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ENGLISH/BRITISH NAVAL HISTORY TO 1815

A Guide to the Literature

Eugene L. Rasor

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ENGLISH/BRITISH NAVAL HISTORY TO 1815

A Guide to the Literature

Eugene L. Rasor

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To
John B. Hattendorf

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Acknowledgments

This work is a comprehensive historiographical and bibliographical survey of the most important scholarly and printed materials about the naval and maritime history of England and Great Britain from earliest times to 1815; a "prequel" to Eugene Rasor, British Naval History since 1815: A Guide to the Literature in the Garland Military History Bibliographies series, vol. 13. New York: Garland Publishing, 1990, xxi, 841 pages, 3125 bibliographical entries, 507 pages of historiographical narrative. That bibliography was not annotated. Robin Higham was the overall editor of the series.

For English/British Naval History to 1815: A Guide to the Literature, the bibliography is annotated, 913 pages (373 pages of historiographical narrative) and **4124** annotated bibliographical entries. This survey will provide a major reference guide for students and scholars at all levels. It incorporates evaluative, qualitative, and critical analysis processes, the essence of historical scholarship. Each one of the **4124** annotated entries is evaluated, assessed, analyzed, integrated, and incorporated into the historiographical narrative section, the essence of historiographical scholarship.

Each of my thirteen other works published by Greenwood Press, The Battle of Jutland, The Spanish Armada, The Falklands/Malvinas Campaign, The Southwest Pacific Campaign, The Solomon Islands Campaign, The China-Burma-India Campaign, MacArthur, Mountbatten, Balfour, Churchill, TITANIC, and, forthcoming, William Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli, have similar formats: a comprehensive historiographical narrative section (about half of the total number of pages) followed by an annotated bibliography section. More recent ones have included a section on lists, as does this one. Critical analysis and qualitative assessments are featured.

The dedication is to John B. Hattendorf. No person in the Anglo-American world has done more as an advocate for English/British naval and maritime history; Anglo-American because he has contributed significantly in both worlds, holding a most prestigious chair at the U.S. Naval War College, a

Doctor of Philosophy from Oxford University, and recipient of the distinguished Caird Medal from the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, among much else, as presented below in the introduction.

A historiographer-bibliographer is most reliant and appreciative of assistance from institutional and university libraries such as the British Library, the Institute of Historical Research, London, Cambridge, Oxford, and Edinburgh; in the United States, university libraries such as Virginia, Virginia Tech, Duke, North Carolina, North Carolina State, Maryland, Emory and Henry College, the Library of Congress, and the John Carter Brown Library. All of these institutions have provided essential assistance for scholarly research.

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Abbreviations

Adm. - Admiral

AHR - American Historical Review

AmNep - American Neptune

Balt - Baltimore

Bull - Bulletin of

b/w - black and white

comp - compiler or compiled

diss - dissertation

DNB - Dictionary of National Biography

D.Phil - Doctor of Philosophy

ed - editor or edited

EHR - English Historical Review

FRHS - Fellow of the Royal Historical Society

FRS - Fellow of the Royal Society

fwd - foreword

HCA - High Court of the Admiralty

HisTod - History Today

illus - illustrations by

IHR - Institute of Historical Research

intro - introduction

JHUP - Johns Hopkins University Press

J - Journal

JRUSI - Journal of the Royal United Services Institute

LHA - Lord High Admiral

MHQ - Military History Quarterly

MM - Mariner's Mirror

MSS - manuscript

NASOH - North American Society of Oceanic History

NHS - Naval History Symposium

NIP – Naval Institute Press
NMM – National Maritime Museum
n.p. – no publisher
NRS – Navy Records Society
NWCR – Naval War College Review
NY – New York
Ph.D. – Doctor of Philosophy
Phil – Philadelphia
pp. – pages
PRO – Public Record Office
pseud – pseudonym
publishers – abbreviated names
RHS – Royal Historical Society
RN – Royal Navy
SOTL – ship-of-the-line
SNR – Society for Nautical Research
State - official abbreviations
trans – translated by
Trans – Transactions of the
Universities - by first name
UP – University Press
USN – United States Navy
USNA – United States Naval Academy
USNIP – United States Naval Institute Proceedings
Wash - Washington

PART I.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This work is a comprehensive historiographical and bibliographical survey of the most important scholarly and printed materials about the naval and maritime history of England and Great Britain from earliest times to 1815.

This chapter will introduce the history and background of English/British naval and maritime history. The topics in each of the following paragraphs represent those chapter titles in subsequent chapters of this historiographical narrative section.

The dedication is to a major contributor to maritime and naval history, John B. Hattendorf, Ernest J. King Professor of Maritime History and Director of the Advanced Research Program, U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI, and, former Director, Graduate Courses in Maritime History, Frank Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies, Mystic, CT. He has served as a professor at the war college since 1983. Born in Illinois in 1941, Hattendorf has a BA, Kenyon College, Masters Degree, Brown University, and Doctor of Philosophy, Pembroke College, Oxford University; a veteran of the U.S. Navy. He has been a prolific author and writer. Over twenty of his works are incorporated herein [1550-1570], plus co-authorship of conference proceedings and works about Patrick O'Brian, also included herein. He has submitted 20 entries for the New Dictionary of National Biography [2631], for example, on George Byng, Viscount Torrington, George Rooke, and Clowdisley Shovell. Hattendorf is recipient of the Caird Medal from the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, December 2000, the Caird Lecture: "The Anglo-French Naval Wars, 1689-1815." Among his works not described in this historiographical-bibliographical survey are a biography of Stephen B. Luce, a survey of maritime strategy, and an edition of the diary of an American naval attache in Britain, 1940-1941.

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

The English/British have always been known as "the sailor race" with "hearts of oak"; the Royal Navy as the "Senior Service" and "first line of defense," it is and has been "British and Best." It facilitated the motto: "the sun never set on the British Empire." The Royal Navy has exerted a powerful influence on Great Britain, its Empire, Europe, and, ultimately, the world, especially at its height, the period of Pax Britannica between about 1800 and 1920. The Royal Navy, RN, has been seen in that past as a legendary force permeated by an enduring heritage and tradition unchallenged and unassailable and with an unprecedented series of glorious leaders. It was credited with saving the country, if not civilization, during the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon and it was the first line of defense during the 19th and 20th centuries. Perhaps the American naval officer-historian, Alfred Thayer Mahan [2328, 2329], said it best when he concluded that "those far distant, storm-beaten ships" foiled the determination of Napoleon to dominate the world, and, later, perhaps, the same could be said for Adolf Hitler. Great victories have been achieved: over the Spanish Armada, over the Dutch, and the unprecedented series identified with Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson: Cape St. Vincent of 1797, the Nile of 1798, Copenhagen of 1801, and, the ultimate annihilation, Trafalgar of 1805.

On the other hand, the Royal Navy has been depicted as "a paper tiger," "a myth," and a backward, barbaric, "drowsy, inefficient, moth-eaten" force suffering from Byzantine intrigues and disgraceful unreadiness. At one point, the American colonies were lost when the RN failed to sustain a land army. Extreme problems of corruption, impressment, punishment, drunkenness, mutiny, and neglect have plagued the RN for centuries. There were occasions of decline, especially in the early 17th century after the glorious victory over the Spanish Armada, in the aforementioned American Revolution, and in the late 19th century. Conditions aboard ship were scandalously squalid. Wages on the lower deck were unchanged between the mid-17th through the mid-19th centuries.

There has been some debate about the actual beginnings of the RN, even when there was an English naval force. The new Naval History of Britain by N.A.M. Rodger [3110] began during the Anglo-Saxon period, in 660 AD. The old standard of William Laird Clowes [669] began with the Romans.

Naval and maritime matters of the British Isles can be traced back two millennia to Celtic and Roman times. Julius Caesar, commander of a Roman army conquering Gaul, conducted amphibious forays across the English Channel into southeastern England twice, in 55 and 54 BC. The Romans invaded and settled Roman Britain beginning in 43 AD. Hadrian's Wall and similar land defenses were constructed in the north. In the south along the English Channel, a system of forts called the Saxon Shore were constructed to defend Britain from attack and invasion from Germanic peoples of what is now Denmark and northern Germany, especially the Frisians, Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. About

400 AD, Anglo-Saxon England superseded Roman Britain. Subsequent "enemies" have varied over time. The Vikings were the first serious threat. The Irish and Scots, even the Welsh, have for short moments in ancient times exerted themselves at sea, usually the local sea. The Normans from northern France successfully invaded in 1066. "France" was a geographic expression until after 1000. Spain, Burgundy, some Italian states, the various Dutch republics, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia, and, in recent times, of course, Germany, have fought England/Britain. Portugal consistently was an ally. Venice had the first and longest "standing navy" with its famous arsenal to sustain it. Genoa was a close second.

Navies began as assemblies of merchant ships "impressed" by the king as a feudal obligation. There is some dispute about the role of the 9th-century King Alfred and the navy. In general, the Vikings enjoyed domination throughout their era, from about 800 to 1100 AD. About 1050, King Edward the Confessor designated certain ports on the English Channel for "ship service." Later that group would be known as the Cinque Ports, the first semblance of an English navy. Perhaps, "navy royal" would be an appropriate term for naval forces, which assembled on occasion up through the 16th and 17th centuries. A naval administration which included finance, bases, dockyards, victualling, and permanent provisions for personnel was essential before the term "Royal Navy" rightly could be used.

The Tudor dynasty of the 16th century consciously advanced the process. King Henry VII encouraged exploration and commerce, provided for a dry dock, and established financial management institutions. Henry VIII and Elizabeth I built up permanent fleets. The Spanish Armada of 1588 was successfully prevented from invasion, a great national propaganda victory. Britain was formative in the development of "maritime enterprise," a combination of naval operations, privateering, exploration, commerce, and colonization, all of which expanded worldwide. Such global hegemony has been variously characterized: sea power, sea mastery, naval supremacy, maritime enterprise, and sea empire.

Smuggling, piracy, and, even more so, privateering, must rank high as contributing to and influencing naval developments leading to the modern Royal Navy. So must merchant and fishing enterprises. All were "schools" for seamen, who could be "impressed" into the navy during times of declared emergency or war.

The structural organization of the Royal Navy consisted of the Admiralty, the executive authority and central administration located at Admiralty House at the bottom of Trafalgar Square and the top of Whitehall in London. The civilian head in modern times, sometimes a member of the cabinet, responsible to the government and to Parliament, was the First Lord of the Admiralty. The professional head was the First Sea Lord with a varying number of Sea Lords comprising a Navy Board, responsible for the day-to-day operation of the fleets and shore establishment. Fleets were organized geographically, for

example, Home, Mediterranean, North American, West Indian, and Far Eastern. In the Middle Ages and early modern period, Trinity House was the institution responsible for navigation, navigating aids, lighthouses, and channel marking.

The shore establishment consisted of the various naval bases, the Royal Dockyards, victualling yards, and shore service personnel. These were located all over the world. The Royal Dockyards were major industrial centers responsible for shipbuilding and maintenance. Victualling was a huge undertaking. Ordnance was supplied by a joint agency with the army. England had the best and most advanced gunfounding industry in the world. During the age of fighting sail, provision for the supply of wood, especially oak wood, became a matter of strategic survival of state, as would be the case later with the matter of access to unlimited and unhampered supplies of coal, then oil. First native wood was utilized and the supply was exhausted. Then the areas of Eastern Europe, the shores of the Baltic Sea, and North America were exploited. All of this essential process was documented by Robert Albion [29]. The huge quantities of wood had to be seasoned, the masts stored in ponds in the dockyards. Obviously, all of this, for wood, coal, and oil, over time, entailed massive commitment of resources just to ensure secure and unlimited access to these vital fuel sources.

Social history has become increasingly important. For the navy that included environmental conditions on the lower deck and personnel matters. Among the factors involved were recruitment practices. For centuries, that was impressment, a notorious process of virtual kidnapping. The government felt it had to maintain that option, even into the 19th century, to guarantee a supply of experienced seamen for mobilization for war. Again, the security of the state was at stake. Thousands and thousands of individual human tragedies, if not the origin of wars, can be traced to the practice of impressment in the Royal Navy. For normal circumstances, an early practice of recruitment was a "hire and discharge" system. An important reform of the mid-19th century, good for the navy and the seaman, was called long-term service. Other factors were discipline and legal provision for Courts Martial. Flogging was a common punishment for centuries. Mutinies, most notorious being those of 1797, occurring in the midst of the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, were disruptive.

Life and status aboard ship were divided into the quarterdeck for officers and the lower deck for enlisted men, and, later, much later, women. The Royal Marines have always been attached to the navy. Marines comprised about one-quarter of the crew on large ships. Impressment meant a continuous shortage of seamen for the lower deck. For the quarterdeck, officers typically came from the upper classes. The supply was usually excessive. In peacetime, officers were put on "half-pay," a kind of limbo status, which ensured they would be available for mobilization for war.

Types of naval ships have evolved. Nautical archaeological techniques have informed us about details of early ships of northern Europe which operated

in the North Sea, English Channel, Irish Sea, and Atlantic Ocean. Outstanding examples were SUTTON HOO, a 7th-century ship burial, wrecks of the Spanish Armada explored off the northern and western coasts of Scotland and Ireland, and VASA, a 17th-century Swedish warship. Findings of nautical archaeology also have led to revised interpretations. For example, revised conclusions have been reached about the guns aboard Spanish and English ships during the Armada campaign. Findings also determined that architectural design and construction were different for ships operating in the Mediterranean and those operating in the Atlantic. Spanish ships of the Armada built in Mediterranean shipyards were much more likely to break up and sink during stressful circumstances than those built in Spanish Atlantic shipyards.

Nevertheless, the earliest warships were basically merchant ships occasionally called up or "impressed" for war. Examples of early types were carracks and galleons. Galleys requiring oars were less used by the English but were often successful against the English. Early modern types included sloops, frigates, the "eyes" of the fleet, and ships of the line, early battleships. Designation was dependent on the number of guns in the broadside, for example, between up to 130 and down to 64, further subdivided into "rates," first-, second-, third-, and fourth-.

Naval tactics also have evolved. In the age of fighting sail, line-of-battle became the standard naval battle formation. The Admiralty issued rigid "Fighting Instructions" mandating tactical formations and battle maneuvers.

Strategic methods utilized by Britain have included blockade, close and distant. For centuries during the age of sail, this meant close blockade, a process of maintaining continuous watch opposite major ports of the enemy. That entailed a massive commitment of logistical, materiel, and personnel requirements during all seasons of the year.

Civil and criminal law and legal codes were found to be inapplicable under the international and unique conditions of the sea. Specialized judges and courts were set up, Vice-Admiralty Courts and Admiralty Law, dealing with such matters as piracy, prizes and prize law, wages and conditions for seamen, smuggling, collisions, wrecks, and insurance. The British Admiralty created model institutions basically copied by the rest of the world.

"The sailor race" with "hearts of oak" has been led by great monarchs and leaders. Kings and queens became increasingly conscious of sea power and its advantages for the unique situation for the British Isles. Kings Harold Godwinson, William I, Richard I, Henry V, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth I, and, of course, the king groomed for the navy, William IV, have been singled out. The navy remained loyal to Parliament during the Civil War, perhaps a decisive factor in the defeat and execution of King Charles I.

The age of fighting sail was characterized by gigantic national heroes, the foremost being Admiral Viscount Horatio Nelson. There has been an unequalled series of great professional naval commanders, including Francis Drake, Richard Grenville, Edward Hawke, George Rodney, Lord St. Vincent,

Cuthbert Collingwood, Edward Pellew, and after this period, Lord "Jackie" Fisher, John Jellicoe, David Beatty, A.B. Cunningham, and Lord Louis Mountbatten. Great First Lords have included George Anson, Lord Barham, and Winston Churchill.

Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson has become the epitome of British naval history, the idol, symbol, and icon of extraordinary influence. He was and is celebrated and commemorated with numerous portraits and statues, notably in Trafalgar Square, London; also in Edinburgh and Portsdown Hill, above Portsmouth. His memory is perpetuated by the Nelson Society and the 1805 Club. There are Nelson Galleries at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, and the Royal Naval Museum, Portsmouth, a Nelson Museum in Monmouth, and a famous Nelson Collection at Lloyd's of London. Biographies and studies of Nelson have proliferated. Professional associations and societies have joined to sponsor the Nelson Decade. The "decade" is 1995 to 2005, corresponding with the decade of the greatest achievements of Nelson during the period 1795-1805. Nelson's flagship at the battle of Trafalgar of 1805 was HMS VICTORY, restored, still in commission, and the object of much public interest at the Portsmouth Naval Base. Also at Portsmouth are MARY ROSE and HMS WARRIOR. Anchored on the Thames River near Tower Bridge is HMS BELFAST, a cruiser of World War II, now attached to the Imperial War Museum. All of these are ships of the British navy, which are constant and living reminders of a magnificent tradition.

A full-scale, multi-volume, scholarly, semi-official Naval History of Britain is in progress, the first in a hundred years. Volume I is out, The Safeguard of the Sea, by N.A.M. Rodger [3110], one of the most famous British naval historians. Among other things, Rodger [3117] was author of the best-selling Wooden World, about 18th-century naval society. There were hardback and paperback editions of Safeguard of the Sea. The project was sponsored by the National Maritime Museum, NMM, of Greenwich and the professional Society for Nautical Research, SNR, and Navy Records Society, NRS. Interestingly, the previous standard, The Royal Navy: A History, seven volumes, 1897-1903, edited by William Laird Clowes [669], has been reprinted by a new publishing house, which has concentrated on British naval works, Chatham Publishers of London. The Royal Navy included essays by Alfred Thayer Mahan [2328-2333] and by the then sitting president of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt [3137], who wrote on the War of 1812.

It is operations during the past 500 years which have made the Royal Navy great, beginning with the defeat of the 130-ship, "Invincible," Spanish Armada of 1588. The 17th century brought some setbacks, decline, civil war, and revolution. Nevertheless, the navy played a decisive role in its support of Parliament during the 1640s. Three Anglo-Dutch wars involved hard but ultimately victorious fights for the navy. Those wars were formative for the navy and the nation.

