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Cornish Steam Ships and Owners: the View from England

By Roy Fenton

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'Troze: the sound made by water about the bows of a boat in motion'
From R. Morton Nance, *A Glossary of Cornish Sea Words*

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Cornish Steam Ships and Owners: the View from England

Roy Fenton

Introduction

The development of the steam vessel was a gradual, international process that involved inventors and entrepreneurs in the United Kingdom, USA, France and elsewhere. Limitations of the early technology - especially the materials available and the means of working them - meant that steam machinery was initially inefficient, unreliable and expensive. In turn, this ensured that steam navigation developed gradually, first on inland waterways, then in coastal waters, next across sheltered seas, and finally across open oceans. This pattern was evident in Cornwall as elsewhere in the UK, and this paper considers the growth of steam navigation in the Duchy in the context of developments in the country as a whole. The title has been chosen to emphasise this comparative element, and to signal that the author, who is not a native of Cornwall, hopes this account can be free of any nationalistic bias.

The paper also asks whether developments in Cornwall can be explained by the county's exceptional geographical situation. The features of this geography include a coastline unsurpassed in length by any English county, numerous natural harbours, a situation adjacent to major national and international sea routes, and considerable mineral wealth including metalliferous ores and china clay. On the debit side of its geographical balance sheet, Cornwall had a relatively sparse population with no major cities, is a considerable distance from major conurbations, had no rail links until comparatively late, and lacks coal resources.

Concentrating on native Cornish undertakings, i.e. those begun and run by Cornishmen, the paper is concerned largely with seagoing cargo and passenger steamers. These will be treated in five sections, in the approximate chronological order in which they developed: early steam ship services, local coastal liner services, longer distance coastal liner services, the coastal bulk trade and deep-sea shipping. Unless referenced otherwise, the various tables listing steamers owned in Cornwall are based mainly on fleet lists compiled by the author from a variety of works, including editions of *Lloyd's Register*, the *Mercantile Navy List*, *Lloyd's Confidential Index*, various casualty returns and lists of war losses, from closed registers both in the National Archives¹ and in local record offices, including that in Truro. Included are all ships owned and those managed for individual ship owning companies, but not vessels managed for the British government during and just after the First World War. The listings are largely confined to vessels controlled by Cornishmen.

Early steam ship services

The first commercially-viable steam ship is generally considered to be Bell's *Comet* which began regular services on the Clyde in 1812 after which steam services developed quickly.² However, the restricted scope of these services reflected the limitations of early steam ships whose engines were highly inefficient, burning huge amounts of coal; were expensive to build, run and maintain; and were also dangerous, being prone to boiler explosions.

Steam services were largely confined to short routes, where the limited bunker capacity of early steamers was not a problem. What they carried was also limited. Passengers would often pay a premium for the convenience of a dependable and short passage but, for a shipper, it was worth paying the extra freight rates for using a steamer only when high-value cargoes were to be conveyed. These included mail, where the Post Office would sometimes pay a subsidy, and time-critical goods such as foodstuffs and livestock. The majority of cargoes carried by sea comprised commodities carried in bulk and these continued to be shipped predominantly by sailing vessels until late into the nineteenth century.

Cornwall had one route that would seem ideal for early steamers, that between the mainland and the Isles of Scilly. Farr has pointed out that there was a community on these islands that depended on shipping for its livelihood, with ship owning, repairing and victualling all requiring regular communication with the mainland.³ However, it fell to others to operate the first steamer to the Isles of Scilly in June 1831, identified by Farr as the Devonshire-owned *Sir Francis Drake*. The first locally-owned steamers did not start running until 1858, when the Scilly Isles Steam Navigation Co. took delivery of the *Little Western*. From 1871 there were briefly two companies operating, when the Penzance-based West Cornwall Steam Ship Co. Ltd put its iron paddler *Earl of Arran* into service. She supplemented rather than competed with *Little Western*, and was deputising for her when wrecked on the Scillies in July 1872.⁴ Just three months later, on 6 October, *Little Western* herself was wrecked on the Scillies during an attempt to assist a disabled sailing vessel; her loss extinguished the Scilly Isles Steam Navigation Co.⁵ The West Cornwall Steam Ship Co. Ltd subsequently chartered or bought a mixed bag of second-hand vessels for the route (Table 1), until their *Lady of the Isles* was completed by Harveys of Hayle in 1875. She lasted thirty years on the mail service, and a further thirty-five doing the hazardous work of a salvage vessel.

Table 1 Steamers of the West Cornwall Steam Ship Co. Ltd⁶

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	Operated to	Disposal
<i>Earl of Arran</i>	1860	144	1871	1872	Wrecked on Nornor Island
<i>Queen of the Bay</i>	1867	138	1874	1885	Sold Cardiff owner
<i>Lady of the Isles (1)</i>	1875	152	1874	1905	Sold
<i>Lyonnesse</i>	1889	329	1889	1918	Sold Queenstown owner
<i>Deerhound</i>	1901	482	1905	1907	Sold Canada

An enlarged version was supplied in 1889, *Lyonnesse* (Figure 1), which remained on the Isles of Scilly service until 1918. Her sale brought to an end the long and at times financially troubled history of the West Cornwall Steam Ship Co. Ltd. The gap was filled by the formation in 1920 of the Isles of Scilly Steamship Co. Ltd, a locally-owned company which continues to provide a connection to the mainland to the present day (Table 2).⁷

Table 2 Steamers and Motor Vessels of the Isles of Scilly Steamship Co. Ltd ⁸

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	to	Disposal
<i>Peninnis (1)</i>	1904	219	1920	1927	Sold Alderney owner
<i>Scillonian(1)/ Peninnis (2)</i>	1926	429	1926	1956	Scrapped Ghent
<i>Lady of the Isles</i>	1947	60	1947	1952	Sold
<i>Scillonian (2) m.v.</i>	1956	921	1956	1977	Sold
<i>Queen of the Isles m.v.</i>	1965	515	1965	1971	Sold
<i>Scillonian III m.v</i>	1977	1,346	1977	-	Still in service

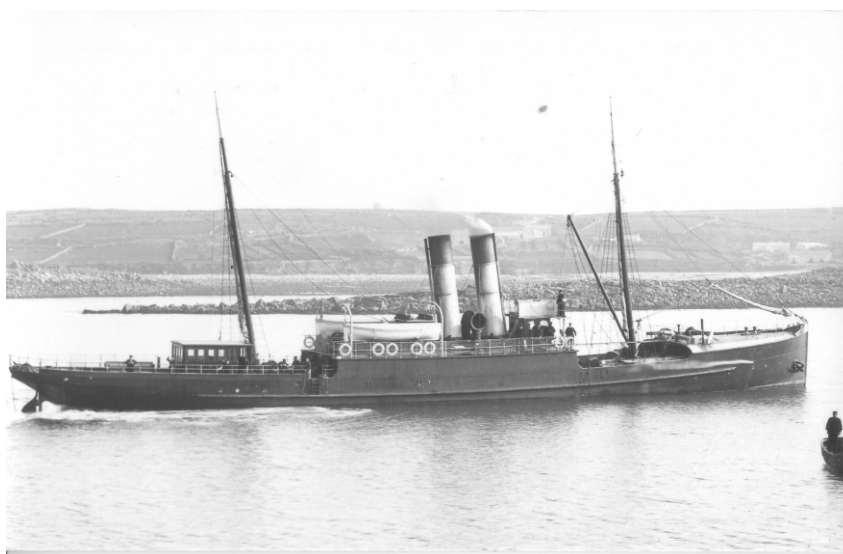


Figure 1: The *Lyonesse* of 1889, owned until 1918 by the West Cornwall Steam Ship Co. Ltd.

