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The Humber Outport: Lloyd's Register in the Port of Hull since c.1760

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Abstract

For over 260 years, Lloyd's Register has worked to preserve life and property at sea. Throughout that time, the Society has maintained an active presence in its outports, one being Hull. By taking the uncharted connections between Lloyd's Register and its Humber outport as a case study, this thesis investigates the work of the Society in the outports, and the extent to which it was involved with key industries and businesses in such ports. It also studies the importance of the outports to the institutional aims of the Society, as well as assessing the extent to which such goals were aided by its work in Hull.

Lloyd's Register has garnered little historiographical attention. Moreover, a London-centric focus dominates this limited historiography. By analysing the Society's historical connections to Hull, and its involvement in some of the port's key maritime industries and businesses, this research fills a significant gap in the historiography on Lloyd's Register. The investigation draws upon underutilised primary source material from Lloyd's Register Foundation Heritage and Education Centre in combination with parliamentary and institutional records. This material is deployed to address three overarching research questions: how did Lloyd's Register operate in a provincial port like Hull? Did the involvement of Lloyd's Register in outports extend beyond the Society's work in surveying and classification? How important were provincial ports to the goals of Lloyd's Register? The analysis sheds lights on the operational activity of the Society in Hull, and the scale of Lloyd's Register's presence in the port, as well as evaluating the influence such ports had on the Society. The thesis reveals that Hull has been a particularly important port in the history of the Society, and the connections that date back over 260 years could still be seen in and around Hull into the 2020s.

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Abbreviations

BC	British Corporation for the Survey and Registry of Shipping
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
EWL	Ellerman's Wilson Line
GC	General Committee of Lloyd's Register
HHC	Hull History Centre
HMTC	Hull Municipal Technical College
IJMH	International Journal of Maritime History
LMC	Lloyd's Register Machinery Certificate
LR	Lloyd's Register
LRF	Lloyd's Register Foundation
LRFHEC	Lloyd's Register Foundation Heritage and Education Centre
MM	The Mariner's Mirror
MTU	White Fish Authority Mobile Technical Unit
NAFHA	North Atlantic Fisheries History Association
UK	United Kingdom
WFA	White Fish Authority

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Chapter 1 Introduction

According to the European Maritime Safety Agency, classification societies are 'organisations which develop and apply technical standards for the design, construction and survey of ships and which carry out surveys and inspections on board ships'.[1] These societies produce rules and regulations for the construction and maintenance of vessels that are utilised by their surveyors, granting classification awards as an indication of the assessed quality of every vessel surveyed. Such awards are used by vessel owners for a number of purposes, not least to prove compliance with national and international maritime legislation, and to obtain lower insurance premiums.

Founded in 1760 in London, Lloyd's Register was the world's first classification society, and is currently one of the twelve members of the International Association of Classification Societies (IACS).[2] In the intervening 260 or so years, Lloyd's Register has worked to preserve life and property at sea by 'ensuring that every vessel with which it was entrusted was soundly built and safely maintained'.[3] During its long lifespan, LR has generally conducted its business through a managerial, administrative and operational headquarters in London and a network of offices established in the major seaports—referred to as "outports" by the Society – of the United Kingdom and beyond. This thesis examines the development of LR's operations in the outports through a case study of the business conducted by the Society's office in Hull since the late eighteenth century.

1.1 Historical Background

'The Society for the Registry of Shipping' was founded in 1760 by London merchants and underwriters who wished to establish a system whereby vessels could be examined and classified according to the quality of their construction and condition.[4] This collection of shipping-focused individuals conducted their business over cups of coffee, particularly in the coffeehouse of Edward Lloyd on Lombard Street. By the late seventeenth century, Lloyd's house had become a 'maritime hub', with Lloyd 'holding maritime auctions and collating

[1] European Maritime Safety Agency, "Inspections of Recognised Organisations" [Webpage] https://www.emsa.europa.eu/inspections/assessment-of-classification-societies.html [Accessed 18/06/2024].

[2] International Association of Classification Societies, "IACS Historical Dates" [Webpage] https://iacs.org.uk/about-us/governance [Accessed 18.06.2024]. LR was a founder member of IACS, which was established in September 1968.

[3] N. Watson, *Lloyd's Register: 250 Years of Service* (London: Lloyd's Register, 2010), 5.

[4] Lloyd's Register, "Our History" [Webpage] https://www.lr.org/en/about-us/who-we-are/our-history/ [Accessed 18/06/2024].

information' for his increasingly shipping-oriented clientele.[5] Such was the success of this endeavour that three separate maritime organisations bearing the Lloyd name emerged from this gathering of maritime businessmen, namely Lloyd's List, Lloyd's of London and Lloyd's Register.[6]

After its foundation in 1760, the Society for the Registry of Shipping continued uninterrupted until the late-1790s, when tension arose around the system of classification in use which depended 'entirely upon the place of build and the age of the vessel'.[7] Under this system, a vessel built on the Thames 'would be entitled to continue on the first class for a term of thirteen years', but the same ship, if built at one of the northern ports, would be 'eligible for a period of only eight years'.[8] Merchants and shipowners, frustrated by the subsequent dissent over this system of classification, broke away from the Society, forming their own register book in 1799. Although titled as the 'New Register Book of Shipping', it quickly became known, due to the colour of its cover, as the 'Red Book', standing in contrast to its rival, the older 'Underwriters Register', which became known as the 'Green Book'.[9] The conflict between the two books rumbled on until the 1820s when calls for an overhaul of the classification system and the reunification of the registers became too loud to ignore. The ensuing reformation process lasted until the 21 October 1834, when the formal reconstitution of the Society came into effect, the red and green books united into the single Lloyd's Register of British and

[5] Lloyd's Register, "Edward Lloyd and his Coffee House" [Webpage] https://www.lr.org/en/about-us/who-we-are/our-history/edward-lloyd-coffee-house/ [Accessed 18/06/2024].

[6] Lloyd's Register is not, and never has been, a maritime insurance company, despite the common belief to the contrary. The confusion has arisen because three organisations, each bearing the name 'Lloyd's', had their origins in the coffee-house of Edward Lloyd on Lombard Street in London. In addition to Lloyd's Register, *Lloyd's List* evolved as a shipping news and intelligence paper published by Edward Lloyd to cater for his increasing number of clients engaged in maritime business. The third entity was Lloyd's of London, the major insurance broker that developed when Edward Lloyd rented out tables in the coffee-house for underwriters to insure vessels ahead of upcoming voyages. After the formation of a new society and a move to the Royal Exchange in 1774, the former coffee-house became a formal underwriters society, developing into the insurance broker of the modern day. See Lloyd's of London, "Coffee and Commerce: Travels through our History" [Webpage] https://www.lloyds.com/about-lloyds/history/coffee-and-commerce [Accessed 18/06/2024]. The three organisations, despite having similar names and origins, are distinct.

[7] Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping, *Annals of Lloyd's Register: Being a Sketch of the Origin, Constitution, and Progress of Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping* (London: Wyman & Sons, 1884) [hereafter LR, *Annals* (1884)]. 14.

[8] LR, *Annals* (1884), 14.

[9] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 13.

Foreign Shipping, later abbreviated to Lloyd's Register of Shipping, but commonly referred to simply as "LR".[10]

From the reconstitution onwards, LR has surveyed and classified vessels in ports all over the world, growing from an outport network of just eight in 1834 to one of well over 100 stretching all of the world at the start of the twentieth century. This growth, however, was not without its problems, particularly within domestic operations in ports like Liverpool. In the immediate aftermath of the reconstitution, Liverpool shipowners and underwriters campaigned for a share in the authority of the new Society, launching a rival register in 1835 before the compromise of a semi-autonomous branch committee was introduced a decade later.[11] As Nigel Watson stated, the 'limited autonomy' of the branch committees in Liverpool, and later Glasgow, was permissible to LR simply as 'a device to keep the peace'.[12] Despite such issues, the Society continued to expand, tackling new technologies in vessel construction and propulsion, including the emergence of iron and steel, steam engines, fuel evolution and freezer technology, alongside increasing work on the vessels of new maritime industries like liners, tankers and trawlers. Grappling with technological change was not limited to the Society's work, but also its means of operation. During the period under investigation in this thesis, but particularly in the late-twentieth century and early twenty-first century, LR has adapted its working practises to suit technological change within the office, forever altering the way the Society conducted its business.

Throughout its lifespan, the Society has maintained connections with members of its outport network, one example being the port of Hull. Situated 25 miles from the North Sea on the banks of its namesake river and the Humber estuary, Hull serves as an important case study of an LR outport for several reasons. Firstly, Hull was and remains – as part of the Humber port complex – one of the UK's major ports, and has been a stalwart of LR's outport network since the earliest days of the pre-reconstituted Society. The port's extensive and varied trade made it a significant contributor to the overall seaborne trade and maritime activity of the UK. By 1834, the year of the reconstitution, Hull sat as the third largest port in

[10] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 18. Throughout this thesis, the terms "Lloyd's Register", "LR" and "the Society" are used to refer to Lloyd's Register of Shipping. These terms reflect the self-referential and interchangeable terminology used in the organisation's documentary records. The terms "classified" and "classed" are also deployed flexibly with regard to the process of gauging the quality of vessels and subsequently awarding them grades. Technically, the term "classified" should be used in this respect, but the Society often preferred to use "classed" in its own documentation and correspondence, a practice followed in this thesis.

[11] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 26

[12] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 300.

the UK with regards to its combined import and export trade, a position it held for much of the nineteenth century, eventually being superseded by Southampton, with its booming passenger liner traffic, in the 1910s.[13] (See Table 1.1)

Table 1.1 Seaborne Trade of the Twelve Principal Ports of the United Kingdom, 1834

Port	Inwards		Outwards		Total	
	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons
London	5,066	951,756	4,167	827,051	9,233	1,778,807
Liverpool	2,847	700,262	3,200	779,105	6,047	1,479,367
Bristol	327	62,949	262	54,002	589	116,951
Hull	1,520	228,844	1,158	179,626	2,678	408,470
Newcastle	814	112,511	1,624	235,933	2,438	348,444
Southampton	381	39,134	345	35,037	726	74,171
Glasgow	151	15,413	144	15,370	295	30,783
Greenock	274	72,829	290	77,137	564	149,966
Leith	372	51,302	234	35,090	606	86,392
Belfast	179	35,282	139	31,116	318	66,398
Cork	186	31,308	140	25,374	326	56,682
Dublin	239	41,530	153	30,055	392	71,585

Source: BPP, 1851, LII, 656, Return of Number of Vessels inwards and outwards at Twelve Principal Ports of United Kingdom; Official Value of Imports and Exports, 1816-50.

This “third port” status not only demonstrates Hull’s importance to the maritime activity of the nation, but also left Hull as one of the largest members of LR’s outport network, the only two ports that could boast a larger seaborne trade than Hull in 1834 being the Society’s home of London and the rebellious Liverpool.

Secondly, Hull’s geographical position on the Humber, one of the major eastern waterways into the UK, saw the port located far outside the direct operational remit of the Society’s head office, but also in relative isolation within the network, especially during the early years of the Society after 1834. Hull became, therefore, a base from which the Society could expand into neighbouring ports and manufacturing centres in the immediate hinterland of the Humber, dominating the Society’s activity along that waterway even after LR offices had been established in Grimsby and Scunthorpe. From the Hull office, LR could work in smaller maritime stations of Selby, Goole, Gainsborough and Beverley, all of which saw notable

[13] S.J. Wright, “The Port of Hull during the Interwar Period” (Unpublished MRes Dissertation, University of Hull, 2018), 9, 15.

shipbuilding output, alongside industrial material production at sites like the steelworks in Scunthorpe. This was later supplemented by the port's offshore work, leaving the Hull office as the perfect operational hub from which a multifaceted workload could enhance the Society's operational remit.

Thirdly, the development of the port of Hull has exhibited two major distinctive features since the 1830s. During the nineteenth century, Hull's shipping activity was dominated by a single, privately-owned company that grew to become a significant operator in the trans-oceanic and home trades. The Wilson Line, the focus of Chapter 3, accounted for a notable portion of Hull's fleet, drawing the firm into direct contact with LR in the port. Indeed, in no other major British seaport did a single company dominate shipping and trade to the extent enjoyed by the Wilson family in Hull. Generations of family owners and managers drove the firm to this position of dominance, and their interactions with LR provide an important insight into the Society's approach to large shipping companies, particularly one known to be ruthless in its business. A further distinctive feature of Hull's maritime activity and identity was the distant-water trawl fisheries. From the late-1880s to the 1980s, Hull's trawling fleet grew to a scale unrivalled in any other British port, and there was no other port in the UK that could boast both a strong and varied seaborne trade alongside a dominant and expansive trawling fleet like Hull could. By 1936, Hull's trawling industry accounted for nearly 40 per cent of the total British landings of wet fish, and its trawler fleet, numbering some 330 vessels in 1934, steamed to fishing grounds as far afield as Iceland, the Faroe Islands and the Norwegian coast.[14] Like the extraordinary local hegemony of the Wilsons, the scale of Hull's trawler fleet brought a particular local industry and LR into close contact. Hull, with its enduring significance as a commercial port and its highly distinctive features, therefore offers an excellent perspective from which to perceive the development of LR and its outport network.

1.2 Historiographical Context

This thesis deploys a twofold approach to reviewing the extant historiography into which it enters. In the main content chapters, relevant literature is addressed by way of contextual introduction to key themes, covering the particularly rich historiography on both the Wilson Line and trawling in the sections of the thesis where such literature is most applicable. Within this introductory section, however, it is prudent to focus on a review of the literature relating to LR, the main focus of this thesis. What quickly becomes apparent is the fact that this body of work is significantly limited. To present an assessment of this literature, therefore, this review addresses the key works on LR, followed by a brief appraisal of the utilisation of LR and its

[14] Wright, "The Port of Hull", 73-4.

register books in the literature more widely in order to set this thesis in its historiographical context.

Only four key works covering LR exist, all having been produced by the Society or its staff to mark particular anniversaries in its history. The first was published in 1884 on the 50th anniversary of the reconstitution of the Society, and was entitled the *Annals of Lloyd's Register*.[15] Although useful as the first full coverage the topic published hitherto, this chronological history of LR from its origins in 1760 up to the book's publication introduced a number of the key limitations found across the main works of this literature review. It presents a largely narrative approach to recording the Society's history, deploying limited analysis only when reviewing the state of LR's records prior to 1834, much of which had been 'destroyed in the fire which laid the Royal Exchange in ashes in 1838.'[16] Its appraisal of the surviving register books from this period, alongside its analysis of the development of the Society's rules for iron ships are undoubtedly the key strengths of the work, presenting the first real analytical approach to LR and its archive material.[17] This however, is strictly limited to those sources, the work having been published as a celebration of the Society's milestone year rather than an academic assessment of the merits of its operational activity. The work also introduces another significant issue within the literature of LR. Starting with this work in 1884, all of the LR-histories present an overview of the Society from the top down, choosing to focus in on the head office and its staff in London to make statements of the Society as a whole. The book does refer to the outports by way of an overview of the building and development of the Society, but its key focus is strictly on the head office and Society as a whole. The staff are given some attention within the work, but the outport staff are not mentioned by name, that honour only reserved for leading staff members at head office, again reenforcing the top-down narrative the work presents. As a first foray into the history of the Society, the work is a notably useful edition to the literature, and its 1884 publication date also makes it a useful primary source for this enquiry. However, its narrative and top-down focus are limiting factors in any academic appraisal of the Society and its outports in particular, and these limitations present a first glimpse at the historiographical gap this project looks to begin to fill.

The second of the key works was essentially an updated version of the first, written to 'bring this history up to date'.[18] The centenary edition of the *Annals of Lloyd's Register*,

[15] LR, *Annals* (1884).

[16] LR, *Annals* (1884), 5, 7-9.

[17] LR, *Annals* (1884), 77-100.

[18] Lloyd's Register of Shipping, *Annals of Lloyd's Register: Centenary Edition* (London: Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1934) 1-2 [hereafter LR, *Annals* (1934)].

published in 1934, continued many of the themes and limitations of its predecessor. Indeed, then Society chairman George Higgins stated that the book's authors saw their duty as 'limited to that of setting forth a plain, unvarnished tale of the origin, constitution, and practical working of the Society' rather than adopting an analytical critique of its work.[19] Overall, the text of the centenary edition is very similar to that of 1884 if perhaps a little condensed to make way for a more detailed narrative covering a larger period. In many cases, the prose only differs by a single word. In an appraisal of the classification differences for London vessels, the 1884 edition stated that 'while a vessel built on the Thames would be entitled to continue on the first class for a term of thirteen years, another ship of the same description built at one of the northern ports would be considered eligible for a period of only eight years.'[20] When the same sentence appeared in 1934, the only difference was the replacement of the word "while" for "whereas", a pattern of slight adjustment that is echoed throughout the work.[21] Interestingly, some of this minor amendment appears to have been done to soften critique of the Society. When addressed by this thesis, the 1884 *Annals* stated that LR 'were far behind the times in admitting steamers to classification.'[22] However, in a softening of tone, the 1934 edition amended the section to read that 'the Committees of the early Registers were slow to admit steamers to classification,' removing the criticism of LR of being far behind the curve.[23] Aside from these minor amendments to the 1884 text, the centenary edition provided the first historiographical coverage of the Society's operational activity since 1884, especially during the First World War. It also developed points made by its predecessor. The 1884 edition produced a list of the first outports of the Society pre-reconstitution, but the centenary edition took this a step further, analysing the limited early register books to list the ports where surveys were taking place.[24] This novel use of the registers, which in itself represented an example of rare analysis in an overwhelmingly narrative *Annals* series, provided an early example of the different ways in which the register books could be read, laying the foundations for analytical roads this thesis looks to traverse. Aside from these minor changes and improvements, the importance of the centenary edition is again reduced by common limitations. Like the 1884 edition, it focuses on a top-down history of the Society, reserving mention of the outports to brief acknowledgements of their existence and role in technical progress. Although providing more detail on the international expansion of the Society, again

[19] G. Higgins, "Preface", in LR, *Annals* (1934), 1.

[20] LR, *Annals* (1884), 14.

[21] LR, *Annals* (1934), 20.

[22] LR, *Annals* (1884), 27.

[23] LR, *Annals* (1934), 31.

[24] LR, *Annals* (1934), 18.

this is limited to a narrative overview, and a similar coverage is given to the staff. As in 1884, the centenary edition covers the Society's staff largely through a closer description of matters at head office, particularly when addressing the administrative staff.[25] It does provide some useful insights into the role of international employees, but again international appointments, like the outport staff, are rarely mentioned by name or given any significant attention. While making a useful contribution to the limited literature therefore, the centenary edition of the *Annals* did not make significant inroads into filling the historiographical gaps left by its predecessor. If anything, it made such gaps more obvious.

The third of the key works came on another historical landmark for the Society. Published in 1960 on the 200th anniversary of its initial founding, Blake's *Lloyd's Register of Shipping 1760-1960* was the first of the key historiographical texts to feature a named author.[26] Although this project could not identify exactly who George Blake was, it is certainly clear that he had a working relationship with the Society, his book continuing the historiographical trend of having been written or published directly by, or on behalf of the Society. Whatever his connection to the Society, Blake closely followed the now established blueprint for a history of LR, producing another chronological and heavily narrative account covering the same topics in a top-down look at its operational activity. Like the centenary edition, its later publication date necessitated provision of an insight into the Society's work since the publication of the preceding history. For Blake, this centred on detailed accounts of the Society's operations during the Second World War, focusing particularly on the head office and its senior leadership staff, in addition to the international expansion of the outport network post-1934 and the Society's war-time employment of women.[27] A few features, however, mark Blake's work as distinct from the *Annals*. It was certainly the first work to make a limited appraisal of contemporary literature on the Society, citing articles written in the *Tatler* and *Spectator* and criticising the works for 'neglecting the importance of Lloyd's coffee house as an exchange of shipping news and the nature of the limited but peculiar of Edward Lloyd himself'.[28] In addition to this limited review of literature, Blake's work is also written in a more accessible way than the *Annals*. Whereas the former publications were primarily targeted at 'all members of the shipping community' and those with a vested interest in matters maritime, Blake wrote in a relaxed and casual tone, combining the overall narrative with anecdotes and humour, concluding his section on LR's response to the arrival of steam

[25] LR, *Annals* (1934), 172.

[26] G. Blake, *Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1760-1960* (Crawley: Garrett House, 1960).

[27] Blake, *Lloyd's Register*, 115-23, 125.

[28] Blake, *Lloyd's Register*, 2-3.

with the simple line 'so far, so good.'[29] This accessible language, coupled with the immense level of detail Blake devotes to his narrative, made this work a useful addition to the literature, providing a concise, entry-level history of the Society despite doing very little to fill some of the historiographical gaps previously outlined.

Undoubtedly the most important contribution to the literature under review here came in a fourth company overview written by Nigel Watson.[30] Published in 2010 on the 250th anniversary of the foundation of the Society, Watson's work contained the most in-depth history of LR, and brought the historiography of the Society up to 2010. Although the text was unreferenced, it drew on the extensive LRFHEC archive to a far greater extent than its predecessors. Rather than adopting the chronological approach of earlier works across the book, Watson presented a brief overview of the Society's history in the first chapter before devoting the remaining chapters to a thematic assessment of LR. Of particular importance to the historiography were the chapters devoted to the people of Lloyd's Register and the education and training of staff, containing the most significant assessment of LR's workforce, going into far greater detail than any previous work.[31] It did, however, have some notable limitations. As mentioned, it was entirely unreferenced, although Watson attempted to draw the sources used together in a 'selected bibliography', another useful addition to the literature.[32] It also failed to break away from the top-down models adopted by the previous works, presenting a view of the Society that was dominated by the work of its head office and surveyors in London. Although it made a greater effort to incorporate details on the outports, they were limited to matters of growth, response to technological changes, and the various disputes the Society had with more troublesome outports like Liverpool. Hull, as is the case across the preceding works, was given very little attention at all, a fact that this thesis proves to be a rather shortsighted omission. Furthermore, the coverage of its many thematic topics, despite being far more detailed than anything published prior, remained strongly narrative, with very little analytical content within the work. As with its predecessors, this was an issue caused by its intended purpose. As its foreword explicitly stated, the book 'is not a detailed history' but was rather 'intended as a celebration of 250 years of achievement'.[33] Its accounts of LR's history, therefore, are covered in an unsurprisingly sympathetic and positive light, extolling the successes of the Society while presenting little analysis to test those successes.

[29] LR, *Annals* (1934), 3; Blake, *Lloyd's Register*, 44.

[30] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*.

[31] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 214-57, 274-87.

[32] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 379-82.

[33] D.G. Moorhouse, "Foreword", in Watson, *Lloyd's Register*.

This is an issue across the literature, with all works having been produced and published by the Society either directly or indirectly to celebrate milestone years in its history. In the search of a definitive academic history of the Society therefore, neither Watson's work nor its predecessors can fill that gap. However, as a reference work for studies of LR, Watson's well-researched and detailed celebratory history of the Society was unquestionably the most significant contribution made to the literature since the first attempt to collate LR's history into a single volume in 1884.

In addition to these four key histories, the literature on LR is also enhanced by several other works. For example, at various points during the Society's history, employees delivered lectures and wrote papers about LR. Although they are perhaps more accurately viewed as primary material for this project, they are worth considering here as enhancements to what was and remains an exceedingly small historiography. In 1905 and 1914 respectively, H.J. Cornish and S.J.P. Thearle, both chief ship surveyors of LR, presented 'short' histories of the Society through papers on the classification of merchant shipping.[34] Secretary to the Society, Andrew Scott produced a similar address to the Institute of Chartered Shipbrokers in 1925, focusing on LR's early history, the work of its leading committees and assessing the scale of LR's presence through its surveyor teams across the globe.[35] The 1940s saw chairman Ernest Lionel Jacobs, and clerk to the sub-committee of classification, R.J. Sladden present further papers on the subject, but none went beyond narrative introductions to the Society intended for audiences with limited knowledge of LR.[36] While providing further reference material, these papers, therefore, made limited contributions to the literature, a statement that can also be levelled at Gordon Boyce's limited appraisal of the Society in a chapter on the commercial infrastructure of world shipping in which LR are presented as one of four case studies.[37] Although Boyce's inclusion of LR represented one of very few academic engagements with the

[34] H.J. Cornish, "The Classification of Merchant Shipping: Illustrated by a Short History of Lloyd's Register", *Institute of Naval Architects*, Session 46, 20 July 1905; S.J.P. Thearle, "The Classification of Merchant Shipping", The Watt Anniversary Lecture for 1914, *Papers of the Greenock Philosophical Society*, 15 January 1914.

[35] Hull, Hull History Centre [hereafter HHC], Hull University Archives, U DFM/2/5, Papers of Major O.A. Forsyth-Major. Text of a presentation entitled "Lloyd's Register of Shipping and its Work: An Address" that was delivered by A. Scott to the Institute of Chartered Shipbrokers on 4 March 1925. This was included in a letter sent by Lloyd's and other insurance and shipping companies to O.A. Forsyth-Major.

[36] LRFHEC, E.L. Jacobs, "Lloyd's Register: What it Is and What it Does", *Insurance Institute of London* (London: Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 4 February 1946); R.J. Sladden, "Classification Procedure", *Lloyd's Register Staff Association*, Paper No.1 (1947-48).

[37] G. Boyce, "The Development of Commercial Infrastructure for World Shipping", in G. Harlaftis, S. Tenold & J.M. Valdaliso (eds.), *The World's Key Industry: History and Economics of International Shipping* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 106-23.

