4 and T-CO 1.5)

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* Specifically, from July 1885, a year before *Balclutha's* construction began, to December 1886, when *Balclutha* was launched.

¹⁶² *Charles Connell Ship Account Books, No. 147*, Mitchell Library, Glasgow T-CO 10.1; Copies also available at SFMRC, *Balclutha* Construction Ledger Accounts, VM6.5.B3B37C.3.

likely to have supplied the majority of the lumber that went into *Balclutha's* construction.¹⁶³ August and September were by far the busiest months for the amount of teak used. Only four of the nine lumber companies did business with Connell during this time. Of those four, only one, Robinson, Dunn, & Co, did business with him for both months.

Based on this analysis alone, it could be concluded that Robinson, Dunn, & Co was likely the company that sold Charles Connell the teak that helped to create *Balclutha*. Unfortunately, it is not quite that simple. Much of what we know about the timeline for construction of *Balclutha* comes from Connell's letters. There are many immediate orders for materials and parts of *Balclutha* that were communicated through these letters, but reading the letters sent between Connell and Robinson reveals that the only letter regarding ship number 147, *Balclutha*, was an order of pine for the tween decks.¹⁶⁴ In fact, when viewing all of the Connell letters that in some way discuss *Balclutha* there is, unfortunately, no mention of teak.¹⁶⁵

This is the same when viewing the records of Robinson, Dunn, & Co itself. The only record in their sales ledgers of transactions with Charles Connell during the months of *Balclutha's* construction are for boards of yellow pine, likely the same pine for the tween decks mentioned above. In later years, after *Balclutha's* construction, they sold Connell red pine and elm, as well as more yellow pine, but there is never any mention of selling teak, even after a look at the materials they sold to other shipbuilders.¹⁶⁶ The lack of mention of teak in these ledgers means it is very unlikely that this is the company that provided the teak for *Balclutha*, or anything else.

One of the only other lumber companies, aside from Robinson, Dunn, & Co, that did business with Charles Connell and still has surviving records is Edmiston and Mitchells. Edmiston and Mitchells

¹⁶³ James & William Wood; Robinson, Dunn, & Co.; Allison, Cousland, & Hamilton; Thomas Gray; J&A Stewart; James McLean; Todd McLean; James P. Thompson; Hunter Sherriff & Co.

¹⁶⁴ *Charles Connell General Letter Book, July 1885-August 1886*, 970, Mitchell Library, Glasgow, (T-CO 11/8)

¹⁶⁵ It should be noted that most of these letters are very difficult to read if not completely illegible, which means there is a possibility that a letter regarding teak was missed.

¹⁶⁶ *Robinson, Dunn, & Co. Sales Ledgers, 1886-1887*, University of Glasgow Archives (UGD 203/2/7)

very clearly imported teak from Burma. A large part of their record collection at the University of Glasgow is a series of photo albums with pictures of this extraction work, including pictures of MacGregor & Co sawmills, which would have processed the teak logs into workable lumber before they were shipped abroad.¹⁶⁷ Edmiston and Mitchells owned stock in MacGregor & Co.¹⁶⁸ There is no apparent connection to Charles Connell in the surviving ledgers and letter books of Edmiston and Mitchell.¹⁶⁹ And, oddly, according to the Charles Connell ledgers, there was a gap in business done with Edmiston and Mitchell for about five years between 1882 and 1887.¹⁷⁰

Of course, records can often be incomplete, so it is still possible that it was Edmiston and Mitchell who imported *Balclutha's* teak. It could also be that Charles Connell had a stockpile of teak saved when his yards built *Balclutha*. And it could still even be that it was Robinson & Co that sold the teak to Charles Connell, even if not likely.¹⁷¹ Further analysis on this topic will continue in "Chapter 3 – Empire of Teak."

For now, it is the nature of these lumber companies and their relationship with the shipbuilders that is of note. Robinson, Dunn, and Co. and Edmiston & Mitchells were both international companies. They both brought in lumber from all over the world through contacts with the companies that did the extracting. Even the pine that Robinson provided surely did not come from the British Isles. Instead, it likely came from Scandinavia, Canada, or both, depending on the type of pine, as both areas were large

¹⁶⁷ *Edmiston and Mitchells Photo Albums*, University of Glasgow Archives (UGD169/17/1-3).

¹⁶⁸ *Edmiston and Mitchells Letter Books, 1876-1889*, University of Glasgow Archives (UGD169/5/3), 341.

¹⁶⁹ *Edmiston and Mitchells Ledgers, 1876-1891*, University of Glasgow Archives (UGD169/1/4).

¹⁷⁰ *Charles Connell Company Ledgers, 1886-1893*, Mitchell Library, Glasgow (T-CO 1.5). See pp. 448, 497, and 438.

¹⁷¹ Corporate records, like all records, can have their shortcomings. Like all records, corporate records can be destroyed, but it can happen more frequently with corporations that go through numerous different owners in their lifetime. For example, figures for iron works casting ordinance for Clyde Iron Works were destroyed when the business went under new ownership in 1931. See Michael Moss, "From Cannon to Steam Propulsion: The Origins of Clyde Marine Engineering," *Mariner's Mirror* 98.4 (Nov. 2012), 467-488. Also like all historical records, it is important to be critical of the source being used. When it comes to corporate records specifically, firms wanted their company to be perceived well, resulting in a certain "gloss" over their book-keeping. See Lewis Johnman and Hugh Murphy, "Maritime and Business History in Britain: Past, Present and Future?" *International Journal of Maritime History* 19 (2007), 239-270, 245.

exporters of pine during this period.¹⁷² Likewise, Edmiston and Mitchells had contacts, and indeed even owned shares, in a sawmill company in Burma that processed teak logs extracted from the mountains.

While both these companies were by nature international with connections across the world, they also both belonged to a cohort of similar locally based, Glaswegian companies. In fact, of the twenty-five companies from which Charles Connell bought timber between 1886 and 1893, fifteen were based in Glasgow. The rest were generally based near Glasgow or somewhere else in Scotland.¹⁷³ Of the fourteen companies that had timber transactions with Charles Connell on or around the year *Balclutha* was built, eight of them were based in Glasgow.¹⁷⁴ One of the only times Connell had interactions with companies outside of Scotland was for insurance purposes, updating Lloyd's in London with the progress of the ship's construction and planning for visits and inspections.

These lumber companies, along with all the other Glaswegian companies that were in some way connected with shipbuilding, were all part of a complex, interconnected community. Many people who practiced one profession, such as shipbuilding, were also often invested in another, like lumber import. This community even went beyond business relationships and was often based on strong familial bonds. Examples of this can be found back with *Balclutha's* first owner, Robert McMillan.

McMillan retained ownership of *Balclutha* for thirteen years, but for Robert McMillan, ship owning was more of a small side-business. His main occupation was shipbuilding. He owned and managed Archibald McMillan & Son, which was a shipbuilding firm on the Leven, a small river that flows into the Clyde. The firm was started by his grandfather, Archibald, in 1834. As was usually the case for the son of a shipyard owner, Robert began working at the construction yard as soon as he was old

¹⁷² See Basil Greenhill and Ann Giffard, *The Merchant Sailing Ship: A photographic History* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 38. By 1905, most pine came from America and Canada. See Statistics relating to the import of teak into the United Kingdom, continental Europe, America, Australasia and Africa between 1875 and 1942, with related papers, London City Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40155.

¹⁷³ *Charles Connell Company Ledgers, 1886-1893*, Mitchell Library, Glasgow (T-CO 1.5).

¹⁷⁴ *Charles Connell Company Ledgers, 1878-1885 and 1886-1893*, Mitchell Library, Glasgow (T-CO 1.4 and T-CO 1.5).

enough. All of his work done at the yard was in preparation for his eventual management of the business. He started as an apprentice carpenter, but eventually also worked in the yard's drawing office and counting house. In 1868, at the age of 24, he and his younger brother, John, were made full partners. When John died early at the age of 40 in 1888, Robert became head of the company, their father having already retired from the business.¹⁷⁵

Most dockyards in Glasgow were family owned, just as McMillan's was, and management was passed down from generation to generation. Even when Robert converted his family dockyard to a limited liability company in 1890, most of the shares continued to be held by family members and close family friends.¹⁷⁶ There were a few, however, that were publicly owned companies. Barclay, Curle & Co., for example, is a Clyde dockyard company that was incorporated in 1884. When looking at the shareholders for Barclay, we see a wide variety of people from different professional and occupational backgrounds. They range from engineers, to office clerks, to merchants, to cashiers. These investors were also almost entirely residents of Glasgow or nearby, further solidifying the idea of a local business community on the Clyde.¹⁷⁷

Archibald McMillan & Son produced vessels of all different types, including steel-hulled sailing vessels like the *Balclutha*. In fact, when *Balclutha* was built, it was one of the first steel-hulled sailing vessels for Charles Connell & Co., but Archibald McMillan & Son had already been building steel-hulled sailing vessels for five years. In the year *Balclutha* was built, in fact, the McMillan yard launched four similar steel-hulled sailing ships.¹⁷⁸ Between 1878 and 1906, Archibald McMillan & Son would come to own about ten ships, most of which were built in their own yards.¹⁷⁹ It is not certain why McMillan

¹⁷⁵ HAER, 8.

¹⁷⁶ HAER, 8.

¹⁷⁷ "Barclay Shareholder List, Sept. 1889 and 1894," Mitchell Library Archives, Glasgow (TD265/21).

¹⁷⁸ HAER, 11.

¹⁷⁹ These were the *MacBeth*, *MacLeod*, *MacMillan*, *Macdiarmid* – of which J.F. Constable was captain of when he was summoned to supervise the completion of the *Balclutha* and be its first commander – and the *Kentigern* (steam), *Vortigern* (steam), *Dumbarton* (steam), and *Garscube* (steam), HAER, 10-11.

would have commissioned a ship at another yard when his own yard was so successful and experienced at building the same type of ship. It could be that his yard was already at capacity.¹⁸⁰ Given that they launched four similar vessels that year, this was likely the case. However, when considering this in the context of the close shipbuilding community of Glasgow, McMillan trusting another yard with the construction of his ship is not an odd concept.

Many of these Glaswegian family companies even bonded through marriage. In 1868, Robert married Mary McLeod, the daughter of a lumber importer.¹⁸¹ In July 1904, Robert's son, William, married Catherine Denny. Catherine was the daughter of James Denny, a shipbuilder whose dockyard neighbored the McMillan yard. They married at the Denny home and the parents of the bride threw a dinner for 200 guests at the Denny dockyard. Their union was celebrated with flags and decorations on public buildings in Dumbarton and all the buildings in both shipyards. To top off the grandiose affair, all non-essential employees for both yards were given a half-day holiday¹⁸²

Conclusion

Shipbuilding on the Clyde declined greatly after World War II. At the time of the author's research visit to Glasgow, there were only a few yards remaining. One was a yard constructing anti-pirate vessels for the Royal Navy, designed specifically to combat the small, fast boats and ships used by present day pirates off such coasts as Somalia (See Figure 13).¹⁸³ During this research trip, the author was also fortunate to view the spot along the Clyde River where the Charles Connell dockyard once was (See Figure 14) and visit the museum ship, *Glenlee*, which is, as mentioned, one of the few surviving

¹⁸⁰ HAER, 11.

¹⁸¹ HAER, 8.

¹⁸² HAER, 9.

¹⁸³ This information was shared by the river boat guide, who also explained that that this present-day construction was part of a promise from London; should Scotland decide to stay a part of the United Kingdom after the Scottish Independence Referendum of 2014, they would allow these ships to be built in Glasgow, providing jobs and money to the local economy.

Clyde built merchant ships from the nineteenth century (See Figure 12). Having been restored beautifully, *Glenlee* is now a testament to Glasgow's maritime history. Shipbuilding, locals know, was essential to the history and heritage of Glasgow. Whether talking with *Glenlee* historians and guides, river speed boat captains, hotel concierges, or an old man stopping into the local pub for a pint after work, it quickly becomes clear that Glaswegians are and were very proud of their local thriving industry and community. *Balclutha* itself was named after the city. In fact, naming ships based on Scottish villages, cities, mountains, and other landmarks was a common practice for Clyde shipbuilders of this period.¹⁸⁴



Figure 12 – Bow of *Glenlee*. The paint pattern on the hull, which resembles *Balclutha*, was shared by most merchant ships of the period. From a distance, it was hoped that they would appear armed with cannons, and so discourage potential pirate attacks. Photo taken by author, July 2016.

¹⁸⁴ There are many, many examples of this, and the fact has also been mentioned in other works of history. See, for example, San Francisco Maritime Museum, “*Balclutha*’: Her History & Restoration,” 41. One ship, *Falls of Clyde*, is now in Honolulu, though it might not be for much longer.



Figures 13-14 – Left: Modern shipbuilding; Right: Near the location on shore where the Charles Connell yards once were and where *Balclutha* was constructed. Both photos taken from boat on the Clyde by author, July 2016.

Just as San Francisco would not be the city it is today without the global shipping networks of *Balclutha's* time, Glasgow would not be the city it is today without the shipbuilding community of the same period. In the case of *Balclutha* and merchant ships like it, the agricultural export prosperity of one place led directly to the production output prosperity of the other. Ships like *Balclutha* were built on the Clyde to accommodate a trade that developed in conjunction with another local economic boom halfway around the world in California, where wheat was grown in the San Joaquin Valley and its farming and sale was orchestrated by wealthy merchants based in San Francisco. And Glasgow was not the only place. On the eastern coast of the United States, too, ships were being constructed to take advantage of the California wheat trade. The global trade in materials and ship parts, likewise, was undoubtedly precipitated by the increase in shipbuilding in both these areas. Each of these hundreds of ships would have gone on to live their own lives with different fates and experiences.

Looking at the construction of *Balclutha* shows the many interactions required between different private companies and individuals. These interactions represented an interconnected, local business community. The economic aspects of this local industry have been commented on before in

the context of industrial complexes based on supply and demand.¹⁸⁵ Analyzing this industry through the lens of one ship, however, has revealed that there was more than just connections between companies, there were connections between people. While they certainly competed for commissions, most of the owners and managers of the shipping companies and related businesses of Glasgow knew one another, grew-up together, intermarried, and worked together for a number of business related and personal reasons. This community nurtured a Clyde patriotism that exists still today. Further analysis of the possible origins of teak, a material that was not readily available to this industrial center, will show that these regional connections extend far abroad, connecting it to a wider global imperial network of economic and geo-political power struggles.

¹⁸⁵ Slaven, *British Shipbuilding*, 51-54. Slaven also details the changes in ownership of these industrial complexes. The familial ownership described here eventually changed as more companies went public and larger firms began to move in and buy multiple different yards. At the time of this dissertation's study however, when *Balclutha* was built, it was still the case that most dockyards and connected companies were mostly family owned.

Life and Times of *Balclutha*

Cape Horner, Globe Trotter, and Pacific Voyager

*On board the famous Balclutha
For she was as good as another
Where the boys went the rig
Got as fat as a pig
Could dance a wild jig
Make a watch or a wig
While Henderson and Pearce
Made Hedgeland so fierce
That Tony and Williams
Shed crocodile tears*

Shanty sung by one of the seamen on *Balclutha's* first voyage, as remembered by Pearce nearly eighty years later.¹⁸⁶

With Seaman Pearce aboard, *Balclutha* arrived in San Francisco for the first time on June 9, 1887. Upon approaching the Golden Gate, they were first greeted by customs, then by harbor police. Finally, they were greeted by “boarding house proprietors.” Often when a ship came into port, there would be multiple boats like this to greet them. Many of these boats represented seaside shops trying to sell their wares to sailors. They would be strategically positioned alongside docks so they could catch sailors as soon as they came into port. Charles Nordhoff, who wrote in 1884 about life on ocean vessels, described the usual scene:

[T]he word was passed that the bumboats were alongside, and immediately a crowd besieged the narrow gangway anxious to examine their contents...The boats themselves were the scenes of most dire confusion. The articles kept for sale were piled away in the bow and stern, the middle of the boat left as a gangway or passage for customers. There was a terrible din, every one speaking, or rather hallooing at the top of his voice. The boats were continually rolling from side to side, as those on board changed places, and

¹⁸⁶ “Letter from Captain Norman J. Pearce to Karl Kortum,” early 1954, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew, Binder 2*, SFMRC.

not infrequently one would go gunwale under, and ship water, to the dismay of the owner, and the delight of mischievous sailors.¹⁸⁷

The “boarding house proprietors” that Pearce writes of might have just been owners of temporary housing that specialized in bedding sailors for their limited stays in the city. Many of these boarding houses were connected with crimpers, who made their money recruiting sailors for vessels that were shorthanded. This “recruiting” often meant tricking, drugging, or otherwise forcing men into service. Shanghaing was a big business in San Francisco at this time, as it was in most port cities around the world. The “boarding house representatives,” would have boarded *Balclutha* to try and convince sailors to leave their ship and join another, probably with the help of some free whiskey. Four seamen deserted *Balclutha* at this time. They must have gotten a good deal, because desertion, even when in port, meant breaking your contract and not receiving your full pay.¹⁸⁸

The coal *Balclutha* had shipped for this first trip was not for the city itself. It was unloaded for a White Star Lines ship that was bound for trade with Japan and China. After unloading, *Balclutha* was towed to Sausalito, across the bay, north of San Francisco. There, the ship and crew anchored for three months while waiting for their cargo. Ships would often have to wait like this.¹⁸⁹ For this reason, aside from the officers, apprentices, and idlers, the crew that a ship came into port with was rarely the same

¹⁸⁷ Charles Nordhoff, *Sailor Life on Man-of-War and Merchant Vessels* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1884), 153-154. Quoted in Dorothy Denneen Volo and James M. Volo, *Daily Life in the Age of Sail* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2002). For some more about the docks and the dangerous maritime world of the city of San Francisco in the nineteenth century, see Herbert Asbury, *The Barbary Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underworld* (New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press, 1933); Daniel Bacon, *Walking San Francisco on the Barbary Coast Trail, Second Edition*, Illustrations by Yongki Yoon (New York: Quicksilver Press, 1997); and John Haskell Kemble, *San Francisco Bay: A Pictorial Maritime History* (Centreville, MD: Cornell Maritime Press, 1957).

¹⁸⁸ Four is actually not that many. The next couple times *Balclutha* arrived at San Francisco, eight and ten sailors deserted. *HAER*, 38-39.

¹⁸⁹ Though this time in particular was apparently because they were waiting for the price of grain to rise. See *HAER*, 37.

crew that left.¹⁹⁰ Most regular sailors could not afford to wait in port and needed to sign on to a new ship as soon as possible in order to get more pay.

Pearce, however, had signed on for a year contract, so he waited with the ship.¹⁹¹ His life for these few months was “dull and monotonous.” Sausalito is only a couple miles from San Francisco, but at this time, without bridges, it would have been a difficult and expensive trip to make. He was only able to see the city once when some friends of his from Wexford Ireland, who were living in the area, were able to show him around. Aside from that, his days were spent mostly taxying the captain around the bay on his small boat.

Once loaded with wheat, Pearce and *Balclutha* headed back around the Horn for Queenstown, Ireland. Here, Captain Constable received further orders for where to go next. This was an important step. Since a ship was at sea for months at the time and there was no way of communicating with it, a shipment’s destination could easily change while it was at sea. Then they headed to Fleetwood, England, where their shipment of wheat was unloaded. And finally, having finished his year of service plus six days, Pearce left the ship here and headed to the Navigation School in Plymouth, where he passed his mate’s exam after a month of study, on his way to become the Captain that he had hoped to be.¹⁹²

Balclutha, however, continued with its work. After heading to Swansea, Wales, and loading with 2,660 tons of coal, it set sail on March 3, 1888 for its second journey around the Horn for San

¹⁹⁰ “Idlers,” is what the seamen often called the handymen or specialists on board, such as the carpenter and sailmaker. They were referred to as idlers by the sailors because they did not have to do the same watches that sailors did, which meant four hours of work followed by four hours of rest, repeated throughout the voyage. However, the “idlers” actually worked much more than regular sailors, they just worked for a full day, usually twelve to sixteen hours, then slept in the evening.

¹⁹¹ “Letter from Captain Norman J. Pearce to Karl Kortum,” early 1954, found in *Balclutha – Masters and Crew, Binder 2*, SFMRC.

¹⁹² Pearce story in “Letter from Captain Norman J. Pearce to Karl Kortum,” March 24, 1954, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew, Binder 2*, SFMRC. Captain Pearce passed away on November 11, 1960 at the age of 94. Pearce’s son wrote Karl Kortum a letter eight days later, informing him of the Captain’s passing and telling him that “He was always proud and thrilled by his interest with you. It was these interests that kept him alive so long . . . Thank you for all you have done for him.” See “Letter from Pearce’s son to Karl Kortum,” November 19, 1960, found in *Balclutha – Masters and Crew, Binder 2*, SFMRC.

Francisco.¹⁹³ For three years, *Balclutha* made these roundtrips from Britain to San Francisco as part of the grain trade. Though mostly carrying wheat and coal, it also carried cement, glass, soap, sulfur, steel wire, olive oil, wine, and liquor from Antwerp, Belgium.¹⁹⁴ Many of these were for direct sale or use in San Francisco. Cement, for example, was used for buildings, roads, and fortifications in and around the city. Though this cement could have been acquired from the eastern United States, it was cheaper to get Belgian cement across the ocean than it was to get it across land.¹⁹⁵

When *Balclutha* was built, the grain trade with California was already in decline. In 1886, the year of *Balclutha's* birth, 197 vessels from all over the world were loaded with wheat in San Francisco. Just four years earlier, when the trade was at its peak, the number of vessels was 559. There are a number of possible explanations for this decline. Mostly, wheat farming was growing in other agricultural regions that were closer to Europe in terms of railroad networks. For example, wheat farming was on the rise in the American mid-west, so wheat leaving from ports on the Atlantic coast was much easier to get to Europe than having to make the trip around the horn. Likewise, Russia was reclaiming its former place as a significant wheat exporter, and it was much easier to ship wheat from Russia than from California. Between 1888 and 1890 wheat imports to Britain from Russia exceeded that from the United States.¹⁹⁶

Balclutha made its last trip carrying wheat from San Francisco in 1890. After that, it began carrying general cargo to and from many different ports of the world, wherever a cargo ship was needed. It made trips to South Africa, New Zealand, New York, Amsterdam, Peru, Wales, Chile, Uruguay, and Rangoon and carried all different types of cargo such as coal, case oil, rice, guano, nitrate, beer, cocoa, furniture, jute, whiskey, canned sardines, beans, and barley (See Figure 15).¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ *HAER*, 145

¹⁹⁴ *HAER*, 39.

¹⁹⁵ "Cargo is King," *Balclutha* Museum Ship Exhibit, San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park

¹⁹⁶ *HAER*, 38.

¹⁹⁷ Overviewed in *HAER*, especially in appendix chronicling *Balclutha's* voyages.

After nine years of sailing around the world, *Balclutha* was sold in 1899 to a group of three San Francisco based companies.¹⁹⁸ One was J.J. Moore & Company, which was an exporting and shipping company. The other two were Pope & Talbot and Renton, Holmes & Company. These last two companies were owners and operators of two of the largest sawmills on the Puget Sound. *Balclutha* was bought to be used in the lumber trade with Australia. J.J. Moore was then exporting millions of feet of mining timber a year, and the lumber was supplied by the two lumber companies.

The idea of exporting lumber from the Pacific Northwest was discussed in Oregon as early as the late-1880s.¹⁹⁹ In the 1890s, different types of Oregon lumber were used for building homes in Australia. Australian woods, apparently, were too hard for building and joining. Spruce, sold as “Oregon pine,” was used for bridge work and housing exteriors. Sugar pine was also used, and redwood was used for cabinet work in homes.²⁰⁰ At the time *Balclutha* got into the trade in the late 1890s, the lumber was being imported to Australia especially to help construct silver mines.²⁰¹

The trade went well, at least for a few years. Demand in Australia was generally steady and J.J. Moore also had a contract with Southern Pacific to deliver about 100,000 tons of coal annually, which was carried back from Australia on the return trips.²⁰² Unfortunately, full square-rigged ships like *Balclutha* were not particularly good lumber carriers, especially when compared with schooners and barquentines. Their rigging got in the way of the lumber loading slings and, while *Balclutha* had

¹⁹⁸ This represents a trend in ship-owning that was not uncommon. Ships were often like small public companies, owned by many individual investors, each controlling a different amount of shares in the ship. See John Lyman, “The Part-owners of a British Sailing Vessel, 1887-1910,” *Mariner’s Mirror* 58.4 (Nov. 1972), 463-465, in which Lyman looks at a ship that was owned by a few larger firms, a couple smaller ones, and numerous individual investors with professions ranging from schoolmaster, to grocer, to farmer; or Helen Doe, “Waiting for her ship to come in? The female investor in nineteenth-century sailing vessels,” *Economic History Review*, 63.1, 85-106, in which Doe demonstrates that, even though shipbuilding investment has traditionally been considered a risky arena only suited for aggressive male investors, women were in fact making big investments in shipping and ship building in Britain through the purchase of shares for individual ships.

¹⁹⁹ *The State Rights Democrat*, May 18, 1888

²⁰⁰ *The Opelousas Courier*, August 12, 1893. According to this article, the trade was already on the decline.

²⁰¹ “Cargo is King,” *Balclutha* Museum Ship Exhibit, San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park

²⁰² San Francisco Maritime Museum, “*Balclutha*: Her History & Restoration,” *Nautical Research Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 3-4, (March-April 1955), 91

substantial space in the cargo hold, it was difficult to stack lumber on deck, which was a strategy that schooners could use to fit more lumber on their voyages.²⁰³ So, in 1903 and 1904, *Balclutha* was chartered out to the Alaska Packers' Association for use in transporting fishermen, gear, and canners up to Alaska for the salmon fishing seasons. For *Balclutha*, this would lead to a disaster that very nearly meant its end.

²⁰³ San Francisco Maritime Museum, "'Balclutha': Her History & Restoration," *Nautical Research Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 3-4, (March-April 1955).

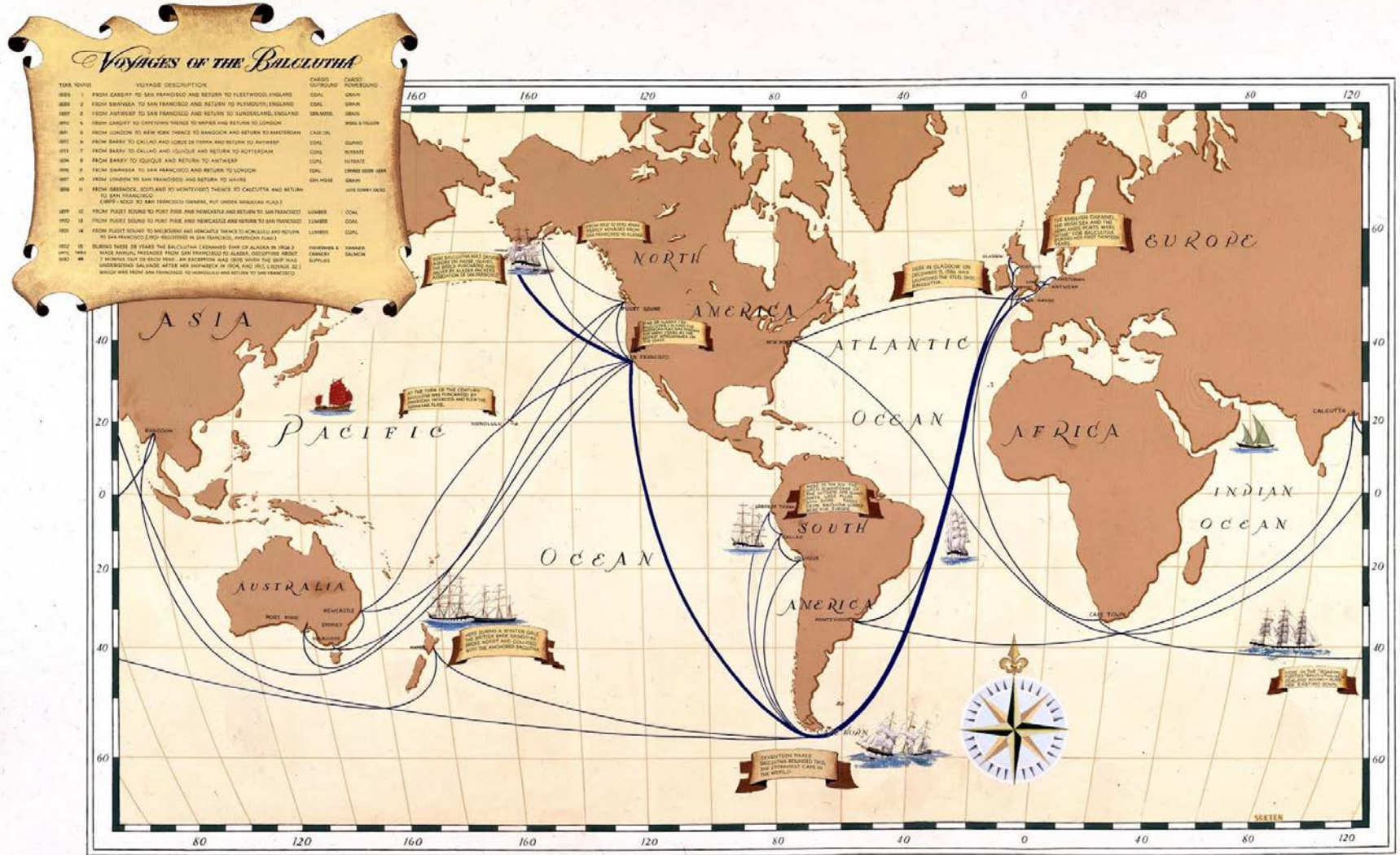


Figure 15 – Image of an exhibit map in *Balclutha's* shelter deck that shows all the journeys the ship took. Date and artist unknown, though it might be dated to the creation of the current ship exhibit in the 1980s.

Chapter 3

Empire of Teak

Before J.J. Moore contracted *Balclutha* out for the Alaska salmon fishing industry, *Balclutha's* main purpose was carrying lumber across the Pacific. While there is no evidence found that this lumber was used for shipbuilding, it is interesting to observe that *Balclutha* eventually carried one of the types of material that was needed for its construction. There was also, at one point, a ship that carried teak to Glasgow for this purpose. Unfortunately, the author could not find that exact ship. However, it is still possible to deduce where that teak originated.

Though it is now grown in almost every tropical region in the world, teak is indigenous to present day India, Myanmar, Thailand, and Laos, and was not introduced to areas outside of South and Southeast Asia until the early twentieth century.²⁰⁴ Teak had been traded and used in these areas for boat and ship building for thousands of years before European merchants forcefully entered the market. By the time of *Balclutha's* construction, many of the major teak forests on the western coast of India had been mostly depleted.²⁰⁵ From 1883-1885, there were 123,828 teak shipments out of Burma to Europe. This is compared to 24,700 total shipments from Bombay.²⁰⁶ European involvement in the teak trade from Thailand, or upper Siam at the time, was limited only to a few British merchants. Larger corporations like the Borneo Company and the Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation did not enter the

²⁰⁴ "Management of Teak Plantations for Solid Wood Products," International Society of Tropical Foresters Special Report (December 2009). Reprinted with permission of the Society of American Foresters: Proceedings, SAF National Convention, International Trade and Markets Track, 30 September – 4 October 2009, Orlando Florida pg. 2. Africa in 1902 (Nigeria) and 1905 (Ghana) and Americas in 1913 (Trinidad) and 1926 (Panama). Though Indian teak is often described as superior in the sources, it was Burmese teak that was eventually imported around the world, as its seeds took better to foreign soils, pg. 20.

²⁰⁵ R.A. Wadia, *The Bombay Dockyard and the Wadia Master Builders* (Bombay: Godrej Memorial Printing Press, 1957), 222-223. According to this source, this was especially true of Gujarat and Konkan forests.

²⁰⁶ "Total shipments of corporation and opposition," *Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Limited: Statistics on Production and Working Costs in Burma*, London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40331. This includes both the ports of Rangoon and Moulmein, the latter being far busier in the years before the annexation of Upper Burma.

market there until the 1880s.²⁰⁷ The Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation came to dominate this trade in Siam, but that was not until the 1890s and early twentieth century.²⁰⁸

Given these facts, and the previous chapter's connections between the Charles Connell yard and lumber import companies like Edmiston & Mitchell who had direct investment in teak extraction in Burma, it is most likely Burmese teak that went into *Balclutha's* construction. This chapter will continue the commodity chain of teak, tracing it back to teak extraction in the mountains of Burma. It will analyze the extraction process and the aggressive imperial business expansion that created an "Empire of Teak."²⁰⁹ This empire was directly connected to traditional interpretations of British imperial expansion and connections, but the reality is a bit more complex. The Empire of Teak constituted negotiations between many groups and individuals, from international corporations, to nation-states, to local elites and entrepreneurs.

The history of British expansion into Burma as it relates to the extraction of teak has been widely researched and discussed by historians such as Raymond Bryant, Greg Barton, and Greg Bennett. Their work will be invaluable to this chapter's history and analysis. Many of the analyses presented here will match the conclusions of these previous scholars, but they will also reveal a bit more. By following the materials required to build a ship to its source, this chapter begins its discussion of this empire from the base of the network it surrounds. Previous studies have discussed the importance of teak, and they have even discussed the complexities of the different actors in this imperial system, but they are still in the context of British imperial expansion. In this context, the acquisition of teak drove the expansion of the British Empire. However, while the acquisition of teak and expansion into Burma certainly fits

²⁰⁷ See Gregory A. Barton and Brett M. Bennett, "Forestry as Foreign Policy Anglo-Siamese Relations and the Origins of Britain's Informal Empire in the Teak Forests of Northern Siam, 1883-1925," *Itinerario volume XXXIV, issue 2* (2010), 65-86, 65.

²⁰⁸ Barton and Bennett, "Forestry as Foreign Policy Anglo-Siamese Relations and the Origins of Britain's Informal Empire in the Teak Forests of Northern Siam, 1883-1925," 67.

²⁰⁹ For another recent study outlining imperial networks based on a material commodity, see Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014).

traditional historiographical narratives for British imperial expansion, it should not be assumed that this empire was entirely British. Indeed, these imperial networks were not expanded for the British state or for the Empire; they were expanded for the extraction and sale of teak. Agents of the British state certainly benefitted from these imperial networks, eventually even gaining political control of Burma. But, this group was just one of many that were a part of negotiations required to create this empire. Therefore, as will be demonstrated, British state agents were not the only group that benefitted, nor were they even necessarily the group that benefitted the most.

Teak Use in Shipping History and the Origins of the Nineteenth Century Empire of Teak

Teak was used for construction of watercraft in India since the early Indus Valley civilizations.²¹⁰ Archeological evaluations of shipwrecks in the Indian Ocean and the waters of Southeast Asia show that teak was also used extensively for ships built in the Middle East, India, and Southeast Asia for hundreds of years before Europeans began to push their way into the lucrative maritime trade stretching from Africa to East Asia.²¹¹ Portuguese and Dutch merchants were the first Europeans, but English and British merchants would eventually come to dominate this maritime trade and control the entire Indian subcontinent. Many materials and commodities attracted the British merchants, but as will be shown, it was teak that drove the forceful economic expansion on the west coast of India. The desire for teak then eventually led to aggressive economic and state expansion into Southeast Asia. The original need for teak was connected directly with the deforestation of the British Islands caused by over-zealous shipbuilding.

²¹⁰ Sila Tripathi, S.R. Shukla, S. Shashikala, and Areef Sardar, "Teak (*Tectona grandis* L.F.): a preferred timber for shipbuilding in India as evidenced from shipwrecks," *Current Science*, Vol. 110, No. 11 (June 2016), 1. Archeological excavations at Harappa show that teak was also used for a variety of other construction, such as houses.

²¹¹ Tripathi, Shukla, Shashikala, and Sardar, "Teak (*Tectona grandis* L.F.): a preferred timber for shipbuilding in India as evidenced from shipwrecks," 4. There is reference to one shipwreck in particular dating from the 9th century CE. It was built of teak, either in the Middle East or India, and was found off the coast of Indonesia.

There have been many examples of deforestation connected to shipbuilding in history. Lebanon Cedar, an important symbol to the history of that country, is one of the oldest examples. It was used for shipbuilding as early as 5000 years ago, especially in Ancient Egypt, and is now nearly gone in many places. There are currently huge efforts to replant this tree that used to be prevalent all over the mountains of the eastern Mediterranean. Another example can be found in Spain due to the increase in need of galleys and warships to construct and maintain its massive maritime empire in the 16th Century, following Columbus's trip to the Americas.²¹²

Great Britain found itself in a similar situation during the eighteenth century as English oak, the preferred wood for shipbuilding in British shipyards at the time, was becoming increasingly scarce due to huge expansions in maritime power. The British navy nearly tripled in size during the second half of the eighteenth century.²¹³ Likewise, by 1771, the East India Company had a merchant and naval fleet that amounted to 61,000 tons, most, if not all, of which would have been constructed of English oak.²¹⁴ The need for lumber for wood hulled ships like these did not stop with their construction; ships during this period needed repair and upkeep at least once every 5-7 years, assuming the hazards of the sea or war did not necessitate an earlier refit. For each of these refits, every ship needed about ¼ the amount of the lumber required for its initial construction.²¹⁵

The growing scarcity of oak during this period of immense maritime growth was a concern for the British government as early as the Seven Years War.²¹⁶ In 1772, they even passed an act that limited

²¹² Müller, "Tree species used in historical shipbuilding and their risk of being attacked by Teredinidae," 1.

²¹³ Money, *Observations on the Expediency of Shipbuilding at Bombay, for the Service of His Majesty and of the East India Company*, 8.

²¹⁴ Money, *Observations on the Expediency of Shipbuilding at Bombay, for the Service of His Majesty and of the East India Company*, 30.

²¹⁵ Money, *Observations on the Expediency of Shipbuilding at Bombay, for the Service of His Majesty and of the East India Company*, 31-32.

²¹⁶ Money, *Observations on the Expediency of Shipbuilding at Bombay, for the Service of His Majesty and of the East India Company*, 9. See also the table on page 24 of this reference comparing lumber sources in 1608 with lumber sources in 1783. According to this data, quantity of lumber in forests around England was just about 1/6th what it was. Shipbuilders in London, however, denied any shortage of oak in Great Britain and actively argued and

the East India Company from building anymore ships until they reduced their total tonnage to 45,000. This was achieved in 1776, at which point the Company began building with renewed zeal, increasing their tonnage to 110, 000 by 1811.²¹⁷

It was this environment of exponential maritime growth and rapid depletion of British oak forests that explains why, by the turn of the nineteenth century, the British government and the East India Company developed an earnest interest in alternative supplies of ship lumber. Neither wanted to be forced to rely on other nations or other companies for the lumber they needed to expand and support their large fleets and continued military and economic maritime dominance. The American colonies had developed lumber and shipbuilding industries, but they were now independent. Canadian oak was a possibility, though it was considered far inferior to English oak and inferior especially to the quality of the teak found in the forests of Malabar on the southwest coast of India. In India, they had already been using teak for ship construction for thousands of years. Many argued that these resources and industries could and should be developed and “rendered subservient to the wants of England.”²¹⁸

Therefore, while this chapter’s analysis of the Empire of Teak will focus on the period when *Balclutha* was built, the history of this empire goes back much further. It begins with the deforestation of the British Isles, the need to acquire new sources of lumber, and the English East India Company’s business incursions into India. From these first incursions, merchants and investors would continuously expand their teak interests until they spread into Burma and eventually even Siam.

fought against the merits of teak and the need to find new sources of timber. This is the main topic of Money’s writing.

²¹⁷ Money, *Observations on the Expediency of Shipbuilding at Bombay, for the Service of His Majesty and of the East India Company*, 30.

²¹⁸ Money, *Observations on the Expediency of Shipbuilding at Bombay, for the Service of His Majesty and of the East India Company*, 43.

The East India Company was founded on the last day of 1600 with a Royal Charter from Queen Elizabeth I. Trade with India began the following year with a modest fleet of four ships.²¹⁹ At first, simple trade was the main focus of the Company. With that purpose, its merchants made important business connections all over the Indian subcontinent. Within 150 years, however, with the decline of Mughal power and a series of wars with the Portuguese, Dutch, and their French counterpart, *la Compagnie française des Indes orientales*, the British East India Company had acquired political control in parts of Eastern India, especially Madras and Bengal.

During the early years of the company's rule, their main interest was in agriculture. Forests were seen as a hindrance to farming, so vast areas were simply cut down.²²⁰ As the need for lumber sources outside of Britain grew and the British government gave more allowances to the Company to have a larger private fleet, the Company looked toward the Malabar forests on the western coast of India.²²¹ There had been a Company presence in the area since the early seventeenth century, but the need for lumber in the latter-half of the eighteenth century pushed the company toward more aggressive business and trade expansion.