Source: The Author

Coastal liner services

Cornwall did not have a through railway service to the rest of England until the Royal Albert Bridge was completed in 1859, previous to this there was a proliferation of minor steam ship operators on both the south and the north coasts. Farr credits both Bristol and Devonshire operators with pioneering services on the south coast, with the Bristol-owned *Cambria* first running between Plymouth, Fowey and Falmouth in the summer of 1824, with *Sir Francis Drake* putting in an appearance in 1825.⁹ Native Cornish undertakings tended to be few and short-lived. The Falmouth and Southampton Steam Packet Co. ran the wooden paddler *Lord Beresford* only from September 1841 to May 1843. There were also small, locally-owned steamers running between Cornish ports, for instance in the Falmouth-Truro area, but few can be counted as sea-going. Farr describes these craft as 'market boats', a term which is not further explained, but is presumed to mean small vessels carrying local produce, and no doubt local producers, from small quays and harbours to larger centres, and operating mainly on market days.¹⁰ An exception was the paddler *Forager* of the Fowey and Par Steamship Co., formed with local capital in 1854 to provide a weekly service for passengers between Fowey and Plymouth. The company lasted only until the railway reached Truro in 1859. The

grandly titled South Devon and Cornwall Steam Packet Co. Ltd, formed at Looe in 1893, had only the ageing Clyde ‘puffer’ *Cartsburn*.¹¹ The company was wound up after just two years although *Cartsburn* was then owned by a George Morcom of Liskeard until 1899.

Cornish entrepreneurs were more active on the north coast of the county. The first steamer called at Hayle in 1824 with regular services from the port beginning in 1831, when Penzance, Hayle and Bristol interests formed the Hayle Steamship Co. to operate a weekly service to Bristol with the wooden *Herald*.¹² Harveys of Hayle, mining engineers and later shipbuilders, took an increasing interest in this service. The company built the engines for the paddler *Cornwall* of 1842, this vessel was added to the Hayle service when the arrival of the Great Western Railway in Bristol increased travel to Cornwall. Passengers were conveyed by train between Paddington and Bristol, thence to and from Hayle by scheduled steamer. The extra business attracted a rival when Vivian Stevens of St Ives put his *Brilliant* on to the Hayle to Bristol route. The Hayle Steamship Co. was renamed the Hayle and Bristol Steam Packet Co. in 1848, and confusingly the owners of the *Brilliant* then adopted the same title.

With growing confidence in their iron working abilities, Harveys built both the hull and engines of the *Cornubia* of 1858 for the ‘original’ Hayle and Bristol Co.¹³ The companies appear to have amalgamated around 1860, probably as a result of traffic diminishing when the completion of the Saltash Bridge enabled through rail services from London to reach both Hayle and Penzance that same year. Steamer services continued, now with the screw vessels which were gaining favour over paddlers, with Harveys both building and owning the *Bride* of 1863 and *Bessie* of 1865. With two ships running any occasional competitors were quickly seen off; it was rail competition that seriously hurt the service with Harveys gradually moving their ships into other trades. Hayle to Bristol services were continued in a minor way by Hosken, Trevithick, Polkinhorn and Co. Ltd of Penzance which bought the screw steamer *Norseman* in 1893. The *Norseman* was soon replaced with the *M.J. Hedley*, a humble steam coaster, recorded as carrying passengers on a weekly triangular service linking Bristol, Hayle and Liverpool. She was sold in 1917.

Table 3 Steamers running between Hayle and Bristol

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	Operated to	Disposal
<i>Herald</i>	1831	207	1831	1849	Broken up
<i>Cornwall</i>	1842	343	1842	1859	Converted to sail
<i>Brilliant</i>	1842	246	1842	1852	Converted to sail
<i>Express</i>	1848	235	1848	1859	Re-engined and sold London owners
<i>Queen</i>	1852	343	1848	1866	Wrecked on Hartland Point
<i>Cornubia</i>	1858	411	1858	1861	Sold as blockade runner
<i>Bride</i>	1864	286	1864	1897	Broken up
<i>Bessie</i>	1865	287	1865	1889	Sold Penarth owners
<i>Albion</i>	1860	307	1867	1868	Sold Glasgow owners
<i>Norseman</i>	1883	194	1893	1894	Sold Aberaeron owners
<i>M.J. Hedley</i>	1893	442	1894	1917	Sold Manchester owners

Longer-distance services

Looked at from a geographical perspective, Cornwall might have been expected to nurture longer distance coastal liner services. It is relatively remote from centres of population and manufacturing, with deep-water ports giving superb access to the sea. In fact, the geographical situation of Cornwall may have put native owners at a disadvantage. For operators of steamer services between Liverpool, Ireland or Bristol and London who were based in these ports it was very easy to make intermediate calls at Penzance or Falmouth, even if the amount of cargo offering was relatively small. Farr considered that such calls began at Falmouth in 1826 with the *Erin*, which was running between Belfast and London.

Calls at Penzance by the London to Liverpool steamers of Samuel Hough began in 1868. The success of this service was not lost on the Penzance miller George Bazeley, who began what was the major Cornish venture into regular liner trades.¹⁴ In 1877, Bazeley advertised a regular steamer service between London, Penzance and South Wales with the steamer *Progrés* which he had bought from French owners. The service prospered, and in 1880 Bazeley extended his services to Bristol with the *William J. Taylor*. He also opened a Penzance to Liverpool service in 1882, using the trading title Little Western Steamship Co., but being poorly patronised this service was withdrawn within months. On George Bazeley's death in 1886 his sons, George Paulle and William, inherited a thriving business with four ships offering a twice-weekly service for passengers and general cargo. Bazeley's acquisition policy was decidedly conservative, as can be seen from Table 3: not one of the thirteen steamers owned were built for the company. Reduced services continued right through the First World War, despite *Coath* being sunk by a U-boat in December 1916.