Society's history, it presents a largely narrative overview, and adds little to the Annals and company histories.

Other academic analyses shed light on the operation and development of LR by drawing upon, or appraising the utility of, the Society's records, especially the register books held in the LRFHEC archive. June Stanworth and David Humphreys, for example, deployed the registers to present a 'bottom-up' appraisal of the scale of UK shipbuilding from the late-1880s to 1914, stating that the books provided 'a rich source of statistics' from which cluster analysis of ship construction could be made.[38] Likewise, Hugh Murphy utilised the registers to assess shipbuilding growth in relation to the competition between British and international shipbuilders in his appraisal of the impact of the First World War on British shipbuilding.[39] Such uses have not, however, been limited to UK projects. Indeed, there is an equally rich historiography on international maritime history that has utilised LR sources. Jesus Valdaliso combined the register books with annual summaries of merchant ship launches in Spain to assess the growth of Spanish shipbuilding under the Francoist regime, and Cees de Voogd adopted a similar approach in an analysis of West German and Dutch shipyards between 1960 and 1980.[40] Similarly, G.R. and Mary Henning used the registers to assess the Pacific Northwest, focusing on the technological progression in vessel propulsion by using the registers to demonstrate the move from sail to steam between 1898 and 1913.[41] In addition to illustrations of shipping or shipbuilding industries, the registers have also been utilised to illustrate the spread of international shipping offices. Drawing on a detailed reading of the lists of shipowners and managers contained within the register books, Gelina Harlaftis and Costas Chlomoudis studied the proliferation of Greek shipping offices, presenting a geographical analysis of the register material similar to that undertaken by this thesis when addressing the growth of the Society's domestic and international outport network.[42]

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[38] J. Stanworth & D. Humphreys, "Bottom-up: A Mathematical Model of the UK Shipbuilding Industry, 1889-1914", *IJMH*, 47 (2015), 434-59.

[39] H. Murphy, "'No Longer Competitive with Continental Shipbuilders': British Shipbuilding and International Competition, 1930–1960", *IJMH*, 25 (2013), 35-60; H. Murphy, "The British Shipbuilding Industry during the Great War: A Contextual Overview Incorporating Standardization and the National Shipyards, 1916-1920", *IJMH*, 24 (2012), 19-68.

[40] J.M. Valdaliso "'Moving up in the League' with a Little Help from the State: The Spanish Shipbuilding Industry during the Developmental Francoist Regime", *IJMH*, 30 (2018), 488-507; C. de Voogd, "Shipbuilding in West Germany and the Netherlands, 1960-1980", *IJMH*, 19 (2007), 63-86.

[41] G.R. Henning & M. Henning, "Technological Change from Sail to Steam: Export Lumber Shipments from the Pacific Northwest, 1898-1913", *IJMH*, 2 (1990), 133-45.

[42] G. Harlaftis & C. Chlomoudis, "Greek Shipping Offices in London in the Interwar Period", *IJMH,* 5 (1990), 1-40.

The registers, therefore, have enjoyed a frequent use across maritime historiography, certainly to a far greater extent that the coverage given to the Society itself. Arguably two of the most in-depth utilisations of the source have come either side of the Atlantic, firstly through J.A. Goldenberg's analysis of shipping in colonial America.[43] When testing anecdotal theories about differing construction quality according to region of build, Goldenberg deployed the 'unbiased record' of LR's register books to assess the prevalence and quality of vessel types in Pennsylvanian, Massachusetts and North Carolinian shipbuilding, finding that the registers showed no differences in quality depending on place of build.[44] Interestingly, Goldenberg also wrote about the registers specifically, producing an article for *The Mariner's Mirror* that examined 'the geographic origins of vessels listed in Lloyd's Register of 1776' to test the common assertion that, 'at the time of the Revolution one-third of British shipping was American-built.'[45] From what became arguably the most in-depth utilisation of single register anywhere in the literature, Goldenberg produced a comprehensive table of build-locations for the vessels contained in the 1776 register, not only revealing the above assertion on the American origins of British vessels to be true, but also showing Hull to be the largest shipbuilding centre in the north east of the UK with regards to tonnage that year.[46]

Peter Solar has also considered the earliest register books in the UK. Indeed, in an collaborative article with S.D. Behrendt, Solar conducted a 'critical description' of the registers as a source, asserting that they 'are much less than a complete census of British shipping, and that systematic analysis of this source must content with some discontinuities in its quality.'[47] The article compares the coverage of vessels in the registers to that of *Lloyd's List*, finding the incomplete nature of the register collection pre-reconstitution to be a significant hindrance to the utilisation of the early registers.[48] Solar continued this in-depth focus on the registers in 2016, deploying the same pre-reconstitution books to create a 'more detailed picture of the size, rigging, place of construction and sheathing of vessels that served different trades' during the late eighteenth century.[49] In a slightly more upbeat assessment of the registers, Solar stated that, 'in historiographical terms, Lloyd's Registers are a particularly valuable source,'

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[43] J.A. Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding in Colonial America* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976).

[44] Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding*, 81-2.

[45] J.A. Goldenberg, "An Analysis of Shipbuilding Sites in Lloyd's Register of 1776", *Mariner's Mirror*, 59 (1973), 419-36.

[46] Goldenberg, "Shipbuilding Sites", 422, 425.

[47] S.D. Behrendt & P.M. Solar, "Sail on, Albion: The Usefulness of Lloyd's Registers for Maritime History, 1760-1840", *IJMH*, 26 (2014), 568-86.

[48] Behrendt & Solar, "Sail on, Albion", 584.

[49] P.M. Solar, "Late Eighteenth-Century Merchant Ships in War and Peace", *IJMH*, 28 (2016), 36-63.

although it should be stated that Solar's focus on the pre-reconstitution registers meant that neither of his articles presented a total assessment of LR books, rather those of the precursor society that, after the turbulent years between the 1790s and 1820s, would eventually become LR in 1834. The above articles adequately demonstrate the utility of LR and the archives of the LRFHEC to academic research and provide examples of the differing ways in which a single source, in this case the register books, can be read, a point that this thesis draws direct inspiration from.

This is, however, not the only area of literature to which this thesis makes a valuable contribution, as the port of Hull has received notable historiographical attention. This arguably started with Sheppard, who, in a work that is more port-advertisement than historical investigation, presented one of the first attempts at a brief overview of the port's history in 1923.[50] This overview model was adopted again, although to a far greater extent, by K.J. Allison in 1969, that work providing an appraisal of varying aspects of life in Hull from its origins to its publication date.[51] Arguably the most significant contributions to the historiography on Hull, however, were those of Gordon Jackson and Joyce Bellamy, who, in projects covering the eighteenth and nineteenth century respectively, presented rigorous assessments of the maritime fortunes of Hull during a large section of the period under review in this thesis.[52] This was further developed by authors like Calvert, Gillet and MacMahon and Gurnham, all of whom produced large overviews of the history of the port from its origins up to the twentieth century.[53] Jackson also produced studies of the development of Hull's port infrastructure, with Wright adding particular focus onto port authorities like the Hull Dock Company.[54] This

[50] T. Sheppard, *City and County of Kingston Upon Hull: The Third Port of the United Kingdom* (Hull: Brown, 1925).

[51] K. J. Allison (ed.) *A History of the County of York, East Riding, vol.1: The City of Kingston Upon Hull*, (London, 1969) British History Online: https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/east/vol1 [Accessed 25/07/2024].

[52] See G. Jackson, *The Trade and Shipping of Eighteenth-Century Hull*. (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1975). J.M. Bellamy, "Some Aspects of the Economy of Hull in the Nineteenth Century with Special Reference to Business History" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hull, 1965); J.M. Bellamy, *The Trade and Shipping of Nineteenth Century Hull* (East Yorkshire Local Histories Society, 1971. Reprinted in 1979).

[53] See H. Calvert, *A History of Kingston upon Hull from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, Chichester: Phillimore & Co. 1978); E. Gillett & K.A. MacMahon, *A History of Hull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the University of Hull, 1980); R. Gurnham, *The Story of Hull* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011).

[54] G. Jackson, *The History and Archaeology of Ports* (Tadworth, Surrey: World's Work, 1983); G. Jackson, "Shipowners and Private Dock Companies: The Case of Hull, 1770-1970", in L.M. Akveld & J.R. Bruijn (eds.), *Shipping Companies and Authorities in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Their Common Interest in the Development of Port Facilities* (Den Haag, 1989); S.J. Wright, "The Impact of the Hull Dock Company on the Development of the Port of Hull" (Unpublished BA Dissertation, University of Hull, 2017).

scholarly literature on Hull was then brought largely up-to-date in 2017 with the publication of *Hull: Culture, History and Place*, an edited volume with articles covering topics from dock development to some of the ports key industries and firms, the subjects of dedicated literature reviews in chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis.[55] The historiography on the port of Hull, therefore, is extensive, but all the above works suffer from the same issue when viewed in reference to the topic of this project. None of them present any appraisal of the work of LR in Hull. Indeed, no mention of LR is made in any of the general works covering the port of Hull, with only the firm/industry specific literature on the Wilson Line and trawling utilising the Society's register books for biographical information on Hull fleets.

The key literature for this project, therefore, is very limited. The reliance on narrative history within the LR historiography leaves significant scope for analytical assessment of the Society, and the dominance of the top-down approach has seen the outports receive very little attention across the key works. Furthermore, none of the scholarly studies of Hull address the work of LR in the port. This thesis, through undertaking an analytical assessment of LR through the lens of the outport of Hull, looks to begin to rectify these historiographical omissions.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Thesis

In direct response to the limitations of the extant historiography, the overarching aim of this thesis is to elucidate the development of the LR's operational activity through a case study of Hull. To achieve this aim, five inter-related lines of enquiry have been pursued.

Firstly, the thesis looks to outline and explain the development of the LR outport network, with particular reference to Hull. In doing so, it assesses the role of the port of Hull within the development of both the domestic and international network to find Hull's place within it and examine its importance to the work of the Society. The second key objective of the thesis is to analyse the interaction of LR and large shipping companies, through the lens of the Society's relationship with the Wilson Line of Hull. Drawing new evidence from the LRFHEC archive, the project tests theories and patterns of the Wilson Line's modus operandi made in the historiography of the firm, in addition to providing a rare example of a firm-specific analysis of the work of LR. A third objective of this research focuses on an appraisal of the Society's response to the emergence of new maritime activities, particularly those made in the distant-water trawling business so prevalent in Hull. This enables assessments of LR's approach

[55] D.J. Starkey, D. Atkinson, B. McDonagh, S. McKeon & E. Salter (eds.), *Hull: Culture, History, Place* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017).

to new technology to be made on the ground in Hull, testing prevailing theories about the Society's caution when embracing evolutions in vessel design and equipment.

The fourth and fifth objectives look to directly analyse the Society itself more closely. The fourth intends to establish the staffing requirements of an LR outport, and the policies the Society enacted in pursuit of this goal from 1834 until the 1970s, drawing on the LRFHEC staff records to assess the people employed by LR in Hull. It also looks to reveal how factors like technological change influenced the staffing in Hull, reflecting more widely on the Society as a whole through the experience of LR's staff in the port. The fifth and final objective continues these themes, assessing how and why the staffing requirements and work patterns of LR outport offices have changed since the 1990s, again focusing on staff employed in Hull. This objective also seeks to offer an assessment of how the Society has responded to increasingly computerised and digital methods of working, alongside the providing indicators for the future of the port and its role within the Society. Through these five research objectives, therefore, this thesis attains its overarching aim and makes a valuable contribution to the literature on both LR and the port of Hull.

1.4 Sources and Methods

To achieve its overarching aim and objectives, this thesis draws on an extensive body of source material. It is important to acknowledge that this investigation has had access to a somewhat limited collection of primary material owing to pandemic restrictions and archive renovations. To circumvent these possible issues, research concentrated on the increased utilisation of material from its main archive, LRFHEC, becoming arguably the most focused and intensive academic assessment and utilisation of that archive in the historiography to date, exploring collections that had, hitherto, been largely overlooked by scholarly assessment.[56]

1.4.1 Sources

The LRFHEC archive can be usefully separated into five main collections, all of which have been utilised by this enquiry. By far the most commonly cited collection across the historiography are the Society's register books for both general shipping and yachts, the LRFHEC holding a complete run of the former from the first published volume of 1834 up until the 1990s, with patchy coverage of the pre-reconstitution registers from 1760. Published annually since 1764, the register books are essentially lists of vessels, initially focusing on those classed by the

[56] This was aided significantly by the LRFHEC's commitment to a major digitisation project, which started in 2019 and resulted in "more than 1.1 million documents" being added to the LRFHEC's online repository by Spring 2022. See M. Wilcox, P. Phillipson, S. Wright, L. Rapisarda & D.J. Starkey, "The Lloyd's Register Archive: An Appraisal", *IJMH*, 35 (2023).

Society but later expanding to cover vessels outside of their direct operational remit. Alongside their LR classification, the registers record important biographical information like place of build, tonnage and dimensions, and owners for each listed ship, making the registers valuable source material for any project connected to shipping and vessels. Indeed, it is for this reason that the register collection is the most frequently cited area of the LRFHEC archive.

Together with the register books, the LRFHEC archive holds another important book collection containing the minutes and transactions of the various committees that made up the operational core of the Society. Alongside incomplete runs of minute books for internal bodies like the classification and visitation committees, this collection holds a near-complete run of minute books for the Society's General Committee [hereafter GC], who have overseen and monitored the day-to-day functionality of the Society since the reconstitution. Until the mid-twentieth century, the GC minutes contain detailed accounts of every meeting of that body, whether routine or in special circumstances, providing an important insight into the operation of the Society and its interactions with other organisations from the perspective of the Society. As key sources for the majority of the chapters of this thesis, the minute books have proved particularly useful for any assessment of the development of the Society and its outport network, rules and regulations, staff, and in its response to clients and industries, all of which cover areas of research adopted by this thesis.

In addition to the register and committee minute books, another of the key collections held by the LRFHEC contains the wide range of publications produced by the Society for both a public or internal audience. Of particular utility to this project are the incomplete run of the Society's *Rules and Regulations*, produced to give the Society's clients and surveyors alike a detailed account of the technical demands required by the Society before any vessel classification could take place. These books are covered in more detail in chapters 3 and 4, but suffice it to state here that their contents give a clear indication of both the Society's survey and classification process, but also its approach to progress and evolution in maritime technology, particularly as it pertained to the functionality and seaworthiness of vessels around the world. Alongside the rule books, the Society has also published its Casualty or Wreck Returns series since 1891, containing detailed statistical accounts of the number of vessels lost each year, however, these are not utilised by this project to any extent.[57] The thesis does utilise more recent publications from LR and LRF, particularly relevant issues of its 'Insight Report' series and Foundation strategy document to illustrate the role themes raised

[57] LRFHEC, "Casualty Returns" [Webpage] https://hec.lrfoundation.org.uk/archive-library/casualty-returns [Accessed 02/07/2024].

within the thesis have continued to play in the modern Society and Foundation.[58] Along with publications produced for a public audience, this collection also includes internal publications produced for circulation within the Society. These range from Society magazines like *100A1* to more formal publications like the transactions of the Staff Association, a group of LR staff who met to discuss papers submitted to or requested by them. Again, these sources will be addressed in more detail when utilised in the main body of the thesis, but it is important to mention them here.

The remaining two collections held by the LRFHEC are two of the most important for this enquiry. One of the largest collections covers the documents produced during and after vessel surveys, known as the 'Ship Plans and Survey Reports'.[59] The collection covers standardised procedural documentation generated by the Society's head office and completed on the ground in shipyards around the world, including survey reports and proceedings, classification awards, and repair recommendations. These procedural documents are held alongside specialised papers like vessel and machinery blueprints and plans, produced by shipyards and companies for assessment by LR's team of surveyors. Not only does the collection, therefore, represent a useful body of evidence for studies of specific vessels, it can also shed light on the functionality and operational procedure deployed by the Society across its outport network, a fact aided by the significant volume of correspondence both internal and between the Society and its clients. This is important for this enquiry, not only in the illumination of the Society's modus operandi, but also in revealing its dealings with leading maritime firms and industries, particularly those of distinctive and atypical scale and status found in the port of Hull.

The final LRFHEC collection utilised heavily by this enquiry covers the Society's staff, and is arguably the most underutilised collection owing to limited accessibility. Until the recent digitisation project made the Society's 'Lists of Surveyors' from 1834 to 1972 available online, the staff records of LR were only available to researchers at the Society's archive in London.[60] The lists themselves are immensely useful in their own right. Published annually as part of the register book from 1834 onwards, they provide an account of the names, and later the varying

[58] LRF, *Insight Report on Safety in the Fishing Industry: A Global Safety Challenge* (LRF Report Series: No 2018.3, June 2018); LRF, *Engineering a Safer World: Lloyd's Register Foundation Strategy, 2019-2025* (London: LRF, 2019), available at https://www.lrfoundation.org.uk/en/2019-strategy/ [Accessed 04/03/2021].

[59] LRFHEC, "Ship Plans and Survey Reports" [Webpage] https://hec.lrfoundation.org.uk/archive-library/ships/ [Accessed 16/07/2024].

[60] LRFHEC, "Lists of Surveyors" [Webpage] https://hec.lrfoundation.org.uk/archive-library/lists-of-surveyors [Accessed 03/07/2024].

roles, of all surveyors employed by the Society across the outport network, organised by port and detailing any changes to such teams each year.[61] However, their true value to this enquiry came through their ability to 'unlock the potential of other staff records in the archive' which can be split into two categories, the administrative staff, and the technical staff.[62] Like the extant historiography, the administrative staff records are dominated by a London-centric focus, with only one bound volume listing administrative teams across selected outports between the early 1930s and 1948. The records of the technical staff, particularly the Society's team of surveyors, are more comprehensive, the most important being the Lists of Offices, colloquially known by LRFHEC archivists as the 'Staff Bibles.'[63] The contents and utility of this source is covered extensively in Chapter 5, but it is worth addressing here briefly as they provide a more detailed account of the surveyors roles and backgrounds, particularly during the twentieth century when further biographical information was added. They are, therefore, immensely important sources for any study of the work of LR through the eyes of its staff, the key focus of Chapter 5. Although inconsistencies in the collected information coupled with the sparse corroborative material available does slightly reduce the quality and efficacy of the staff records, they are an unquestionably important and untapped collection, and this thesis looks to rectify this.

To support and corroborate the collections of the LRFHEC, this thesis has also called upon two other sources of primary information. Firstly, the archival holdings of other repositories, particularly parliamentary papers and Hull History Centre have been utilised where necessary, and are addressed in more detail in the main body of the thesis. The second, and perhaps more important collection has been generated by this enquiry itself through a limited series of interviews in line with the objectives of the thesis. This collection, which appears prominently in Chapter 6, has been utilised primarily to investigate the extent to which the patterns observed in the preceding chapters can be identified in the modern Society, but has also been used to test the success of LR's operational activity in trawling, the focus of Chapter 4. These collections, together with the extensive material gathered from LRFHEC give this thesis, therefore, a substantial evidence base from which its many conclusions and assertions have been drawn and corroborated.

[61] Wilcox *et al.*, "Lloyd's Register Archive", 262.

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] Wilcox *et al.*, "Lloyd's Register Archive", 263.

1.4.2 Methodology

From the outset, this thesis does not seek to conduct its research according to the strict principles of any one methodological approach. Indeed, it argues that rigidly sticking to methodological ideologies can inhibit research potential to a greater extent than it could enhance, and concurs with the view, outlined by Ormston *et al.*, that researchers 'should not be forced into a theoretical or methodological straitjacket.'[64] Instead, this thesis seeks to address its overarching research questions and aims through an analysis of primary material, and has been led by the findings of such analysis in the making of its key arguments and theories. As such, it has become aligned with the research process of grounded theory which 'aims to generate theories that explain social processes or actions through the analysis of data from participants who have experienced them.'[65] As stated by Tuner and Astin, grounded theory involves research 'conducted through an inductive process' whereby 'the researcher has no preconceived ideas about the findings,' and in which the 'focus of the research may evolve over time as the researchers understand what is important […] through the data collection and analysis process.'[66]

Given the importance of data collection in this approach, therefore, and in order to extract valuable primary evidence from the sources outlined earlier, this thesis has adopted a multifaceted approach to both the selection and analysis of its source material. Given the scale of the LRFHEC archive, the project implemented a targeted policy of evidence selection from the outset. The limited LRFHEC catalogues were assessed against key Hull terminology and literature to concentrate the project's focus onto the most important evidence held within the archive. For the largest collections held by the LRFHEC, namely the registers, committee minutes, and the ship plans and survey reports, this involved key-word searches of databases and the indexes of minute books for reference to Hull, and to important firms and names extracted from the relevant literature. Extant historiography was also immensely useful in this endeavour. Fleet lists by historians of leading Hull firms and industries were extensively utilised to mine LRFHEC collections for references to Hull vessels, enabling the project to rapidly develop full bodies of evidence for the analysis of LR's relationship with those key firms and industries. Smaller collections held within the LRFHEC archive have also been used to unlock the potential of the larger collections, not least in the case of the staff records. For

[64] R. Ormston, L. Spencer, M. Barnard & D. Shape, "The Foundations of Qualitative Research", in J. Ritchie, J. Lewis, C. McNaughton Nicholls & R. Ormston (eds.), *Qualitative Research Practise: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (London: Sage, 2nd edition, 2014), 19.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] C. Turner & F. Astin, "Grounded Theory: What Makes a Grounded Theory Study?", *European Journal of Cardiovascular Nursing*, 20 (2021), 285-9.

example, in its provision of a port-by-port list of the Society's technical staff, the newly digitised lists of surveyors enabled this investigation to search for specific individuals within the staff bibles, removing the need for lengthy trawls through volumes in search of references to Hull. However, in order to test the accuracy of both collections, limited detailed readings of the staff bibles were undertaken to ensure no surveyors slipped through the research net. Likewise, repeated checks on Hull vessels, selected randomly, were used to test the validity and accuracy of both the fleet lists, and the collections of LRFHEC.

Using the above methods, this project built a substantial body of primary evidence from which useful data could be extracted. To achieve this, the thesis deployed a twofold methodological approach to analysis, utilising both a quantitative and qualitative reading of the collated archive material. As outlined by King and Horrocks, discourse on the subject can foster 'unhelpful prohibitions' that assume research should 'choose a side' on the debate between quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis.[67] Instead, this thesis adopts the position, as outlined by Ormston *et al.*, that 'qualitative and quantitative research methods should be seen as complementary strategies, appropriate to different types of research questions, or to viewing the same research problem through different lenses.'[68] Indeed, as stated by Ritchie and Ormston, the greatest use of either approach can be found in the simple fact that, when 'used together, they can offer a powerful resource' for research projects.[69]

In order to assess the scale at which LR became involved in the port of Hull and with its major maritime businesses and industries, this thesis has used a quantitative analysis of the above collections, mining sources like the registers, ship plans and survey reports, and the staff records to produce extensive and varied sets of raw statistical data. As shall be seen in the main chapters, this includes data on the development and expansion of the outport network, the frequency with which LR engaged with the vessels of Hull firms and industries, the classifications those vessels were awarded by the Society, and the staff numbers employed by the Society's office in Hull, all of which has aided the overall analysis of the relationship between the port and LR. These sets of raw statistical data, drawn directly from a combination of LRFHEC sources, are then analysed for trends and patterns to identify changes over time in Hull, and to compare outport trends to those identified in the extant historiography across the Society as a whole. To this large body of quantitative data, this thesis adds a qualitative

[67] N. King & C. Horrocks, *Interviews in Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 2010), 7.

[68] Ormston *et al.*, "Foundations of Qualitative Research", 20.

[69] J. Ritchie & R. Ormston, "The Applications of Qualitative Methods to Social Research", in Ritchie *et al.*, *Qualitative Research Practise*, 40.

analytical reading of the collated source material. Qualitative data from sources like the committee minutes, ship plans and survey reports, along with biographical information from staff bibles, is analysed to explain the trends seen in the quantitative data, enriching the findings of both by revealing causal factors that drove changes and patterns identified across the source material.

Within this qualitative approach, this thesis also adopted a third key method of data collection and analysis through a very limited set of individual qualitative interviews. Again, the issue of quantitative or qualitative was considered, only this time it was more prudent to adopt a largely qualitative approach to interviewing due to the nature of the proposed research. Whereas quantitative interviews require 'a sample that is statistically representative of the population […] because of the need to establish the generalisability of the conclusions,' a qualitative approach sacrifices this search for generalisability 'to recruit participants who represent a variety of positions in relation to the research topic.'[70] As this project focused on interviews with a very small collection of former LR surveyors, all of whom represented differing positions and experiences through either different employment time periods or different office roles, a qualitative method provided the most appropriate approach. Aside from this debate, the interviews involved a number of other methodological considerations that are worth addressing here.

As the project sought to collate accounts of surveyor experiences of working in and around the LR office in Hull, its approach to the interviews involved the creation of a semi-structured interview guide, rather than of a rigid set of 'fixed questions in a predetermined order,' a method that King and Horrocks label as 'inappropriate' for projects with aims like this thesis (see Appendix A).[71] Instead, the emphasis on 'open-ended, non-leading questions' that focused on 'personal experience,' a key feature of the qualitative approach, gave the interviews an 'exploratory character' that allowed them to 'move in directions […] of relevance to the research topic but outside the scope of the original research questions.'[72] As shall be demonstrated, this approach proved useful with the interviews yielding important information on topics that had not initially been considered by this project.

Location was another key consideration in preparing the interviews. In total, in this project I conducted four interviews, half of which were held in person, one in a private room of the place of work of the participant, the other in a private room of a university building off the

[70] King & Horrocks, *Interviews*, 29.