As was the case with all of India before the British merchants arrived, there was already an established trade network in the Malabar. A web of foreign traders, local merchant classes, and regional elites controlled the trade of teak. The British merchants began their business incursions by building alliances with the local merchant classes over many decades. By the 1790's, they had completely pushed out all other European interests, including mostly French and Dutch traders. By 1799, through strong

²¹⁹ *Red Dragon, Hector, Ascension, and Susan*. Sheela Mohan Nabar, *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade 1792-1823* (Serials Publications, 2007), 1.

²²⁰ Nabar, *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade*, 3.

²²¹ The Charter of 1793 authorized the East India Company to build 3000 tons of shipping every year for private trade. In 1795, the Company was authorized by the British Government to use ships built in India. Nabar, *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade*, 5.

alliances with local merchants and a series of wars with Mysore, the Company had wrested political control over the Malabar from the regional elites.²²²

Once political control over the teak forests was acquired, the Company began to monopolize all teak extraction and sales. They transferred forest administration from their government in Madras to their government in Bombay, which was closer to the Malabar teak forests. By the early nineteenth century Bombay, which already had European style shipyards and was considered a superior harbor, gained a new status as shipbuilding, marketing, and trading center for the East India Company.²²³ Over the course of the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Company Court of Directors began asserting sovereignty over the teak forests by sending surveyors and appointing a special Conservator of Forests position, whose job it would be to monitor teak extraction and conserve the forests for Company use.²²⁴ They also passed decrees that forbade individuals from cutting down teak, required a license to sell teak, and ordered that no sales of teak were to be made to traders from Arabia, Persia, or even local Indian provinces.²²⁵ By 1820, all private trade in timber had ended. Malabar teak was in the control of the Company for the sole purpose of shipbuilding.²²⁶

However, this monopoly on the teak trade of the western coast of India would only last a few years. The Company's strict control of timber gave rise to discontent from local merchants. These merchants once profited from the free trade of lumber and were now following the Company monopoly very reluctantly. Fearing loss of loyalty from the very class of people the British merchants had originally allied themselves with in order to gain control, the Bombay government abolished the Conservator of Forests position, effectively ending their strict control of the Malabar teak lumber trade.²²⁷

²²² Nabar, *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade*, 10-11.

²²³ Nabar, *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade*, 11-12.

²²⁴ This was done in 1807. Nabar, *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade*, 20-21.

²²⁵ 1801, 1807 and 1810. Nabar, *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade*, 20-36.

²²⁶ Nabar, *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade*, 54.

²²⁷ See Nabar, *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade*, Chapter Six, "The End of Government Timber Monopoly in 1823."

As discussed in the introduction, such use of a forest conservation position or department in order to monopolize control of lumber is a common theme in state development. While present day conservation movements have beginnings in these forestry departments, their formations were directly connected with increases in the power of the nation-state. It must be noted, therefore, that what we see here is the exact same tactics employed not by a nation-state, but by a corporation, acting separately from the nation-state of which it was supposedly a part. Thanks to the research of other scholars, such as Philip Stern, this can be added as just one of many instances in which the East India Company acted as a state.²²⁸ Stern's analyses, however, is focused on the Company as the early modern beginnings of British imperial control of India. The following sections of this chapter will demonstrate how corporations acting as states, separate from the nations whose sovereignty they were supposedly under, constitutes a historical event that did not end with the collapse of the East India Company-State.

The Empire of Teak Expands into Burma and Beyond

Following the Indian Rebellion of 1857, the East India Company was nationalized and the British crown took complete control of all its possessions in India. By 1874, the Company had been dissolved completely.²²⁹ These events in the middle of the nineteenth century - including the Company abolishment of the Conservator, its loss of India, and its eventual break-up - all opened south Asian markets to other merchants and companies. One of the most successful of these companies was the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation (BBTC).

The BBTC was founded in Bombay in 1863. It was managed and majority owned by two Scottish brothers, William and Andrew Wallace. Over the course of just a couple decades, the BBTC expanded

²²⁸ Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

²²⁹ For a more detailed but concise overview of these events, see Janice E. Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), especially pp. 100-102

from British controlled lower-Burma into the independent Kingdom of Burma and gained a monopoly over the Kingdom's teak leases, becoming by far the largest teak trader in Burma. Though other companies would join, the BBTC continued to dominate the trade into the middle of the twentieth century.²³⁰

Just like in India, there was already a thriving teak trade in Burma before European merchants began to intercede. Precolonial Burmese royalty and nobility used teak as their preferred construction lumber for homes, but it had also been used for shipbuilding since at least the seventeenth century. As a result of teak's growing global importance in the eighteenth century, a royal monopoly on teak was declared and a regulatory system of taxes and labor control was established by the ruling elites. In the eighteenth century, as the global reputation of teak grew, European style ships were being constructed out of teak at Rangoon. Between 1786 and 1824, in fact, 111 of these types were built. This increase in control and resulting increase in output gave Europeans the impression that Burma was the "land of teak," where forests were more plentiful than anywhere else.²³¹ With this reputation and teak forests in India suffering depletion, teak merchants and companies like the BBTC were drawn to Burma.

Expansion focused first on the Tenasserim region, which is coastal land that was the periphery of the Burmese Empire at the time. Tenasserim was integrated into British Colonial India after the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-1826). By the 1850s, the forests here were all but exhausted. The Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852) expanded British India's borders further, incorporating Pegu Yoma and leaving just the northern most regions to the Burmese king. The third and final Anglo-Burmese War (1885-1886) completed British envelopment of Burma (See Figure 16).²³²

²³⁰ Barton and Bennett, "Forestry as Foreign Policy Anglo-Siamese Relations and the Origins of Britain's Informal Empire in the Teak Forests of Northern Siam, 1883-1925," 67-68.

²³¹ Raymond Bryant, "Burma and the Politics of Teak: Dissecting a Resource Curse," In *A History of Natural Resources in Asia*, edited by Greg Bankoff and Peter Boomgaard, 143-162 (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 145.

²³² Raymond Bryant, "Burma and the Politics of Teak: Dissecting a Resource Curse," 148-149.

While these wars are examples of direct imperialism on the part of the British state, it was private interests that drove this expansion. The idea of “gentlemanly capitalism,” introduced by Cain and Hopkins, is relevant here.²³³ According to Cain and Hopkins, there was a direct connection between London business investors, bankers, aristocrats, and parliamentary leaders. In fact, these groups were often one and the same, but when they were not, they had connections through friendship and communication. Based on this analysis, it was these groups that drove British expansion in the nineteenth century.

The BBTC is one of the best examples of this. Since the foundation of the BBTC, the Wallace brothers built up extensive government contacts, writing letters constantly to both the India Office and the Foreign Office. The brothers even entertained government officials with tours, parties, and exhibitions. Whenever there was a government policy that might damage the teak trade, they used these connections to get these policies overturned. When this did not work, they would move their business into less-regulated areas, which is what happened in the early 1860s. At this time, Colonial India Government officials adopted a stringent teak permit system, which the brothers could not get changed, so they began making lease deals in the then independent Kingdom of Burma, eventually gaining a monopoly there. The BBTC was content in the under-regulated Kingdom of Burma until 1885, when King Thibaw Min fined the BBTC for overharvesting teak, underpaying its employees, and bribing local officials. An intense lobbying campaign followed and the British government declared war on the Kingdom of Burma, invading Mandalay in November of that year. Even newspapers of the time knew

²³³ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000* (Longmans, 2001). This is one of the main analogies of Barton and Bennett, “Forestry as Foreign Policy Anglo-Siamese Relations and the Origins of Britain’s Informal Empire in the Teak Forests of Northern Siam, 1883-1925,” in which they use their research to build on this idea, as well as the ideas of Webster, Anthony. *Gentleman Capitalists: British Imperialism in South East Asia 1770-1890* (London: I.B. Taurus Press, 1999).

that it was the BBTC which had instigated this war. Though the Company vehemently denied it, we now know through historical research that this was very true.²³⁴

The BBTC did not stop there. Once the British colonial government of India had taken control of all of Burma, and its forestry restrictions followed, the BBTC moved into the Kingdom of Siam. Here, according to Barton and Bennett, the BBTC, the Colonial Indian Government, and the Kingdom of Siam, worked together to create an informal empire in upper Siam.



Figure 16 – British state expansion into Burma.²³⁵

²³⁴ Barton and Bennett, “Forestry as Foreign Policy Anglo-Siamese Relations and the Origins of Britain’s Informal Empire in the Teak Forests of Northern Siam, 1883-1925,” 69.

²³⁵ <https://www.britannica.com/>, accessed 10/8/17.

This demonstrates a clear pattern. Teak merchants and companies moved outside India due to deforestation and to avoid strict government forestry regulations. They made deals with elites in Burma, which included leases from the ruling royalty and bribes to local elites, all of whom were given a portion of the profits from extracting and selling the teak. Once the merchants felt these elites were taking too much money or eliciting too much control over their extraction, they aggressively lobbied for war. War brought direct state control and the desired stability, but further deforestation and conflict with the state forestry department led to new deals with new local elites. This was a complex system involving many individuals and groups. The British state, teak merchants, and local elites were all actors, but it is clear that the main drivers were the teak merchants and powerful corporations like the BBTC. Sometimes these actors worked together, and sometimes they were in conflict; but it was the people on the ground, who lived in and relied on these forests, who always suffered.²³⁶

The Teak Extraction Process and Life Working for the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation

The Wallace brothers expected their employees to work long hard days.²³⁷ One such employee was Alfred MacDonald. MacDonald was hired by the company to be a Forest Assistant, which was a managerial position. He traveled all over Burma, managing the various extraction camps, paying their

²³⁶ In Bryant's, "Burma and the Politics of Teak: Dissecting a Resource Curse," he looks at the consequences of pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial teak extraction on the forest locals, but his focus is on mountain insurgency resistances to teak extraction and power assertions from lowland based elites, especially in the twentieth century and later, which is beyond the period of this chapter. Bryant also outlines the violence required to subdue these insurgencies throughout Burma's history, as well as a section on "Forest Injuries," which details forced labor and relocation connected with forest management system and laws dating back to colonial Burma which exemplifies a systematic attempt to control forest and people. Two examples from the colonial days include a fire prevention campaign, in which locals living in or around teak forests were required to assist in fighting forest fires should they arise. Life-threatening labor for which they were not qualified or paid. The second example looks at measures to control the Karen, a people living in the mountains of Burma who practiced shifting cultivation, clearing trees without attention to what trees they were. This included heavy taxes and laws forbidding land clearance, as well as financial incentives for the Karen to plant teak trees along their usual crops in cleared spaces, Bryant, 154-156.

²³⁷ Barton and Bennett, "Forestry as Foreign Policy Anglo-Siamese Relations and the Origins of Britain's Informal Empire in the Teak Forests of Northern Siam, 1883-1925," 68-69.

workers, and organizing the lumber mill processes. MacDonald wrote about his experiences in a memoir, now a part of the BBTC records in London.²³⁸

In November of 1881, MacDonald, a native Glaswegian, boarded the steam ship *Mandalay*. He was leaving his home, the Clyde, and sailing for Rangoon to begin a new career in the rice exporting business. Along with passengers, the *Mandalay* was also carrying cargo, which was mostly iron piping for the Rangoon waterworks. His trip was painfully slow and much rougher than he would have liked. There was a violent storm in the English Channel in which the ship was often almost fully submerged. One day, while one of his fellow passengers was on deck smoking, a wave broke through the deckhouse, flooding the saloon and nearly washing him off. No passengers like himself were allowed on deck after that. Most of the passengers were sick, including Macdonald's bunkmate, a German who MacDonald called "a very bad sailor."²³⁹

After the storm, and especially once the ship reached the Mediterranean, the rest of the voyage was much calmer. MacDonald compared many places he saw to landmarks on the Clyde River or its surrounding area. For example, when his ship passed the island of Pantellaria, south of Sicily, it reminded him of Arran, though "with a sea a bit bluer than the Clyde."²⁴⁰ The steam ship had to make stops to take-on coal and at one point to help another ship that had run-aground. This gave MacDonald the opportunity to make excursions inland and see new places. One such trip happened when the ship was stopped at Suez, giving MacDonald an opportunity to ride donkeys inland and have coffee with locals.

²³⁸ Alfred MacDonald, "My Experiences in Burma and Siam, 1881-1900," *Bombay Burma Trading Corporation Limited Records*, London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40647. All of the details about MacDonald and his experiences in Burma are taken from this record.

²³⁹ MacDonald, "My Experiences," 1.

²⁴⁰ MacDonald, "My Experiences," 2.

When Macdonald finally arrived in Rangoon, his “first views of Burma were disappointing.”²⁴¹ His first job was office work, mainly with books and accounts. This kept him busy, with long hours from early morning until 7 or 8 in the evening. He did not seem to be bothered by this work, but complained a lot about the weather. It rained far too much and was far too damp for his taste. His boots eventually became mildewed. Bugs on the walls of his bungalow were a constant sight, as well as the lizards chasing and hunting them. The noise from the bugs and bull frogs was constant.

Daily life for MacDonald in Rangoon was mostly work, which he rode to and from via pony, but on the weekends he could relax a little bit. Tennis, rowing, and riding were his favorite pastimes. The rowing was done at the Royal Lakes in Rangoon, which was an area built for the King of Burma’s leisure. It had since been turned into a park. There was an annual rowing regatta in which he competed. He recounted one year in particular when he and his four-oar boat came up against a Burmese boat. According to MacDonald, it was a close and exciting race, but he and his boat won in the end.

Sundays, as a rule, included a trip to church. MacDonald even joined the choir. He tried hunting from river boats on occasion, but was generally not too successful. His bullets would simply bounce off the crocodiles and though he shot some large snakes, they sank before he could pull them into the boat. In Upper Burma, however, he successfully hunted duck, jungle fowl, cheetah, leopard, deer, tiger, wild cattle, and buffalo.

He also occasionally enjoyed local culture and recounts attending a bullfight once in a local village. He also visited a Buddhist shrine with some of his workers. He let them take time off work, as he knew it was an important trip for them, and he gave them money to buy gold leaf as an offering at the shrine for him. Though he was often annoyed when first arriving in Burma, he seems to have found respect for the country and its people over time. For example, he had high praise for many of their medicines, including their masseurs. There was one story in particular he remembered about a man

²⁴¹ MacDonald, “My Experiences,” 4.

whose leg was crushed by a tree. They thought he would have to have it amputated, but the man pleaded with them to let him stay and be treated by locals. For months his leg was massaged and reworked. When inspecting the station next year, Macdonald found the man up and walking about. "Except for slight stiffness," he wrote, "you could hardly tell that there had been anything the matter with him – really a most remarkable case."²⁴² Eventually, after moving to Mandalay, MacDonald even made the effort to learn Burmese and became functionally fluent in three to four months.

In 1884, the rice trade fell on bad times, so he got a job with the BBTC managing teak extraction. Today, teak plantations have much shortened rotations of 20 to 25 years for commercial wood production. In the nineteenth century, it was 80 to 100.²⁴³ German foresters were brought to India to develop management plans for the teak forests there. Dr. Dietrich Brandis developed the "Brandis Selection System," which involved timber removal every thirty years and harvest between the ages of 120 and 150 years. Brandis also orchestrated the teak management plan for Burma.²⁴⁴

Though today we have teak plantations where only teak is grown for miles, in MacDonald's time, teak had to be taken from natural forests wherever it grew. MacDonald estimated that many of the teak trees that they cut down must have been five or six hundred years or more.²⁴⁵ By law, teak had to be girdled for over three years before it was cut. This would ensure that the tree was dead before it was felled. Only dead trees were allowed to be cut. If the girdling had not succeeded in killing every part of a tree and there was even one branch or leaf that still showed signs of life, then the tree had to be re-girdled, and the fellers needed to wait another three years. Cutting down the tree had to be done very carefully so as not to shatter the timber, and MacDonald expressed how impressed he was with how well the Burmese fellers did this.

²⁴² MacDonald, "My Experiences," pg. 35.

²⁴³ "Management of Teak Plantations for Solid Wood Products," pg. 1.

²⁴⁴ "Management of Teak Plantations for Solid Wood Products," pg. 2.

²⁴⁵ MacDonald, "My Experiences," 31.

Once felled and prepared into logs, the logs were hammer-marked with the forester's number and an elephant is brought in to drag the log to a waterway. Sometimes, if the route to a waterway is especially difficult, being impeded by hills or marshes, several elephants might be needed for one log. The foresters also placed rollers along the dragging path to help make the elephant's work a bit easier. Year by year, the timber was further and further into the forest, making these paths increasingly longer and more challenging. At the time of Macdonald's writing, they were often 10-15 miles. Once on flatter land, buffalo powered carts could also be used. Given the high price of elephants, this was preferred whenever possible, though it often was not. The logs were placed near creeks, away from flammable brushwood, where they were ready to float once the rains began, generally in June, and the water rose.

Thus, according to MacDonald, teak extraction and processing worked in seasons. The teak would be felled in the dry season and the logs would be placed in creeks or creek-beds, where once they rainy season began, the logs would flow with the streams to the river. They would then be lashed together to create rafts of about 100 logs. These rafts were floated down river to the saw mills, where they would be processed and finally shipped out.

Rafting season, which was from July to November, was the busiest. The men who did the work measuring rafts had an especially difficult time. The reflection of the sun from the river was so hard on one's eyes that these workers were often "bowled over" with sore eyes and fever. Still, they worked from sunrise until about 11am, and then from 3pm until dark.

It was also difficult for the rafts men, who lived on and guided the rafts as they floated down stream. There was a small hut built on each of the giant teak rafts for them to sleep, which made the trip more comfortable for them, but there were several instances of dangerous rapids and whirlpools on the voyage down river with which the rafts man had to deal. This large raft was difficult to guide and even more difficult to stop and moor at the desired location for the company. At times, they would be unable to stop it and they would continue to drift downriver, running into boats docked at local villages,

the owners of such boats then having to file complaints and claims for reimbursement from the company. If the rafts continued, they would need to be abandoned by their rafts man and would eventually get broken up, their logs having to then be located up and down the river by the company. MacDonald was often away for days supervising the collection of this drift timber.

In order to complete these arduous tasks, company managers like MacDonald relied on the labor of elephants at every step (See Figures 17-19). The BBTC tried to invent various machines to help them fell and carry the logs, but because the regions in which teak was found were so rocky and mountainous, none of these machines would work properly. As MacDonald explained:

The forest is the place to see the elephant at his best and it is there that he is put to his best use. It is impossible to put down machinery in these hilly parts, as any machines or power would have to be constantly shifted from place to place, and the labour and cost involved would be far too great to be practicable, if it could be done at all.²⁴⁶

This meant that, whether they liked it or not, the European company managers, like MacDonald, who had no knowledge of elephants or their training, had to rely on local knowledge and labor in order to extract and process the teak.

The BBTC still did what they could to control this labor. One way was to monopolize ownership of working elephants. This was also the case many years before in India, where elephants were so important to teak extraction in the Malabar that one of the East India Company's strategies for controlling the teak trade there was to monopolize the trade of elephants.²⁴⁷ The BBTC generally got their elephants from Karenni where the people trained them and sold them to the highest bidders. While MacDonald was working for the company in Burma, they sent several expeditions to Karenni to purchase elephants. They purchased as many as 100 or 150 at a time.²⁴⁸ Each elephant the company

²⁴⁶ MacDonald, "My Experiences," 48.

²⁴⁷ Nabar, *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade*, 49.

²⁴⁸ MacDonald, "My Experiences," 40.

owned was marked with a “C” and the BBTC kept extensive records and descriptions of every elephant, with any distinguishable mark, for identification purposes.²⁴⁹ This not only helped keep track of the elephants as if they were human workers, but it was also necessary in identification in times of theft, which was quite common in Upper Burma or Siam.

Elephants suffered from many ailments. They are similar to humans, in many ways, as they can die from heart disease, lung disease, snake bites, and even from grief. MacDonald recounted a time when he was stationed in the Pauk district where a mother elephant and her three-month old calf were attacked by a tiger. The calf was killed and she was mauled while attempting to defend it. Though she recovered from her defensive wounds, she died of grief not too long after.

The BBTC relied on Burmese mahouts, who were elephant trainers and handlers, for the elephant medicines and treatments for these ailments. Though the mahouts could not cure grief, they did have good medicines for the more physical ailments, which according to MacDonald were generally administered through the elephant’s eye. If sick, the mahout would get on the elephant’s neck, open the eye with one hand, and use his finger to apply the medicine directly to the elephant’s eye-ball. This caused a certain amount of pain, as the elephant complained and the eye began to tear.

The exact contents of these medicines were mostly a mystery to MacDonald. The only ingredient he mentions for sure is chili paste, which seems like it would be less of a cure and more of a shock or even punishment to get the elephant working again.²⁵⁰ Certainly, MacDonald seemed less concerned with how these treatments caused pain, as long as they worked. And he was very convinced that they worked, meaning he believed the locals had the cures, so he relied on them to keep things running smoothly. In this, we have an example of the many cross-culturally transnational linkages created by international business dealings.

²⁴⁹ MacDonald, “My Experiences,” 45

²⁵⁰ MacDonald, “My Experiences,” 40.

By the early 1920s, the BBTC owned over three thousand elephants.²⁵¹ Some local Burmese became very successful businessmen as a result of the company need for these animals. One such example was a man named Mg Bah Oh. In a series of letters written between him and the company directors at the height of the Empire of Teak in 1920, Bah Oh explained his intention to retire from the elephant business. Apparently, despite the many years he had done it, he did not much enjoy the business. He also had successful business interests in other aspects of teak extraction, such as rafting, so he had earned enough that he no longer needed to be buying and selling elephants. According to E.G. Johnston, BBTC director in Rangoon, Mg Bah Oh had “many interests these days and finds that it takes him all his time to look after them and the anxiety of having so much money, for which he is responsible, out with so little security for it has for some time been preying on his mind.”²⁵² Even offering higher prices and better terms, Johnston could not convince him to not retire.

The directors, in communication with each other, understood his wanting to retire, but were concerned for losing this important contact and his well-established elephant buying organization. He was essential to their success. They contemplated having to build a new organization from the ground-up, or having to reduce the amount of elephants they needed by using machinery. They knew, though, that machinery would be much more impractical and expensive to run, if it worked at all.

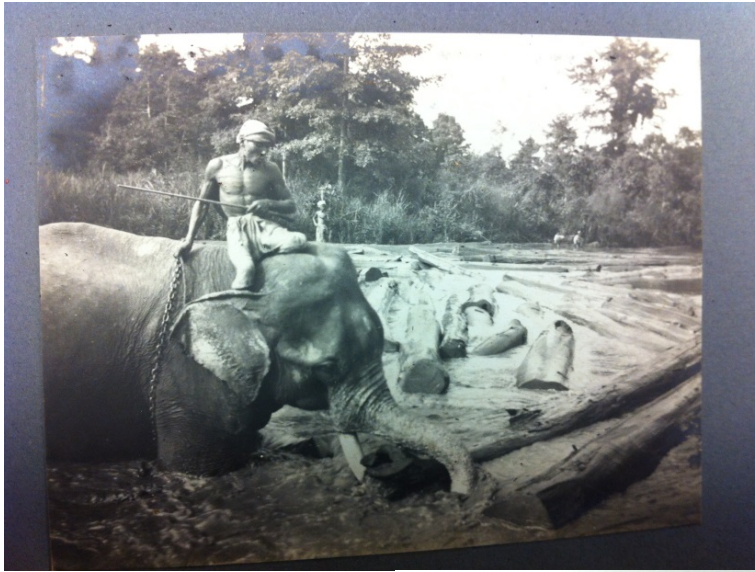
Fortunately for them, Bah Oh did not want to leave them in a bind, and he assured them that he would secure future contacts for them before he retired. He made a number of suggestions to them including the mention of three men, Hla Htoo, Pha Gat, and Mpa Gai, who had worked for Bah Oh for over fifteen years. These men had plans to start their own elephant buying agency. Johnston was very grateful for Oh’s assistance.

²⁵¹ *Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Limited: Statistics on Production and Working Costs in Burma*, London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40331.

²⁵² “Correspondence Between Rangoon, Bombay and Mg Bah Oh Regarding his Elephant Buying Business in Burma,” *Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Limited Records*, London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40474, 1.

Obviously, the success stories of some local businessmen like Bah Oh does not mean that all Burmese working for the BBTC enjoyed riches or lived as equals to colonial Europeans. Unsurprisingly and unfortunately, this was not the case for most Burmese. BBTC forest assistants like MacDonald enjoyed many benefits because they were European. As an example, while at one point explaining how dangerous it could be to cross the torrents of flooded creeks and rivers, MacDonald advised that it is better for “the European” to cross on the back of an elephant. Since elephants were heavier and more careful, they were harder for the strong current to carry off.²⁵³ This meant that any of MacDonald’s traveling companions, who would have been mostly Indian guards and Burmese workers, had to wade through these rough waters. While most of the workers in the teak extraction process were Burmese, and all were essential for the success of the business, this is an example of how much privilege European BBTC managers had. Once, MacDonald was at a lumber camp where his entire group, except for him, caught fever. He guessed, and he was probably right, that this was the result of having to cross “creeks of snowy water,” in which his men were neck deep, but he was safe, having been on the back of an elephant for the crossing.

²⁵³ MacDonald, “My Experiences,” 42.



Figures 17-19 –Top left: Elephant guiding logs into river; Top right: Elephant being loaded onto a ship or boat; Bottom: Elephant stacking sawed logs. [Early twentieth-century].²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ Edmiston & Mitchells, photographs, Glasgow University Archives (GB 248 UGD 169/17/3)

The BBTC Military

Along with his rowing, tennis, choir, and other weekend leisure activities, MacDonald was also a member of a mounted infantry volunteer corps in Rangoon. This included practice military drills on weekends. In 1885, at the start of the Third Anglo-Burmese War, MacDonald and his Mounted Infantry Volunteer Corps were attached to the British Expeditionary Force in Upper Burma. Now officially a part of the British state military, this corporate militia unit was directly involved in the campaign to invade and annex what remained of independent Burma. Once the war was finished, these company workers, like MacDonald, went right back to their original jobs managing teak extraction. Looking at the East India Company, of course, this is precedent well established in British imperial history, especially in South Asia. Theoretically, much of non-state military power had been limited by this time through international and national laws, but the effectiveness of those laws was not always complete. This is an example of such a case.²⁵⁵

The end of the war was very profitable for these company agents, even without its benefit to their teak business. As MacDonald recalled: "Some very fine rubies were to be got in Mandalay at that time."²⁵⁶ Co Oung Bah, the ruby broker for MacDonald and his friends, was able to make quite a bit of profit from the annexation and the break-up of the Burmese court. He was not the only one. As many of the court officials were in need of money, it was a good time to buy up various Burmese stones, silks, and other goods. MacDonald himself was able to "pick-up" silks and jewelry that had once belonged to the king and maids of the court.

²⁵⁵ See Janice E. Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), especially the chapter: "Delegitimizing State-Authorized Nonstate Violence," pp. 69-106. Specific examples of such laws are the Treaty of Paris (1856), which was an international treaty that made privateering technically illegal, and an act in Britain in 1870 that made it illegal for British citizens to fight in foreign armies. In practice, however, as Thomson herself explains, these laws were not always effective. She further argues that the main causes for the loss of mercantile military power were bankruptcy, merger, and state-led break-up. The East India Company is an example of the latter, but, as the example of the BBTC shows, that did not necessarily mean the end of mercantile aggression, foreign expansion, or even military involvement.

²⁵⁶ MacDonald, "My Experiences," 26.

The end of the war did not mean an end to violence. There was fighting in the forests of Burma for years after the war was officially over. Given the danger from bands of dacoits in the four to five years following the annexation of Upper Burma, there was a government order that no European assistants were allowed to make forest expeditions without a guard of ten or twelve men.²⁵⁷ This meant they were allowed guards from the military police, which were usually Pashtun or Punjabi. However, the BBTC always preferred to use its own private Gurkha guards when possible.

The continued violence meant that MacDonald's role both as company manager and soldier fighting alongside state military units did not end with the war. In April of 1887, he was transferred to Mandalay, where he worked often with officials stationed at what was once the royal palace. Both the BBTC and the Secretariat had offices in the palace. Since he was now working in regions that had only recently been incorporated into British Colonial India, he writes that his foresters were constantly being "alarmed" by dacoits.²⁵⁸ He recalled one instance just a few months after he arrived, in August of 1887, when one of his foresters, Co Shar, came to his house with news that all his fifteen elephants and men had been taken by a gang of dacoits led by the Settlya Prince. They went immediately to the Palace where they spoke with the military who sent word to Kyouksay, where some troops were stationed, and a mounted infantry force was sent in pursuit of the gang. His forester, Co Shar, was able to give them the direction in which the gang was headed, then MacDonald himself also rode off to join and aid the expedition. The expedition was gone two days, but it was not difficult to track a pack of so many elephants. They were able to find and recover all of them and capture some dacoit prisoners. Macdonald received a wire from Rangoon, thanking him for recovering the elephants so quickly.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ "Dacoit" is the anglicized version of the Hindustani word for "bandit" or "armed robber."

²⁵⁸ MacDonald, "My Experiences," 25.

²⁵⁹ MacDonald, "My Experiences," 25-26.

It was not only dacoits and BBTC connected military that were killed and suffered in this continued violence. MacDonald gave the following account of a time when he was traveling with his guard on an expedition to a forest camp:

On approaching a village one afternoon, I saw two human heads stuck up on bamboos, not far from the village stockade! My boy, who was riding close behind me, said he was afraid and didn't want to go on, and they certainly looked pretty gruesome, but just then a villager appeared and I learnt that they were the heads of two Dacoits, whom the villagers had killed, and they had been stuck up there as a warning to any other Dacoits. So we went in and camped the night in the village and everything seemed quite peaceful. We moved on early the next morning, and when we had only gone about a mile and were on a hilly bit of ground, I happened to look back and saw that the village we had just left was in flames! I learnt afterwards that a very short time after we had left, it was attacked by a large band of Dacoits and burnt to the ground: whether that was in retaliation for the killing of two of their gang, or whether for having harboured me I could not find out, but information was sent to the nearest Military post and the gang was successfully captured and broken up and several of its leaders were taken prisoner.²⁶⁰

The Empire of Teak and the Role of Corporations as Driving Forces in Imperial Expansion

Output and profit from BBTC controlled teak extraction was massive. Along with shipbuilding, teak was used worldwide in a variety of ways.²⁶¹ One of the largest uses was railways, but it was also used for homes, train cars, and specialty buildings like a glasshouse for Kew Gardens in London (See

²⁶⁰ MacDonald, "My Experiences," 33-34.

²⁶¹ For an overview of worldwide teak import in the early twentieth century, see *Global Teak Import Statistics 1905-42*, London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40213

Figures 20 and 21).²⁶² While teak was resistant to ship worm, it was also resistant to many wood-eating insects, which made it especially desirable in parts of the world where these insects are prevalent. As MacDonald explained:

The logs, in the round, come down the Irrawaddy in large rafts of a hundred to a hundred and twenty logs, and are towed into the mill banks, from where they are dragged up into the squaring and scantling mills and cut into the different sizes, squares, planks, scantlings, railway blocks, keys and shingles, which are shipped off to the different markets. The best of the wood goes to Europe, for use in the construction of war and merchant vessels and for railway carriages and engineering requirements, but the largest portion of the out-turn goes to the Indian Markets, where teak is very freely used for house building, as well as by all the railways. Teak, being impervious to White Ant, is naturally more universally used in the East, where this insect abounds, and plays terrible havoc with any ordinary soft wood, unless it is very carefully watched.²⁶³

MacDonald continued to detail an instance when “white ant,” or termites, destroyed much of his collection of books.



Figures 20-21 – Left: Teak glasshouse; right: teak train car. [Early-twentieth century].²⁶⁴

²⁶² Steel Brothers, London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/208/MS29565. Steel Brothers was another company that specialized in the extraction and export of Burmese teak, though much smaller and later developed than the BBTC.

²⁶³ MacDonald, “My Experiences,” 14-15.

²⁶⁴ Steel Brothers Records, photographs of products made of teak, London Metropolitan Archives (CLC/208/MS29565).

By 1890, thanks to teak, revenue from forests in Burma was 45 percent of the total revenue for British-Indian colonial administration.²⁶⁵ For the decade between 1883 and 1893, there were over 750 thousand shipments from Rangoon alone.²⁶⁶ From the mid-nineteenth century to the Japanese invasion in 1942, the consolidation of British state control in Burma was directly connected with the extraction of teak.²⁶⁷ And the end of colonial rule in Burma did not end the “resource curse” of teak. Teak extraction continued to be of central importance in modern Burmese politics and cause, as it had before, violence and subjugation, especially for those whose lives were directly connected to the forests that happened to contain teak. It was, at least partly, from this Empire of Teak that *Balclutha* was born.

In 1900, after working for the BBTC all over Burma for twelve years and then for three years in Bangkok, MacDonald returned to Scotland due to bad health.²⁶⁸ There, he continued to work as an agent of the BBTC for the sale of lumber in Glasgow. His accounts have given us a sense of what life was like working and living in the Empire of Teak. Though his was certainly a very colonial European perspective, we were also able to extrapolate some of what life was like for the many local workers, businessmen, and even animals that were essential for the successful extraction and sale of teak.

The narratives of teak procurement in South and Southeast Asia given in this chapter demonstrate the complexities of empire, and the many different transnational negotiations between groups and individuals that were a part of, or connected to, business and state imperial systems. Working from the ship itself as a commodity, and using Wallerstein’s commodity chain to move outward to the very source of the materials needed to build the ship has linked these two ends of a world

²⁶⁵ Raymond Bryant, “Burma and the Politics of Teak: Dissecting a Resource Curse,” 147.

²⁶⁶ “Total Shipments of Corporation and Opposition,” *Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Limited: Statistics on Production and Working Costs in Burma*, London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40331. This would mean an average of about 75,600 a year and just over 200 a day. Compared with modern shipping statistics given in the introduction, this seems incredible and almost unbelievable, especially when considering that this was only Rangoon. Moulmein, the first capitol of Colonial Burma, was the other major port in Burma and had its own shipping traffic.

²⁶⁷ See Raymond Bryant, “Burma and the Politics of Teak: Dissecting a Resource Curse”.

²⁶⁸ As MacDonald explains, malaria was a constant worry, and he did not escape it. See MacDonald, “My Experiences,” 58. It could be a reoccurrence of this malaria or another contraction that led to his leaving.

system.²⁶⁹ While these narratives certainly fit many traditional framings for British imperial expansion at the time, the phrase “Empire of Teak” is a more specific and accurate description of the complex reality. The concept of “gentlemanly capitalism” was definitely a part of imperial expansion in relation to teak procurement. The Wallace brothers very purposefully and aggressively kept contacts within the British state in order to accomplish their business goals. However, these narratives go beyond gentlemen capitalists like the Wallace brothers working with, influencing, and manipulating the state. The British state, like the other general groups involved in negotiations as part of the Empire of Teak, was not a single entity. The restrictions brought about by the Forestry Department especially were in direct opposition to the goals of the BBTC. Escaping state restrictions on business was a constant struggle for the BBTC and the many teak merchants that came before it.

Therefore, it is important to note the major role that private business has had in our story so far. Throughout the evolution of the Empire of Teak, from its birth in the Malabar forests of India to its height and expansion into the forests of Burma and upper Siam, it was private merchants and corporations that directly drove its expansion. The many actors representing these corporations worked with the British state and were even directly connected to the British state. However, they preferred, whenever possible, to accomplish their goals on their own. These company-states had their own militaries (or, later, paramilitary agents) and their own relations with foreign states and elites. Though the additional military and political force of the British state could be useful, the restrictions brought by being under the direct sovereignty of the British state were not ideal, especially, in the case of exposing business to control by the Foresters, in regard to the Forestry Department and to the revenue-shrinking demands of the state for lease and extraction of teak forests.

²⁶⁹ For more evidence connecting state-building to forestry in Southeast Asia see Jeyamalar Kathirithamby-Wells, *Nature and Nation: Forests and Development in Peninsular Malaysia* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2005).

It is also important to note that, while the imperial networks of the Empire of Teak were constructed and controlled by British businessmen and eventually the British state, what we have seen so far through *Balclutha's* story is more specifically Scottish than generally British. On the Clyde, it was locally linked Glaswegian companies that constructed *Balclutha* and it was Glaswegian companies that had the international connections and imported lumber materials like teak. Now, on the other end of the commodity chain, though they were based in London and Bombay, we see Scottish brothers as the driving force behind a massive, aggressive business empire based on the extraction of teak. And, we even see a native Glaswegian working for the corporate Empire of Teak as a manager, soldier, and eventually, once he retires from Burma due to poor health, returning home – Scotland – and working as a BBTC agent back in the same business community described in Chapter I.

These specifically Scottish connections do not necessarily indicate the existence of a Scottish Empire that was distinct from the more general British Empire. There has been extensive scholarship discussing the importance of Scottish migration and sojourning on the expansion of the British Empire in this period. Some of this scholarship does indeed indicate Scottish citizens working both with and against other British interests. In India, for example, especially in the early years of the East India Company, it was very difficult for anyone who was not English to profit from the company's endeavors. This is because the East India Company owners were all part of a small group of families in London who controlled most of the capital there. It was very difficult for anyone else to break in, especially if they were Scottish. There was even a charter in 1698 stipulated that company directors had to be subjects born in England.²⁷⁰ Though there were a few Scottish businessmen who were able to break into this lucrative London merchant class, for the most part, if you were Scottish and you wanted to profit on

²⁷⁰ James G. Parker, "Scottish Enterprise in India, 1750-1914," in *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914*, R.A. Cage, ed. (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 191-219, 193.

trade in India, you were forced to work independently. This meant creating separate business connections and ventures in India that could often be with Company competitors.

Eventually, however, many Scottish businessmen were able to break into London's financial community and even become company managers. And, as has been shown, once the East India Company lost power and was disbanded, many Scots were able to become extraordinarily successful. It is important to remember that in all instances, as Bryan Glass explains, "Empire offered the Scots numerous opportunities for success that were unavailable at home."²⁷¹ As long as these opportunities existed, most Scots were content as citizens of the United Kingdom. In fact, some scholars argue that analyzing Scottish perspectives on the British Empire, especially during decolonization, shows that much of Scottish separatist nationalism only developed after about 1960, when most of the Empire had become independent. The fall of the Empire meant fewer opportunities abroad, which led to less faith in London's ability to work for Scottish interests.²⁷²

The connections drawn in this dissertation have, in some ways, contributed to many of the conclusions in this already rich scholarly discussion.²⁷³ However, this dissertation has also demonstrated something else entirely. The research described above is often constructed within national constraints: that is, it focuses on Scottish, as one national group, and their position within the British Empire, both national framing for these imperial systems. What has been shown in this dissertation, however, was decidedly non-national. If MacDonald, for example, felt national pride – whether for Scotland, Britain, or both - it was rarely expressed. Certainly, he distinguishes himself from the Burmese, but these

²⁷¹ Bryan S. Glass, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End* (London: Palgrave, 2014), 7.

²⁷² See Bryan S. Glass, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End* (Palgrave, 2014); and Bryan S. Glass, and John M. Mackenzie, eds. *Scotland, Empire and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, Studies in Imperialism, 2015). For more on these topics, see also John M. MacKenzie and T.M. Devine, eds. *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2011)

²⁷³ For further discussion of the multi-cultural and multi-national nature of the British Empire, see Stephen Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries: Continental Europeans and the British Empire, 1740-1800* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017).

distinctions are much more racial, ethnic, and cultural than national.²⁷⁴ Even then, they are not his main concern. Instead, he discusses what did concern him most: his job and everyday life. The Wallace brothers too appeared to have interest in working with the British government only when it suited them, but it more often suited them to work outside the state's legal constraints. What we see in both these instances, therefore, is much more along the lines of Zahra's "national indifference."²⁷⁵ That is not to say that MacDonald exhibited a conscious effort to be non-national; it was more that the national distinctions that are often used for framing historical studies did not appear to be prevalent in MacDonald's mind. He was more concerned and more proud, as most people are, with his daily life and work.

Corporate Competition within Empire

MacDonald's story has led us back to Glasgow, further strengthening the connections between the Clyde shipbuilding community and the Empire of Teak. However, there are still more layers of this empire to explore. Shipbuilders on the Clyde were, of course, just one group of many who were constructing ships in this period. There were shipbuilding companies all over the world and all over the British Empire. Like the shipbuilding industry described in Glasgow, these companies competed with each other, but especially with other shipbuilding centers in other regions, even within the United Kingdom and the Empire. While we have seen gentleman capitalists lobbying the British state in order to pass laws or even go to war for the cause of their foreign business ventures, there are also instances of competition between companies being so fierce that gentlemanly capitalists might attempt to use this same lobbying power against each other. Because leading corporate agents are concerned first for profit

²⁷⁴ Of course, nations can often be formed along racial, ethnic, and cultural distinctions, but not necessarily.