Table 4 Steamers of George Bazeley and Sons, Penzance¹⁵

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	to	Disposal
<i>Progres</i>	1872	244	1877	1885	Sold to John H. Bennett of Penzance
<i>William J. Taylor</i>	1879	317	1880	1881	Sank after collision in Thames
<i>Acacia</i>	1879	415	1881	1883	Sold London owners
<i>Stockton</i>	1856	407	1881	1897	Sold to Charles Toyne of Fowey
<i>Gervase</i>	1880	595	1884	1907	Sold Portugal
<i>Thames</i>	1866	399	1884	1891	Stranded Chesil Beach
<i>Albert</i>	1856	480	1886	1891	Sold Liverpool owners
<i>Mercutio</i>	1879	855	1891	1920	To Coast Lines Ltd
<i>Shamrock</i>	1878	568	1891	1897	Sold Germany
<i>Cloch</i>	1883	745	1894	1920	To Coast Lines Ltd
<i>Coath</i>	1882	975	1897	1916	Torpedoed off Beachy Head
<i>Solway</i>	1881	836	1907	1911	Sold Newfoundland
<i>Cadoc</i>	1894	981	1910	1920	To Coast Lines Ltd

Towards the end of the First World War most of the liner companies which had put steamers into Penzance or Falmouth were bought up by Coast Lines Ltd. This company was the end result of the amalgamation of three well-established Liverpool-based coastal liner companies on 30

September 1913 to produce Bacon, Powell and Hough Lines Ltd. In March 1917 the company was acquired by the Sir Owen Philipps (later Lord Kylsant) who renamed it Coast Lines Ltd in July 1917 as part of the Royal Mail Group. Coast Lines Ltd proceeded to buy up any available coastal liner company as in 1920 when the company made an offer of £160,000 for Bazeley's business. As the three surviving steamers were valued at just £45,000 this offer was too good to refuse. In the spring of 1920 the business was transferred to Coast Lines Ltd, one steamer sold with the others given 'Coast' names. Administration moved to London, and Penzance was served by calls from Coast Lines' steamers on the company's longer routes. With this sale the operation of liner services by native Cornish companies came to an end.

Coastal bulk trade

Bulk commodities such as coal, stone, lime, timber, ore and grain are of relatively low value and do not deteriorate on the protracted voyage often inevitable with sail. Until well into the final quarter of the nineteenth century they were carried predominately by wooden sailing vessels which were cheaper to build and to run than steamers. Bartlett has made a comprehensive survey of North Cornwall's local vessels, but even he, after a lifetime's study, can find only sufficient powered craft to fill 10 of his 256 pages, and the majority of these craft are small excursion vessels or sand dredgers.¹⁶ Significant increases in the efficiency of engines, in particularly boilers, and economies in building iron hulls were necessary before the steam coaster could compete in these trades.



Figure 2: The last steamer owned by Harveys of Hayle, *Pulteney* of 1899 was – surprisingly – not built by the owners whose shipyard was responsible for Cornwall's largest ships, but by the Ailsa Shipbuilding Co., Troon.

Source: The Author

Early steam coasters owned in South Wales, Bristol or Liverpool made calls at Cornish mineral ports to deliver South Wales coal and to load copper or tin ore. The earliest evidence of Cornishmen owning such vessels dates from 1867, when Harveys of Hayle built the *Hayle* for their own account. She was probably used to ship coal from Newport and made occasional calls at her home port. Once their Hayle to Bristol services ceased, Harveys' steamers were dedicated to coal carrying, and the company has the distinction of being one of the longest-lived native Cornish ship owners, running a small fleet in the coastal bulk trades until 1933 (Table 5).¹⁷

Table 5 Steamers of Harveys, Hayle

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	Operated to	Disposal
<i>Bride</i> *	1864	286	1864	1897	Broken up
<i>Bessie</i> *	1865	287	1865	1889	Sold Penarth owners
<i>Express</i>	1847	248	1867	1889	Sold London owners
<i>Hayle</i> * (1)	1867	353	1867	1868	Sold Aberdeen owners
<i>Carnsew</i> *	1888	340	1888	1903	Sank in collision off Bull Point
<i>Hayle</i> * (2)	1893	423	1893	1923	Sold Liverpool owners
<i>Pulteney</i>	1899	326	1916	1933	Sold Liverpool owners

Those marked * were built by the company.

At the village of Scorrier the Williams family were amongst Cornwall's early owners of steam coasters (Table 6), beginning with George Williams who bought the shallow-drafted *Ogmore* and the *Squirrel* in 1872. Ownership of the *Salisbury* was initially shared amongst three members of the Williams family, although this had been whittled down to just Michael Williams of Truro by the time she was sold in 1899. Two larger ships were owned in the early years of the twentieth century, and were to be the family's last ships, disposed of in 1916.

Table 6 Steamers of Williams, Scorrier

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	Operated to	Disposal
<i>Ogmore</i>	1866	149	1872	1888	Sold Dundee owners
<i>Squirrel</i>	1871	151	1872	1877	Sank after collision in Bristol Channel
<i>Salisbury</i>	1876	187	1886	1899	Sold Kinghorn owners
<i>Ailsa</i>	1894	325	1899	1916	Sold Belfast owners
<i>Pulteney</i>	1899	326	1905	1916	Sold Harvey, Hayle

John H. Bennett of Penzance was originally a colliery agent, and from 1885 built up a fleet of six steam coasters (Table 7) beginning with the *Progrés* acquired from Bazeley. His last acquisition was given the singular name *Pivoc*, made up of the initial letters of the names of his other ships. *Pivoc* was the last ship in the fleet when sold in 1919. *Cornubia* was the only member of the fleet built for Bennett.

Table 7 Steamers of John H. Bennett, Penzance

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	to	Disposal
<i>Progrés</i>	1872	244	1885	1895	Sank after collision off the Lizard
<i>Ormerod</i>	1885	474	1891	1912	Sold Norway
<i>Cornubia</i>	1893	261	1893	1897	Sold Russia
<i>Vril</i>	1897	387	1897	1907	Sold Greece
<i>India</i>	1876	364	1899	1913	Sold Germany
<i>Pivoc</i>	1889	483	1913	1919	Sold Cardiff owners

The most important Cornish owner of steam coasters working in the bulk trades was David Bain of Portreath who made a cautious move from sail to steam in 1887 with the purchase of *Veronica*. Only two of the eleven steamers (Table 8) he or his sons would own over the next thirty-seven years were built to order, *Treleigh* and *Guardian*, the latter's name reflecting Bain's pride in being guardian of the local workhouse.