[71] King & Horrocks, *Interviews,* 35.

[72] King & Horrocks, *Interviews,* 2, 28.

main campus. This ensured the project's compliance with matters of privacy and anonymity, while also producing an environment conducive for the production of high-quality audio recordings. However, due to logistical reasons and work commitments of the participants, the other two interviews were conducted using the Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) conferencing application "Zoom". As a result, this brought the thesis into another methodological debate around the validity of such platforms in the production of research interviews. The utility of VoIP technologies for such purposes had been met with much scepticism from academia until the very recent past, with King and Horrocks stating as recently as 2010 that 'qualitative researchers should be cautious about the use of remote video for interviews' due to issues of connectivity and quality.[73] In the ensuing decade since King and Horrocks encouraged caution, technological developments in both internet connectivity and VoIP technologies have largely alleviated such issues, and improvements were given significant impetus when the UK pandemic restrictions of 2020-2021 forced many traditionally face-to-face interactions online. As a result, in the process of conducting these interviews, this project aligned with the assertions of Lo Iacono *et al.* whose appraisal of Skype as a tool for qualitative interviews is directly applicable to this project. They stated that, 'although VoIP-mediated interviews cannot completely replace face to face interaction, they work well as a viable alternative or complimentary data collection tool for qualitative researchers.'[74] The limitations the authors identified, primarily issues of connectivity, the building of rapport, and the inability to read non-verbal ques, were, in the experience of this project, either very minimal, or non-existent.[75] Therefore this thesis strongly concurs that VoIP technologies can and should be utilised 'with some confidence, rather than cautiously considered.'[76]

A final key area for consideration for the interviews was the recruitment of participants. Given the limited scale of the interviews, targeted at current LR surveying staff, the candidates were largely identified through consultation with LR rather than through any public call for participants, although one was identified by a previous participant. Once staff at LR had identified and invited possible candidates, this project then made contact and arranged the interviews. This process, like the research project as a whole, was conducted in compliance with the University of Hull's research ethics policy, and the researcher sought and gained approval for the use of interviews in this thesis from the University's ethics committee. Ethical

[73] King & Horrocks, *Interviews,* 84.

[74] V. Lo Iacono, P. Symonds & D.H.K. Brown, "Skype as a Tool for Qualitative Research Interviews", *Sociological Research Online*, 21 (2016), 1-15.

[75] Lo Iacono *et al.*, "Skype as a Tool", 10.

[76] *Ibid.*

issues arising from this research, therefore, have been considered and addressed, and are therefore not outlined here. However, one ethical consideration is worth addressing at this juncture as it directly related to the recruitment of participants outlined above. As stated by Webster *et al.*, although 'people should be able to make a decision about participation free from any form of pressure,' 'it is always helpful to proceed on the basis that the participant might feel under some pressure to participate.'[77] In the case of this thesis in particular, the fact that the participants were notified about, and invited to take part in the project by their employer, LR, may well have inadvertently increased the pressure on them to participate, although no mention was or has been made of this by any participant. To mitigate this potential ethical issue, participants were assured, prior to any interview, that taking part was entirely voluntary, and that their participation would not be reported to their employer and that they were free to withdraw from participation in the study. None of the participants exercised this right, nor mentioned feeling pressured to participate. The resulting conversations were recorded either in person using professional studio microphones and Ableton digital recording software, or online via the in-built recording functions on Zoom. Once completed, all interviews were transcribed in full so as to preserve, for the duration of this research project, the conversations as they took place. The completed transcriptions and recordings are kept securely by the researcher, and are only available to the researcher, the thesis supervisory team, and any examiners upon request. They are not, and will never be publicly available, and are to be deleted and destroyed upon the completion of this project in compliance with the ethical approval granted to the researcher.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

Utilising the above sources and methodology, this thesis assesses the work of LR in the outports through a case-study of Hull, focusing on its objectives in five major content chapters (chapters 2-6). Chapter 2 addresses the development of LR's outport network, both domestic and international and presents an in-depth analysis of the growth of the network. This incorporates an appraisal of Hull's role within the network, investigating the rationale behind its selection as an outport in 1834, and assessing changes to its status and importance to the Society over time. Chapter 3 analyses the interaction of LR and large shipping companies by presenting an appraisal of one of Hull's distinctive features, the Wilson Line. Taking both a quantitative analysis of the Wilson fleet alongside a qualitative approach to the Society's communication with the firm, the chapter looks to test common assertions about the Wilson Line made in the literature, and provides an in-depth investigation into LR's working

[77] S. Webster, J. Lewis & A. Brown, "Ethical Considerations in Qualitative Research", in Ritchie *et al.*, *Qualitative Research Practise*, 92-3.

relationship with one of the largest British shipping companies of the nineteenth century. Similarly, Chapter 4 presents an assessment of another distinctive feature of the port of Hull through focus on its sizeable trawling fleet. This allows for an appraisal of the Society's response to the emergence of new maritime activities and technologies, comparing LR's approach to that of another organisation, the White Fish Authority, to test the Society's success in the alleviation of the hazards of trawling.

Chapter 5 shifts the focus of the thesis onto the staff that manned LR's office in Hull from 1834 to the 1970s. By addressing issues of staff numbers, recruitment, education and training, and staff retention, Chapter 5 looks to establish the staffing requirements of an LR outport office, studying the policies LR enacted for both its administrative and technical workforce. This focus on LR's people in Hull is then continued chronologically into Chapter 6, which utilises the findings of the aforementioned interviews to assess how and why the staffing requirements and work patterns of LR outport offices have changed since the 1990s. Chapter 6 draws on the findings of the previous chapters to assess to what extent patterns and trends identified throughout the thesis have continued in the work of the Society into the twenty-first century, and assesses the impact of external shocks on LR. Chapter 7 then draws the thesis to a close with a statement of its key findings and contributions, and assesses avenues for future research projects that this thesis has opened up and identified.

Chapter 2 The Outports of Lloyd's Register

LR was established with the key 'purpose of surveying and classifying the shipping of the world'.[78] This operational objective necessitated the establishment of a network of ports and harbours both within the UK, and later around the world, to which the Society could appoint or recruit surveyors to act on its behalf. From the earliest days of the Society, the port of Hull was identified as a key component of this system.[79] By defining what it meant to be an outport of LR, and by investigating the development of the outport network following the reconstitution, both domestically and internationally, this chapter evaluates the importance placed on Hull by LR and assesses the evolution of its role within this outport network.

The historiography on LR contains limited engagement with the outport network, both domestic and international. In establishing the growth of the Society, the *Annals* make passing reference to the ports and places in which LR established an office, with particular narrative focus on the outports of the Society pre-reconstitution. In the 1884 volume, this appraisal of the domestic network between 1760 and 1834 concentrates solely on the production of a list of ports, providing no analysis of the selection process nor the requirements for outport-status.[80] The centenary edition continued this trend, adding an element of analysis through a closer reading of the available register books.[81] However, neither volume attempts a study of the expansion of the network post-reconstitution, only referencing new outports when addressing related issues like the impact of steam and iron on LR's operational activity. Blake did little to address these shortcomings, again focusing the major list of outports contained in his work on the pre-reconstituted Society in 1766.[82] However, Blake contributed to the outport literature through his reference to the 'slumbering rivalry' between LR's head-office and the outports, noting the campaign for outport representation on the Society's General Committee up to 1863.[83] This historiographical coverage of the interplay between head-office and the outports, however, has been entirely produced from the perspective of the former, a situation this thesis looks to amend.

The above works also refer to the expansion of the international outport network, although again this is conducted through a narrative overview approach. The 1884 *Annals*

[78] HHC, U DFM/2/5, Scott, "Lloyd's Register", 1.

[79] Watson*, Lloyd's Register*, 28.

[80] LR, *Annals* (1884), 16.

[81] LR, *Annals* (1934), 18.

[82] Blake, *Lloyd's Register*, 25.

[83] Blake, *Lloyd's Register*, 50.

made limited reference to international expansion, owing to the fact that it was published prior to LR's extensive growth overseas in the twentieth century. The 1934 edition began to address the shortcomings of its predecessor, citing the proliferation of international offices after the 1880s, including the arrival of LR into the United States of America.[84] Echoing its approach to the domestic network, the centenary edition produced a list of international outports in 1910 to illustrate growth, but, beyond this narrative approach, neither *Annals* made significant attempts to analyse the Society's growth around the world.[85] Like the 1934 *Annals*, Blake's major contribution to the literature on the international network centred on bringing the narrative up to the book's publication in 1960. In particular, Blake gave a detailed account of the international network during and after the Second World War, providing a first insight into the effects that conflict had on international expansion. However, Blake continued the narrative overview model, again highlighting the need for an analytical approach to the appraisal of LR's networks.

The most comprehensive coverage of the outports in the literature hitherto was made by Watson. Although his approach largely continued the narrative focus, the detail he provided brought the literature on the networks into the twenty-first century. Like his predecessors, Watson's coverage of domestic network expansion is centred on a chronological development, with Watson providing a greater insight into the growth of the networks. The domestic network is also appraised throughout his chapters on the Society's staff, in which the outports and staffing numbers are utilised to illustrate the overall growth of LR. The most important contribution to the outport literature made by Watson, however, came through the detail devoted to the international outports. Two chapters in the second half of the book were dedicated to the Society's operations overseas, the first presenting a chronological overview of that topic from the arrival of international surveyors of the pre-reconstituted Society in 1812, to the redesignation of international outports in the early 2000s.[86] The second chapter outlined the international work of LR through short appraisals, arranged alphabetically, of operational activity in every country to which the Society's surveyors were appointed.[87] However, these two chapters are repetitive, continuing the largely narrative approach to network development while doing very little to alter the top-down appraisal of the Society's history so prevalent across the key literature. By analysing the network development, both domestic and international, and by appraising Hull's role within those networks, this chapter

[84] LR, *Annals* (1934), 168-9.

[85] LR, *Annals* (1934), 171.

[86] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 260-3.

[87] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 308-59.

presents a new angle of approach to this topic, analysing events and perspectives hitherto overlooked.

2.1 Defining and Establishing an Outport

In order to investigate the development of the outport network of LR, and assess Hull's position within it, it is firstly important to establish what an "outport" is.

2.1.1 Defining the Outport

Generally, the term "outport" is used to identify a port or place other than the main port of the country, or a port or harbour built to support the commerce of larger neighbours.[88] Historically, the former of the two definitions is certainly the most common within the UK, "outport" being frequently adopted as a 'generic term for all the ports outside of London'.[89] Indeed, historic UK maritime and customs legislation regularly refers to London and the outports, using the term to establish a hierarchy of ports around the country, with London as the keystone. This was especially true for the purpose of customs collection, with "outport" being a later addition to a glossary of terms used to classify ports into distinct categories, and to establish the relationship between them.

It is likely that the term "outport" directly descended from an earlier system of port classification revolving around the creation of "head-ports". It has been argued by R.C. Jarvis that the "head-port" term took its origins from the Cinque Ports of the south east coast of England before the Norman Conquest, some of which were said to owe a service as a 'member or limb of a head port', rather than to the crown.[90] However, for the purposes of this investigation into LR outports, it is important to focus on the establishment of legal head-ports during the sixteenth century. As stated by Gordon Jackson, the rationale for the establishment of ports did not centre on the need to create places 'where a ship might conveniently load or unload', but instead focused on the creation of places 'where it might legally do so in the presence of the King's "Customer"'.[91] Ports and havens, therefore, had to be appointed by the crown in order to handle trade legally, with no haven able to become a full port 'but by lawful prescription'.[92] By 1402, customs statutes were already drawing a distinction between the legally appointed ports, known as the grand ports, and the smaller creeks where royal

[88] "Outport, n.1", *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford University Press, 2023) [Accessed 19/05/2023].

[89] Jackson, *History and Archaeology of Ports,* 15.

[90] R.C. Jarvis, "The Appointment of Ports", *Economic History Review,* 11 (1959), 459.

[91] Jackson, *History and Archaeology of Ports*, 14.

[92] Jarvis, "Appointment of Ports", 456.

appointments had not been made.[93] As a result, certain harbour towns 'came in the passage of time, to fall under a form of dependence to the older ports' and, in order to reduce smuggling and regularise what had become 'a chaotic situation as regards customs revenue', the English government produced a formal three-tiered port classification system in 1558.[94] This revolved around the aforementioned "head-ports", where customs officials were legally appointed to control and authenticate trade, "member-ports", where deputies of the head-port officials operated, and "creeks", where no such appointments were made.[95] All three tiers comprised 'shipping places,' an all-embracing term relating to the activity at the heart of all ports; that is, the loading and discharging of cargoes into and out of vessels.[96] Not all of these "shipping places" were granted custom port status. In 1881, there were 643 shipping places in only 125 Customs Ports in the UK.[97] However, all shared the key characteristic in their location on an interface between water and land.

From the outset, Hull appeared as one of the head-ports outside of London, and was one of a number of ports that were regularly resurveyed in the late seventeenth century in order to keep up with growing trade. By 1750, Hull was one of twenty English and Welsh head-ports outside of London, and had its own network of member-ports and creeks attached to it, with Grimsby, Bridlington and Scarborough all acting as member-ports under the supervision of officials in Hull.[98] This three-tiered system eventually incorporated the term "outport" to refer to all ports outside of London in customs legislation, and would therefore have been a very familiar concept to those tasked with the reconstitution of LR in the 1820s and early 1830s. It is likely, therefore, that this three-tiered system of port classification inspired the reformers of LR during the establishment of the Society's own outport network. Indeed, LR adopted a similar three-tiered system, much of which revolved around the outports, the sub-offices and the immediate hinterland. Indeed, LR adopted the "outport" term during the reconstitution process to refer to ports and harbours located outside of the remit of the Society's head office in London, to which it intended to engage surveyors to work on its behalf. As the Society diversified, the outport term came to cover areas that were not even ports at

[93] Jarvis, "Appointment of Ports", 456, 459.

[94] *Ibid*; I. Friel, *Maritime History of Britain and Ireland, c.400-2001* (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 103.

[95] Jarvis, "Appointment of Ports", 459.

[96] D.J. Starkey, *Shipping Movements in the Ports of the United Kingdom 1871-1913: A Statistical Profile.* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), xxiv.

[97] Starkey, *Shipping Movements*, xxiv.

[98] H. Saxby, *The British Customs: Containing an Historical and Practical Account of Each Branch of that Revenue* (London: Customhouse, 1757), 390.

all, many being entirely landlocked. Nevertheless, this initial LR definition of "outport" was directly derived from the aforementioned customs definition, placing London in what former Chief Surveyor of LR, S.J.P. Thearle, described as 'fatherly control' over the outports, which were placed as a subsidiary to the Society's head office.[99]

One of the earliest references to the outports in Society literature can be found in an address given to a meeting of the Ship-Owners Committee held on 11 December 1823 by John Marshall, an influential figure in the reconstitution of LR, and one with strong links to Hull (see Chapter 5).[100] Marshall argued that any committee established to oversee the reconstitution of the Society should have 'in attendance' at least 'one person from each of the eight principal Outports,' listing 'Liverpool, Hull, Bristol, Glasgow, Newcastle, Yarmouth, Whitby and Leith' as prime candidates, a proposal that was accepted the following month, with Marshall elected to the committee to represent his home port of Hull.[101] From this point onwards, the term "outport" became an ever-present fixture within the operational activity of LR, and the establishment and subsequent expansion of the outport network will be addressed later on in this chapter. In order to fully understand this network, however, it is useful to understand exactly what the Society saw as the purpose of its outports.

2.1.2 Defining the Lloyd's Register Outport

Although it derived its definition of an outport from customs legislation, LR's own interpretation of what an outport would be was more detailed. In addition to conducting Society business, ports and harbours selected to join the network had a number of other duties to perform. The outports, for example, acted as the eyes of the Society, monitoring maritime activity in and around each local area. In a lecture given to the Insurance Institute of London in 1946, the chairman of LR, E.L. Jacobs, stated that it was 'the duty of the staff at every local office to keep in touch with the daily arrivals' at that port or harbour to enable the Society to track vessel movements, particularly those requiring the immediate attention of the surveyors.[102] As part of this focus, outport staff were instructed to liaise with local shipping agents, making the outport offices the first point of contact that the vast majority of LR's

[99] Thearle, "Classification of Merchant Shipping", 15.

[100] J. Marshall, *A Statement of the various proceedings prior and subsequent to the appointment of a committee in 1824, to inquire into the mode of classing the mercantile marine at Lloyd's, and to report their opinions thereon. Interspersed with numerous observations, and accompanied with a prefatory address. The whole intended to show the unconstitutional power to which the shipping of this country is subjected. And the deeply injurious operation of the existing system on the navigation and commerce of Britain* (London, 1829), 12.

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] Jacobs, "Lloyd's Register", 9.

clientele would have had with the Society. This factor was especially important in the years immediately after the reconstitution. In fact, the impetus to establish the outport network in 1834 was driven largely by the Society's need to implement its now modernised system of operation. It was the outports that would be responsible for taking the new system of classification into areas that had become well versed in the old standards, which had been largely governed by the surveyors themselves. As stated by Algate, the old classifications 'had been those allotted by the outport surveyors who were not paid by the Society, nor had they rules to govern them'.[103] This issue had been one of the main problems identified during the inquiries into the possible reconstitution of LR in the 1820s. Indeed, John Marshall made his feelings on the matter very clear during his aforementioned speech to shipowners in December 1823, stating that the then current surveying staff of the Society were:

> fallible men, liable to err in judgement, and consequently should not be invested with the authority they now exercise. There are also others, who should never have been placed in a situation of such extensive authority and importance – men alike unfit from ignorance, self-sufficiency, and selfishness.[104]

Pre-reconstitution surveyors were also allowed to take fees for their work from clients, a situation the final report of the Committee of Inquiry lamented, stating that the current system was 'rendered practically nugatory, by the inadequacy of the salaries paid to the surveyors, and their allowed dependence for the principal portion of their emoluments on the very parties whose conduct they are designed to control'.[105] Fundamentally, this directly hindered surveyor impartiality, a core principle for the reconstituted LR, which rectified the issue by placing all surveyors in significant ports into an exclusive, salaried position.[106] The reconstitution also tackled the issues surrounding classification through the publication of the Society's new set of rules and regulations, introducing 'a uniformity of system based upon the best ascertained practice, which left no room for glaring differences between the practice of one locality and another, and the judgement of different surveyors'.[107] It was therefore down to the emerging outport network to implement these seismic changes to the operational process of the Society, and the speed at which the outport network was established in 1834

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[103] LRFHEC, C.F. Algate, "Classification Procedures", *Lloyd's Register Staff Association,* Paper No.3, (1969-70), 1.

[104] Marshall, *Statement,* 21.

[105] Report of the Committee of Merchants, Ship-Owners, and Underwriters of London, and of the Representatives of the Principal Out-Ports in Great Britain (8th February 1826), in Marshall, *Statement*, 167.

[106] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee Minute Book, July 1833-October 1834, Meeting on 17 December 1833, 98.

[107] Scott, "Lloyd's Register of Shipping", 8.

and the years that followed goes some way in demonstrating the importance placed upon this. Fundamentally, however, the primary purpose of an LR outport revolved around extending the Society's influence and representation domestically and internationally. In the expansion of the outport network, LR was driven by the desire to broaden its own influence by increasing the reach of its operational activity and, consequently, the likelihood of people encountering LR in their related industries. This also worked in reverse, with selected outports claiming 'the right of being represented' on the GC, bringing local issues and important information before a body 'which so closely affected their interests'.[108] The extension of its sphere of operational activity and influence, therefore, drove the Society's expansion, becoming a fundamental factor in the assessment of ports and harbours under consideration for addition to the network.

2.1.3 Establishing and Monitoring a Lloyd's Register Outport

Having cemented the multifaceted role of an LR outport, the Society moved on to establish its network, and there were a number of key criteria that influenced this. Two of the most prominent focused on the maritime activity of each area, key factors being the volume of shipping being handled, and, perhaps more importantly, the number of vessels being built, both of which shall be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Another key consideration, however, was the immediate hinterland of outport candidates. As with many of the reforms incorporated during the reconstitution, this was taken from the campaign of John Marshall, who, in response to a suggestion of significantly increasing the number of outports, proposed that the reformed Society should look to appoint larger outports that could cover and represent the work being done in the areas that immediately surrounded them.[109] This suggestion echoes the aforementioned three-tiered system of port classification Marshall would have been familiar with from customs legislation. It firmly established the main outports as the "head-ports", any sub-offices as the "member-ports", and the smaller areas within the immediate hinterland as the "creeks", where maritime activity would still be monitored without the need for further LR appointments to be made. Indeed, this outport-hinterland set-up found further support during the collection of evidence by the Committee of Inquiry in the 1820s. In his testimony, leading Hull-shipbuilder, Edward Gibson, stated that 'to obviate the objection to the committee being too numerous, two or more out-ports might be represented by one person', supporting Marshall's earlier notion of placing smaller ports and harbours under representatives from larger outports on the Committee.[110] Speaking from his own

[108] Cornish, "Classification of Merchant Shipping", 6.

[109] Marshall, *Statement*, 26.

[110] Evidence of Edward Gibson, in Marshall, *Statement*, 118.

experience of maritime activity on the Humber, Gibson would have known that Hull complied with the requirements of a larger outport. As a major port in its own right with a longstanding history of shipbuilding and other maritime activity, Hull was ideally placed to become an important LR outport anyway, but its connections by the rivers Hull, Trent and Ouse to other smaller centres of maritime activity like Selby, Gainsborough and Goole made it an ideal location to implement this outport-hinterland model. Under the three-tiered system, Hull would act as LR's "head-port" on the Humber, with Grimsby as its leading "member-port", a status that was later cemented by the conversion of the office in Grimsby into a sub-office of Hull. Shipbuilding centres of Selby, Gainsborough, Goole and later Beverley, all acted as the creeks, having no permanent LR staff situated in them, but still being served by the Society through the surveyors appointed to Hull.

Hull's status as one of the historically important outports for LR is further established by looking at its size and exclusivity. Throughout the period under investigation within this thesis, the size of the staff was an early order of business once a location had been chosen for the establishment of an LR office. As stated by Jacobs, 'the size of the staff accords with the work to be done', with the larger ports and projects needing input 'from more experienced surveyors'.[111] As a result, outports with a larger staff became LR's 'big ports', often indicated by the presence of a principal surveyor to head the office team.[112] Hull complied with both indicators. It had a notable staff team throughout the period under investigation, being one of only four outports to have more than one exclusive surveyor after the reconstitution in 1834. Furthermore, from 1910 onwards, only a few years after the new title had first arrived within the outport network, Hull had a principal surveyor heading the team.[113]

Aside from its size, the case for Hull being one of the leading outports of LR is further strengthened by its aforementioned exclusivity. In addition to the size of the staff, another important decision that needed to be made when establishing a new outport office centred on whether the staff would be employed on exclusive terms or not, that is, whether or not the surveyors would work exclusively for LR. As previously mentioned, surveyors before the reconstitution were free to take payment for their services from the client, leaving them open to the possibility of bribery and other such allegations against their impartiality and conduct. To safeguard the new Society, it was decided that anyone directly employed permanently as a surveyor should be salaried, forbidden from taking extra payments for their services, and

[111] Jacobs, "Lloyd's Register", 6.

[112] *Ibid.*

[113] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1908, Meeting on 17 December 1908, 140.

'required to devote his time exclusively to the objects of his appointment' with LR.[114] Upon its acceptance, this measure immediately drew another status distinction between prospective outports, separating places into offices with "exclusive" or "non-exclusive" surveyors. This distinction was of paramount importance to the Provisional Committee, the body established to oversee the final stages of the reconstitution of LR. One of the first orders of business at its inaugural meeting on 17 October 1833 was to establish the first list of ports that would be staffed by exclusive appointments, Hull being one of seven ports listed by the attending members.[115] As stated by Jacobs, LR sought to conduct its surveyor work with its 'own exclusive staff' 'as far as possible,' with teams of exclusive surveyors becoming another key indicator of the importance of particular outports, Hull therefore being included in this important outport category.[116]

The role of non-exclusive surveyors, however, should not be overlooked here, as they were vital to the expansion of the outport network, particularly during the years immediately after reconstitution. This was, to some extent, down to the finances of the new Society. Exclusive surveyors were salaried officers, and the Provisional Committee minute book reveals that they were often paid at least double those surveyors working at the non-exclusive ports, with exclusive salaries ranging from £350 per annum in London and £150 in Hull, to £100 in places like Bristol and Glasgow.[117] This, in addition to the cost incurred by establishing a physical office in each port, meant that creating exclusive outports was an expensive affair for a cash-strapped Society in its infancy. LR depended for its income upon its list of subscribers to the register book, in addition to fees paid for its wider services. Low subscriber numbers and a stagnation in workload, owing to the 'commercial marine of the country […] passing through a period of severe depression' in the early years of LR, hit the Society's finances hard.[118] In a lecture to the Institute of Chartered Shipbrokers in March 1925, LR secretary Andrew Scott stated that the finances of the early Society were so low, that 'it was somewhat doubtful whether it would succeed', and the wages of the Society's officers had to be supplemented out of the pocket of chairman Thomas Chapman at Christmas 1836.[119] Lower cost, non-exclusive surveyors, therefore, were a vital, cost-effective tool in the expansion of the outport network,

[114] Marshall, *Statement*, 174.

[115] LRFHEC, Minute Book*,* Provisional Committee, Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the New Register Book on 17 October 1833, 19.

[116] Jacobs, "Lloyd's Register", 13.