²⁷⁵ See discussion of term "transnational" in the introduction.

and the success of their business, even open warfare between businesses trying to succeed on the fringes of empire and state sovereignty was not unheard of.²⁷⁶

Just like shipbuilding companies based in the British Isles, shipbuilding companies around the empire sought profit through commissions from both inside and outside the Empire. For example, nineteenth century shipbuilding companies in Australia and New Zealand built ships for German and French colonies in the Pacific and competed with shipbuilding companies in California for these commissions.²⁷⁷ Naturally, the competition between shipbuilders within the Empire often led to the success of some and the decline of others, no matter where in the Empire it was. For example, shipbuilders in Quebec were strong competitors at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but were soon out-competed by shipbuilders in the British Isles.²⁷⁸ This happened also between shipbuilders within the British Isles.²⁷⁹ Even in Glasgow, as family owned and operated shipyards opened to investors, like MacMillan's company did, we begin to see a less diverse shipbuilding region. Larger shipbuilding companies bought out other dockyards and shipbuilding companies based in other regions even began to move in and invest, like Harland and Wolff did on the Clyde at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Each of these shipbuilding centers, while competing with each other, would have had strong connections to material trade networks abroad, just as those in Glasgow did. One of the best examples of a shipbuilding region within the British Empire that competed with British Isle shipbuilders and had a strong connection to the Empire of Teak is one that has already briefly been mentioned: the famous

²⁷⁶ See, for example, Ayodeji Olukoju, "Imperial Business Umpire: The Colonial Office, United Africa Company, Elder Dempster, and 'The Great Shipping War' of 1929-1930" in *Africa, Empire, and Globalization: Essays in Honor of A.G. Hopkins*, Ed. By Toyin Falola and Emily Brownell, 167-189 (Carolina Academic Press, 2011).

²⁷⁷ Clifford W. Hawkins, "The Passage of Sail: European Sailing Ship Building in the South West Pacific," *The Great Circle*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (October 1983), 87-97.

²⁷⁸ Albert Faucher, "The Decline of Shipbuilding at Quebec in the Nineteenth Century" *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue canadienne d'Economie et de Science politique*, 23.2 (May, 1957), 195-215

²⁷⁹ See, for example, Michael K. Stammers, "'The High Character Obtained by Cumberland Ships': A Shipbuilding District in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of Maritime History* 10.1 (1998), 121-150.

dockyards and shipbuilders of Bombay. Analysis of the history of these shipbuilders can provide further insight into the complexities of the Empire of Teak.

In 1735, the East India Company made plans to build a dry dock in Bombay because of the city's natural harbor and its premium positioning near Malabar Coast teak forests. Lovjee Nusserwanjee, a Parsi fireman and ship carpenter working for the Company in Surat, was persuaded by The Company to make a move to Bombay to oversee the construction of this dry dock. In turn, he would have a contract with the Company leasing the dockyards to him in order to construct ships for the Company and for outside commission. Lovjee accepted. With the help of his brother, Sorabji, the first European style dry dock in Asia was completed in Bombay in 1750, with a second being built in 1762.²⁸⁰ After 1764 Lovjee's years of experience earned him the title of Master Builder. This was the beginning of what would become a dynasty of master shipbuilders known as the Wadia family.²⁸¹

Lovjee built twenty ships before he died in 1774. As explained in Chapter 1, ships built of teak in Bombay during this period were known for their quality with direct examples of indestructible ships like the *Salsette*. Wadia ships were so respected that they earned praise from many who had experience with them, including admirals in the Royal Navy. Many even sent letters to the Wadia builders to congratulate them on their skills.²⁸² Lovjee had built-up the family name so much that the Master's builder office in Bombay became hereditary. After him came seven generations of Wadia master builders.

Aside from ships like the *Salsette* and the *Trincomalee*, which were mentioned in Chapter 1, the Wadias built a number of historically significant vessels. The *Minden*, launched from Bombay in 1810, served in the War of 1812. It was from this deck that Francis Scott Key witnessed the British

²⁸⁰ Nabar, *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade*, 60. Also seen spelled Lowjee and Lovji.

²⁸¹ "Wadia" from the Gujarati "vadia" for shipbuilder. See Anne Bulley, *The Bombay Country Ships, 1790-1833* (Routledge, 2000), 12.

²⁸² Sir Edward Pellew, for example, See Money, W. T., *Observations on the Expediency of Shipbuilding at Bombay, for the Service of His Majesty and of the East India Company* (London: Longman, 1811), p. 59

bombardment of Baltimore and began composing the poem that would eventually become the lyrics for the “Star Spangled Banner,” the current national anthem of the United States of America.²⁸³ *Cornwallis*, launched in 1813 also fought in the war of 1812 and, later, it was on the decks of the *Cornwallis* that the Treaty of Nanking was signed, which ceded Hong Kong to England after the Opium Wars.

The success of their ships, however, made them a target for other shipbuilding regions, especially in London. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, London shipyards began an aggressive campaign lobbying Parliament both to discredit teak as a shipbuilding wood and to protest against the use of India-built ships in trade with India.²⁸⁴ Despite the overwhelming evidence in support of teak and Bombay ships, the British Parliament supported the London shipyards and enacted a series of laws that controlled who could serve on India-built ships, forced duties on goods imported into the British Isles on India-built ships, and limited where within the empire India-built ships could trade.²⁸⁵

While shipbuilders around the empire were in constant competition, the aggressive lobbying of London shipbuilders against Bombay shipbuilders and the resulting restrictive laws were certainly an example of discrimination against Indian builders. Despite the acts against them, however, the Wadia family remained successful. By 1884, when the family stopped being directly involved in shipbuilding, the Wadia family had been prominent shipbuilders for 150 years. They had produced nine master builders, 15 assistant builders, constructed 170 warships for the East India Company, 34 warships for the Royal Navy, and 87 merchantmen and other specialized vessels for private firms.²⁸⁶ Even when the family stopped building ships, they remained connected with the Bombay yards through investment until 1913.²⁸⁷

²⁸³ For more on this example, see: “The Wadias of India: Then and Now,” <https://web.archive.org/web/20081021142252/http://www.vohuman.org/Article/The%20Wadias%20of%20India.htm> (accessed 10/8/17).

²⁸⁴ Wadia, *The Bombay Dockyard and the Wadia Master Builders*, 178.

²⁸⁵ Wadia, *The Bombay Dockyard and the Wadia Master Builders*, p. 185.

²⁸⁶ B. Arunchalam, ed., *Essays in Maritime Studies*, pg. 76.

²⁸⁷ Nabar, *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade*, 79.

Profiting on Investment in the Empire of Teak

The success of the Wadia ship builders in Bombay further demonstrates the complex negotiations involved in Empire and imperial expansion. Just as the shipbuilding industry on the Clyde represented a local Glaswegian business community, shipbuilding in Bombay represented a local and powerful Indian business community. No English shipwrights were employed in the Bombay yard until the retirement of Lovjee's great grandson.²⁸⁸ The Wadias were successful local Indian shipbuilders who built warships for both the East India Company and the British Navy that directly aided in preserving and expanding the British Empire. But, their connections with empire did not stop there.

While tracing the commodity chain of teak has demonstrated global connections, we must remember that the many complex networks that make-up these connections consist of overlapping business relationships and investment. Just as in Glasgow, where shipbuilders like Charles Connell had marital connections with lumber companies and McMillan had investments in shipping, the Wadia family's success led to wealth that was then reinvested into other interests. It would make sense, just as it did for the businessmen in Glasgow, to invest in businesses that were familiar and connected to their already successful shipbuilding interests. For example, investment in teak extraction, which was the wood they relied on for their ship construction, would be especially wise for the Wadia family. As has been demonstrated, the aggressive business expansion of the Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation was the main characteristic of the Empire of Teak at the time of *Balclutha's* construction. As discussed, it was the Wallace Brothers who were the managers and majority owners of the BBTC. However, when we look closer at the other owners of the company, we find that it was founded mostly on Indian capital, including investment from the Wadia family in particular.

²⁸⁸ Bulley, *The Bombay Country Ships, 1790-1833*, 12.

Looking at a list of shareholders from 1872, we see that there were, at least at this time, 840 total shares in the BBTC. Members of the Wallace family, including some of the women, owned 149 of these shares. Aside from the Wallaces, there are many other names listed, most of whom owned just one or two shares, but almost all of these names were of South or Southeast Asian origin. There were 196 shareholders in total. Though it is difficult to know for certain exactly where these people came from, only 23 of those total names were obviously European. This included the Wallaces. Many of these names were English or Scottish, but some were also of mixed mainland European origin, including some French.²⁸⁹

Though not exact, it is clear from this list that Investors in the BBTC were multi-national. Further, the majority of the shareholders in the BBTC were Indian, even when considering the number of shares that each individual owned. Some of the European names owned as much as 10 or 11 shares, but there were also many Indian names that owned as many. This included one, very important name, Nusserwanjee Maneckji, who owned 49 shares, the largest single amount aside from the Wallaces. In a shareholders' meeting report from 1880, an N.M. Wadia is listed on the BBTC Board of Directors.²⁹⁰ Thus, not only was the majority of the capital invested in the company from India, but the Wadia family was a large, important partner of that investment and had members on its board of directors. In fact, of the eight names on the original application for incorporation for the company, six of them were Parsi or Hindu.²⁹¹ Though the Wallace brothers certainly had controlling power in the company, these reports indicate how much power the rest of the investors had, as well. The brothers had to report on the status of the company to their investors every year, giving explanations for company actions and business

²⁸⁹ See "List of Shareholders, August 8, 1872," *Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Records*, London Metropolitan Archives (CLC/B/207/MS40218).

²⁹⁰ *Seventeenth Annual Report of the General Meeting of Shareholders of the Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation*, December 2, 1880 (Bombay: N.R. Rániná at the Union Press), <https://scholar.google.com/> (accessed 8/2017)

²⁹¹ A.C. Pointon, *The Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation limited, 1863-1963* (Southampton, UK: Millbrook Press Limited, 1964), 5.

recessions.²⁹² These published general shareholder notes were written in both English and Gujarati, which was not the native language of Bombay, but was the native language of Surat, where the Wadias originally came from.²⁹³

While the Wallaces were in control of the BBTC in the period during *Balclutha's* construction, it did not remain this way forever. The Wadia Group bought full control of the BBTC in 1913.²⁹⁴ This was at the height of teak business extraction and power in Burma, referred to by Bryant as a “period of consolidation,” when these businesses were consolidating the gains they had made in the last thirty to forty years and the state foresters were solidifying borders of reserved forests.²⁹⁵ It is also the same period when the BBTC continued expansion into Siam, as described above.

The Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation is still around today with interests mainly in tea and coffee plantations in India.²⁹⁶ It is also still owned by the Wadia Group, which is now a powerful conglomerate including companies with interests in tea, coffee, medical supplies, home furnishings, clothing, groceries, chemicals, engineering, airlines, and real estate.²⁹⁷ Wadia Group even has investment in cricket with the team Kings XI Punjab.²⁹⁸ The group is still controlled by the Wadia family, which is one of the wealthiest and most famous families in India. Nusli Wadia, the current head of the family and chairman of both the Wadia Group and BBTC, has a net worth of \$5.1 billion. He is the grandson of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan.²⁹⁹ His wife, Maureen Wadia, was once a

²⁹² See for example, “Speech to shareholders,” *Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Records*, London Metropolitan Archives (CLC/B/207/MS40213).

²⁹³ Pointon, *The Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation limited, 1863-1963*, 58.

²⁹⁴ P.R. Sanjai and Madhura Karnik, “Wadia Group: Two centuries and beyond,” Sept. 2014, <http://www.livemint.com/Companies/fKCCHxZUPRckcho92G4p8l/Wadia-Group-Two-centuries-and-beyond.html> (accessed 10/11/17). See also R.A. Wadia, *The Bombay Dockyard and the Wadia Master Builders* (Bombay: Godrej Memorial Printing Press, 1957); and A.C. Pointon, *The Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation limited, 1863-1963* (Southampton, UK: Millbrook Press Limited, 1964).

²⁹⁵ See Raymond Bryant, *The Political Ecology of Forestry in Burma, 1824-1994* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996).

²⁹⁶ According to their official corporate website: <http://bbtcl.com/> (accessed 10/11/17)

²⁹⁷ According to the group official website: http://www.wadiagroup.com/home_2011.html (accessed 10/11/17).

²⁹⁸ According to the team official website: <http://kxip.in/2015/Nov/16/PROMOTERS/> (accessed 8/2017).

²⁹⁹ According to his Forbes profile: <https://www.forbes.com/profile/nusli-wadia/> (accessed 8/2017).

flight attendant and is now the head of the Indian fashion magazine *Gladrags* and is one of the founders and organizers of the Ms. India pageant.³⁰⁰ Their son, Ness Wadia, is currently serving many roles throughout the Wadia Group's interests, including as managing director of the BBTC. He will likely follow his father as leader of the group, just as has been the tradition for generations since Lovjee first began it back in 1736.

The Wadia Group is an example of how gentlemanly capitalism does not necessarily mean direct connections between capitalists, aristocrats, and politicians based in London. Whether Scottish, Parsi, or otherwise, analyzing the background of the investors in the corporations that drove imperial expansion demonstrates the limits of defining empires, like the British Empire, from a national perspective. While agents of the British state certainly had large roles to play, the imperial business connections that have been shown here by focusing first on teak, the base of these connections, were much more complex and transnational. Starting from the construction of a ship in Glasgow and tracing the sources of the materials needed to construct this ship has revealed an empire that was not driven by national pride or conflict between states. Instead, its expansion and solidification of power were driven solely by the acquisition, extraction, and sale of the profitable commodity: teak.

³⁰⁰According to the magazine official website: <http://www.gladrags.in/about.php> (accessed 10/11/17).

Life and Times of *Balclutha*

Star of Alaska

At the start of the salmon season of 1904, *Balclutha* left San Francisco on April 27th and sailed for Karluk, Alaska under the command of Captain Bernard Bremer. Including the sailors, fishermen, and cannery workers, *Balclutha* now had about 200 people on board. The group of cannery workers, alone constituting over 100 men, were mostly Chinese migrant workers. They were separated from the rest of the workers and made to stay below in the tween-deck for the duration of the voyage. As *Balclutha* neared its destination it struck a reef and was wrecked off the north end of Sitkinak (Geese) Island. Francis Sommer was serving aboard for this trip and gave an account many years later.

According to Sommer, soundings taken were indicating that the ship was nearing shore. Captain Bremer was apparently somewhat unsure of their location as he ordered the sailors on watch to shorten sails, which would reduce the speed of the ship so he could reclaim his bearings. Sommer was up on the upper gallant yard working on the sails, as per the Captain's orders, when the lookout called that land was in sight. Almost immediately following the call, the ship struck the reef and began listing to starboard. As Sommer recalled, "For the first few minutes after the ship struck it seemed incredibly still – probably this was only for a few seconds, but it seemed much longer – then the Chinese started screaming."³⁰¹

This is completely understandable given their situation. There were about 100 of them stuck below, unable to see and therefore completely unaware of what had happened. All they knew was that *something* had happened and it was life-threatening. The "China watchman," a position chosen from the regular crew who was in charge of watching the hatch leading to the tween-deck, was afraid that they

³⁰¹ It is important to note here that Sommer says "the Chinese," instead of "the cannery workers," when at this point the group would have most likely been a mix of migrant workers from varying backgrounds. This is an example of how the cannery workers, as the lowest group in the labor hierarchy of the canning ship, were ethnicized as "others." This will be discussed further in the following chapter. As further evidence of how little value the cannery workers had as a group and individuals, they were not even listed as onboard in the official wreck report. See "Telegram and Wreck Report (1904)," *Balclutha* (ship 3m) Records, 1901-1904, SFMRC, HDC1176, 1 of 2.

might panic and swarm the upper decks, so he barred the companionway, locking them below. Sommer said they were “screaming like rats” during the entire operation to abandon the ship.

The fisherman aboard were of no help to anyone. They simply got drunk and eventually made their way ashore in their own boats. The first priority, apparently before attending to the men whom they had locked below, was to get the animals, including cattle, sheep, and pigs, out of their pens and ashore. Most of the cattle and sheep made it, but the pigs cut themselves up on the broken pens and drowned. Then, the crew lowered life-boats and, finally, “the main problem became the rescue of the Chinese.” They were by now, naturally, panic stricken, so in order to ensure they were under control and came out one at a time, “it was necessary to tap a few of them on the head [as they were coming out of the hatch] to keep the rest from trying to burst out on to the deck.”³⁰²

The scores of men that were on the ship then set up camp on the beach, going back the next day for provisions and sails out of which to make tents. There was plenty of freshwater nearby, so they were altogether not uncomfortable. A crew of volunteers took a boat to Karluk to get help. They found a steamer that went to rescue everyone else.

Balclutha's wreck was considered by many to not be worth the salvage. By this time, steam had finally begun to surpass sail in efficiency for most forms of global trade. But, fortunately for *Balclutha*, the Alaska Packers' Association still had use for sailing ships of its type. They purchased *Balclutha's* wreck for a mere 500 dollars. The ship was then taken to Chip's Cove, Kodiak Island, where temporary repairs were made. On October 3, *Balclutha* sailed for San Francisco, but because of unfavorable conditions and having still not fully recovered from running aground, it had to return to Chip's Cove on October 11. While at anchor there, it dragged ashore and received additional damage. *Balclutha* remained there throughout the winter and into the spring of 1905. Officers, crew, pumps and material were sent up from San Francisco for additional repairs. These arrived on May 25; repairs were effected

³⁰² This account was based on recollections from “Interview with Captain Francis J. Sommer,” 1604 Fern place, Vallejo (phone: 22680), November 19, 1955,” in *Balclutha History and List of Voyages Folder*, SFMRC.

and *Balclutha* sailed for San Francisco on July 12, arriving on August 7. *Balclutha*'s new owners renamed it *Star of Alaska*, in accordance with the company's policy of giving their iron and steel ships names with the "Star" prefix (Alaska Packers' Association had 19 "Stars" in all).³⁰³

Star of Alaska was moved to Alameda, across the Bay southeast from the city of San Francisco, where the Packers had a dock at the end of Paru Street, and was retrofitted to fit the Association's needs as a transport for men and supplies for the annual Alaskan salmon fishing season, which lasted just a few months from late-spring to early-fall. In fact, over the course of its first decade of work as *Star of Alaska*, a number of renovations were made to accommodate its new career. This included an extension of the poop deck, creating a shelter deck in which could be installed new bunks. New bunks were also added in the tween deck, making over 200 new bunks total. This was all added to better fit as many fishermen and canners as possible.

The voyage between San Francisco and Alaska is just about 2,400 miles, which is not at all substantial given how far *Balclutha* had gone in its life so far, but the seasonal operation of a salmon ship lasted about seven months. This means that during an average year *Star of Alaska* was active from March until October, but was at sea for only about forty days of this. The ship was loaded with supplies for canneries, fishermen, cannery-hands and all the various operations involved in catching, canning and transporting the salmon back from Alaska to San Francisco.³⁰⁴ This was a huge industry at the time. Between 1880 and 1937, canned salmon from Alaska earned more than the total of minerals mined in the territory from the same period.³⁰⁵

Almost every year that *Star of Alaska* made its way to its salmon fishing job, it went to the village of Chignik, which is located on a lagoon by the same name on the extreme east end of the Alaskan peninsula. The village was almost completely uninhabited during the winters, but once *Star of*

³⁰³ San Francisco Maritime Museum, "'Balclutha': Her History & Restoration," 91-93

³⁰⁴ San Francisco Maritime Museum, "'Balclutha': Her History & Restoration," 92

³⁰⁵ Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1994), 2.

Alaska arrived with its cargo of workers and equipment it became a lively factory town. The ship anchored in the middle of the bay for the whole summer, while all the workers moved and lived in the factory building ashore. Only the captain would continue living onboard.

Canning salmon was a labor intensive process. First, the fishermen went out to catch the salmon and bring them back to the factory building. They were paid according to how many they caught. The salmon would then be cleaned by the canners. By *Star of Alaska's* time, the cleaning was actually done by a machine called the "iron chink," so called because it used to be members of the "Chinese gang" that did this job before the machine was invented. The fish were then dropped into a long trough, about 100 feet long. The canners were on each side of this trough, examining them for scales or any other undesired pieces that the machines might have missed. The fish were then chopped into equal sizes, each piece about the height of the tin cans. These pieces were then packed into the cans and weighed, with small pieces of fish being added as necessary. Salt was then added before lids were placed on top of the cans and partially sealed. The cans were then boiled in order to remove any remaining air within and then finally sealed completely, making sure they were airtight. The salmon was then cooked within the can by throwing the cans into large vats. The cans were then placed in lye baths to remove any grease or dirt. After being left to cool overnight, the cans could then be painted, labeled, and finally boxed and shipped.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ This overview is based on accounts from both the Memoirs of John Tennier, SFMRC, HDC 371; and Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942*, 28-30.

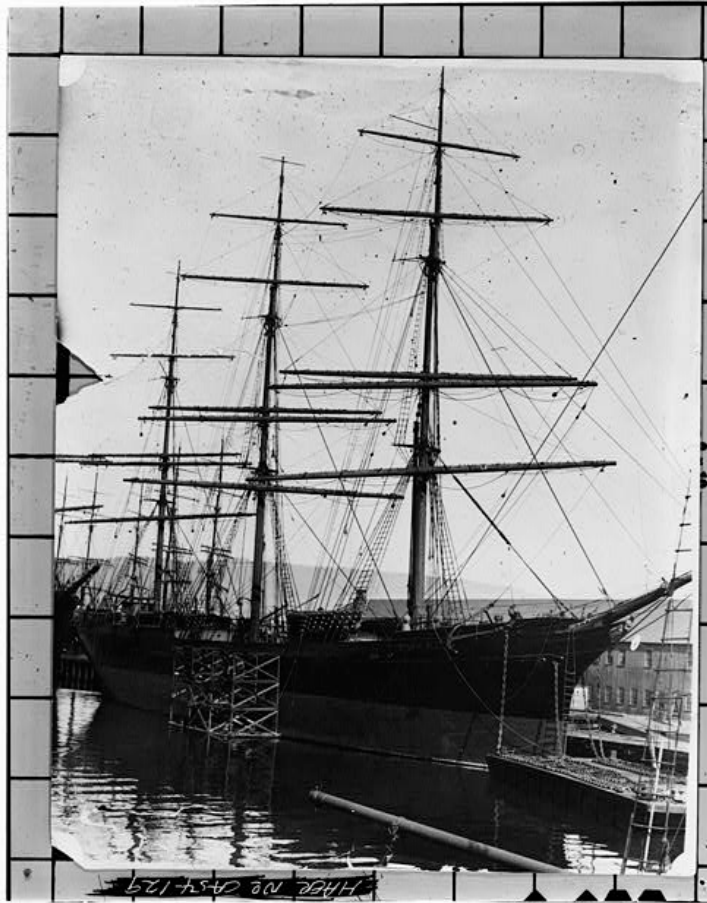


Figure 22 – *Star of Alaska* likely at Alaska Packers’ Docks in Alameda.³⁰⁷

For the other months of the year, the *Star of Alaska* lived at the Alaska Packers’ shipyard at the foot of Paru Street in Alameda (See Figure 22). Here, it was docked with the thirty or so other members of the “Star” fleet, each receiving repairs and upkeep in preparation for the next year’s fishing season. Except for one more trip to Honolulu in 1918 to carry a cargo of sugar, *Star of Alaska* spent this whole career, from 1906 to 1930, going back and forth between Alameda, the Puget Sound, and Alaska. During World War I, most of its fellow “Star” ships were chartered by the United States Shipping Board to carry cargo for the war. *Star of Alaska*, however, was one of only a few that remained to continue its work.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁷ HAER CAL,38-SANFRA,200—129, “Post-1911 at berth, probably at Alaska Packer’s Association yard in Alameda,” <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, (accessed 10/11/17).

³⁰⁸ San Francisco Maritime Museum, “‘Balclutha’: Her History & Restoration,” 93.

Therefore, what is generally considered one of the most destructive and far-reaching conflicts in history was of little consequence in the life of our ship.

Star of Alaska was one of the last remaining salmon fishing ships in the Alaska Packers' fleet. For almost thirty years more than 40 sailing ships set sail each spring from San Francisco Bay for the salmon fisheries of northwest Alaska.³⁰⁹ This entire time, as steam had finally overtaken sail and diesel quickly overtook them both, the "Star fleet" remained nevertheless a prominent part of life on the San Francisco Bay. Its sailing ships, like *Star of Alaska*, had become a working reminder of an age of sail that was already fading into the realm of nostalgic memory.

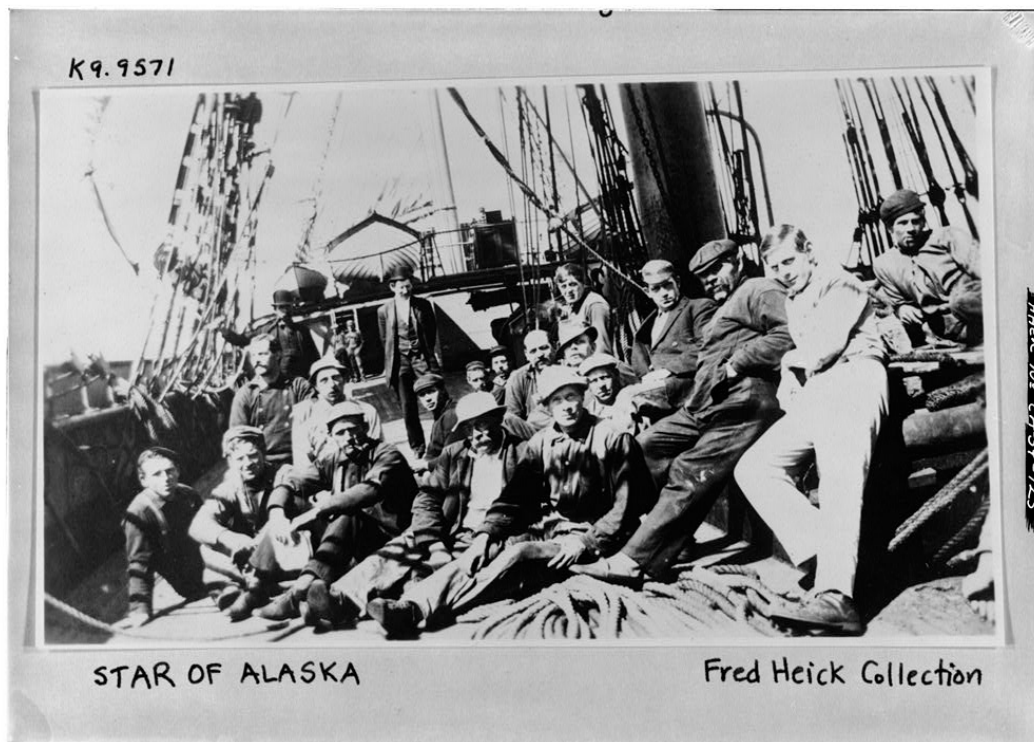


Figure 23 – *Star of Alaska* crew, pre-1911.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Max Stern, *Price of Salmon*, *The Daily News*, San Francisco (1922) SFMRC (HD9469 S23 U576 1922aa); also available at <https://archive.org/details/SternPriceOfSalmon>, (accessed 9/30/2017).

³¹⁰ HAER CAL,38-SANFRA,200—125, "Pre-1911. Crew on main deck, starboard side at main hatch, looking aft. Note dark object in center of photo that may be original main deck capstan," Fred Heick collection. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, (accessed 10/8/1).

Chapter 4

Life at Sea

“Yet a sailor’s life is at best but a mixture of a little of good with much evil, and a little pleasure with much pain. The beautiful is linked with the revolting, the sublime with the common-place, and the solemn with the ludicrous.”

Richard Henry Dana Jr., *Two Years before the Mast*, 1840³¹¹

In 1834, Richard Henry Dana Jr. left his comfortable life in Boston to sail on the *Pilgrim*, a brig set for a voyage around Cape Horn for trade with California. He had been forced to leave his studies at Harvard due to illness and rather than living at home and being a financial burden to his father, he decided to sign on for a romantic voyage at sea. He was drawn by adventure, excitement, and he hoped he would be physically strengthened by the work and thus improve his ailments. For two years he lived the life of a common sailor, journeying around Cape Horn, up and down the coast of California, and then back around the Horn again to Boston. He kept meticulous records of his experiences and in 1840 published his recollections as *Two Years before the Mast*. This book was one of the first to de-romanticize life at sea. Though the sympathy it garnered for the common sailor did not last long, Dana’s non-fiction account of the rigors of sailing life inspired a more realist style in prominent authors of maritime literature, like Herman Melville.³¹² It also remains a pivotal source for pre-Gold Rush California coast history and for examining the harsh, brutal, and abusive realities that nineteenth century sailor’s experienced daily.

As we have already seen, life at sea on a nineteenth-century merchant vessel was difficult and dangerous. Comforts were rare even for the ship’s more privileged residents. Storms, widespread bad weather, and other environmental hazards made serious injury or death a constant possibility. In fact, the quote above comes in the middle of Dana’s description of what happened after one of the seamen

³¹¹ Richard Henry Dana Jr., *Two Years before the Mast*, Edited with an introduction by Thomas Philbrick (London: Penguin Classics, 1986), 78.

³¹² Ibid. See introduction by Thomas Philbrick.

on *Pilgrim* was lost. Death, as Dana puts it, is always a solemn occasion, but never so much on land as it is at sea. On land, someone passes and usually there is mourning, a body to view and bury, a grave stone to mark its place and remember, and people around to help in your mourning and fill the void that is created. At sea, a man “is near you – at your side – you hear his voice, and in an instant he is gone, and nothing but a *vacancy* shows his loss.” There is a brief, rude, seemingly disrespectful sailor’s eulogy that might have gone something like “Well, poor George is gone! His Cruise is up soon! He knew his work, and did his duty, and was a good ship-mate.” There might then be some reference to the after-life, because nearly all sailors believed in one. Somehow, they hoped, the sheer difficulty of the lives they lived would guarantee them a place in Heaven, because “To work hard, live hard, die hard, and go to hell after all, would be hard indeed!” The lost man’s gear would then be auctioned off by the captain. And for the entire rest of the voyage, which could be months, there would just be an empty place where the man used to be. As Dana reminisced:

A dozen men are shut up together in a little bark, upon the wide, wide sea, and for months and months see no forms and hear no voices but their own, and one is taken suddenly from among them, and they miss him at every turn. It is like losing a limb. There are no new faces or new scenes to fill up the gap. There is always an empty berth in the fore-castle, and one man wanting when the small night watch is mustered. There is one less to take the wheel, and one less to lay out with you upon the yard. You miss his form, and the sound of his voice, for habit had made them almost necessary to you, and each of your senses feels the loss.³¹³

Dana risked his life too and survived, but he was still much more fortunate even than other sailors who continued to live. At the end of his two year experience he could go back to Boston, finish

³¹³ Dana, *Two Years before the Mast*, pp. 77-79.

his education at Harvard, and live a comfortable life. This was not the case for most who lived and worked on these ships. For them, life was the sea, just as it had been for generations.

As stated before, a ship is nothing without the people connected to it. All of the chapters in this dissertation have viewed the people who have been connected with the story of *Balclutha* as a primary focus. However, the preceding chapters have looked more at those with whom *Balclutha's* existence connected more indirectly. In contrast, this chapter will look at the lives of the many who called *Balclutha* home, whether for one voyage of a few months or numerous voyages over many years. The experiences of these people can give us a sense of what life was like for those who lived and worked on similar ships and in similar situations.

There are many scholars who have written about what life was like at sea. They have viewed this life using many different analytical framings such as gender, law, and labor. This chapter will touch on these topics as well, as any analysis of ship life should, so the work of these scholars will be invaluable. However, these topics will not be the focus of this chapter. Instead, this chapter will coincide with the focus of the entire dissertation; that is, it will use the example of *Balclutha's* life as a starting point to demonstrate the transnational and trans-social nature of those that lived aboard and relied on such ships for their livelihoods.

This chapter will thus focus on personal examples of life aboard from the two main periods in *Balclutha's* life: when it was first named *Balclutha* and when it was named *Star of Alaska*. Each of these stages represents unique working experiences. Though some crew tasks remained remarkably similar despite the ship's repurposing, the analysis of the personal experiences given here will demonstrate that throughout *Balclutha's* historical existence it represented a transnational, transregional, and trans-social space. Attributing a national identity to a ship is not only technically erroneous, but it also leads to assumptions about those who lived aboard while at sea, which historians have questioned. Some recent scholars have connected life aboard sailing vessels to the development of nationalism, but it is

important to clarify the focus of these studies. For example, Brian Rouleau discusses the impact American sailors had as an early diplomatic core for the United States, enhancing American nationalism at home and representing American culture abroad. However, as Rouleau himself admits, his main source material is a very small portion of the workforce on United States registered cargo vessels from the period; that being white, American-born, literate sailors.³¹⁴ Likewise, in relation to the United Kingdom, Isaac Land looks at the impact the legend of the British sailor had on the development of British nationalism in the early nineteenth century. However, it should be noted that Land's main focus is naval vessels.³¹⁵ Land's study also ends just as the British government repeals navigation acts that restricted the hiring of foreign citizens for merchant vessels.³¹⁶ As will be shown in this chapter, there are many examples where life at sea could not escape land-based social constructs and hierarchies. However, in most cases life at sea was very much disconnected from these same constructs. In nearly every instance, national indifference was prevalent - national indifference, in this case, is used to indicate evidence that most other concerns, especially those involving work, took precedence over the national.

Life aboard *Balclutha*

Before delving into the details of life at sea, it is essential to get a basic layout of the ship, who served on it, and where they lived. For the years in which *Balclutha* sailed around the world in the name of cargo there were about 30-35 people living on board, depending on the planned voyage, captain, and

³¹⁴ Brian Rouleau, *With Sails Whitening every Sea: Mariners and the Making of an American Maritime Empire* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).

³¹⁵ Isaac Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850* (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009). Though, in times of war, as Land discusses, naval vessels relied on merchant mariners to fill the ranks. This was also the case in the United States. See, for example, Justin Jackson, "'The Right Kind of Men': Flexible Capacity, Chinese Exclusion, and the Imperial Origins of Maritime Labor Reform in the United States, 1898-1905," *Labor Studies in Working-Class History*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (2013), 39-60.

³¹⁶ For more discussion of this, see G. Balachandran, "Workers in the World: Indian Seafarers, c. 1870s-1940s," in *Global Histories of Work*, edited by Andreas Eckert (Walter De Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2016), 125-145.

general situation.³¹⁷ This number could include the captain, his wife and family, their steward, a cabin-boy, the three officers under the captain (first, second, and third mates), ship's apprentices, petty-officers, the cook, and the regular sailors or seamen (Able Bodied and Ordinary). All these people lived in different parts of the ship, depending on their status. The seamen lived in the fo'c'sle, or forecastle, which was at the bow of the ship under the raised foredeck. They slept on hard wooden bunks with little personal space for themselves or their belongings.

Officers lived on the opposite end of the ship under the poop deck at the stern. Mates' quarters were on the port side of this section. They were simply furnished with wood bunks, lockers, bench, and a writing desk. First and second mate usually had their own room, though if there was a third mate then they would likely have shared a room with the second. Across from the mates' quarters was the pantry, where the steward would cook for the captain and officers. Also at the stern was the saloon, which was described in Chapter 1. It was mainly for entertaining guests while in port, but while at sea it was where the captain, his wife, and his officers ate their meals. The saloon also had a heating stove for cold weather.

The entire starboard side of the stern section was for the captain's use. It had three rooms. One was the captain's cabin, one was a private toilet and bathtub, and one was for children, if there were any (See Figures 24 and 25). In the middle of the ship, built on the main deck, there was a deckhouse usually referred to as the galley house or mid-ship house. This is where the galley was and where the four petty officers - cook, bosun (boatswain), carpenter, and sailmaker – slept. They usually had two people per room. These petty officers were often referred to as "idlers" by the regular seamen, since they did not have to serve the same four hour rotational watches as the common sailor. In reality, the

³¹⁷ Unless otherwise specified, these numbers and other details that follow in this description of *Balclutha's* layout come from the recollections of Alfred H. Durkee. Durkee was the longest serving captain of *Balclutha*. He served from 1894 to 1899, but was a captain for thirty years. Many years after he retired, he wrote a memoir detailing his experiences. This has, naturally, been an essential source for the curators at the San Francisco Maritime Museum and for this section of this dissertation. See Alfred H. Durkee, *A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee, Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, SFMRC.

idlers usually worked more hours in total everyday than the seamen, they just worked in a straight block of hours. This mid-ship house was also where the young apprentice officers slept, usually four or so per room.



Figures 24 and 25 – Top: Master's cabin; Bottom: Masters bath³¹⁸

Ship Masters

Of these groups of workers, we will begin with the shipmasters, or the captains, mates, and apprentices. The latter two of these groups were usually on their way to becoming captains someday, or at least they hoped to be. Captains were most often of mixed-European descent and came from families

³¹⁸ Figure 24: HAER CAL,38-SANFRA,200—74, "Master's cabin view aft." <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, (accessed 10/8/17). Figure 25: HAER CAL,38-SANFRA,200—76, "Master's bath." <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ca1493/>, (accessed 10/8/17).

that had been masters of sailing cargo boats and ships for generations.³¹⁹ While it was possible to work your way up from a common sailor to eventually become captain of a merchant sailing ship, this was less-common, especially if you were of British or American descent and similarly worked for ships owned by citizens of these countries, as *Balclutha* had been. This likely had less to do with their national definitions than it did with linguistic and cultural traditions. There were certain rigid social divisions between officers and regular sailors that were hard to break.³²⁰ This division was reflected both on land and at sea.

At sea, the officers and captain slept and lived at the stern end of the ship, closer to the wheel, while the regular crew lived at the bow. The idlers and apprentices, who were sort of in-between when it came to ship hierarchy, lived in the middle. If you were not an officer, you very rarely saw the stern end of the ship, unless you were working or you were in a lot of trouble and needed discipline from the captain himself. Even if you saw the stern, it would be the poop deck and not the after cabins. One only instance when a seaman might be working close to the captain would be when they were told to guide the wheel and steer the ship. In this case, there would still be little interaction, aside from the occasional order barked by the captain to the sailor.³²¹ There would also usually be little need for the captain to visit any other part of the ship, since he was often busy with navigation and he had his officers, or mates, to give orders and otherwise lead the crew on his behalf.

³¹⁹ For a list of *Balclutha's* captains through its *Star of Alaska* days, see *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC

³²⁰ This is evidenced by most of *Balclutha's* captains whose history we know, such as Durkee, which will be discussed more in the text later, but it has also been commented on by other scholars. See, for example, Stephen A. Haller, *Families at Sea: An Examination of the Rich Lore of 'Lady Ships' and 'Hen Frigates' Circa 1850-1900* (National Maritime Museum Association, 1985).

³²¹ Eric W. Sager describes such situations and argues that such aloofness on the part of the captain in these instances could have been one of many means of displaying power to individual sailors and thereby keeping control of their crew. A captain's knowledge of navigation, Sager explains, was his last defense against a possibly disorderly crew. See Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: the Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), especially Chapter 6, "Struggles for Protection and Control," pp. 164-200.

On land, there was even less mixing of regular sailors and officers. For a number of reasons, regular crewmen were switched out every time a ship came to port. Usually, only the officers, idlers, or apprentices might stay signed onto one specific ship for longer than one voyage.³²² While a ship was at port being loaded with cargo, those that stayed signed on aboard the ship, especially the officers, would mingle socially with those with whom they did business. This meant that the upper world of the merchant marine was one that was highly socially interconnected. As is often the case, and was the case with the shipbuilding industry in Glasgow, these connections were strengthened by marriage. For example, the wife of a captain would very likely have been the daughter of another captain under whom he had apprenticed, or the daughter of a ship builder, or even the daughter of a shipping business owner, investor, or executive.³²³ Captain Alfred Durkee, the longest serving captain of *Balclutha* (1894-1899), and his wife are an example of this. Born Alice McCormack, Durkee's wife met him in Tusket, Nova Scotia, when he was on a trip visiting friends. Her great-uncle, who had raised her since she was five, was a shipbuilder.³²⁴ This site-to-site network of seafaring communities reached across the globe.

Because of this, for most captains, their entire life was a preparation for their following the family sailing legacy. Since about twenty-five percent of nineteenth-century merchant marine captains brought their wives and families with them on voyages, many captains would have been born and raised

³²² An example of this for *Balclutha* has been given from Norman J. Pearce's account of *Balclutha's* first voyage. See *Life and Times of Balclutha: Birth* section of this dissertation. For a detailed analysis of this occurrence as commonplace for the period, see Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: the Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), especially Chapter 6, "Struggles for Protection and Control," pp. 164-200.