In the 18th century during the Seven Years' War, there were the great victories at Quiberon Bay of November 1759, Admiral Edward Hawke destroying 7 French ships of the line under the most severe conditions of weather, geography, and darkness, plus 2 successful amphibious campaigns thousands of miles from base, Havana and Manila, in June and October of 1762. Overcommitment worldwide was one explanation for the series of single-ship defeats during the American Revolution, and, ultimately, the loss of the American colonies.

One hundred fifteen was the total number of British ships of the line operated by the Royal Navy with no losses during a quarter-century of the ultimate period of sailing-ship warfare, the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, 1793-1815. Major battles were fought against the French, Spanish, Dutch, and Danes. Victories were increasingly annihilation: Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown of 1797, the Nile of 1798, Copenhagen of 1801, and, the ultimate, Trafalgar, 21 October 1805. During the Trafalgar campaign, 1803-1805, Admiral Nelson led the long search for Admiral Villeneuve throughout the Mediterranean Sea, across to the West Indies, and back. It was over a century before the Royal Navy was seriously threatened again.

All of these matters will be elaborated upon in the following chapters. Among prominent themes will be forts of the Saxon Shore, the Cinque Ports, the "navigation institution," Trinity House, the Royal Observatory, Vice-Admiralty Courts and the High Court of the Admiralty, development of the Admiralty, search for the Northwest Passage, ship burials such as SUTTON HOO, events of the Nelson Decade, the ages of exploration, and development of the Royal Navy.

Throughout, some comparisons and juxtapositions will be pursued to inform better and learn more about the Royal Navy, its evolution and developments: Vikings, Scandinavia, Normandy, Gascony, Venice, Genoa, Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, France, Denmark, the Ottoman Empire, Barbary States, North American colonies, and the United States of America.

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Chapter 2

Purpose, Scope, Format, and Features

A. PURPOSE

English/British Naval History to 1815: A Guide to the Literature, a volume in the Bibliographies and Indexes in Military Studies series of Greenwood Press, is a complete reference, research, and information guide for use of all levels of general readers, students, and scholars and all persons interested in English/British naval and maritime history. It is a comprehensive survey and a critical review of the literature. The "literature" includes all important published and related materials about English/British naval history to the year 1815. It is a historiographical and bibliographical survey of standard, popular, and official histories, monographs, important articles in journals and periodicals, anthologies, conference, symposium, and seminar papers, guides, bibliographies, documents, doctoral dissertations, and master's theses. The emphasis is on the broadest possible coverage.

It is a purposeful and planned "pre-quel" to Eugene Rasor [3012], British Naval History since 1815: A Guide to the Literature in the Garland Military History Bibliographies series, volume 13, 1990, xxi, 841 pages, 3125 bibliographical entries, 507 pages of historiographical narrative. That bibliography was not annotated. Robin Higham [1627] was the overall editor of that series. For English/British Naval History to 1815: A Guide to the Literature, the bibliography is annotated. There are 3988 annotated bibliographical entries, plus items 3989 to 4124 in the Addendum. As far as can be determined, nothing as extensive, comprehensive, and up-to-date as this historiographical-bibliographical survey has been published.

B. SCOPE

It is important to incorporate historical background, context, comparison, perspective, linkage, origins, developments, and relationships. The narrative and listings below present the maximum scope and broadest coverage.

Topics covered are references, resource centers, histories, historians, naval wars, operations, and battles, related maritime matters, piracy and privateering, the law of the sea, warships, personalities – naval officers, human resources – the lower deck, the Admiralty, administration, logistics, victualling, discipline, shipbuilding, dockyards, naval ports, exploration and discovery, geographic regions, nautical archaeology, nautical dictionaries, nautical fiction, art, music, and cyberspace. The final chapter presents gaps in the literature and recommended research to be accomplished. Not covered, but perhaps should have been, are topics of empire, imperialism, colonialism, India and the East India Company, commerce, trade, monopoly companies, maritime entrepreneurs, commercial enterprise, fishing, whaling, and coastal shipping, and the Atlantic Slave Trade. Many of these areas were covered in Eugene Rasor [3012], *British Naval History since 1815*: imperialism (chapter 8, pp. 255-306), trade, commerce, and the merchant marine (chapter 7A-7F, pp. 225-45), fishing and whaling, (chapter 7G, pp. 246-48), and the slave trade (chapter 9, pp. 309-15). These maritime operations produced the vital "schools for seamen" and sources for "manning" the navy, and the investment, which was essential for exploration, discovery, and privateering, ventures. In turn, the navy provided the protection and security for the merchant, companies, fishing, and whaling fleets and their operations, advancement, and expansion.

A variety of types of publications are also included. Official and published documents, publication series, nautical fiction, and doctoral dissertations are all incorporated. A list of pertinent master's theses are added in Appendix I. Examples of documents include all of the publications of the Navy Records Society, over 140 works and counting, many of the publications of the Hakluyt Society, published proceedings from the American Naval History Symposia, Anglo-French and Anglo-Dutch conferences of naval historians, conferences celebrating important anniversaries and special events, for example, several commemorations of the quadricentennial of the Spanish Armada and the Longitude conference at Harvard University, and festschrift, collections of articles in honor or in memory of an important scholar.

The use of "English/British" in the title is to signify official, national, and regional transitions, specifically England and Wales up to 1603 when the dual kingdoms of England and Scotland were united under a single monarch, up to 1707, when those kingdoms were united, and up to 1800 when Ireland was incorporated. The naval histories of Scotland, Ireland, and that unique phenomenon, the Dalriada Kingdom, will be covered. 1815, an important watershed in British and European history, is the terminal date. Eugene Rasor

[3012], British Naval History since 1815, 1990, picks up the coverage for 1815 and after.

The subject of English/British naval and maritime history is blessed with numerous professional journals and periodicals in which discussion, analysis, interpretation, revision, and products of research can be presented and discussed. These are listed in Part II., the Descriptive Lists section. As with journals and periodicals, English/British naval and maritime history can be pursued, advanced, and enthused about by participation in related associations, societies, symposia, and conferences. These are listed in Part II. See item a.

C. FORMAT

English/British Naval History to 1815: A Guide to the Literature is a historiographical-bibliographical survey. Critical analysis is an important feature. It is divided into three major sections, Part I, the Historiographical Narrative section, Part II, the Descriptive Lists section, and Part III, the Annotated Bibliography section. This historiographical-bibliographical survey will be guided by a number of principles. As suggested, the subject is extraordinary, so an additional technique will be incorporated: descriptive listing. Indeed, that will be a third section, above and beyond the usual two sections, historiographical survey and annotated bibliography. Other than that, it will be in the same format as the eleven other published and two further contracted works the author has done or is doing for Greenwood Press.

The format is presented in three parts. The annotated bibliography section contains 3988 numbered entries plus entries 3989 to 4124 attached after item 3988 in the Addendum. Each and every one of those original annotated entries is incorporated, critically analyzed, evaluated, integrated, and set in context in the historiographical narrative section.

As noted, the moment a draft of a historiographical-bibliographical work is completed, it becomes obsolete. Inevitably, new and additional works come to the attention of the author. In the case of English/British Naval History to 1815, several months intervened between submission of a final draft and the acceptance of the manuscript. Only then was it possible to proceed with the final steps, the making of the Author Index and the Subject Index. So, the 136 annotated bibliographical entries in the Addendum, items numbered 3989 to 4124, are new and additional works which came to the attention of the author in that interval of several months. It was not possible to incorporate them into Part I, the Historiographical Narrative Section. They are added in the Addendum for the purpose of making this work as up-to-date as possible.

Each of the sections depends upon the other. Because the 8 categories (a. through h.), in the descriptive lists section incorporate so many individual items that do not lend themselves to being integrated and analyzed, they will stand by themselves as a separate and additional section, complementing the narrative. The descriptive lists section further demonstrates the vast expansion

of the subject, the extraordinary interest in the subject, and the wide variety of approaches and categories associated with it.

The Historiographical Narrative section incorporates critical analysis, critiques, evaluation, assessment, and integration into the overall literature. A conscious effort has been made to demonstrate analytical and qualitative judgments. In each of the chapters and subdivisions, the best, most useful, most praiseworthy works are reviewed early in the presentations, generally in some detail. Lesser complementary and supplementary works are included but with less emphasis and comment. Every one of the **3988** numbered entries in the Annotated Bibliography section is incorporated, integrated, and placed in context in the Historiographical Narrative section, and, occasionally, in the Descriptive Lists section. The exception is items **3989-4124** found in the Addendum, added after item **3988**.

Works cited in the Historiographical Narrative section, in most cases, include the name of the author followed immediately by a bracket within which is a number in **bold** print, for example, "Christopher Lloyd [**1745**]." That is then followed by the title. Titles of books are underlined in the text and in the Annotated Bibliography section. Then, a date is included. That date is the earliest date of publication. If further editions have appeared, they are listed chronologically in the Annotated Bibliography section under the number in **bold** print. An example: "Christopher Lloyd [**1745**], The Nation and the Navy, 1954, incorporated a traditional narrative approach." That book was published in 1954 and had subsequent editions in 1961 and 1965. That latter information would be found by going to the number "**1745**" in the Annotated Bibliography section.

To avoid some repetition, most first and last dates of births-deaths and some for events have been allocated to the Annotated Bibliography section, thus, not repeated in the Historiographical Narrative section.

The Annotated Bibliography section brings together **4124** annotated entries. It is structured alphabetically so that, in most cases, the first letter of the last name of the author is the key to the entry. The Addendum is alphabetized separately. In Part II, the 8 categories, **a.** through **h.**, are structured in descriptive list form. The individual items under each category are numbered consecutively with a right-hand parenthesis only, for example, "23)." That allows maximum opportunity to display the magnitude of different items associated with English/British naval history to 1815.

D. CROSS REFERENCING AND INDEXES

Within this work, several methods of assistance to the reader are utilized. Five will be described. First, the Table of Contents is detailed with many titled subdivisions for easy access by subject, for example, about 75 titled subdivisions in the chapter covering wars, campaigns, and battles chronologically, from Roman times to the 1820s. Second, brackets are used extensively in Part I. and, when appropriate, in Part II. As noted above, every

pertinent citation in the Historiographical Narrative section is designated by a bracketed numbered entry usually followed by the date of publication, all taken from Part III., the Annotated Bibliography section. The entry numbers are in **bold print**, for example, "written by Tom Pocock [3493], 1999" or "according to Christopher Lloyd [1455], 1978."

A third way of cross-referencing uses the device of **bold print**: "**See _____**," presenting numbers, capital letters, and numbers, and in some cases, lower-case letters for categories in Part II, the Descriptive Lists section, from a pertinent chapter, section, subdivision and/or category where the reader can go to find further or related information or elaboration on that subject. See the table of contents. Parts I and Part II are divided into chapters, sections, subdivisions, and, in the case of Part II, categories. Examples of this cross-referencing device are: **See 4., B., 2. and d., See 18., C., 12. and m., or See 20., A.** These direct the reader to that Arabic numbered chapter, capital lettered section, and Arabic numbered subsection and, also, a lower-case lettered category from Part II. The numbers within each category are designated, for example, "16)." or "6)."

The fourth method of cross-referencing is the index. The nature of this historiographical-bibliographical survey is different from that of the traditional narrative history, monograph, and biography. There are two indexes that follow this work, Author-Person and Subject. Because persons incorporated in this survey were authors, and, on occasion, subjects of works, all persons have been included in the Author-Person Index. For some listings, abbreviated titles are used instead of author names.

A fifth method of assisting the reader concerns juxtaposition. As a number of items for one subject are presented the entries are qualitatively presented, that is, the best, most scholarly works, are listed first, followed by lesser works on the same topic in the hundreds of chronological, geographical, and topical categories.

E. LIMITATIONS

There is an important limitation in attaining the objectives of maximum scope and the broadest coverage: the historiographer-bibliographer is limited to what has been published. This is not a monograph, biography, or a book of history but a historiographical-bibliographical survey of the literature. The last chapter will point out a large number of gaps and recommend further research, study, and writing, which are needed to fill those gaps.

The limitation of what and how much has been published has guided the structure of the Contents. For example, because so much has been published about Nelson and about William Bligh and the mutiny on the *BOUNTY* of 1789, a single chapter, "Special Emphasis," has been set aside for them. In the next chapter, "Other Personalities – Officers," organization and priority were determined by the productivity of publication, a virtual quantitative assessment, for example, great leaders such as Drake, Raleigh, Pepys, and Blake have been

the subjects of numerous studies. By contrast, such leaders as Hawke, Pellew, and Collingwood have been neglected, receiving little coverage. These and others are included later in the chapter under "Miscellaneous." In a later chapter, "Exploration and Discovery," the coverage of Captain James Cook so far exceeded all else that Cook is covered early in that chapter. As suggested in the final chapter on "Gaps," deficiencies about coverage of some great leaders, including several of the famous "Band of Brothers" close to Nelson, need to be rectified.

F. FEATURES

Goals and objectives of this historiographical-bibliographical survey have been enriched and furthered by incorporation of numerous scholarly conferences, symposia, and anniversary commemorations and celebrations. Scholars convene, read and critique papers, and publish their findings. In the Annotated Bibliography section, these are cited under the name of the editor. Participants are the most prominent and expert scholars and incorporate and report on the latest research and interpretations. Examples include past events of the Nelson Decade, 1995-2005, plans and events for Trafalgar 200, the quadricentennial of the Spanish Armada, 1988, the bicentennial of the founding of Australia, and many more, all included below.

Biographies and biographical studies of great and prominent naval and maritime figures are also numerous and constitute large parts of the historiographical narrative and annotated bibliography sections. As noted above, the extent and priority of coverage are factors of how much has been published about each. Specifically, biographies and biographical studies of:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1) Horatio Nelson – over 80 | 8) George Monck |
| 2) William Bligh and the mutiny - over 60 | 9) William Dampier |
| 3) Francis Drake – over 40 | 10) George Anson |
| 4) Walter Raleigh and Samuel Pepys – over 20 | 11) Edward Vernon |
| 5) Thomas Cochrane – over 10 | 12) Edward Hawke |
| 6) Robert Blake and all subsequent ones listed – single digits | 13) George Rodney |
| 7) John Hawkins | 14) Richard Howe |
| | 15) John Jervis, Earl of St. Vincent |
| | 16) William Sydney Smith |
| | 17) Cuthbert Collingwood |

Incorporated is a systematic search and report of Ph.D. dissertations and Master's Degree theses, representing the cutting edge of scholarly research. Included are about 200 Ph.D. dissertations and over 30 Master's Degree theses, the former being properly integrated into the literature and the theses being listed separately in Appendix I. As noted, Part II, Descriptive Lists, add detail and elaboration in an abbreviated format.

Chapter 3

General References

A. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

A place to begin research on English/British naval history or any other topic related to military and naval history is Hardin Craig [783], A Bibliography of Encyclopedias and Dictionaries Dealing with Military, Naval, and Maritime Affairs, the latest edition, 1971. Then, go to The American Historical Guide to Historical Literature [64], particularly valuable because it has been updated, 1931, 1949, 1961, and 1995; the latest editor was Mary Beth Norton, there were 27,000 entries compiled by over 200 scholar-experts, and the entries were qualitatively listed, that is, the best, most scholarly works are listed first in the hundreds of chronological, geographical, and topical categories.

For British military and naval history, the best, most extensive historiographical-bibliographical surveys were Robin Higham [1627], A Guide to the Sources of British Military History, 1971, for the Conference on British Studies, and Gerald Jordan [1836], British Military History: A Supplement to Robin Higham's Guide to the Sources, 1988. These two works contained a total of 1250 pages, describing thousands of entries. Scholar-experts wrote historiographical essays, for example, Daniel Baugh, Roger Knight, and Alan Pearsall on the Royal Navy before 1714 and Christopher Lloyd on the navy of the 18th century and on health in the navy. Broader coverage was found in another sequential set. Robert Albion [30], Naval and Maritime History, 1973, and Benjamin Labaree [1984], A Supplement to Robert G. Albion's "Naval and Maritime History," 1988, both annotated bibliographies with a total of over 7000 entries. Two older, prominent British naval historians produced bibliographies: Geoffrey Callender [547] for the Historical Association, 1924-1925, and George Manwaring [2355], 1930, reprinted in 1970. For comparison, see Anthony Bruce [481], A Bibliography Military History, 1981, covered the army up to 1660, 3280 entries.

The "prequel" to this present historiographical-bibliographical publication was Eugene Rasor [3012], British Naval History since 1815: A Guide to the Literature, published by Garland in its Military History Bibliographies series in 1990: xxi, 841 pages, 3125 bibliographical entries, 507 pages of historiographical narrative. The renowned bibliographer, Robin Higham [1627], was the general editor of that series. The bibliography was not annotated and the focus was on publications since about 1960, considered the period of the "new military history." Every one of the 3125 bibliographical entries was incorporated, critically analyzed, evaluated, compared, and integrated into the overall literature. Two differences included in the present "prequel" were annotation of the 3988 entries in the bibliography and inclusion of the literature from modern times, that is, since the 18th century. In "Historical Background" (3012, pp. 7-12), a number of "pre-1815" works of note were introduced, for example, works of Kenneth Andrews [104-117], David Quinn [2973-2989], G.V. Scammell [3233-3238], Jeremy Black [327-336], Marcus Rediker [3037], N.A.M. Rodger [3103-3117], Roger Morriss [2566-2576], and Daniel Baugh [237-242]. Rasor [3010-3017] has also published similar historiographical-bibliographical, reference works on naval subjects, all for Greenwood Press. Most pertinent for this volume was The Spanish Armada of 1588: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography, vol. 9 of Bibliographies of Battles and Leaders series, 1993, xviii, 278 pp., 1125 annotated entries. The Falklands/Malvinas Campaign: A Bibliography, vol. 6 of Bibliographies of Battles and Leaders series, 1991, xvi, 196 pp., 554 annotated entries, included coverage beginning in the 18th century. Also, there was The Battle of Jutland: A Bibliography, vol. 7 of Bibliographies of Battles and Leaders series, 1991, xiv, 178 pp., 538 annotated entries; and, most recently, The TITANIC: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography, vol. 53 of Bibliographies and Indexes in World History series, 2001, xvi, 238 pp., 674 annotated entries, a total of 930 items described.