[117] LRFHEC, Minute Book, Provisional Committee, Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the New Register Book on 17 October 1833, 21.

[118] HHC, U DFM/2/5, Scott, "Lloyd's Register", 8-9.

[119] *Ibid.*

with the vast majority of appointments made in the early years of the Society being on non-exclusive terms. Perhaps, unsurprisingly, they were also particularly important to the expansion of LR's outreach overseas, a topic that will be covered in more depth later in the chapter.

There were, therefore, a number of important criteria on which LR's selection of outports was based, many being assessed by the Society directly. In some instances, particularly internationally, ports could influence the network expansion by nominating themselves, with a number of representatives approaching LR to open an office, rather than the reverse. In February 1873, local surveyor Captain James Blow offered his services to the Society to cover San Francisco, with LR rejecting the approach initially before appointing its own surveyor to that port two years later.[120] The vast majority of ports, however, were selected directly by the Society through either its own network of contacts and offices, or through an in-person assessment of particular ports and harbours, lead largely by the surveyors or by a body that became known as the Visitation Committee. Although it was not established formerly until 1840, the Visitation Committee, like much of the new Society, traced its origins back to the Committee of Inquiry leading up to the reconstitution, whose final report from February 1826 stated that a team of London surveyors 'will, from time to time, visit the Out-Ports to monitor work being done there'.[121] Identifying new ports, however, was not the primary purpose of this Committee. As the report of 1826 had recommended, it was established as one of the key tools LR could use to monitor its outport network. 'Made up of members of the General Committee, including the chairman, as well as the principal surveyor, secretary and head messenger', the Visitation Committee moved around the country, calling in on both exclusive and non-exclusive outports to ensure the Society's rules and regulations were being followed, and to keep up-to-date with the state of activity in each area, and the port of Hull provides a good example of this work.[122]

Between 1853 and 1878, the Visitation Committee stopped in Hull on at least seven occasions, the first recorded visit taking place between 28 and 30 July 1853. This stop followed standard procedure, starting by focusing on Hull as a functional member of the outport network through an inspection of the Hull office to assess the books and work of its surveyors.[123] After this, the Committee inspected local shipbuilding and the port more widely,

[120] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1873, Meeting of the General Committee on 12 February 1873, 421.

[121] Marshall, *Statement*, 174.

[122] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 25.

[123] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Visitation Committee Minute Book, Volume One, 29-31.

attending the shipyards of Gibson and Sons, and Brownlow and Pearson, before finally observing the recently completed Victoria Dock, which had opened three years prior.[124] This visit to Hull was typical of the type of work undertaken by the Visitation Committee, demonstrating its function as a means to monitor the work of the outport network, a role which it continued to serve until it was disbanded in the early 1930s after improved travel and communication methods like the telephone had rendered its services redundant.[125] Visitation, however, was not the only way in which the Society kept up to date with the work of its outports. It can certainly be argued that visitation was not even the main method of achieving such aims, as right from the reconstitution, a system for monitoring the work of the outport network was built into the operational system of the reformed Society, particularly through classification procedure.

Classification in the green book of the Underwriters' Society before the reconstitution was left largely to the discretion of individual surveyors at each port, and, in some cases, the actual location of the build yard itself affected the classification awarded to the vessel (see Chapter 1).[126] The final report of the Committee of Inquiry in 1826 sought to remove this 'absurd and erroneous principle of port of building' by recommending that classification should be based on a standard set of rules and regulations, and that the 'superintendence of the classification of shipping' should 'be entrusted to a Committee in London', rather than being left to each individual surveyor to decide, principles that were adopted by the new Society at the reconstitution.[127] This new unified system included checks and balances on the outports from the outset. For example, all survey reports were now sent down to the Society's head office in London for vetting before any outport surveyor recommendations would be confirmed.[128] This included vetting by a number of head office stations and committees, including the office of the chief surveyor, and the ship and later engines reports department, before eventually passing through the Classification Committee where the final class would be confirmed.[129] Any issue raised during this process that was considered too important to overlook was recorded in 'a note […] added to the endorsement to the Committee', with the outport surveyor being informed through a document known as a 'classing letter'.[130] This

[124] *Ibid.*

[125] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 299.

[126] Cornish, "Classification of Merchant Shipping", 3-4.

[127] Marshall, *Statement*, 167, 171.

[128] Algate, "Classification Procedures", 1.

[129] Sladden, "Classification Procedure", 6-7.

[130] Algate, "Classification Procedures", 2.

monitoring process between the head office and outport surveyors can be seen clearly within examples of survey documents from the Hull office. For example, in June 1910, the Classification Committee sent the Hull surveyors a memorandum detailing what it considered to be unsatisfactory conduct on a survey of the *Luis Vives*, formerly the *Aristo* of the Wilson Line.[131] It stated that, whilst the Committee have assigned the recommendations made by the surveyors, it had been 'considered that their action in this case' had 'not been satisfactory and greater efforts should have been made' to furnish the Committee with more accurate information to aid its work.[132]

Occasionally, this means of monitoring the outports did not run entirely without fault. In May 1915, the secretary for the London office sent a letter to the Hull surveyors requesting written permission from the Wilson Line about omissions in a survey report for their vessel *Urbino*.[133] Hull Surveyor B.C. Laws responded the following day, stating that such information and permission had already been obtained from the Wilson Line, and that he had submitted this to the Society's head office in June of the previous year, demonstrating that the centralised system for classification did not always run as smoothly as intended.[134] Nevertheless, the new system of classification gave LR a greater degree of control over the outport network, increasing the Society's confidence to expand. It did so in two distinct but similar avenues, and taking each in turn allows the expansion of the outport network to be better understood, and makes an analysis of Hull's position within that network clearer.

2.2 The Expansion of the Outport Network

Once LR had established what it required in an outport, it set about building its network, extending the Society's outreach from its base in London across both the UK and the world. For the purposes of this chapter, therefore, it is worth separating this expansion into those two categories – domestic and international – charting expansion as LR moved from 'virtually a London register of ships to one of international repute'.[135]

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[131] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-HUL426-0094-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Memo regarding the decision of the Classification Committee that the Hull Surveyors work was not satisfactory on report for Luis Vives, 5th July 1910.

[132] *Ibid.*

[133] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W745-0113-F, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from the Secretary, Lloyd's Register London to the Surveyors, Lloyd's Register, Hull, regarding the bulkhead & decks of the vessel, *Urbino*, 13th May 1915.

[134] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W745-0113-F, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from B.C. Laws, Surveyor, Lloyd's Register, Hull to the Secretary, Lloyd's Register, London, regarding the tween deck & bulkhead, *Urbino*, 14th May 1915.

[135] Sladden, "Classification Procedure", 5.

2.2.1 Domestic Expansion

From the moment of reconstitution, one of the Society's immediate priorities was 'to build up a network of staff at the main ports throughout the UK'.[136] The Society for the Registry of Shipping, the precursor to LR, had surveyors working on its behalf in sixteen ports around the UK in a network that included larger ports like London, Liverpool and Hull alongside smaller ports like Topsham, Whitehaven and Teignmouth that would later fall in importance with the arrival of larger steamships.[137] However, as previously mentioned, none of the sixteen were firmly established as exclusive ports of that Society, a concept that was not introduced until the reconstitution. Nevertheless, this preliminary network, coupled with the aforementioned three-tiered models seen in customs legislation, provided reformers like John Marshall with a template through which they could present their case to shipowners and underwriters. Indeed, it was Marshall's speech to the shipowners in December 1823 that introduced the idea of key domestic outports of importance for the new Society, stating that any committee formed to consider the reform of the existing society must include representatives from 'the eight principal outports' of the UK, naming 'Liverpool, Hull, Bristol, Glasgow, Newcastle, Yarmouth, Whitby and Leith' as the leading candidates.[138]

This emerging outport network was reinforced in January 1824 at a general meeting of merchants, ship-owners and underwriters convened to establish the Committee of Inquiry that would investigate the question of reform. They chose to elect representatives from ten outports to the committee, largely following the suggestions made by Marshall the previous year, adding Sunderland and Maryport to his previous list.[139] When the committee was elected on 10 March 1824, nine of the ten remained, Bristol having been replaced by Whitehaven.[140] Interestingly, of this network of ten, seven were eventually selected to become the first exclusive outports of the new LR, and reason for their selection both in the Committee of Inquiry, and in the election of the first outports can be found by looking at the maritime

[136] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 28.

[137] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 12.

[138] Marshall, *Statement*, 12.

[139] Marshall, *Statement*, 28.

[140] Marshall, *Statement*, 60.

activity of such ports, particularly their shipbuilding output (see Figure 2.1).

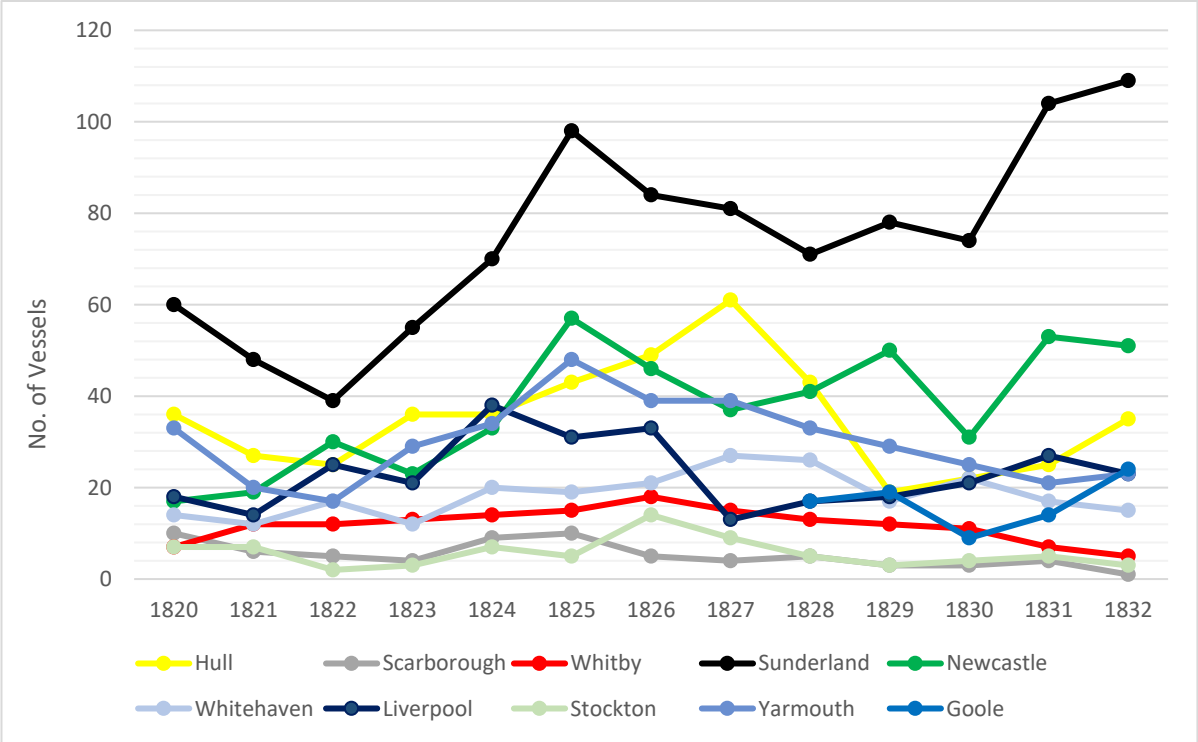

Figure 2.1 Number of Vessels Built and Registered at each of the Principal Ports of the North of England, 1820-1832

Source: BPP, 1833, VI, 690, Report from the Select Committee on Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping; with the minutes of evidence, and appendix and index.

Figure 2.1 outlines the number of vessels built at the principal ports in the north of England, as ports with a large number of ship-launches represented increasingly valuable outport targets for a Society concerned with surveying vessels. Taking it as a given that the Society would maintain an active presence in its home port of London and recalling the disdain with which the precursor society had viewed northern shipyards, these data offer a useful insight into the state of shipbuilding during the period in which the Committee of Inquiry was collecting evidence. What is immediately apparent is the significant shipbuilding output of Sunderland, a port that Marshall had originally overlooked in his assessment of the principal ports of the country. This certainly goes some way in explaining the shipowners' decision to include Sunderland in the call for port representatives, and demonstrates why the port remained an integral part of the network throughout the reform process and after reconstitution. What is also clear is the role of the port of Hull within this picture, fluctuating between a fourth and second place ranking in the presented data. Crucially for Hull, during the years of research for the Committee of Inquiry in the early 1820s, Hull ranked in the top three ports for the number of vessels built, only surpassed by Sunderland and London, making Hull the second most valuable outport outside of the remit of the Society's intended head office (see Figure 2.2).

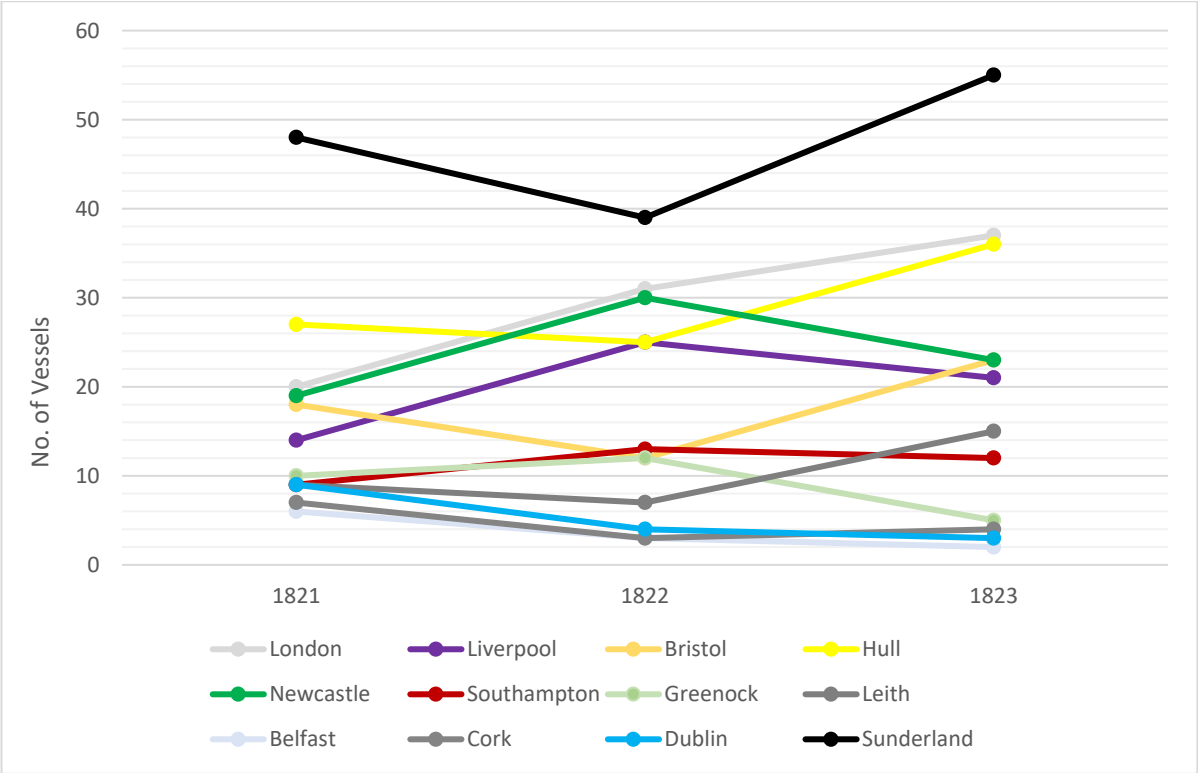

Figure 2.2 Number of Vessels Built and Registered at each of the Twelve Principal Ports of the United Kingdom, plus Sunderland, 1821-1823

Source: Marshall, *Statement*, 159-62.

The data in Figures 2.1 and 2.2, therefore, present one insight into the rationale surrounding the election of those ten key outports to the Committee of Inquiry in 1824. Indeed, by the time of the publication of the Committee's final report in February 1826, ten outports were again recommended to send representatives to sit on the new GC of the Society, with Bristol reappearing to replace Maryport from the list seen in March 1824. [141] However, when it came to the election of surveyor outports, the list expanded significantly. The final report listed 26 ports and places where it was recommended that the Society should maintain an active surveying presence. The report clearly stated that 'in every case in which the salary amounts to £150 per annum' and above, the surveyor should be 'positively interdicted from holding an interest in any business or occupation directly or indirectly connected with shipping', and that they should 'be required to devote his time exclusively to the objects of his appointment'.[142]

In addition to marking the formal origin of the aforementioned exclusive surveyor, this statement confirmed that the Committee of Inquiry recommended some eighteen ports from

[141] Marshall, *Statement*, 171.

[142] Marshall, *Statement*, 172-4.

the list of 26 become exclusive outports, adding locations like Dundee, Aberdeen, Dublin, Belfast, Limerick and Cork to the previously established network of ten.[143] It is clear that this increase was, to some extent, motivated by the maritime activity of these areas, particularly shipbuilding output, with a set of shipbuilding statistics having been produced as part of the research undertaken by the Committee of Inquiry. Figure 2.2 demonstrates the shipbuilding output of the twelve principal ports of the UK as identified by the Government in the 1820s. What is again clear is the importance of Sunderland as a major shipbuilding centre, again justifying the ports inclusion in the outport network both during and after the reconstitution process. As previously mentioned, it also demonstrates the importance of Hull, with the port's 1823 shipbuilding total of 36 vessels being the third highest in the country, firmly establishing Hull as a significant outport. Figure 2.2 also ably demonstrates the rationale of the Committee of Inquiry in its attempts to increase the number of exclusive outports from the outset of the Society, with ports like Dublin, Southampton, Greenock, Belfast and Cork all producing notable shipbuilding outputs despite not being included in the first list of proposed important outports for the new Society. Despite this, however, the Provisional Committee only elected to appoint eight exclusive outports at the reconstitution, largely owing to the financial constraints the new Society had to operate within. At the first meeting of the Sub-Committee of the New Register Book on 17 October 1833, Bristol, Glasgow, Hull, Leith, Liverpool, London, Newcastle and Sunderland became the first exclusive outports of the new Society, a far cry from the eighteen ports recommended for such status by the Committee of Inquiry (see Figure 2.3).[144]

[143] *Ibid.*

[144] LRFHEC, Minute Book, Provisional Committee, Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the New Register Book on 17 October 1833, 19.

Figure 2.3 - Map of the Exclusive Outports of Lloyd's Register, 1834

Source: LRFHEC, *List of Surveyors, 1834-1870* [Extract from Register Books] Available Online. [Accessed 05/06/2023].

This condensed list of eight exclusive outports laid the foundation for the expansion of the network, and its reduced nature perhaps should not come as a surprise given the aforementioned financial constraints forcing the Society to prioritise the significant centres for shipbuilding.[145] All of the top seven centres for shipbuilding presented in Figure 2.2, which was compiled using the data presented by the Committee of Inquiry, were represented in the new Society's first collection of exclusive outports, the only anomaly being Glasgow, whose data had not been fully collected by the Committee and is therefore missing in Figure 2.2. This limited and targeted introduction of exclusive outports brings the focus back again onto the balance between the exclusive and non-exclusive networks. As previously mentioned, the non-exclusive network was absolutely vital to the expansion of LR both domestically and internationally, and this was certainly the case during this initial establishment of the outport

[145] LRFHEC, Minute Book, Provisional Committee, Meeting of the Provisional Committee of the New Register Book on 24 October 1833, 29.

networks (see Figure 2.4).

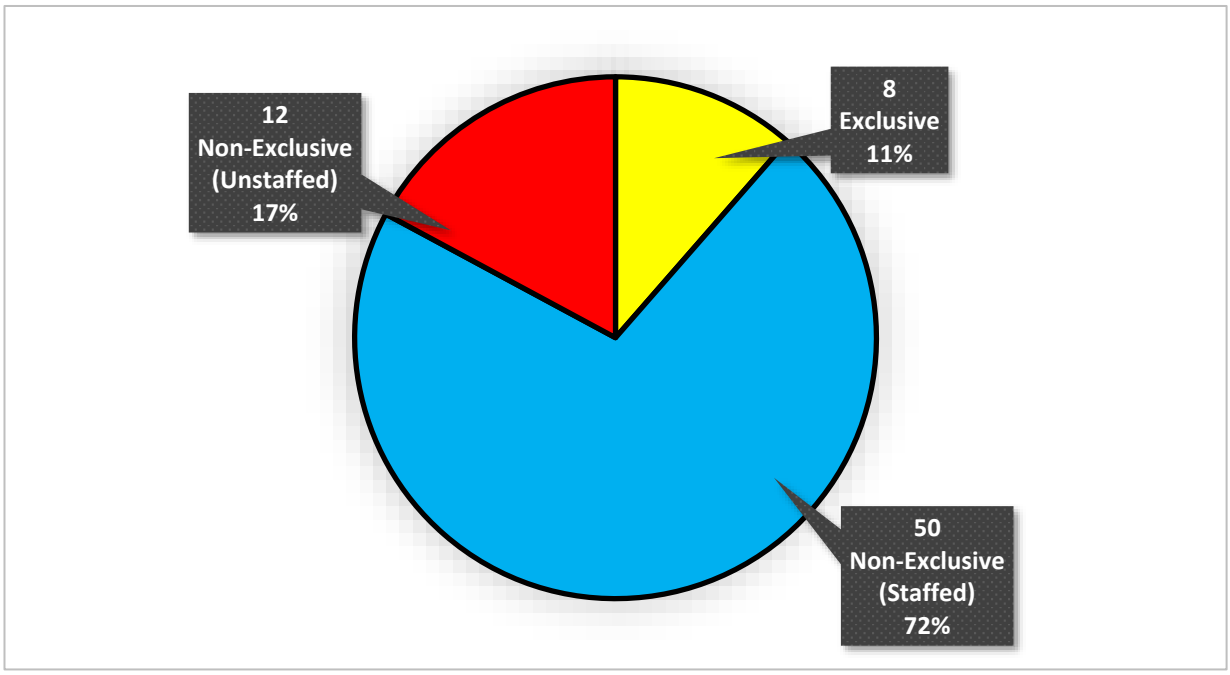

Figure 2.4 Outport Network of Lloyd's Register in 1834, showing the balance between Exclusive and Non-Exclusive Outports

Source: See Figure 2.3.

The vast majority of outports listed in the first register book of the new Society were intended to be operated on non-exclusive terms. Of the 70 ports and places identified by LR in 1834, 62 were labelled as non-exclusive outports. Furthermore, of the 63 surveyor appointments made by the Society at the reconstitution, only thirteen were recruited on exclusive terms, with the other 50 working as non-exclusives (see Chapter 5). It is also worth noting here that twelve of the non-exclusive outports listed in 1834 remained unstaffed in the year after reconstitution, demonstrating both the financial limitations facing the newly reconstituted LR, and the steady speed taken by the Society in establishing its outport network, a pace that continued throughout the early expansion of the domestic network both exclusive and non-exclusive (See Figure 2.5). Certainly, for much of the first decade after reconstitution the network remained unchanged, the only alteration arriving in 1842 with the addition of a single exclusive office to cover LR's work in the North West of England, Scotland, and the Isle of Man.[146] Minor fluctuations continued during the remainder of the 1840s before the first significant expansion of the domestic exclusive network arrived in the first half of the following decade. Between 1850 and 1855, the Society opened exclusive offices in Southampton, Bideford, the Channel Islands, Belfast, Bangor, Plymouth, Whitby and Yarmouth, with a single office covering the work undertaken in Stockton, Hartlepool and

[146] LRFHEC, List of Surveyors, 1834-1870.

Middlesbrough.[147] Such expansion saw the exclusive network grow from nine in 1850 to nineteen by the end of 1855, a total which, barring a slight fluctuation in 1856, remained until the end of the 1860s.[148]

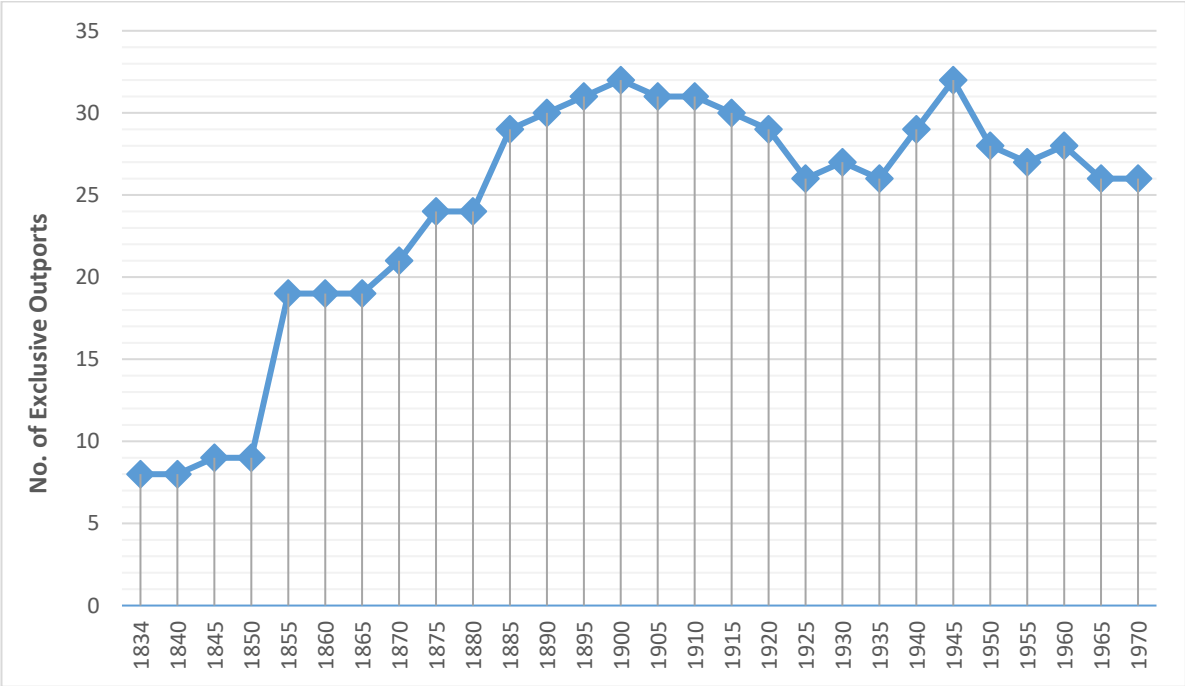

Figure 2.5 Number of Exclusive Domestic Outports of Lloyd's Register, 1834 - 1970

Source: LRFHEC, Lists of Surveyors, 1834-1970 [Extract from Register Books] Available Online. [Accessed 05/05/2023].