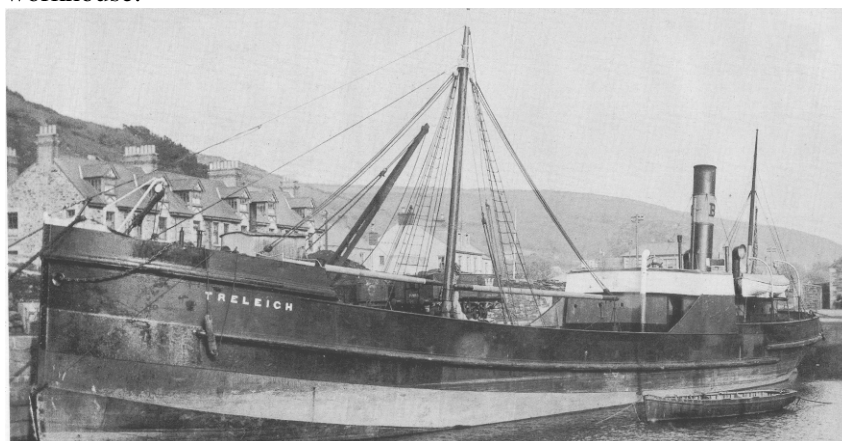


Figure 3: The *Treleigh* of 1894 was one of only two steamers built new for Bain and Sons of Portreath, whose fleet was mainly comprised of second-hand steam coasters.

Source: The Author

David Bain died in 1898 and the business was continued under his name by his sons Frederick and Arthur. The staple cargo carried to Portreath was coal from South Wales or Lancashire. Losses in this trade were heavy, with six, or just over 50 per cent, of Bain's ships sunk by collision, wreck, foundering or by enemy action during the First World War. Bain's sons seemed unwilling to face the depressed trading conditions of the 1920s, and sold both their remaining ships in 1924, with *Treleigh* going to breakers.

Table 8 Steamers of Bain and Sons, Portreath

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	to	Disposal
<i>Veronica</i>	1882	255	1887	1900	Sank in collision off Hartland Point
<i>Olivia</i>	1883	242	1888	1917	Sunk by U-boat off Bardsey
<i>Lynx</i>	1869	174	1893	1899	Wrecked near Port Isaacs
<i>Treleigh</i>	1894	347	1894	1924	Sold to Redruth owner
<i>Coniston Fell</i>	1882	337	1895	1899	Sank in collision in Mersey
<i>Feadon</i>	1867	269	1893	1904	Sank in collision in Thames
<i>Guardian</i>	1896	381	1896	1916	Sold London owners
<i>Plover</i>	1888	277	1901	1918	Sank in collision off Lundy
<i>Panmure</i>	1859	321	1900	1912	Sold London owners
<i>Holme Wood</i>	1883	229	1905	1924	Broken up
<i>Test</i>	1890	530	1905	1915	Sold Aberdeen owners

Given the importance of Cornish clay movements it is surprising that only one local undertaking had any steam coasters in this trade, Charles Toyne of Fowey and his sometime partner John Carter, who were also ship brokers.¹⁸ Toyne bought the ageing *Stockton* from Bazeley in 1897 and financed her by floating the Fowey Steamship Co. Ltd. In 1900 the Toyne, Carter partnership ordered its first and only new ships, *Torfrey* and *Par* from a Paisley yard and *Foy* from Workington, each registered in the ownership of a single-ship company. The fleet was sold immediately after the First World War (Table 9). Liverpool owners dominated the coastal shipment of china clay, and of these Richard Hughes with his 'Rose boats' was the most important, even taking local names such as *Fowey Rose* and having an office in Fowey.¹⁹

Table 9 Steamers of Toyne, Carter and Co., Fowey

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	to	Disposal
<i>Stockton</i>	1856	407	1897	1907	Sold Hull owners
<i>Deerhound</i>	1882	443	1898	1916	Sold Newcastle owners
<i>Norma</i>	1877	507	1899	1902	Foundered off the Longships
<i>Torfrey</i>	1900	429	1900	1919	Sold Guernsey owners
<i>Par</i>	1902	436	1902	1919	Sold London owners
<i>Foy</i>	1902	354	1902	1918	Sold Cardiff owners

The last attempt to build up a fleet of steam coasters in the county was only a part local enterprise. The moving spirit behind the County of Cornwall Shipping Co. Ltd was William Chamberlain, who had local connections but had learnt the shipping business with a Cardiff tramp company.²⁰ He took as junior partner John Hampton, a Portreath shipping agent, who became manager of the company's vessels (Table 10). The company was registered in 1919 at a time when coastal freight rates were vastly inflated by a shortage of suitable ships. It did not take delivery of its first ship (and only new building) until 1921 when the boom had blown itself out and rates, and with them prices of coasters, had returned to sensible levels. Within a few years *St Levan* was joined by second-hand steamers acquired relatively cheaply from Cardiff

owners who had overstretched themselves.



Figure 4: The *Taycraig* of 1901 at Penzance. She was owned by the County Of Cornwall Shipping Co. Ltd. (John Hampton, manager) of Redruth.

Source: The Author

A fleet of around four ships was maintained for the company's principal trade, coal from South Wales to Portreath and Hayle, both for the domestic market and for the power station which stood at the latter port. Despite the obvious success of Dutch motor coasters, which were exploiting their handiness and economy in the British home coastal trade in the 1920s and 1930s, Hampton and Chamberlain remained wedded to steam. The Second World War had tragic consequences for the company. In November 1940 the *Porthcarrack* was wrecked whilst in a Bristol Channel convoy. In March 1941 the *Rossmore* was attacked off the Cornish coast by a German aircraft which split her hull in two with bombs and then machine-gunned her survivors in the water. Following such losses it is not surprising that the company sold its last steamer in 1942.

Table 10 Steamers of County of Cornwall Shipping Co. Ltd, Redruth ²¹

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	Operated to	Disposal
<i>St Levan</i>	1921	351	1921	1925	Sold Liverpool owners
<i>Abercraig</i>	1902	440	1922	1938	Sold London owners
<i>Rossmore</i>	1907	627	1924	1941	Bombed and sunk off Godrevy Light Vessel
<i>Marena</i>	1908	303	1924	1942	Sold London owners
<i>Taycraig</i>	1901	407	1929	1936	Wrecked near Penzance
<i>Porthcarrack</i>	1924	406	1940	1940	Stranded South Wales

Deep-sea shipping

Its small industrial base and complete lack of coal measures would suggest that Cornwall could not rival Cardiff or Newcastle in deep-sea shipping. Yet the county produced several important tramp ship fleets. The most notable was Hain, a fleet of international significance.²²

Edward Hain belonged to the fourth generation of the St Ives family known to be involved with the sea. He exploited family connections with local financiers the Bolithos to build up a significant fleet of steamers beginning in 1878 with the *Trewidden*, named after Bolitho's estate. Edward Hain initially used the 64th share system then, from 1885, single-ship companies to finance his growing fleet until in 1901 he set up the Hain Steamship Co. Ltd - with a capital of £500,000 in £10 shares - to which all ships were transferred. Consolidation of ownership had administrative advantages in that it let Hain increase his capital base and probably increased his personal financial interest.