Four books described and surveyed naval publications and libraries of the early modern period: Maurice Cockle [689], Bibliography of Military Books Up to 1642 and of Contemporary Foreign Works, 1900, introduced by Charles Oman; Harry Skallerup [3335], Books Afloat and Ashore: A History of Books, Libraries and Reading among Seamen during the Age of Sail, 1974, applicable to America; Thomas Adams [18, English Maritime Books: Relating to Ships and Their Construction and Operation at Sea Printed before 1801], 1993, listing 3800 items, and John Parker [2756], Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620, 1966, listing 267 titles.

More generally, for medieval warfare, there were two recent contributions: Everett Crosby [807], Medieval Warfare: A Bibliographical Guide, 2000, and David Nicolle [2645], Medieval Warfare Source Book, 1996, a second volume projected. For the 17th and early 18th centuries, Colin Steele [3436] surveyed the bibliography of Iberian writing, which described the New World and was then translated into English. Translators included Samuel

Purchas, Richard Hakluyt, and John Stevens. The objective was to stimulate exploration and colonization. Alan Day [886], Search for the Northwest Passage, 1986, was an annotated bibliography, 5160 entries covering exploration, geography, and history.

As might be expected, the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon were well covered: Donald Horward [1678], Napoleonic Military History: A Bibliography, 1986, in Garland's Military History Bibliographies series, vol. 19, with 7131 items; two by Ronald Caldwell [544, 545], The Era of the French Revolution, 2 vols., 1990, with 48,000 entries, and The Era of Napoleon, 2 vols., 1991; Leigh Whaley [3823], The Impact of Napoleon, 1800-1815: An Annotated Bibliography, 1997, 480 annotated entries; Jack Meyer [2503], An Annotated Bibliography of the Napoleonic Era, 1987, 1754 entries, all books, and Clive Emsley [1044], The Longman Companion to Napoleonic Europe, 1993, the latter more of a reference guide. Whaley counted over 400,000 works on Napoleon.

Several bibliographies covered the obvious leaders. Three were for Horatio Nelson: Leonard Cowie [780], Lord Nelson: A Bibliography, 1990, in Bibliographies of British Statesmen series, vol. 7, with 1344 entries; an older one, John Knox Laughton [2042], The Bibliography of Nelson, 1894, an enormous compilation, and an article by Tom Pocock [2867], "Lord Nelson: A Selected Bibliography," 1990, covering about 200 bibliographies. Benjamin Draper [962] compiled a manuscript version, Drake Bibliography, 1979, with 600 annotated entries; two for Walter Raleigh, Christopher Armitage [136], 1987, with 1967 entries, and T.N. Brushfield [491], 1886, reprinted in 1968, 330 annotated entries, and two for James Cook, both originally published in 1928 with updated editions: Maurice Holmes [1659], Captain James Cook, RN: A Bibliographical Excursion and M.K. Beddie [269], Bibliography of Captain James Cook, RN, F.R.S., Circumnavigator, the latter with 4824 entries, Cook being especially popular in Australia. Seven bibliographies covered prominent writers associated with the navy: John Hattendorf [1552], A Bibliography of the Works of Alfred Thayer Mahan, 1993; P.N. Furbank [1216], A Critical Bibliography of Daniel Defoe, 1998; Philip Gosse [1330], A Bibliography of the Works of Captain Charles Johnson, 1927; Theodore Ehrsam [1026], A Bibliography of Joseph Conrad, 1969; Robert Madison [2324], an article on James Fenimore Cooper, 1997; A.E. Cunningham [830], Patrick O'Brian, 1994, and Michael Sadlier [3204], an article on Frederick Marryat, among others, 1922.

Bibliographies of events included Kenneth Andrews [110], an article on English voyages to the Caribbean in the late 16th century, 1974; W. Calvin Dickinson [929], The War of Spanish Succession, 1702-1713: A Selected Bibliography, 1996, with 808 annotated entries; three about the War of 1812: one by Dwight Smith [3357], The War of 1812: An Annotated Bibliography, 1985, with 1400 entries, and two by John Fredriksen [1186, 1187], Free Trade and Sailors' Rights: A Bibliography of the War of 1812, 1997, with over 6000

entries, and War of 1812: Eyewitness Accounts: An Annotated Bibliography, 1997, with 850 sources; Victor Crittenden [804], A Bibliography of the First Fleet, 1982, with 966 items, and Robert Bergerson [304], Vinland Bibliography, 1997. Significant for his virtual obsession was L.G. Carr Laughton [2056], "A Bibliography of Nautical Dictionaries," 1911; see elsewhere. In the 1980s, Walter Minchinton [2520] published History of the Northern Seas: A Select Bibliography of Works. The maritime journal, Mariner's Mirror, publishes an annual bibliography, edited by M. Patrick [2379].

B. NAVAL ENCYCLOPEDIAS

Two massive, multi-volume publication projects are in progress and are pertinent and contributory to English/British naval history. Spencer Tucker [3656], Biggs Professor of Military History at Virginia Military Institute, was general editor of The Encyclopedia of Naval Warfare, 3 hardback volumes, over 1500 articles by scholar-experts, projected to be published by ABC-Clio in 2002. John Hattendorf [1566], Ernest King Professor of Maritime History at the U.S. Naval War College, was general editor of The Oxford Companion of Maritime History, 4 vols., projected for 2005, seen as broader in scope and more extensive than the Tucker work. It will be divided by sections; individual sections under directors, for example, Roger Knight, Andrew Lambert, N.A.M. Rodger, and Glyn Williams. British naval history will be featured in both works. A third publication was completed: Anthony Bruce [482], An Encyclopedia of Naval History, 1998, with over 1000 articles.

Sea Battles: A Reference Guide by Michael Sanderson [3217] presented 250 naval battles in alphabetical order preceded by a chronology; coverage was from 494 BC to 1944. The first pertinent one was a battle off Dover in 1217; others highlighted included Sluys, Winchelsea, Brest, Spithead, and those of the three Dutch wars. Illustrations were exclusively from the NMM. Two other encyclopedias were Graham Blackburn [339], Illustrated Encyclopedia of Ships, Boats, Vessels and Other Water-Borne Craft, 1978, describing with illustrations a variety of types of craft, "Advice Boat" to "Zulu," a Scottish fishing boat, and H.B. Mason [2454], Encyclopedia of Ships and Shipping, 1908. The contribution of Oxford University Press continued: Peter Kemp [1866], The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea, 1988, with 3700 entries, and Jonathan Raban [2993], The Oxford Book of the Sea, 1992, an anthology. Selections included Hakluyt, Purchas, Defoe, Anson, Falconer, Cooper, Dana, and Melville.

C. NAVAL BIOGRAPHIES

Naval biography was covered well for the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Officers only were included. Most extensive, under these limitations, was William O'Bryne [2684], A Naval Biographical Dictionary, 2 vols., 1849, reprinted in 2000, touting coverage of "every living officer in Her Majesty's Navy" at that time. James Ralfe [3003], The Naval Biography of Great Britain, 4 vols., incorporated memoirs of naval officers during the reign of George III, 1760-1820, thirty per volume, for example, Rodney, Howe, Hood, Duncan, St. Vincent, and Nelson. These were published in the 1820s. John Marshall [2417], published Royal Naval Biography, 4 vols., there being numerous editions. Explanations for these and other memoirs were found in George Egerton [1021], Political Memoir: Essays on the Politics of Memory, 1994. A chapter, "Rulers of the Waves," cited a series, for example, Phineas Pett, inevitably, Pepys, John Charnock, Marshall, Ralfe, and O'Bryne. The prolific writer of naval biography, John Knox Laughton [2055], published Studies in Naval History: Biographies of Admirals, Naval Administrators, Naval Architects, and Naval Historians in the "Dictionary of National Biography," 1887. Somewhat related, both covering the age of sail, were an essay by William Hunt [1737] on nautical autobiography and R.C. Bell [284], describing diaries.

Naval biography was incorporated in the massive project in progress, The New Dictionary of National Biography [2631], forthcoming from Oxford University Press. H.C.G. Matthew, the original editor, died in 1999 and was replaced by Brian Harrison. All entries of The Dictionary of National Biography [930], 1911-1996, 22 vols. plus 1st-11th supplements, c.36,500 biographical essays, c.45,000 pages, 32 million words, were to be rewritten plus new essays will be added, especially of neglected women. 2004 was the anticipated date of publication of the New DNB, a massive undertaking described in an article by Harrison [1533]. 9500 contributors and a staff of 50 employees were involved. A CD-ROM version [930] of the original was published in 2000. As noted above, British naval historian John Knox Laughton personally wrote over 900 naval biographical essays for the original. Authors in the process of rewriting agreed that he had his own agenda and his essays were biased and neglected crucial aspects of the lives of those about whom he wrote, especially non-naval factors.

The Naval Chronicle [2605], 1799-1818, published twice a year, incorporated mini-biographies of British naval officers, including a short autobiography by Horatio Nelson [2620].

D. CHRONOLOGIES

Specialized as to region but covering all of modern time was Wars of the Americas: A Chronology of Armed Conflict in the New World, 1492 to the Present by David Marley [2393]. Divided into eight chronological parts, this useful reference guide presented hundreds of conflicts in a large, encyclopedic format.

The Royal Navy Day by Day by R.E.A. Shrubbs [3312] was an extensive, informative, handy publication stressing naval heritage and anniversaries. Coverage was 700 years of British naval history, a day-by-day diary commemorating the major events and personalities. Mini-biographies appeared on appropriate days, battles and technical advances were noted, and 440 events were illustrated.

E. STATISTICS

Michael Clodfelter [663], Warfare and Armed Conflicts, 2 vols., 1992, was a statistical reference guide to casualties, individual persons and military and naval units, in warfare, 1618-1991. Examples in table form:

Beachy Head, July 1690: English-Dutch, 56 ships, 12 lost, French, 78 ships, 0 lost;

La Hogue-Barfleur, May 1692: English-Dutch, 99 ships, 0 lost, French, 44 ships, 15 lost;

Quiberon Bay, November 1759: British, 23 ships, 2 lost, French, 21 ships, 7 lost;

Camperdown, October 1797: British, 16, 0 lost, Dutch, 15 ships, 9 lost;

the Nile, August 1798: British, 13 ships, 0 lost, French, 13 ships, 11 lost, and

Trafalgar, October 1805: British, 27 ships, 0 lost, French-Spanish, 33 ships, 20 lost.

F. DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

Scholarly productivity originally began with academic requirements and attaining proper status and qualification. The initiation, the cutting edge of academic endeavors has traditionally been at two levels, a lower level progressing to the highest, the ultimate, level. The Master's Degree thesis and the Doctor of Philosophy dissertation are incorporated in the Annotated Bibliography section as "Ph.D. diss" and in Appendix I. as "MA thesis." The dissertation has been described as "ultimate" because, in the ancient tradition of "masterpiece" for guild status, the dissertation must be unique, something never researched and covered. It must be an original contribution, registered as such. Qualified readers then certify it.

This work will recognize the importance of these scholarly endeavors. Over thirty pertinent Master's Degree theses are listed in Appendix I. Ph.D. dissertations have been incorporated in the proper place, in alphabetical order by the last name of the author in the Annotated Bibliography section and integrated into the Historiographical Narrative section at the appropriate place, always identified as a dissertation. About 200 dissertations have been cited.

Since Master's Degree theses have not been integrated into the text, a few examples from the list in Appendix I. will be reviewed. Richard Blake, 1980, researched aspects of religion in the RN, something much needed. **See 22.** This was noted as a "gap" in the literature. Another gap about religion and the navy also concerned chaplains, the subject of the thesis of J. Curry, 1955. E.A. Buchanan, 1996, wrote of maritime Scotland, 10,000 BC to 1018 AD. The great economic historian, Eleanor Carus Wilson [589], 1926, wrote about the early overseas trade of Bristol in the 15th century. Philip MacDougall [2240-2244], 1983, followed up his study of Chatham Dockyard with scholarly publications. Michael Steer, 1971, wrote on that decisive activity, the blockade of Brest.

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Chapter 4

Resource Centers

Best entree to research and resource centers would be Janet Foster [1163], British Archives: A Guide to Archive Resources in the United Kingdom, 1995. Information and addresses of Record Offices, National Libraries, museums, universities, and colleges were in 1200 entries organized alphabetically by towns. For the general topic, go to Rita Bryon [498], Maritime Information: A Guide to Libraries and Sources of Information in the United Kingdom, 1993, sponsored by the Maritime Information Association. Included were 800 institutions, their addresses, telephone and fax numbers, and instructions on access.

A. OFFICIAL ARCHIVES AND DEPOSITORIES

1. The Public Record Office

The first archive to consult for naval and maritime history of England/Britain was the Public Record Office, PRO, since 1997, centrally located at Kew, about ten miles out from the center of London. All government records were housed and were available there. Indicative of its importance, several publications described it, its holdings, and its services: Guide to the Public Record Office [1420], a microfiche publication, 1999; John Cantwell [571], The Public Record Office, 1838-1958, 1991; G.H. Martin [2433], The Records of the Nation, 1990; Anne Crawford [790], "The Public Record Office," 2000; Montagu Giuseppi [1289], Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office, 3 vols., 1923-1969; J.H. Collingridge [706], Catalogue of an Exhibition of Naval Records at the Public Record Office, 1950, and under Great Britain, Public Record Office [1373-1377], Summary of Records, 2 vols., 1962-1969. Its origins were traced to the PRO Act of 1838; it was the "repository of legal memory and fount of historical knowledge" of Great Britain. An online

catalogue was available in 2002. Specifically for Admiralty records, again go to Great Britain, Public Record Office, and search for List of Admiralty Records, Admiralty Digests: Heads and Sections, and Admiralty Digests (IND Numbers by Year). N.A.M. Rodger [3104, 3112], a former official at the PRO and currently writing the quasi-official history of the navy of Britain, has two reference aids for the researcher: The Armada in the Public Records, 1988, and Naval Records for Genealogists, 1989. Related was another aid for genealogists: Christopher Watts [3793], My Ancestor Was a Merchant Seaman: How Can I Find Out More about Him?, 1991. Sources suggested were tax, legal, trade, port books, register of ships, Trinity House, and Lloyd's of London. David Dobson [943], Scottish Maritime Records, 1600-1850: A Guide for Family Historians, 1996, was a guide to records for genealogists in Scotland; topics included the Royal Navy, merchant marine, fishing, whaling, smuggling, pirates, privateering, and court records.

2. The British Library

Formerly the British Museum Library, the British Library recently moved several blocks to a new, purpose-built facility near King's Cross Station.

Patricia Fara [1075], 1997, described the origins of the British Museum, first opened in 1759, the first in Europe owned for and by the public. The Royal Society oversaw its development, especially its president, Joseph Banks. See 17., E. P.R. Harris [1530], A History of the British Museum Library, 1998, described the library of record for Britain. There was a massive collection of printed books and an enormous collection of manuscripts. Notable was The Harleian Miscellany: Or, a Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, as Well in Manuscript as in Print, Found in the Late Earl of Oxford's Library [1517], 8 vols., acquired in the late 18th and early 19th centuries by the British Museum Library. This famous collection came from the library of Robert and Edward Harley, Earls of Oxford and included pertinent materials from the 16th century, for example, the marriage of Mary Tudor and Philip of Spain and the Spanish Armada.

3. The National Archives of the United States and the Library of Congress

A complete survey of archival records of all agencies of the U.S. Government was found in The Guide to Federal Records in the National Archives of the United States [1419], 3 vols., 1996, 2500 pp. Pertinent information on English/British naval history was housed here. Equally massive were the collections of the Library of Congress, the library of record for the United States, Washington, DC.

4. Institutions of Higher Education

British institutions of higher education have traditionally facilitated advancement of British naval history. That continued, but the individual contributions have altered. In August 1999, the University of London announced appointment of a chair, the professorship of Naval History, the first such designated appointment for over half a century; Oxford and Cambridge once having such chairs which lapsed. The first holder of the London chair, professor in the War Studies Department, King's College, was Andrew Lambert [2001-2009], the prolific and acclaimed British naval historian.

Other British universities stressing naval and maritime studies and achieving impressive results were Exeter, Hull, Greenwich, Bristol, Plymouth, and St. Andrews. All have academic centers and degree programmes focusing on these areas.

The Institute of Historical Research has endured and contributed. On the occasion of its seventy-fifth anniversary, Steven Smith [3370] in an article and Debra Birch [321] in a book published accounts. A multi-storey reference library providing a variety of services such as publications, seminars, courses, and special projects, the Institute of Historical Research was located in the Senate House of the University of London, adjacent to the British Museum. There were 4000 members and 500 seminars a year. It sponsored the annual Anglo-American Historians Conference; in July 2001, the 71st conference, the theme was "The Sea."

B. LIBRARIES

Peter Fox [1174] in a book of 1998 described the history and collections of the Cambridge University Library, a central, massive, major university library at Cambridge. Its holdings in current and bound periodicals were particularly impressive. Other university libraries included London, Oxford, Edinburgh, Exeter, East Anglia, Greenwich, Hull, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews in Britain.

Admiralty Library

The old Admiralty Library has moved to its own separate building at the Portsmouth Naval Base and has ties to the Royal Naval Museum there.

Bodleian Library

This ancient resource center of Oxford University holds numerous primary, secondary, and manuscript sources. The famous Oxford professor-historian, C.H. Firth [1104], described "Papers Relating to the Navy in the Bodleian Library," 1913, for example, the Rawlinson Papers acquired in 1755, which contained log books and naval journals which had belonged to Samuel Pepys.