This initial stage of expansion had a twofold focus. Firstly, it sought to add to the network more of the ports and places that had been recommended by the Committee of Inquiry in 1826. Ports like Yarmouth, Scarborough, Whitby, Aberdeen, Plymouth, Dublin and Belfast, which had all been recommended for exclusive outport status in 1826, had been added to that exclusive network by the end of the 1860s. The second key focus, however, was to increase the Society's presence in the key shipbuilding areas of the UK. This was primarily achieved through the addition of more staff in selected offices like Glasgow, London, Liverpool and Sunderland (see Chapter 5), but it also included the addition of offices in places like Stockton, covering work around the Tees, to increase the Society's presence in the shipbuilding centre of the North East of England. This continued during the second stage of expansion up until the turn into the twentieth century, with Middlesbrough becoming its own separate exclusive office in 1890.[149] This second stage saw the most significant expansion of the

[147] LRFHEC, List of Surveyors, 1834-1870.

[148] *Ibid.*

[149] LRFHEC, List of Surveyors, 1890-1896 [Online, accessed 05/06/2023].

domestic network, led by notable outport additions in Wales and Ireland. Between 1870 and 1900, exclusive offices were opened in Cardiff, Swansea, Porthmadog and Barmouth, Milford Haven and Pembroke, and Newport with Chepstow, increasing LR's presence on around the Welsh coast.[150] In the Republic of Ireland, an exclusive office was opened covering Cobn, Cork, Kinsale and Limerick in 1882, following the opening of a new separate office in Dublin the previous year, the port having previously fallen under the jurisdiction of the exclusive office in Belfast.[151]

Such additions saw the exclusive domestic network rapidly expand from 21 in 1869 to reach its peak of 33 in 1899, and there were, again, a number of factors driving this growth. Firstly, this expansion echoed the notable growth in British maritime activity in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century. As stated by Starkey, 'in broad terms all branches of Britain's overseas commerce experienced sustained growth during the 1850-1913 period', with tonnage levels entering and clearing British ports in 1913 reaching levels more than quadruple those seen in 1876.[152] Hand-in-hand with this growth in seaborne trade was a dramatic increase in British shipbuilding. Slaven states that 'from 1850 the trend in shipbuilding output' in Britain was 'relentlessly upward', resulting in British shipyards constructing 'over 60 per cent of world tonnage' in the two decades before the First World War.[153] The parallel expansion of LR's domestic network clearly demonstrates the Society moving to meet this increasing demand for its services. It is also important to note that this period of growth for LR also saw the introduction of engineers to the Society's surveyor staff (see Chapter 5), another factor that demonstrates the outport network growing to meet the changing demands being asked of LR by the evolution in British shipbuilding from wood to iron to steel, and from sail to steam.

If the first half of the period covered by Figure 2.5 represented one of significant growth for the outport network, the second half represented the opposite. From the end of the First World War, the exclusive domestic outport network of LR entered a period of overall contraction, barring a notable increase during the Second World War. In explaining the decline, the most obvious answers come from the fortunes of the British shipbuilding industry, the direct clientele for the Society. Put simply, British shipbuilding suffered from stagnation and decline during the interwar years, often as a by-product of the impact of the First World

[150] *Ibid.*

[151] LRFHEC, List of Surveyors, 1871-1886 [Online, accessed 05/06/2023].

[152] D.J. Starkey, "Nach der Pfeife des Handels tanzen – die Britische seetransportindustrie von 1850 bis 1990", *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte*, 12 (2011), 45-75. ["'Dancing to the Tune of Trade': Britain's Sea Transport Industries, 1850-1990", *Journal for World History*].

[153] A. Slaven, *British Shipbuilding 1500-2010: A History* (Lancaster: Crucible Books, 2013), 18, 46.

War, which altered the dominant position of the British industry on the world stage. Before 1914, 'no other country had produced as much as one-quarter of British tonnage', but by 1919 the USA had a shipbuilding output that was 'more than double that of Britain'.[154] This was compounded by growth in the shipbuilding industries of countries like Japan, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Holland, all of which reduced international demand for British vessels, and meant that its shipbuilding industry entered into a 'prolonged period of weak demand, excess capacity, and severe competition' for the remainder of the interwar period.[155] The situation was only altered by the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, with wartime requirements leading to 'full order books' quickly replacing the 'two decades of scarce work' facing the industry.[156]

The fluctuating performance of UK shipbuilding undoubtedly contributed to the overall decline in the size of the outport network during the twentieth century, but there were other factors at play, both external and internal to the Society. The most significant of these factors was the Society's own move to reorganise the network, particularly when faced with the changing demands of its clientele. After the First World War, the Society was faced with an exclusive domestic outport network that was larger and more geographically extensive than was perhaps necessary, and the Society set about realigning the network to meet new demands. For example, the changing nature of ships, with regards to size, construction materials and fuel, meant that smaller ports and centres of traditional shipbuilding could no longer handle the evolving technological demands of maritime industries. Consequently, a number of exclusive offices – Porthmadog and Barmouth, Cobn, Darlington and Bath – closed between 1918 and 1946. More noticeable, however, was the Society's move to amalgamate offices, concentrating larger teams of surveyors in the larger outports to enable those offices to cover the work of a wider hinterland. As shall be seen in Chapter 5, this process of amalgamation was a part of LR's network development as early as the reconstitution when the Society moved to establish a larger team in Hull to reduce the need for other offices around the Humber. It happened to a much greater extent, however, during the twentieth century. Between 1905 and 1963, nine exclusive domestic outports were incorporated into a neighbouring office, Ipswich to London (1905), the Channel Islands to Southampton (1913) and Hartlepool to Middlesbrough (1963) being good examples.[157] Perhaps the best, however, can been seen in Cardiff where, between 1925 and 1949, the exclusive offices in Bideford, Barry

[154] Slaven, *British Shipbuilding*, 68.

[155] Slaven, *British Shipbuilding*, 71.

[156] Slaven, *British Shipbuilding*, 107.

[157] LRFHEC, Lists of Surveyors, 1900-1970 [Online, accessed 07/06/2023].

and Newport were all amalgamated with the larger office in the Welsh capital. This, coupled with the fact that the office in Bangor had moved under the control of Liverpool in 1909, meant that, by 1970, there were only two exclusive LR offices in Wales, Swansea and Cardiff, both of which had taken on responsibility for larger areas of operation.

Comparing the domestic outport network between selected years further illustrates this contraction. In 1890, the Society operated a total of 37 outports in the UK, with 30 exclusive and seven non-exclusive. By 1970, LR's domestic network numbered 27, all but one, Milford Haven, being operated on exclusive terms. While aptly demonstrating network contraction, this comparison also reveals other important factors, not least the realignment of the outport network geographically. Whereas the network of 1890 hugged the UK coastline, the 1970 network included exclusive offices in Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham and Nottingham, revealing the shift of LR's network inland.[158] Although many of the outports were still situated on the coast, the twentieth century had seen the arrival of a number of inland outports that were not ports at all, but rather centres of industry, particularly the manufacture of materials used in maritime construction. This process started with the opening of the Sheffield office in 1893, but increased significantly during the twentieth century.[159] Between 1935 and 1941, LR opened exclusive offices in Birmingham, Nottingham, Leeds and Scunthorpe, with the latter being an important part of LR's operational activity on the Humber, eventually coming under the control of the exclusive offices in Grimsby and Hull.[160] This geographic relocation of outports illustrates the diversification of the Society's own operational activity. As ships became more advanced, LR moved to survey more aspects of vessel construction, particularly the materials used, opening the Society up to the option of extending its influence beyond vessels to work on any project using LR-surveyed materials. Exclusive offices in steel production centres like Sheffield and Scunthorpe, therefore, became a vital part of the exclusive network, such offices replacing some of the older and smaller ports that had fallen out of favour.

Aside from geographic changes in the network, the comparison between 1890 and 1970 also illustrates the amalgamation of outports and the subsequent disappearance of the domestic non-exclusive outport that had been so crucial to the early expansion of the Society. Like their exclusive counterparts, many non-exclusive outports were either closed altogether or amalgamated with a nearby office, as the Society grew in scale, confidence and financial

[158] LRFHEC, List of Surveyors, 1969-1970 [Online, accessed 05/06/2023].

[159] LRFHEC, List of Surveyors, 1890-1896.

[160] LRFHEC, Lists of Surveyors, 1935-1941 [Online, accessed 05/06/2023].

stability. A good example was Dover, which came under the control of the exclusive office in London in 1951 having operated as a non-exclusive office for nearly 50 years.[161] Some non-exclusive outports were added to the exclusive network during the expansion of the Society in the second half of the nineteenth century, with Belfast, Cardiff, Hartlepool and Swansea all becoming exclusive by 1874.[162] This resulted in a significant, and at times, total reduction of the non-exclusive domestic network. In 1834, there were 62 domestic non-exclusive outports, but by 1890, this had fallen to just seven, and in 1970, only Milford Haven remained as a non-exclusive domestic LR outport, but even that office had regularly shifted between exclusivity and non-exclusivity depending on the status of the surveyor stationed there each year. Indeed, from 1940 onwards, the total number of non-exclusive domestic offices stood either at one or zero. This aptly demonstrates the significant rearrangement of LR's domestic outport network, and provides important context for some of the major changes to the network seen in Figure 2.5. Crucially, however, at the time non-exclusive outports and surveyors were all but disappearing from the domestic network, they were playing a vital role in the expansion of the Society overseas.

2.2.2 International Expansion

'The expansion of the British merchant fleet carried Lloyd's Register with it around the globe', and the Society's efforts to establish itself as a permanent international fixture have been covered in good detail by Watson.[163] Extending its outreach overseas became a vital priority for the Society, although it did not start such expansion immediately after the reconstitution. To some, this may have come as quite a surprise, particularly given the fact that the precursor Society had maintained an active international presence in the two decades leading up to the reconstitution. Records suggest that the first international surveyor appointment came as early as 1812 when the Shipowners' Register, or Red Book, 'engaged a surveyor in Newfoundland', with further appointments to Le Havre, Antwerp and Ostend and Mauritius following 1832.[164] However, financial limitations, coupled with the pressures of reforming the Society, meant that, during the reconstitution and in the immediate years that followed, this international presence disappeared from LR's outreach. This was a deliberate move on the part of the reformed Society, the Provisional Committee having had good opportunities to appoint international surveyors and outports from the outset. In August 1834, just two months before the formal reconstitution of the Society, the newly established GC was approached by

[161] LRFHEC, List of Surveyors, 1948-1951 [Online, accessed 05/06/2023].

[162] LRFHEC, List of Surveyors, 1871-1886.

[163] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 33.

[164] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 260.

Captain John Friend who offered to act as a non-exclusive surveyor in Alexandria for the new Society as he was about to move there.[165] The Committee made their position extremely clear, stating that Captain Friend should be informed that 'the Committee decline the appointment of any surveyors for foreign ports,' a resolute position the reconstituted Society maintained for much of the first two decades of its operational activity.[166]

The Society rejected requests for international expansion for as long as possible to focus on the development of its domestic expansion, with calls from Quebec and New Brunswick, Holland and New Zealand all failing to deter the Society from its course of action in the years immediately after the reconstitution.[167] The turning point arrived in the early 1850s, when a request from the Quebec Board of Trade finally brought the international expansion of the outports firmly onto the Society's agenda. Canada had become an obvious target for the Society, largely due to the influx of Canadian-built vessels for British owners, or for sale in British ports, many of which were claimed to be of inferior quality. Indeed, the impact of these Canadian ships had been addressed during the Select Committee established to investigate shipwrecks in 1836 under the chairmanship of James Silk Buckingham. During the collection of evidence, George Bayley, a shipwright and LR surveyor in London, was invited to answer questions relating to his work with LR, and his experience of the British shipbuilding industry. Bayley stated that defects within the British industry were 'an evil which has grown up in consequence of the introduction of an inferior class of ships from […] Canada, for instance', and that British builders had been 'induced to produce cheap ships to compete with those Canadian ships', cutting corners that may have contributed to the increase in shipwrecks the Committee had been established to investigate.[168] Bayley went on to state that, in his capacity as a surveyor, he 'would not guarantee any Canadian ship after two years, as to her quality', a damning assessment that makes it unsurprising that LR took an interest in expansion into Canada.[169] However, the decision to expand across the Atlantic in 1852 had, perhaps, more to do with the offer presented by the Quebec Board of Trade, than simply being a decision motivated by a desire to ensure vessel-quality, especially as discussions on the subject had taken place in 1848 with no action undertaken as a result. In May 1951, however, Mr Gillespie, a representative for the Board of Trade of Quebec, again advised the Society of the

[165] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee, Special Meeting of the General Committee of the New Register Book on 22 August 1834, 538.

[166] *Ibid,*

[167] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 260.

[168] "Evidence of George Bayley", BPP, 1836, XVII, 17, Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the causes of shipwrecks; with the minutes of evidence, appendix, and index.

[169] *Ibid.*

'expediency of appointing a resident surveyor at Quebec', stating that any such appointment should be exclusive in nature and that the Board of Trade at Quebec would guarantee a sum of £300 per annum to help with the costs incurred by such an appointment.[170] It could certainly be argued that this offer of financial aid to support the expansion of the outport network abroad compelled the Society to finally act, and in July 1851, the proposed terms for the appointment of the first international surveyor were agreed and a circular calling for candidates was issued.[171] After the completion of a ballot of proposed candidates, Thomas Menzies was elected on 21 August 1851, taking up the Quebec position the following year in 1852 alongside John Tucker who was appointed to Saint John, New Brunswick, a few months later.[172] The election of Menzies and Tucker to Canada marked the start of LR's international expansion which, like the domestic network, grew rapidly after a steady start (see Figure 2.6).

[170] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1851, Meeting of the General Committee on 3 May 1851, 118.

[171] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1851, Meeting of the General Committee on 3 July 1851, 174,

[172] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1851, Meeting of the General Committee on 21 August 1851, 219; Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 260.

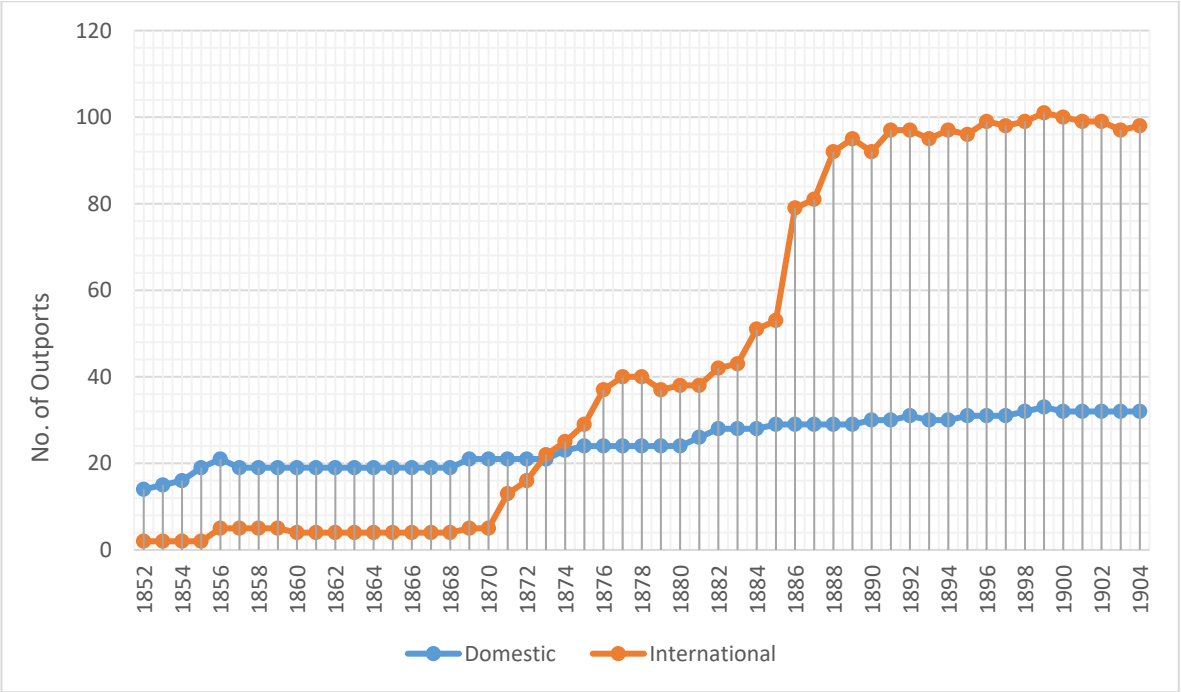

Figure 2.6 Number of International Outports of Lloyd's Register, 1852-1904, compared with the Number of Exclusive Domestic Outports over the same period.

Source: See Figure 2.5.

In the seventeen years following the appointment of Menzies and Tucker, the international outport network remained fairly stagnant. Minor additions were made in Holland and Belgium, alongside the gradual increase of Canadian outports in places like Miramichi, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and the Northern District of New Brunswick, all of which were initially contracted on exclusive outport terms, with the offices in Holland and Belgium becoming non-exclusive in 1867.[173] The major change came in 1869 with the establishment of a first LR outport in Asia when Joseph John Tucker was appointed on exclusive terms to Shanghai.[174] Crucially, this appointment came off of the back of Special Committee that had been established the previous year to consider the benefits of extending the appointment of international surveyors, focusing particularly on expansion to Kolkata, Australia and European outports.[175] Established on the 7 January 1869, the Committee returned its official report to the Society in March, recommending that LR establish offices in Kolkata, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Melbourne, Mauritius, Marseilles, Genoa, Bordeaux and Hamburg, with the sudden impetus for expansion into China largely coming from a member of the Committee, who also worked for the North China Insurance Company, who had offered to help fund the surveyor wage for

[173] LRFHEC, List of Surveyors, 1834-1870.

[174] *Ibid.*

[175] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1868, Meeting of the General Committee on 31 December 1868, 89-90; Meeting of the General Committee on 7 January 1869, 96.

an appointment in Shanghai.[176] The General Committee of LR approved the report as 'a general proposition', and sent the Special Committee away to consider ways to implement the proposed action, with the focus falling initially on working with the North China Insurance Company on expansion into Shanghai, and it was agreed that the surveyor in that office would be a joint venture between that company and the Society, each party paying half of the surveyor's wage.[177] On 24 June 1869, Tucker was nominated and approved to take on this position, with the Special Committee then setting about implementing further LR expansion around the globe.[178]

It is the work of this Special Committee, therefore, that explains the notable and sudden increase in the number of international outports from 1869 onwards, clearly visible in the data presented in Figure 2.6. By 1876, only seven years after the Special Committee had made its recommendations to LR, every port or place that it had identified had seen the arrival of an LR surveyor. Such growth came alongside notable expansion outside of the recommendations of that Committee, with the Society expanding operations in Australia, Europe, Asia and the Americas, with the first LR appointments coming to the United States in 1875 when outport offices were established in New York and San Francisco.[179] Such was the rapid scale of growth within the international outport network that 1873 saw the landmark moment when the international network overtook the size of the exclusive domestic network for the first time, and by 1877, the international outport total surpassed that of the domestic exclusive and non-exclusive combined.[180]

Exclusivity is an interesting sub-plot to this dramatic international expansion. The first international outports established by LR were exclusive, and down to 1871, only some outports in Holland and Belgium had been established on non-exclusive terms, with the jointly-funded Shanghai appointment still classed as an exclusive surveyor. However, over the next few decades, the non-exclusive outport would swiftly grow to a position of dominance in the international network. Of the 67 surveyors appointed overseas by 1885, only two were on exclusive contracts, leaving New York City as the only fully exclusive international outport out

[176] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1868, Meeting of the General Committee on 24 March 1869, 192.

[177] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1868, Meeting of the General Committee on 3 June 1869, 244.

[178] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1868, Meeting of the General Committee on 24 June 1869, 306-7.

[179] LRFHEC, List of Surveyors, 1871-1886.

[180] *Ibid.*

of a network numbering 53.[181] From this point onwards, non-exclusive outports drove international expansion upwards. Between 1871 and 1900, at least one outport office was added to the international network every year, with the most dramatic growth occurring between 1885 and 1890, where the international network rose from 53 outports to 92 respectively. Indeed, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, it was within the international network that the non-exclusive outport found its most important role. As stated by Cornish, in 1905 there were '81 non-exclusive surveyors' in the Society, with 76 of them stationed in outports abroad, a figure that also surpassed the total of 42 exclusive international surveyors that year.[182]

Although negatively impacted by the two World Wars, the international network continued to expand during the twentieth century, driven particularly by the Society's expansion into ports in South America, Greenland, Iceland, Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Africa, with the increase in outports in the latter enabling LR to cover almost all of the African coastline by the 1970s. By 1970, the Society had an international outport network numbering 181, with 150 now being exclusive outports, although non-exclusive appointments had not fallen away anywhere near the extent to which they had domestically. This international network covered around 78 countries and were aided by developments in domestic outports like Hull, with a number of Hull surveyors moving to work internationally at the end of their time on the Humber, some even opening new international offices (see Chapter 5). As stated by chairman Sir Kenneth Pelly in 1962, this expansion of the outports had seen LR grow from its infancy after the reconstitution to 'become truly international in operation', and within that ever-expanding network was the port of Hull.[183]

2.3 Hull and the Outport Network

From the outset, Hull was a valuable part of the outport network of LR, particularly within its exclusive domestic operations. Exactly how important, however, is a topic open for discussion. What is certainly clear is that, in the years leading up to and following the reconstitution, Hull was both an integral part of the establishment of the network itself, and a valuable asset to that network as a centre for significant maritime activity. As seen in Figure 2.2, during the years immediately before the campaign to reform the Society, Hull had returned the third largest figure for the number of vessels constructed, making it an important area of focus for a Society that aimed to survey all British vessels, doing so whilst under construction wherever

[181] LRFHEC, List of Surveyors, 1871-1886.

[182] Cornish, "Classification of Merchant Shipping", 14.

[183] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 269.

possible. Hull's national importance in the period up to the reconstitution can be seen further when studying the number of British vessels that entered and cleared the twelve principal UK ports between 1820 and 1834 (see Figures 2.7 and 2.8).

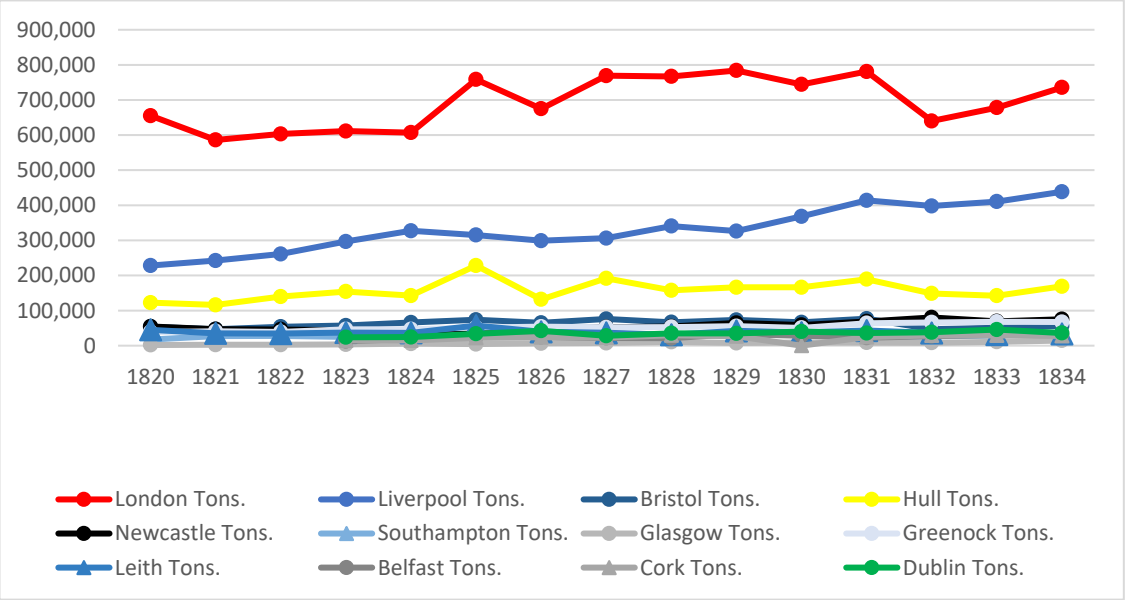

Figure 2.7 Tonnage of British Vessels that Entered the Twelve Principal Ports of the United Kingdom, 1820-1834

Source: See Table 1.1.