A remarkable aspect of Hain's story is his loyalty to just one shipbuilder, John Readhead and Co. of South Shields. There were other owners who favoured one particular builder, but an unbroken sequence of seventy-four steamers delivered to the company from this South Shields yard between 1878 and 1918 may well be unique (three were completed after Hain sold the company and are not listed in Table 11). Hain's ships were rarities in Cornish ports. Instead they worked the typical tramp trades: coal from South Wales or the Tyne out, grain and other foodstuffs homewards. After the management, the strongest connection with Cornwall was the officers. A survey of crew agreements by Cooper found that 20 out of the 22 masters serving in Hain ships in January 1900 were born in the county, with a similar high proportion of other officers and engineers.²³

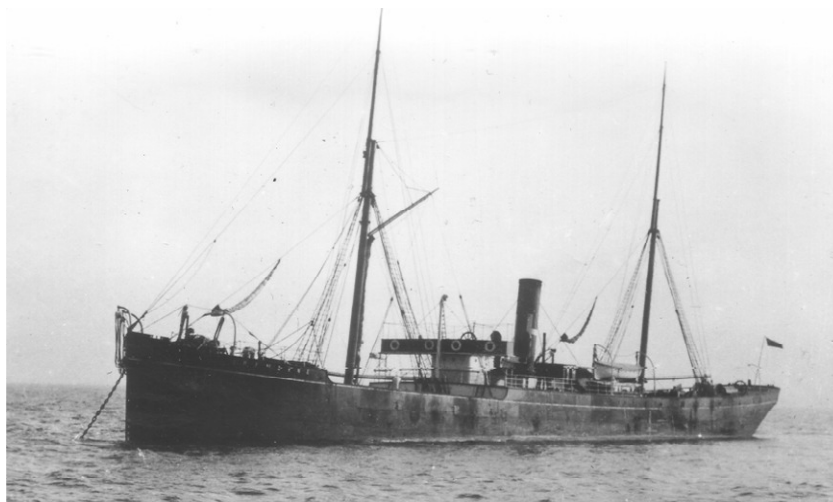


Figure 5: The second *Tremayne* of 1886 was a typical, rather basic tramp steamer of the Hain Steamship Co. Ltd., built, inevitably, by John Readhead at South Shields.

Source: The Author

Shipping and family losses during the First World War brought the end of the Hain Steamship Co. Ltd as a Cornish-controlled undertaking. Sir Edward Hain's only son, the fifth Edward Hain who was being groomed to succeed him, was killed at Gallipoli in 1915. Sir Edward never recovered from this loss and was badly shaken when present

during a German air raid on London in June 1917; he died three months later at his home near St Ives. In little more than a month, the company was in new hands, P&O's Lord Inchcape making an offer of close to £4.4 million for the 23 ships which was accepted. Inchcape was anxious to preserve Hain's separate identity, and the P&O group were steadfast in doing this right up to 1964 when the Hain Steamship Co. Ltd was amalgamated with another P&O subsidiary to become Hain-Nourse Management Ltd. The 'Tre-' names survived even longer, not disappearing until 1975. However, the connection with Cornwall was largely severed soon after the 1917 take-over, when management was moved from St Ives to London, leaving the local office to deal mainly with staffing matters.

Table 11 Steamers of Edward Hain, St Ives²⁴

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	to	Disposal
<i>Trewidden</i> (1)	1878	1,271	1878	1891	Sold Greece
<i>Tregenna</i> (1)	1880	1,332	1880	1892	Sold Glasgow owners
<i>Trevilley</i> (1)	1881	1,275	1881	1895	Sold Italy
<i>Treneglos</i> (1)	1882	1,513	1882	1883	Wrecked off Limerick
<i>Trelyon</i> (1)	1882	1,428	1882	1895	Sold Newcastle owners
<i>Trevose</i> (1)	1882	1,493	1882	1895	Sold Italy
<i>Trekieve</i> (1)	1883	1,489	1883	1897	Wrecked in River Dee
<i>Trevider</i> (1)	1883	1,538	1883	1898	Sold Newcastle owners
<i>Treloske</i> (1)	1884	1,548	1884	1897	Sold South Shields owners
<i>Trevelloe</i>	1884	1,646	1884	1894	Stranded at Sulina; sold Greece and repaired
<i>Treneglos</i> (2)	1885	1,559	1885	1905	Sold Sweden
<i>Trevean</i> (1)	1885	1,567	1885	1899	Wrecked near St Nazaire
<i>Tremayne</i> (1)	1886	1,578	1886	1905	Sold Sweden
<i>Trelawny</i> (1)	1888	1,658	1888	1905	Sold Greece
<i>Trewavas</i>	1888	1,682	1888	1892	Disappeared in North Atlantic
<i>Trewellard</i> (1)	1889	2,269	1889	1913	Sold Italy
<i>Trevorian</i> (1)	1889	2,270	1889	1910	Foundered in Bay of Biscay
<i>Treglisson</i> (1)	1889	2,273	1889	1911	Sold France
<i>Trevalgan</i> (1)	1890	2,420	1890	1911	Sold Spain
<i>Tresillian</i> (1)	1890	2,429	1890	1896	Wrecked near Otranto, Italy
<i>Trevaylor</i> (1)	1890	2,426	1890	1911	Sold Greece
<i>Tregurno</i> (1)	1891	2,432	1891	1911	Sold Greece
<i>Trevanion</i> (1)	1891	2,437	1891	1911	Sold Greece
<i>Trewidden</i> (2)	1891	2,613	1891	1915	Torpedoed by U-boat off Owers Light
<i>Tregenna</i> (2)	1892	2,623	1892	1915	Sold Cardiff owners
<i>Trefusis</i> (1)	1893	2,642	1893	1917	Sunk by U-boat off Sardinia
<i>Trevelyan</i> (1)	1894	3,066	1894	1917	Damaged by U-boat in English Channel, but sold and repaired
<i>Trevethoe</i> (1)	1895	2,097	1895	1911	Sold Norway
<i>Trevarrack</i> (1)	1895	2,098	1895	1914	Sold Sweden
<i>Trevose</i> (2)	1896	3,112	1896	1917	Sunk by U-boat in North Atlantic
<i>Trevilley</i> (2)	1897	3,112	1897	1911	Damaged in collision in Scheldt, sold and repaired
<i>Trelyon</i> (2)	1897	3,099	1897	1917	Mined off Scarborough