John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI

In America, on the campus grounds of Brown University, Providence, RI, but not officially part of the university, was the John Carter Brown Library where a unique and massive collection of materials was housed, all about early maritime history. Maritime History: A Preliminary Hand-List of the Collection in the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University [2383], 1985, described the holdings in 1176 entries. Subject sections included navigation, sailing directions, shipping, health, piracy, shipwrecks, navies, warfare, dictionaries, bibliographies, and, a special area, Sir Francis Drake.

Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge

A unique resource collection was originally accumulated by Samuel Pepys [2815-2818] who intended to write a major history of the Royal Navy. Much of the material was what would be later considered official and placed in the PRO. It was now held at Pepys' college at the University of Cambridge, Magdalene College. First, there was Catalogue of the Pepys Library of Magdalene College [2815] originally arranged by Pepys himself and in the process of publication, projected for at least 7 vols. Second was J.R. Tanner [3563], A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval MSS. in the Pepysian Library, 5 vols., a publication of the NRS. The library consisted of 3000 volumes. It has been described as "an inexhaustible mine of miscellaneous information about sea affairs."

Royal United Services Institution Library

An older institution, which has dealt with military and naval history matters for almost two centuries, was the Royal United Services Institution and its library, located at Whitehall Yard in London. Shelford Bidwell [316] described its history and services.

Lloyd's of London

Perhaps surprisingly, Lloyd's of London was the site of an important, specialized resource center, in addition to its role as registrar and insurer of maritime shipping and intelligence worldwide since its founding in 1691; Lloyd's List since 1734. Elaboration of those details was found in Antony Brown [470], Hazard Unlimited: The Story of Lloyd's of London, 1978, Rupert Jarvis [1794], "Sources for the History of Ships and Shipping," 1958, and Frank Murphy [2586], a short article, 1967. Lloyd's maintained a unique feature as described in detail by Warren Dawson [885], its librarian, The Nelson Collection at Lloyd's: A Description of the Nelson Relics and the Transcript of the Autograph Letters and Documents of Nelson and His Circle and the Other Naval Papers of Nelson's Period, 1932. The Nelson Room was a strong-room located in the Lloyd's Building since 1931. In the 1790s, Lloyd's presented a silver plate service in honor of his victories at the Nile and Copenhagen. That has subsequently been obtained by Lloyd's and expanded to include swords, medals,

telescopes, Trafalgar vases, portraits, letters, and documents from Nelson, his captains, and Admiral Rodney.

Archives General de Simancas

Spanish encouragement and impetus to expand research and publication among its holdings related to the Spanish Armada during the time of the quadricentennial, 1988, was productive and successful. Catalogos del Archivo General de Simancas [594] was an instance.

C. MUSEUMS

Maritime museums were important centers of interest and research. Many incorporated libraries, reading rooms, manuscript collections, maps, and prints. First, go to Martin Evans [1059], Maritime Museums: A Guide to the Collections and Museum Ships in Britain and Ireland, 1998, Keith Wheatley [3824], National Maritime Museum Guide to Maritime Britain, 1991, and Robert Smith [3366], The Naval Institute Guide to Maritime Museums of North America, 1990. Martin introduced 250 maritime museums and 400 historic ships, all open to the public. Wheatley divided Britain into ten regions, describing hundreds of places and institutions of interest, for example, docks, dockyards, preserved ships, replicas, and museums. Smith presented a directory and information on locations of 300 museums, for example, Vancouver and Key West. The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich and the Royal Naval Museum, Portsmouth, were among the sponsors of the Nelson Decade [2624] and Trafalgar 200.

For maximum effectiveness and efficiency, announcement has been made creating the Maritime Collection Initiative of the United Kingdom, UKMCI. It was an institution which coordinated collections and designated "lead" museums: Aberdeen Maritime Museum for the oil and gas industry; the National Fisheries Heritage Centre, Grimsby, for fishing; the MARY ROSE Trust for maritime archaeology; the Merseyside Maritime Museum for North Atlantic liner trade and emigration; the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, for navigation and exploration, and National Maritime Museum, Cornwall, in Falmouth, for modern environment issues.

1. The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

In the spring of 1999, Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip officially opened the large new entrance gallery of the National Maritime Museum, NMM, of Greenwich. It was located in part of the old royal palace at Greenwich and included the famous Greenwich Observatory, the location of the zero meridian, and the exquisite Queen's House. Since the 1920s, NMM has conducted an expansive programme as museum, educational, media, research

and astronomical institutions. Within a stone's throw was the Millennium Dome, not attached to NMM, where exhibitions were held. There was an extensive collection of books, periodicals, prints, and manuscripts held in the Reading Room and related offices. Kevin Littlewood [2147], Of Ships and Stars: Maritime Heritage and the Founding of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, 1998; Basil Greenhill [1390], The National Maritime Museum, 1982; K.F. Lindsay-MacDougall [2139], A Guide to the Manuscripts at the National Maritime Museum, 1960; R.J.B. Knight [1963], Guide to the Manuscripts in the National Maritime Museum, 2 vols., 1977-1980; Michael Sanderson [3216], National Maritime Museum Catalogue of the Library, 2 vols., 1968-1970, and National Maritime Museum [2604], Catalogue of the Library of the National Maritime Museum, 5 vols., 1971, were pertinent publications. The initiative for founding the museum came from the SNR. Important personalities of its history included Geoffrey Callender [547-557], R.C. Anderson [79-98], C. Northcote Parkinson [2759-2774], and Basil Greenhill [1385-1392]. The NMM sponsored a project, which sought out British naval papers available in North America, the work of Roger Morriss [2571], originally suggested by John Hattendorf. 116 libraries responded positively, describing individual holdings, for example, Duke, Michigan, Yale, Harvard, JCB at Brown, the Folger, the Library of Congress, and the Peabody and the Mystic Seaport Museums. In all, there were 1190 items.

2. The Royal Naval Museum

The Royal Naval Museum at Portsmouth within the Portsmouth Naval Base also was undergoing expansion and provided impressive services. A new combined naval-Admiralty library was in a nearby, refurbished building. It has sponsored an ambitious publication programme. Matthew Sheldon [3297], Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the Royal Naval Museum, 1997, described one of its services.

3. Other Maritime Museums

The Merseyside Maritime Museum of Liverpool also rated commendation. J.G. Read [3033] described its holdings. The institution included ports, archives, and a Maritime Records Center.

Christopher Alexander [37] described the unique MARY ROSE Museum sponsored by the MARY ROSE Trust. There the MARY ROSE was displayed, having been raised after spectacular achievement of a nautical archaeology project in 1982; MARY ROSE sank in 1545. Thousands of extraordinary artifacts were housed in the nearby MARY ROSE Museum, all within the Portsmouth Naval Base.

David Goddard [1305] described the less successful Exeter Maritime Museum, which focused on working boats and was sponsored by the

International Sailing Craft Association. It opened in 1969 with 23 boats on display in a harbor at Exeter.

In the United States, a notable maritime museum was the Mariners' Museum [2380] of Newport News, VA., founded in 1930. A folio-size guide described its history, holdings, and fabulous location that included a lake and fish collection. The Mariners' Museum was the site where a major project of nautical archaeology is being conducted: artifacts, including tons of iron and an early steam engine, from the expedition on the USS MONITOR, sunk 31 December 1862 off the Outer Banks of North Carolina, were being identified, analyzed, and preserved. Plans were ongoing to create a USS MONITOR Center at the Museum. Other exhibitions and topics such as Nelson and TITANIC have been featured. See 18., A.

Mystic Seaport Museum, Salem, MA. and its associated Frank E. Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies were described by Jennifer Hardy [1511] and Benjamin Labaree [1983]. Guide to the Oral History Collections at Mystic Seaport Museum, 1992, by Fred Calabretta [541], catalogued 218 oral history interviews and included the Munson Lectures, 1955-1972.

D. INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS, AND SOCIETIES

British naval history has been pursued and advanced by associations, societies, symposia, and conferences. See item b.

1. The Navy Records Society

The Navy Records Society was a premier institution leading in the development of English/British naval history studies and research. The Navy Records Society, NRS, was founded in 1893 by a number of prominent leaders in the rising movement for naval history, for example, John Knox Laughton [2041-2055]. Beginning in 1894, NRS published annual volumes of collections of primary documents and papers related to English/British naval history, volume # 142 being a recent one and others are forthcoming. These were hefty tomes demonstrating the essence of historiography and historical research, publication of primary sources. See Appendix II. In 1993, The Centenary of the Navy Records Society was published by A.B. Sainsbury [3208]. At the same time the Centenary Volume, British Naval Documents, 1204-1960, edited by John Hattendorf [1553], R.J.B. Knight, A.W.H. Pearsall, N.A.M. Rodger and Geoffrey Till, was published, volume 131, almost 1200 pages, a total of 535 documents incorporated, organized in the same six topical categories over seven chronological periods, 1204-1960. Examples of the topical categories were

introduction, strategy, operations, administration, weapons, and personnel. It was dedicated to the Lord High Admiral, Queen Elizabeth II.

On occasion, five times thus far, a volume, The Naval Miscellany, has been published by the NRS: 1. John Knox Laughton [2048], 1902, vol. 20; 2. Laughton [2049] again, 1912, vol. 40; 3. W.G. Perrin [2828], 1928, vol. 63; 4. Christopher Lloyd [2164], 1952, vol. 92, and N.A.M. Rodger [3111], 1984, vol. 125. As the title noted, items were various, for example, letters of Vernon and Nelson, a letter from a mutineer at the Nore, instructions to James Cook, a report on the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807, letters between Nelson and Hood, instructions from Philip II to the commander of the Armada, a treatise on management of the Royal Dockyards, and an account of naval landings on the coast of France in 1758.

The pertinent volumes of Publications of the Navy Records Society were incorporated in the appropriate place in this Historiographical Narrative section. All volumes were listed in proper alphabetical order using the last name of the editor in the Annotated Bibliography section; each entry of a volume of NRS was preceded by "[NRS ____]," the blank being the volume number, #1 through # 140s. See **Appendix II**. A complete listing in numerical order, # 1 through # 140s, plus some forthcoming volumes is included. Most of the Publications of the Navy Records Society were pertinent to the years before 1815. A few were applicable for the period after 1815: all authors were editors; this listing was in alphabetical order: J. Beeler [273], Milne Papers, forthcoming; E. Grove [1410], Defeat of Attack on Shipping, # 137; two by P. Halpern [1460, 1461], Keyes Papers, # 117, 121, and 122 and Royal Navy in the Mediterranean, # 126; P. Kemp [1867], Papers of John Fisher, #s 102 and 106; Nicholas Lambert [2009], The Submarine Service, 1900-1918, 2001, # 142; E. Lumby [2203], Policy in the Mediterranean, # 115; T. Patterson [2790], Jellicoe Papers, #s 108 and 111; B.Ranft [3006], Beatty Papers, #s 128 and 132; S. Roskill [3148], Documents of the Naval Air Service, # 113; W. Rowbotham [3154], Naval Brigades in Indian Mutiny, # 87; three by M.Simpson [3323, 3324, 3325], Anglo-American Naval Relations, # 130, Cunningham Papers, # 140, and Somerville Papers, # 134; two by D. Smith [3354, 3355], Russian War, #s 83, 84, and 85 and Second China Wars, # 95; J. Sumida [3517], Pollen Papers, # 124; D. Syrett [3539], Battle of the Atlantic, # 139, and N. Tracy [3637], Collective Naval Defence, # 136.

2. The Society for Nautical Research

The Society for Nautical Research has focused on different approaches from NRS. The two organizations complement each other. The Society for Nautical Research, SNR, was founded in 1910. Three articles in Mariner's Mirror, the journal founded and sponsored by the SNR, described its origins and activities: Alan Moore [2533] in 1955, R.C. Anderson [84] in 1961, and A.B. Sainsbury [3209] in 1994. As early as 1904, Leonard Carr Laughton [2056-

2066], son of John Knox Laughton, Michael Oppenheim [2710-2712], and others discussed formation of a nautical antiquarian society. A longtime objective of L.C. Laughton [2064] was creation of the universal nautical dictionary, yet to be fulfilled. He was so dedicated to that end that he wanted to call SNR the Jal Society, named for Augustin Jal [1772-1774], the French formulator of an important nautical dictionary in the mid-19th century. See 19. A committee was formed and the SNR began in 1910, the first issue of Mariner's Mirror [2378], then to be monthly, came out in 1911 with Laughton as editor. Clements Markham [2384-2385] hosted the first Annual General Meeting, about 30 attending. It was the SNR in the 1920s that was most instrumental in saving HMS VICTORY and its "Save the VICTORY" campaign has maintained that historic ship over the decades. See 8., A., 6. Mariner's Mirror [2378], now a quarterly, has remained the best journal of and for naval and maritime history in the world. Michael Duffy [971-978] of the University of Exeter and Richard Harding [1491-1496] of the University of Westminster were recent editors. The SNR launched the initiative leading to creation of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. Another product of the SNR was the ongoing Bethel Watercraft Project, the work of John Bethel [312], a register and description of all watercraft.

3. Other Associations

Mention of Augustin Jal called to mind other institutions dedicated to famous naval personalities of the past. Two were the Nelson Society and the 1805 Club. Their objectives were to perpetuate the achievements and memory of Horatio Nelson. Richard Cavendish [599] described the Nelson Society, founded in 1981, which currently has about 500 members. It sponsors a quarterly journal, The Nelson Dispatch, annual lectures, and an annual commemoration service at 1:25 PM, 21 October, on the quarterdeck of HMS VICTORY, the time and place where Nelson was shot. It was a major sponsor of the Nelson Decade [2624] and Trafalgar 200. See 8., A., 7.

A separate society, the 1805 Club, has formed. Its focus has been preservation of Nelson-related monuments and graves. Its publication was Trafalgar Chronicle: Year Book of the 1805 Club.

Similarly, there was the Hakluyt Society, founded in 1846, like the NRS, publisher of volumes of primary sources on exploration and maritime achievements in the tradition of its namesakes, the two Richard Hakluyts of the 16th and early 17th centuries. R.C. Bridges [438], Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society, 1996, commemorated the 150th anniversary of its founding. See 17., A. Publications of the Hakluyt Society, over 300 scholarly, primary works on voyages and travel have been published: 100 volumes in the first series, to 1898, 181 volumes in the second series, to 1995, and 44 volumes in the Extra series. Recent presidents have been Glyndwr Williams, D.B. Quinn, and Harold Smedley.

The Pepys Club perpetuated the memory and achievements of Samuel Pepys, the diarist and great administrator of the Royal Navy in the 17th century.

Other societies of mention were the Royal Society, the Royal Geographical Society, the Institute of Nautical Archaeology, the Nautical Archaeology Society, the International Congress of Maritime Museums, the Maritime History Group of the Memorial University of Newfoundland, the Maritime Historical Studies Centre of the University of Hull, the Maritime History Institute of the University of Greenwich, the Munson Institute of Maritime History of the Mystic Seaport Museum, the Naval Dockyards Society, and U.S. Naval Institute. **See item b.**

E. CONFERENCES, SYMPOSIA, EXHIBITIONS, AND FESTSCHRIFT

English/British naval and maritime history has been celebrated, reviewed, and advanced in a variety of venues and special publications, one-time and in series.

Conferences and symposia can be as a general interest, usually scholarly, event or, on occasion, in a series every year or every other year, or celebrating or commemorating special occasions. Examples of all of these will be presented. The heartbeat of the profession can be found among these products.

One-time conferences and celebrations of anniversaries occurred routinely. Their published proceedings can be found throughout this publication. Examples of ongoing ones were the Naval History Symposium, held every odd-numbered year at the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD. Two others have periodic meetings in Britain and elsewhere: the Anglo-French Naval Historians Conference and the Anglo-Dutch Maritime Historians Conference.

Exhibitions, usually sponsored by museums or libraries, have been another way to celebrate special persons and events. Often, a catalogue, generally a detailed and scholarly undertaking, accompanied and supported the exhibition.

Finally, students, colleagues, and friends of outstanding scholars join, present, and publish academic papers in honor of or to memorialize that scholar, the German term, *festschrift*, describing the process. As well, here can be found the best products of the profession.

It is impossible to describe, to even list, all of the published papers and essays in these collections. Dozens of them have been cited throughout this Historiographical Narrative section. Hundreds have been included in the Annotated Bibliography section.

To illustrate the importance, the scholarly contributions, the extent, and the depth of these collections, examples will be presented, seemingly an arbitrary process. Others are described in later chapters.

In most cases, the editor is listed as author.

1. The Naval History Symposium

Since the mid-1970s, the Department of History of the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD, has sponsored an international naval history conference every odd-numbered years, for example, number 14 was 23-25 September 1999 and number 15 was scheduled for 12-14 September 2001, but was cancelled after events of 11 September. It is anticipated that number 16 and number 17 will occur in September or October, 2003 and 2005. The proceedings of these symposia have been published. What is known about details of these symposia is as follows.

Naval History Symposium: as scheduled: examples of pertinent papers and published articles in the proceedings are included.

[NHS 1] dir: Arnold Shapack [3290]. Summary of papers published, 1973.

[NHS 2] No information.

[NHS 3] dir: Robert Love, proceedings published, 1980.
27-28 October 1977.

R. Seager on Mahan

Eugene Rasor on manning in the RN

A.Z. Freeman on "Wooden Walls" during the reign of Edward I

Ronald Pollitt on Elizabethan naval administration

[NHS 4] dir: Craig Symonds [3533], proceedings published, 1979.

25-26 October 1979.

N.A.M. Rodger on British naval thought

Rudy Bauss on Rio as a strategic base in the 18th century

Scott Harmon on the USN and suppression of the slave trade

Timothy Runyan on merchantmen as men-of-war in medieval England

Carl Christie on the RN and the Walcheren expedition of 1809

[NHS 5] No information.

[NHS 6] dir: Daniel Masterman [2461], proceedings published, 1987.

29-30 September 1983.

Michael Jones on logistics of Anglo-Saxon invasions

Donald Pollitt on the Armada

James Bradford on the papers of John Paul Jones

Barry Lord on armed schooners in the War of 1812

Daniel Baugh on the Blue-Water strategy over 4 centuries

Arthur Gilbert on mutinies in the 18th century.