³²³ This is mentioned in much of Joan Druett's work, as will be discussed below, but see especially, for example, Joan Druett, *Captain's Daughter, Coastman's Wife: Carrie Hubbard Davis of Orient* (New York, NY: Philmark Lithographies, Inc., New York, 1995) and Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1998). For more on the paradoxical lives of sailors and their relationships with sex and gender, see Margaret S. Creighton, *Rites & Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially the chapter "Sailors, Sweethearts, and Wives: Gender and Sex in the Deepwater Workplace," pp. 162-194.

³²⁴ Durkee, *A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee, Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, SFMRC, 33.

on the sea.³²⁵ They were also much better educated than regular sailors, especially in regard to the art of sailing. After being a decade or so old, many would begin attending navigation school. Once sixteen, they would then become an apprentice, or an officer in training as mentioned above. To be an apprentice, your family had to have connections and money. A family had to pay a ship owner \$500 to allow the teenager to begin his apprenticeship. They then apprenticed for four years, at the end of which the money would be given to the apprentice and they would start their career as an officer, usually 3rd mate.³²⁶ After moving up in the ranks an officer could become captain by their mid to late-twenties. Captain Alfred Durkee, for example, was first mate by the time he was 23 and captain not long after.³²⁷ At every step, and especially for first mate and captain, they would have to pass an exam in order to be certified for the position, which further emphasizes the difficulty of becoming a captain if you began as a regular sailor without growing up in the merchant marine world and without having the money to rise in the ranks.

There were, however, as always, exceptions. One such exception was Captain Hans Peter Jensen. He was captain of *Star of Alaska* from 1923 to 1928, so his period as a ship master was a bit later than Durkee, but he would have been a seaman and apprentice officer during Durkee's time. Jensen was originally from Denmark, where he was a teacher. He went to sea due to poor health and a desire to see the world. He began as a regular seaman and eventually worked his way up to ship master. Jensen did not come from the same shipping and ship master community as Durkee. But as a teacher in Denmark, he was already well-educated before choosing a life at sea. This certainly would have aided his rise in the ranks. Even as a regular sailor, he did not join the social and cultural norms. For example, instead of

³²⁵ Stephen A. Haller, *Families at Sea: An Examination of the Rich Lore of 'Lady Ships' and 'Hen Frigates' Circa 1850-1900* (National Maritime Museum Association, 1985), 1.

³²⁶ "Letter written from Mrs. Carroll L. Dunn to Karl Kortum," November 22, 1954, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1*, SFMRC.

³²⁷ Durkee, *A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee, Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, SFMRC, 32. While Durkee was the longest serving captain of *Balclutha*, he was also born on December 9, 1860, see "Captain Durkee, Aged 78, Retired, is Heart Victim," *Haverhill Evening Gazette*, October 18, 1938, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1*, SFMRC. By coincidence, this was also the day *Balclutha* was launched in 1886.

frequenting “waterfront dives” while at port, as was the custom for most who lived in the fo’c’sle at the time, Jensen was learning and experiencing what he could about the local ports and regions to which he visited.³²⁸

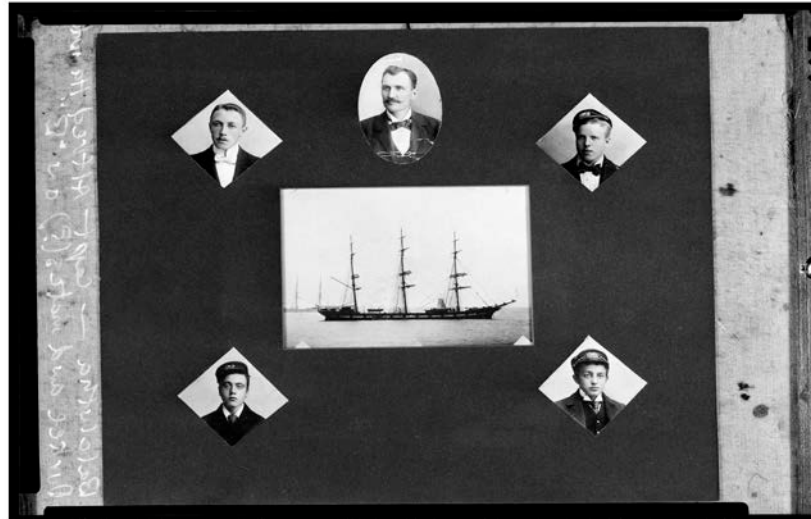


Figure 26—Captain Durkee and officers.³²⁹

In *Balclutha*’s period, a captain’s knowledge and experience with the merchant marine world did not necessarily end with sailing ships. Though most would have grown up with some sort of sailing boat or vessel, many by necessity became captains of both sailing and steam vessels. Captain Constable, for example, the first captain of *Balclutha*, started on sailing vessels, but actually served most of his captaining career on steam ships. For years before and after his one voyage captaining *Balclutha*, it was steam vessels that Constable captained, including *Cynthiana*, a ship built and based in Glasgow.³³⁰ Durkee also switched to steam after his time on *Balclutha*.³³¹

³²⁸ These characterizations of Jensen come from Charles M. Loring, who was a friend of his and frequented Jensen’s house in Alameda. See Charles M. Loring, draftsman at the APA shipyard in Alameda, knew Jensen and voyaged with him, “Memories of Captain Hans Peter Jensen, Master of the Ship Star of Alaska, 1923-1928,” 1972, *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC.

³²⁹ Undated, Inda Dunn Collection, San Francisco National Park, SAFR 21374

³³⁰ *HAER*, 35.

³³¹ Durkee, *A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee, Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, SFMRC, 32.

By necessity, a merchant ship captain was also often part businessman and diplomat. Cargo was king, the main purpose for all of these voyages, and it was the captain's job and first responsibility to get the cargo from one place to another. Ship owners put a lot of stress on captains during *Balclutha's* time. They expected cargo to get to its destination not just safely, but swiftly, sometimes unreasonably so. Owners expected ship masters to do whatever was necessary to obtain the desired speed, even if it meant taking unnecessary risks and increasing pressure on their crews.³³² Further, with ships that were owned by multiple investors it was not uncommon for the captain to be one of them; such captains had direct interest in the safe delivery and sale of the cargo.³³³ Rarely was anyone else allowed in the cargo hold while at sea. It was locked tight before leaving port, the captain had the key, and it was only opened at sea in an emergency. The saloon was not there for the comfort of the captain and his family, though its use at sea was certainly a benefit of the position. Its main purpose was for entertaining visitors while in port. The captain and this space represented the owners of the vessel while at sea, since the owners would rarely, if ever, be there themselves. This background in business made a transition to business easy for many captains who needed to retire as the Age of Sail ended in the early-twentieth century. Durkee, for example, after retiring from being a captain, went into business with his brother and became a shoe manufacturer in Massachusetts. Thus, while he was a captain for thirty years, he was also a traditional businessman for another thirty.³³⁴

Ship masters were not apparently an extraordinarily transnational or trans-social group. Even so, they lived lives that were connected to an innately transnational space. As such, they shared many of its characteristics. Though still of mostly European descent, captains were from a community that spread across many national and even professional boundaries. Durkee, a Nova Scotian by birth, worked for ship owners based on both sides of the Atlantic. He married a woman who was born into the same

³³² Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 166-168.

³³³ Haller, *Families at Sea: An Examination*, 4. This is one instance where there is no known example from *Balclutha's* captains.

³³⁴ "Captain Durkee, Aged 78, Retired, is Heart Victim," *Haverhill Evening Gazette* (October 18, 1938)

community and was raised by a shipbuilder. Once retired, he settled in Massachusetts. Socially, it was not easy to become a captain without being born into this community, but there were exceptions.

Captain Jensen was born in Denmark, began as a regular seaman, and rose to become a ship master. He settled and lived in Alameda, just across the bay from the city of San Francisco. Though not entirely global, these examples still demonstrated a decidedly transnational profession.

The Crew

The Captain was the first one responsible if a ship or its cargo were lost or damaged. As an example, Captain Bremer had trouble getting work again after *Balclutha* was wrecked off the coast of Alaska and nearly lost forever, even though hindsight shows that there was likely little he could have done to avoid the accident.³³⁵ This is unfortunate because Bremer had been described as strong, patient, and a “good seafaring man.”³³⁶ During World War I, he was able to finally get command of an old whaler, *Narwhal*, which had been converted into a cargo vessel, but there was little else besides that. Essentially, his career had been ruined by one incident that appears to have been mostly out of his control. He eventually died of a heart attack around 1927.³³⁷ It is important to note the immense pressure that followed the responsibility of captaining a ship, though this does not excuse the brutality that many officers enacted on those beneath them as a result of that pressure.

Those beneath the masters that received the most punishment were the regular crew. These were the people that worked the lines, climbed over three-hundred feet above the deck in the rigging, swabbed decks, cooked the food, repaired the sails and masts, and in general lived very wet, cramped, cold, and dangerous lives. While everyone on board was working hard and risking their lives in the name

³³⁵ “Letter from Captain A. G. Griffiths of Cheshire, England to Oswald Brett,” October 31, 1955, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1*, SFMRC.

³³⁶ Conversation with Captain Frank Sommer, K.K., Maritime Museum, April, 1965, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1*, SFMRC.

³³⁷ Captain P. A. MacDonald conversation, 1959, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1*, SFMRC.

of cargo, the regular crew consisted of the laborers on board in that they did most of the physically challenging work. To give a sense of how inhuman and expendable the lives of these workers could often seem, they are described by Eric Sager as simply “part of a machine, a ‘living appendage’.”³³⁸ These seamen and regular crew were usually of mostly European descent, but there were examples of some from all over the world. Given the demand for sailors, it was necessary to take skilled seamen regardless of their national background. As a result, crews were never all of the same nationality, nor were they necessarily the same nationality as the ship’s owners or the ship’s captain. Further, due to unforeseen circumstances of the sea - such as death, injury, or desertion - it was often necessary to recruit sailors while underway, finding whoever was available in whatever port happened to be near. These realities of life at sea had, for the most part, remained relatively unchanged since the early modern era.³³⁹

Captains usually employed a shipping master to acquire their crews. The captain paid from half a month to a full month’s wages up front. This fee was meant to go to the sailor’s debts on shore, but more often it went straight to the shipping master. These shipping masters were not known to be the most honest of people. Captain Durkee recalled knowing of one such character in Quebec who was notorious. This man once put a dead-man on board, telling the ship’s first mate that the sailor was “dead drunk.” As sailors were often drunk or at least tipsy when they first came onto a ship, the mate thought nothing of it and put the man in his bunk. The shipping master, of course, got his advance pay, went on his way, and the ship would not realize the man was dead until it was far too late. This

³³⁸ Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 104.

³³⁹ See, for example, Mattias Van Rossum, Lex Heerman Van Voss, Jesse Van Lottum, and Jan Lucassen, “National and International Labour Markets for Sailors in European, Atlantic, and Asian Waters, 1600-1850,” *Research in Maritime History No. 43. Maritime History as Global History*. Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia, eds. (St. John’s, Newfoundland, 2010), 47-72. The authors even hypothesize that there could have been an influence from local recruitment patterns of Asia on Dutch shipping recruitment, but it is also likely that the two systems developed independently.

notorious shipping master also frequently drugged and shanghai men, including a Catholic priest.³⁴⁰

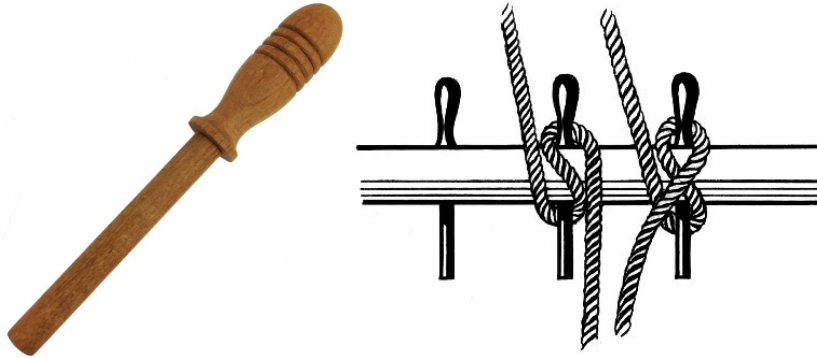
Stories such as these were common in harbor cities all over the world.³⁴¹

Because captains had little choice than to deal with these shipping masters and boarding houses, their relationships with them were not always friendly. While docked once in San Francisco in 1900, *Balclutha's* Captain Hatfield needed to prepare the ship so it could cast-off to the Puget Sound and load lumber on its way to Australia. Unfortunately, Hatfield was shorthanded, so he borrowed some sailors from another ship that was docked nearby, the *Blackbraes*, just to help him prepare to make-way. Once these sailors were at work on *Balclutha*, boarding house proprietors came onboard with free whiskey, which made the sailors more willing to follow the proprietors ashore, deserting their own ship and contracts. When the captain of *Blackbraes* heard his sailors had been stolen he took a pistol and went ashore to each boarding house until he found all of his men. The next morning, the boarding house masters joined together to make a revenge assault on *Blackbraes*, but the first mate, second mate, bosun, and carpenter quickly forced them overboard by using belaying pins as clubs (See Figures 27-28).³⁴²

³⁴⁰ A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee, *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, SFMRC, pg. 8

³⁴¹ The Barbary Coast of San Francisco is perhaps one of the most famous examples of such a place. For more, see Herbert Asbury, *The Barbary Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underworld* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1933); Daniel Bacon, *Walking San Francisco on the Barbary Coast Trail, Second Edition*, Illustrations by Yongki Yoon (New York: Quicksilver Press, 1997). For some general knowledge about such ports around the world, see Dorothy Denneen Volo and James M. Volo, *Daily Life in the Age of Sail* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2002). For discussion of brutal recruitment practices and their relation to "liberal" democracies of the period, see Leon Fink, *Sweatshops at Sea: Merchant Seamen in the World's First Globalized Industry, from 1812 to the Present* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina, 2011), especially Chapter 2, "Liberty before the Mast," pp. 35-63. In the decades from around 1880 to 1910, the ports of Astoria and Portland in Oregon were supposedly the worst in the world. For more on this, see Barney Blalock, *The Oregon Shanghaiers: Columbia River Crimping from Astoria to Portland* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014). For the connections between the crimping industry in Oregon and the Barbary Coast in San Francisco, see Chapter 1, "Can Anything Good Come from San Francisco?," pp. 11-28.

³⁴² "Trouble on *Balclutha*," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Honolulu, July 18, 1900.



Figures 27-28 – Left: Belaying pin made of teak; Right: diagram of what belaying pins were intended to do – that is, to fasten lines to a ship’s rail. However, as they were made to be removable in order to be used where ever needed, they were also often used as weapons.³⁴³

Not only was the work of sailors dangerous, but they were often violently abused by the officers of the ship. This was usually done to keep discipline when a sailor was being especially disrespectful, not working properly, or not following ship’s rules. It could easily get out of hand. The sailors had legal rights to charge officers with assault and could obtain convictions, but this was not always easy and the effort resulted in little justice.³⁴⁴ In June of 1901, *Balclutha* stopped in Honolulu and a United States marshal arrested the first and second mate for abusing the carpenter, who had a gash in his forehead thanks to a belaying pin wielded by the mates. Usually, idlers like the carpenter sided with the officers in disputes with the rest of the crew, but apparently this particular voyage was so horrendous that the carpenter sympathized with the crew against these two officers in particular. Members of this crew described *Balclutha* as “a regular ‘hell ship’” and said that during the entire voyage “belaying pins flew around the decks like leaves in autumn.”³⁴⁵

Though it is not clear what became of this incident, it is unlikely that these men were prosecuted. If they were, their punishment would have been a small fine at best.³⁴⁶ In this case, they

³⁴³ First image from <https://fostersshipchandlery.co.nz/products/teak-belaying-pin>, (accessed 10/8/17); second image from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belaying_pin, (accessed 10/8/17). These are not historical sources, but the purpose of these images is as a simple example for those that might not be aware of what a belaying pin is.

³⁴⁴ Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 182.

³⁴⁵ “Trouble on *Balclutha*,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Honolulu, June 4, 1901; see also “Shipping Notes,” *Evening Bulletin*, Honolulu, June 3, 1901.

³⁴⁶ Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 185-186.

were out on bail almost as soon as they were arrested. With so many sailors and the carpenter involved in this particular incident, it might have been more likely that the officers would have been found guilty, but another problem was that the sailors could not afford to stay around long enough to press charges or be witnesses. They were not paid enough to stay idle in one city for too long, especially when they had jumped ship, thereby breaking contract and forfeiting the majority of their pay. In fact, in this example, most of the sailors who were onboard had already signed on to other ships and the ones that did stick around long enough to talk to reporters were already thinking of doing the same. Such violence and conflict seems to have been commonplace and so was just another part of their reality.³⁴⁷

Sailors were not only beaten to keep discipline. Due to pressure by ship owners to cut costs whenever possible, it was common practice at the time for officers, especially first mates, to underfeed, neglect, and generally mistreat sailors as their ships approached their port of call.³⁴⁸ The hope was that, if the sailor was mistreated poorly enough, they might jump ship before receiving the total of their pay when the ship approached the harbor. Legally, this would constitute the sailor having deserted the ship and their contract, thereby forfeiting their unpaid wages and giving the owner an entire voyage of nearly free labor.³⁴⁹

Sadly, *Balclutha*, once again, was not an exception. John Skinner, who served as a sailor aboard *Balclutha*, details an instance when a group of sailors signed on to the *Balclutha* while Durkee was in command. The ship was in Le Havre and Durkee needed a skeleton crew for a quick trip across the

³⁴⁷ Further, the first mate involved was named Hatfield, so it was likely the same Hatfield who was son of the current captain and then later became captain of *Balclutha* after his father left. See captain list in *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC.

³⁴⁸ According to personal sailor accounts, such as "Letter from John Skinner (who was born in Sonoma and sailed on the *Balclutha* to England when he was 19 in 1890) to Karl Kortum," December 1955, *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC. This topic is also discussed in Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, especially Chapter 6, "Struggles for Protection and Control," pp. 164-200.

³⁴⁹ As Sager explains, the laws against desertion were often used by ship masters to exert control over their crews. See Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 169. Given Durkee's background as a Nova Scotian, it is also interesting to note Sager's data regarding Canadian captains specifically. According to Sager: "Of those masters in the Saint John file who experienced a desertion rate of 30 per cent or more among their crews, over 90 per cent resided in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick." Canadian captains were also more than four times more likely than American or British captains to discharge their crews into jail, 193.

English Channel. As Skinner wrote: Le Havre “in those days...was a sink of iniquity thugs, robbers, crimps and every kind of the worst underworld people.” Walter Mason and five others had just left the four mast barque *Glaucus* after serving fifteen months. Le Havre was so bad that the group wanted to get away as soon as possible, so they signed on to the *Balclutha*, even though the voyage was only to be a quick one across the channel and Captain Durkee had promised them that food would be on the scantiest scale for the three-day voyage: “Practically iron rations,” was apparently how Durkee described it to them. *Balclutha* was moored between the *Glaucus* and another ship, the *Hawaiian Isles*, so it was an easy escape for the sailors and they went aboard. They received no pay, because by the time they finished the short trip they were about as glad to leave the ship as they were to leave Le Havre. They were hazed harshly by the only mate. This hazing combined with the skimp rations made them glad to leave, and they were marked as deserters, basically driven off the ship to save expenses. *Balclutha* arrived in Greenock and was bound for Honolulu after that.³⁵⁰

To their credit, sailors were more than just victims. As scholars like Eric Sager and Leon Fink have discussed in their studies on labor at sea, sailors were often able to use the law and the vessel’s dependence on their labor to their advantage in their fight against cruelty onboard. As Sager writes: “To the struggle with employers and with authority sailors brought the capacity for adaptation and survival of men who were literate, migratory, self-reliant, and tenacious in defense of assumed rights.”³⁵¹ For example, while the above story of officers on *Balclutha* being prosecuted for violence against the crew seems to have ended with little result, and while justice in these cases in general seems to have been difficult for sailors to come by, this did not stop sailors from trying. Further, sailors were able to legally claim any wages withheld by the ship masters if they could prove in court that a vessel was unseaworthy. The most effective and common means of combatting injustices at sea, however, was for

³⁵⁰ “Letter from John Skinner (who was born in Sonoma and sailed on the *Balclutha* to England when he was 19 in 1890) to Karl Kortum,” December 1955, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC. The ship, *Hawaiian Isles*, was also built by Charles Connell.

³⁵¹ Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 199.

sailors to withhold their labor. In the middle of the ocean, where there were no laborers available as replacements, this tactic could be especially effective.³⁵²

Eventually, national and international unionizing led to even greater legal maritime labor reform and more rights for seamen. In the United States and Britain, the first of these unions began to develop in the last third of the nineteenth century and grew over the next several decades. Progress was slow, but the first laws in the United Kingdom to protect sailors against crimping and criminal prosecution for breaking contract were passed in 1876 and 1880.³⁵³ As we have seen, such laws were not always effective, and they only worked if the sailors happened to be in a port under the sovereignty of that nation, but they were a start. By the first couple decades of the twentieth century, sailors were able to obtain national acts that gave them more rights than ever before.³⁵⁴

Thus, sailors were eventually able to obtain legal rights, but this happened slowly and was not accomplished until after *Balclutha* became *Star of Alaska*. Therefore, in *Balclutha's* time there were still many examples of the unpleasantness of life at sea for the common sailor. It was violent, dirty, difficult work and death or injury was a daily possibility. And for such challenging work, the sleep and food were rarely enough to satisfy. The poor quality of the food is a common topic in sailor shanties about life at sea. Captain Durkee discussed food at sea in his personal papers written after retirement:

People living in their homes don't know anything about bad food, such as we used to get when we had bad cooks and stewards. As for dirt and insects, well, you had to get used to them. It would be quite a common thing to find cockroaches in your soup, and if it was vegetable soup they were hard to find, for dried vegetables are all kinds of

³⁵² For more discussion on this topic and these examples, see Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, especially Chapter 6, "Struggles for Protection and Control," pp. 164-200.

³⁵³ Leon Fink, *Sweatshops at Sea: Merchant Seamen in the World's First Globalized Industry, from 1812 to the Present* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina, 2011), 80-81.

³⁵⁴ 1906 Merchant Shipping Act in Britain and 1915 La Follette Act (Seamen's Act) in the United States. For more on the development of these acts through unionizing and reform, see Leon Fink, *Sweatshops at Sea*, especially Part 2, "Strategies of Reform," pp. 67-141.

colors after they are cooked. If there were ants on board one was liable to find them running out and in the holes of the bread you are eating. . . I've also seen the sailors using their loaves of bread for balls; they were so hard they could not eat them and sometimes our hard bread would get wormy. That was always a great hardship, especially if we were to be long at sea, for you can imagine how pleasant it would be to keep breaking up the bread in small pieces for fear you might be eating fresh meat you did not care for.³⁵⁵

This makes the ship's cook an especially interesting example of the mid-ship idlers. As with the other idlers, a ship's cook was not a part of the usual ship hierarchy in the same way that the seamen were. The cook or steward could be the most popular, or the most hated member of the crew and officers, depending on their skill. If their skill were high, the reverence from the rest of the crew was great.³⁵⁶

Captain Durkee also reminisced about sea cooks in his personal papers. He described a reverence for one steward in particular who cooked for him while he was captain: "We once had a Chinese steward who would take a chicken or fowl, turn it inside out, take every bone one of it, turn it back, stuff and bake it, and when it came on the table, you would think the bones were all there, but the carver would be pleased, for his work would be easy."³⁵⁷

This example of a cook or steward of Chinese descent is not an outlier. Actually, throughout the nineteenth century, the position of cook was often filled by someone of non-European descent, their background depending on the ship's current trade route. For example, if the ship was trading mainly in the Atlantic or Caribbean, the cook was likely of African descent. If the ship was trading with China, the

³⁵⁵ Durkee, *A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee, Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, SFMRC, 28.

³⁵⁶ Margaret Creighton argues that cooks were often tortured and picked on by the fo'c'sle men because they did more "womanly" work than the rest of the crew, but I did not find any such examples in regard to *Balclutha*. I would suggest that this bullying might only happen if the cook was not good at his job. Further, she does also discuss the diary of one cook in particular who is very content and happy with his work and position, which seems to support my findings here that cooks were not always picked on, unless they simply ignored and internalized this treatment, as she suggests. See Margaret S. Creighton, *Rites & Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 187.

³⁵⁷ Durkee, *A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee, Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, SFMRC, 14.

cook might likely be Chinese.³⁵⁸ In the case of *Balclutha*, when it was trading across the Pacific with Australia and India, one such cook was a man named John Ah Sing. According to a crew list from 1901, Ah Sing was originally born in China, but the location of his “wife or next of kin” was in Honolulu (See Figure 29).³⁵⁹ Whether or not this is the same man Durkee is referring to above is unknown, but these remain important examples of the transnational space of the ship. *Balclutha* made stops in Honolulu during its trans-Pacific career, so it makes sense for any of its crewmen who might have been married or had families to have their home there.

However, in looking at this particular crew list, it is clear that sailors made their homes all over, including, in this case, places very far from the Pacific, such as Sweden and Germany. Also, it should be noted how ambiguous the birthplaces are, sometimes being an entire nation-state, sometimes a sub-national state or province, like England or California. This ambiguity shows in stark contrast to the apparent desire to make a strict legal categorization of this crew list, as evidenced by the crossing out of “crew list” in the upper left corner to be replaced with “articles.” This seemingly banal word replacement actually defines this document as more legally, contractually binding. Despite this concern for legality, the creators seem comparatively unconcerned with the exact or specific origins of the crew, which further exemplifies the transnational nature of work aboard a ship like *Balclutha* and perhaps a certain degree of the type of national indifference analyzed by Tara Zahra on the part of the ship officers.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁸ Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail*, 138.

³⁵⁹ “Ship *Balclutha* Crew List,” Port Townsend, 1901, *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC. I tried to find out more about Ah Sing at the Hawaii State Archives, but it is a common name, so there were multiple Ah Sings in immigration and marriage records, with no apparent connection to this Ah Sing. See *Marriage Index, Oahu, 1832-1910*, Vol. 1, Hawaii State Archives. There are a number of other crew lists available at the SFMRC. For at least the first few years when *Balclutha* was sailing around the Horn, the cook was a Jamaican man named Joseph Knight. See “*Balclutha* articles, Feb 29 1888,” *Balclutha* records, SFMRC, HDC 1442, file 4 of 5.

³⁶⁰ As we will see later, laborers brought aboard were given numbers, an indication as well of a lack of interest in workers’ identities. The author would also like to take this opportunity to also note that where and when this crew list was made coincides directly with the above story of the prosecution of *Balclutha*’s first mate in Hawaii. This crew list was made in the next port the ship stopped after leaving Hawaii following that incident. Note that the first mate, shown simply as “mate” on the document, is still the same first mate. Also, see the brief note under the

Concurrently, while some of the crew might have sometimes distinguished each other based on national definitions, it was also common to differentiate oneself or others based on regional or local definitions. When analyzing shipbuilding on the Clyde, we found a certain Glaswegian patriotism that remains until today. In an important study entitled "'Composed of All Nationalities': The Crews of Windsor Vessels, 1882-1899," Rosemary Ommer provides a detailed statistical analysis of crew participation aboard vessels based in Windsor in Nova Scotia. These statistics demonstrate a preference for Windsor crew on Windsor-based ships.³⁶¹ This continues the trend we have seen in this dissertation so far for local and regional, rather than national definitions; and these identifications played on existing global similarities and connections between locations that existed without necessarily traversing the category of the national.

carpenter indicating that he "failed to join." One could safely guess that this is an indication of the carpenter leaving the ship after the incident. The question is: is this an indication that he left in Honolulu or that he left in Washington, where this list was submitted. Certainly, it would be surprising if he remained onboard given that the first mate, who he got arrested, also remained. It could also be, given that we do not know the carpenter's name, that this is simply a new carpenter to replace the old, perhaps even warned by the original. Whatever the case, if the carpenter left and was so indicated here that he "failed to join," then it is likely that he would have been marked as a deserter, thereby forfeiting his pay, and did not get the justice he sought.

³⁶¹ Rosemary E. Ommer, "'Composed of All Nationalities': the Crews of Windsor Vessels, 1882-1899," in *Working Men Who Got Wet: Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project, July 24-July 26, 1980*, ed. Rosemary Ommer and Gerald Panting, 192-227 (St. John's: Maritime History Group, 1980).

Articles
 Crew list ship BALCLUTHA at Port Townsend, Sept. 1901.

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ht.	compl.	hair	wages <i>per month</i>	advance	at what time	in what capacity	address of wife or next of kin
E. B. Hatfield	England	30	5-8	lt.	lt.	\$55	0	Sept. 9, 1901	mate	London, Eng.
Paul Burdt	Penn.	38	5-8	dk.	dk.	45	0	Aug. 28, 1901	2nd mate	Philadelphia, Pa.
H. E. Dewey	Indiana	36	5-8	dk.	dk.	45	0	Aug. 7, 1901	carpenter	Everett, Wash.
E. Andersen	Denmark	41	5-6	lt.	lt.	40	0	Aug. 1, 1901	sailmaker	none
John Ah Sing his + mark	China	46	5-5	dk.	dk.	35	0	Aug. 6, 1901	cook	Honolulu, H.T.
Danl. Griffith	England	53	5-5	dk.	dk.	35	0	Aug. 4, 1901	steward	Point Loma, Calif.
Carl Pettersson	Sweden	27	5-4	lt.	lt.	30	first month's wages	Aug. 1, 1901	AB	none
Pieter Dam	Holland	22	5-6	lt.	lt.	40	from Aug. 1 to Aug. 31: balance of voyage \$20 per month	Aug. 1, 1901	AB	Belsyl, Holland
Axel Hasselbon	Sweden	20	5-7	dk.	dk.	20	\$13.33	Sept. 2, 1901	AB	Kalmar, Sweden
Gustaf Svensson	Sweden	19	5-7	dk.	dk.	20	13.33	Sept. 2, 1901	AB	Malma, Sweden
Fr. Petersen	Germany	25	5-6	lt.	lt.	20	13.33	Sept. 3, 1901	AB	none
W. Lehmann	"	24	5-11	dk.	dk.	20	13.33	Sept. 3, 1901	AB	none
J. Brekman	"	31	5-6	"	"	20	13.33	Sept. 3, 1901	AB	none
L. Willviki	"	27	5-8	lt.	lt.	20	13.33	Sept. 3, 1901	AB	Dantsig, Germany
C. Lynch	California	50	5-7	lt.	gr.	20	13.33	Sept. 4, 1901	AB	none
Jas. Phillips	N.Y.	57	6-1	"	"	20	13.33	" 4, "	AB	N.Y. City
F. P. Coleman	Kansas	32	5-8	dk.	dk.	20	13.33	" 4, "	AB	Ellensburg, Wash.
J. E. Morris	Texas	18	5-7	"	"	17.50	11.67	" 5, "	OS	Robie, Texas

(all below Pettersson shipped to be paid off in Melbourne except Lynch, Phillips, and Coleman. Phillips was left in the hospital at Melbourne: arrears of wages \$33.80 and 1 month's extra \$20 total \$53.80 left with U.S. Consul, Melbourne. All were paid off at Melbourne but the cook.)

Figure 29 – Balclutha Crew List, 1901³⁶²

³⁶² "Ship Balclutha Crew List," Port Townsend, 1901, *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC.

Ship's cooks were also often the oldest sailors on the ship. This is evident in viewing the crew list in Figure 29, where the two oldest crew members are the cook and steward. The steward is decades older than even the mates who lead the ship. As older members of the crew, ship cooks had been at sea for most of their lives, and so had a reputation for being tough, overly superstitious, and irrational.

Durkee described sea cooks as "a hard lot," and remembered one in particular:

He was a tough old rat, as the saying goes. He never wore shoes at sea, would go back and forth from the galley to the cabins in bare feet, even in freezing weather; said if he put on shoes when the ship was rolling, he would fall down. He had about all his pots and pans named -- usually after one of the twelve apostles -- and the swearing he would do when the ship rolled bad and the dishes would fly, was something that would astonish any apostle.³⁶³

Richard Henry Dana Jr., too, knew a superstitious sea cook aboard the *Pilgrim*. In his case, it was an old African man who believed in all the common sailor sea myths and superstitions, such as the *Flying Dutchman*, a ghost ship that could never return to port and was fated to sail the seas forever. If seen by a living crew, it was a sign that their doom was soon to come. In that regard, he also believed firmly that there was always some sort of sign for men before they passed away, whether they had seen it or not. Usually, it came in a dream.³⁶⁴

As an example of the cook's loss of reason, Dana gives an account of one particular occasion when he got into a discussion with the cook about one of his fellow sailors. The cook was convinced this man was Finnish and therefore a dangerous wizard who could control the winds and bring about storms. Dana was able to convince the cook that this "Fin" was actually a German man from Bremen, which the cook was relieved to learn. However, try as he might, Dana could not relieve him of the notion that all

³⁶³ Durkee, *A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee, Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, SFMRC, 14.

³⁶⁴ Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, 80-81

“Fins” were wizards. The old cook always had a counter argument, usually in the form of first-hand experience. In this case, he served with a Finnish sailmaker in the Hawaiian Islands, then called the Sandwich Isles. The cook insisted this man kept a bottle of rum that was always half-full, despite his getting drunk on it every night. The cook had also served on a ship in the North Sea on which there was a Finnish sailor that he insisted had changed the winds to the completely opposite direction in order to guide the ship back to Finland. Whenever Dana’s discussions with the cook reached a certain point, the cook would get frustrated and insist they call John, who was the oldest sailor on the ship, but also the most ignorant, in Dana’s judgment. Sure enough, John would confirm the cook’s superstitions with his own first-hand experiences.³⁶⁵

Despite such nation-bashing and stereotyping, ship cooks were one of the best examples of the transnational and trans-social nature of sailing ship crews’ experiences. They were often ethnically non-European and while they certainly might have been tortured and abused by some seamen, they could also obtain a social reverence and respect that would not have been as possible on land. Importantly, this respect would have been based not on their nationality, race, or ethnicity, but on their experience at sea and their ability to perform the shipboard job assigned to them.

Women and Families

Contrary to the traditional notion that having women on board a ship was bad luck, merchant ships like *Balclutha* were not inhabited only by men. As mentioned, a merchant ship’s captain often brought their wives with them on voyages. In fact, about a quarter of all sailing ships in the second half of the nineteenth century had the ship master’s wife and family on board.³⁶⁶ These ships were

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Stephen A. Haller, *Families at Sea*, 1.

commonly called “lady ships” or “hen frigates.”³⁶⁷ The increase in size of vessels, thanks to new building materials like iron and steel, meant more room and accommodations. The saloon at the stern of the ship is an example. This new luxury, along with the establishment of regular, safer, global shipping routes, made it easier for captains to have their families with them. Further, since many ships were owned by multiple investors, one of these investors could often be the captain. Partial ownership gave them more control over who was aboard during cargo trips.³⁶⁸ Rigid division between captain and crew meant there was little interaction between the captain’s family and the crew, but it also meant that the captain could be less lonely and feel less isolated if he had his family to keep him company.

Scholarship about these women has been less frequent than scholarship about general life at sea. Traditionally, research on life at sea has focused mostly on the sailors themselves. But, since many of the ships in the second half of the nineteenth century - from whalers to cargo ships like *Balclutha* - also had women and families on board, scholars can no longer ignore this important aspect of life on a ship. This is why, especially recently, there has been more research addressing gender on ships. In attempting to remedy this situation, many scholars have simply taken the “additive approach,” as observed by Frances Steel in her work on steam ships in Oceania.³⁶⁹ Stephen Haller, for example, provides one of the earliest analyses of “hen frigates” and his research is extensive and groundbreaking, but much of his discussion is of wives and families simply as an addition, and therefore exception, to the more “normal” ocean-going experience of men working at sea.³⁷⁰ While Haller expands on this concept slightly with some discussion of Victorian gender roles, scholars like Margaret Creighton have gone further by analyzing, in detail, the gendered implications of the addition of women and families

³⁶⁷ “Lady ships,” apparently, is how these ships might have been referred to by the women themselves. See Vita Dodson, “The Lady Ships,” *The Log of Mystic Seaport*, vol. 36, no.2 (Summer 1984), 59-64. “Hen frigates,” by contrast, comes from what sailors referred to the ship when a captain’s wife interfered with ship functions, in their opinions. See Stephen A. Haller, *Families at Sea*, 8.

³⁶⁸ Stephen A. Haller, *Families at Sea*, 1.

³⁶⁹ Frances Steel, *Oceania under Steam: Sea Transport and the Cultures of Colonialism, c. 1870-1914* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2011), 133.

³⁷⁰ See Stephen A. Haller, *Families at Sea: An Examination of the Rich Lore of ‘Lady Ships’ and ‘Hen Frigates’ Circa 1850-1900* (National Maritime Museum Association, 1985).

onboard. In her opinion, going to sea was a masculine rite of passage for the men who worked in the fo'c'sle. In this way, women and children were more often an insult and hindrance, and the ones that were most appreciated by the crew were the ones that kept to themselves and interfered little.³⁷¹ Much more recently, Steel's work looks at passenger liners, which had many female workers and passengers on board. Since working at sea had traditionally been a masculine space, these women, who were now no longer additive but an essential part of the passenger liner's functions, were seen by many men as a threat to their traditional space. Though this book has a different thematic focus than this dissertation, its topic gives the opportunity for an even more detailed and expansive discussions of gender at sea, making it an essential read for anyone interested in the subject.³⁷²

The purpose of this particular chapter section will not be to analyze gender aboard ships as scholars, like Creighton and Steel mentioned above, have already masterfully done. Instead, this section will look at the roles and lives of women aboard cargo ships like *Balclutha* as they relate to the overall goal of this dissertation. That is, as further examples of the transnational and trans-social nature of this maritime space. For this, the scholarship above will be extremely useful, but just as with the rest of this study, the author is attempting to begin with the stories of the people as much as possible. In that regard, many of these women wrote diaries detailing their experiences. Some scholars, such as Joan Druett, have done great work in analyzing and publishing these diaries, especially in regard to whalers. Druett looks at diaries of women who worked and lived on ships of all sizes. For example, Carrie Hubbard was a captain's daughter who eventually became the wife of another captain on small coastal

³⁷¹ See Margaret S. Creighton, *Rites & Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially the chapter: "Sailors, Sweethearts, and Wives: Gender and Sex in the Deepwater Workplace," pp. 162-194.

³⁷² See Frances Steel, *Oceania under Steam*, especially Chapter 5, "Guardians and troublemakers: confining women at sea," pp. 126-148. In respect to the topic of gender at sea, the author would also like to take this opportunity to briefly comment on the feminization of ships. This dissertation has used the neutral when referring to ships, rather than the traditional feminine. Creighton has a section detailing the history of feminizing ships where she explains how "merchant sailors tended to see in their ship both the woman they could 'own' and woman with whom they might make love." See Creighton, *Rites & Passages*, 178. For further discussion on this topic, Steel also discusses it briefly. See Steel, *Oceania under Steam*, pp. 132-133.

schooners running the Long Island Sound on the east coast of the United States in the nineteenth century. In this period, it was common for farmers to send their produce to market using such schooners, which were usually family owned and operated, which means the wives and daughters had many duties on ship that were an essential part of the ship's function.³⁷³

However, Druett has looked mostly at women who lived on larger, ocean going ships like whalers. For example, Martha Smith Brewer Brown, originally from Long Island, married a whaling captain and went with him to sea. She was left in Hawaii for a period of time in order to give birth, as women were often left in port in order to avoid the rigors of labor at sea. She continued to journal while in Honolulu, so her diary acts as a wealth of information for both life at sea and life in harbor – specifically Honolulu – in the mid-nineteenth century.³⁷⁴ Along with publishing and analyzing each diary individually, Druett has also used her extensive research and knowledge of these diaries to write overviews on women and families at sea.³⁷⁵ As the following section will show, these diaries are a wealth of information for what life was like at sea, both for the women and in general.

There were a number of reasons women might join their husbands for a hard life at sea, many of which were, not surprisingly, the same as why many men set to sea. It could be an exciting notion: the prospect of adventure and visiting exotic ports far across the world. For most, the idea of waiting on land, not knowing for sure where their husbands were or even if they were safe or had fallen victim to some accident at sea was, naturally, not as appealing as traveling the world, especially for women who

³⁷³ See Joan Druett, *Captain's Daughter, Coastman's Wife: Carrie Hubbard Davis of Orient* (New York: Philmark Lithographies, Inc., 1995).