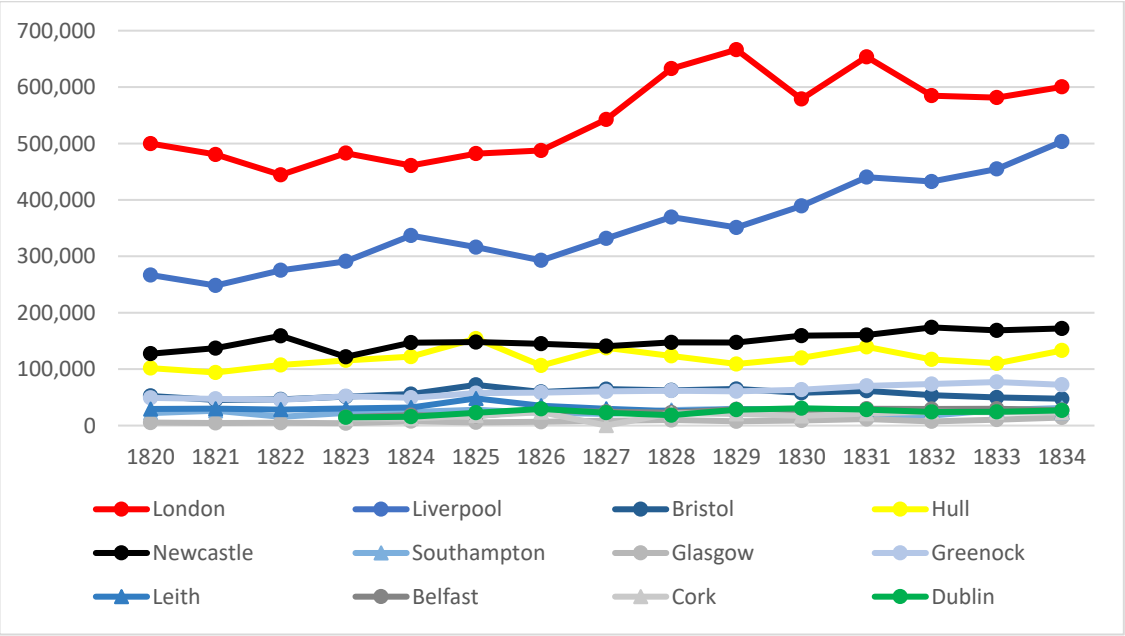

Figure 2.8 Tonnage of British Vessels that Cleared the Twelve Principal Ports of the United Kingdom, 1820-1834

Source: See Table 1.1.

In both Figures 2.7 and 2.8, Hull ranked in the top four ports, placing third in the total tonnage of vessels that entered British ports, and fourth in clearances behind London,

Liverpool and Newcastle. Ultimately, this meant that, at the moment of reconstitution, Hull was one of the leading ports at which the new Society could survey British vessels, both in service, and under construction, with only a small number of ports handling more British vessels than Hull. The same situation could be seen in foreign vessels frequenting British ports, with Hull's 59,904 tons being the third highest entrances figure, and its 46,506 tons in foreign vessel clearances being the fourth highest, again behind London, Liverpool and Newcastle.[184] At the point of reconstitution, therefore, Hull was a vital asset to the emerging outport network of LR, and its reputation was only enhanced by the pioneering work of John Marshall who had strong personal ties to the port (see Chapter 5). After the reconstitution, however, Hull's importance to the Society and its operational goals is slightly more difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, by taking the annual total number of surveyors at each of the exclusive domestic outports, excluding staff stationed at sub-offices, it is possible to place them in rank order, revealing the fluctuating status of the port of Hull within the network itself (see Figure 2.9).

[184] BPP, 1851, LII, 656, Return of Number of Vessels inwards and outwards at Twelve Principal Ports of United Kingdom; Official Value of Imports and Exports, 1816-50.

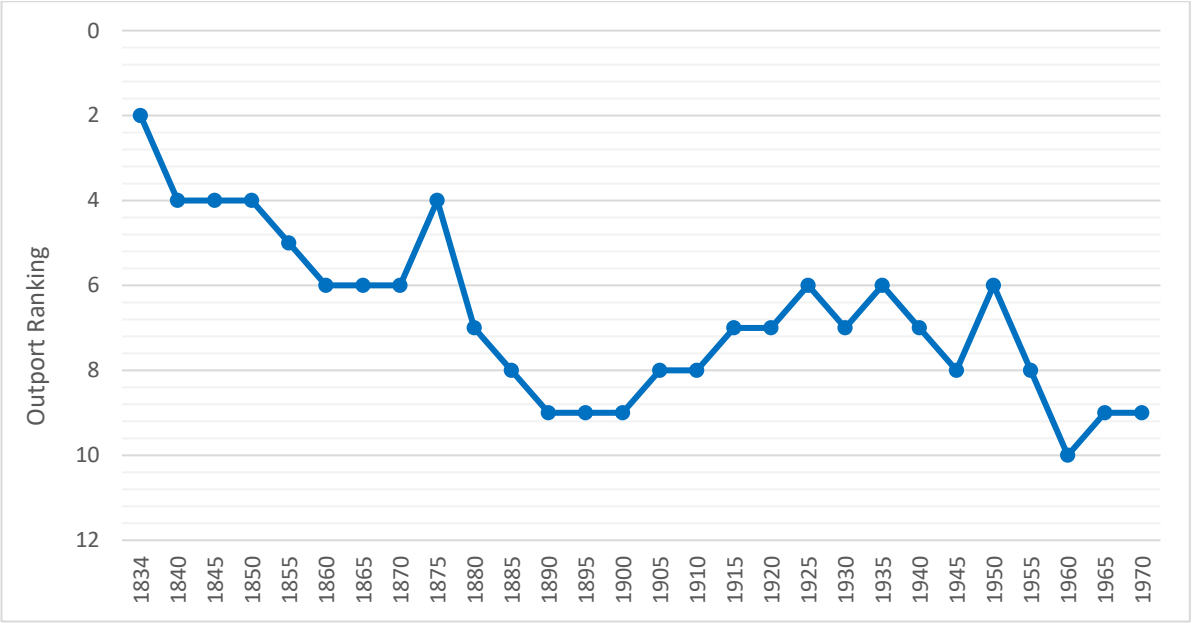

Figure 2.9 Port of Hull: Ranking within the Exclusive Domestic Outport Network of Lloyd's Register, 1834-1970

Source: See Figure 2.5

Taking Figure 2.9 at face value, what is instantly observable is the fact that, with regards to its ranking within the exclusive domestic outport network, the port of Hull declined in its importance to the Society between 1834 and 1970, despite an upturn during the first half of the twentieth century. During this period, Hull was surpassed in outport ranking by ports like Glasgow, Greenock, Cardiff, Belfast, Middlesbrough and Manchester, falling from its highest ranking of joint second at the reconstitution to reach lows of around tenth in the 1960s. This overall decline does not come as a surprise given the changing maritime fortunes of the port itself, particularly when looking at the state of its shipbuilding industry, the key area of focus for LR. As previously demonstrated in this chapter, at the time that reformers like John Marshall were looking to establish the Committee of Inquiry into LR in 1823, the port of Hull stood as the second largest shipbuilding port in terms of total tonnage built in the collected data, sitting behind only Sunderland.[185] However, by 1870, Hull's total tonnage of 12,587 tons left it behind Glasgow, Liverpool, Newcastle, Sunderland and Port Glasgow, ranking at sixth

[185] Marshall, *Statement,* 159-62.

overall.[186] In 1920, the situation was even bleaker for Hull (see Figure 2.10).

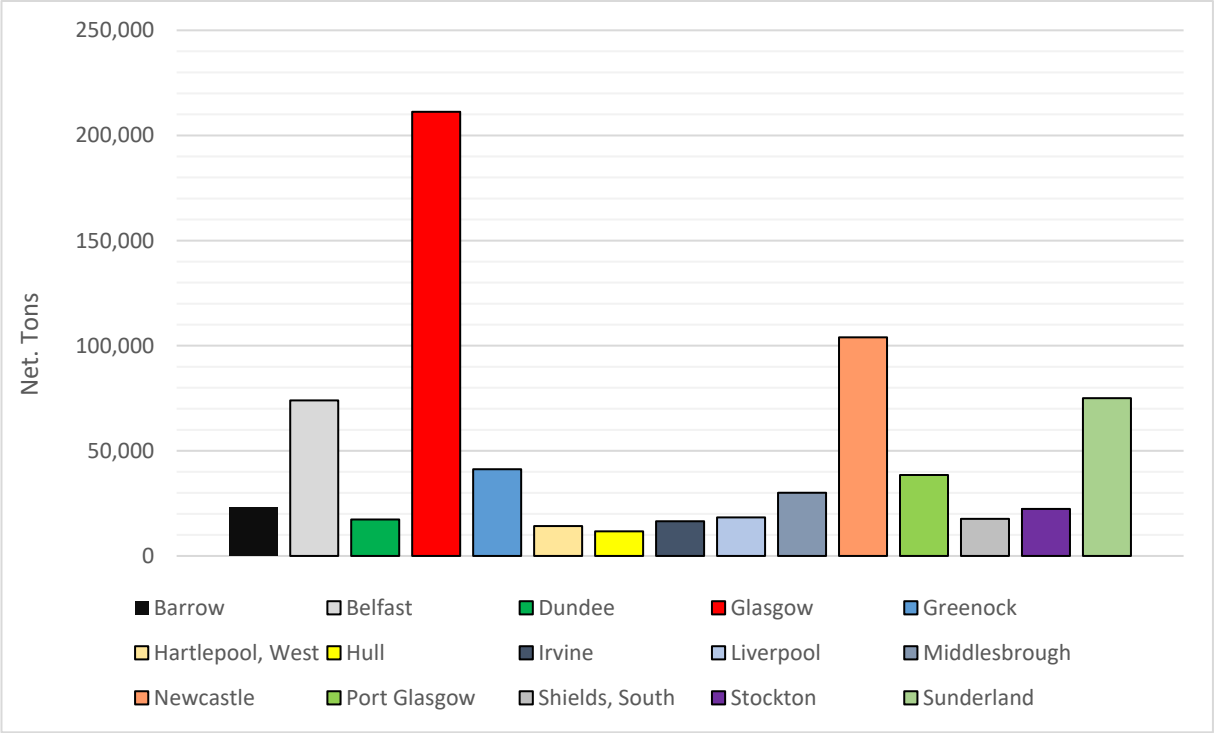

Figure 2.10 Net. Tonnage of Mercantile Vessels Built at Ports in the United Kingdom, 1920

Source: BPP, 1921, XXXIV, 1442, Annual Statement of Navigation and Shipping of United Kingdom for the year 1920, With comparative tables for the years 1916 to 1920.

With regards to the total net tonnage of vessels built in British ports in 1920, Hull had fallen to fifteenth, and the situation was only exacerbated by the decline in output and subsequent closure of the port's largest shipyard. Earle's Shipbuilding and Engineering Company was bought out by the National Shipbuilders Securities Ltd in 1932, having previously dominated the shipbuilding industry of the entire Humber region, accounting for 46 per cent of the output of the principal Humber yards in 1919.[187] Following the closure of Earle's, Hull ceased to be a major shipbuilding centre, with the controlling authority in the port at the time, the London and North Eastern Railway Company, choosing to omit the port's data in this industry from its own commercial records rather than continue to record its ever-declining output.[188] It is, therefore, not surprising that Hull status within the exclusive domestic outport network saw a

[186] BPP, 1872, LVI, C.615-III, Annual Statement of Navigation and Shipping of United Kingdom, 1871, with Comparative Tables, 1867-71.

[187] J. Bellamy, "A Hull Shipbuilding Firm: The History of C. & W. Earle and Earle's Shipbuilding and Engineering Company Ltd", *Business History*, 6 (1963), 41; *Port of Hull Annual and Humberside Commercial Review 1920* (H.E.C. Newham, Hull Trade and Transit Office, 1920), 55.

[188] Wright, "Port of Hull during the Interwar Period", 56-7.

decline overall, falling behind Glasgow, Cardiff and Middlesbrough, all of whom had surpassed Hull's shipbuilding output in 1920.

However, when Hull's outport ranking data, presented in Figure 2.9, is viewed in the context of the aforementioned expansion of the exclusive domestic network, the severity of this decline is reduced. Indeed, the fact that Hull remained within the top ten outports of LR suggests a story of relative stability, rather than significant decline, certainly more stability than the shipbuilding tonnage figures suggest Hull should have seen. There are a few key reasons for this relative stability. Firstly, although the shipbuilding industry of Hull had declined in status with regards to the total tonnage of vessels built, it had retained relative importance in terms of the actual number of vessels built. For example, in 1920, when Hull's tonnage figure had fallen to fifteenth, its total number of vessels, standing at 24, was enough to secure Hull as the fifth port, only behind Belfast, Glasgow, Newcastle and Sunderland.[189] This meant that Hull remained an important port for LR to visit a large number of vessels under construction right up until the closure of Earle's in 1932, explaining why Hull's outport status remained stable in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Secondly, the outport office in Hull provided LR with the perfect base from which it could expand its operational activity into the immediate hinterland around the Humber without the need for further outport expansion. For the vast majority of its working life, the exclusive office in Hull covered the nearby shipbuilding centres in Goole, Selby and Beverley, meaning that, even with the closure of Earle's, LR was still able to survey a large number of vessels from its Hull office. This hinterland advantage became even more significant when the Society sought to diversify its operational activity, with the Hull office, and the nearby office in Grimsby, providing an exclusive base from which surveyors could start to investigate the significant production of steel in Scunthorpe, again explaining why the Hull office retained importance within the outport network. However, while these first two factors could explain the relative stability in Hull's outport status, they do not provide an adequate explanation for the status growth experienced in Hull from 1900 onwards, Hull rising from ninth in the 1890s to reach a ranking of sixth in the 1920s. Explanation for this rise comes from arguably the most important part of LR's operational activity in Hull during the twentieth century, its work on trawlers (see Chapter 4).

The port of Hull gave the Society the opportunity to work directly on the vessels carrying fishermen to the most dangerous occupation in the world. For a Society focused on

[189] BPP, 1921, XXXIV, 1442, Annual Statement of Navigation and Shipping of United Kingdom for the year 1920, With comparative tables for the years 1916 to 1920. 328-31.

the preservation of life and property at sea, such an opportunity was absolutely vital to its own operational aims, and the extensive modernisation of the fishing fleet in Hull, coupled with the fact that two of the major trawler-building centres in Selby and Beverley were covered by the Hull office, goes some way in explaining why Hull was able to retain and even increase its importance to the exclusive domestic outport network of LR. Indeed, it shall be argued in Chapter 4 that trawling represented the key rationale for LR maintaining as large a presence in Hull as it did during the twentieth century, its outport ranking only beginning to notably fall away after events abroad along with the further modernisation in the fleet forced the significant trawling industry away from the docks in Hull.

Throughout the period 1834 to 1970 therefore, Hull played a notable role within the outport network of LR, and remained a steadfast member of that network during periods of both expansion and contraction. This chapter reveals that Hull played a major role in the reconstitution and first arrival of the outports, and its office in the port enabled LR to expand into other nearby areas and industries, providing an adaptable base that could keep pace with the diversification of the Society's work. The chapter also sheds light on the domestic and international expansion of LR's outport network, building upon the appraisals presented in the *Annals*, and by Blake and Watson. It demonstrates that domestic expansion occurred in two distinct phases, driven by fluctuations in British maritime activity. Consequently, the chapter also enhances the literature on British and international shipping and shipbuilding by authors like Davis, Friel, Hope, Paine and Slaven, all of whom only address the role of LR in passing if at all.[190] Most importantly for this thesis, however, this chapter starts to reveal Hull's connections to LR and its history. To explore this argument further, it is important to delve much deeper into the Society's operational activity in, and its relationship with the port of Hull, starting with an investigation into two of the port's most distinctive features, the first of which appraises the relationship between LR and Hull's largest and most dominant shipping company, the Wilson Line.

[190] See R. Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Macmillan, 1962); Friel, *Maritime History;* R. Hope, *A New History of British Shipping* (London: John Murray, 1990); L. Payne, *The Sea and Civilisation: A Maritime History of the World* (London: Atlantic Books, 2015); Slaven, *British Shipbuilding*.

Chapter 3 Lloyd's Register and The Wilson Line

Having firmly established the Society's historic presence in Hull through the outport network, the following two chapters of this thesis explore the work of Lloyd's Register in the port through an analysis of two of its most distinctive features. Chapter 4 focuses on trawling, analysing the work of the Society on trawlers to assess its contribution to one of Hull's key industries. This chapter adopts a similar approach, utilising the Wilson Line as a lens through which LR's involvement in, and relationship with, the port's mercantile community can be assessed. Taking a twofold approach, this chapter assesses the extent to which LR were involved with the Wilson Line fleet, and studies the exchanges between the two, particularly around procedural events like vessel surveys, to provide both a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the relationship between LR and the Wilson Line.

Through its focus on LR and the utilisation of LRFHEC archival material, this chapter builds on an already rich extant historiography on both the business of ports and shipping, and on the Wilson Line itself. Particularly relevant to this chapter is the work of Gordon Boyce who argued that in Britain, the rise of 'giant maritime enterprise' like the Wilson Line were founded on the development of 'networks' within each port.[191] These networks were 'co-operative frameworks' of 'individuals bound by interpersonal knowledge' who 'facilitated risk spreading and sequential decision-making' by working collaboratively, challenging the theories of Alfred Chandler whose 'transaction cost approach' argued that 'internal systems and structural designs' were the key factor in the growth of major firms in the United States.[192] Boyce's inner-port network theory laid the foundation for a number of historians to analyse the growth of shipping in specific UK ports, with such analysis in Hull being led by Michaela Barnard and David J. Starkey.[193] Indeed, Starkey stated that it was 'in line with Boyce's thesis' that the Wilsons, particularly the second generation of the family, 'built a massive shipping firm over the course of seventy years'.[194] In contrast, LR stands as an outlier in Boyce's model. By its very design, LR did not seek to enter into the local communities of the ports it served, the Society deliberately positioning itself on the periphery as an independent and impartial observer and

[191] G.H. Boyce, *Information, Mediation, and Institutional Development: The Rise of Large-Scale Enterprise in British Shipping, 1870-1919* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 3.

[192] Boyce, *Information, Mediation*, 1-3.

[193] M.G. Barnard and D.J. Starkey, "Private Companies, Culture and Place in the Development of Hull's Maritime Business Sector, c.1860-1914", in G. Harlaftis, S. Tenold & J. M. Valdaliso (eds.), *The World's Key Industry: History and Economics of International Shipping* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 200-19; D.J. Starkey, "Ownership Structures in the British Shipping Industry: The Case of Hull, 1820-1916", *IJMH*, 8 (1996), 71-95.

[194] Starkey, "Ownership Structures", 85.

going to great lengths to preserve that status. Indeed, a policy of moving surveyors around clientele was deliberately implemented to prevent inter-personal relationships, so important to Boyce's model, from developing between local communities and LR's staff. However, if one reassesses Boyce's model solely as a means of network development in isolation, the Society itself bears a number of remarkable similarities. At its core, the outport network was a co-operative framework comprising teams of individual surveyors bound by together by knowledge, and was designed, right from the reconstitution, to facilitate risk spreading and management, and to ensure unanimity in decision making across the outports. In turn, and much like the ability of Boyce's network model to support the arrival of giant maritime firms like the Wilson Line, this united approach within LR's domestic network supported the growth of the Society's larger international outport network, spreading the rules, regulations and practises of the Society across the globe. The Society itself, therefore, could be considered an atypical example for the testing of theories like that of Boyce in action, demonstrating that theory's applicability to not only inner port networks, but also large organisations to whom internal networking formed an integral cornerstone of their activity.

Inner-port networks, however, are not the only topic in this chapter to have been covered by extensive literature. As one of the most significant players in the history of the port of Hull, the Wilson Line have received frequent historiographical attention. Both John Harrower and Micheal Thompson have compiled detailed fleet lists covering the Wilson Line, with Arthur Credland supplementing the latter work with a brief biographical history of the firm, in addition to publishing his own photographic history of the Wilsons in 2000.[195] However, while providing useful reference material, particularly for the quantitative analysis of the fleet within this chapter, these works present a rather more narrative approach to the Wilson Line, avoiding the detailed critical analysis of the firm that can be found in the works of Barnard and Starkey which investigate shipping in Hull.[196] These articles and chapters utilise the Wilson Line to assess the applicability of the general shipping theories of Boyce and others to the port of Hull, a similar approach adopted by this thesis in assessing the work of LR. Indeed, the vast majority of the coverage of the Wilson Line in academic literature comes through such approaches, using the largest shipping firm in Hull to assess different aspects of the port's history. Martin Wilcox and Nick Evans utilised analysis of the Wilson Line in chapters on Hull's dock development and migration history respectively in an edited work on the port

[195] J. Harrower, *Wilson Line: The History and Fleet of Thos. Wilson, Sons & Co. and Ellerman's Wilson Line Ltd* (Gravesend: The World Ship Society, 1998); A.G. Credland & M. Thompson, *The Wilson Line of Hull, 1831-1981* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1994); A.G. Credland, *The Wilson Line* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000).

[196] See Barnard & Starkey, "Private Companies"; Starkey, "Ownership Structures".

released in 2017.[197] However, despite notable coverage of the firm in the historiography of Hull, no work has sought to analyse the relationship between the Wilson Line and LR, and a survey of the Wilson Line archive at Hull History Centre returned only one mention of the Society. Very few Wilson scholars have utilised any of the archival material held within the LRFHEC, with all references to such material dealing with the Society's register books exclusively, the works of Harrower and Thompson drawing technical information on Wilson vessels from such sources. This chapter, therefore, moves to rectify this historiographical omission, taking inspiration from others in deploying the Wilson Line as a lens through which an alternate issue, in this case LR, can be assessed. It utilises the oft-quoted register books in greater detail than previous investigations into the Wilson Line and introduces new archival material to the existing historiography to assess whether common assertions within the literature can be identified in the firm's interactions with LR.

3.1 Lloyd's Register and Merchant Shipping

The assessment of the Wilson Line's relationship with LR is set within the context of the Society's significant activity in merchant shipping. Indeed, working on and with merchant vessels has formed the backbone of LR's operational activity since the very origins of the Society itself, with the quality assessment of the British merchant fleet being the key focus of the pre-reconstituted Society from 1760. As part of this process after the reconstitution, merchant vessels were assessed against a standardised set of rules and regulations produced and updated by the Society when the need arose. The rule books were then carried by the Society's surveyors around the world through the outport network, extending the reach of LR far beyond that of the Society of 1760.

A focused analysis of the process by which LR's rules and regulations were updated and amended can be found in Chapter 4 in relation to trawling, but for the purposes of this chapter, it is worth outlining the major developments to understand the regulations against which the vessels of the Wilson Line were assessed. Put simply, the rules and regulations of the Society could be split into four key categories, referring to the build material, the type of vessel, engineering and machinery, and equipment. At the foundation of the family-owned Wilson Line in 1841, vessels were largely assessed under a blanket collection of 'rules for the classification of ships', with a separate set of rules for vessels navigated by steam having been introduced in 1835.[198] After this, the rules and regulations were updated regularly. Rules for

[197] M. Wilcox, "Dock Development, 1778-1914", in Starkey, *et al.*, *Hull*, 117-43; N.J. Evans, "The Making of a Mosaic: Migration and the port-city of Kingston upon Hull", in Starkey *et al.*, *Hull*, 145-77.

[198] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 367.

vessels of iron, composite and steel were added in 1855, 1867 and 1888 respectively, with the first vessel classed as an experimental steel ship being the 430-ton *Annie*, built in 1864 by Martin Samuelson's yard in Hull.[199] Alongside those rules came ever more detailed sets of engineering and machinery regulations following their introduction to the rules in 1885.[200] Major updates were introduced in the wake of key changes to maritime technology, particularly the arrival of new fuels. Regulations for petrol and paraffin engines were introduced in 1910, and were swiftly followed by a similar set for diesel engines in 1914, and for heavy oil in 1928.[201]

Vessels of the Wilson Line were assessed against any and all rules and regulations that were directly applicable, and their compliance with this increasing regulatory maze was assessed by surveyors based across the domestic and international outport network. Some surveyors operated as specialists, particularly regarding the aforementioned engineering developments, to ensure all aspects of the Society's rules were being followed as closely as possible (see Chapter 5). To aid their efforts, and in a bid to preserve the impartiality and professionalism of LR's operational output, surveyor teams were rotated around the different clientele within each port, preventing any one surveyor from becoming too close to individual businesses. As a result, the surveyors of the Society in ports like Hull, although certainly being a part of the maritime network, were likely not as ingrained in the inner-port networks as those in the model put forward by Gordon Boyce. In the eyes of the Society, familiarity on that level risked jeopardising the impartial and professional image LR endeavoured to maintain in all aspects of its work.

3.2 The Wilson Line

Through this approach to merchant shipping, LR were brought into close contact with some of Hull's leading maritime firms. This chapter focuses on its interactions with arguably the most significant member of that maritime community, the Wilson Line. Three key areas of context are worth considering; the size and scope of the firm, its domination of the port of Hull, and the personal nature of its management. All three areas make the Wilson Line an extremely important, if atypical, case study for an investigation into LR.

[199] LR, *Annals* (1934), 136.

[200] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 367.