[NHS 7] dir: William Cogar [690], proceedings published, 1988.

November 1986.

John Morrison on the trireme

Sari Horstein on convoys and strategy in the 17th century

Alan Jamieson on Caribbean strategy in the 18th century

Edward Miller on the MONITOR project, nautical archaeology

Gerald Jordan on the Trafalgar centennial

Ronald Carpenter on Mahan

[NHS 8] dir: William Cogar [691], proceedings published, 1989.

24-25 September 1987.

Philip Callaghan on "The Myth of Trafalgar"

Donald Horward on Admiral Berkeley during the Peninsular campaign

John Talbott on cooper sheathing for the RN

Patricia Crimmin on the RN in the Levant, 1783-1815

David Williams on the British government and merchant seamen

separate papers by William Dudley, David Skaggs, and Barry Gough on the campaigns in the Lakes during the War of 1812

sessions on nautical archaeology and the quadricentennial for the Spanish Armada

[NHS 9] dir: William Roberts [3082], proceedings published, 1991.

18-20 October 1989.

William Still on CSS ALABAMA and nautical archaeology

Julian Gwyn on naval power and the sieges of Louisbourg

John Brittain on Baltic naval operations in the 18th century

A.B. Sainsbury on the RN in the Dardanelles in 1807

Kenneth Breen on Rodney in the West Indies in 1781

Roger A. Morriss on Cockburn and the Chesapeake campaign of 1813

[NHS 10] dir: Jack Sweetman [3530], proceedings published, 1993.

11-13 September 1991.

Gordon Rudd on joint operations during the War of 1812

Mark Grimsley on Henry Morgan and irregular naval warfare

Donald Graves on the RN and "the Military Revolution"

Gerald Jordan and John McErlean on amphibious operations during the 1780s and 1790s

Gordon Harrington on American action against the East India Company

[NHS 11] dir: Robert Love [2191], proceedings published, 2001.

21-23 October 1993.

David Skaggs on James Fenimore Cooper and the battle of Lake Erie

Jorge Ortiz Sotelo on the British naval station and Peru in the early 19th century

a session on nautical archaeology

[NHS 12] dir: William Cogar [692], proceedings published, 1997.

26-27 October 1995.

Roger Knight on sources for British naval history

Roger Morriss on British naval papers in North America

David Sylvester on "Medieval Reservists" of the English navy

Paul Walsh on the struggle for Ireland, 900-1200

Robert Glass on naval courts martial during the 17th century

Peter LeFevre on English naval propaganda in the 17th century

H.W. Dickinson on training British naval officers

Richard Harding and Michael Palmer on amphibious operations during the age of sail

[NHS 13] dir: William McBride [2223].

2-4 October 1997.

Christopher George on Cockburn in the Chesapeake, 1813

Gregory Ripple on English reaction to John Paul Jones, 1778-1779

Joseph Zarzynski on the sunken fleet of 1758 as time capsules

an additional session on nautical archaeology

Kelly DeVries on naval gunnery of the 15th century

James Pritchard on Franco-Dutch warfare in the West Indies in the 1670s

Julian Gwyn on prize vessels and the Halifax Vice Admiralty Court

[NHS 14] dir: Craig Symonds [3534] and Randy Blanco, proceedings published, 2001.

23-25 September 1999.

Richard Harding on British naval intelligence during the 18th century

Patrick Jennings on operations of the RN on Lake Michigan, 1770s and 1780s

Eugene Rasor on British naval historiography

Andrew Lambert on early British naval historians

Daniel Baugh on British naval and political history

C.W. Koburger on French naval historiography

Donald Petrie on naval prize court records

Tyrone Martin on flogging in the USN

Joshua Smith on privateering during the War of 1812

[NHS 15] dir: William Roberts [3083].

12-14 September 2001 – CANCELLED.

proposed papers:

Richard Stewart on the English expedition to the Isle of Rhe in 1627

Adam Siegel on naval operations against Cadiz

Mark Danley on defense against amphibious operations in the 18th century

[NHS 16] Proposed for 2003 [2606].

[NHS 17] Proposed for 2005 [2607].

2. The Anglo-French Naval Historians Conference

These are periodic conferences consisting of meetings, papers are read, and proceedings are published, for example, Guerres ed Paix [1418], 1986: papers included a tribute to J.S. Bromley and John Hattendorf on George Byng; Francais et Anglais en Mediterranee [1175], 1992: Roger Morriss on maintaining a fleet in the Mediterranean; Peter LeFavre [2097], Guerres Maritimes, 1996: Michael Duffy on the Plymouth dockyard and Christie Pfister on privateering from Dunkirk, and Philippe Haudrere [1573], Les Flottes des Compagnies des Indes, 1996: Brian Lavery on the East India Company ships as warships and Andrew Lambert on building warships of teak in Bombay.

3. Anglo-Dutch Maritime Historians Conference

Since the late 1950s, Anglo-Dutch maritime historian conferences have been held periodically. Examples were London, September 1966 and Leiden in 1976. Examples included J.S. Bromley [450], Britain and the Netherlands in Europe and Asia, 1968: J.R. Jones on old rivalries and Bromley on impressment, and A.C. Duke [984], Britain and the Netherlands, 1977: Bromley on the search for an alternative to impressment.

4. Other Conferences and Symposia

As noted, these academic and professional gatherings can be seen as the advanced guard for the profession.

There have been a variety.

The U.S. Naval War College and Yale University have jointly sponsored several important conferences, the key initiators being, respectively, John Hattendorf and Paul Kennedy. An example was John Hattendorf [1554], Doing Naval History, 1995, the published proceedings: Volker Berghahn on the importance of domestic politics and Mark Shulman calling for an American equivalent to the Navy Records Society.

Examples of other conferences were Anne Bang-Andersen [194], The North Sea, 1985: A.N. Ryan on trade in the North Sea during the Continental System; Walter Minchinton [2519], Britain and the Northern Seas, 1988, from the 4th Conference of the Association for the History of the Northern Seas: David Aldrich on Anglo-Baltic trade; The American Revolution and the Sea [65], 1974, for the 14th International Conference of the International Commission for Maritime History: R.J.B. Knight on the performance of the Royal Dockyards and David Syrett on the RN and suppression of revolt; Sarah Palmer [2740], Chartered and Uncharted Waters, 1982, the proceedings from a conference on British maritime history: J.S. Bromley on seamen of the RN after 1688; Abigail Siddall [3315], Actes du 7e Colloque International d'Histoire Militaire, 1984: A.W.H. Pearsall on George Anson; Timothy Runyan [3174], Ships, Seafaring and Society, 1987, from the Great Lakes Historical Society: Runyan on the organization of Royal fleets in medieval England and Mary Miller on naval stores and Anglo-Russian encounters; Frederick Allis [51], Seafaring in Colonial Massachusetts, 1980: Joseph Frese on smuggling, the RN, and the Customs Service, and Lewis Fischer [1107], Shipping and Trade, 1750-1950, 1990, from the International Congress of Economic History: David Starkey on manning problems when war begins.

5. Exhibitions

Any number of these exhibitions could be presented; most usually accompanied by scholarly-developed guides and catalogues.

Helen Wallis [3744], 1979, described an exhibition of maps associated with the circumnavigation of Francis Drake in the late 1570s, a secret voyage at the time. The British Library sponsored the quadricentennial exhibition. The inimitable A.L. Rowse [3157], 1952, introduced an exhibition of "Historical Relics of Sir Francis Drake."

A number of major exhibitions supported the quadricentennial of the Spanish Armada. See 7., F., 4.-7. A century previously, there were exhibitions: W.H.Wright [3966, 3968], "The Armada Tercentary Exhibition," 1888, and Catalogue of the Exhibition of Armada and Elizabethan Relics, 1888.

6. Festschrift

Any number could be cited. In each case, pertinent articles are cited as examples: Charles Carter [584], From the Renaissance to Counter-Reformation: Essays in Honour of Garrett Mattingly, 1965: Lamar Jensen on Franco-Spanish diplomacy and the Armada; Christopher Harper-Bill [1523], Studies in Medieval History: Presented to R. Allen Brown, 1989: Nicholas Hooper on the Anglo-Saxon navy; P.G.W. Annis [122], Sea Studies: Essays in Honour of Basil Greenhill, 1983: R.J.B. Knight on civilians and the navy, 1660-1832; Ian Wood [3931], People and Places in Northern Europe: Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer, 1991: Wood on the Franks and SUTTON HOO; Fredrick Krantz [1976], History from Below: Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology in Honour of George Rude, 1985: J.S. Bromley on Caribbean freebooters and other essays by Eric Hobsbawm and Christopher Hill; William Aiken [23], Conflict in Stuart England: Essays in Honour of Wallace Notestein, 1960: Aiken on the Admiralty in conflict and commission, and Facts and Factors in Economic History: Articles by Former Students of Edwin F. Gay [1068], 1932, a longtime professor at Harvard: F.C. Dietz on English public finance and the national state and A.P. Usher on Spanish ships in the 16th and 17th centuries.

F. JOURNALS AND PERIODICALS

Articles in professional and association journals and periodicals were among the best, most scholarly, most detailed sources of information, as demonstrated by the hundreds included in the Annotated Bibliography section of this work and incorporated into the Historiographical Narrative section. Dale Steiner [3441], Historical Journals, introduced the subject. More specific details were found in Michael Unsworth [3699], Military Periodicals, a useful guide to military and naval journals. Three exceptions to these traditional professional journals and periodicals were included first: The Naval Chronicle [2605], Brassey's Naval Annual [425], and The Naval Review [2608]. The first was directly pertinent to the pre-1815 period; the second and third were published later but, on occasion, have references to events and operations before 1815.

The Naval Chronicle

A unique journal [2605] applicable to the greatest era of English/British naval history, 40 volumes published twice a year between 1799 and 1818; the editors included Joyce Gold, James Clarke, and John M'Arthur. It had a magazine format and was aimed at the interests of contemporaneous naval officers and their families. Included were action reports, officer biographical memoirs, professional discussions, letters, stories, and anecdotes. There was little about nor of interest to the ordinary seaman. The third volume, 1800, included "A Sketch of My Life" by Horatio Nelson [2620]. There was no index. In 1999, Stackpole and Chatham publishers reprinted extracts in five volumes; an index was added. Nicholas Tracy was editor.

Brassey's Naval Annual

Titled variously [425] over the years, for example, The Naval Annual, Brassey's Naval Annual, Brassey's Naval and Shipping Annual, and Brassey's Annual: The Armed Forces Yearbook, initiated in 1886 by Lord Brassey, later edited by T.A. Brassey, Earl Brassey, and H.G. Thursfield. It surveyed and chronicled naval and shipping events with topical articles; later, incorporating all of the armed forces.

The Naval Review

In 1912, Herbert Richmond, K.G.B. Dewar, and R.M. Bellairs, leaders of what they called the Naval Society, launched a quarterly, in-house journal [2608] for members only by subscription. The purpose was an independent forum to further the spread of professional thought and study among officers of the RN. Richmond was the author of many of the early articles; later articles were by Stephen Roskill and J.F.C. Fuller. James Goldrick compiled a list of authors for some of the volumes and an index of volumes 1-64, 1913-1976, has been published.

The following traditional professional journals and periodicals would be most likely to contain articles and other helpful information on English/British naval history. In Part II, Descriptive Lists, there is a list of additional pertinent journals and periodicals. **See item a.**

The Mariner's Mirror

The premier journal for this subject was Mariner's Mirror [2379], sponsored by the Society for Nautical Research and founded in 1911. In 2001, Chatham Publishers announced the entire run of Mariner's Mirror [2378] was to be available on CD-ROM, every issue from 1911 to 2000, 45, 000 pages, 11,000 indexed articles, and 2000 illustrations.

The American Neptune

In North America was a quarterly journal since 1941, the name coming from Atlantic Neptune, an 18th-century collection of British Admiralty surveys of

northeastern North America. Samuel Eliot Morison [2549-2553] was a founding president. Sometime editor, Timothy Runyan [3170] summarized the history of The American Neptune in an article in 1991.

Proceedings of the Naval Institute

Sponsored by the U.S. Naval Institute, Annapolis, MD, this monthly journal was of primary interest to naval officers. Articles about English/British naval history were frequently included.

The Journal of Military History

Sponsored by the Society for Military History; previously Military Affairs, this quarterly journal contained numerous articles related to English/British naval history.

The Times Literary Supplement

A publication of The Times of London, the TLS has been a weekly, newspaper format review of the literature and intellectual developments for decades. Derwent May [2473], Critical Times: The History of "The Times Literary Supplement," 2001, described its history and status, currently at a circulation of 35,000 per week.

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Chapter 5

Naval Writers and Historians

The story of English/British naval writers and historians can be told by presenting a series of generations of English/British naval historians, not all of whom were British citizens, and concentrating on those who have produced histories for this pre-1815 period. All of the noted persons reviewed in this chapter will appear again and again in subsequent chapters. Robert Shenk [3298] wrote Guide to Naval Writing, 1990, focusing on the technical and the professional types of writing.

Several groupings will be presented.

True professionalization culminating in acceptable levels of scholarship was a slow process, not maturing until the second or third decade of the 20th century. For example, as early as 1875 in what would at that time be considered the "trade journal," The Journal of the United Services Institute, John Knox Laughton [2053, 2047] vowed to produce "scientific" history, then the trend in the tradition of the great German historian, Leopold von Ranke. Indeed, Laughton elaborated, urging "the National Study of Naval History" in a later article in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 1898. The general public should be educated about the decisive role of the Royal Navy in the history of the country. A quarter of a century later, his son, L. Carr Laughton [2066], in the fledgling Mariner's Mirror, recalled the contributions of his father and presented a critique of A.T. Mahan [2328, 2329].

Professional societies such as the Navy Records Society, founded in 1893, and the Society for Nautical Research, founded in 1910, and academic institutions such as the Royal Naval College, first at Portsmouth and then at Greenwich, nurtured the process.

Among the great historians were the two Richard Hakluyts, Samuel Purchas, Robert Southey, William James, Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Julian Corbett, A.T. Mahan, Herbert Richmond, Robert Albion, Samuel Eliot Morison, Michael Lewis, Christopher Lloyd, N.A.M. Rodger, J.C. Beaglehole, John B. Hattendorf, R.J.B. Knight, Daniel Baugh, David Quinn, Glyndwr Williams,

Michael Duffy, and Richard Harding. Either in this chapter, or, more likely, in subsequent ones, each of these contributors will figure prominently and citations of their works will appear at the appropriate time; for each, more than once.

Grouping English/British Naval Historians
The generations were as follows.

A. THE PROTO-NAVAL HISTORIANS

William James, Sir John Barrow, and Nicholas Harris Nicolas.

Those three, James [1783-1784], Barrow [219-225], and Nicolas [2639-2643] maintained great interest in the Royal Navy and published some of the earliest histories and biographies. Andrew Lambert [2001] wrote of this generation and their contributions.

B. THE EARLIEST QUASI-PROFESSIONALS

The Colombs, the Laughtons, Alfred Thayer Mahan, Julian Corbett, Herbert Richmond, Geoffrey Callender, and C. Northcote Parkinson. Corbett, Mahan, Richmond, and Parkinson will receive special treatment.

The earliest professionals writing naval history were the Colombs, brothers, John and Philip; the Laughtons, father and son, John Knox and L.G. Carr, and Alfred Thayer Mahan. All were thinkers about and formulators of naval strategy and tactics, emphasizing naval history as the basis. The Colombs and the Laughtons influenced Mahan, Corbett, and Richmond. Mahan, of course, was an American naval officer, President of the U.S. Naval War College at Newport and later President of the American Historical Association. He wrote his major treatises on sea power and naval warfare based on his somewhat idiosyncratic historical study of the British navy in the 17th and 18th centuries. Barry Gough [1339] wrote an essay on Philip Colomb [708], "The Influence of Sea Power upon History," 1990. The security of England rested on command of the sea; history proved it. Between 1863 and 1899, P. Colomb wrote 30 pieces on this topic.

Corbett [747-761] refined and corrected the concepts of sea power articulated by Mahan. Richmond [3058-3066], a sailor-scholar, was the most intellectual of the historians and was instrumental in reforms in education of officers. Callender [547-557], the first director of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, in the late 1930s, also served as Professor of History, Royal Naval College, Greenwich. Laughton, father and son, Sir John Knox [2041-2055], and L. Carr [2056-2066]; J.K. Laughton taught at the Royal Naval College, first at Portsmouth, then at Greenwich; pursued the study of naval history as a vehicle for the development of naval doctrine; personally wrote 926

entries in the Dictionary of National Biography [930], about 3% of the entire publication, 35,000 entries; influenced the Colombs, Bridge, Corbett, and Stephen Luce who influenced Mahan; retired from the Royal Navy, 1885, and a founder of the NRS, 1893. Laughton was the focus of Andrew Lambert [2002, 2006, 2001], Foundations of Naval History: Sir John Knox Laughton, the Royal Navy, and the Historical Profession, 1998. Lambert is preparing a volume of the papers of John Knox Laughton, a publication of the NRS. Elsewhere, Lambert [2005] called Laughton "Our Naval Plutarch."

1. Julian Stafford Corbett

Corbett was not a naval officer. He first studied law, wrote three naval novels, a dozen works of naval history, and edited six volumes for the NRS, of which he was a founding member. Before World War I, he was principal adviser to Admiral Lord John Fisher. During the war, he became the official naval historian of World War I. Issues of interest to Corbett were naval staff organization and war plans, the Dardanelles campaign, and the battle of Jutland. Corbett formulated what has become the most influential theory of naval grand strategy and sea power.