³⁷⁴ See *"She Was a Sister Sailor": Mary Brewster's Whaling Journals, 1845-1851*, edited by Joan Druett (Courier, Westford MA, 1992); and *She Went A-Whaling: the Journal of Martha Smith Brewer Brown from Orient, Long Island, New York, around the World on the Whaling Ship Lucy Ann, 1847-1849*, edited by Anne MacKay, forward by Joan Druett (New York: Ten Percent Publishing, 1993).

³⁷⁵ See Joan Druett, *Petticoat Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea, 1820-1920* (Auckland, New Zealand: Collins Publishers, 1991); and Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998). These sources were invaluable for the next section's analyses. See also Joan Druett, *She Captains: Heroines and Hellions of the Sea* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000). Instead of diaries of captain's wives, on which most of her work is based, *She Captains* looks at women who served on and commanded ships throughout history.

had only just gotten married. Honeymoon cargo voyages, such as these, were not uncommon. Also, many of the women who married sea captains came from the same coastal towns and cities as the men they were marrying. For them, just as the captains, the sea and sailing across the world were a way of life growing up. Many were the daughters of captains or sailors, so they too were simply continuing with family work or business. They, like their husbands, had spent much of their youth on or around ships.³⁷⁶

Just as with the ship masters, the maritime communities that these women grew up in also spanned the oceans, which naturally meant for much cross-marriage. A woman who grew up in a maritime community on the east-coast of the United States, for example, could just as easily meet and marry a captain born in Europe who frequented eastern American ports, as a captain born in the United States. These communities in which many ship masters and wives were raised had similarities to the intermixed shipbuilding community in Glasgow. In fact, these two maritime communities were often blended together. Durkee and his wife, as mentioned above, are an example of this (See Figure 30).

Wives and daughters called themselves “sister sailors.”³⁷⁷ Daily life for a woman at sea depended on the size of the ship. On smaller, coastal schooners - such as those mentioned above on which Carrie Hubbard lived - wives and family were much more involved in helping with daily tasks and chores.³⁷⁸ This was because many of these schooners were family owned and run, so everyone in the family had to contribute to running the ship. Life on board a larger ship like *Balclutha* was very different. They relied, as we have learned, on a large crew to operate. This meant that life could often get boring for many of the women, as there were none of the tasks to perform that would usually be expected for a land wife of the period, such as preparing for social engagements, receiving guests, and preparing meals. It was easier to pass time when there were also children, since the mothers could spend their

³⁷⁶ As explained in Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail* (Simon & Schuster, New York NY, 1998)

³⁷⁷ Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail*, 17.

³⁷⁸ See, for example, Joan Druett, *Captain's Daughter, Coastman's Wife: Carrie Hubbard Davis of Orient* (New York: Philmark Lithographies, Inc., 1995).

time watching and educating them. Most wives, therefore, would fill their time with hobbies like sewing, knitting, writing, and reading. Sewing was the most popular of these activities, as it had the most visual evidence of productivity and was necessary work. Also, making or repairing clothes would have provided an opportunity for the wife to make important contributions to ship functions. Nighttime was often the favorite part of the day for women on board. This was when they could most easily spend time with their husbands walking the deck, watching the stars, or talking, reading, and singing together in the cabin or saloon.³⁷⁹ Some larger ships even had pianos in their saloons.



Figure 30 – Alfred and Alice Durkee studio portrait.³⁸⁰

Many wives also spent time learning and practicing navigation, though, given that many of them had grown up on ships, they likely already knew how to navigate before they were married. This was

³⁷⁹ Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998).

³⁸⁰ Undated studio portrait, San Francisco Maritime National Park, SAFR 21374, P00.07980

another activity that husband and wife could do together.³⁸¹ This was very significant because navigation was a skill that few knew. Usually, it was only the Captain and maybe the first mate. This meant that, in emergency situations, the women on board were the only ones capable of safely getting the ship where it needed to go. There were, in fact, numerous examples of this happening.

In 1879, the ship *Templar* left New York for a voyage around the Horn. Even before arriving at the Horn, however, the ship was damaged in a storm and the captain, George Armstrong, was forced to bring it into Rio de Janeiro for repairs. Unfortunately, there was an outbreak of yellow fever in the city and nine sailors died while the ship was in port. Captain Armstrong gambled that the rest of his crew had not caught the disease and left port to continue the journey to San Francisco. It was mere days before his wife and two more sailors had died. Armstrong too was becoming so ill that he could not leave his cabin. The mate did not know how to navigate, but fortunately Armstrong's daughter, Emma, did, so she took control of the ship. Most of the crew was sick, so progress was slow, but on July 30 *Templar* sailed into San Francisco. Despite having become so sick herself that she had to be carried up on deck to get bearings and give the sailors instructions, Emma brought the ship to its destination successfully.³⁸²

It is undeniable that the Victorian stereotype of women was that they were delicate, consumptive, dependent, and strict. Some women cared less for what was expected of them as proper Victorian women, and examples like the one above certainly break these stereotypes. But for many women it was a struggle trying to stay as proper as possible while adjusting and evolving for the unique, harsh environment of an ocean sailing ship. Their clothing is a good example of this. Their outfits, naturally, had to be very different than what they wore ashore, as they needed to be more practical to

³⁸¹ Some Captains even got sextants as a wedding gift for their new wives. Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail*, 24.

³⁸² Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail*, 89-90.

life at sea. But, at the same time, it was important for many that they preserve the modesty of what was expected for women of the day.³⁸³

Though life at sea was drastically different than life on land, and there were opportunities to break free of certain social norms, such as the above examples of navigation, these expected social roles and characteristics were still often forced on these women by their husbands. Wives, like many of the men on the ship, including even some of the captains and most experienced sailors, often spent the first days or weeks at sea with mild to severe motion sickness. They would simply vomit for days on end until they got used to it.³⁸⁴ Many factors determined how sick someone might get including experience at sea, time ashore before leaving, size of the ship, size of cargo and cargo weight, and type of cargo. For a number of reasons, this experience could be much worse for women than men. Mainly, the men were more often moving about above deck, occupying their bodies and minds with things other than nausea and motion of the ship, while the women spent most of their time below, without much physical work, movement of their own, and no fresh air or breeze to help them recover. For example, the seasickness would often last much longer for wives of whale ship captains as the constant smell of rancid whale oil that came up from below only amplified the nausea.³⁸⁵

It was, therefore, expected for woman to become seasick. Even though the extremity to which they experienced nausea on board was no fault of their own, it conformed to the contemporary view of women as the weaker sex. When a woman was fortunate enough to not experience seasickness, some husbands would find this so unnatural and unnerving that they would force their wives to drink or eat

³⁸³ As discussed in Stephen A. Haller, *Families at Sea: An Examination of the Rich Lore of "Lady Ships" and "Hen Frigates" Circa 1850-1900* (National Maritime Museum Association, 1985), 8.

³⁸⁴ Eric Newby described this happening, for example, including one Finnish boy was sick for five days straight. Eric Newby, *Learning the Ropes: An Apprentice on the Last of the Windjammers*, 31.

³⁸⁵ See Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998).

concoctions that were meant to induce vomiting. Once their wives were throwing-up uncontrollably, they could then feel comforted that their wives were “proper” women.³⁸⁶

Having a captain’s wife on board also meant giving birth at sea. Of course, the preference was for delivery when in port, but births are rarely punctual.³⁸⁷ When the time came and they were at sea, it usually fell on the husband to deliver the baby. Though there was not often any worry about this expressed by the wives themselves, friends of these women did express worry that they would not have the same support that they would have received on land, where giving birth was a group event with friends, mothers, sisters, cousins, midwives, and doctors. This was repeated at sea when possible, such as when there was another ship nearby that also had a captain’s wife on board, but that was rarely the case.³⁸⁸

There were pregnancies and births onboard *Balclutha* too. In 1889, Alice Durkee gave birth to a baby girl in the middle of the Indian Ocean while sailing from Calcutta to San Francisco. She was born at latitude 37° S, longitude 84° E. She and her husband had brought an Indian mid-wife on board before leaving Calcutta, in anticipation of the event.³⁸⁹ Alice named the child Inda Francis. “Inda” was in recognition of the ocean in which she was born and “Francis” in recognition of the ship’s destination: a

³⁸⁶ Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail*, 69-70.

³⁸⁷ *She Went A-Whaling: the Journal of Martha Smith Brewer Brown from Orient, Long Island, New York, around the World on the Whaling Ship Lucy Ann, 1847-1849*, Edited by Anne MacKay, Forward by Joan Druett (New York: Ten Percent Publishing, 1993). In this, Martha is left in Honolulu to give birth while her husband continued his voyage. Stuck in a place she has never been and has no familiarity with, it provides an interesting perspective of the city at the time.

³⁸⁸ Medical care on ships like these was often lacking. The captain would sometimes take the role of doctor when necessary. One example of this would be when a woman was giving birth onboard. For further discussion of a captain’s role of child deliverer at sea, see Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1998). Of course, the quality of healthcare depended greatly on the type of ship and the particular voyage. For example, see Katherine Foxhall, *Health, Medicine, and the Sea: Australian Voyages c.1815-1860* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2012) for an analysis of health care on emigrant and convict ships.

³⁸⁹ Durkee, *A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee, Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, SFMRC, pg. 33.

transnational name representing the transnational space in which she entered the world.³⁹⁰ Sewing was one of Alice's pastimes, and she sewed a dress for little Inda that was later found in an attic by her descendants and is now housed at the San Francisco Maritime Research Center (See Figure 31).³⁹¹

³⁹⁰ "Born at Sea on the Balclutha,' *The Yarmouth Telegram*, June 8, 1899. Inda was not the only baby born on *Balclutha*. Charles Hatfield, the son of Captain Herbert Hatfield, was born at sea on May 14, 1900. See "Letter from Charles H. Hatfield to Karl Kortum, September 5, 1956," *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC.

³⁹¹ "Letter from Inda S. Dick to Karl Kortum," date unknown, but reply was 3 December 1970, *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binder 1*, SFMRC. See picture, from Binder 2. There are a number of letters from Inda Dick over the years. She kept in touch with the museum and was generous to update them whenever she found something new and sent them a number of artifacts. She even got married on board the *Balclutha* in 1978. See *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binder 1*, SFMRC.



Figure 31 – Inda Frances Durkee, 3-4 months of age, wearing a dress made by her mother.³⁹²

Having wives and families on board meant that, in the unfortunate occasion when there was danger at sea, they were all a part of it. There are many tales of the cunning and bravery of these wives and daughters. During a mutiny in 1886 on the ship *Frank N. Thayer*, for example, the Captain's wife fought alongside him while he defended himself against lance-wielding mutineers. When their ship was

³⁹² Undated, San Francisco Maritime National Park, SAFR 21374, P00.0800.

lost, she bandaged his wounds and helped him sail away to safety in a small boat for rescue.³⁹³ In 1850, on the *Rainbow*, the captain died a few days before the ship returned to port, leaving behind a sixteen year old daughter. The mate who took command tried to force himself on her, but she escaped up to the deck and made a plea to the crew to help her. The crew mutinied against the mate, leaving him in charge only for appearances. She even convinced the sailors to throw all the alcohol overboard so she would not have to control a drunken crew. She moved her cot up to the wheel and had guards posted around her at all times. When they arrived at their destination, the mate and those that supported him were arrested.³⁹⁴

Mutinious examples such as this were rare. What was a much more common danger, as it was for everyone else who lived on these ships at sea, was foul weather and other shipping hazards. We have already seen the example of *Sirenia*. The captain's wife, children, and caretakers were the first to be taken off by the life boat crews. And, as we have also seen, although the *Balclutha* survived much longer than *Sirenia* and many other ships from the period, it was not free from similar accident and dangers. In a voyage to Calcutta during the command of Captain John Binnie (1889-1891), *Balclutha* ran into a hurricane. The force of the hurricane caused *Balclutha's* cargo to shift, which means it came loose and dangerously shifted the weight of the ship to one side, causing it to list until the vessel was almost "on her beam ends". The captain's wife and son were aboard. Apparently, in order to keep them as secure as possible, "young James and his mother were lashed to a skylight on the poop, evidently an uncomfortable experience."³⁹⁵

Sometimes, having women and children on board could be an intrusion or cause resentment among the crew. This likely depended very much on the character and personality of the wife, just as

³⁹³ Stephen A. Haller, *Families at Sea: An Examination of the Rich Lore of 'Lady Ships' and 'Hen Frigates' Circa 1850-1900*, 6.

³⁹⁴ Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail*, 111-112.

³⁹⁵ "Grangemouth Tends Forth Light Boys," *The Grangemouth Advertiser*, September 11, 1954, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1*, SFMRC.

the crew's opinion of the captain would have depended much on that captain's character. More devout wives might have seen the men of the fo'c'sle as needing saving, and therefore made it their mission to save the seamen, handing out Bibles to all or giving gifts and making favorites with those they deemed the most "respectable." Some wives might also interfere with regular ship functions by keeping the captain occupied when he should have been running the ship or giving orders to the crew that would have made the wife's life easier but made ship work more difficult, such as asking mate to be quieter when ringing the bell to signal watches.³⁹⁶ The children especially, if not well managed, could easily get in the way of a sailor's work, interfere with a dangerous task, or invade what little privacy they had.³⁹⁷

Usually, however, having families onboard larger ships like *Balclutha* changed little. The stern and the fo'c's'le were completely different worlds, almost never mixing, which meant there was little cause for the regular sailors and the captain's family to ever see each other, let alone interact. When they did interact, sailors were more often friendly and even gave gifts of wood carvings or knowledge of some nautical skill.³⁹⁸ Sometimes this was done with sincerity; and sometimes it was done to keep in good standing with the Captain.

Certainly, as Creighton observes, many men might have treated women and families onboard as an intrusion, but as Steel notes, attitudes toward wives and families on ships would have depended greatly on the character and identity of those involved, including "seafarers' age, shipboard rank, social background and marital status."³⁹⁹ Whatever the case, these wives and children became an integral part of life at sea and an essential example of the transnational and trans-social maritime space of the ship. Through upbringing and marriage, women furthered the transnational connections that existed between regional maritime communities, just as ship captains did. Further, while many women tried to

³⁹⁶ Creighton, *Rites & Passages*, 166.

³⁹⁷ For a more detailed discussion on this topic, see Creighton, *Rites & Passages*, "Sailors, Sweethearts, and Wives: Gender and Sex in the Deepwater Workplace," pp. 162-194.

³⁹⁸ Stephen A. Haller, *Families at Sea*, 8.

³⁹⁹ Steel, *Oceania Under Steam*, 132.

meet the social norms that were expected of them on land, the rigors of life at sea proved to make this impossible, at least in many cases. The uniqueness of life at sea also provided instances for women to break contemporary social boundaries in ways that were rarely, if ever, possible on land. Their background as sea daughters gave them the navigation knowledge that, given the right circumstance, made them second in command to their fathers or husbands. And finally, at least on *Balclutha*, the children born into this maritime environment represented this transnational space even in name. Inda Francis was born at sea toward the waning of the Age of Sail, but she represents the many that came before her who were also born on the sea or into lives at sea. Her father, Alfred Durkee, retired from sailing and became a business man at a time when there would have been fewer jobs for a sailing ship captain. Had Inda Frances been born a bit earlier, she might very well have married a sea captain and went to travel the world, just as many captains' daughters had before her.⁴⁰⁰

Star of Alaska

Interestingly, the stage of *Balclutha's* life when the people living onboard were the most transnational was the stage when *Balclutha* was, at least on the surface, the least globally active. While serving as an Alaskan salmon packing ship, *Balclutha* - called *Star of Alaska* for most of this career – spent half of its time docked at the Alaska Packers' Association's (APA) dockyard in Alameda, California.⁴⁰¹ The other half was spent in Chignik, Alaska, where its occupants moved to a factory complex on shore and worked fishing and canning salmon for international markets.

Though *Star of Alaska's* travel was much less global, centered only on a small portion of the northeastern Pacific, it was a part of an industry that was very global. For one, the salmon that was

⁴⁰⁰ Though this section focuses on Captain's wives, it was possible for there to be other women on board in the form of a nurse for the captain's wife, or even as a stewardess. Durkee even mentions one husband/wife that worked as a cook/stewardess combination. See Durkee, *A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee, Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, SFMRC; and "Balclutha Articles, 1897," *Balclutha* records, SFMRC, HDC 1442, file 2 of 5.

⁴⁰¹ San Francisco Maritime Museum, "'Balclutha': Her History & Restoration," *Nautical Research Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 3-4 (March-April 1955), 93.

caught and canned during these trips was sold all over the world. But also, the people involved in this industry, who lived and worked on *Star of Alaska* during this period, came from all over and were representative of transnational Pacific migrations.

During this time, the ship went from housing around 30-35 people onboard to over 200, depending on the year. This included the sailors, the fishermen, and the 125 or so cannery workers.⁴⁰² The sailors were of mixed European descent, as before, but usually British, American, or Scandinavian. The fishermen were usually Italian and, sometimes, also Scandinavian. It was also sometimes possible for a sailor to make additional money catching salmon while the *Star of Alaska* was anchored in Alaska during the season. The cannery workers were by far the most diverse group of workers. They were mostly Chinese, especially at first, but also, eventually, over half Filipino and Mexican, as well as some Japanese, African American, and Polynesian.⁴⁰³

Captain C. Johansen, who served as the mate of *Star of Alaska*, recalled the international environment of the ship during this period. In the scene he describes, walking just a hundred feet across the deck was like walking from region to region. Each group of workers had different languages, different smells, different games, different music, and different dances. Near the galley, a table was set up for gamblers who were playing bingo, a game that he found “tedious.” In the fisherman’s quarters, one could hear the sound of accordion. Coming from the cannery workers’ quarters below decks one could hear the sound of string instruments. He seemed to particularly enjoy watching the games and dances of the cannery workers. He described his experiences walking to their quarters below:

⁴⁰² “An Evening Aboard a Salmon Packet,” Recollections of Captain C. Johansen, mate of the *Star of Alaska*, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Folder 2*, SFMRC. This was probably about the maximum that *Star of Alaska* might have had onboard. It varied greatly depending on the year, especially given that *Star of Alaska* made this trip for about twenty-four seasons and there were many modifications over that period to make the ship able to fit more people. On average, the total number of people onboard most of the “Star” fleet ships was likely closer to 100. See San Francisco Maritime Museum, “‘Balclutha’: Her History & Restoration,” *Nautical Research Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 3-4 (March-April 1955), 92.

⁴⁰³ For more on the many nationalities and ethnicities in canning crews, see Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1994); and Donald L. Guimary, *Marumina Trabaho “Dirty Work”: A History of Labor in Alaska Salmon Canning Industry* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2006).

We move along forward on the port of weather side, we hear the sound of string music, coming from the booby hatch of the Oriental quarters. So we step inside the hatch, and walk down the wide steps leading down to the quarters. We find old Hans, ship's China watchman on board, and net or webman ashore, sitting on the lower stairs, enjoying the entertainment. It does take us a little while for our nostrils to get accustomed to the peculiar odor from the hash-weeds in the Chinese long pipes. We take in the situation in the smoke filled glory hold, and is kind of strange to find ourselves so suddenly in a typical Chinese atmosphere, just by walking down a few steps.

At a long table on the port side, and with the aid of several large candles, stuck to the table in candle grease, groups of Chinese are playing cards for money, and are using some peculiar kinds of cards, one inch wide and three inches long. Watching the Chinese gambling, is an experience, there isn't a smile to be detected amongst the lot of them, everybody with an inscrutable expression, calm and collected; what a perfect gambler they make.

Over on the starboard side where there is a clear deck space a group of Mexicans and Filipinos are enjoying themselves. Several couples are dancing to the music of a small band consisting of two mandolins and two steel guitars, playing the late ragtime, and the boys really are doing fine, are really good musicians. Once in a while, the dancers are thrown out of steps, by one of the spasmodic lurch of the ship, and lose their footing, sliding down against the lee bunkrows, but somehow manage to get back in step when the ship lifts herself. At any rate, they all seems to have a fine time, and

the performance has a somewhat flavor of the old 'Barbary Coast;' The only thing missing are the variety of female entertainers.⁴⁰⁴

The rather pleasant and peaceful international scene that Johansen depicts was not the entire truth, and even from his happy description of the different worlds of the ship, we can deduce clear signs of inequality. The sailors and fishermen, who were mostly of European descent, were bunked up on the main deck of the ship, while the cannery workers, who were originally mostly of Chinese descent, were forced to bunk down below, with the cargo, where it was damp, muggy, dirty, and cramped. This and the fact that the ship had a "China watchman" position whose job it was to keep the cannery workers down in their place are clear indications of discrimination and the lack of respect for these men.

Being down in the tween-decks could also be very dangerous in an emergency situation, as the story of *Balclutha's* 1904 grounding off the coast of Alaska discussed in the previous "Life and Times of *Balclutha*" section indicates. The people on board had so little respect for the Chinese workers that they locked them below. Only after freeing the animals did they decide to let the workers free, hitting them on the head as they came out of the tween deck to stop them from panicking. These examples of prejudice were only the beginning of the hellish working lives of salmon cannery workers. As we will see, while the sailors and fishermen were hired directly by the Packers' Association, the cannery workers were contract laborers, which meant much less pay and much worse working conditions, for all of which the Packers' Association could claim they were not responsible.

⁴⁰⁴ "An Evening Aboard a Salmon Packet," Recollections of Captain C. Johansen, mate of the *Star of Alaska*, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Folder 2*, SFMRC.

“These poor devils”⁴⁰⁵

In 1922, Max Stern, a Berkeley educated reporter with *The Daily News* in San Francisco, wrote a series of articles about what it was like to work as a canner in the Alaskan salmon canning business. These articles were the result of many months of investigative reporting. There had been rumors coming out of the industry of the “hell ships” that sailed to Alaska and back, so Stern signed up to work as a canner and then wrote from personal experience.⁴⁰⁶

There were 25,000 cannery workers hired for the industry the year Max Stern worked.⁴⁰⁷ Despite these numbers and the many open positions, Stern had trouble getting hired. Everywhere he went they turned him away because he was white. It would be too dangerous for him, they claimed, especially since the Mexicans were “clannish” and did not like whites.⁴⁰⁸ Stern eventually had to bribe his way. When he did, they signed him up with a fake Spanish name to make it seem like he was a Mexican immigrant.⁴⁰⁹

His name was not important to them anyway, as they were all given numbers like convicts in a prison. Stern’s was 514.⁴¹⁰ He was given a list of clothes and materials he would need for his job, all of which were conveniently supplied, for a price, by the contractors. These supplies were not there at the time of purchase, but the contractors assured him they would be there for him on the ship.⁴¹¹ There was no need to pay for them either; the fee would be deducted from his salary. Stern’s supply total came out to \$62.75. With a maximum possible salary of \$170 for the entire season’s work, this was quite a large

⁴⁰⁵ Quote from Captain Jensen, the origin of which will be discussed at the end of this section. See Charles M. Loring, draftsman at the APA shipyard in Alameda, knew Jensen and voyaged with him, “Memories of Captain Hans Peter Jensen, Master of the Ship Star of Alaska, 1923-1928,” 1972, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC

⁴⁰⁶ Max Stern, *Price of Salmon*, *The Daily News*, San Francisco, 1922, SFMRC (HD9469 S23 U576 1922aa); also available at <https://archive.org/details/SternPriceOfSalmon>, accessed 9/30/2017.

⁴⁰⁷ Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 9.

⁴⁰⁸ Stern later discovered, with no great shock, that the opposite was true. In reality, they “were more than anxious to be friendly,” and Stern got to know a great many of them. See Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 25.

⁴⁰⁹ Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 10-11.

⁴¹⁰ Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 10.

⁴¹¹ Not surprisingly, everything he ordered was not in his bundle on the ship. Of what he did receive, the only one that fit him was his cap, which means, in the end, Stern had \$62.75 deducted from his pay for a hat. See Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 23.

amount. And Stern got off easier than some, who would pay as high as \$100 for their clothes and supplies. If someone refused to buy these supplies, or bought too little, they would be refused the job or blacklisted from returning next year.⁴¹²

Stern and the other canners were brought onboard days before the ship set sail. They had been forced to sign a contract without reading it and were given a \$10 advance.⁴¹³ Receiving this advance payment meant they were committed and could not leave, which they only discovered after the fact. There were guards on the ship, supposedly to protect the ship from intruders, but their main purpose was really to keep the canners aboard. These guards were hired by the Alaska Packers' Association.⁴¹⁴ The aforementioned "Hans" the "China watchman" from Captain C. Johansen's descriptions was likely an example of such a guard on *Star of Alaska*.

Stern's trip to Alaska was cold, wet, and many of the canners were plagued with sea sickness or worse. Some even perished on the way. Rice and beans was their food. Anything that might provide other necessary nutrition, such as eggs or fruit, cost extra. If they wanted another coat or blanket to try to fight off the biting cold, they had to purchase them. The trip to Alaska usually took two to four weeks depending on the ship and the conditions. For the first couple weeks of the voyage, Stern and the other canners were allowed two cups of water a day, which meant one for drinking and one for all other uses, including shaving, teeth brushing, and bathing. For the last two weeks of their voyage, this was reduced to one cup of water a day.⁴¹⁵ Stern hoarded bottles of water that he kept under his pillow, along with an

⁴¹² Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 10.

⁴¹³ The linguistic difficulties aboard a transnational space such as a ship should be noted here. The contractors were surely taking advantage of the fact that most of their workers had limited experience with English, and such linguistic difficulties would have existed in earlier periods as well and with many different types of workers serving aboard ships. For an early-modern example, see Fabio López Lázaro, "Labour Disputes, Ethnic Quarrels, and Early Modern Piracy: A Mixed Hispano-Anglo-Dutch Squadron and the Causes of Captain Every's 1694 Mutiny." *International Journal of Maritime History* 22.2 (2010), 73-111.

⁴¹⁴ Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 18-19.

⁴¹⁵ Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 33.

expensive watch that he brought along, a mistake that he admitted himself was foolish. All of these things were eventually stolen.⁴¹⁶

On Stern's ship at least the cannery workers were apparently allowed to walk the decks, and Stern did so whenever he could to escape the musky and foul air in the cannery bunks. Even this one freedom, however, was often restricted. Sailors or fishermen were quick to inform him that he had gone too far from his place. In this way, a strict caste system based on one's work was enforced, even by the officers and captain of the ship. On one of these walks around the deck, Stern was beckoned by a sailor who was playing cards near the wheel at the stern of the ship. To Stern's surprise, the sailor seemed to be inviting him to come join their game. Stern hesitated. He had already learned his place, but decided to risk it and began walking toward the sailor anyway. Sure enough, the ship captain, who was near the wheel, stopped him and told him: "You go f'ord. You don't belong back here. This place is for the fishermen."⁴¹⁷

In short, Stern learned quickly that the number he was assigned when he first began was just the first of many similarities between this life and life in a prison, though even prison might have been much more pleasant. As he remarked:

Prison, in fact, would be in many ways better because it would be safer and freer from the dangers of disease. . . What crime had we committed that we had been sentenced to six months of this sort of life? . . . None, you will say. But yes, we were guilty of the unforgivable sin of this age. We had all committed first degree poverty.⁴¹⁸

Though he was one of the first, Stern was not the only outsider who commented on the horrors of the life of a salmon cannery worker. John Tennier worked aboard *Star of Alaska* in 1924. He was Canadian and had been injured during World War I, which made it difficult for him to get any other work. One of his family members worked aboard and helped him get a job in the galley. While Tennier was on his trip, he

⁴¹⁶ Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 35.

⁴¹⁷ Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 36-39.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

took the time to get to know the canners and wrote about the experience in his memoirs. According to him, the canners were getting paid as little as \$50 a season, while for his work in the galley, Tennier was paid \$55 a month. According to Stern's investigation, the canners actually earned \$170 a season at \$34 a month, but if taking into account the gambling run by contractors and the fees for their materials, Tennier's total is likely about as much as their pay came to. Tennier's pay also included free food and board, while the canners were forced to pay for their own food and clothing, as we saw in Stern's description.⁴¹⁹

The conditions for canners were so bad that few of the original Chinese workers returned after one season. As Tennier explained in his memoirs, "the Chinese community would warn any prospective candidates for the job to keep away from these Alaskan trips, so [contractors] had to resort to all kinds of devious methods to get enough men on board the ship. They even shanghaied many Mexicans, and brought them on board, without realizing where they were till the ship was on high seas."⁴²⁰ The contractors also began recruiting in places all over California like Sacramento, Stockton, Bakersfield, San Jose, and even as far as Los Angeles, where many Mexican immigrants had only just arrived in the United States and the local communities were more ignorant of the downsides of working as a canner. The cost of their passage up to San Francisco, naturally, was just another deduction from their pay.⁴²¹

To demonstrate the multitude of ethnicities and nationalities that were brought into this job, Tennier described meeting one man who was shanghaied out of Mexico, but was actually, he claimed, a Moroccan prince. As Tennier explained:

The main reason I came to know him well, he spoke hardly any English, but was well educated and spoke French fluently. He told me that he spent four years in Paris

⁴¹⁹ John Tennier, *Memoirs*, SFMRC, HDC 371, 166. According to Stern's investigation, the canners actually earned \$170 a season at \$34 a month, but if taking into account the gambling run by contractors and the fees for their materials, Tennier's total is likely about as much as their pay came to.

⁴²⁰ Tennier, 166. Though Tennier's grammar is a bit confusing here, he is explaining how the Mexican workers would not realize where they were until they were at sea.

⁴²¹ Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 24.

studying. He was one who was shanghaied. As we became better acquainted, he told me how he happened to be in his present situation, or the mess he was in! his father had eight wives. One day his father found him messing around one of these wives (or his step-mother). He said that he was lucky to have gotten off as well as he did. Had he not been son of a shiek, or a prince, he would have had his head chopped off, or at the very least he would have been castrated, but instead, he was given money and sent to Mexico. At that time, when he was transported to Alaska, he had been in Mexico almost three years. He told me that he had never used liquor, not even when he was in Paris. And, he never saw marijuana before he went to Mexico.

It seemed that his father provided him with considerable money and sadly, he got mixed up with the wrong people. The wrong people got him to use drugs, and smoke marijuana, and soon his money was gone! By then, he was more or less like our 'winos.' When I asked him what happened to his step-mother, he closed his eyes, and pulled his hand across his throat.⁴²²

Whether the stories were true or not, they highlight the sense for observers that identities became more fluid when one signed on for work as a canner.

There were also members of local Alaskan tribes that worked for the salmon fishing industry, both helping run the factories during the fishing season, and doing repair and maintenance during the winter. This included men and women. Staff members of the APA were forbidden from fraternizing with these locals. Tennier met a man named Anderson who had been living and working in Chignik for eighteen years by the time Tennier went. Anderson was originally from Sweden. He had gotten a job as a sailor for the Alaska Packers when he was 21, and fell in love with a local Alaskan girl. At the time, if you slept with a local girl and got her pregnant, then you were "finished as far as the outside world was

⁴²² Tennier, 166-167.

concerned.” This is what happened to Anderson, but he was now happy living and working in the village. He had six children and was making a good living. According to Tennier, this law was abolished in 1929 when a man who fell in love with a local girl, like Anderson, was able to get out of Alaska instead of staying. He made it to Seattle and challenged the law in court, eventually winning and allowing his wife to join him.⁴²³

Captain Hans Peter Jensen, mentioned in the above sections about ship masters, was captain of the *Star of Alaska* for six seasons. Usually, he made good time on his trips to and from Alaska. In fact, Jensen was captain in 1926 when the *Star of Alaska* made a trip from San Francisco to Alaska in just fourteen days, which remained its fastest voyage to the fisheries in the twenty-four years that it worked for the APA.⁴²⁴ Sometimes, however, the trip could take a bit longer than usual, especially when the ship was short-handed. After one of these longer journeys, a friend of Jensen’s, another captain named Halvorson, asked Jensen why he did not just use the “china gang” to help, apparently a common tactic employed by other captains in such instances. Captain Jensen replied: “These poor devils are miserable enough without making them more miserable by driving the ship.”⁴²⁵

While Captain Jensen’s comment and actions demonstrate him as one of the more compassionate captains of the period, they also match other contemporary views, like those of Stern and Tennier, of the canners as a group to be pitied, not much better than slaves who have no power over their own destiny. However, like nineteenth century sailors, canners had much more agency than it seemed. First, as mentioned, many of them simply did not repeat the experience. This is why the contractors were forced to find other groups of immigrants and resort to trickery or even straight

⁴²³ Tennier, 164.

⁴²⁴ San Francisco Maritime Museum, “‘Balclutha’: Her History & Restoration,” *Nautical Research Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 3-4 (March-April 1955), 93. Apparently, the *Star of Alaska* was known for making the trip faster than the other ships in the “Star” fleet of the APA.

⁴²⁵ Charles M. Loring, draftsman at the APA shipyard in Alameda, knew Jensen and voyaged with him, “Memories of Captain Hans Peter Jensen, Master of the Ship *Star of Alaska*, 1923-1928,” 1972, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC

shanghaiing in order to fill the canning crews. And, eventually, the mixture of different nationalities in the canning job, united by poor and unfair working conditions, created a multi-cultural unionizing effort that eventually led to improvements. This did not happen until the 1930s, after *Star of Alaska* had retired from the business.⁴²⁶ Along with the usual difficulties in starting a labor movement, the canners, at first, had trouble getting along. This was in large part due to a concerted effort on the part of the contractors to keep the different groups apart by pitting different ethnicities against each other.⁴²⁷ In fact, while contemporary sources, like Tennier and Stern, describe the canners as no better than slaves, their reluctance to return under such unfair conditions and their eventual unionizing demonstrate agency and resilience.⁴²⁸

Regional Industry and Global Imperial Networks of Labor

Even though Stern and Tennier were extraordinarily sympathetic to the canners, and revelations like Stern's helped to publicize the injustices that were occurring, there are still racial and social prejudices apparent in their placement of blame for these conditions. Tennier, for example, had trouble believing that the Alaska Packers' Association was completely ignorant and insisted that they "must have known what was going on," but he was still reluctant to blame the APA directly for the "sad plight of these people."⁴²⁹

⁴²⁶ For a quick overview of these events, see <https://www.nps.gov/safr/learn/historyculture/asiancanneryworkers.htm> (accessed 10/4/17). See also the notes below 427 and 428. Apparently, the fishermen had conditions and pay that were similar to the canners, though they were able to unionize much sooner, so their conditions and pay had improved at the beginning of the twentieth century. They still worked dangerous conditions and had to purchase their own gear and materials, as the canners did, but they were able to make much more. They were paid by how much they caught and could therefore make as much as \$1000 per season. See Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 40.

⁴²⁷ See Donald L. Guimary, *Marumina Trabaho "Dirty Work": A History of Labor in Alaska Salmon Canning Industry* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2006).

⁴²⁸ For an important study about canners and unions, see Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

⁴²⁹ Tennier, 167.

More than the APA, Tennier blamed the contractors who hired the cannery workers. It seems this type of accusation was easier for journalists to make at the time, since common ethnic and racial prejudice was an acceptable form of reasoning and these contractors were also Chinese. In the forward that introduced Max Stern's series, the editor of *The Daily News* also placed direct blame on the contractors. His racial prejudices against them are clear:

Thousands of men are shipped each year out of Pacific coast ports to work in the Alaska salmon canneries under conditions as near slavery as anything since ante-bellum days.

They are under contract to work, not for Americans, nor even for white men. They are hired out for the season to Chinese and Japanese over-lords.

Under that strange and feudal institution, the Chinese contract system, the Chinese boss not only pays the workers – he also feeds them and seeks in every manner to make them live under the labor conditions of his own slumbering civilization.⁴³⁰

Stern too, once he learned he was contracted out to work for a Chinese boss whom he never met or whose name he never even heard, was quick to place the blame:

But, here was I, a white man and an American, in the direct employ of one of a race whose standards of living and whose social ideals are as widely different from ours as day in from night.

I was part of one of the strangest and most un-American institutions that still survive to mock our democracy – the Chinese contract system of the Alaskan fisheries.⁴³¹

In contrast, Stern seems to sympathize with the white cannery business owners for their use of this contract system. He wrote: "A Chinaman is a good businessman, but he is also a good man to do

⁴³⁰ Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 3.

⁴³¹ Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 13.

business with. The white owners found it easier to have a Chinese boss attend to the hiring of coolies than to do it themselves.”⁴³² Based on this statement and what Stern has said before, it is clear that he blamed some more than others for the plight of these workers. While sensitive to the horrible working conditions of the canners, no matter their ethnicity, Stern was still a product of his time. He believed that the origin of this abusive labor system lay in the selfishness of the Chinese managers. The white businessmen who owned the Alaska Packers’ Association could not necessarily be blamed. Indeed, they could even be considered clever for doing business with the Chinese, despite those who were suffering because of it.

Stern’s chastisement of the contractors was relentless: “The Chinese contractors of the salmon industry have made and are still making hundreds of thousands of dollars. Many of them have become millionaires, and ride about Chinatown in their limousines. . . They have prospered and waxed fat in the land of their adoption. Their work has been purely parasitical, and their road to prosperity has been paved with suffering, privation and even death.”⁴³³ There was no discussion of the fact that the white owners of the Alaska Packers’ Association are the ones paying these contractors and thus are just as responsible, if not more responsible. They were also likely riding around San Francisco in limousines and, most likely, were much wealthier than the Chinese contractors.

However, despite his preconceptions, Stern did not leave the white business owners completely blameless. By the end of his series, Stern called on the canning companies themselves to enact change and stop relying on the contract system. He spoke directly with C.H. Bentley, head of the California Packing Corporation, which owned the Alaska Packers’ Association, and asked “Why do you turn the hiring and caring for your workmen over to absentee Chinamen, whose only interest can be to exploit them?” Stern was immensely frustrated with his response, which was simply: “Well, it’s always been

⁴³² Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 12.

⁴³³ Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 14.

done that way, and it's always worked satisfactorily."⁴³⁴ Stern explained how ridiculous a statement this was and outlined an eight-point plan that he believed should be adopted by the canning companies instead of using contract laborers. Still, though, he believed and accepted the APA's claim to ignorance.

This regional canning business, however, followed global economic pressures and processes. These contractors represented global managerial elites that were profiteers of empire and of transnational workers' competition for jobs. They developed "an international market in labor that connected rural villagers in southern China to the railways, mines, fisheries, and mills in Washington, Oregon, Montana, and Alaska." This labor market facilitated movement of contract laborers that relied on imperial connections and networks.⁴³⁵ The fact is that it was companies like the Alaska Packers' Association that had the funds and need to create the market for these workers. They gave these contractors the orders not to hire white men because they knew that white workers would have more legal rights and cost more money.⁴³⁶ They wanted a system that was cheap and seemingly out of their direct control so they could not be bothered with its injustices.

Conclusion

Across these two distinct career periods of *Balclutha's* life, there were many ways national and social constructions of non-maritime existence were extended to life aboard the ship. Officers and sailors had very different lives, separated by social class structures that extended from land-based society. Lack of education and finances and an almost aristocratic core of captains and officers, from generation to generation, meant it was very difficult for a regular sailor to come into this world,

⁴³⁴ Stern, *Price of Salmon*, 88.

⁴³⁵ For more on Chinese contractors and managerial elite, see Kornel Chang, *Pacific Connections: The Making of the US-Canadian Borderlands* (University of California Press, 2012), especially the chapter entitled "Brokering Empire: The Making of a Chinese Transnational Managerial Elite," 17; for a recent study of labor and its importance to American imperialism, see Daniel E. Bender and Jana K. Lipman, *Making the Empire Work: Labor and United States Imperialism* (New York: New York University Press, 2016); and for a broader discussion of labor in empire during this period, see David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1838-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁴³⁶ As Stern himself argued, *Price of Salmon*, 90.

especially without money to become an apprentice. Women tried to continue their expected roles as good Victorian wives and daughters. Some were forced to conform when their husbands felt they were not fitting their roles well.

However, it is essential to analyze and emphasize the transnational and trans-social exceptions that this maritime space demonstrates. They represent resistance and escape from social norms in ways that were not often possible otherwise. Navigation was a skill that was rare on these ships. The fact that, in *Balclutha's* time, women often knew and were able to practice this skill was extraordinary, especially when considering this essentially meant that the Captain's wives or daughters were the second or third in line for command when the Captain and officers became ill, injured, or died. In general, while the land-based social norms of the time extended to the lives of these women at sea, they still represent a very unique class for their period. From birth, they lived in a maritime world that set them apart from many other contemporary Victorian women.

The role of cook in some ways might have represented the racial norms of the period. Margaret Creighton argues that cooks were most often not of European descent likely because it was seen as women's work unfit for a European man. She further claims that the sailors were excessively mean to ship cooks because they performed more womanly work than anyone else.⁴³⁷ Though this was not evident based on the research done here, it still signifies mistreatment based on type of shipboard profession, rather than race or nationality. As has been demonstrated here, while cooks might have been mistreated by some crews, the role of the cook also allowed for the possibility of a unique position of status that would be based on job performance and merit, rather than race. Further, while a person educated on land, as Richard Henry Dana was, might see the older ship cooks as superstitious and irrational, for the regular sailors for whom the sea was their life, cooks were more often than not probably seen as experienced and knowledgeable.