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	to	Disposal
<i>Trekieve</i> (2)	1898	3,087	1898	1917	Sunk by U-boat west of Gibraltar
<i>Tresillian</i> (2)	1899	3,585	1899	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trevessa</i> (1)	1899	3,566	1899	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trevider</i> (2)	1902	3,082	1902	1911	Wrecked off Spain
<i>Treloske</i> (2)	1902	3,071	1902	1917	Sunk by U-boat off Finisterre
<i>Trevean</i> (2)	1902	3,081	1902	1917	Sunk by U-boat in North Atlantic
<i>Tregantle</i> (1)	1902	3,091	1902	1916	Sunk by U-boat off Corton L.V.
<i>Trewyn</i> (1)	1902	3,084	1902	1916	Disappeared in Mediterranean
<i>Tregothnan</i> (1)	1903	3,075	1903	1917	Sold with company
<i>Tregarthen</i> (1)	1904	2,171	1904	1911	Sold France
<i>Trematon</i> (1)	1904	2,171	1904	1911	Sold Spain
<i>Tremeadow</i> (1)	1905	3,653	1905	1917	Sunk by U-boat in North Atlantic
<i>Tremorvah</i> (1)	1905	3,654	1905	1917	Sunk by U-boat in Mediterranean
<i>Treneglos</i> (3)	1906	3,886	1906	1915	Sunk by U-boat off Crete
<i>Tremayne</i> (2)	1904	3,881	1906	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trelawny</i> (2)	1906	3,877	1906	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trecarrell</i> (1)	1907	3,875	1907	1916	Wrecked off Virginia, USA
<i>Trevince</i> (1)	1907	3,874	1907	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trelissick</i> (1)	1909	4,168	1909	1917	Sunk by U-boat in North Atlantic
<i>Treveal</i> (1)	1909	4,160	1909	1917	Sold with company
<i>Treverbyn</i> (1)	1910	4,163	1910	1917	Mined off north Scotland
<i>Trevorian</i> (2)	1911	4,144	1911	1914	Detained in Black Sea
<i>Tregurno</i> (2)	1911	4,145	1911	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trevalgan</i> (2)	1911	4,185	1911	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trevanion</i> (2)	1912	4,267	1912	1917	Sold with company
<i>Treglisson</i> (2)	1912	4,265	1912	1914	Detained at Bremen.
<i>Trevaylor</i> (2)	1912	4,249	1912	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trevethoe</i> (2)	1913	4,248	1913	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trevilley</i> (3)	1913	4,259	1913	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trevider</i> (3)	1913	4,260	1913	1914	Detained in Germany
<i>Tregarthen</i> (2)	1913	4,263	1913	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trewellard</i> (2)	1914	4,202	1914	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trematon</i> (2)	1914	4,198	1914	1916	Sunk by U-boat in Mediterranean
<i>Trevarrack</i> (2)	1914	4,199	1914	1916	Sunk by U-boat in English Channel
<i>Trecarne</i> (1)	1914	4,196	1914	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trehawke</i>	1915	4,198	1915	1917	Sold with company
<i>Trewidden</i> (3)	1917	4,381	1917	1917	Sold with company
<i>Tregenna</i> (3)	1917	5,772	1917	1917	Sold with company
<i>Treneglos</i> (4)	1917	5,768	1917	1917	Sold with company

Perhaps in an effort to emulate Hain, from 1881 John Banfield of Penzance – manager of the West Cornwall Steamship Co. Ltd – floated a number of single-ship companies to take delivery of tramps built by

Schlesinger, Davis and Co. on the Tyne.²⁵ The venture seems not to have prospered; the fleet was not further increased and by 1895 all three steamers had been sold away (Table 12).

Table 12 Steamers of John Banfield, Penzance

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	to	Disposal
<i>Mount's Bay</i>	1881	2,293	1881	1894	Sold Germany
<i>Carbis Bay</i>	1882	1,538	1882	1894	Sold Norway
<i>Boskenna Bay</i>	1882	2,299	1882	1895	Sold Glasgow owners

Hain was exceptional, although not unique amongst Cornish tramp ship owners and his contemporary Richard Chellev of Truro built up a smaller but still significant fleet (Table 13).²⁶ Like Hain, the Chellev family had its roots in St Ives, from where William Chellev (1829-1916) moved to Devoran to begin a timber importing business that progressed to building and running a few small, wooden sailing vessels and at least one small steamer, the *North Star*. William's eldest son Richard (1856-1929) entered the business in 1874 and propelled the company into serious steam ship owning. In 1883 the Cornwall Steam Ship Co. Ltd was floated to own the new steamer *City of Truro*, both the company's and the ship's name being chosen to strike a chord with local backers. Despite this and extravagant promises of large dividends, investors were slow to put their trust in an untried business. Insufficient money was raised to meet the £25,000 charged by builders William Gray and Co. of Hartlepool, who were paid partly in bills of exchange. As a result, initial earnings went to pay off the shipbuilder and none of the promised dividends were forthcoming during the first three years of trading by the *City of Truro*.



Figure 5: An overly dramatic painting of Chellev's first steamer, *City of Truro* of 1883.

Source: The Author

Not surprisingly, when Chellew tried to float another company in 1887 he had few takers until earnings from *City of Truro* started to grow. Then, from 1888, new companies, investors and ships came in quick succession, and from the fifth steamer, the *Pencalenick* of 1889, all bore Cornish place names with the prefix, 'Pen'. Some investors did particularly well: by 1894 those supporting the Cornwall Steam Ship Co. Ltd had received dividends of £174 19s 3d for each £50 share. Richard Chellew's ability to trade his ships profitably and raise new finance is impressive as he lacked previous experience in the tramp shipping business.

Chellew went to Harveys of Hayle for the hulls and engines of *Penwith* of 1890 and *Penpol* of 1891, the largest vessels ever built in Cornwall. The shipbuilder was optimistic about further orders, perhaps hoping that their relationship with Chellew would be the same as that between Hain and Readhead, and even built a second slip to handle the expected capacity. However, hopes were dashed, probably because the Hayle yard could not compete on delivery times or costs, no repeat orders were forthcoming and an opportunity for Cornish shipbuilding was lost.