The standard biography of Corbett was by Donald Schurman [3254], subtitled Historian of British Maritime Policy from Drake to Jellicoe, 1981. Essays about the influence of Corbett, for example, on the significance of naval history and on amphibious operations were by John Hattendorf [1550], John Gibson [1272], Peter Stanford [3418], and Liam Cleaver [654]. William C.B. Tunstall [3662] edited the catalogue of the Corbett papers. Herbert Richmond [3065] wrote an obituary. Corbett raised the study of naval history to a new level, Richmond concluded. There is a Julian Corbett Prize Essay in Modern Naval History awarded by the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. See item g. A summary of the essay is published in Historical Research, the journal of the Institute of Historical Research.

Both Corbett and Mahan stressed securing sea communications and denying them to potential enemies. However, in contradistinction to the "blue-water" orthodoxy and big-battle determinism of Mahan, Corbett was an advocate of limited war stressing blockade, amphibious warfare, and coordination of forces, deemed "the British way of warfare"; combining continental and maritime strategies and utilizing naval, military, economic, and diplomatic resources in a comprehensive policy.

2. Alfred Thayer Mahan

An American naval officer, Mahan [2328-2333] made his reputation from his intense study of British naval history. Biographies of Mahan were by William Puleston [2966], 1939, and Robert Seager [3264, 3265], 1977, who also edited his letters and papers in three volumes, 1975. Selections of important

essays were edited by John Hattendorf [1560], 1991, in the Classics of Sea Power series. Kenneth Moll [2524], Richard Smith [3364], and Richard Unger [3689] wrote about Mahan as historian and Bates Gilliam [1287] did a dissertation. In a book and an article Jon Sumida [3515, 3516] reread all of the works of Mahan and touted rehabilitation of his reputation in Inventing Grand Strategy and Teaching Command: The Classic Works of Alfred Thayer Mahan Reconsidered, 2000 and 2001. Richard Turk [3666] described a fascinating relationship, The Ambiguous Relationship: Theodore Roosevelt and Alfred Thayer Mahan, 1987. Both wrote naval history and were Anglophiles, Mahan more than Roosevelt in both instances. Both became presidents of the American Historical Association.

3. Herbert Richmond

Barry Hunt [1735], Sailor-Scholar: Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, 1871-1946, 1982, followed the career of this "unique phenomenon in the Victorian-Edwardian navy: a professionally competent and successful officer who was also an intellectual." Richmond [3058-3066] founded the in-house professional journal, Naval Review [2608], in 1913. Arthur Marder [2373], Portrait of an Admiral: The Life and Papers of Sir Herbert Richmond, 1952, was an older study. Richmond [3061] himself addressed the Navy Records Society, 20 October 1939, praising J. Laughton for originating the methods of modern research on naval history.

4. C. Northcote Parkinson

Parkinson [2759-2774] was more famous for "economic laws." He was a professor and naval historian. Richard Harding [1496] placed Parkinson, as potentially in this group. Parkinson won the Julian Corbett Prize in 1936; "Begotten by Sir John Knox Laughton, fostered by the Admiralty, and reared beneath the colonnades at Greenwich." Parkinson was biographer of Pellew, wrote two books on trade and war in the Far East, and wrote nautical fiction, including a "biography" of Horatio Hornblower. See 20., C. and 20., D.

C. PROFESSORS AS HISTORIANS

Michael Lewis, Christopher Lloyd, and Bryan Ranft.

For the 1940s through 1980s, also operating from the Department of History, Royal Naval College, Greenwich, were the prolific British naval historians, Michael Lewis [2118-2129], Christopher Lloyd [2149-2174], and Bryan Ranft [3006-3008]. Ranft, who died in 2001, also taught at King's College, University of London. Ranft, among other things, was credited with

reviving the Navy Records Society. Their numerous works were reviewed in the appropriate places in following chapters.

D. FULL-TIME PROFESSIONAL HISTORIANS

Arthur Marder and Stephen Roskill.

Equally prolific were Arthur Marder [2373], an American professor, and Stephen Roskill [3148-3149], an officer in the Royal Navy and later a fellow at Churchill College, Cambridge University. These were giants of the field, highly esteemed and internationally renowned. Their presence was overwhelming. At one point, a raging controversy erupted between them and Ranft wrote an essay calling for peace. All of their works related to the post-1815 period and both were featured prominently in Rasor [3012], British Naval History since 1815, 1990, along with details about the controversy.

E. THE CURRENT LEADERS

Andrew Lambert, Daniel Baugh, John Hattendorf, N.A.M. Rodger, James Goldrick, and Glyndwr Williams.

The current leaders are Andrew Lambert [2001-2008], protégé to Ranft, John Knox Laughton Professor of Naval History, operating from the War Studies Department, King's College, University of London; Daniel Baugh [237-242] from Cornell University; John Hattendorf [1550-1570], the Ernest King Professor at the U.S. Naval War College; N.A.M. Rodger [3103-3117] has moved to the University of Exeter having formerly filled a research-publishing position sponsored by the National Maritime Museum; James Goldrick [1314], another true sailor-scholar, is a senior officer in the Royal Australian Navy, and Glyn Williams [3872-3880] is a senior professor at Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London.

Andrew Lambert [2002, 2004] has concluded a biographical study of John Knox Laughton and will contribute a Nelson biography to the Nelson Decade [2624], and Baugh [237, 238, 240] is seen as the definitive historian of naval administration, notably in the 18th century. Hattendorf [1561, 1554, 1558, 1563] has been most enthusiastic in leading a crusade to advance the importance of naval and maritime history. See his recent edition of Maritime History, two volumes, the product of two summer National Endowment for the Humanities Institutes, 1992-1993, held at the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, RI. Among the presenters were noted British naval historians, for example, Tony Ryan, Baugh, Rodger, Williams, and Roger Knight, former Deputy Director, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, and now a professor at the University of Greenwich. Maritime History will be used as a textbook for academic courses. As noted elsewhere, Rodger [3110], a prolific historian, is

writing the new standard history of the British navy. Goldrick, a serving officer, published an important study of the Royal Navy during the early months of World War I, pointing out that moment as the true beginning of modern naval warfare, in three dimensions, underwater, surface, and air. Williams [3872, 3875, 3877] has continued to be the expert on the age of exploration and circumnavigation.

F. THE NEXT GENERATION

Michael Duffy, Richard Harding, and Harry Dickinson.

The next and future generation included Duffy and Harding, past and present editors of Mariner's Mirror. Micheal Duffy [971-978], a prolific naval historian, has built up the naval and maritime studies programme at Exeter University into major prominence.

Richard Harding [1491-1496] of the University of Westminster, published an outstanding synthesis of the literature about sailing ship warfare. The origins of the Royal Navy involved armed merchant vessels for use as transports across the Channel. The evolution proceeded to the navy royal, the English navy, a standing navy, the emergence of an oceanic power, and culminating in the age of sail as the global hegemonic power, the time of the Pax Britannica. Harry Dickinson [928] was the recipient of the Julian Corbett Prize for Naval History for 1996 and is preparing a study of educational provisions for officers of the Royal Navy at the crucial time of the late 19th century. He was sometime professor at the Britannic Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, and has taught at the U.S. Naval Academy; more recently, attached to the War Studies Group, King's College, University of London.

G. OTHER NAVAL HISTORIANS

Others deserving recognition were Paul Halpern [1460-1461] of Florida State University, prolific on the naval situation of the pre-war and World War I periods in the Mediterranean area; Roger Morriss [2566-2576], Jonathan Coad [671-676], and Philip MacDougall [2240-2244] on the Royal Dockyards, the largest and most complicated "industry" of Great Britain for centuries; Martin Carver [590-592] on describing the excavation of the SUTTON HOO ship burial, a naval craft of the 7th century, and Jan Glete [1298-1300] of the University of Stockholm on three works of comparison of naval forces in the early modern period.

H. WRITING NAVAL HISTORY

An introduction to professional history writing about the armed forces can be found in David Charters [623], Military History and the Military Profession, 1992, 15 essays and a bibliography by the most eminent scholars, for example, W.A.B. Douglas on Mahan, Corbett, and Richmond; Daniel Baugh on Michael Lewis and N.A.M. Rodger, and other pertinent essays by Robin Higham and Eric Grove. Reference has been made to John Hattendorf [1554], Doing Naval History, 1995, the published proceedings to a U.S. Naval War College-Yale University jointly sponsored conference. The subtitle, Essays toward Improvement, defined the objective, which was carried out impressively. An older survey on writing naval history was by Jacques Barzun [229]. Andrew Lambert [2001], professor of naval history at the King's College, London, had a piece on three pioneers of what he dubbed "the heroic age": William James, John Barrow, and Nicholas Harris Nicolas; C. Northcote Parkinson [2764] on what he dubbed "the Greenwich historians": John Knox Laughton, Geoffrey Callender, and Michael Lewis; David Syrett [3538] on conflicting interpretations of British and American historians; William Dudley [969] on naval historians of the War of 1812: James Fenimore Cooper, Theodore Roosevelt, and Mahan, and Oliver Warner [3763], English Maritime Writing: Hakluyt to Cook, 1958, which included Raleigh, Dampier, Rogers, Defoe, and Anson.

Not known as a professional naval writer nor a naval historian but well known as a naval biographer, among other things, Poet Laureate and "the third" Lake District Poet, was Robert Southey [3396-3398], one of the best known biographers of Horatio Nelson. Mark Storey [3461] has a recent biography and one is projected by W.A. Speck [3403]. Storey called him "one of the most enigmatic figures in English literature." His Life of Nelson began as a review of new books on Nelson. In an article of 1830 in Edinburgh Review, Thomas Babington Macaulay [2222] proclaimed the biography as "the most perfect and most delightful of his works." Kenneth Curry [838] wrote a reference guide.

Another known literary figure deserved inclusion here: Daniel Defoe [895-897], author of Robinson Crusoe and a novel on pirates. Some attributed A General History of the Pyrates [1813], 1724, to Defoe. Biographies were by Maximilian Novak [2653], 2001, Paula Backscheider [169], 1989, and Richard West [3821], 1997, the last entitled The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Daniel Defoe. W.R. Owens [2719] edited his political and economic writings, 8 vols. so far, the project planned to run to 44 vols. On the question of authorship of A General History of Pyrates [1813], P.N. Furbank [1215-1217] credited Charles Johnson [1813] as the correct author. Defoe did write anonymously and in a checklist of 1960, J.R. Moore attributed it to Defoe; Furbank was not convinced. Johnson [1813] will appear as the author in a later chapter. See 12., C.

Robert Albion [27-31, 1984] made his reputation as historian with his study of the timber problem of the RN. He was also a noted bibliographer. The biography was by Benjamin Labaree [1982], 1975.

Samuel Eliot Morison [2549-2553], was, at one time, the official naval historian for the U.S. Navy during World War II, 15 volumes being the product, considered a classic. Morison won two Pulitzer Prizes for his biographies of John Paul Jones and Christopher Columbus. His 2-volume survey of Atlantic exploration was most pertinent here. Samuel Eliot Morison's Historical World: In Quest of a New Parkinson, 1991, by Gregory Pfitzer [2839] and Sailor Historian, 1977, by Emily Morison Beck [267] were biographical studies.

Equally esteemed was Gerald Graham [1357-1362], a Canadian. Albion, Morison, and Graham taught at Harvard, Graham later as Rhodes Professor at King's College, London. A biographical account was John Flint [1128], "Professor Gerald Graham, 1903-1988," 1989.

In an article in 1998, Elizabeth Malcolm [2339] paid tribute to David Quinn [2973-2989], "Ireland's greatest living historian," the historian of English expansionism. Quinn died in 2002.

Walter Minchinton [2521] presented the career of Michael Oppenheim [2710-2712], noted for his history of Admiralty administration.

Another prolific and endearing historian focusing on Irish maritime history was "Old Man of the Sea," John de Courcy Ireland [1748-1755], interviewed by David Sheehy [3296].

Not known as a naval historian, but deserving inclusion was C.R. Boxer [396-407], His biography, Charles R. Boxer: An Uncommon Life: Soldier, Historian, Teacher, Collector, Traveller, 2001. was by Dauril Alden [32].

Chapter 6

Histories of the English/British Navy

This chapter will be organized as follows. Coverage will begin with a short listing of when various historians traced the origins of the English/British navy and who was nominated as the "father" of the Royal Navy. No agreement and many suggestions for times and "fathers" have been volunteered. The qualitative assessment of premier histories, a chronological review of less distinguished histories, other pertinent and related naval histories, and historiographical surveys of the state of English/British naval history will follow.

A. WHEN AND WHO?

A chronological sequence of names attributed to English/British "navies" will adhere to the following somewhat speculative, but, nevertheless, informative, nomenclature: Roman fleets, Anglo-Saxon fleets, ships of the Cinque Ports, King's Ships, navy-maritime ships, Navy Royal, and Royal Navy.

When to begin? Who was the "father" of the Royal Navy?

In the latest and most authoritative naval history of Britain, Safeguard of the Sea, N.A.M Rodger [3110] began in 660 AD, the early Anglo-Saxon period and credited Henry VIII with establishing a permanent navy designed for war. However, Rodger refused to designate him as "founder" or "father" of the Royal Navy.

The old standard, William Laird Clowes [669] began in Roman times and the "Royal Navy" originated in the 16th century. E. Keble Chatterton [624] began with the Roman invasions, 50s BC and 40s AD.

Anglo-Saxon times were favored by David Howarth [1695], 450 AD, and J.R. Hill [1630], the 8th century. Christopher Lloyd [2171] began with the Vikings. King Alfred and the late 9th century were favored by Warren Tute [3677]; Matthew Strickland [3474], saw Alfred as "founder of the Royal Navy";

Peter Kemp [1862] credited Alfred with producing the first true navy, and Gregory Clark [646] began with Alfred and designated Henry VIII as "father."

John Leyland [2131] opened with "the Conqueror's Sea Power," thus 1066. The authoritative and prestigious centennial volume of the Navy Records Society, edited by John Hattendorf [1553], 1993, began with 1204. David Hannay [1482] began in 1217. Geoffrey Marcus [2368] began with "the medieval prelude" to the Tudors, more specifically, 1380 as the origin of English "maritime enterprise." Henry VIII was "the founder of the Royal Navy." C.L. Kingsford [1939] identified Henry V as creator of the navy as a national fighting force, about 1420.

Charles Derrick [912] contended the origins of the Royal Navy were in the 1530s; that meant Henry VIII as "father." Thomas Butcher [526] began with the Tudors.

Paul Kennedy [1882] began with the Stuarts about 1600, the time "the rise" began. A.T. Mahan [2329] began his influential study with 1660. Michael Lewis [2125] saw the fathers as Alfred, Edward III, Henry V, and Henry VIII; Charles II brought in the modern Royal Navy. Norman Davies [875] thought "Navy Royal" transformed into "Royal Navy" during the reign of Charles II.

For the 19th-century British naval historians, politics may have been uppermost. For example, in his biography of Admiral George Cockburn whose career spanned the period 1793-1848, Roger Morriss [2569] devoted a section on the politics of the early histories of the RN, summarized as follows: Chamier [609-613], Whig; William James [1784], Tory; Brenton [430], Tory, and Briggs [439], Whig; Cockburn suffered from the Whig bias of contemporaneous historians. And these historians tended to attack each other. See 5., C. and 5., D.

B. THE PREEMINENT HISTORIES

In this regard, the best news has been that a full-scale, multi-volume, scholarly, semi-official Naval History of Britain was in progress, the first in a hundred years. This one is by a single author, one of the most prolific and distinguished British naval historians of recent times, N.A.M. Rodger [3103-3117]. Volume I is out, The Safeguard of the Sea [3110], 1997. Among other things, Rodger was author of the best-selling Wooden World [3117], about 18th-century naval society. There were hardback and paperback editions of Safeguard of the Sea. The project was sponsored by the NMM, SNR, and NRS. Volume II, covering 1649-1815 and featuring Nelson's navy, is projected for 2002; no estimate as yet about subsequent volumes, projected to be a total of three. Volume III will feature Victoria's Empire. Rodger presented more than a naval history; "a naval slice of national history." The feature was synthesis of a vast literature, Rodger enjoying a formidable command of published sources and primary research reports. Approaches as he described them were policy, strategy and naval operations, finance and administration, logistics, materiel, ships, and

personnel. Welsh, Scottish, and Irish sea powers were given full coverage, plus Anglo-Saxon and Dalriada naval operations. The formidable costs to sustain sea power were clearly demonstrated; appreciation, or, more likely, lack of appreciation, of sea power was assessed for each of noted monarchs, for example, Harold Godwinson, William I, Edward I, Henry V, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, and James IV of Scotland. Rodger placed Harold Godwinson ahead of Alfred and Henry V as better appreciating concepts of sea power. All of this was supported by a series of appendices, for example, a list of warships, rates of pay, a chronology, a glossary, and 150 pages of notes and bibliography, the latter with pertinent, informative, critical, and knowledgeable annotation. Will this one stand for a hundred years? A good start was evident.

Interestingly, the previous standard, The Royal Navy: A History, 7 vols., 1897-1903, edited by William Laird Clowes [669], has been reprinted, 1996-1997, by a new publishing house, which has concentrated on British naval works, Chatham Publishers of London. The reprint was in paperback and affordable. The Royal Navy included substantial essays by Alfred Thayer Mahan and by Theodore Roosevelt who wrote on the War of 1812. Among other contributors were Clements Markham and H.W. Wilson. Coverage began with the Roman period and covered up to the death of Victoria in 1901. The project was on a massive scale, almost 4500 pages, nothing having been attempted to that degree before or since. At the time, Laird Clowes was naval correspondent for The Times and Roosevelt, who had written a naval history of the War of 1812 at age 24, was Police Commissioner of New York. Among the idiosyncrasies, the choice of the Duke of Medina Sidonia to command the Armada "was an extremely bad one," the didacticism of the account of the War of 1812 written by Roosevelt, and it was "large, rather over-factual" as described by Michael Lewis later. Andrew Lambert [2007] published some reflections on Laird Clowes on the occasion of the reprint by Chatham. Clowes repeated the "black legend" of intrigue and assassination by Nelson at Naples, all unsubstantiated. See 8., A., 2.