⁴³⁷ See Creighton, *Rites & Passages*, especially pp. 185-189.

It is true that many of these sources identify others on the ship, and themselves, based on nationalist identities, and sometimes having different people from different cultures, ethnicities, and linguistic backgrounds could cause conflict aboard ships. It is also true nonetheless that these nation-based definitions tended to be secondary to life onboard. That is, everyone on the ship was defined first by their positions. They were officers, sailors, cooks, or canners before they were British, American, African, Chinese, German, or whatever. Even when there are attempts to ethnicize or racialize certain groups as a part of enforcing the job-differentiated hierarchy aboard the ship, the job continued to be the main base for these identifications. Most salmon canners were Chinese immigrants when the industry first developed, so these groups were labeled as the “China gangs” by the other workers aboard. This label continued for decades even after the majority was no longer Chinese and the canners were a mixture of many different nationalities and cultures. These examples continue to demonstrate a sense of national indifference, as many previous examples in this dissertation have.

Even groups that were seemingly regionally limited in their origin, like the ethnically European ship masters, were still representative of a transnational maritime community. We do see, however, that the groups whose jobs required more demanding, physical labor were usually much more transnational than the managerial groups, like ship masters. *Balclutha*'s crew was much more diverse than those that were its captains. *Star of Alaska*'s canners were much more diverse than even the crews of the cargo ships before it.

We also see, through the example of the canners, contractors, and canning companies, evidence of oppressive imperial business and migration networks based on the extraction and sale of a commodity, this time salmon. Just as we have seen before, this system depended on the negotiations of many individuals and groups of individuals of varying backgrounds. It was also driven by the companies whose main business was the material's extraction – and all this depended, in the end, on a profoundly transnational extraction of labor.

Life and Times of *Balclutha*

From Queen of the Pacific to Maritime Museum

After *Star of Alaska's* final sail to Alaska in 1930, it rested at the Alaska Packers docks in Alameda for almost two years. In 1932, *Star of Alaska* was purchased by Frank Kissinger for \$5,000 and renamed *Pacific Queen*.⁴³⁸ Under the ownership of Frank and his wife, Rose, the *Pacific Queen* was instantly repurposed as a show-ship, gaudily decorated with bright colors, strings of lights, and stuffed pirates hanging from the yards. It would be used for Hollywood movies and for hunting sea lions in Mexico. It sailed until it could not sail anymore, then it was towed where ever its owners needed it to be. It was nearly destroyed multiple times, as many ships like it were during this period, to become scrap metal for machines of war. In short, the decades while *Balclutha* was called the *Pacific Queen* were a tenuous time for the ship, during which it would undergo a transformation from a sailing, working ship to a port confined nostalgia piece and, eventually, one of the only remaining living examples of an important maritime heritage.

Frank Kissinger, called "Tex" by his friends, was an entrepreneur, of sorts, who was always looking for the next big money making scheme. At the age of 16, he began working as a daredevil motorcycle rider for various circuses. Frank's first claim to fame was riding a motorcycle in a motordrome with straight up and down sides. He eventually moved to Los Angeles and experimented with a variety of quick money ventures, from oil stock, to real estate, to chicken ranching. Eventually, he became the "house detective and bootlegger" at the Hotel Continental.⁴³⁹

From his vantage point at the Hotel, Frank would often listen to discussions about a variety of impractical ways for making money. An old sailing ship captain, Chad Lee, was a resident of the Hotel. One evening Frank overheard Lee having a conversation with friends in the lobby about the possibilities

⁴³⁸ San Francisco Maritime Museum, "'Balclutha': Her History & Restoration," 119.

⁴³⁹ Rose Kissinger, *Career of the Pacific Queen – 1933 through 1954*, SFMRC. This vital source is Rose Kissinger's personal account of the history of *Balclutha (Pacific Queen)* during the period in which her and her husband were its sole owners.

of purchasing old sailing ships for cheap and making money on them as traveling tourist attractions. His interest peaked, Frank went to the library, bribed the librarian with a box of candies so he could take all the books he needed, and began learning everything he could about sailing ships.

It was about this time that Frank met and began to court his soon to be wife, Rose, a young woman from Michigan. She was taken by his charm and intrigued by his seemingly effortless wealth and style. One of their mutual friends once described Frank to her with just a hint of jealousy saying, “Look at the sonofabitch! He’s got on new shoes, a new suit, new overcoat, and has a pocket full of money, - and he’s never worked a day in his life. I don’t know how he does it!”⁴⁴⁰

As they courted, Frank would tell Rose about their future good life owning and living on a sailing ship. Meanwhile, he bought and ran a used car business on Figueroa Street in Los Angeles. Rose and Frank were soon married, and in Rose’s own words: “Our marriage was no less sudden than Frank’s decision to sell his business, of which the only reminder was the automobile he kept, a Belgian-built Minerva town car. Into that huge conveyance we piled our joint worldly belongings and set our course for that “Star” to the north of us.”⁴⁴¹

The “Star” she was referring to was the *Star of Alaska*. Frank sold his business and almost everything they owned. The newly married couple packed their few remaining belongings into the one car Frank kept and drove north to San Francisco to find their dream ship. Though most of the now decommissioned “star” fleet had been sold off, there were many ships still remaining, so the couple had their pick.⁴⁴² Some were too small, some were too large, but they eventually chose the *Star of Alaska*, formerly *Balclutha*, which they found to be just right. They then renamed it the *Pacific Queen*.

The Kissingers moved aboard immediately after handing the check to the representative from the Alaska Packers. The *Pacific Queen* set sail for Los Angeles on February 4, 1934 and arrived ten days

⁴⁴⁰ Rose Kissinger, *Career of the Pacific Queen*, 1.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² *Star of Finland, Star of Holland, Star of Zealand, Star of Shetland, Star of Lapland, Star of France*. Ibid.

later. The Kissingers anchored the ship off the coast of Santa Monica and, as Rose recalled: “We spent a glorious summer on the ship in Santa Monica Bay, and ran out of money. It was necessary to set about making a living, either with the ship, or without it.”⁴⁴³



Figure 32 - Captain Frank Kissinger on the deck of *Pacific Queen*, Sausalito, circa 1941-1946.⁴⁴⁴

Frank had grand plans for the *Pacific Queen*. He put salt-water tanks in the tween deck for an aquarium where tropical fish from the Galapagos Islands would be placed. One thousand red, white, and blue lights were strung up around the outside of the hull. The plan was for the ship to be sailed around and exhibited along the Pacific Coast, Atlantic coast, and eventually even in the Great Lakes. This idea

⁴⁴³ Rose Kissinger, *Career of the Pacific Queen*, 3.

⁴⁴⁴ San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, SAFR 21374, P93-065, Series 2, File Unit 9, Item B09.40936, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/SearchResults/ff7695e4ff2049d5959c224516b76a8c?view=gallery#gallery> (accessed 10/10/17).

proved impractical, but before it was abandoned, Frank had a brochure created and distributed while the ship was in Los Angeles that outlined his intentions:

SOUTH SEA EXPEDITION – A BUSINESS AND PLEASURE VOYAGE

The object of this brochure is to acquaint you with the PACIFIC QUEEN, the largest, finest, fastest and safest steel sailing ship flying the American flag, completely equipped and ready to sail.

This glorious ship, truly the 'Queen of the Seas,' is 300 feet long and 38 feet wide. She stands up in the water like a million dollar yacht – a clipper-built, square-rigged ship – luxurious, fast and safe. No coal, wood oil or gasoline for power. No smell, soot, dirt, dust or gas. No machinery, engines, noise, vibration, rattle or jar. No annoyance, delay, breakdowns or waiting. No danger of fire or explosion. Sailing is next to flying and all it takes to sail around the world is wind and water, and both are FREE everywhere on earth.

The PACIFIC QUEEN, with all of her equipment, was purchased by Frank Kissinger, President of the South Sea Exposition Ship, Inc., from Alaska Packers Association of San Francisco, California. A crew of workmen were placed on board and six months were spent in transforming her into a beautiful deep sea aquarium and marine museum.

The paramount purpose of this enterprise is to make money. Incidentally it will be a pleasure cruise impossible to duplicate. Leaving Los Angeles harbor it is planned to sail to the Guadalupe Island, the Galapagos Islands, and the Gulf of Mexico, along the south and east coasts of the United States and into the Great Lakes. Then across the Atlantic, into and through the Mediterranean Sea to the Orient – India, China and Japan, on to Australia, and back by way of Hawaii – visiting all the prominent ports en route, securing specimens for the aquarium and exhibiting same under the auspices of various organizations in the countries we visit, namely, the Parent-Teachers Association, Red Cross, American Legion, etc.

Just suppose we are anchored at a dock in New Orleans, Havana, Baltimore, Atlantic City, London, Melbourne, or Honolulu – with flags, banners, and pennants flying – a thousand colored electric lights flashing – flood, search and spot lights ablaze – a giant steam calliope blasting a concert of popular music – with a mighty ship load of monstrosities and curiosities from seven seas, monster of the deep from all ports of the world . . . would the people be interested and come to see the exhibition? Use your own judgment.

The PACIFIC QUEEN is an exhibition in herself. It, together with the one and only floating aquarium in existence, will be a never-to-be-forgotten lesson of natural history for every man, woman and child.⁴⁴⁵

Pacific Queen sat off the coast of Los Angeles for about a year after its arrival, at which time it was in a number of motion pictures, including *Mutiny on the Bounty*.⁴⁴⁶ The hull was painted white with

⁴⁴⁵ San Francisco Maritime Museum, "*Balclutha*': Her History & Restoration," 119-120.

⁴⁴⁶ San Francisco Maritime Museum, "*Balclutha*': Her History & Restoration," 120.

black gun-ports along both sides. Inside these “gun-ports” were painted cannon muzzles. *Pacific Queen* was an extra in the film, along with two four masted schooners *Samar* and *Lottie Bennet*, as part of the background of the Portsmouth Harbor scenes. Frank later recalled the failures of his original idea for *Pacific Queen* that led to the ship becoming a movie vessel:

We bought the PACIFIC QUEEN in 1932 – worst year of the depression. I had a real big idea – or so I thought. Wanted to organize a floating exposition of all sorts of American-made goods aboard this American sailing ship and take her to major world ports to drum up trade for the U.S.A. Wrong timing. Everyone was broke.

I could have sold the magnificent old ship for conversion into steam. They wanted her for hauling junk to Japan. That was a profitable business in those days – remember? But I couldn’t bear to see the last of our sailing ships go that way.

So I moored her out in international waters, where the local law couldn’t come aboard with attachments from my creditors! And just then Jim Haven of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer saved the situation...”⁴⁴⁷

In 1935-36, *Pacific Queen* was brought down to San Diego and lived next to its former Salmon fishing partner, *Star of India*, which had been docked there as a museum ship since 1926. The Kissingers opened it up to the public, charging admission and advertising it as a pirate ship, which they hoped would draw a larger crowd.⁴⁴⁸ The California Pacific International Exposition was being held in San Diego during this period, which is where Frank spent most of his time. Being an old carnival worker and showman, he had many friends there and felt this would be an opportunity to make more connections and find the next money-making “racket.”⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁷ San Francisco Maritime Museum, “*Balclutha*: Her History & Restoration,” 120.

⁴⁴⁸ San Francisco Maritime Museum, “*Balclutha*: Her History & Restoration,” 121.

⁴⁴⁹ Rose Kissinger, *Career of the Pacific Queen*, 4-5.

He found it in a man named Benny Tate, who wanted to commission their ship for a sea lion hunting expedition down in Mexico. According to Tate, they could sell captured sea lions to zoos, earning \$2,500 for males and \$250 for females.⁴⁵⁰ The Kissingers hired Captain Roy Moyes to run the ship and found thirty-one sea scouts, ranging from 14 to 19 years old, to be the crew. On July 4, 1936, Pacific Queen sailed for San Geronimo Island off the coast of Baja Mexico. They arrived after just over a week and set about to capture sea lions.⁴⁵¹

One of the sea scouts recalled the expedition years later. According to him, eight of them took a boat to the island. They were the sea lion trapping team. Frank had a plan to capture them alive:

These called for us to surround a sea lion with unrolled chicken wire, then prod him awake. When the beast broke for the water, the idea was to wrap it securely in the wire, and take him aboard the Queen. . . We slipped quietly upon the herd and selected an old bull sleeping a few yards from the water's edge. We encircled him, according to plan, and somebody tapped him on the nose with a piece of driftwood. . . He awoke, leaped up with a hoarse bark, and charged for the surf. When that half-ton of sea lion hit the chicken wire, it didn't slow him down a bit. All we could do was scatter out of his way.⁴⁵²

According to Rose, who witnessed the incident, "With a wild look and a tremendous bellow which showed large vicious yellow teeth, the bull made for the ocean, the wire deterring him about as much as a spider web deters a housewife."⁴⁵³ Fortunately, no one was injured, but this was the end of their trapping venture.

⁴⁵⁰ Rose Kissinger, *Career of the Pacific Queen*, 5.

⁴⁵¹ John Zimmerman, "The *Balclutha's* Last," *SF Examiner & Chronicle*, August, 14, 1966, *Balclutha History and List of Voyages Binder*, SFMRC.

⁴⁵² John Zimmerman, "The *Balclutha's* Last".

⁴⁵³ Rose Kissinger, *Career of the Pacific Queen*, 6.

The return trip met with similar success. With lack of wind, they found themselves having trouble returning to San Diego. As the trip was taking much longer than expected, they began running out of food and were soon forced to rely on the kindness of passing freighters, from which they either bought food or received donations.

When the wind finally picked up they were not prepared. It was so strong that three sails on the fore and main masts were destroyed and the mizzen mast was damaged.⁴⁵⁴ The trip was now taking so long that many of the sea scouts' mothers wrote letters petitioning the President of the United States to send a coast guard tow out to bring back the *Pacific Queen*. Captain Moyes was forced to "swallow the pride of thirty-five years in sail and steam," and take a tow the remainder of the way back to San Diego.⁴⁵⁵ A trip that was meant to be just a few weeks had taken sixty-seven days. After fifty years of life at sea, this was the last time our ship would sail.

The trip, however, was not a complete loss. During the sea lion hunting cruise of the *Pacific Queen*, Rose Kissinger apparently became interested in navigation. Her budding hobby became more professional and practical when she invented a plastic celestial sphere for the demonstration of hour angles to navigation students. During the Second World War, she taught navigation at a merchant marine officer's school. Her device was patented and turned over to the navy.⁴⁵⁶

Over the next couple of decades, *Pacific Queen* spent its time going back and forth between docks near Los Angeles and docks near San Francisco. It served as background in a few more movies for a time and then it was docked at Pier 43 in San Francisco where it was open again to the public. During World War II there was discussion about turning the ship into a barge and there were military surveyors who inspected the hull for the possibility of turning it into scrap for the war effort. This nearly came to

⁴⁵⁴ John Zimmerman, "The Balclutha's Last".

⁴⁵⁵ Rose Kissinger, *Career of the Pacific Queen*, 7.

⁴⁵⁶ Rose Kissinger, *Career of the Pacific Queen*, 9.

fruition, until it was decided that salvaging the hull would not produce enough steel to be worth the time and effort.⁴⁵⁷



Figure 33 - *Pacific Queen* with Rose Kissinger aboard during the making of "Mutiny on the Bounty", circa 1934-1935. View includes the *Pandora ex Otilie Fjord* (built 1892; schooner) in the background.

⁴⁵⁷ San Francisco Maritime Museum, "'Balclutha': Her History & Restoration," 121.



Figures 34 –*Pacific Queen*, Catalina Island, ca. 1934-1935; making of "Mutiny on the Bounty." Left to right: unknown/unidentified person, Frank Kissinger, Rose Kissinger, Captain "Roy" Moyes.⁴⁵⁸

Frank received many offers to buy the *Pacific Queen* the entire time the Kissingers owned the ship, but was always stubborn about keeping it. Mostly, he still hoped to make money on his original investment. He also claimed he was interested in making sure it was preserved as an important piece of maritime history, but this claim often followed an offer that was considered financially insufficient.⁴⁵⁹ This stubbornness continued when the Kissingers were first approached by the newly founded San Francisco Maritime Museum Association. The Association was founded in 1950 with a two-part plan to

⁴⁵⁸ Figure 33: San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, SAFR 21374, P93-065, Series 3, File Unit 9, Item C09.35914. Figure 34: San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, SAFR 21374, P93-065, Series 3, File Unit 9, Item C09.35913.

Both: <https://npgallery.nps.gov/SearchResults/ff7695e4ff2049d5959c224516b76a8c?view=gallery#gallery> (accessed 10/10/17).

⁴⁵⁹ For example, Kissinger was offered a substantial amount of money to use Balclutha as a floating hotel for strikebreakers, but Kissinger turned it down, Jack E. McGinty, "Notes on Balclutha and Seaman's Strike," *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC. It was also almost sold to the city of Long Beach, but the city planned on filling in land around the ship, which Frank felt would eventually ruin it, San Francisco Maritime Museum, "'Balclutha': Her History & Restoration," 122.

begin preserving the important maritime history of San Francisco.⁴⁶⁰ First, they converted the Aquatic Park casino that sat near Ghirardelli Square into a maritime museum. Then, in the same area, they were going to preserve what they hoped would eventually be many historic ships and boats. With their eye on *Pacific Queen*, Max Lembke, a member of the museum's Board of Directors, and Kenneth Glasgow, Assistant Director, made a trip down to Long Beach to visit the Kissingers in early 1951.

The Kissingers were just as stubborn as they had been with previous offers. While this current offer fit their desire to preserve the ship, there was no way the Association, a newly formed non-profit organization, could afford to pay what the Kissingers hoped. When discussing price, Frank would preface the conversation by asking the Association representatives, "Have you tried to buy a Stutz Bearcat or Washington's Mount Vernon lately?"⁴⁶¹ Despite their stubbornness, the Association's offers piqued the interest of the Kissingers enough that they decided to move the *Pacific Queen* back to San Francisco.

Frank passed-away on the ship on November 22, 1952.⁴⁶² The following year, Rose made an official offer to the Association to sell them the *Pacific Queen*. A Ship Committee was formed of directors of the maritime museum, most of whom had been sailors themselves.⁴⁶³ Negotiations were tense as Rose proved to be no less stubborn than Frank. The amount being agreed upon usually hovered around twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars, but during a phone call in the middle of 1954, at the point when negotiations were getting especially heated, Rose told the Ship Committee: "If I don't get

⁴⁶⁰ The Association is now the San Francisco Maritime National Park Association that, along with the National Park Service, helps preserve *Balclutha* and the many other ships and boats at Hyde Street Pier.

⁴⁶¹ San Francisco Maritime Museum, "'Balclutha': Her History & Restoration," 122.

⁴⁶² "1954 – A look-in on negotiation with Mrs. Kissinger for the ship including how Capt. Hardhead and Mrs. Spreckels failed to 'put the cork in the bottle,'" *To Acquire the Pacific Queen*, Compiled by Karl Kortum, 1995, SFMRC.

⁴⁶³ William N. Mills, Marine Office of America and chairman of the committee, sailed before the mast on the bark Parma. Max Lembke, now an insurance broker, was raised at sea while his father was skipper of the barkentine *Newsboy*, and schooner *Helene*. Karl Kortum, curator of the museum, sailed on the three masted bark *Kaiulani*. Scott Newhall, San Francisco Chronicle, sailed his own ketch on a passage to Mexico. Captain T.C. Conwell, American President Lines, was captain of the largest deep-sea tug under the American flag. Michael J. Ryan is a San Francisco naval architect. See San Francisco Maritime Museum, "'Balclutha': Her History & Restoration," 122.

50,000 for the ship, I'm going to tow it out and sink it."⁴⁶⁴ Given her history with the *Pacific Queen*, it would have been surprising if she had actually followed through with this threat. Also, given her history with the ship, it could be that there was understandably some sentiment attached to it that increased its value for her. Apparently, at one point she was even demanding as much as \$75,000.⁴⁶⁵

After over a year of tough and sometimes heated negotiations - and the Ship Committee sneakily convincing Rose that they were considering purchasing the *Star of India* instead - she agreed to sell *Pacific Queen* to them for \$25,000, which was close to her original offer.⁴⁶⁶ The Kissingers' desire to preserve the ship, whether for profit, history, or both, is what kept it alive through these rough years as the *Pacific Queen*. This was a period when many ships like it were lost. Karl Kortum, who was one of the founders of the Association, the original curator of the museum, and a member of the Ship Committee, was not fond of how the Kissingers' refashioned and rebranded the *Pacific Queen* as a show piece and violent pirate slave ship. He was also one of the many who were increasingly frustrated with the high priced demands of both Frank and Rose. However, despite his rocky relationship with the couple, he acknowledged their significance and importance to the ship's history: "All credit to the Kissingers - they had kept the ship alive through a period when her sisters were being broken up, made into barges, or sailed to Japan for scrapping."⁴⁶⁷

The Association renamed the ship *Balclutha*, towed it to repair docks across the bay in Alameda, and set to restoring it to the days when it first left the Clyde and began travelling the world. While it

⁴⁶⁴ "1954 - A look-in on negotiation with Mrs. Kissinger for the ship including how Capt. Hardhead and Mrs. Spreckels failed to 'put the cork in the bottle,'" *To Acquire the Pacific Queen*, Compiled by Karl Kortum, 1995, SFMRC.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ "Restoring the PACIFIC QUEEN (letter to Harrison 'Harrie' Dring). This includes a ploy involving Jerry MacMullen and the STAR OF INDIA that resulted in Mrs. Kissinger coming to terms on a price for PACIFIC QUEEN," *To Acquire the Pacific Queen*, Compiled by Karl Kortum, 1995, SFMRC. They faked phone calls with their connections in San Diego, making it seem like they were interested in buying the *Star of India* for \$15000, which was not actually the case, but they hoped making it seem like they were would convince Rose to sell.

⁴⁶⁷ "1989 - letter describing negotiations and how STAR OF INDIA contributed to BALCLUTHA save and how BALCLUTHA contributed to STAR OF INDIA revival," *To Acquire the Pacific Queen*, Compiled by Karl Kortum, 1995, SFMRC.

might have been expensive to purchase, *Balclutha's* restoration was done entirely with donated materials, equipment, facilities, and volunteer labor. For nearly an entire year, from August 1954 to July 1955, businesses and craftsmen from all over the San Francisco Bay Area worked to revitalize *Balclutha*, their only compensation being the pride of their contribution in preserving this example of local and world maritime history.⁴⁶⁸ Once finished, *Balclutha* was towed back to San Francisco's Pier 43 in the heart of the Fisherman's Wharf district and opened to the public.⁴⁶⁹

By the beginning of 1956, *Balclutha* had already received 100,000 visitors.⁴⁷⁰ *Balclutha's* popularity and importance as a museum ship only increased from there. In 1958, just two years later, 220,000 people walked the decks of *Balclutha*, paying a total of \$88,000 for their visits. After continued repairs and upkeep, this meant a profit of \$20,000 for the San Francisco Maritime Museum, which could then be invested in purchasing and preserving more ships, artifacts, and other pieces of maritime history.⁴⁷¹ *Balclutha's* success, in turn, helped to encourage the preservation of similar ships around the United States and the world, including a full restoration of the *Star of India* in San Diego.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁸ For a complete list of contributors and an overview of restorations, see Captain T.C. Conwell & Karl Kortum, *Pacific Queen Restoration, Weekly Reports: August 1954 – July 1955*, SFMRC.

⁴⁶⁹ *Balclutha* was at Pier 43 until moved to Hyde Street Pier in 1988.

⁴⁷⁰ "Letter from James Binnie to Karl Kortum," then Director of the San Francisco Maritime Museum, January 19th, 1956, *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1*, SFMRC.

⁴⁷¹ John Bunker, "220,000 Walked," *San Diego Tribune*, August 19, 1959, *To Acquire the Pacific Queen*, Compiled by Karl Kortum, 1995, SFMRC.

⁴⁷² "1989 – letter describing negotiations and how STAR OF INDIA contributed to BALCLUTHA save and how BALCLUTHA contributed to STAR OF INDIA revival," *To Acquire the Pacific Queen*, Compiled by Karl Kortum, 1995.



Figure 35 – Group Portrait of Museum Founders onboard *Balclutha*⁴⁷³

⁴⁷³ From left to right the people in the image are identified as: Harry Dring, Al Hatt, Jack Shickell, Karl Kortum, Jack Dickerhoff, Bill Bartz and Chick. Undated, San Francisco Maritime National Park, SAFR 21374, A09.16127.

Chapter 5

Conclusion: The Journey Continues

Though *Balclutha* has undergone many transitions of purpose throughout its life, its time spent as the *Pacific Queen* under the ownership of the Kissingers marked a turning point in its social, cultural, and economic history. Before this period, the social lives of those connected to *Balclutha* revolved around the extraction of material and labor for profit. Originally, *Balclutha* was built to profit from the booming extraction and sale of wheat from the young state of California. *Balclutha's* construction, concurrently, depended on the extraction of building materials, like teak, from across the world. This material extraction, in turn, relied on the extraction of investment and labor from countless individuals. Over the course of the ocean going stage in *Balclutha's* existence, its purposes changed according to shifts in global economic trends based on what would give its owners the most profit for its use at the time. Before its construction and throughout each career, the continual extraction of labor was necessary for the continual extraction of profit.

Frank Kissinger, at first, was no different. He had purchased *Balclutha* with hopes of making money, just as many had before him. However, as some offers for profits came, Frank and Rose found themselves also concerned with the historical life and legacy of their prized possession. They wanted the ship preserved not just for profit, but also as a reminder to future generations of the world maritime history that the ship represented. Many of the offers that came to the Kissingers were the same kinds of profitable venture that led to the end of most of *Balclutha's* historical counterparts. The couple's hope for profit, combined with their desire to preserve its heritage, kept *Balclutha* afloat, and this enabled it to be sold to a museum that would restore it and use it to teach future generations about the world social and economic histories that it represents. Now, in the hands of the museum, the social lives of those connected to *Balclutha* have transformed its nature from being based solely on profit to being based solely on non-profit preservation and education.

Amélia Polónia, in her recent discussion of the merits of maritime history as global history, writes that “Maritime museums also engage in new areas of research in order to provide new perspectives on maritime heritage from a cross-disciplinary perspective.”⁴⁷⁴ Museum research and academic historical research are rarely in communication as much as they should be. Like the San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park, where *Balclutha* currently resides, the museums that house these ships around the world do incredible research in order to restore, preserve, promote, and educate. It is the author’s hope that looking at the life of *Balclutha* has, in its own small way, helped to bridge this gap.

Museum immersion programs like the San Francisco Maritime National Park Association’s Age of Sail program outlined in this dissertation’s introduction also help to bridge the gap between the rigors of historical research and the public’s access to it. David Lowenthal states that we should seek to “preserve the artifacts of everyday life, rather than the great monuments of antiquity.”⁴⁷⁵ As this dissertation has shown, *Balclutha* was connected to the daily lives of multiple groups of people from all over the world. The experiential education programs on *Balclutha* are a way for children to learn about the lives of these people in the past by “doing” what they did, at least as near as is possible. The way Age of Sail teaches history by “doing” history is similar to what archeologists call “experimental archaeology.” That is, “the replication of artefacts or past processes in order to test falsifiable hypotheses or to gather data systematically.”⁴⁷⁶ Thus, *Balclutha* has become, in a way, what these archeologists might consider a “constructed site.” As Peter Stone and Philippe Planel argue, “The past in fact cannot be *re-constructed* as it actually happened, but rather it is continually *constructed* by individuals or groups who, for

⁴⁷⁴ Amélia Polónia, “Maritime History: A Gateway to Global History?” 12.

⁴⁷⁵ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xvii.

⁴⁷⁶ See Jodi Reeves Flores & Roeland Paardekooper, eds., *Experiments Past: histories of Experimental Archaeology* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2014), 7.

whatever reason, choose to interact with it.”⁴⁷⁷ Lowenthal likewise observes: “However much we know about the past, we can never really know how it was for those who lived back then.” This is difficult for many to accept, as the past has become so personal and deeply rooted in the present. This is the important difference between “history” and “heritage.”⁴⁷⁸ Attempting to bring the social history of *Balclutha* back to life in this way is ultimately how this ship’s historic career faces its future. The history this ship represents is not a nation-based history, but a person-based history of shared work.

The following text is an example of what the start of a typical Age of Sail program might look like, especially from the perspective of the children experiencing it. Because no two classes are alike and no two children are alike, the programs can vary greatly. Also, each Age of Sail Instructor, as mentioned in this dissertation’s introduction, creates their own officer names and characters, bringing their own skills, specializations, and personalities to the roles. A large amount of improvisation is required. But, there are still set program “scripts,” procedures, and character traits (an example of which is given below). All of the character traits are based on historical officer and sailor archetypes from the period. This is how the instructors create historical empathy for real crew from the past, like Norman Pearce, Mr. and Mrs. Durkee, and Ah Sing. These procedures and archetypes are the result of an evolution over decades of research and program development.

It is April 21, 1906, just three days after a massive earthquake and devastating fire decimated the city of San Francisco. Thousands are dead, tens of thousands are homeless, and the property damage has reached hundreds of millions of dollars. Some say the city may never recover, but the intrepid captain of the *Balclutha*, Captain Parrel, intends to take his ship up the coast and bring back lumber from the vast forests of the Pacific Northwest. This is lumber the city desperately needs to begin

⁴⁷⁷ Peter G. Stone and Philippe G. Planel, eds., *The Constructed Past: Experimental Archaeology, Education, and the Public* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 1.

⁴⁷⁸ David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), xiv.

the arduous rebuilding process, and it will fetch a high price if Captain Parrel can be the first to bring it to market.

The Captain has just one major problem: almost his entire crew has abandoned his ship. Some have families in the area and have left to assist in rescue efforts, while many of the more scurvy sailors have gone to join in the mass looting now taking place in the city. Only three sailors remain. His first mate, Mr. Strake, is the ship task-master and disciplinarian. Captain Parrel is the ship master and central authority figure. He is aloof, strong, and commanding, but it is Mr. Strake's job to make sure the captain's orders are carried out correctly and efficiently.

Captain Parrel's doctor/cook, Dr. Baggywrinkle, is unwaveringly loyal to Captain Parrel, but his long life at sea has cost him his sanity. He is superstitious, paranoid, and compulsively talks with inanimate objects, like his cookware.

The third remaining sailor is Mr. Doldrum, who would have joined the looting had he not slept through the disaster. Mr. Doldrum is lazy and a bit simple-minded. He knows his way around a ship and small boats, but more than the difficult work required to be a competent sailor, he loves playing sailor games, gambling, dancing a jig, and singing a good shanty.

But *Balclutha* needs a crew, so Mr. Doldrum is promoted to 2nd mate out of necessity and given his first task as an officer: to find a crew of ten experienced, tarry-handed sailors.

It's a warm and sunny weekday afternoon at the Maritime National Park in San Francisco. It would feel like a hot summer day were it not for the strong cool westerly breeze blowing in off the bay. A class of fifth graders has collected on Hyde Street Pier. They are surrounded by a number of historic ships, each an important example of the maritime heritage of the San Francisco Bay Area. They are especially cognizant of the steel-hulled, three-mast, square rigged cargo sailing ship, *Balclutha*, which is docked down the pier, looming large and currently out of reach to them.

The children are wide-eyed, excited, and full of energy. They joke and laugh loudly as they sit on one side of the pier crowded together with sleeping bags, pillows, backpacks, and luggage intermixed among them. Their joking and laughing quiets when they hear a man singing in the distance. They recognize the song as "Away for Rio," one of the many sea shanties they have been learning from their teacher.

They turn to see a young man sauntering up the pier from the city. He walks with an odd stagger, as if the pier is moving about beneath him. At first, they think he's a homeless man that has wandered onto the pier. His clothes are old-fashioned, mismatched, unkempt, and his face is covered in soot and ash.

He stops singing when he notices them.

"Ahoy there, lads!" He shouts. "What're y'all doin' here? Are ye orphaned from the fire in the city?"

All at once they answer back with a cacophony of different responses. Through the jumble of answers, he hears some claim that they are sailors waiting for a ship.

"Sailors, ye say?" He slaps his knee and gives out a hearty chuckle. "What luck! As it happens, I'm lookin' fer sailors!" He begins to dance a celebratory sailor jig but stops abruptly and looks them over. "Wait. Y'all don't look much like tarry-handed salts. . . Are ye sure y're sailors?"

They answer back with more excited responses, a few shouting "no," but most confirming "yes!"

"Yes? Yes makes ye sound like landlubbers!" He mocks. "What do sailors say?"

"Aye!" They all call back as one.

"Aye! That's good enough for me!" The man again slaps his knee and resumes his jig. Once finished, he introduces himself proudly as Mr. Doldrum, the new 2nd mate of the *Balclutha*. He doesn't want to go through the effort and danger of searching an entire ruined city, so he thinks it an act of

providence to find these lads here.⁴⁷⁹ He's been sent out to find some sailors and now, by the grace of Poseidon, he's found them! He brings them onboard, gets their gear stowed in the fo'c'sle, and has them sign a typical sailor's contract, which obligates them to a year's worth of service under the captain of *Balclutha*. He goes to find the 1st mate so he can proudly introduce him to the new crew that he has found.

Mr. Strake, naturally, is furious with Mr. Doldrum for not following orders properly. Mr. Doldrum is scolded for his laziness and buffoonery and given extra jobs to do around the ship as discipline for shanghaiing these poor half-pints. As for them, since the contract is already signed there is nothing that can be done. These lads, mere school children just an hour ago, are now sailors. They are the new crew of *Balclutha*. Naturally, the ship cannot safely sail with an inexperienced green hand crew, so they must be trained and learn to work and live as proper sailors.

Mr. Doldrum was full of fun shanties, jigs, and games of dice and cards. The appearance of the stern, fiery first mate, Mr. Strake, has shocked the lads into the reality of the often difficult, strict, and dangerous lives sailors lived. Mr. Strake explains to them the predicament that Mr. Doldrum has shanghaiied them into. One in ten sailors die every year and that is not to mention thecrippings, woundings, and loss of limb that can happen on a ship like *Balclutha*. They will now need to rely on each other to survive the harsh life of the sea. Even a knot tied incorrectly can mean doom for a companion who was depending on that knot. "However," Mr. Strake informs the lads, "if you stay focused, disciplined, respectful, and you work together as a team and crew, then you might just make it home safely."

⁴⁷⁹ The term "lads" is used on program to refer to all of the students, whether boy or girl. Rather than some other possibilities, like "children" for example, the term "lad" is a more period and maritime appropriate term that implies that while they are young, they are still capable of being sailors and should feel confident in their work. By the end of the program, they will earn the title of "sailor." While "lad" is traditionally used to refer to boys, on program it is gender neutral. They are all "lads" and so are equally capable of doing all the required tasks, whether it be handling line, tying a knot, or leading a crew. Because many of the Age of Sail Instructors playing the roles of the officers are also women, the subject of gender and serving aboard ships like *Balclutha* at the turn of the century is an important topic that is broached quite often on program. It becomes another learning opportunity for the "lads" about the differences of social life and norms between the past and present.

And so begins the Age of Sail overnight historical immersion program. The lads are divided into groups. Each of these smaller crews has their own responsibility and job. These are the Boat Crew, the Bosun Crew, the Deckhand Crew, the Rigger Crew, and the Quartermaster Crew. All of these jobs are essential for the ship to function properly and safely, so each individual crew must learn to work together as a team and all the crews must learn to work together as a ship.

They are expected to be able to demonstrate their sailorly skills on their own and without assistance, but are taught and guided by the four officers of the ship. The roles of the ship's officers are played by Age of Sail instructors. They remain in character throughout, so while each instructor is a knowledgeable historian and an experienced outdoor educator, they must also be skilled actors. The characters they play, as described above, are based on historical reality, but they are also designed around the learning needs of the lads. The dynamic between the officers is a classic "good cop/bad cop" scenario. The captain and first mate set extremely high expectations and strictly enforce them without exception. The doctor and second mate cut tension and provide comic relief when the pressure gets too intense. All four of these officers work with the lads to teach and challenge them depending on their level, which ranges from fourth to eighth grade. Working with the officers of the ship as based on real historical archetypes further enriches the historical empathy that the children learn for those who actually served aboard *Balclutha* in the past.

The instructors also work behind the scenes with the class's teacher, who the officers refer to as the captain's "guest." The "guest" wanders around the program as a quiet observer. There are also parent chaperones, referred to as "tall sailors." There is one per individual crew of lads. Like the "guest," they are quiet observers, their only job being to watch out for the safety of their crew.

This is an experience that these students remember for a lifetime. The program has existed and grown for forty-five years. When it first began, it was old salmon fishermen and sailors that had the jobs

of what are now the Age of Sail instructors. The program has evolved a lot since then, and it continues to evolve and improve daily. There are some teachers who have been bringing their classes every year for decades. Currently, there are around 190 programs and 7,000 participants annually. Every day there are former lads who return to visit the Maritime Park. Some return with their friends, some with their families, some with their own children, and some even return as teachers bringing their own class to the program. A rare few even grow-up to become Age of Sail Instructors and get the opportunity to be the first mate or captain themselves.

The Age of Sail instructors work hard to bring this experience to these school kids. As anyone who has children or has ever worked with children knows, a lot of energy is required to keep up with their youth, especially when you also have to stay in character. Being an Age of Sail instructor means many sleepless nights, which do little to recuperate that lost energy. But, it is all worth it when considering the impact and benefit this work has on the lives of the kids, and on the continuing history of *Balclutha*.⁴⁸⁰

Preserving and teaching maritime history in an experiential way such as is done on the Age of Sail program is an especially multi-disciplinary task, requiring the expertise of academics, craftsmen, sailors, and educators.⁴⁸¹ Therefore, these instructors are just one group of many that still work daily in connection with *Balclutha*. Every group of workers deserves equal recognition. There are National Park Rangers, who also educate school groups, give tours of the ships, and generally manage Hyde Street Pier for the enjoyment of visitors; office workers who manage the jobs, fundraise, and organize events; researchers, historians, and librarians who are continuously learning more, gathering more sources,

⁴⁸⁰ This together with the account of Age of Sail from the introduction are based on Brandon Tachco's "Age of Sail: A Time Traveling Educational Maritime Adventure at San Francisco's Historic Hyde Street Pier," *Sea Letter* No. 75 (Fall 2017).

⁴⁸¹ See, for example, Vibeke Bischoff, Anton Englert, Søren Nielsen, and Morten Ravn, "From Ship-Find to Sea-Going Reconstruction: Experimental Maritime Archeology at the Viking Ship Museum in Roskilde," pp. 233-247, in Jodi Reeves Flores & Roeland Paardekooper, eds., *Experiments Past: histories of Experimental Archaeology* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2014).

writing, and promoting *Balclutha's* history; and riggers who work daily to repair and preserve the ship, which is now over 130 years old, so that it can continue to be enjoyed and educate the public. All of these people together form *Balclutha's* newest crew. Just like past crews, they work hard, usually for little pay. Many, in fact, are volunteers. Every individual in *Balclutha's* current crew represents the dedication it takes to preserve *Balclutha's* current non-profit, educational, maritime heritage-based existence.

Keeping these ships afloat even now is not an easy task. Only one tenth of one percent of all the ships that rounded Cape Horn survives today.⁴⁸² Even those that have survived until now are not guaranteed continued survival. The *Falls of Clyde*, another Clyde built ship currently docked near Aloha Tower in downtown Honolulu, serves as an example of how difficult it can be to save these important pieces of history. The *Falls of Clyde* was built in Glasgow in 1878. It was once a Matson ship and carried petroleum from California to Hawaii and molasses back to California. As of late-2016, thanks to lobbying mainly from local tourism industries and claims that the ship was unsafe, the Harbors Division of the State of Hawaii wanted the ship impounded. The *Falls of Clyde* was very nearly taken out and sunk, lost forever. Currently, the non-profit group, Friends of the *Falls of Clyde*, has been raising money to get the ship taken back to Glasgow, where they have decided to restore it. Not surprisingly, the local Clyde patriotism has driven desires to preserve as many of their ships as possible. If money can be raised and transport arranged, this ship might be saved.⁴⁸³

Even *Balclutha*, one of the first and most successful examples of such museum ships, does not survive without its own challenges. Since the National Park Service took ownership of the San Francisco Maritime Museum, archival collections, and ships in the late 1970's, *Balclutha's* transnational existence became much more nation-state dependent than ever before. Its status as a National Historic Landmark

⁴⁸² Ted Miles, "Cape Horn Stories," Maritime Lunch Lecture Series, SFMRC, 6/16/17.