[201] *Ibid.*

Put simply, the Wilson Line 'was an extraordinary firm in terms of its scale'.[202] As stated by Starkey, 'it ranked as one of Britain's largest shipping companies in the early twentieth century' and 'dominated Hull's shipping' to such an extent that there was 'no other major port in which one firm was so pre-eminent'.[203] By 1910, the almost 200,000 gross tonnage of its fleet made the firm the eighth largest liner operator in Britain, only surpassed by familiar names including the Royal Mail, P&O, Cunard and Ellerman.[204] Their immense size and status, however, was not limited to Britain. Generations of the family, particularly under the leadership of Charles and Arthur Wilson, sought to increase the firms international outreach. During the 1870s lines were added to India and the Mediterranean, placing the Wilson Line 'firmly on the world stage', and in the 1890s, the firm's ships 'were carrying more cargo to and from New York than the vessels of any other firm', routes that had hitherto been dominated by companies from Liverpool.[205] By 1917, the Wilson Line held 25 foreign shipping routes in addition to its regular coastal lines to Liverpool, Newcastle and London, leaving the firm as the reputably 'the largest privately owned shipping line in the world'.[206]

The immense size and scope of the Wilson Line was matched by the firm's domination of its home port. As Credland and Thompson stated, it 'played a major role in maintaining Hull's place as the nation's third largest port and was crucial to the employment prospects, directly or indirectly, of thousands of Hull's citizens'.[207] Its commercial power 'exerted an extraordinary influence on the behaviour of the local maritime business community' who 'were both directly and imperceptibly encultured' by the Wilson's 'conviction that family ownership and management was inextricably linked to success in business'.[208] Its domination of Hull was a result of a number of factors, not least the family's commitment to the acquisition of rival firms and its expansion into related industries. Having started in 1878 with the purchase of Brownlow and Marsdin, acquisitions 'reached a climax in 1903 with the purchase of the Bailey and Leetham fleet' who, at the time, were 'second only to the Wilson's among the steamship companies operating out of Hull'.[209] In addition to buying out its closest rivals, the acquisitions of the Wilson Line extended into related industries, not least

[202] Starkey, "Ownership Structures", 86.

[203] *Ibid.*

[204] Starkey, "Ownership Structures", 84.

[205] Credland & Thompson, *Wilson Line*, 8.

[206] Starkey, *et al. Hull*, 7.

[207] Credland & Thompson, *Wilson Line*, 13.

[208] Barnard & Starkey, "Private Companies", 214.

[209] Credland & Thompson, *Wilson Line*, 21.

shipbuilding and engineering which brought the firm into closer contact with LR. Perhaps the most important acquisition in this respect was that of Earles Shipbuilding and Engineering Company, Hull's most significant shipyard and a frequent port of call for Wilson construction. Bought in order to save the company from liquidation, the Wilson takeover of Earles in 1901 essentially gave the family its own private shipyard. Indeed, between 1901 and 1916, 'nearly half of the yard's output' was for the Wilson Line.[210] By 1913, Earles was comfortably the largest shipyard in the area covered by the LR office in Hull. Its output that year 'stood at 36,125 tons […] a figure that far exceeded that of other shipbuilders in the locality', with Cochrane & Sons in second producing 9,985 tons, and the total of 8,459 tons of Cook, Welton and Gemmell coming in third.[211] In addition to shipbuilding, the acquisition of Earles also brought the Wilsons into greater contact with LR on the engineering front. Earles dominated local marine engineering, producing a total of 27,980 indicated horsepower (ihp), dwarfing the combined total of 23,557 ihp from the next two largest companies, Amos and Smith, in whom the Wilsons also had a large percentage ownership, and C. D. Holmes and Company.[212]

This acquisition process, therefore, left the Wilsons truly dominant in the port of Hull. In 1878, the year the firm acquired Brownlow and Marsdin, its fleet of some 50,000 tons accounted for 'approximately one-quarter of Hull's registered tonnage and over one-third of its steam tonnage', comfortably confirming the Wilson Line as 'Hull's principle shipowning firm'.[213] In 1901, the fleet had grown to total 113,668 net tons, accounting for 61.4% of the total for Hull, but by 1913, the firms domination of its home port was even more apparent.[214] The 116,011-ton Wilson fleet contained 'almost 70 per cent of the steam tonnage registered at Hull', with the firm's closest rival, W. H. Cockerline & Co. holding less than 28,000 tons.[215] Like its immense presence on the international stage, this total domination of Hull only serves to cement the Wilson Line as an important case study for any investigation into merchant shipping activity out of the port, not just this assessment of LR and its interactions with the community in Hull.

If the size and scope of the Wilson Line along with its domination of Hull were extraordinary features of the firm, its origins and management as a family business were far

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[210] Harrower, *Wilson Line*, 18.

[211] Barnard & Starkey, "Private Companies", 206.

[212] *Ibid.*

[213] Barnard & Starkey, "Private Companies", 205.

[214] Starkey, "Ownership Structures", 77.

[215] Barnard & Starkey, "Private Companies", 205.

more ordinary. As stated by Boyce, 'shipping in Britain was very much a family business', with the family unit acting as 'the foundation from which shipowners built larger networks based on local, religious and commercial links'.[216] Such businesses were commonplace on the Humber in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and were certainly prevalent within Hull's own network.[217] As stated by Starkey, 'the business structures that dominated Hull shipowning before 1914 were proprietorships, partnerships and family firms – all essentially privately-owned ventures'.[218] As a privately-owned family firm, therefore, the Wilson Line represented an increasingly common form of ownership and management not just in Hull, but across the UK in general. Indeed, there would have been no sign of the extraordinary company that was to come when LR and its precursor Society would likely have first encountered the Wilson family aboard the *Swift*, an A1-classed vessel and the first to be purchased by the family in 1831 when patriarch Thomas Wilson was part of Beckington, Wilson and Company.[219]

From this point until 1916, LR were brought into regular contact with the next three generations of the family. After the firm came under sole Wilson-ownership in 1841, Thomas Wilson remained as chairman until 1861 when, under an agreement with two of his sons, Charles and Arthur, the family patriarch stepped down from active management and 'disposed of his interest in most of the fleet'.[220] However, as stated by Harrower, Thomas Wilson retained an interest in new vessel acquisitions until 1866, after which all 'new vessels built were jointly in the hands of Charles and Arthur'.[221] The two brothers guided the company 'from strength to strength' in the following decades, turning the family business into the 'largest privately-owned shipping conglomerate in the world', and overseeing the firms move to private limited status in 1891.[222] The family retained direct management of the firm until 1901 when Oswald Sanderson was headhunted by the family to take over as manager.[223] Sanderson, who was related to the family through marriage, was made managing director in 1905, and remained in that position during and after the sale of the family firm to Sir John

[216] Boyce, *Information, Mediation*, ix-x.

[217] Starkey, "Ownership Structures", 82.

[218] *Ibid.*

[219] Harrower, *Wilson Line*, 18; Society for the Registry of Shipping, *1831 Register Book* (London: Society for the Registry of Shipping. Reprinted by The Gregg Press Ltd, London), 608. Available Online: https://archive.org/details/HECROS1832U/page/n5/mode/2up [Accessed 08/05/2024].

[220] Starkey, "Ownership Structures", 85; Credland & Thompson, *Wilson Line,* 7.

[221] Harrower, *Wilson Line*, 10.

[222] Harrower, *Wilson Line*, 10; Starkey, "Ownership Structures", 85.

[223] Barnard & Starkey, "Private Companies", 206.

Reeves Ellerman, another Hull-born man, in November 1916.[224] Styled as 'Ellerman's Wilson Line' [hereafter EWL], this final form of the company 'remained independent of the rest of the Ellerman empire' until it ceased operations in 1981.[225]

This personal family management of the Wilson Line up to 1901, and the continuing personal involvement of the family until 1916 can be clearly identified in the material consulted in this chapter. Indeed, the LRFHEC documents relating to the Wilson Line often include personal communications from the family to the Society, many written in the frank and tetchy tone that the Wilsons were known to display in business communications. The ways in which LR, a meticulously organised and regulated Society fond of standardised procedure, dealt with this increasingly personal interaction with a firm as large and dominant as the Wilson Line demonstrates the latter's utility as a case study for this thesis. In order to assess the relationship between the two, this chapter adopts a twofold analytical approach. Section 3.4 focuses on a qualitative analysis of LRFHEC documents relating to the Wilson Line in order to assess the relationship LR maintained with the firm. Prior to that however, it is important to assess the scale to which LR were actually involved with the Wilson Line, and how often the Society's surveyors were assessing the quality of the Wilson fleet. As shall be demonstrated, it was not as often as one might expect.

3.3 Lloyd's Register and the Wilson Line Fleet: A Quantitative Analysis

In order to quantify LR's involvement within the Wilson Line, this chapter combines and cross-compares two sets of data. The first is the Wilson Line fleet list compiled by John Harrower in 1998, containing biographical information on the 365 vessels owned by the firm between 1831 and 1981. The second data set comes from the official register books of LR which combine the technical information on vessels alongside details of any classification status. By cross referencing and comparing these two sources, this thesis produced combined data for the Wilson Line fleet which detailed the classification status of every Wilson vessel during the early years of their operational lives. At this juncture it is important to state that the LR information for the Wilson vessel *Ariosto*, launched in 1940 at Walker-on-Tyne, was not available to this enquiry, and therefore this combined data focuses on 364 Wilson vessels rather than the full 365 presented by Harrower. Despite this, it is possible to establish the scale of LR's involvement with the Wilson Line by analysing this new data across five key areas:

[224] Barnard & Starkey, "Private Companies", 206; Harrower, *Wilson Line*, 20-3.

[225] Credland & Thompson, *Wilson Line*, 28.

classification societies, fleet ownership, methods of acquisition, geography and classification standards.

3.3.1 Classification Societies and the Wilson Line

Perhaps most obviously, one can observe the scale of LR's involvement within the Wilson Line fleet by simply assessing exactly how many of the 364 vessels were actually classed by the Society. The data reveal that just over half of this fleet were classed by LR during the early years of their operational lives, the Society certifying 189 vessels or 51.9% of the Wilson fleet. Although this was a significant number of vessels under the watch of the Society, it left a substantial portion of the Wilson fleet outside of LR's survey. According to the register books, 48.1% or 175 vessels either had no classification listed, or were recorded as classed by other societies. Indeed, from the late 1880s onwards, the LR register books noted when vessels were classed by rivals, providing little information about their class beyond the acknowledgement that they had been surveyed elsewhere. This limited information allows a clearer breakdown of Wilson vessel classification to be made (see Figure 3.1).

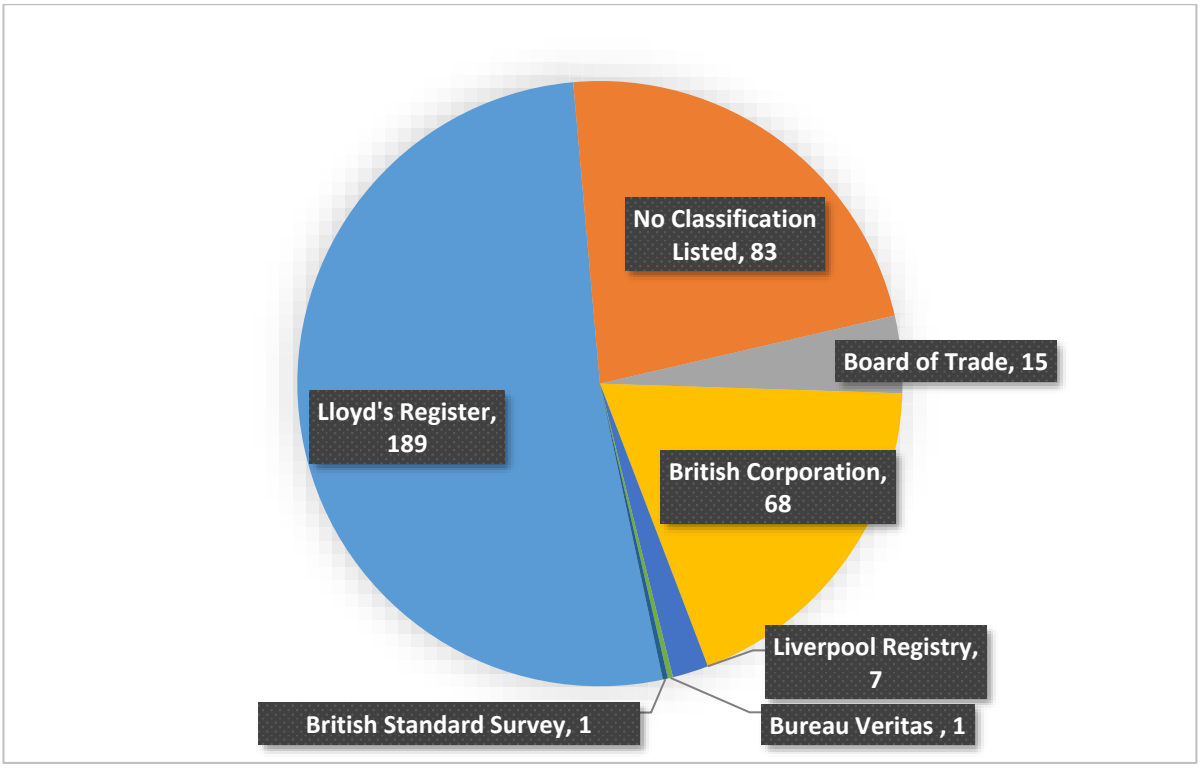

Figure 3.1 The Classification Societies used by the Wilson Line, c.1831-1981

Source: Harrower, *Wilson Line*; Lloyd's Register, *Register Books* 1831-1981.

LR comfortably accounted for the largest section of the fleet, and the second largest section simply had no classification information available, meaning they were not classed by LR, and were either classed elsewhere but no data was recorded, or they were not classed by anyone at all. However, Figure 3.1 also reveals that number of other societies were directly involved in surveying the Wilson fleet. The British Corporation classed 68 Wilson ships, covering 18.7% of the fleet, while the Board of Trade held 4.1%, classing 15 vessels for the firm. Smaller percentages of the fleet were classed by the Liverpool Registry (seven), Bureau Veritas (one) and British Standard Survey (one), meaning that 25.3% of the Wilson Line's ships were classed by rival societies to LR. Although spreading some classification duties across a range of societies would not be that surprising for a company as large as the Wilsons, the scale and frequency of the involvement from other societies begins to suggest that the relationship between the Wilson Line and LR may not have been as smooth as one might have expected. At the very least, the fact that the firm looked for alternatives to LR for just under half of its total fleet certainly suggests a deliberate move on the part of the Wilson Line to pull away from frequent collaboration with the Society. As evidenced in Section 3.4, the Wilsons deployed the threat of utilising rival classification societies in their often-tense communication with LR, and this data certainly suggest that they were prepared to carry through on those threats. Indeed, this deliberate action of seeking alternatives to LR becomes even more compelling when

analysing the data through the lens of the different evolutions of the firm, particularly those owned by the family.

3.3.2 Fleet Ownership

The personal family ownership and management of the Wilson Line for much of its history is one of the key factors that makes the firm such a valuable case study for an investigation into LR, and nowhere is this more apparent than when using the family ownership groups as a tool for assessing the fleet data. In order to undertake this analysis, it is firstly important to firmly establish the generational family groups in question. The data for Thomas Wilson cover the period 1841 up to the start of 1866, notably after Thomas's withdrawal from the company but the year in which Harrower states all vessels were ordered under Charles and Arthur for the first time.[226] From that year, the ownership group of Charles Henry and Arthur Wilson covers the data up to Arthur's death in November 1909 and includes both the arrival of Oswald Sanderson, and the transition of the firm to private limited status, although the effects of both will be addressed separately in addition to their inclusion here. From 1909 to 1916, the data cover the third-generation family group of Edward Kenneth Wilson and Charles Henry Wellesley Wilson, known as Tommy, after which the Ellerman years cover the remaining data. With these groups firmly established, it is possible to take the classification analysis presented above even further to assess both the company, and particularly the family's dealings and relationship with LR (see Table 3.1).

[226] Harrower, *Wilson Line*, 10

Table 3.1 Lloyd's Register Classification of the Wilson Line Fleet by Ownership Groups, 1841-1981.

Ownership Group	No. of LR Classed Vessels	No. of Vessels not LR Classed	% of Fleet LR Classed	% of Fleet Not LR Classed
Thomas Wilson (1841-1866)	15	20	42.9	57.1
Charles Henry Wilson & Arthur Wilson (1866-1909)	89	105	45.9	54.1
Edward Wilson & C. H. W. Wilson (1909-1916)	14	23	37.8	62.2
Ellerman's Wilson Line (1916-1981)	64	27	70.3	29.7

Source: See Figure 3.1.

From the birth of the Wilson Line in 1841, not a single branch of the Company owned by the Wilson family had a majority of their vessel acquisitions, either through purchase or new construction, classed by LR, with every family-owned evolution of the firm looking elsewhere for classification for the majority of their vessels. The zenith of family-LR classification came with Charles and Arthur who only had 45.9% of their acquisitions classed by the Society, but it fell as low as 37.8% under their sons, Edward and Tommy. Even the family patriarch, Thomas Wilson, only had 42.9% of his vessels classed by LR. Building on the picture presented earlier, this family-specific analysis of data furthers the assertion that the relationship between the Society and the Wilson Line was not a positive one, the family consistently searching for alternatives to LR more often than they sought classification with it. However, perhaps the most damning evidence to support this theory can be found by simply looking at data after the Ellerman takeover in 1916. The 70.3% of vessels classed by LR under that ownership group left the EWL, the only version of the company not owned by the family, as only one to have a majority of its vessel acquisitions classed by the Society, and by a comfortable margin. At once, this clearly supports the theory that it was the Wilson family specifically that had an issue with LR, passed down through three generations, while simultaneously dismissing the idea that the frequent utilisation of other classification societies by the firm was simply a move of convenience from a giant shipping company looking to classify its fleet as quickly and efficiently as possible. After all, Sir John Reeves Ellerman was one of the few people in the world who could boast a fleet larger than that of the Wilsons, and

it was under his ownership that the Wilson Line sought to use LR more often than it had ever done so before.

Interestingly, neither the move to private limited status, nor the arrival of Oswald Sanderson appears to have significantly improved the family's attitude towards LR classification. All branches of the family firm before the move to private limited status acquired a total of 137 vessels, of which only 55 (40.1%) were classed by LR, with 82 (59.9%) not under the watch of the Society. After 1891 the family acquired a total 129 vessels, of which 63 (48.8%) were classed by LR, representing only a slight improvement that still left over half the fleet outside of LR classification. Similarly, the arrival and management of Oswald Sanderson under the family did not improve their relations with LR. Between his appointment as manager in 1901 and the Ellerman takeover in 1916, the family acquired 87 vessels, of which 37 (42.5%) were classed by LR, leaving 50 (57.5%) to be classed elsewhere or not at all. Neither the change in manager nor the new perspective from someone outside the immediate family, therefore, altered the rate at which the Wilsons were prepared to have their vessels classed by the Society. As the data suggest, the only significant change to this situation came with the arrival of Ellerman, with his takeover seemingly acting as the catalyst for the dramatic uptake in LR classification seen in Table 3.1. Even from the first two research avenues into this data set alone, this cross-comparison of Wilson fleet lists and LR register books certainly suggests that the relationship between the Wilson Line and LR was rather more negative than one might have initially expected. However, they are not the only avenues to support this assertion, and reading the data in other ways can yield further important evidence, not least in the comparison between vessels that were bought by the firm, and those that were built directly for them.

3.3.3 Methods of Acquisition

The differences between the classification status of vessels that were built to order by the Wilson Line and those the company purchased during their operation life make for another important research avenue. Through the vessels built for the company, one can garner a more accurate assessment of Wilson attitudes towards LR as the firm would have been involved in the classification process right from the laying of the vessel's keel. In contrast, the Wilsons would not have been directly involved in these early stages of those vessels bought in later life, the classification decisions in these cases being made by the original builders and owners. Wilson influence, therefore, was strongest on the vessels built to their order, and it is through a statistical analysis of those vessels that perhaps the most accurate assessment of the relationship between the firm and LR can be made.

As with the fleet ownership data above, not a single family-owned generation of the company had a majority of the vessels they commissioned built under the watch of LR's surveyors. In fact, not a single family-owned generation had above 40 per cent of their new constructions classed by LR, with the figures for Thomas Wilson standing at 38.7%, Charles and Arthur at 33.1%, and Edward and Tommy at 37.8%. Again, as seen in the fleet ownership analysis, the only version of the firm to have a majority of new launches classed by LR was the only one not owned by the family, the EWL, and the difference was vast. The EWL had 69.1% of new constructions built under LR survey and classed by the Society, with only 30.9% of such launches not involving LR, providing further compelling evidence for the assertion that the issues between the Wilson Line and the firm were those held by the family itself.

The data can yield yet more useful insights when comparing these statistics for vessels built for the family to those the firm bought. At first, this seems to offer a far more positive reflection on the relationship between the firm and LR. For each ownership group, at least 70 per cent of the vessels purchased for the firm were classed by LR, a far cry from the less than 40 per cent seen in the vessels built for each generation of the company. While this stark contrast might initially suggest a more positive relationship between LR and the Wilsons, the large percentage of purchased vessels being classed by LR only suggests that other shipbuilders and owners were more likely to have vessels classed with the Society than the Wilsons. The Wilsons would have little to no influence on the early classification status of the vessels they would later purchase, and therefore one cannot read too much into this particular data set for this purpose. What this data does reveal, however, is that the Wilson family were certainly aware of, and seemingly valued, the status offered by LR classification when it came to purchasing vessels. The regularity at which each ownership group purchased LR-classed vessels certainly suggests that family accepted the Society as a barometer of quality in vessel construction and standards, but did not entertain the regular input of LR into the vessels the family were building for themselves. This explains the stark difference in data between the two methods of acquisition, a difference that is equally stark when taking a macro view across the Wilson fleet as a whole, with 79.8% of purchased vessels being classed by LR compared to only 43.6% of vessels built for the firm. What the data also suggest is that LR classification across the Wilson fleet tended to happen more often the further out of direct Wilson Line control the construction of the vessel took place, and a geographical analysis of the data can provide more evidence for this hypothesis.

3.3.4 Geography

Of the 364 vessels procured by the Wilsons, 164 were built in the family's home port of Hull, with 190 built in other UK ports, and 10 built overseas. Reading the data for Hull more closely

reveals that, of the 164 vessels built in that port, 139 were built by Earles Shipbuilding, that shipyard accounting for 84.8% of the Hull-built fleet, and 38.2% of the fleet as a whole, Earles being the most common shipbuilder utilised by the firm until its closure in 1932. Despite this, however, the data clearly show that the majority of the Wilson fleet was built outside of the firm's home port, and comparing this data with the register books yields further interesting evidence when investigating the relationship between the Wilson Line and LR.

Of the combined 200 vessels built either in UK ports other than Hull or overseas, 141 or 79.5% were classed by the Society during the early years of their working lives. Back in Hull, the difference was stark. Of the 164 Wilson Line vessels built in Hull, only 48 were classed by LR, accounting for 29.2% of the Hull fleet. That figure gets even smaller when concentrating on Earles, as only 34 of its 139 vessels, or 24.5% were classed by the Society. The vast difference between the statistics for LR classification of Wilson vessels around the rest of the UK and world to that of Hull again alludes to the seemingly poor relationship between the firm and LR. It suggests that, due to this poor relationship, the Wilsons repeatedly opted for alternative options to LR in the place that they had the most control and, as shown earlier in the chapter, the firm dominated maritime activity in Hull. Furthermore, the fact that the Wilsons exerted significant influence over Earles shipyard, propping it up against financial collapse before eventually taking it over in 1901, makes it rather unsurprising that the apparent negativity of the Wilsons towards LR can be best observed in the output of Earles for the Wilson fleet. It is also unsurprising that the vast majority of the qualitative examples of the poor relationship between LR and the Wilson Line seen in Section 3.4 can be found in the documents of vessels built by Earles. Outside of Hull, the Wilsons would have been increasingly at the mercy of shipyards in which they exerted far less influence, many of whom would have been keen on LR classification for their own benefit, and again, it is therefore not a surprise that more LR-classed vessels were built outside of the immediate control of the Wilson Line in ports around the UK and world.

In combination with the data for methods of acquisition, this provides further evidence for the theory that vessels were more likely to be classed when the Wilson family had less opportunity to be directly involved, either through geographic location or through the fact the firm were simply not present during the construction and early life of the vessel. This, together with the analysis on classification societies and fleet ownership, provides a substantial body of evidence that demonstrates clearly that the Wilson Line had a poor working relationship with LR for much of its history, especially when the family were in direct ownership and control of its operational activity. In fact, the only area of this new data set that

does not provide an overwhelmingly negative view on the relations between to the two can be found in the classifications awarded to Wilson vessels.

3.3.5 Vessel Classification

Every vessel put through the classification process of LR was awarded a distinctive class-mark denoting the quality of its construction and maintenance, later alongside similar indications for its machinery and equipment (see Chapter 4). Taking the classification awards given to vessels of any firm can provide an immensely useful insight into the quality of the fleet, but also into individual firms interactions with LR.

Of the five areas for the analysis of the data set, classification represents the only one to leave a positive outlook on the relationship between the Wilsons and LR. The vast majority of Wilson Line vessels that were classed by LR were awarded the Society's highest classification available at the time, that being A1 up to 1870, and 100A1 thereafter. 172 of 189 Wilson Line vessels classed by LR were awarded either A1 or 100A1 in the early years of their operational lives, representing some 91 per cent of the LR-classed Wilson fleet. From this data, it certainly appears that if vessels were not going to achieve the highest classification status, the Wilson Line would have rather avoided LR classification completely than settle for a lower class, a theory that is further supported by arguments the firm had with LR over class that are analysed in Section 3.4.