The next major effort was Geoffrey Marcus [2365-2371] who launched his projected multi-volume A Naval History of England [2368], two volumes being published, The Formative Centuries and The Age of Nelson, 1961-1971, dedicated to J.A. Williamson and Robert Albion, respectively. A third volume was to be titled The Empire of the Sea, 1815-1918. Marcus lamented that there was no equivalent to John Fortescue [1162], A History of the British Army, 13 volumes, 1899-1930. Not only were subsequent volumes not forthcoming, but a projected The Great Armada also failed to appear. Marcus [2367, 2371] did publish other works on British naval history and on the TITANIC. What was completed has been praised as balanced, accurate, and perceptive. It was "a naval history set in a maritime aspect." The second volume of Mahan [2328-2329] had effectively ended with Trafalgar in 1805, so coverage of the Peninsular war, the greatest combined operation in British history up to that time, was neglected. Marcus favored the exploits of Edward Pellew. In a

footnote, Marcus noted that HMS VICTORY flew the flags of Keppel, Kempenfelt, Hardy, Howe, Geary, Hood, Hyde Parker, and Nelson. A further strength was a substantial bibliography. In 1975, Marcus [2367] focused on life on the lower deck during the 18th and early 19th centuries in Hearts of Oak, 1975.

Paul Kennedy [1880-1883], Dilworth Professor of History, Yale University, previously at the University of East Anglia, became famous, some might say, notorious, for his The Rise and Fall of Great Powers [1883]. That book created quite a stir. Kennedy presented a deterministic survey of great powers which rose and fell, for example, Portugal, Spain, the Dutch, French, British, and, finally, the Americans. The common factor in "rise and fall" was imperial, economic, and strategic overstretch. He predicted "the Pacific Rim" would be the future "Great Power." Equally brilliant in conception and structural analysis was The Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism [1881]. He concentrated on their imperial, naval, cultural, religious, and dynastic competitions.

Kennedy [1882] began as a British naval historian, earlier publishing a history of British sea power in the Mahanian tradition, The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery, now republished half a dozen times since 1976. As with his other works, the perspective was the broadest and the approaches were strategic, economic, social, comparative, and interdisciplinary. As might be expected, it was more than traditional naval history. He began in 1600 and it was touted as "the first detailed examination of the history of British sea power since A.T. Mahan's classic" of 1890. Mahan [2328-2329] was hyperbolic and out of step with later, more solid interpretations of Julian Corbett [759] and Herbert Richmond [3066]. The sea power thesis of Mahan was rejected, Kennedy favoring the "far more prescient geopolitical theories of Halford Mackinder." Kennedy opted for "naval mastery" as preferable to sea power used by Mahan or naval supremacy or maritime ascendancy, favorite descriptive terms of Gerald Graham [1357-1362].

C. THE EARLIEST HISTORIES OF THE ENGLISH/BRITISH NAVY

The above histories of the RN were the most prominent contemporary efforts. The earliest attempts began with William James [1784], The Naval History of Great Britain: From the Declaration of the War by France in 1793 to the Accession of George IV, 6 vols., 1822-1824, with subsequent variations. James died in 1827 and Frederick Chamier, C.T. Wilson, and York Powell updated later editions, up to 1902. James was an attorney who traveled abroad, even detained as an enemy alien in Philadelphia during the War of 1812. Among his researches was a thorough investigation of HMS GUERRIERE vs. USS CONSTITUTION, James determining that the latter was larger and more heavily armed; going further, he concluded that no American ship captured a British one of similar force, whereas the opposite occurred more than once. Such

"facts" later upset American naval historians. He contributed to The Naval Chronicle [2605]. Later, T.A. Brassey [424], editor of Brassey's Naval Annual [425], sponsored an index prepared by C.G. Toogood, a publication of the NRS, 1895.

James raised the ire of American naval historians and obviously agitated Edward P. Brenton [430] who published The Naval History of Great Britain from the Year, 1783 to 1836, 5 vols., 1823-1825, again with various subsequent editions. It was dedicated to King William IV. The period covered was similar to that of James. Brenton accused James of plagiarism and making errors, "but only to be expected by writers who are uninformed. . . and [one who is] a mere landsman." Tory and Whig bias was also involved. In 1823, George Montagu [2528] published a 60-page diatribe denouncing Brenton, his "incorrect statements and unjust insinuations" concerning the conduct of Admiral G. Montagu.

William Goldsmith [1316], The Naval History of Great Britain: From the Earliest Period with Biographical Notices, 1825, was a substantial tome.

A History of the Royal Navy from the Earliest Times to the Wars of the French Revolution, 2 vols., 1847, was by Nicholas Harris Nicolas [2641], who set out to fill gaps left by James [1784] and in preparation for what would be Clowes [669]. Nicolas conducted extensive primary research, for example, at the PRO. James had stressed the military; Nicolas expanded coverage to civil and military, for example, including trade, ship design, manning, pay, discipline, navigation, and law.

Next was Charles Yonge [3974], A History of the British Navy, 3 vols., 1863-1866, one of the first efforts at full coverage, again heading toward Clowes [669].

In 1911, in the first volume of Mariner's Mirror, L. Carr Laughton [2058] studied Nathaniel Boteler [369] and his Six Dialogues, 1634, touted as an early history, the dialogs being between the Lord High Admiral and a captain at sea.

Virtually unrecognized and with a curious title was an early attempt, Charles Derrick [912], Memoirs of the Rise and Progress of the Royal Navy, 1806. Derrick began with the arrival of the Romans. At the same time was William Burney [515], The British Neptune: Or, A History of the Achievement of the Royal Navy: From the Earliest Period to the Present Day, 1807.

D. ENGLISH/BRITISH NAVAL HISTORIES OF THE 20th CENTURY

Becoming more substantial was E. Keble Chatterton [624], The Story of the British Navy: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day, 1911, beginning with the time before the Norman Conquest. He described the "Classis Britannia," the Roman defense system based at Boulogne, Dover, and Lyme. Alfred and Edgar the Peaceable built impressive fleets. At about the same time,

Frank Fox [1169] wrote The Story of the British Navy: The Ramparts of Empire. Nelson was the crowning achievement. In 1914, John Leyland [2131] published The Royal Navy: Its Influence in English History and in the Growth of Empire, touted as a "little Manuel," a general overview.

David Hannay [1482], A Short History of the Royal Navy, 1217-1815, 2 vols., 1897-1909, was praised by many and became a popular account. Also popular was Geoffrey Callender [554], The Naval Side of British History, 2 vols., 1924, taking a glorified and patriotic approach, for example, over dramatizing with Drake's game of bowls and the death scene in the cockpit of HMS VICTORY.

William C.B. Tunstall [3660], The Anatomy of Neptune: From King Henry VIII to the Present Day, 1936, incorporated documents, prose, and verse. For juveniles, there were Peter Kemp [1869], The True Book about the Royal Navy, 1959, and Walter Brownlee [480], The Navy that Beat Napoleon, 1982. For naval cadets, there were Geoffrey Callender [556], Sea Kings of Britain, 2 vols., 1907; William C.B. Tunstall [3665], The Realities of Naval History, 1936, prepared for what was called the Osborne-Dartmouth Scheme and specifically to refute "all the foolishness in Callender's Sea Kings"; Thomas Butcher [526], The Navy, 1973, a short, balanced overview, and Gregory Clark [646], Britain's Naval Heritage, 1981. For adults, Peter Kemp [1862] contributed History of the Royal Navy, 1969. For Kemp, the first true navy was that of Alfred. There was also Grant Uden [3687], British Ships and Seamen: A Short History, 2 vols., 1969; a volume for each.

The equivalent textbook used in American naval history courses was E.B. Potter [2923], Sea Power: A Naval History, 1960, co-authored by Chester Nimitz; with an abridged edition of 1981. Its predecessor was William Stevens [3449], A History of Sea Power, 1920, half of which featured the RN and included only mention of John Paul Jones.

A curious approach was by Evelyn Berckman [299], Creators and Destroyers of the English Navy: As Related by the State Papers Domestic, 1974. She categorized monarchs, for example, the creators were Elizabeth I, Charles I, and Charles II; the destroyers were James I and Oliver Cromwell; the selections even more curious.

The two noted academic professional historians, consecutive professors of naval history at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, each producing a series of histories: Michael Lewis [2125, 2123, 2126], The Navy of Britain, 1948, The History of the British Navy, 1957, and The Navy in Transition, 1814-1864, 1965, the last effectively continuing where Hannay [1482] left off; Christopher Lloyd [2172, 2163, 2171], A Short History of the Royal Navy, 1805-1918, 1942, The Nation and the Navy, 1954, and Ships and Seamen: From the Viking Kings to the Present Day, 1961.

David Howarth [1695], Sovereign of the Seas: The Story of Britain and the Sea, 1974, divided naval history into five parts beginning in 450 AD: obscurity, awakening, mastery, rivalry, and supremacy; the product was well

written and elegantly presented. Oliver Warner [3756], The British Navy: A Concise History, 1975, was dedicated to Arthur Marder, "historian of the navy renewed by Lord Fisher." The True Glory: The Story of the Royal Navy over a Thousand Years, 1983, by Warren Tute [3677], saw the beginning in the 1890s; after the Crown and the Law, the Royal Navy exerted more influence on the daily lives of its people than other institutions. D.P. Capper [575], Moat Defensive: A History of the Waters of the Nore Command, 55 BC to 1961, 1963, covered the traditional periods, for example, Roman, Cinque Ports, Dutch wars, press gangs and the mutinies; the Buoy of the Nore was the chief rendezvous of the RN throughout the days of sail. Richard Humble [1724], Before the DREADNOUGHT: The Royal Navy from Nelson to Fisher, 1976, was a general, superficial survey of the RN of the 19th century.

Politics resumed with Richard Humble [1726] who wrote The Rise and Fall of the British Navy, 1986, partly as a critique to excessive demobilization during the regime of Margaret Thatcher.

E. ILLUSTRATED HISTORIES

Folio sizes, profusely illustrated were popular and attractive productions. Most impressive was J.R. Hill [1630], a Rear Admiral, RN and sometime chairman of SNR, who was the general editor of The Oxford Illustrated History of the Royal Navy, 1995, folio size and fourteen essays by the best experts, for example, Susan Rose, John Hattendorf, J.D. Davies, Daniel Baugh, Andrew Lambert, James Goldrick, and Eric Grove. Antony Preston [2945] produced History of the Royal Navy, 1983, profusely illustrated and a post-Falklands/Malvinas campaign assessment. The prolific writer, John Winton [3921] produced An Illustrated History of the Royal Navy, 2000, sponsored by the Royal Naval Museum, Portsmouth, beginning with "the earliest times."

Illustrated histories covering "the industrial revolutions," updated, came from Anthony Watts [3791, 3792], Pictorial History of the Royal Navy, 2 vols., 1970-1971, and The Royal Navy: An Illustrated History, 1995. John Wells [3810], The Royal Navy: An Illustrated Social History, 1994, focused on the sociology of maritime communities within the officer class during the last 200 years of the history of the RN; anecdotal.

For the Osprey Men-at-Arms series, Robert Wilkinson-Latham [3863], The Royal Navy, 1790-1970, 1977, the focus was the development of uniforms of the RN.

F. THE GREAT BATTLES APPROACH

With this approach, one would always start with the classic compilation: Edward Creasy [792], Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World, 1851

and numerous subsequent editions. Pertinent battles were Hastings, the Armada, Saratoga, and Waterloo. In 1993, the prolific military historian, John Keegan [1849], has presented his nominations of fifteen battles to update Creasy: pertinent were Lepanto, the Armada, Quiberon Bay, Virginia Capes, Camperdown, the Nile, Copenhagen, Trafalgar, and Navarino. Another nomination, Famous Sea Battles, 1981, was by David Howarth [1691]: pertinent of the sixteen listed were the Armada and Trafalgar. HMS REVENGE and the dramatic "suicide" battle led by Richard Grenville against a Spanish fleet in 1591 was included in two listings: John Guttman [1428], Defiance at Sea: Stories of Dramatic Naval Warfare, 1995, and, more significantly, Alexander McKee [2292], Against the Odds: Battles at Sea, 1591-1949, 1991; in addition, Robert Blake in 1657, Barfleure in 1692, and John Paul Jones in 1776 were included.

An opposite approach was that of Geoffrey Regan [3043], The Guinness Book of Naval Blunders, 1993, which cited the WHITE SHIP tragedy, loss of MARY ROSE, the Dutch in the Medway of 1667, Beachy Head of 1690, Toulon of 1744, the Armada of 1779, and Navarino of 1827.

More specifically for the English/British navy were two older, extensive listings. Archibald Duncan [987], The British Trident: Or, Register of Naval Actions, 6 vols., 1805-1809, a total of 2,150 pages that describe these battles. Volume IV included a short biography of Nelson. The second was Joseph Allen [45], Battles of the British Navy, 2 vols., 1842 and subsequent editions.

David Thomas [3592, 3591], A Companion to the Royal Navy, 1988, and Battles and Honours of the Royal Navy, 1999, were in handbook format featuring chapters on the badges and battle honors of ships, descriptions of each battle, and a naval chronology.

Great Battles of the Royal Navy: As Commemorated in the Gunroom, BRNC, Dartmouth, 1994, by Eric Grove [1411], consisted of 25 essays by experts describing 25 battles, each with a colored painting from the Britannia Royal Naval College, for example, Sluys, the Armada, Quiberon Bay, and Trafalgar.

G. GENERAL NAVAL HISTORIES

One interested in general naval history would do well to start with Clark Reynolds [3050], Navies in History, 1998, an outstanding overview of naval history from earliest times to the present. Special essays were featured, for example, on the Armada, the Four Days' Battle, "fleet-in-being," Mahan, and Corbett. Elsewhere, Reynolds [3051] reviewed the history and significance of the "traders," for example, the Venetians, Genoans, the Dutch, and the English. Older and more extensive but with a narrower focus was John Southworth

[3399], War at Sea, 3 vols., 1967-1970: The Ancient Fleets, The Age of Sail, and The Age of Steam.

Philip de Sousa [3395], Seafaring and Civilization: Maritime Perspectives on World History, 2001, was a recent general synthesis incorporating broad themes: navigation, trade, empire, food, and health.

H. THE AGE OF FIGHTING SAIL

Here, a virtual genre has emerged of overly dramatized, profusely illustrated surveys of the age of fighting sail, perhaps a product of or stimulation for the popular nautical fiction associated with the Nelson era, for example, O'Brian, Forester, and Kent. As with biographies of Nelson, there seems to be a rush to publish. See 20., B., 20., C., and 20., D.

A good place to start would be Richard Harding [1492], The Evolution of the Sailing Navy, 1509-1815, 1995, an analytical approach incorporating a synthesis of the latest research. About 1500, armed merchant vessels ferrying expeditions across the Channel were transformed into full-time warships because the heavy cannon required larger and specialized ships. Brian Lavery [2077], Nelson's Navy: The Ships, Men and Organisation, 1793-1815, 1989, presented an impressive, comprehensive guide to all aspects of the RN. David Lyon [2218], Sea Battles in Close-Up: The Age of Nelson, 1996, folio size profusely illustrated, was sponsored by the NMM.

The most recent contributions were by Andrew Lambert [2008], War at Sea in the Age of Sail, 2000, Bernard Ireland [1747], Naval Warfare in the Age of Sail: War at Sea, 1756-1815, 2000, and Nicholas Blake [346], The Illustrated Companion to Nelson's Navy, 1999, all lavishly illustrated.

C. Northcote Parkinson [2759] contributed Britannia Rules: The Classic Age of Naval History, 1793-1815, 1977. Parkinson stressed extraordinary leadership as decisive, admirals in battle and others providing victualling, dockyard services, even Gilbert Blane who finally succeeded in reducing scurvy.

Nathan Miller [2515], Broadsides: The Age of Fighting Sail, 1775-1815, 2000, was produced purposely to provide background to the fictional works. It stressed American aspects. Nevertheless, one man dominated and epitomized this era, Horatio Nelson; his life was used as a framework. Historic Sail: The Glory of the Sailing Ship from the 13th to the 19th Century [1638], 2000, included detailed color drawings of a variety of ship types.

Veres Laszlo [2034], The Story of Sail, 1999, featured 1000 exquisite drawings illustrating 6000 years of evolution of sailing ships, for example, the Blackwall frigate, packet ship, and scientific ships. Donald G.F.W. Macintyre [2268], The Adventure of Sail, 1530-1914, 1970, was lavishly illustrated.

Brian Tunstall [3659], Naval Warfare in the Age of Sail: The Evolution of Fighting Tactics, 1650-1815, 1990, a revival of the work of the son-in-law of

Julian Corbett. Tunstall, who died in 1970, set out to complete the famous works of Corbett [747-761]; Nicholas Tracy completed the process. The focus was sailing-ship tactics, fighting instructions, and signaling.

Philip Bosscher [367], The Heyday of Sail, 1995, was in The History of the Ship series. Frank Bowen [392], Wooden Walls in Action, 1951, covered naval battles, 1340-1866. C.S. Forester [1141] entitled his history of the War of 1812, The Age of Fighting Sail, 1956.

Oliver Warner [3773], Nelson and the Age of Fighting Sail, 1963, was aimed at the juvenile market; the great American Admiral Chester Nimitz was consultant.

In an article of 1988, Dwight Robinson [3090] touted the contribution of the coasting fleet around the British Isles as the secret of British power in the age of sail.

At first glance, the dissertation and associated book by Alex Roland [3135, 3134] might appear to be a stretch: Underwater Warfare in the Age of Sail, 1974 and 1978, covering the period 1578-1866, pointing to developments in mines, torpedoes, and submarines. It seemed to be "magic" and some linked it to the devil.