⁴⁸³ See: <http://www.friendsoffallsofclayde.org/> and <http://www.kitv.com/story/35783709/falls-of-clayde-set-to-return-to-scotland>. (Accessed 9/27/17). Interestingly, there are riggers for *Balclutha* who volunteer to work on the *Falls of Clyde* in order to keep the ship as preserved as possible, even given its unfortunate situation.

secured many protections and restorative labor that was previously unavailable. However, with dependence on states comes also dependence on shifting national politics, which means shifts in funding and support.

As of this writing, *Balclutha* is undergoing dry-dock repairs, which is a necessary periodic procedure for any boat or ship, but especially for one that is as old as *Balclutha*. These repairs, which were meant to take just a few months, are now continuing over a year. This is no fault of the current crew who work to preserve the ship; it is due to the international trade disputes brought on by the current United States executive. These political actions, naturally, have reverberated down, making steel more difficult and more costly to acquire. This steel was needed to help repair *Balclutha's* hull, which meant having to raise more money, place new orders, and greatly extend the dry-dock period. Not having *Balclutha* at Hyde Street Pier for such a long period means a continued loss of visitors to the pier and fewer ticket sales, the proceeds from which are necessary for the continued preservation of all of the ships at the National Maritime Park, as well as the continued payment of employees who are dependent on *Balclutha* for their livelihoods. For the Age of Sail education programs as well, no *Balclutha* means fewer programs, which means fewer educational experiences for local children and a loss of work for the many instructors who rely on this income to make a living.

Balclutha and its crew will survive these challenges, just as they have many other challenges throughout its life. However, for *Balclutha*, *Falls of Clyde*, *Glenlee*, *Star of India*, and the many museum ships like them in maritime cities throughout the world, continued survival is in no way guaranteed. They rely on our support, money, and the challenging work of these thousands of people that make-up their present-day crews. Just as in the past, these workers depend on their ships for their own livelihood and survival.

Work and Labor

Work is one of the largest threads weaving through *Balclutha's* story that connects people and places. In order to survive, as humans, we all need to work, in one way or another. Granted, some need to work much harder than others, but for most of us, work is an essential part of our existence. Throughout its life, *Balclutha* has had many careers. Its owners changed and adapted its purpose depending on the changing global economic trends. As *Balclutha's* careers changed, so did the work done by those connected to it. Shipyard laborers forged pieces from raw materials and riveted together a massive steel ship; MacDonald managed teak extraction; Bah Oh owned and operated a massive Elephant purchasing business and a rafting company; Charles Connell engineered the construction of ships; cannery workers suffered horrifying conditions for little to no reward because they had few options; and officers and sailors braved dangerous seas to get their precious cargo around the world. Those who worked on *Balclutha* when it sailed were connected through labor with those who worked to harvest the teak that went into her construction, just as those who work with *Balclutha* now are connected to those whose jobs depended on these ships in the past.

It could be said that *Balclutha* has been in retirement since the end of its last career as part of the Alaska Packer's Fleet. However, I would argue that *Balclutha* is in fact still very much working. *Balclutha's* current job, of course, as described above, is as an educator. Many people from all over visit its decks and cabins, kids experience living history, and *Balclutha*, with the help of everyone at the National Maritime Park, Museum, and research center in San Francisco, teaches them all about the origins of the city and the wider world in which they live. And, hopefully, everyone leaves inspired, wiser, and a bit more aware and empathetic of all the many ways in which we are all connected to each other through common threads like ships.

If we consider *Balclutha* still a working ship, then perhaps a better way to characterize the period of its life from birth in 1886 to retirement from the Alaska Packers in 1930 is a period in which

Balclutha was a laboring ship. That is, if we consider the idea of work in regard to people, this is the period when *Balclutha's* work was more physical. It sailed and worked in ways similar to what was intended when it was built. While everyone discussed in *Balclutha's* history has been connected through some form of work, it is important to note that many worked as laborers in much more physically demanding, dangerous, and oppressive conditions. From dockyard workers, to sailors, to canners, these groups were often much more transnational than those that were in more managerial roles, like ship engineers, ship masters, and teak extraction management. The canners, for example, represent one of the most transnational groups in this study.

However, who the laborers or managers were depended very much on situation and location. In most instances, the managers were of European descent. But, in nearly every chapter we see examples of people of multiple nationalities in managerial, investment, or ownership roles. In the Alaskan canning business, companies relied on Chinese contractors and labor managers to hire their canners. In Burma, the BBTC relied on local knowledge and business in order to find and keep the elephants that were essential to the teak extraction.

These patterns of work and labor across *Balclutha's* life demonstrate the importance of being as specific as possible when discussing these historical subjects. To label a company, individual, or ship according to their official or even popular national distinction is not accurate unless specifically addressing individual agents who were acting on behalf of nation-states. Economic and imperial networks went hand-in-hand. These networks often functioned completely independently from nation-states. They were based instead on the myriad negotiations between individuals and groups of individuals. It should be from this base that such networks are analyzed. Rather than first labeling a network or connection as British imperial, for example, the nature of the network needs to be addressed first - this includes the network's negotiators. Some networks casually characterized as British

by historians, after analysis, might indeed be “British” based on connections to the British state. Few, however, would fit that label entirely.

These observations are attuned to the current scholarly consensus. As Cátia Antunes explains in her 2017 inaugural lecture at Leiden University, “through the entanglements of commodity chains . . . trade shaped, and was shaped by, extensive global networks and business strategies that created an intensive, interconnected world where institutional borders, cultural barriers and institutions of empire became irrelevant.”⁴⁸⁴ I agree - with one simple addition: these global business and trade networks were very much intertwined with empire, just not necessarily nation-state based empire.

Empire Revisited

As Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton explain in their recent analysis of nineteenth-century global empires, “colonial regimes and imperial systems looked very different from different points in space and different social locations: to get outside the view from the imperial center (whether London or Istanbul, Tokyo or Paris) is to view the assemblage of global empires from a variety of angles.”⁴⁸⁵ This dissertation has viewed empires from the space of the ship, from the complex commodity networks required for its construction and operation, and from the transnational, transethnic, and transsocial perspectives of crew, investors, and passengers. This viewpoint has demonstrated that British Empire and British shipbuilding are not so easily defined. Their success and even their very existence required the participation of countless individuals and groups of individuals from many different backgrounds. These historical trends exemplify a world system that was dependent on various negotiations and collaborations. This is not to say that nation-based studies of empire are wrong or inaccurate; there

⁴⁸⁴ C.A.P. Antunes, “Cutting corners: when borders, culture and empire do not matter,” inaugural lecture on the acceptance of her position of professor of History of Global Economic Networks: Merchants, Entrepreneurs and Empires at Leiden University, June 9, 2017.

⁴⁸⁵ Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, *Empires and the Reach of the Global, 1870-1945* (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 21

have been generations of wonderful scholarship describing empire in nationalist narratives. But it should be understood and clarified that the nationalist narrative of empire is a construction of individual agents of the nation-state who were the beneficiaries of a strong nation-state and an equally strong nation-centric imperial narrative. The reality of imperialism is not as clear as they would have liked us to believe.

Imperial expansion involving business where a nation-state is not directly asserting control over another state, region, or people is often called indirect imperialism or neo-colonialism. However, as is evident through the example of the Empire of Teak, there was nothing indirect about the expansion of businesses that desired the commercial extraction and export of resources. Companies like the East India Company and the BBTC had direct connections to the nation-state, but they were still completely separate entities that preferred to remain out of state control and state regulations. They moved into foreign lands to directly control local elites, using their influence with the state only as a last resort. At some point in their histories, they had their own non-national militaries that would fight independently of the state, or alongside the state, as it suited them.⁴⁸⁶ They were, in nearly every way, their own corporate-states.⁴⁸⁷ Even the owners of these companies, those that were benefitting from their aggressive expansion, were not necessarily British. The BBTC especially, being the main focus of this dissertation, was managed by two Scottish brothers with the majority of its capital coming from Indian investment. Much of this investment was tied directly to the shipbuilding industry in Bombay.

Empire, therefore, needs a new non-national framing and definition. It could instead be seen, perhaps, as a complex transnational system with countless individual actors working alone or in groups and often with contradictory aims and interests. These actors negotiated with each other, however

⁴⁸⁶ Even if not officially after 1850's Treaty of Paris limited private militaries. See Janice E. Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

⁴⁸⁷ An idea coined, as mentioned in earlier sections, by Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

unevenly the negotiation might at times have been, to form an imperial system in which some had a lot of power and agency, while many more had much less. Those with or without power and wealth were not focused in any particular geographic region, such as center or periphery, but were present to varying degrees in all parts of the system. In this way, imperial metropolises, centers, or peripheries were more socio-economic than geographical. Agents of the nation-state were indeed strong players in this narrative, but they were just one group among many, and depending on what aspect of the system is being discussed, they did not necessarily have the most power. Given that the nineteenth century imperial system was dependent on global maritime connections, shipbuilding was an essential, and perhaps the most essential, part of this system. This study of shipbuilding's many negotiations with the state, business links, and material chains supports a growing revisionist scholarly consensus that views empire as a world system.⁴⁸⁸

Flags, Ship Ownership, and the Tenuous National Claim to Ships

As is the case with many nationalist symbols and connections, flags are socially constructed. They are a completely arbitrary way for nation-state citizens to claim ownership of a particular place or thing. Of course, while flags might be arbitrary, this does not diminish the power they wield. Nation-state agents have long used them to lay claim to land and to arouse a sense of patriotism and belonging.⁴⁸⁹ This being the case, it is significant that companies, and especially shipping companies, have also had flags and have used them in the same way as nation-states.

⁴⁸⁸ For example, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri have similarly defined a present-day empire as having no territorial center, relying little on fixed boundaries, and connected through a capitalist world market. However, their characterization of the imperialism of the period discussed in this dissertation is still very nation-centric. This dissertation has shown that their vision of Empire, though indeed stronger today, was much more than just roots in this period. See Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

⁴⁸⁹ For an in-depth analysis of the use of flags and symbolism in regards to the nation-building process as it "authenticates boundaries," see Gabriella Elgenius, *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism: Celebrating Nationhood* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

One of the ways nation-state citizens might claim ownership of a particular ship is through ship registration. Flags have always been used as a signifier of this ownership. Ships in *Balclutha's* time, and indeed still today, fly the flag of the nation in which they are legally registered. However, this was not the only flag they displayed. Merchant ships especially display multiple flags, not including the many flags ships used to communicate at sea in the nineteenth century. The ensign, which is the national flag, is traditionally flown at the stern of the ship. On a nineteenth century merchant ship, like *Balclutha*, the flag representing the owner, which is usually referred to as the house flag, was flown at the top of the main mast.⁴⁹⁰ Interestingly, this puts the house flag in a much higher position than the national ensign. Though the ensign at the stern might have been considered as the “place of honor,” it should not be ignored that the place at the top of main mast, where the house flag was, would have been much more clearly visible to anyone wanting to identify the ship. Certainly, for those investors and ship owners waiting for their ship or shipment of cargo to arrive, being able to identify the house flag would have been the most useful piece of information for them to know when a ship was coming in to port. Further, merchant ships would have flown a flag at the bow of the ship representing the nation to which they were destined. And, while in port, they flew the flag of the country they were visiting on the fore yard.⁴⁹¹ These multiple flags demonstrate the complex and layered sovereignty of the ship and the maritime space that it represents.

In reading the many different accounts of *Balclutha's* life, one often comes across proud statements like “for the years in which she flew the union jack” or “she flew the stars and stripes for the rest of her life.” There is rarely a comment about how she also flew the flag of her owners, like Robert

⁴⁹⁰ Timothy Wilson, *Flags at Sea* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1986), 39. Though this study had many additions, it was largely dependent on W.G. Perrin's earlier work. See W.G. Perrin, *British Flags: Their Early History, and their Development at Sea; with an Account of the Origin of the Flag as a National Device* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1922). Though these two works give some examples from other cultures, they focus mostly on Europe. However, flags as symbols were not unique to Europe, even before European colonization. See, for example, Vasant S. Kadam, *Maratha Confederacy: A Study in Its Origins and Development* (Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1993).

⁴⁹¹ Wilson, *Flags at Sea*, 35

McMillan, or J.J. Moore, or the Alaska Packers' Association. In fact, the companies or people who owned a nineteenth century merchant ship were much more important than the nation in which the ship happened to be registered at any given time. It is more often the owners who control the ship's fate and, as *Balclutha's* life demonstrates, national registration can be murky and erroneous.

Balclutha was registered first in the United Kingdom when it was owned by Robert MacMillan. During its construction, as demonstrated in Chapter 1, MacMillan was in constant discussion with Connell and had complete veto power for every aspect of *Balclutha's* design and construction. Ship owners like MacMillan were proud of their ships and, given that they were the ones who were paying to have them constructed, wanted to make their ownership clear. Part of the construction and equipping process for *Balclutha* was making sure everything - plaques, ship bells, chinaware, silverware, and glassware - was engraved and enameled with the white field with red "M" that was on the MacMillan house flag.⁴⁹²

When the ship was bought by San Francisco based companies in 1899 and began its trans-Pacific career, it was not possible to register ships in the United States unless they were built in the United States.⁴⁹³ Further, foreign-built ships were not allowed to engage in trade with the United States except between the United States and the foreign country in which they were registered. JJ Moore, therefore, applied to register *Balclutha* in the Republic of Hawaii, where he and many other San Francisco businessmen who were buying foreign built-ships, were registering their vessels.⁴⁹⁴ Hawaiian registered vessels were some of the only ships exempt from the strict American foreign trade law.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹² "Letter from Charles Connell to R. Cochran & Co. of Glasgow, October 25th, 1886, *Charles Connell letters*, Mitchell Library, Glasgow (T-CO 11/9).

⁴⁹³ Unless they were so badly damaged that repair in an American yard constituted 40% of the original ship construction cost. Many other examples, including the *Star of India*, currently a museum ship in San Diego. Jerry MacMullen, *Star of India: The Log of an Iron Ship* (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1961) 38.

⁴⁹⁴ Hawaiian Kingdom was overthrown in 1893 and was a republic from 1894-1898. The Republic ended with Hawaii's annexation by the United States.

⁴⁹⁵ Agnes C. Conrad, "Hawaiian Registered Vessels, 1800-1900" (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1978), 32.

This makes *Balclutha* a nineteenth-century example of what we might now call a “flag of convenience.”⁴⁹⁶ In Hawaii, during the Kingdom and the Republic between 1840 and 1900, there were over 200 vessels registered that were listed as having previous national registrations.⁴⁹⁷ Certainly, not all of these ships were owned by non-Hawaiian citizens, like J.J. Moore. Many were owned by local businesses such as Wilder S.S. Co., a shipping company based in Honolulu. But, at least for J.J. Moore, *Balclutha* was not the only such example. *Star of India* too, then named *Euterpe* and now a museum ship in San Diego, was also bought by Moore around this time and registered in Hawaii.⁴⁹⁸

Moore also was not the only or the first American businessman to register his ships in Hawaii. European-style vessels were built in Hawaii as early as 1794, when Kamehameha I commissioned English ship carpenters to build the 36 foot schooner, *Britannia* and to help train Kamehameha’s Hawaiian builders. Records show that by 1810 the King had at least thirty vessels in his fleet.⁴⁹⁹ These ships likely flew a Hawaiian flag, but there was no official law for registering ships in Hawaii until 1846. Just two years later, the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Relations, R.C. Wyllie, received complaints from the United States Commissioner Anthony Eyck. According to Eyck, American citizens would purchase a vessel and then enter into a deal with a Hawaiian citizen. The Hawaiian citizen would register the vessel with the Hawaiian Minister of the Interior swearing that they were the vessels owner. Once registration was received, the Hawaiian citizen would return the vessel to its actual owner via a fifty or hundred year charter. At the same time, they would hand-over power of attorney to the real owner, allowing the real owner control over sale and use of the vessel. In this way, American businessmen avoided restrictive nation-state shipping laws for over fifty years before J.J. Moore did the same with *Balclutha*.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁶ This is discussed briefly in MacMullen, *Star of India*, and it is also discussed nearly as briefly in “Hawaiian Flag Once Used to Effect Ship Transfer,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 6, 1959.

⁴⁹⁷ *Register of Hawaiian Vessels 1866-1900*, Collector of General Customs, Hawaii State Archives.

⁴⁹⁸ In fact, at least five ships owned or “chartered” by Moore were registered by him in Hawaii at this time. See Conrad, “Hawaiian Registered Vessels,” 1800-1900, 36.

⁴⁹⁹ Conrad, “Hawaiian Registered Vessels,” 1800-1900, 31.

⁵⁰⁰ Conrad, “Hawaiian Registered Vessels,” 1800-1900, 33.

Balclutha's time flying the Hawaiian flag was short lived because Hawaii was annexed by the United States in 1898. It took an act of Congress to allow Hawaiian registered ships to transfer over to American registration. The Hawaiian Organic Act was not passed until 1900.⁵⁰¹ *Balclutha* was granted provisional Hawaii registration by the Hawaii Consul in San Francisco on 22 August 1899. Once passed, the Hawaiian Organic Act took some time to take effect, so *Balclutha* was not granted complete registry in the United States until March 3, 1901.⁵⁰² This means that *Balclutha*, and many ships like it, were, for almost two years or more, without a nation, according traditional legal definitions. Preliminary Hawaiian registration was all Moore needed for these couple years. Even while it was technically without a nation, *Balclutha* continued to work as usual. *Balclutha* was one of a "flurry" of registrations that followed the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893. Businessmen in Seattle and San Francisco especially knew Hawaii would be annexed by the United States soon and saw this as an opportunity to eventually get their foreign-built ships registered in the United States.⁵⁰³ A total of sixty-three Hawaiian registered vessels were granted registration in the United States thanks to the Organic Act.⁵⁰⁴

This example of the complications of legally defining a ship through national registration demonstrates the complex relationship between nations and ships in general. Understanding this relationship is essential for any analysis of the lives of those who lived on, or were otherwise connected to, ships like *Balclutha*. It was the owners of these ships that controlled their destinies. As such, it was the owners and business links that they often represented who controlled the fates of those that served

⁵⁰¹ Sec. 98, 48 U.S.C.A. 509, as cited in MacMullen, *Star of India*, 43.

⁵⁰² See *Guides to Hawaiian Registered Vessels*, Hawaii State Archives (387.2 H3). There was quite a bit of discussion about this bill at the Hawaii Consul. See *Hawaiian Office Abroad San Francisco 1900*, Hawaii State Archives (404-41-647).

⁵⁰³ Conrad, "Hawaiian Registered Vessels," 1800-1900, p. 34. This "flurry" included a number of lawsuits from American shipowners, allied with their Hawaiian citizen counterparts, against the Hawaiian government for not allowing them to register their vessel in Hawaii during this tenuous period. The rush of registrations, lawsuits, and stall tactics from American shipowners got so bad that the Minister of Foreign Affairs had to threaten to fire the Hawaiian Consulate in San Francisco and eventually United States President McKinley had to step in and forbid the further registration of vessels in Hawaii.

⁵⁰⁴ Conrad, "Hawaiian Registered Vessels," 1800-1900, p. 39. Conrad even hints that these shipowners might have been directly involved in the language of this act, since specific ships were mentioned.

on them.⁵⁰⁵ “Flag of convenience” ships demonstrate this control. Today, most of the world’s shipping runs on ships registered in countries like the Marshall Islands, Panama, and Liberia and they are crewed by low-wage workers.⁵⁰⁶ As Leon Fink argues, the move toward today’s “flags of convenience” ships has coincided with increased use of low-wage third world workers.⁵⁰⁷ This was in reaction to the many laws that countries like the United States and the United Kingdom enacted to protect the rights of sailors. Ship owners, therefore, register their ships in countries that have more relaxed tax and labor laws. In *Balclutha*’s time, “flag of convenience” ships were used to avoid or circumvent restrictive nation-state shipping laws. Both instances together demonstrate an ongoing struggle between ship owners, companies, laborers, and laws of nation-states. Seamen have been able to protect their legal rights in many countries. However, because ships’ are such transnational spaces, it is very difficult to demonstrate a “genuine link” between a ship and its nation of registration, making it also very difficult to create international laws that protect everyone involved evenly.⁵⁰⁸

Further Avenues for Research

Emily Rosenberg observes that “No world or global history can be comprehensive.”⁵⁰⁹ Few would argue with this statement, and it is certainly true of this dissertation. There are many different kinds of networks. The networks considered in this dissertation were mainly economic in nature and connected to shipbuilding and shipping. Their success was dependent on imperial expansion and control, so there were many political links to these networks as well. Global networks like these were

⁵⁰⁵ For more on shipping flags, see Colin Stewart, *Flags, Funnels, and Hull Colours* (New York: Adlard Coles, 1963); and *Merchant Marine House Flags and Stack Insignia*, First Edition, (U.S. Navy Hydrographic Office under the authority of the secretary of the Navy, 1969); and <http://pc.gc.ca/en/lhn-nhs/ns/halifax/decouvrir- discover/ma-signal> (accessed 10/10/17).

⁵⁰⁶ Fink, *Sweatshops at Sea*, 2.

⁵⁰⁷ Fink, *Sweatshops at Sea*, especially Part III: “A World Fit for Seafarers?” pp. 145-202.

⁵⁰⁸ For a detailed discussion of these legal difficulties and the idea of proving a “genuine link” between nation and ship, see Myres S. McDougal, William T. Burke, Ivan A. Vlasic, “The Maintenance of Public Order at Sea and the Nationality of Ships,” *Faculty Scholarship Series*, Paper 2610, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 54 (1960), 25-106.

⁵⁰⁹ Emily S. Rosenberg, *Transnational Currents in a Shrinking World*, 4.

complex and, though they may be defined based on one historical category or subject, there were always many more links connecting diverse people through these networks that escape notice. As such, there were many historical themes that were touched on in this dissertation that could still be expanded. In most cases, omissions were due to the framing of the research, which was guided by *Balclutha*. An example of this can be found in the lack of attention to the two World Wars. Both of these wars had little impact on *Balclutha's* story, but this does not mean of course that transnational commercial shipping during wartime should not be considered as having an important impact on world history. In some cases, however, the omissions are due to the limitations of the researcher. It is my hope, therefore, that these are subjects that can be revisited in later works by historians.

First, race was not addressed nearly as much as it probably should have been. Certainly, race was an important factor in the exploitation of salmon canners, but race does not seem to have been as much of a factor in the lives of sailors, despite there often being multiple ethnicities. For example, ship cooks, as exemplified in Chapter 3, were often non-European. Race was oddly absent in sources, especially in regard to the Empire of Teak, as based on MacDonald's accounts. While we see definite examples of racial injustices and inequalities in MacDonald's accounts, we also see the success of some Burmese, such as Bah Oh. The letters sent between Bah Oh and the BBTC managers indicated a business relationship of equal respect. However, the fact that some Burmese, like Bah Oh, might have been successful, or that most of the BBTC capital was from non-European investors, does not mean that race was not a factor in who was successful and who was oppressed in this violent corporate Empire.⁵¹⁰

⁵¹⁰ For another account of life working in Burma for the BBTC, see A.A. Lawson, *Life in the Burmese Jungle* (Sussex, UK: the Book Guild Limited, 1983). Because this memoir is about the last two decades of the British political presence in Burma, which is a half century after *Balclutha* was built, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Lawson's account, written many years after his work in Burma, was in response to the increased discussion of the injustices of imperialism, which frustrated him. Contrarily, Lawson argues that life working in the jungle was difficult for European and locals alike and believes the British "brought peace and security to populations in countries which had lived for centuries in fear of internal wars and often unbelievable brutalities," 2.

Race in Burma has been studied by recent historians like Jonathan Saha.⁵¹¹ Interestingly, Saha has devoted much of his work to researching the role of animals, such as elephants, in colonial Burma and how the relationship between colonial perception and exploitation of these animals relates to their exploitation and perception of Burma and its people. As Saha explained, “Uncovering how physical and affective encounters with animals were mediated through colonial discourse reveals another rhetorical strategy through which members of British colonial society attempted to differentiate themselves from the colonized population.”⁵¹²

Another way Saha looks at race is through colonial law.⁵¹³ Though this study has touched on many national laws in connection to ships, shipbuilding, and shipping, it is by no means a comprehensive study of legal history. In this dissertation’s consideration of the Empire of Teak, for example, after the British state took control of Burma, the Empire of Teak would have become more and more the British Empire via implementation of colonial law. It could also be that as British colonial law took deeper root, the racial divisions gained strength. Law can be further discussed in areas like seamen’s rights, or the rights of the many other laborers connected through *Balclutha*’s history. Often, the lives of seamen had direct impact on law and empire.⁵¹⁴ As demonstrated, it was ship owners and other private enterprises, like boarding and shipping houses, that determined a sailor’s fate, especially in *Balclutha*’s time, but sailors would eventually unionize and gain rights via state systems of legal justice.

In that regard, while work was an important thread throughout this study that connected people, labor movements were not a large topic. Part of the reason for this was, again, the focus of the research. For example, many of the labor movements revolving around dockyards gained strength more

⁵¹¹ See, for example, Jonathan Saha, “Whiteness, Masculinity and the Ambivalent Embodiment of ‘British Justice’ in Colonial Burma”, *Cultural and Social History* (Latest Articles, 2017), 1-16; see also Jonathan Saha’s blog, <https://colonizinganimals.blog/category/race-and-ethnicity/> (accessed 9/28/17).

⁵¹² Jonathan Saha, “Among the Beasts of Burma: Animals and the Politics of Colonial Sensibilities, c. 1840-1940,” *Journal of Social History*, Volume 48, Number 4 (Summer 2015), 910-932, 925.

⁵¹³ Jonathan Saha, *Law, Disorder, the Colonial State: Corruption in Burma C. 1900* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

⁵¹⁴ See *Law, Labour, and Empire: Comparative Perspectives on Seafarers, c. 1500-1800*, Maria Fusaro, Bernard Allaire, Richard J. Blakemore and Tijn Vannesste, eds. (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015).

after *Balclutha* was built. World War I was an especially tumultuous period for labor movements with strikes and riots.⁵¹⁵ In the following decades as well, shipyard labor movements gained strength to the point where even as late as the 1970s these laborers, in Glasgow especially, were considered “on the verge of revolution.”⁵¹⁶

Naturally, due to the transnational nature of this study, the way contemporaries pursued the construction of nationalism and national identity were not directly addressed as central to the analysis. In fact, much of the dissertation was centered on Zaha’s concept of national indifference, which stresses individuals’ historic ability to ignore or exploit nationalist projects strategically. That is, especially in regard to those connected to *Balclutha* through their work, national identity was not necessarily as much of a consideration as their day-to-day livelihood. However, just because the development of national identities was not evident in this study – indeed, this study has shown the opposite - does not mean it did not happen and was not a part of the imperial networks analyzed here. In fact, as Tamson Pietsch has argued, when it comes to passenger shipping and travel across these networks during the same period of *Balclutha*’s life, the development of national identity was likely much stronger than it was, say, for multi-national sailors on a merchant sailing ship.⁵¹⁷

Another absent historical theme was culture. In some ways, however, what this dissertation has revealed about the ambiguity or indifference of national identity can also be applied to culture. Culture can refer to a number of different categories including, for example, national cultures, mariners’ culture, or socio-economic culture. Each of these groupings or definitions is complicated by the transnational

⁵¹⁵ See, for example, Laura Tabili, *“We Ask for British Justice”: Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); Alastair J. Reid, *The Tide of Democracy: Shipyard Workers and Social Relations in Britain, 1870-1950* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); and William Kenefick, *“Rebellious and Contrary”: The Glasgow Dockers, 1853-1932* (Tuckwell Press, 2000).

⁵¹⁶ Reid, *The Tide of Democracy: Shipyard Workers and Social Relations in Britain*, 179

⁵¹⁷ See, for example, Tamson Pietsch, “A British Sea: Making Sense of Global Space in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Global History* Vol. 5, No. 3 (November 2010), 423-446

nature of this study. Perhaps, therefore, one could consider studies that focus on the idea of cultural indifference just as much as national indifference.

And finally, one of the major critiques of world history is that certain regions, like Latin America and Africa, are too often underrepresented in many world historical studies.⁵¹⁸ Unfortunately, this study has done little to remedy this. This is, again, partly due to the study's framing around the life of *Balclutha*, going where *Balclutha* went. In that regard, it just so happened that *Balclutha* spent most of the time period covered in this dissertation based in cities that were not in these regions.⁵¹⁹ *Balclutha* was also working trade routes that passed through these regions occasionally, but did not involve them directly. This has some evidentiary importance as it points to the fact that global networks were not global in their coverage but rather in their reach. No world history can be comprehensive, as Rosenberg observes, and nor should they necessarily try to be. The purpose of world historical studies, as defined by Bentley and Manning, is simply to challenge conventional preconceptions and look at connections within the global community, which this dissertation does well.⁵²⁰

However, *Balclutha* did visit both regions and trips around the Horn of South America could certainly be expanded on to be more inclusive world historical topic for the study of South America's global connections. Further, while this dissertation focused on the material of teak, there were other materials that were a part of *Balclutha* that came from other parts of the world. For example, mahogany was used, although sparingly, as part of the decoration and furniture in the saloon. Mahogany is native

⁵¹⁸ For discussion of this, see Adelman, Jeremy, Erick Langer, Susan Besse, Lauren Benton, and Micol Siegel, "Forum: Placing Latin America in World History," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84 (2004), 391-446; Larua Benton, "No Longer Odd Region Out: Repositioning Latin America in World History," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 84 (2004), 423-430; Andreas Eckert, "Fitting Africa into World History: A Historiographical Exploration," in B. Stuchtey and E. Fuchs, eds., *Writing World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Steven Feierman, "African Histories and the Dissolution of World History," in Robert Bates et al., eds., *Africa and the Discipline: The Contributions of Research in Africa to Social Sciences and Humanities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁵¹⁹ *Balclutha* did likely carry guano at one point, the trade of which is the topic of Gregory T. Cushman, *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World: A Global Ecological History* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁵²⁰ See discussion in the Introduction.

to Central and South America. It is likely, therefore, that the mahogany that was used for *Balclutha* came from Belize.⁵²¹ There is surely great potential in further analysis of this particular commodity chain, and the many commodity chains for other materials that were used in *Balclutha's* construction. Some of them might be as rich (or more rich) in history as the one discussed in this dissertation.

Our Journey Ends, but *Balclutha's* Continues

There is nothing overtly marvelous about the story of the *Balclutha*. It did not strike an iceberg and sink, killing hundreds of people on its maiden voyage, like the *Titanic*. It was not a decorated ship of war with a long adventurous voyage alone around the world, like the *CSS Shenandoah*. *Balclutha* was very much an average merchant ship for its period. But, as I hope this history has shown, there is marvel in the mean. Its commonality is what makes *Balclutha* a great example and jump-off point for discussion of many important, broader, world historical trends of the period.

Looking at the global history of nineteenth century shipping through the lens of one ship challenges many traditional historical definitions and framings. When working with large-scale history, it is often convenient to fall back on more generalized definitions that are a throwback to nation-based histories. For example, it is easy to claim *Balclutha* as an American merchant ship, since it has spent most of its life registered under the United States flag. However, looking at the life of *Balclutha* demonstrates that American, British, and indeed any national shipbuilding and shipping industries are not so easily defined. The success, and even the very existence of these industries, required the participation of countless individuals and groups of individuals from many different backgrounds. These historical trends exemplify a world system that was dependent on various negotiations and collaborations. This is not to say that nation-based studies of ships are wrong or inaccurate; there have

⁵²¹ See Jennifer L. Anderson, *Mahogany: The Costs of Luxury in Early America* (Harvard University Press, 2012); and Samuel Bridgewater, *A Natural History of Belize: Inside the Maya Forest* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press in Association with the Natural History Museum, London, 2012).

been generations of wonderful scholarship describing shipping in nationalist narratives. However, we can be more precise in our descriptions and labels when discussing these subjects.

Balclutha flies the American flag, indeed, but it has also flown the flag of the United Kingdom and the flag of Hawaii. It was even nationless for a period and has concurrently flown the flag of its owners, like MacMillan and the Alaska Packers Association. *Balclutha* has traveled across the Atlantic, around Cape Horn seventeen times, traveled across the Pacific, and thus visited many different countries and world regions. It has been home to many different people from many different backgrounds. So, is *Balclutha* an American ship, a British ship, a Glaswegian ship, a MacMillan ship, a San Franciscan ship, an Alaska Packers ship, or a Pacific ship? I would argue that *Balclutha* is, and has been, all of these. And, though its identity as such can be traced as linear and perhaps even exclusive (at least officially, in terms of ownership or registration), the transnational realities of its people's lives is undeniable. Thus, it is also something else entirely.

In the morning of the Age of Sail program, as the lads are nearing the end of their service on *Balclutha*, following an early breakfast and after-meal cleanup work, the captain takes them into the shelter deck where they can sit, relax a bit, and discuss what they have learned. They talk about the difficult life of a sailor, different styles of leadership, the importance of working together in diverse teams, and how they can apply these lessons to their everyday lives. Then, they line up in their crew lines at the all-hands position on the main deck and begin to lower their classroom flag, which was raised up to the main course yard the afternoon before. As the flag is lowered by the Deckhand Crew, the entire class sings "Leave Her Johnny," a shanty that was traditionally sung as sailors were coming back into port after a long voyage. The verses can change depending on who is singing it, but on Age of Sail, the first couple verses are as follows:

Oh the times were hard and the wages low,
Leave her, Johnny, leave her

And now ashore, we must go
And it's time for us to leave her

Chorus
Oh! Leaver her, Johnny, leave her,
Oh, leave her, Johnny, leaver her,
For the voyage is done and the winds don't blow,
And it's time for us to leave her

Well there's no more voyages around Cape Horn,
Leave her, Johnny, leave her
Where you know the weather's never warm,
And it's time for us to leave her⁵²²

The tune for “Leave Her Johnny” is actually a rather somber one, which contrasts with its message of the joy these sailors were feeling for being able to finally leave the ship after a miserable existence at sea. Once the flag is lowered, the captain calls the crew to give out three loud cheers: one for their silent parent chaperones and teacher; one, especially loud, for themselves and all the work they have done and lessons that they have learned; and finally, one for the ship and all the people whose lives have been connected to it.

As the captain explains, *Balclutha* has lived a long life with many different owners and careers. It has travelled all over the world and been an important part of the lives of countless individuals for over 130 years. People have lived on *Balclutha*, people have died on *Balclutha*, and people have even been born on *Balclutha*. Through direct experience, each student that comes aboard and lives eighteen hours in the shoes of a sailor is now connected to all those that came before them. They all become a part of the important living maritime history of *Balclutha*, San Francisco, and the world.

The lads are encouraged to return and visit, and the readers of this dissertation are encouraged to do the same. Not just to *Balclutha*, but the many ships like it that now serve as museum ships and teachers worldwide. Walk their decks; view their bunks, saloons, houses, and holds; pay attention to their exhibits and the many years of research and development that went into them; and think of the

⁵²² Lyrics and music for this shanty and all of the shanties used on Age of Sail are located here: <https://maritime.org/chanteys/away-for-rio.htm> (accessed 10/07/17).

thousands of lives that each of these ships impacted throughout their histories, from shipbuilders, to resource extractors, to sailors, to consumers, and finally, to educators and students.

A Note on Archival and Primary Sources

San Francisco Maritime Research Center (SFMRC)

The SFMRC has the majority of the secondary and primary source documents needed to construct a history of *Balclutha*. This is the result of decades of diligent research done by museum historians, librarians, and archivists since the museum acquired *Balclutha* in 1954. For example, Karl Kortum, the founder and original museum curator, put ads in local newspapers in many of the cities around the world that *Balclutha* frequented, hoping to find descendants of those that served on or were masters of this ship. He then interviewed them and, for many, retained correspondence for the rest of their lives. The resulting treasure trove of primary source material that was collected thanks to the work of those that came before me has been invaluable for my research. These materials - including newspaper articles, letters, personal accounts, photos, and research notes - have been categorized and compiled into binders for ease of access. The *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders*, for example, were especially useful for providing first-hand accounts of *Balclutha's* story and for the analysis of life onboard *Balclutha*. The SFMRC also houses copies of many of the primary sources regarding *Balclutha's* construction, such as the *Charles Connell Ship Account Books*, the originals of which are in Glasgow, as will be discussed further below.

The SFMRC also contains unpublished secondary source overviews of *Balclutha's* history. Most of these were commissioned or written for internal museum uses, such as educational curriculum, tour information, and exhibit construction. One such source is the *Ship Balclutha, Historical American Engineering Record (HAER), No. CA-54*. The researcher of this record, Norman J. Brouwer, visited Glasgow, San Francisco, and scoured archives to compile a general history of *Balclutha*. It is a detailed overview of *Balclutha's* life, beginning with its construction in Glasgow and chronicling its careers and voyages. These and the other research done by SFMRC archivists and historians over the last sixty years have been essential especially for compiling the complete history of *Balclutha's* life that exists in this

dissertation's "Life and Times of *Balclutha*" sections. These sections expand on the *HAER* by combining its information with other such chronicles and primary sources not used in the *HAER*, especially those involving the sources of construction materials. The greater argument of this dissertation further expands on the *HAER* by, as explained in the dissertation's introduction, placing the story of *Balclutha's* life in a world historical context.

Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library

These archives house a collection of the remaining records for a number of Clyde shipbuilding companies such as Charles Connell, the company that built *Balclutha*. Many Charles Connell records survive, including account books, ledgers, and letter books. Though some of the records relating specifically to *Balclutha's* construction exist as copies at the SFMRC, it was useful to view the originals. It was also necessary to expand my research and view many Charles Connell ledgers, accounts, and letters that did not relate directly to *Balclutha* in order to form a detailed analysis of the complex shipbuilding business connections of Glasgow at the time. Further, the accounts relating to timber, specifically, helped formulate the beginning of the teak commodity chain, which led to the archives at the University of Glasgow and London Metropolitan.

University of Glasgow Archives

Commodity chain links discovered at the Mitchell Library led here. While Mitchell houses records specifically for Glaswegian shipbuilding companies, University of Glasgow has a collection of other Glaswegian businesses and companies, including Edmiston and Mitchells, a lumber importing company that had direct business with Charles Connell in the period of *Balclutha's* construction. Viewing Edmiston and Mitchells records furthered the research goal of reconstructing the commodity chain, connecting *Balclutha* to teak extraction in Burma. One very important addition contained in the Edmiston and Mitchells records were pictures of the milling and processing of Burmese teak.

London Metropolitan Archives

These archives contain records for a number of London-based businesses, including companies that specialized in extracting and exporting teak from Burma. One such company was Steel Brothers, the records of which contained even more images that contributed to this study. However, these archives were an essential visit for this dissertation mainly for the records of the Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation (BBTC), which was by far the largest extractor and exporter of teak in Burma during the period of *Balclutha's* construction. These records contained documents detailing information on company exports and investors, including share holder letters and lists that were key to analyzing the transnational nature of this company. These records also contained documents like the MacDonald memoir and the Mg Bah Oh correspondences that provided first-hand accounts of daily life and business while working for the BBTC. Such documents revealed many important details about the role of local businessmen in teak extraction enterprises and the role of company employees as soldiers to expand company and British state influence in Burma.

Hawaii State Archives

These archives were used to investigate some of the ways in which *Balclutha's* history intersected with that of Hawaii. This includes the history of crew members who were resident there and details about ship registration in Hawaii and at Hawaiian consulates abroad, such as in San Francisco. The museum articles on ship registration and the documents detailing communications with the Hawaiian consulate in San Francisco demonstrate *Balclutha's* connection to important Hawaiian business ties to California and the ability of businessmen to circumvent national maritime laws in order to achieve their goals.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

“1954 – A look-in on negotiation with Mrs. Kissinger for the ship including how Capt. Hardhead and Mrs. Spreckels failed to ‘put the cork in the bottle’.” In *To Acquire the Pacific Queen*, Compiled by Karl Kortum, 1995. SFMRC.

“1989 – letter describing negotiations and how STAR OF INDIA contributed to BALCLUTHA save and how BALCLUTHA contributed to STAR OF INDIA revival.” In *To Acquire the Pacific Queen*, Compiled by Karl Kortum, 1995. SFMRC.

“An Evening Aboard a Salmon Packet,” Recollections of Captain C. Johansen, mate of the *Star of Alaska*.
Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 2. SFMRC.

Baker III, Elijah. *Introduction to Steel Shipbuilding*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1953.

“*Balclutha* articles, Feb 29 1888.” *Balclutha* records, SFMRC, HDC 1442.

“*Balclutha* Articles, 1897.” *Balclutha* records, SFMRC, HDC 1442.

“Barclay Shareholder List, Sept. 1889 and 1894.” Mitchell Library, Glasgow, TD265/21.

“Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Limited: Statistics on Production and Working Costs in Burma.”
London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40331.

“Born at Sea on the *Balclutha*.” *The Yarmouth Telegram*, June 8, 1899. In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC.