Chellew was unlucky in having four ships in the Baltic in August 1914, of which two eventually escaped and two were lost. The fleet suffered five other war losses, but towards the end of the war Chellew was given the management of a number of steel ships building in Canada to British government account. In 1918 all the vessels which had hitherto been owned by single-ship companies were transferred to one company, the R.B. Chellew Steam Navigation Co. Ltd, with management in the hands of R.B. Chellew and Co. This was a preliminary to Richard Chellew retiring from the business; aged 63, he was in poor health, confined to a wheelchair and had no sons to whom he could pass his business. In 1920 he sold the management company to South Wales-based Frank Shearman and the control of another Cornish company passed out of local hands. Its subsequent history was complicated by changes of control of the management company and by sales of shares in the owning company, which was renamed Chellew Navigation Co. Ltd in 1929. However, as with Hain, echoes of its Cornish origins survived until its end in 1955 with one of its last ships, the Liberty-type *Pentire*, perpetuating its naming scheme.

Table 13 Steamers of Richard Chellew, Truro ²⁷

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	to	Disposal
<i>City of Truro</i>	1883	1,767	1883	1897	Sold Sweden
<i>Duke of Cornwall</i>	1888	1,704	1888	1920	Sold with company
<i>Duchess of Cornwall</i>	1889	1,720	1889	1917	Sunk by U-boat in English Channel
<i>Cornubia</i>	1889	1,736	1889	1915	Sunk by U-boat off Spain
<i>Pencalenick</i>	1889	1,879	1889	1907	Sold Sweden
<i>Penwith</i>	1890	2,001	1890	1911	Foundered in Bay of Biscay
<i>Penpol</i>	1891	2,033	1891	1917	Captured by U-boat in Baltic
<i>Pendarves</i>	1892	2,669	1892	1920	Sold with company
<i>Pendennis</i>	1897	2,123	1897	1916	Sunk by U-boat in North Sea
<i>Pendeen</i>	1899	2,108	1899	1920	Sold with company

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	to	Disposal
<i>Penmount</i>	1900	2,314	1900	1920	Sold with company
<i>Penare</i>	1900	3,078	1900	1920	Sold with company
<i>Penlee</i>	1901	3,775	1900	1919	Destroyed by fire off France
<i>Penvearn</i>	1906	3,710	1906	1918	Sunk by U-boat in Irish Sea
<i>Penrose (1)</i>	1908	3,882	1908	1920	Sold with company
<i>Penhale (1)</i>	1911	3,712	1911	1917	Sunk by U-boat in North Atlantic
<i>Penolver</i>	1912	3,721	1912	1920	Sold with company
<i>Pensilva (1)</i>	1913	4,316	1913	1920	Sold with company
<i>Penhallow</i>	1913	4,318	1913	1918	Sunk by U-boat in Mediterranean
<i>Penmorvah</i>	1913	4,323	1913	1920	Sold with company
<i>Pengreep</i>	1914	4,806	1914	1920	Sold with company

The fourth Cornish tramp ship owner completed the trinity of 'Tre', 'Pen' and 'Pol' naming schemes begun by Hain and Chellew. William Badcock (1864-1921) was probably from St Ives, and became a clerk with Hains.²⁸ In 1900 he floated the Polurrian Steamship Co. Ltd to acquire the steamer of that name under construction at Blumer's yard in Sunderland. The Poldhu Steamship Co. Ltd was established the following year to acquire the *Poldhu* from the same yard. In 1909 Badcock severed his connection with Cornwall, moving from St Ives to Cardiff, and took delivery of a third new vessel, the *Polvarth*. Between 1910 and 1913, accurately sensing an improving market, he bought three second-hand steamers. All his ships were either sold or lost before the end of the First World War, and wisely William Badco, as he had become, did not re-enter shipping. For completeness, Table 14 includes all the ships owned, including those acquired after the move to Cardiff.

Table 14 Steamers of William Badcock, St Ives and Cardiff

Ship's Name	Build Year	Gross Tonnage	Operated from	to	Disposal
<i>Polurrian</i>	1900	2,801	1900	1917	Sold Swansea owners
<i>Poldhu</i>	1901	2,793	1902	1918	Sold Swansea owners
<i>Polvarth</i>	1909	3,146	1909	1917	Sunk by U-boat in North Atlantic
<i>Polmanter</i>	1901	3,515	1910	1916	Sold London owners
<i>Polcarne</i>	1899	3,036	1911	1913	Sold Norway
<i>Polperro</i>	1895	3,038	1913	1913	Sold Japan

Although they did not own steamers whilst based in Cornwall, the names of three others must be included in the list of Cornish steam ship entrepreneurs. John Cory of Padstow and Edward Nicholls from near Camborne both built up substantial deep-sea tramp fleets but only after moving to Cardiff.²⁹ John James Thomas also developed a ship owning business in Cardiff, where he became Chairman of the Cardiff and Bristol Channel Incorporated Shipowners' Association in 1940, a few months before his untimely death.³⁰ Thomas remembered his home in Cornwall in 1929 when he registered his new steamer *Polzella* in Penzance, at 4,751grt she was almost certainly the largest vessel ever

registered in the port. However, despite its 'Pol' prefix her name did not have a romantic Cornish connection, it was simply a compound of his daughters' names, Polly and Grizella.³¹ *Polzella* was torpedoed off the Shetlands on 17 January 1940.

Conclusion

Despite their established shipping interests, the inhabitants of the Isles of Scilly were late in providing a steam service to their islands, although local and mainland Cornish interests have since the 1858 been resolute in maintaining this vital link. Indeed, the *Scillonian III* may well now be Cornwall's largest trading (rather than fishing) vessel. Local cargo/passenger services on the south coast of Cornwall were also slow to develop, and again were pioneered by those resident outside Cornwall, and largely ceased with the arrival of the railway in Penzance. The deep water of ports on this coast could not offset the lack of either heavy industry or a large population base, a situation which still prevails, as exemplified by the failure of schemes to use Falmouth as a container terminal. Ship owners on the modestly industrialised north coast were more dynamic, stimulated by the prospects of trade with the major conurbation of Bristol and encouraged, between 1842 and 1860, by the linking of this city with London by the Great Western Railway.

It might be expected that Cornishmen would take advantage of their geographical location adjacent to the key coastal trade route between London on the one hand and the west coast ports of Bristol, South Wales, Liverpool and Glasgow and operate long-distance coastal liner services. This apparent advantage was undone by the ability of regular traders based in any of these major ports to meet the modest demands of shippers and merchants at Penzance or Falmouth by simply making a short stop at a Cornish port. Of local owners, only George Bazeley and his sons of Penzance succeeded in competing, even then they did so cautiously by running elderly and cheap ships, and eventually the situation reverted to Penzance having calls only by Liverpool and London operators.

The mineral wealth of north Cornwall did stimulate local owners to operate steam coasters, mainly small ones suitable for minor ports such as Portreath, but their major trade was importing coal rather than exporting ore, and the last fleets were extinguished by the end of the Second World War. The china clay trade from southern ports was served by only one Cornish operator, Toyne, Carter and Co., and this fleet of just six steam coasters contrasts rather poorly with almost fifty owned by a single Liverpool owner specialising in the coastal movement of china clay, Richard Hughes.