I. THE NAVY, EMPIRE, EUROPE, AND EUROPEAN HEGEMONY

The navy as most instrumental in imperial expansion was the focus of two works by Peter Padfield [2731, 2729], Tides of Empire: Decisive Naval Campaigns in the Rise of the West, 4 vols. projected, 2 published, 1979-1982, and Maritime Supremacy and the Opening of the Western Mind: Naval Campaigns that Shaped the Modern World, 1588-1782, 1999; and James Stokesbury [3458], Navy and Empire, 1983, mostly anecdotal with little analysis. Padfield insisted that maritime supremacy was the key to dominance. The campaigns included the Armada, the Dutch Golden Age, Sole Bay, Finisterre of 1747, Chesapeake Bay of 1781, and the Saints of 1782. Archibald Lewis [2112], European Naval and Maritime History, 300-1500, 1986, presented the theme that sea power held together empires for centuries.

Correct with the times and latest trends were the global approaches. The eminent American historian and founder of the world history movement, William McNeill [2319] wrote a long essay, The Age of Gunpowder Empires, 1450-1800, 1989, sponsored by the American Historical Association. Continuing the global perspective, Geoffrey Scammell [3238], The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires, c. 800-1650, 1981, described the unparalleled expansion of Western Europe, citing a chronological sequence of nine empires culminating with the English. An equally distinguished historian, J.H. Parry [2782], contributed The Establishment of European Hegemony, 1415-1715: Trade and Exploration in the Age of the Renaissance, 1961; the "tools" were charts, ships, and guns. Most recently,

George Raudzens [3020] presented a synthesis, Empires: Europe and Globalization, 1492-1788, 1999. The process was facilitated by the development of the fully rigged, cannon-armed oceanic vessel.

J. THE SEA, THE OCEAN, SEAFARERS, AND REGIONS

The sea has attracted many historians. The famous J.H. Parry [2783], Romance of the Sea, 1981, presented the history of seafaring sponsored by the National Geographic Society. The format was spectacular with color photos, some double-page. The contribution of Richard Armstrong [140] was A History of Seafaring, 3 vols., 1967-1969, folio size, individual titles being The Early Mariners, The Discoverers, and The Merchantmen. David Howarth [1693] added The Men-of-War to The Seafarers series, 1978.

The distinguished J.A. Williamson [3899] presented the Ford Lectures of 1939-1940 at Oxford University, The Ocean in English History. He featured the "propagandists," for example, the Hakluyts, Purchas, and Raleigh.

During the summers of 1992 and 1993, John Hattendorf [1561] directed National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institutes at the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI. Over 40 lectures by 17 experts were presented and were here collected in 2 vols.: Maritime History, 1996-1997, The Age of Discovery and The Eighteenth Century. The experts included N.A.M. Rodger, Roger Knight, Tony Ryan, Glyn Williams, Daniel Baugh, Karel Davids, and Thomas Philbrick.

Regional studies have included The Narrow Seas: A History of the English Channel, Its Approaches, and Its Immediate Shores, 400 BC-AD 1945, 1959, by Reginald Hargreaves [1512], a fascinating survey; features included the Cinque Ports and the Thames Estuary. Michael Duffy [975], sometime editor of Mariner's Mirror and head of maritime studies at the University of Exeter, formulated The New Maritime History of Devon, 2 vols., 1992-1994, 32 expert writers presenting its history from earliest times; a model local history featuring maritime developments. The project began with an essay by Michael Oppenheim of 1900, originally for the Victorian County History. No area of the British Isles was more affected by the sea. A.G. Jamieson [1792], A People of the Sea: The Maritime History of the Channel Islands, 1986, was lavishly illustrated, featuring the period from 1680 to 1730 when privateering thrived; smuggling thrived throughout.

Ronald Hope [1665], A New History of British Shipping, 1990, was an impressive, scholarly reference work covering from 3000 BC to the present. Themes included Celts, Anglo-Saxons, Vikings, merchant adventurers, privateers, war and expansion, and, later, the decline.

The great C.R. Boxer [406, 400] collected a series of accounts of shipwrecks over history, The Tragic History of the Sea, 1959, and Further Selections from the Tragic History of the Sea, 1968, for the Hakluyt Society.

K. OTHER ENGLISH/BRITISH AND FOREIGN FORCES

For purposes of comparison and contrast, some other English/British forces will be presented. An introductory overview of the early periods can be obtained from the two great classics by Charles Oman [2705, 2706]. Their feature was encyclopedic coverage: A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages, 2 vols., 1898, and A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century, 1937.

More extensive, more respected, and more judgmental than the 7-volume history of the RN of Laird Clowes [669] was John Fortesque [1162], A History of the British Army, 13 vols., 1899-1930. A sample judgment was his assessment of the British attack on Washington and Baltimore in 1814, from vol. 10: "a useless and almost wicked sacrifice" for no object except to bring prize-money to the RN; unfortunately, not the first nor the last disaster attributable to the same cause.

Closest to the navy, actually, part of it, was the Royal Marines. In 1664, a time of mobilization and shortage of naval personnel, Charles II assigned 1200 soldiers to the RN as "The Duke of York and Albany's Maritime Regiment of Foot"; evolving into the Royal Marines. Commander of a Commando force during the Falklands-Malvinas campaign of 1982, Julian Thompson [3605], wrote The Royal Marines: From Sea Soldiers to Special Forces, 2000, which covered from the 18th century. Some short histories of the Royal Marines were by A. Cecil Hampshire [1473], G.W.M. Grover [1412], and A.P. Willasey-Wilsey [3867]. A dissertation by A.J. Marini [2381] compared British Marines, 1746-1771, with the U.S. Marines, 1798-1818. His theme was creation of institutional bureaucracies. Paul Harris Nicolas [2644], Historical Record of the Royal Marine Forces, 1845, described a limited chronological period. J.A. Lowe [2193, 1990, has more extensive coverage but limited it to the Portsmouth Division of the Royal Marines.

There were three accounts of HM Coastguard, which began in the 17th century as coast watchers and an anti-smuggling force: the official history by William Webb [3800], 1976; others by Frank Bowen [389], 1928, and Bernard Scarlett [3239], 1971. It evolved into a naval reserve force.

Emil Sigwart [3316] wrote the history of the Royal Fleet Auxiliary, 1969, covering the period 1760-1968. It was the supply and victualling force.

The Post Office Packet Service has maritime and naval connections; its history between 1793 and 1815 was by Arthur Norway [2652].

For purposes of comparison and contrast, some other navies will be presented. Most threatening for the longest period during the pre-1815 period was the French navy. During the long series of wars, sometimes dubbed "the Second Hundred Years' Wars," the only two antagonists of dozens, for example, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, the Dutch, Prussia, Bavaria, Russia, and several Italian states, which, when war was in progress, were consistently on opposite sides: England/Britain and France. The old standard was Charles de La

Ronciere [2031], Histoire de la Marine Francaise, 6 vols., 1899-1932, the equivalent of Clowes [669]. In English, there was E.H. Jenkins [1797], A History of the French Navy, 1973, featuring Richelieu, Colbert, the Dutch wars, Barbary pirates, and guerre de course. Another was Philippe Masson [2459], Histoire de la Marine Francaise, 2 vols., 1981-1983. See 12., B.

There were too many histories of the U.S. Navy to consider, but that of James Fenimore Cooper [737], The History of the Navy of the United States, 2 vols., 1839, was pertinent for several reasons. For decades it was used as a textbook for American naval cadets and the account of the War of 1812 remained controversial; Oliver Hazard Perry and Jesse Duncan Elliot sued Cooper.

D.J. Hastings [1548], The Royal Indian Navy, 1612-1950, 1944, documented a parallel development with the RN.

L. PERTINENT GENERAL HISTORIES

Again, for context, background, and special emphases, several general histories of England/Britain should be reviewed. A good place for any student and researcher to begin would be David Hume [1729], The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution of 1688, various editions beginning in 1754, 6 to 8 vols. Hume was seen as a Tory historian. Another classic was James A. Froude [1207], History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, 12 vols., 1856-1870. Lawrence James [1780], The Rise and Fall of the British Empire, 1994, devoted much emphasis on origins to piracy in the 16th century, "a strong cord, whose fibres were greed and fearlessness, linked the Elizabethan sea rover, the eighteenth-century naval captain hungry for prize money, and the early Victorian soldier in the process of looting."

Most recently, a series of "Churchillian" approaches have emerged, copying Winston Churchill [637], A History of the English-Speaking Peoples, 4 vols., 1956-1958, originally written in 1936 but put away during the duration of World War II and his Prime Ministership. Copying Churchill, indeed, using extensive quotes from History of the English-Speaking Peoples, was Christopher Lee [2089], This Sceptered Isle, 55 BC-1901, 1997, in support of a BBC-Radio-4 series of the same name. Supporting a BBC-TV-1 and BBC-TV-2 series of six hours presented in the fall of 2001 was Simon Schama [3242], A History of Britain, 2 vols., 2000-2001. The role of Scotland was emphasized.

Of these broad national histories, the one most pertinent to this historiographical-bibliographical survey was Norman Davies [875], The Isles: A History, 1999, almost 1200 pages. Its strength was full coverage of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, all part of "the isles." Its approach was the opposite of Anglocentrism. Extensive coverage included the invasions by Julius

Caesar, the Irish-Scots of Dalriada, the Angles of Northumbria, and the Danish empire of Cnut.

M. THE STATE OF ENGLISH/BRITISH NAVAL HISTORY

Begin with John Hattendorf [1570], UBI SUMUS?: The State of Naval and Maritime History, 1994, 33 essays by the most noted experts assessing the state of naval history in 29 countries: for Great Britain, N.A.M. Rodger; for Australia, James Goldrick; for Ireland, John de Courcy Ireland, and for Sweden, John Glete. W.J.R. Gardner [1250] assessed the state in 1995, reviewing significant books by J.R. Bruijn, Richard Harding, and Jan Glete and praising N.A.M. Rodger, Daniel Baugh, Michael Duffy, and John Hattendorf.

In 1999, N.A.M. Rodger [3115] reviewed recent books on the RN of the 18th century. He recalled Mahan, Corbett, J.K. Laughton, and Richmond followed by a long lull. Then, about 1960, quality and quantity increased, over 250 books about the 18th century alone since 1970. Broadened perspectives emerged, for example, administration, the dockyards, and logistics. The significance of privateering was now properly appreciated.

In 2001, Peter LeFevre [2099] reviewed several prominent books just published; the authors were Peter Padfield [2729], Clark Reynolds [3050], Jan Glete [1299], and Richard Harding [1495]. He was pleased with the collective output but called for publication of some noted dissertations, for example, Andrew Thrush [3619] and William Cogar [693]. Other gaps concerned the area of finance, funding for the navy, and the role of the Navy Treasurer.

In 2001, Eugene Rasor [3011] surveyed the historiography of the RN, concluding that interest was increasing. The essay was broad-based and included an extensive assessment supported by lengthy footnotes.

In 2001, Margarette Lincoln [2135] recalled W. Laird Clowes [669], Royal Navy, "the magisterial 6-volume" [sic] history. Clowes lamented that excessive hagiography and too much on battles characterized naval history. In a segue, she announced that interest was increasing: two conferences were featured in London in a week in July 2001.

Increasingly popular was the writing of counterfactual history, "What If?" The Spanish Armada has been a favorite topic. J.C. Squire [3413], If, or History Rewritten, 1931, was an older collection, reprinted in 1964. Prominent persons contributed, for example, Winston Churchill on the American Civil War. Several were about the Armada. More recently, Robert Cowley [781], 1999, editor of Military History Quarterly or MHQ, collected 24 examples of counterfactual history by prominent historians, for example, John Keegan, Niall Ferguson, Geoffrey Parker, and Steven Ambrose.

In articles elsewhere, Geoffrey Parker [2751], 1976, Colin Martin [2424], 1988, and Felix Barker [205], 1988, speculated about alternative, for example, if the Spanish had invaded and if the forces of Parma had coordinated

properly with the Armada. Jonathan North [2651], The Napoleon Options, 2000, collected ten essays about decisive moments when Napoleon could have opted for alternative actions, for example, success in Egypt and in Ireland. Simon Leys [2132], The Death of Napoleon, 1989, touted "alternative history" in his popular counterfactual history: Napoleon escaped from the control of the British.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Journal of Transport History, 1993, David Williams [3871] assessed the progress of maritime history, pleased that interest was increasing, for example, opening of the MARY ROSE Museum and restoration of HMS WARRIOR; the return of GREAT BRITAIN to Bristol; adding to the already popular HMS VICTORY and CUTTY SARK.

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Chapter 7

Chronological Periods: Naval Wars and Prominent Battles

What follows is a historiographical-bibliographical survey based on a chronological presentation and featuring naval wars and battles over time. Various ways can be used to divide this history. The following periodization of English/British history will be used:

Celts of Northern Europe – 800-50 BC

Roman Britain – 43-410 AD

Kingdom of Dalriada – c. 500-800 AD

Anglo-Saxon England – c. 600-1066

Vikings and Danes – 800-1100

Norman England – 1066-1154

Angevin England – 1154-1216

Medieval period – 10th to 15th centuries

Wales, Ireland, Scotland - various

Lancastrians and Yorkists – 1399-1485

Tudor England – 1485-1603

Stuart era – 1603-1714

Civil War and Cromwellian Period – 1640s and 1650s

Hanoverian-Windsor Britain – 1714 -present

Instead of a separate Chronology, a long list of dates in time, the periods of English/British naval history will be subdivided into major segments, some of which will be identified with the important feature of the period, for example, Julius Caesar and the invasion by Rome, King Alfred and the Anglo-Saxons, William the Conqueror and the Normans, and Richard I and the Crusades.

A. ROMAN BRITAIN

1. Julius Caesar

The future Roman Emperor, Julius Caesar [538, 539], himself, wrote of his famous campaign in what was called Gaul, the future area of France. Caesar recalled his "British expeditions" in 55 and 54 BC, for the purpose of pacifying Celtic native tribes there. Two large amphibious operations were undertaken and Caesar led forays through the southeast of England. Other descriptions of the two expeditions were Stephen Ridd [3068], Julius Caesar in Gaul and Britain, 1995; John Peddie [2806], Invasion: The Roman Invasion of Britain in the Year 43 and the Events Leading to Their Occupation of the West Country, 1997, Peter Ellis [1038], Caesar's Invasion of Britain, 1978, Francis Vine [3729], Caesar in Kent, 1886, Barry Burnham [516], Invasion and Response: The Case of Roman Britain, 1979, and Rice Holmes [1661], Ancient Britain and the Invasion of Julius Caesar, 1907. Vine described details of the two expeditions, for example, the Romans progressed along Watling Street, probably as far as Chertsey on the Thames River. Archaeological evidence has confirmed more details. Caesar oversaw construction of fleets of warships and transports, twice. There were 80 in the first and about 200 ships in the second expedition. They sailed from Boulogne. Weather interfered and caused disruption and losses. A century passed before the Claudian invasion, beginning in 43 AD. At that time the Roman Legions advanced along three fronts: to Lincoln, to the Midlands, and to the Southwest.

2. Invasion

The expeditions by Julius Caesar and subsequent Roman invasion and settlement were recounted by Malcolm Todd [3629], Roman Britain, 55 BC-AD 400: The Province Beyond the Ocean, 1997, Graham Webster [3801], The Roman Invasion of Britain, 1980, and Donald Dudley [968], The Roman Conquest of Britain, AD 43-57, 1965. Roman shipping and naval organization were explained by Chester Starr [3428], The Roman Imperial Navy, 31 BC-AD 324, 1941, Joan Taylor [3582], Roman Shipping and Trade, 1978, and in an article by D.B. Saddington [3203], 1990. On the northern frontier, three flotillas operated, each named for pertinent provinces, for example, classis Germanica for the Rhenish fleet and classis Britannica for the Channel. The latter consisted of transports and galleys plus associated support such as coastal forts and lighthouses. Later the entire system was called "the Saxon Shore," as described by Stephen Johnson [1818], The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore, 1976.

B. ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

From about 400 AD until the Norman Conquest of 1066, Anglo-Saxon England superseded Roman Britain; the feature in the literature was King Alfred the Great who reigned from 871-899, technically as King of Wessex. Also, the Vikings-Danes were coming!

The student and researcher would do well to first consult John Haywood [1585], Dark Age Naval Power: A Reassessment of the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Seafaring Activities, 1991. These pre-Viking Age seafarers of Germanic origin have been underestimated. From the study of numismatics, archaeology, and literary evidence, Haywood asserted that their maritime achievements were impressive in warfare, piracy, migration, and trade. They adopted use of sailing vessels, perhaps as early as the second century. Other scholars had assigned much of this credit to the Vikings and were skeptical about sailing ship use.

Two works presented preliminary aspects. Archaeological boat finds near the shores indicated that the primary route of immigration into the British Isles was across the North Sea from Denmark and northern Germany as described by Sean McGrail [2259], Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons, 1990, papers from an archaeological conference. Bernard Bachrach [167], 1990, speculated about the ubiquitous legendary King Arthur of the early Anglo-Saxon period, interjecting a naval connection. His thesis was that the location of battles associated with Arthur suggested that he was a notable naval commander.

For the Anglo-Saxon period, a good place to begin study was James Campbell [567], The Anglo-Saxons, 1982, a general survey. Among other things, Campbell described various fleets: Roman, Alfred's, and Viking. The ships of Alfred were a new design, "long ships of 60 oars," but it was unlikely that Alfred was "founder." The English were a maritime people and sea approaches were from three directions, meaning three different developments: the North Sea focusing on the east coast and Scandinavian connections, for example, the age of SUTTON HOO; the Irish Sea featuring monastic connections, for example, Iona, and the Channel, involving advanced Continental connections. Edward Gifford [1274], 1996, analyzed the performance of Anglo-Saxon ships. Trade was more extensive than previously reported. Half-scale models of the SUTTON HOO ship in Suffolk and the Graveney-*find* ship in Kent had been constructed and experimental tests could be made. The results were reported.

History and interpretations about the Anglo-Saxons were much in flux. For one thing, debate has arisen about a primary source for this chronological period, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which covered about six centuries.

Another controversy concerned feudalism and institutional structure. Warren Hollister [1655], Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions on the Eve of the Norman Conquest, 1962, included a chapter on the navy, its institutional basis, and tactics and strategy. For Hollister, the key was the fyrð, a medieval tenure