Bunker, John. “220,000 Walked.” *San Diego Tribune*, August 19, 1959. In *To Acquire the Pacific Queen*,
Compiled by Karl Kortum, 1995. SFMRC.

Canright, Stephen. “Ode to a Scottish Ship.” Revised October 2012. SFMRC.

“Captain Durkee, Aged 78, Retired, is Heart Victim.” *Haverhill Evening Gazette*, October 18, 1938. In
Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1. SFMRC.

“Captain P. A. MacDonald conversation,” 1959. In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1*. SFMRC.

“Cargo is King.” *Balclutha* Museum Ship Exhibit, San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park.

Charles Connell Ship Account Books, No. 147. Mitchell Library, Glasgow, T-CO 10/1.

Charles Connell Company Ledgers, 1878-1885. Mitchell Library, Glasgow, T-CO 1/4.

Charles Connell Company Ledgers, 1886-1893. Mitchell Library, Glasgow, T/CO 1/5.

Charles Connell General Letter Book, July 1885-August 1886. Mitchell Library, Glasgow, T-CO 11/8.

Conwell, Captain T.C., and Karl Kortum. *Pacific Queen Restoration, Weekly Reports: August 1954 – July 1955.* SFMRC.

“Conversation with Captain Frank Sommer, K.K., Maritime Museum.” April, 1965. In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1.* SFMRC.

“Correspondence Between Rangoon, Bombay and Mg Bah Oh Regarding his Elephant Buying Business in Burma.” *Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Limited Records.* London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40474.

Dana, Richard Henry Jr. *Two Years before the Mast.* Edited with an introduction by Thomas Philbrick. London: Penguin Classics, 1986.

Durkee, Alfred H. *A Reminiscence by Alfred H. Durkee.* In *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binders.* SFMRC.

Edmiston and Mitchells Ledgers, 1876-1891. University of Glasgow Archives, UGD169/1/4.

Edmiston and Mitchells Letter Books, 1876-1889. University of Glasgow Archives, UGD169/5/3.

Edmiston and Mitchells Photo Albums. University of Glasgow Archives, UGD169/17/1-3.

“Global Teak Import Statistics 1905-42.” London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40213.

“Grangemouth Tends Forth Light Boys.” *The Grangemouth Advertiser*, September 11, 1954. In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1.* SFMRC.

Guides to Hawaiian Registered Vessels. Hawaii State Archives, 387.2 H3.

“Hawaiian Flag Once Used to Effect Ship Transfer.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 6, 1959.

“Hawaiian Office Abroad San Francisco 1900.” Hawaii State Archives, 404-41-647.

Hood, Vice Admiral Sir Samuel (1762-1814), papers. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, UK.

“Interview with Captain Francis J. Sommer,” 1604 Fern place, Vallejo (phone: 22680), November 19, 1955. In *Balclutha History and List of Voyages Binder*, SFMRC.

Kissinger, Rose. *Career of the Pacific Queen – 1933 through 1954*. SFMRC.

“Letter from Captain A. G. Griffiths of Cheshire, England to Oswald Brett,” October 31, 1955. In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1*. SFMRC.

“Letter from Captain Norman J. Pearce to Karl Kortum,” March 24, 1954. In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC.

“Letter from Charles Connell to A. & D.G. Reid.” October 2, 1886. *Charles Connell letters*. Mitchell Library, Glasgow, T-CO 11/9.

“Letter from Inda S. Dick to Karl Kortum,” date unknown, but reply was 3 December 1970. In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1*, SFMRC.

“Letter from James Binnie to Karl Kortum, then Director of the San Francisco Maritime Museum,” January 19th, 1956. In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 1*, SFMRC.

“Letter from John Skinner (who was born in Sonoma and sailed on the *Balclutha* to England when he was 19 in 1890) to Karl Kortum,” December 1955. In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC.

“Letter from Mrs. Carroll L. Dunn to Karl Kortum,” November 22, 1954. In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC

“Letter from Charles Connell to R. Cochran & Co. of Glasgow, October 25th, 1886.” *Charles Connell Letters*. Mitchell Library, Glasgow, T-CO 11/9.

“Letter from Charles H. Hatfield to Karl Kortum,” September 5, 1956. In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC.

“Letter from Pearce’s son to Karl Kortum, November 19, 1960.” In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder*

2. SFMRC.

“List of Shareholders, August 8, 1872.” Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Records. London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40218.

MacDonald, Alfred. “My Experiences in Burma and Siam, 1881-1900.” *Bombay Burma Trading Corporation Limited Records*. London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40647.

“Management of Teak Plantations for Solid Wood Products.” *International Society of Tropical Foresters Special Report*, December 2009. Reprinted with permission of the Society of American Foresters: Proceedings, SAF National Convention, International Trade and Markets Track, 30 September – 4 October 2009, Orlando Florida.

Marriage Index, Oahu, 1832-1910, Vol. 1. Hawaii State Archives.

McGinty, Jack E. “Notes on Balclutha and Seaman’s Strike.” In *Balclutha – Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC.

Money, W. T. *Observations on the Expediency of Shipbuilding at Bombay, for the Service of His Majesty and of the East India Company*. London, UK: Longman, 1811.

Newby, Eric. *Learning the Ropes: An Apprentice on the Last of the Windjammers*. Random House Times Books, 1999.

The Opelousas Courier, August 12, 1893.

Register of Hawaiian Vessels 1866-1900. Collector of General Customs, Hawaii State Archives.

“Restoring the PACIFIC QUEEN (letter to Harrison ‘Harrie’ Dring.’ This includes a ploy involving Jerry MacMullen and the STAR OF INDIA that resulted in Mrs. Kissinger coming to terms on a price for PACIFIC QUEEN.” *To Acquire the Pacific Queen*, Compiled by Karl Kortum, 1995. SFMRC.

Robinson, Dunn, & Co. Sales Ledgers, 1886-1887. University of Glasgow Archives, UGD 203/2/7.

Seely, Maj. Gen. *Launch, a Life-Boat Book*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932.

Seventeenth Annual Report of the General Meeting of Shareholders of the Bombay Burmah Trading

Corporation, December 2, 1880. Bombay: N.R. Ráiníná at the Union Press.

<https://scholar.google.com/> (accessed 8/2017)

“Ship *Balclutha* Crew List,” Port Townsend, 1901. In *Balclutha - Masters and Crew Binder 2*, SFMRC.

“Shipping Notes.” *Evening Bulletin*, Honolulu, June 3, 1901.

“Speech to shareholders,” *Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Records*. London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40213.

The State Rights Democrat, May 18, 1888.

“Statistics relating to the import of teak into the United Kingdom, continental Europe, America, Australasia and Africa between 1875 and 1942, with related papers.” London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40155.

Steel Brothers Records, London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/208/MS29565.

Stern, Max. *Price of Salmon*. *The Daily News*, San Francisco, 1922. SFMRC (HD9469 S23 U576 1922aa); also available at <https://archive.org/details/SternPriceOfSalmon>, accessed 9/30/2017.

“Telegram and Wreck Report (1904).” *Balclutha* (ship 3m) Records, 1901-1904. SFMRC, HDC1176.

“Total shipments of corporation and opposition.” *Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Limited: Statistics on Production and Working Costs in Burma*. London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/207/MS40331.

“Trouble on *Balclutha*.” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Honolulu, July 18, 1900.

“Trouble on *Balclutha*.” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Honolulu, June 4, 1901.

Tennier, John. *Memoirs*. SFMRC, HDC 371.

Zimmerman, John. “The *Balclutha*’s Last.” *SF Examiner & Chronicle*, August, 14, 1966. In *Balclutha History and List of Voyages Folder*. SFMRC.

Secondary Sources

Adas, Michael, ed. *Islamic and European Expansion: The Forging of a Global Order*. Philadelphia: Temple Press, 1993.

Adelman, Jeremy, Erick Langer, Susan Besse, Lauren Benton, and Micol Siegel. "Forum: Placing Latin America in World History." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84 (2004): 391-446.

Agrawal, Arun. *Environmentality: Technologies of Government and the Making of Subjects*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Andaya, Barbara Watson. "Oceans Unbounded: Transversing Asia across 'Area Studies.'" *The Journal of Asia Studies* 65 (2006): 669-690. Republished in a revised form in the e-journal Japan Focus, <http://japanfocus.org/products/details/2410>, accessed 10/10/17.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso, 2006 (revised edition).

Anderson, Jennifer L. *Mahogany: The Costs of Luxury in Early America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Andrews, Thomas G. *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Antunes, C.A.P. "Cutting corners: when borders, culture and empire do not matter," inaugural lecture on the acceptance of her position of professor of History of Global Economic Networks: Merchants, Entrepreneurs and Empires at Leiden University, June 9, 2017.

Armitage, David. "Making the Empire British: Scotland in the Atlantic World, 1542-1707." *Past and Present* No. 155, (1997): 34-63.

Arnold, A.J. "'Of Not Much Significance?' the Inclusion of Naval and Foreign Business in the UK Shipbuilding Output Series, 1825-1914." *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 61, No.11 (1999): 61-85.

Arnold, David, and Erich DeWald. "Everyday Technology in South and Southeast Asia: An Introduction."

Modern Asian Studies 46.1 (2012): 1-17.

Arunchalam, B. Ed. *Essays in Maritime Studies*. Mumbai: Maritime History Society Mumbai, 1998.

Asbury, Herbert. *The Barbary Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underworld*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1933.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds.. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Aso, Michitake. "Profits or People? Rubber Plantations and Everyday Technology in Rural Indochina," *Modern Asian Studies* 46.1 (2012): 19-45.

Bacon, Daniel. *Walking San Francisco on the Barbary Coast Trail, Second Edition*. Illustrations by Yongki Yoon. New York: Quicksilver Press, 1997.

Baily, Kevin M. *The Western Flyer: Steinbeck's Boat, the Sea of Cortez, and the Saga of Pacific Fisheries*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Balachandran, G. "Workers in the World: Indian Seafarers, c. 1870s-1940s." In *Global Histories of Work*. Edited by Andreas Eckert: 125-145. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2016.

Ballantyne, Tony, and Antoinette Burton. *Empires and the Reach of the Global, 1870-1945*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012.

Barendse, Rene. *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century*. Armonk: Sharpe, 2002.

Barton, Greg. *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Barton, Greg, Brett M. Bennett. 'Environmental Conservation and Deforestation in India 1855-1947: A Reconsideration,' *Itinerario: The International Journal of the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction* 32/2 (Fall, 2008): 83-104.

_____. "Forestry as Foreign Policy Anglo-Siamese Relations and the Origins of Britain's Informal Empire in the Teak Forests of Northern Siam, 1883-1925." *Itinerario*, Vol. XXXIV, 2, (2010): 65-86.

_____. 'There is a Pleasure in the Pathless Woods': The Culture of Forestry in British India,' *Britain and the World*, 3/2 (September, 2010): 219-234.

_____. 'A Case Study in the Environmental History of Gentlemanly Capitalism: The Battle Between Gentleman Teak Merchants and State Foresters in Burma and Siam, 1827-1901.' In *Africa, Empire and Globalization*. Toyin Falola, ed. Durham: Carolina University Press, 2011: 317-330.

Bayly, Christopher. *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830*. London: Longman, 1989.

_____. *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*. Malden: Blackwell, 2004.

Beckert, Sven. *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014.

Beinart, William and Lotte Hughes. *Environment and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Bender, Daniel E., and Jana K. Lipman, *Making the Empire Work: Labor and United States Imperialism*. New York: New York University Press, 2016.

Bentley, Jerry, Renate Bridenthal, and Kären Wigen, eds., *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.

_____, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of World History*. Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 2011.

Benton, Laura. "No Longer Odd Region Out: Repositioning Latin America in World History." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 84 (2004): 423-430

_____. "How to Write the History of the World." <http://www.bu.edu/historic/hs/march04.htm#2>, accessed 9/25/2017.

Beverley, Eric Lewis. *Hyderabad, British India, and the World: Muslim Networks and Minor Sovereignty*,

- c. 1850-1950. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Biggs, David. *Quagmire: Nation-building and Nature in the Mekong Delta*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2010.
- _____. "Small Machines in the Garden: Everyday Technology and Revolution in the Mekong Delta." *Modern Asian Studies* 46.1 (2012): 47-70.
- Blair, Jennifer, ed. *Frontiers of Commodity Chain Research*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- Blake, George. *Down to the Sea: the Romance of the Clyde, its Ships and Shipbuilders*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937.
- Blalock, Barney. *The Oregon Shanghaiers: Columbia River Crimping from Astoria to Portland*. Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014.
- Bollmer, Grant. *Inhuman Networks: Social Media and the Archeology of Connection*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.
- Bolster, Jeffrey. *The Mortal Sea: Fishing the Atlantic in the Age of Sail*. Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Brautaset and Stig Tenold. "Lost in Calculation?" Norwegian Merchant Shipping in Asia, 1870-1914." In *Research in Maritime History No. 43. Maritime History as Global History*. Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia, eds. St. John's, Newfoundland, 2010: 203-221.
- Bray, Francesca. Peter A. Coclanis, Edda L. Fields-Black, Dagmar Schäfer, eds. *Rice: Global Networks and New Histories*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Breman, Jan. *Taming the Coolie Beast: Plantation Society and the Colonial Order in Southeast Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Bridgewater, Samuel. *A Natural History of Belize: Inside the Maya Forest*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press in Association with the Natural History Museum, London, 2012.

Broeze, Frank. "Underdevelopment and Dependency: Maritime India during the Raj." *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 18, no. 3 (1984): 429-457.

Brouwer, Norman J., Researcher. *Ship Balclutha, Historical American Engineering Record (HAER), No. CA-54*. San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park, 1991.

Brown, Ian. "British Financial Advisors in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 12, No.2 (1978).

Browne, Janet. "Biogeography and Empire." In *Cultures of Natural History*. Jardine et al., eds. 305-321. Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Bryant, Raymond. *The Political Ecology of Forestry in Burma, 1824-1994*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996.

_____. "Burma and the Politics of Teak: Dissecting a Resource Curse," In *A History of Natural Resources in Asia*, edited by Greg Bankoff and Peter Boomgaard, 143-162. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.

Bulley, Anne. *The Bombay Country Ships, 1790-1833*. Routledge, 2000.

Burbank, Jane, and Frederick Cooper. *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Burke, Edmund III, and Kenneth Pomeranz, eds.. *The Environment and World History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

Burningham, Nick. "Notes on the Watercraft of Thanh Hoa Province, Northern Vietnam." *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 23.3 1993: 229-238.

Bushnell, Amy Turner, and Jack P. Greene. "Peripheries, Centers, and the Construction of Early Modern American Empires: An Introduction." In *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, edited by Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy. Introduction by Jack P. Greene and Amy Turner Bushnell. Routledge, 2002.

- Cain, P.J., and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000*. London: Longmans, 2001.
- Cage, R.A., ed. *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914*. London: Croom Helm, 1985.
- Cameron, Stephen. *Belfast Shipbuilders: A Titanic Tale*. Belfast: Colourpoint Books, 2011.
- Castle, Colin, and Iain MacDonald. *Glenlee: The Life & Times of a Clyde-Built Cape Horner*. Glasgow: Brown, Son, & Ferguson, 2005.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Chang, Kornel. *Pacific Connections: The Making of the US-Canadian Borderlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
- Chapman, Dennis. "The New Shipwright Building Company of Dundee, 1826 to 1831." *The Economic History Review*, 10.2 (Nov. 1940): 148-151.
- Chaudhuri, K.N. *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Chilcote, Ronald ed. *Imperialism: Theoretical Directions*. Amherst: Humanity Books, 2000.
- Chou, Cynthia. *Indonesian Sea Nomads: Money, Magic and Fear of the Orang Suku Laut*. London, 2003.
- Ciciliot, Furio. "Nails in Shipbuilding (13th-20th Centuries)." In *Boats Ships and Shipyards: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology, Venice 200*, edited by Carlo Beltrame, 119-123. Oxbow Books, 2003.
- Clancey, G. "Seeing the Timber for the Forest: The Wood in Japanese Capitalism." In *A History of Natural Resources in Asia: The Wealth of Nature*, edited by Greg Bankoff and Peter Boomaard. Palgrave, 2007.
- Coggins, Chris. *The Tiger and the Pangolin: Nature, Culture, and Conservation in China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003.
- Conrad, Agnes C. "Hawaiian Registered Vessels, 1800-1900." Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1978.

Conway, Stephen. *Britannia's Auxiliaries: Continental Europeans and the British Empire, 1740-1800*.

Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Cooper, Frederick. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley: University of

California Press, 2005.

Craig, Robin. "A Note on Shipbuilding in the Port of Sunderland" *International Journal of Maritime*

History, 3 (1991): 109-119.

Creighton, Margaret S. *Rites & Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Crimmin, Patricia K. "'A Great Object with Us to Procure this Timber...': The Royal Navy's Search of Ship

Timber in the Eastern Mediterranean and Southern Russia, 1803-1815." *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (1992): 83-115.

Crosby, Alfred. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Cunliffe, Barry. *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and Its Peoples, 8000 BC - AD 1500*. Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2001.

Cushman, Gregory T. *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World: A Global Ecological History*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

D'Arcy, Paul. *The People of the Sea: Environment, Identity, and History in Oceania*. Honolulu: University

of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Davids, Karel. "Seamen's Organizations and Social Protest in Europe, c. 1300-1825." *International Review*

of Social History, vol. 39, No. 4 (1994): 145-169.

Diamond, Jared M. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*. New York: WW Norton, 1998.

Desmond, Charles. *Wooden Ship-Building*. Lanham, MD: Vestal Press, 1998.

De Souza, Philip. *Seafaring and Civilization: Maritime Perspectives on World History*. London: Profile,

2001.

Draper, N. "The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795-1800."

Economic History Review, 61.2 (2008): 432-466.

Dodson, Vita. "The Lady Ships." *The Log of Mystic Seaport* vol. 36 no.2 (Summer 1984): 59-64.

Doe, Helen. "The Smugglers' Shipbuilder: The Customs, Trades, and Vessels of A Mevagissey Shipyard, 1799-1806." *Mariner's Mirror* 92.4 (Nov.2006): 427-442.

_____ "Waiting for her ship to come in? The female investor in nineteenth-century sailing vessels."

Economic History Review, 63.1 (2010): 85-106.

_____ "The Business of Shipbuilding: Dunn and Henna of Mevagissey, 1799-1806" *International Journal of Maritime History* 18 (2006): 187-217.

Druett, Joan. *Petticoat Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea, 1820-1920*. Auckland: New Zealand: Collins Publishers, 1991.

_____ "*She Was a Sister Sailor*": *Mary Brewster's Whaling Journals, 1845-1851*, edited by Joan Druett. Westford, MA: Courier, 1992.

_____ *She Went A-Whaling: the Journal of Martha Smith Brewer Brown from Orient, Long Island, New York, around the World on the Whaling Ship Lucy Ann, 1847-1849*, edited by Anne MacKay, forward by Joan Druett. New York: Ten Percent Publishing, 1993.

_____ *Captain's Daughter, Coastman's Wife: Carrie Hubbard Davis of Orient*. New York: Philmark Lithographies, Inc., 1995.

_____ *Hen Frigates; Wives of Merchant Captains under Sail*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998.

_____ *She Captains: Heroines and Hellions of the Sea*. Simon & Schuster, 2000.

Dunn, Ross. *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion*. New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2000.

_____ "The Two World Histories," *Social Education* (September 2008): 257-263.

Eckert, Andreas. "Fitting Africa into World History: A Historiographical Exploration." In

- Writing World History*, B. Stuchtey and E. eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Elgenius, Gabriella. *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism: Celebrating Nationhood*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Elliot, John. *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Emmerson, Donald K. "The Case for a Maritime Perspective on Southeast Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 11.1 (1980): 139-145.
- Faucher, Albert. "The Decline of Shipbuilding at Quebec in the Nineteenth Century." *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue canadienne d'Economie et de Science politique*, 23.2 (May, 1957):195-215.
- Feierman, Steven. "African Histories and the Dissolution of World History." In *Africa and the Discipline: The Contributions of Research in Africa to Social Sciences and Humanities*, Robert Bates et al., eds., 167-212. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Finamore, Daniel ed., *Maritime History as World History*. Gainesville: University of Florida, 2004.
- Fink, Leon. *Sweatshops at Sea: Merchant Seamen in the World's First Globalized Industry, from 1812 to the Present*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina, 2011.
- Fischer, Michael H. "Working across the Seas: Indian Maritime Labourers in India, Britain, and in Between, 1600–1857." *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 51, No. S14 (2006): 21-45.
- Flores, Jodi Reeves, & Roeland Paardekooper, eds., *Experiments Past: histories of Experimental Archaeology*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2014.
- Friday, Chris. *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1994.
- Fusaro, Maria. "Maritime History as Global History? The Methodological Challenges and a Future

- Research Agenda," *Research in Maritime History No. 43. Maritime History as Global History*, Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia, eds. (St. John's, Newfoundland, 2010): 267-282.
- Gallagher, John, and Ronald Robinson. "The Imperialism of Free Trade." *The Economic History Review, New Series, Vol. 6, No. 1* (1953): 1-15.
- Games, Alison. *Migrations and the Origins of the English Atlantic World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- _____. "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities." *American Historical Review* (2006): 741-57.
- Gerard S. Graham. "The Ascendancy of the Sailing Ship 1850-85." *The Economic History Review, New Series*, 9.1 (1956): 74-88.
- Ghosh, Amitav. *Sea of Poppies*. London: John Murray, 2008.
- _____. *River of Smoke*. London: John Murray, 2011.
- _____. *Flood of Fire*. London: John Murray, 2016.
- Glass, Bryan S. *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End*. London: Palgrave, 2014.
- _____., and John M. Mackenzie, eds. *Scotland, Empire and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, Studies in Imperialism, 2015.
- Glete, Jan. *Navies and Nations: Warships, Navies and State Building in Europe and America, 1500-1860, Vol. I. & II*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993.
- Gould, Elijah. "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery." *American Historical Review* 112 (2007): 764-786.
- Grandi, Greg. *Fordlandia*. New York: Picador, 2009.
- Greenhill, Basil, and Ann Giffard, *The Merchant Sailing Ship: A photographic History*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970.
- Grove, Richard. *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the Origins of*

- Environmentalism, 1600-1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Guimary, Donald L. *Marumina Trabaho "Dirty Work": A History of Labor in Alaska Salmon Canning Industry*. Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2006.
- Hall, Kenneth R. *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985.
- Haller, Stephen A. *Families at Sea: An Examination of the Rich Lore of "Lady Ships" and "Hen Frigates" Circa 1850-1900*. San Francisco: National Maritime Museum Association, 1985.
- Hardie, Hamish. *The Rescue and Restoration of the Clydebuilt Three Masted Barque Glenlee*. Glasgow: The Clyde Maritime Trust, 2014.
- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Hau'ofa, Epeli. "Our Sea of Islands." *The Contemporary Pacific* 6 (1994): 147-161.
- Hawkins, Clifford W. "The Passage of Sail: European Sailing Ship Building in the South West Pacific." *The Great Circle*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (October 1983): pp. 87-97.
- Headrick, Daniel. *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850-1940*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Horridge, Adrian. *Sailing Craft of Indonesia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Howe, K. R., ed.. *Vaka Moana, Voyages of the Ancestors: The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Hung, Kuang-Chi. "When the Green Archipelago Encountered Formosa: German Forestry, American Technology, and the Japanese Empire in Taiwan (1895-1945)." Presented at the Japan's Environmental History Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 28-29, 2011 .
- Hutchins, John G.B. *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789-1914*. New York: Russell & Russell 1969.
- Igler, David. *The Great Ocean: Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush*. Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2013.

Jackson, Justin. "'The Right Kind of Men': Flexible Capacity, Chinese Exclusion, and the Imperial Origins of Maritime Labor Reform in the United States, 1898-1905." *Labor Studies in Working-Class History*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (2013): 39-60.

Johnsen, Berit Eide. "Cooperation across the North Sea: The Strategy behind the Purchase of Second-Hand British Iron and Steel Sailing Ships by Norwegian Shipowners, 1875-1925." *International Journal of Maritime History* 17 (2005): 151-169.

Johnston, Ian, and Ian Buxton. *The Battleship Builders: Constructing and Arming British Capital Ships*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2013.

Kadam, Vasant M. *Maratha Confederacy: A Study in Its Origins and Development*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1993.

Kathirithamby-Wells, Jeyamalar. *Nature and Nation: Forests and Development in Peninsular Malaysia*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2005.

Kemble, John Haskell. *San Francisco Bay: A Pictorial Maritime History*. Centreville, MD: Cornell Maritime Press, 1957.

Kenefick, William. "'Rebellious and Contrary': The Glasgow Dockers, 1853-1932". East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000.

Klein, Bernhard, and Gesa Mackenthun, eds., *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Kurlansky, Mark. *Salt: A World History*. New York: Walker and Company, 2002.

Land, Isaac. *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009.

Lawson, A.A. *Life in the Burmese Jungle*. Leicester, UK: the Book Guild Limited, 1983.

Lewis, Martin and Kären Wigen. *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*. Berkeley:

University of California Press, 1997.

Lewis, Johnman, and Hugh Murphy. "Maritime and Business History in Britain: Past, Present and Future?" *International Journal of Maritime History* 19 (2007): 239-270.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
_____, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Lynch, John. *Belfast Built Ships*. Stroud, UK: The History Press, 2012.

_____. "The Part-owners of a British Sailing Vessel, 1887-1910." *Mariner's Mirror* 58.4 (Nov. 1972): 463-465.

Lynch, Timothy G. *Beyond the Golden Gate: A Maritime History of California*. Utica, NY: Fort Schuyler Press, 2015.

MacKenzie, John M., and T.M. Devine, eds. *Scotland and the British Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

MacMullen, Jerry. *Star of India: The Log of an Iron Ship*. Berkeley: Howell-North, 1961.

Mancke, Elizabeth. "Negotiating Empire: Britain and Its Overseas Peripheries, c. 1550-1780," In *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, edited by Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy, 235-265. Introduction by Jack P. Greene and Amy Turner Bushnell. Routledge, 2002.

Manguin, Pierre-Yves, "The Southeast Asian Ship: An Historical Approach," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* XI, 2 (1980): 266-276.

Manning, Patrick. *Navigating World History*. London: Palgrave, 2003.

_____. "Global History and Maritime History." *International Journal of Maritime History* 25 (2013): 1-22.

Marsden, Ben and Crosbie Smith. *Engineering Empires: A Cultural History of Technology in Nineteenth Century Britain*. London: Palgrave, 2005.

Matsuda, Matt. *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Matteson, Kieko. "The Revival of Tradition in France's Forests," *Solutions*, Vol. 3 (February 2013).

_____. *Forests in Revolutionary France*. Cambridge University Press, Studies in Environment and History Series, 2015.

Matthews, Frederick C. *American Merchant Ships, 1850-1900*. New York: Dover Publications, 1987.

McCann, James C. *Maize and Grace: Africa's Encounter with a New World Crop, 1500-2000*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.

McCarthy, Michael. *Ships' Fastenings: From Sewn Boat to Steamship*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2005.

McDougal, Myres S., William T. Burke, and Ivan A. Vlasic. "The Maintenance of Public Order at Sea and the Nationality of Ships." *Faculty Scholarship Series, Paper 2610. The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 54 (1960): 25-116.

McGabe, Ina Baghdiantz, Gelina Harlaftis, and Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou eds. *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*. Oxford, UK: Berg, 2005.

McClean, David. "Informal Empire before the First World War," *The Economic History Review, New Series*, vol. 29, No. 2 (May, 1976): 291 – 305.

McNeill, John. *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World*. New York: Norton, 2001.

_____. *Mosquito Empires: Ecology and War in the Greater Caribbean, 1620-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Merchant Marine House Flags and Stack Insignia, First Edition, Published by the U.S. Navy Hydrographic Office under the authority of the secretary of the Navy, 1969.

Miles, Ted. "Cape Horn Stories," Maritime Lunch Lecture Series, SFMRC, 6/16/17.

Mohan Nabar, Sheela. *The Malabar-Bombay Timber Trade 1792-1823*. Serials Publications, 2007.

Moss, Michael. *The Clyde: A portrait of a River*. Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 1997.

_____. "From Cannon to Steam Propulsion: The Origins of Clyde Marine Engineering," *Mariner's Mirror* 98.4 (Nov. 2012): 467-488.

Müller, Johann. "Tree species used in historical shipbuilding and their risk of being attacked by Teredinidae," Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Unterwasserarchäologie (German Society for the Promotion of Underwater Archeology), <http://www.deguwa.org/data/File/Bohrmuschel-Mueller.pdf>, accessed 4/11/2017.

Müller, Simone M. *Wiring the World: The Social and Cultural Creation of Global Telegraph Networks*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.

Mullins, Robert and Jon Beeler, Eds. *The Transformation of British and American Naval Policy in the Pre-Dreadnought Era: Ideas, Culture and Strategy*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2016.

Murphy, Dallas. *Rounding the Horn: being a story of Williwaws and windjammers, Drake, Darwin, murdered missionaries and naked natives -- a deck's-eye view of Cape Horn*. New York: Basic Books, 2004.

Nordhoff, Charles. *Sailor Life on Man-of-War and Merchant Vessels*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1884.

Northrup, David. *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1838-1922*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Olukoju, Ayodeji. "Imperial Business Umpire: The Colonial Office, United Africa Company, Elder Dempster, and 'The Great Shipping War' of 1929-1930." In *Africa, Empire, and Globalization: Essays in Honor of A.G. Hopkins*, edited By Toyin Falola and Emily Brownell, 167-189. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2011.

Ommer, Rosemary E. "'Composed of All Nationalities': the Crews of Windsor Vessels, 1882-1899." In

- Working Men Who Got Wet: Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project, July 24-July 26, 1980, ed. Rosemary Ommer and Gerald Panting, 192-227. St. John's: Maritime History Group, 1980.
- Organization of historical sources and statistics – *Reviews of United Kingdom Statistical Sources, Vol. XVI*, "Iron and Steel," by David W. Heal and "Shipbuilding," by Anthony Slaven. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1984.
- Osterhammal, Jürgen. "Semi-Colonialism and Informal Empire in Twentieth-Century China: Towards a Framework of Analysis," *Imperialism and After*, edited by Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammal, 290-309. London: Allen and Unwin, 1986.
- Padoch, Christine, and Nancy Lee Peluso. *Borneo in Transition: People, Forests, Conservation, and Development*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Parker, Geoffery. *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Parthasarathi, Prasannan. *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600-1850*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Pearson, Michael. *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.
- Perrin, W.G. *British Flags: Their Early History, and their Development at Sea; with an Account of the Origin of the Flag as a National Device*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1922.
- Pietsch, Tamson. "A British Sea: Making Sense of Global Space in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Global History* Vol. 5, No. 3 (November 2010): 423-446.
- Pike, Ruth. "The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World." *The Journal of Economic History* 22 (1962): 348-378.
- Platt, D.C.M. *Finance, Trade, and Politics in British Foreign Policy 1815 – 1914*. London: Oxford University

Press, 1968.

Pointon, A.C. *The Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation limited, 1863-1963*. Southampton, UK:

Millbrook Press Limited, 1964.

Pollard, Sydney, and Paul Robertson. *The British Shipbuilding Industry, 1870-1914*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Polónia, Amélia. "Maritime History: A Gateway to Global History?" In *Research in Maritime History No.*

43. Maritime History as Global History, edited by Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia, 1-20. St.

John's, Newfoundland, 2010.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. *The Great Divergence: Europe, China, and the Making of the Modern World*

Economy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

_____ "Histories for a Less National Age," American Historical Association Presidential

Address, 2014. Video can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kVei7p2x3I0>

Text can be found at <http://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/presidential-addresses/kenneth-pomeranz> Accessed 4/17/2018.

Pomeranz, Kenneth, and Steven Topik. *The World that Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World*

Economy, 1400 to the Present. Armonk, NY: M.E Sharpe, 2006.

Porter, Bernard. *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-1970*. London and New

York: Longman, 1975.

Pritchard, Sara B. *Confluence: The Nature of Technology and the Remaking of the Rhône*. Cambridge:

Harvard University Press, 2011.

Radkau, Joachim. *Nature and Power: A Global History of the Environment*. Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 2008.

Ramsay, Ian. *Glenlee: How a Riveted Sailing Ship was Built*. Glasgow: The Clyde Maritime Trust, 2014.

Rangarajan, Mahesh. *Fencing the Forest: Conservation and Ecological Change in India's Central*

Provinces. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Rediker, Marcus. *The Slave Ship: A Human History*. London: Penguin Books, 2007.

_____. "Against Terracentrism: The Sea and History." Unpublished paper: video presentation of the paper is accessible online at <http://www.marcusrediker.com/Lectures/lectures.htm>, 9/25/2017.

Reid, Alastair J. *The Tide of Democracy: Shipyard Workers and Social Relations in Britain, 1870-1950*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.

Restall, Matthew. *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Robinson, R.E., and J. Gallagher, "The Partition of Africa." In *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire*, edited by Anil Seal, 19-72. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Rosenberg, Emily S. *Transnational Currents in a Shrinking World*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012.

Rouleau, Brian. *With Sails Whitening every Sea: Mariners and the Making of an American Maritime Empire*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014.

Rozwadowski, Helen. "Ocean's Depths." *Environmental History* 15 (2010): 520-525.

Sachsenmaier, Dominic. *Global Perspectives on Global History: Theories and Approaches in a Connected World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Sager, Eric W. *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914*. Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1989.

Saha, Jonathan. *Law, Disorder, the Colonial State: Corruption in Burma C. 1900*. London: Palgrave McMillan, 2013.

_____. "Among the Beasts of Burma: Animals and the Politics of Colonial Sensibilities, c. 1840-1940." *Journal of Social History*, Volume 48, Number 4 (Summer 2015): 910-932

_____. "Whiteness, Masculinity and the Ambivalent Embodiment of 'British Justice' in Colonial Burma."

Cultural and Social History (Latest Articles, 2017): 1-16.

_____. "Colonizing elephants: animal agency, undead capital and imperial science in British Burma." *BJHS Themes*, Vol. 2 (April 2017): 169-189.

_____. <https://colonizinganimals.blog/category/race-and-ethnicity/> accessed 9/28/17.

San Francisco Maritime Museum, "'Balclutha': Her History & Restoration." *Nautical Research Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 3-4 (1955).

Sanjai, P.R., and Madhura Karnik. "Wadia Group: Two centuries and beyond" (Sept. 2014)

<http://www.livemint.com/Companies/fKCCHxZUPRcKcho92G4p8I/Wadia-Group-Two-centuries-and-beyond.html> (accessed 10/11/17)

Sawyer, Suzana and Edmund Terence Gomez, eds. *The Politics of Resource Extraction: Indigenous Peoples, Multinational Corporations, and the State*. London: Palgrave, 2012.

Schiebinger, Londa. *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Seiler, Otto J. *Crossing the Tracks of Columbus: German Liner Shipping to Latin America, the Caribbean and the West Coast of North America Down the Years*. Berlin: Verlag, 1992.

Shields, John. *Clyde-Built: A History of Shipbuilding on the Clyde*. Glasgow: Maclellan, 1947.

Slaven, Anthony. "Shipbuilding," *Reviews of United Kingdom Statistical Sources*, Vol. XVI. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1984.

_____. *British Ship Building, 1500-2010*. Lancaster, UK: Crucible, 2013.

Smil, Vaclav. *Prime Movers of Globalization: The History and Impact of Diesel Engines and Gas Turbines*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010.

Southon, Michael. *The Navel of the Perahu: Meaning and Values in the Maritime Trading Economy of a Butonese Village*. Canberra: Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1995.

Stammers, Michael K. "The High Character Obtained by Cumberland Ships": A Shipbuilding District in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *International Journal of Maritime History* 10.1 (1998): 121-150.

Standage, Tom. *A History of the World in 6 Glasses: From Beer to Coca-Cola, the Six Drinks That Have Helped Shape Human History*. New York: Walker & Company, 2005.

Stanziani, Alessandro. *Bondage: Labor and Rights in Eurasia from the Sixteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries*. New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2014.

Steel, Frances. *Oceania under Steam: Sea Transport and the Cultures of Colonialism, c. 1870-1914*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2011.

Stern, Philip. *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Stewart, Colin. *Flags, Funnels, and Hull Colours*. New York: Adlard Coles, 1963.

Stokes, Eric. "Late Nineteenth century Colonial Expansion and the Attack on the Theory of Economic Imperialism: A Case of Mistaken Identity?" *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1969): 285 – 301.

Stone, Peter G., and Philippe G. Planel, eds. *The Constructed Past: Experimental Archaeology, Education, and the Public*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Tabili, Laura. *"We Ask for British Justice": Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Tachco, Brandon. "Age of Sail: A Time Traveling Educational Maritime Adventure at San Francisco's Historic Hyde Street Pier," *Sea Letter* No. 75 (Fall 2017).

Tagliacozzo, Eric. 2005. *Secret trades, Porous Borders: Smuggling and States along a Southeast Asian Frontier, 1865–1915*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

_____. "Trade, Production and Incorporation: The Indian Ocean in Flux, 1600-1900," *Itinero* 26.1 (2002): 75-106

Tana, Li. "Ships and Shipbuilding in the Mekong Delta, 1750-1850." In *Water Frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Delta, 7150-1880*, edited by Li Tana and Nola Cooke, 119-135.

Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2005.

_____. "The Eighteenth Century Mekong Delta and its World of Water Frontier." In *Viet Nam: Borderless Histories*, edited by Nhung Tuyet Tran and Anthony Reid, 147-162. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006.

Thaddeus, Sunseri. "Reinterpreting a Colonial Rebellion: Forestry and Social Control in German East Africa, 1874-1915," *Environmental History* 8, 3 (2003): 430-51.

_____. *Wielding the Ax: Scientific Forestry and Social Conflict in Tanzania, c. 1820-2000*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2009.

Thiesen, William H. "Origins of Iron Shipbuilding," *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 89, No.12 (2000): 89-109.

Thomson, Janice E. *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Thornton, John. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Topik, Steven. *The World that Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1999.

Topik, Steven C., and Allen Wells, *Global Markets Transformed, 1870-1945*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012.

Tripathi, Sila. S.R. Shukla, S. Shashikala, and Areef Sardar. "Teak (*Tectona grandis* L.F.): a preferred timber for shipbuilding in India as evidenced from shipwrecks." *Current Science*, Vol. 110, No. 11 (June 2016): 2160-2165.

Unger, Richard W. "Overview. Trades, Ports, and Ships: The Roots of Difference in Sailors' Lives," In *Law*,

Labour, and Empire: Comparative Perspectives on Seafarers, c. 1500-1800. Maria Fusaro, Bernard Allaire, Richard J. Blakemore and Tijn Vannesste, eds., 1-17. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015.

Vandergeest, Peter, and Nancy Lee Peluso. "Empires of Forestry: Professional Forestry and State Power in Southeast Asia, Part 1." *Environment and History* 12 (2006): 31–64.

_____. "Empires of Forestry: Professional Forestry and State Power in Southeast Asia, Part 2." *Environment and History* 12 (2006): 359-93.

Van Rossum, Mattias, Lex Heerman Van Voss, Jesse Van Lottum, and Jan Lucassen. "National and International Labour Markets for Sailors in European, Atlantic, and Asian Waters, 1600-1850," in *Research in Maritime History No. 43. Maritime History as Global History*, edited by Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia, 47-72. St. John's, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2010.

Villiers, Alan. "Ships Through the Ages: A Saga of the Sea," *National Geographic*, Vol. 123, No. 4 (April, 1963).

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Daily Life in the Age of Sail*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2002.

"The Wadias of India: Then and Now,"

<https://web.archive.org/web/20081021142252/http://www.vohuman.org/Article/The%20Wadias%20of%20India.htm> (accessed 10/8/17).

Wadia, R.A. *The Bombay Dockyard and the Wadia Master Builders*. Bombay: Godrej Memorial Printing Press, 1957.

Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice, and Terence K. Hopkins. "Commodity Chains in the World-Economy Prior to 1800." In Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *The Essential Wallerstein*. New York: The New Press, 2000.

Webster, Anthony. *Gentleman Capitalists: British Imperialism in South East Asia 1770-1890*. London: I.B. Taurus Press, 1999.

White, Richard. *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.

Wigen, Kären. "Forum: Oceans of History." *American Historical Review* 111 (2006): 717-80.

Wilson, Timothy. *Flags at Sea*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1986.

Worster, David. *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West*. Oxford University Press, 1985.

Xue, Yong. "A 'Fertilizer Revolution'? A Critical Response to Pomeranz's Theory of 'Geographic Luck'," *Modern China* 33 (2007): 195-229.

Zahedieh, Nuala. *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2010

Zahra, Tara. "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis." *Slavic Review*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (Spring, 2010): 93-119.

Zelko, Frank. *Make it a Green Peace! The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.