With Fowey offering a deep-water port for clay exports, Cornish deep-sea operators might be expected to have dominated this trade. But no, the Cornish tramp operators looked largely to Cardiff and the Tyne for export cargoes, leaving Fowey's exports to others. Despite this, the local men - particularly Edward Hain and Richard Chelley - were Cornwall's major contributors to steam navigation with fleets that were as significant as any that were based in Britain's three major tramp steamer owning ports, London, Newcastle and Cardiff.³²

Stephanie Jones has made a painstaking comparison of shipbuilding in the south west of England and the north east for the period 1873 to 1913.³³ She concluded that the shipbuilding industry in the south west was dwarfed by that in the north east during the period, and attributed this to a lack of an industrial base in the south west able to supply the

necessary capital, raw materials and labour during the change from wood to iron and later steel construction. It is pertinent to ask if the situation with steam ship owning in Cornwall could in any way be related to the decline of local shipbuilding. The relative paucity of local facilities to build in iron and steel undoubtedly contributed to the breakdown of the traditional relationship between local ship owners and ship builders, who would not only know each other socially but also provide mutual financial support in the form of often substantial shareholdings by builders in vessels ordered by local owners. However, as Hain and Chelley showed, lack of a friendly local shipbuilder did not inhibit the determined entrepreneur from constructing a fleet of national, and in the case of the former, international importance. Indeed, Hain showed a degree of loyalty to the yard belonging to John Readhead of South Shields that would have dignified a close, local relationship. As Jones notes, and as Chelley's brief flirtation with Harveys of Hayle demonstrated, owners in the iron and steel era went where they could get the best prices and best delivery times, even if that meant overturning local loyalties.

Although it provides some clues to the pattern of steam ship ownership in Cornwall, the county's singular geography cannot entirely explain the activities of Cornwall's steam ship owners. Indeed, the local entrepreneurs who made the most impression, Edward Hain and Richard Chelley, seemed to take a contrary delight in ignoring the county's geographical advantages and disadvantages.

Notes

¹ Classes BT108, BT109 and BT110

² N.W. Kennedy, *Records of Early British Steamships* (Liverpool: Birchall, 1933)

³ G. Farr, *West Country Passenger Steamers* (Prescott: Stephenson, 1967) p.148 et seq; G. Godfrey, 'The paddle steamer Sir Francis Drake (1823-1865)' *Maritime South West*, No. 9 (1996), 133-49

⁴ R. Larn & Larn, B., *Shipwreck Index of the British Isles Volume 1* (London: Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1995) gives the date as 16 July, however, Farr in *Passenger Steamers* gives 1 July.

⁵ Larn, *Shipwreck Index*

⁶ Farr, *Passenger Steamers*, Duckworth & Langmuir G.E., *Railway and other Steamers*; but see also the final paragraph of the introduction.

⁷ D. Chudleigh, *Bridge over Lyonesse* (Penzance: Isles of Scilly Steamship Co. Ltd, 1992); C.L.D. Duckworth & Langmuir, G.E., *Railway and other Steamers* (Prescott: Stephenson, 1968)

⁸ Farr, *Passenger Steamers*, p.138 et seq., Chudleigh, *Bridge over Lyonesse*; Duckworth & Langmuir, *Railway and other Steamers*

⁹ Farr, *Passenger Steamers*, p.162 et seq

¹⁰ Farr, *Passenger Steamers*, p.168

¹¹ Cornwall County Record Office(CRO), Penzance Ship Registers

¹² Farr, *Passenger Steamers*, p.115 et seq

¹³ C. Noall, *Harveys: 200 Years of Trading* (Truro: UBM Harveys, 1979); E. Vale *The Harveys of Hayle: Engine Builders, Shipwrights, and Merchants of Cornwall* (Truro: Bradford Barton, 1966)

¹⁴ A. Pawlyn, 'Bazeleys of Penzance and the Little Western Steamship Company' *Ships in Focus Record*, No.10 78-84, No.11 146-53, No.12 206-11

¹⁵ Pawlyn, 'Bazeleys of Penzance and the Little Western Steamship Company'

¹⁶ J. Bartlett, *Ships of North Cornwall* (Padstow: Tabb House, 1996)

¹⁷ C.V. Waine & Fenton, R.S., *Steam Coasters and Short Sea Traders* 3rd edn (Albington: Waine Research Publications, 1994)

¹⁸ C.H. Ward-Jackson, *Ships and Shipbuilders of a West Country Seaport* (Truro: Twelveheads Press, 1986) p.65

¹⁹ R.S. Fenton, *Mersey Rovers: the Coastal Tramp Ship Owners of Liverpool and the Mersey* (Gravesend: World Ship Society, 1997)

²⁰ R.S. Fenton, 'The County of Cornwall Steamship Co. Ltd' *Marine News*, No.44 (1990)155-60

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- ²¹ Fenton, 'The County of Cornwall Steamship Co. Ltd'
- ²² K.J. O'Donoghue & Appleyard, H.S., *Hain of St. Ives* (Kendal: World Ship Society, 1986)
- ²³ M. Cooper, 'Hain in a hundred: a British tramp fleet at work: New Year's Day 1900' *Ships in Focus Record*, No.34 104-11
- ²⁴ O'Donoghue & Appleyard, *Hain of St. Ives*
- ²⁵ CRO: Penzance Ship Registers
- ²⁶ A. Atkinson, 'Richard B Chellew and Chellew Navigation Co. Ltd' *British Shipping Fleets 2* (Preston: Ships in Focus Publications, 2008)
- ²⁷ Atkinson, 'Richard B Chellew and Chellew Navigation Co. Ltd.'
- ²⁸ Anon. 'A Well-known Cardiff Shipowner' *Shipping World*, 29 January 1913. The author is indebted to Dr David Jenkins of the National Waterfront Museum, Swansea for drawing his attention to Badcock.
- ²⁹ J.G. Jenkins & Jenkins, D., *Cardiff Shipowners* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1986); D. Burrell, 'Cardiff Hall Line' *British Shipping Fleets* (Preston: Ships in Focus Publications, 2000); CRO: Penzance Ship Registers
- ³⁰ D. Jenkins, *Shipowners of Cardiff: A Class by Themselves* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1997).
- ³¹ D. Jenkins, personal communication.
- ³² R.S. Fenton 'London Tramps and London Colliers', paper presented at the Fourth Symposium on London Shipbuilding and Ships on the Thames, Museum of London Docklands, 28 February 2009.
- ³³ S. Jones, 'Merchant Shipbuilding in the North East and South West of England, 1870-1913.' in S. Fisher *British Shipping and Seamen, 1630-1960* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1984)