This theory also receives further support when assessing the difference between the classifications awarded to vessels built for the Wilsons and those the firm purchased. The overwhelming majority, some 97.5%, of the vessels built directly for the Wilson Line and classed by LR were awarded one of the two highest classifications. 79.1% of vessels bought by the firm and classed by LR were also awarded the highest available classes, suggesting that, although the purchase class rate was still high, the Wilsons were more willing to purchase a slightly lower-class vessel than have one of their own ordered and built ships awarded less than the top classification. This preference for the highest class can also be seen across the generations of the firm. Other than Beckington, Wilson and Company, which only had three vessels in total, with two achieving the highest available classification, every version of the Wilson Line had at least 84 per cent of their LR-classed vessels achieving top-class certification. Under Thomas Wilson, the firm had 86.7% of their LR-classed fleet awarded the highest available class, with Charles and Arthur seeing a slight decrease to 84.3%. Every other version of the firm, that being Wilson, Hudson and Company, the Wilson Line under Edward and Tommy, and the Ellerman Wilson Line, had 100 per cent of their LR-classed fleet achieving either A1 or 100A1. At the very least, this provides more evidence to suggest that the Wilsons

understood the value of high LR-classification, even if they were reluctant to work with the Society more often than not.

This five-fold analysis of the data set produced by this thesis, therefore, provides clear and compelling evidence to suggest that the relationship between the Wilson Line and LR was rather more negative than one might expect. Although the firm consistently sought the highest classifications possible when dealing with LR, it is abundantly clear that the Wilson family in particular searched for alternatives to avoid working with LR, keeping a substantial section of their fleet away from the eyes of the Society's surveyors, especially in its home port of Hull. Wherever possible, particularly on the vessels on which they had the most influence, the family moved away from collaboration with the Society, clearly acknowledging the value LR classification could have, but choosing to avoid subjecting its own vessels to such assessment more often than not. Furthermore, the stark difference between the approaches of the firm under the family, and after the Ellerman takeover, provide perhaps the best demonstration of the fact that the difficult relationship between the firm and LR appears to have centred heavily on the family itself. Although this quantitative analysis has provided ample evidence to support this theory, the personal issues with LR, held and passed down through at least three generations of the family, are equally observable in a qualitative analysis of the Wilson-related documents held in the Ship Plans and Survey Reports collection of the LRFHEC archive, and it is onto this material base that this chapter now turns.

3.4 Lloyd's Register and the Wilson Line Fleet: A Qualitative Analysis

As a private firm dominated by members of a single family, much of the Wilsons business was conducted in personal communication between family members, with Starkey stating that, even after the move to private-limited status in 1891, the 'general meetings of shareholders, like the monthly directors' meetings, were cosy affairs with two of three family members formally passing resolutions, sometimes in the comfort of their own homes'.[227] As a result, communication between the Wilson Line and other businesses could be conducted in an equally personal fashion, and its interactions with LR are certainly no exception to this.

3.4.1 Lloyd's Register issues with, and action against the Wilson Line

The first generations of the firm prior the family's takeover under Thomas Wilson in 1841 appear to have maintained positive relations with LR, or at least maintained a relationship that did not generate any unusual correspondence for the archive to preserve. Signs of tension within the documents first appear aboard the *Pacific* in the closing years of Thomas Wilson's

[227] Starkey, "Ownership Structures", 87.

tenure as chairman, when the family decided against classing the vessel with LR after being informed that the hold beams were 'not spaced in conformity with the Rules'.[228] From this point onwards, complaints and disagreements with LR are a common feature of the documents relating to the Wilson Line held by the LRFHEC archive. As the documents relate to, and were produced during, surveys of Wilson vessels, many of the interactions between LR and the firm are initiated by the Society and centre on any faults found during those inspections. An analysis of a three such issues can shed further light on the strained relations between the Society and the Wilson Line.

Aside from everyday faults, perhaps the most common issue found across the documents relating to the Wilson Line was the firm's apparent reluctance to comply with the Society's rules and regulations. It was the source of the first recorded disagreement between the two on the *Pacific* in 1860 when the Wilsons opted against LR classification rather than comply with the Society's rules on hold beam spacing, an event that provides immediate anecdotal evidence for the theory that the firm would rather forgo LR classification completely than receive a lower class. *Pacific*, however, was by no means the only example of this lack of rule compliance. In 1910, when the family were trying to sell the *Ariosto* to buyers abroad, LR informed them that the vessel needed additional fittings below the awning deck in order to obtain the 100A1-class the prospective owners were insisting upon.[229] In response, the family immediately sent a representative to London to discuss the matter, and their representative in Bergen, one Ole Olsen, sent a quarrelsome cablegram to the Society's secretary, stating that the family hoped LR would 'not insist' on the recommendations as they could not comply and deliver the vessel to her buyers in time.[230] To both representations, LR stood firm and demanded the additional fittings be made, the Wilsons eventually conceding a few days later.[231]

The telegram sent by Olsen was typical of the Wilson response to criticism from LR, and this can be seen again in another example of a lack of rule compliance, this time at the hand of Charles H. Wilson. In 1876, the Wilsons made amendments to the *Navarino* in the hope of LR classification, with Charles demanding that, in light of 'these great additions' made

[228] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-IRON446-0309-R, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Iron Ships Report for *Pacific,* July 1860.

[229] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-HUL426-0094-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Memo regarding scantling requirements for classification for *Ariosto*, 6th June 1910.

[230] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-HUL426-0094-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Secretary of Lloyd's Register, London, to Ole Olsen Esq, regarding doubling on the *Ariosto*, 9th June 1910.

[231] *Ibid.*

to the vessel, the Society must 'class her 100A1 3 deck class'.[232] After inspection by William Davidson, one of the Hull surveyors, the Society decided that the new additions to *Navarino* did not fully comply with the rules and regulations, subsequently classing the vessel as 100A1 spar deck, further demonstrating the Society's resolve to stand firm. The examples of the *Ariosto* and *Navarino* also begin to suggest that the Wilsons entered into discussions with LR with the expectation that they could use the status of the firm to pressure the Society into meeting their demands, a tool used by the family in other areas of its business. Further examples of this approach through the lack of rule compliance even made the news at meetings of the Society's General Committee [hereafter GC]. Both the *Tycho* and *Vigo* were discussed in GC meetings in April 1904 and September 1905 respectively, the two ships having been built for the Wilson Line by Earles in Hull.[233] In both instances, the Committee were asked whether the vessels, which had both been classed with the British Corporation, would be eligible for LR classification, to which the GC stated that the vessels fell 'so far short of the requirements of the rules of Lloyd's Register as to render [them] […] ineligible for classification in this Society's Register book', a fairly damning assessment of the quality of some Earles vessels under Wilson ownership.[234] In a similar fashion in 1911, the chairman strongly stated that the Society's rules should be adhered to when the GC were asked to intervene in correspondence between the Society and the Wilsons over the firm's lack of compliance with the rules, providing another example of LR standing firm whenever the Wilsons attempted to apply pressure.[235]

Non-compliance with rules, therefore, was one of the most common issues raised by LR in its interactions with the Wilsons, but it was by no means the only one. Another appeared whenever the Society had to chase the firm for either an overdue or out-of-date survey. In March 1887, surveyors assessing the *Mourino* stated that the vessel's second special survey was overdue but, after discussing the matter with the Wilson Line superintendent, were informed 'that the owners do not propose doing anything to the special survey on the hull of the vessel until she returns to Hull', the ship due back in the port a few months later.[236]

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[232] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-IRON463-0492-R, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Charles H. Wilson, to B. Waymouth Esq, Lloyd's, regarding *Navarino*, 5th May 1876.

[233] LRFHEC, Minute Books*,* General Committee Minute Book, 1904-5, Meeting of the General Committee on 28 April 1904, 141-2; LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1905, Meeting of the General Committee on 14 September 1905', 232.

[234] *Ibid.*

[235] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1910-11, Meeting of the General Committee on 12th October 1911', 448.

[236] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-GLS153-0219-R, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Report of Survey for Repairs, &c for *Mourino*, 21st March 1887.

Similarly, in 1888, a surveyor of the Society noted that the fifth survey of the *Leo* had been started but did 'not appear to have been completed', asserting that the Wilsons had 'been informed of this by letter' but 'no reply' had been received before the vessel 'proceeded on her voyage'.[237]

Both cases not only demonstrate that overdue surveys were an issue in the Society's dealings with the Wilsons, but also give another glimpse at a typical Wilson response or, perhaps more importantly, the lack thereof. Indeed, simply ignoring LR appears to have been a defensive tactic adopted on more than one occasion by the Wilson Line, standing in stark contrast to the earlier tactic of attempting to apply pressure through the size and status of the firm. Surveyors working on the *Eldorado* wrote to the LR secretary in September 1886 to state that they had 'not received any letter of acceptance' from the owners about recommendations they had made, and, after reattempting to communicate with the owners, they again 'received no reply'.[238] Although undoubtedly frustrating, simply being ignored may well have been preferrable to the Society, especially given the angry replies LR could often receive from the Wilsons, but it nevertheless demonstrates the difficult and uncooperative attitude with which the family approached its interactions with the Society.

The *Eldorado* name also provides an avenue into another issue encountered by LR aboard the Wilson Line fleet, cleanliness. The above *Eldorado* was actually the third Wilson vessel to bear that name, the first having been built by Earles and launched in 1873, and it was aboard this vessel that the issue of cleanliness arose. In June 1877, surveyors found that areas of the vessel were 'in a very dirty state', with the walls of the coal bunkers in need of particular attention and recoating.[239] Representatives from the Wilson Line stated that 'they had not sufficient time to carry out [the] […] recommendation to clean and coat' those areas of the ship, and, despite being told by letter that all recommended work should be completed, the surveyors found that the cleaning recommendations had 'not been complied with' by the time the ship was inspected again in August, the walls remaining uncleaned until October.[240] Although admittedly not a common issue within the LRFHEC documents consulted by this

[237] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-LON684-0004-R, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Report of Survey for Repairs, &c for *Leo*, 26th September 1888.

[238] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-HUL398-0286-F, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from W Rowell, pro the Surveyors, to the Secretary of Lloyd's Register, in reply to a letter relating to the freeboard of *Eldorado*, stating that they have not received any letter of acceptance for it from the owners, 1st September 1886.

[239] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-IRON460-0437-R, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Report of Survey for Repairs, &c for *Eldorado*, 21st June 1877.

[240] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-IRON460-0437-R, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Report of Survey for Repairs, &c for *Eldorado*, 14th August 1877; LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-IRON460-0437-R, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Report of Survey for Repairs, &c for *Eldorado*, 13th October 1877.

enquiry, this problem of Wilson-vessel cleanliness was certainly not without historiographical precedent. Nick Evans, in his appraisal of Hull as a migration port, stated that the Wilson's dominance in Hull 'was not accompanied by improvements in the quality and standard of the service provided for transmigrants', revealing that the firm were regularly contacted by the Hull Board of Health between 1864 and 1884 about the 'poor and unacceptable standards of accommodation it offered to its transmigrant customers'.[241] According to Evans, action against the Wilsons was taken after the Board 'reported that human excrement was running down the sides of ships in which 200 migrants were to be housed for four days until their train for Liverpool was ready', a far more severe example of uncleanliness than those encountered by LR's surveyors, but one that the evidence from the LRFHEC documents can support.[242]

The above issues, therefore, outline a number a key complaints LR made against the Wilson Line throughout its interactions with the firm, and demonstrate some of the ways the Society responded to the Wilson family. As shown, by far the most common LR response was to stand firm in support of its operational activity, particularly when elements of that activity were directly challenged by the Wilsons, compliance with the rules and regulations being the obvious example. Any such issue that could not be solved by the attending surveyors was immediately escalated up the outport network to the Society's chief engineers and even to the GC who, as demonstrated, were on hand to enforce the rules and regulations in the face of Wilson challenges. This firm response was not unique to the Society's engagement with the Wilson Line. Indeed, the enforcement and defence of the Society's practises was one of the key functions from the outset of both the outport network, and the teams of surveyors stationed around the world. However, the fact that LR remained steadfast in its dealings with the Wilson Line specifically is interesting in the context of appraising the firm itself, as this would have been unfamiliar territory for the family.

As demonstrated earlier, the Wilson Line was utterly dominant in and around the port of Hull, and this dominance extended across the seas to secure the firm a large monopoly of liner services across various routes, not least those across the North Sea to Europe. The Wilsons, therefore, were well accustomed to using their power and status to influence and intimidate business clients and rivals for their own gain, so encountering a large organisation as unwavering in its commitment to its rules and regulations as LR would likely have come as a shock to the system. This would explain why the family looked to LR-alternatives for just under half of its fleet, choosing to avoid interactions with LR whenever possible. Where avoidance

[241] Evans, "The Making of a Mosaic", 159.

[242] *Ibid.*

was not an option, the Wilsons deployed many of their most common intimidation tactics to try and influence the Society, and it is worth studying these interactions, particularly from the perspective of the Wilson Line, in order to understand just how difficult the relationship between the two became.

3.4.2 Wilson Line issues with, and action against Lloyd's Register

Although the Society's identification of faults and issues was often the trigger for disagreements between LR and the Wilson Line, complaints were not limited to, nor only generated by one side of this conversation. Indeed, the Wilsons made frequent complaints against the Society and its work whenever they felt aggrieved in one way or another.

Issues arose for a number of reasons, not least the fact that the Wilsons were unimpressed with the quality of the Society's rules and regulations, frequently attempting to circumvent restrictions. However, it is also clear that family were equally unimpressed with the quality of the Society's work on a number of occasions. Perhaps the best example can be found in the documents relating to the *Rosario*, launched in 1883. In January the following year, the Wilsons wrote to LR to complain about 'a quantity of defective work' that had been discovered after the *Rosario* made a short three-week voyage to Riga.[243] Blaming these issues on the fact that the Society's 'unsatisfactory' survey work did not uncover them, the Wilsons stated that they 'certainly expected that, as we pay for your [LR's] surveyors, the work would be completed in a proper manner', a rather polite example of what could be scathing Wilson criticism.[244] However, the family did not stop there. When LR commissioned an immediate special survey of *Rosario* in response to the above complaints, the Wilson Line made sure that the Society's surveyors would not be working alone. In their subsequent report, LR surveyors James McNeil and Charles Davidson noted that:

> the survey was held in the presence of Mr Cole, manager, Mr McQuire, foreman rivetter of the Earles Shipbuilding Co […], Captain Rutter, marine superintendent, Mr Cameron, engineer, Mr Wilkins, ship inspector and Mr Winker, [his] assistant, all representing the owners.[245]

[243] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-HUL396-0229-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Thomas Wilson Sons & Co, Hull to the Secretary, Lloyd's Register, London, complaining about defective work on the vessel & expecting the surveyors to examine *Rosario* in a proper manner, 10th January 1884.

[244] *Ibid.*

[245] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-HUL396-0229-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Charles Davidson & James McNeil, Surveyors, Lloyd's Register, Hull to the Secretary, Lloyd's Register, London detailing at length their survey of an account of the most recent voyage, & describing the defects mentioned in a complaint for *Rosario*.

This party of six individuals, sent by the Wilson Line to essentially monitor the survey work of LR, clearly illustrates the level of distrust held by the family towards the Society, and the poor impression the firm held of the quality of LR's work. It also, however, provides an example of the Wilsons seeking to intimidate the Society, a feature of the firm's interactions with LR that will be explored in more detail later in this section.

Hand in hand with perceived problems with the quality of work came the Wilsons irritation at the fees they were charged by the Society, a point of contention within the LRFHEC records for the aforementioned *Navarino*, which even found itself a topic of discussion by the GC. After an investigation into a newly fitted shade deck on the vessel by the Society's chief surveyor, Benjamin Martell, in late 1875, the Committee ordered that 'the class assigned to the S.S. *Navarino* be expunged from the Register Book, and that the owners be appraised accordingly', a move that, once again, came in response to a lack of compliance with the rules and regulations.[246] After their appeal to have the decision reconsidered was firmly rejected, the Wilsons sent the GC a letter directly, requesting that the fees they paid to have LR survey the *Navarino* be returned to them on account of the vessel not being classed.[247] In a response typical of the Society, the GC stood firm, stating that, as the fees were paid for survey work undertaken during the construction of the vessel, and at her initial classification, all of which had been completed, they failed 'to see any reasonable ground for such application', refusing to return the fees to the Wilsons.[248] This firm stance is all the more notable given the fact that the Society had already waived classification fees for the Wilson Line on *Navarino* the previous year. In December 1874, Hull surveyor William Davidson wrote to the Wilson Line to inform them that, owing to the firm's decision to not have the vessel classed by LR, the fees the Society had already charged the Wilsons for classification would be 'deducted' from their final bill.[249] Not only does this provide another example of the firm refusing to have a vessel classed with LR after a disagreement with the Society, it also demonstrates that the Society were prepared to waive fees under the right conditions, and explains why the Wilsons might have expected the Society to act in similar way in 1875.

[246] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1875, Meeting of the General Committee on 4th November 1875, 347.

[247] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1875, Meeting of the General Committee on 18th November 1875, 376.

[248] *Ibid.*

[249] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-IRON511-0042-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Copy of Letter from William Davidson, to Thomas Wilson Sons & Co, Hull, regarding *Navarino*, 30th December 1874.

Perhaps most importantly, however, the debates around fees for the *Navarino* show the Wilson Line taking direct issue with LR's staff in Hull, particularly William Davidson. Indeed, some of the strongest and most personal criticism found across the LRFHEC documents covering the Wilson Line was reserved for Davidson, particularly around his work on the *Navarino*. Frustrations reached their peak in March 1875 when the Society withheld survey certificates from the Wilson Line while awaiting fee payment from them, with the Wilsons refusing to pay until they were in receipt of the certificates. On 12 March, a Wilson letter stated that 'we suppose the person who represents you at Hull [Davidson] acts according to your order', asserting that they 'consider such services as he can render worthless to us', and stating that the Society had 'no right to annoy us in this manner without the slightest reason for doing so'.[250] Similar sentiments were echoed in another letter a few days later in which the Wilson Line, this time naming Davidson outright, stated that they 'cannot see what services Mr Davidson can render that are worth anything', taking issue with paying a 'large sum to this Mr Davidson for what he calls surveys'.[251] On 20 March, a letter to the Society from the Wilson Line opened with the wonderfully belligerent statement of 'gentlemen, it is not our fault that you employ people who carry no confidence with them', another jibe aimed at Davidson's work on the *Navarino*, and the following year, the Wilsons asserted that they had paid the Society survey fees 'for what really turned' into 'slurring the ships' character', again criticising the work of the Society and surveyors in Hull like Davidson.[252]

The Wilson Line, therefore, were quite prepared to single out surveyors deemed to have wronged them in some way, and the Society responded by defending its staff, dismissing much of the Wilson criticism of Davidson and affirming his decisions on the classification of *Navarino*. Simply standing by its surveyors, however, was not the only tool deployed by the Society in the face of scathing Wilson criticism. Head LRFHEC archivist, Max Wilson, recalled a disagreement between LR and the Wilson Line in which the Society opted to bring in a surveyor from elsewhere in the outport network to act as a mediator between the Hull surveyor team and the shipyard superintendents working on behalf the Wilson Line.[253] In

[250] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-IRON511-0042-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Thomas Wilson Sons & Co, to The Secretary, Lloyd's, regarding *Navarino*, 12th March 1875.

[251] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-IRON511-0042-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Thomas Wilson Sons & Co, to Bernard Waymouth, London, regarding *Navarino*, 17th March 1875.

[252] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-IRON511-0042-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Thomas Wilson Sons & Co, to Bernard Waymouth Esq, London, regarding *Navarino*, 20th March 1875; LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-IRON511-0042-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Thomas Wilson Sons & Co, to B. Waymouth Esq, The Secretary, Lloyd's Register, London, regarding *Navarino*, 9th May 1876.

[253] M. Wilson, [Personal Communication] 10 February 2023. Lloyd's Register Foundation Heritage and Education Centre Archive.

addition to demonstrating just how far the working relationship between the two had deteriorated, this reveals another useful tool in the LR arsenal, and provides another example of the outport network in action, with surveyors from elsewhere in the network on hand to help when situations demanded it.

The firm's combative approach to LR and its surveyors, although notable, will likely come as no surprise to those familiar with the Wilson Line and its dealings with rivals. As previously stated, the firm, and particularly the leading members of the family, were well versed in tactics of intimidation, and were known for attempting to the throw the weight of the firm around to aggressively defend itself and its interests. The historiography on the Wilson Line is abundant with examples of this approach to business. Starkey noted the case of Det Forenede Dampskibs-Selskab (DFDS), with whom the Wilson Line fought a price war, the Wilsons threatening to run its vessels at a nil rate to drive DFDS out of certain ports.[254] The Wilson Line adopted a similarly brazen approach to the Shipping Federation. Harrower states that after the Wilsons had consistently refused to subscribe to the Shipping Federation, the latter body threatened to 'ensure that all marine insurance and indemnity bodies would boycott' Wilson ships.[255] Charles H. Wilson 'promptly retaliated by forming his own indemnity association and the Federation's threat had to be withdrawn'.[256]

Both cases provide clear examples of the tactics of intimidation adopted by the Wilson Line, and LR were certainly not immune from this approach. As has already been demonstrated in the case of the *Rosario*, the Wilsons were prepared to send parties of people to simply watch the Society's surveyors at work, the group reporting back to the family to keep them up to date with LR's presence on their vessels. In addition to this physical intimidation, the family were also known to make surveyors lives more difficult in other ways. In June 1879, surveyors working on board the newly-acquired *Bassano* reported that they had uncovered 'a defect […] in the mizzen mast at about five feet above deck', but acknowledged that its 'extent could not be fully ascertained' as the attending ship's husband refused to completely expose the decayed parts because 'he had no instructions from his owners to do so'.[257] This directly suggests that the Wilsons were instructing staff on board their vessels on what they could and

[254] D.J. Starkey, "Lecture Eight: Merchant and Commercial Shipping and the Wilson Line", Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City K Lecture Series, 19 July 2021.

[255] Harrower, *Wilson Line*, 20.

[256] *Ibid.*

[257] A "Ship's Husband" is an agent, based on land and working on behalf of the vessel owners, who is responsible for the management, provisioning and maintenance of the vessel when in port. LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-IRON489-0203-R, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Report of Survey for Repairs, &c for *Bassano*, 6th June 1879.

could not allow attending surveyors to observe, preventing the Society from completing full surveys and making the working life of the surveyors on site increasingly difficult.

This tactic of intimidation, aimed at surveyors through either pressure or inconvenience, was also deployed in Wilson conversations with the Society as a whole. Indeed, a common tactic deployed by the family in their interactions with LR was simply to refuse to classify vessels with the Society, with the cases of the *Pacific* and the *Navarino* providing clear examples of this. But the family were prepared to take these Society-wide threats a step further. In June 1910 during the arguments around classing the *Ariosto* before her sale, Tommy Wilson, then the second Lord Nurnburnholme, threatened to take the family's survey and classification businesses elsewhere entirely, stating that LR's 'severe treatment [of] Ariosto does not encourage us to favour your register for new ships'.[258] As demonstrated in Section 3.3 of this chapter, this threat to move the firm's business across to other classification societies was certainly one that the Wilsons were prepared to follow through on, with just under half the Wilson fleet either not classed by the Society or clearly classed elsewhere. Indeed, Charles H. Wilson had threatened, and committed to, similar action well before Tommy. At a meeting on 25 October 1888, the GC reported the receipt of a letter from Charles Wilson which directly requested the removal of LR classification from all Wilson Line vessels then contained in the register books.[259] Without any hesitation, perhaps to the surprise of the Wilsons, the GC complied with the request, stating that, for the Wilson fleet, 'the characters of the vessels be withdrawn from the Register Book and that three dots be inserted in each case in lieu thereof indicating that they are withdrawn at the owners request'.[260] No reason for Charles' request could be found during this research project, but it is clear that by the mid-1870s, the Wilson Line had frequently looked elsewhere for classification services, occasionally in addition to, but more often to replace, classification with LR. Indeed, in 1873, when their vessel *Hindoo* became a topic of focus for Samuel Plimsoll in his campaign for load line legislation, the Wilson Line published a formal response in which the firm stated that they had '38 steamers running, all classed in the Liverpool Underwriters' Association'.[261] Not only does this demonstrate that the firm were regularly utilising other classification societies in the decade before Charles'

[258] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-HUL426-0094-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Translation of Telegram from Nunburnholme to the Lloyd's Register, complaining of the negative treatment & asking to reconsider doubling the Sheerstrake for *Ariosto*, 10th June 1910.

[259] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1887-88*,* Meeting of the General Committee on 25th October 1888, 227.

[260] *Ibid.*

[261] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-IRON453-0431-R, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Statement by shipowner Thomas Wilson, Sons & Co in response to comments made in the House of Commons in relation to the condition of *Hindoo*, 31st March 1873.

decision to withdraw all LR classification, but it also shows that the firm were advertising their lack of classification with the Society to a parliamentary discussion of increasing importance and certainly did not see a lack of LR classification as any reason to question the quality of their vessels.

Regardless of the motivation behind the move to withdraw the fleet from LR class, this example of the escalation of threats towards LR deployed by the Wilson Line introduces another key element in the firm's arsenal of intimidation, the involvement of leading members of the family. As has already been evidenced in this chapter, Charles H. Wilson was frequently involved in correspondence with LR, and with particular venom in both the demanding of high classification in the case of the *Navarino*, and in complaints against the quality of the Society's work aboard *Rosario*. Much like the firm's intimidation tactics, the dealings of the strong-willed and short-tempered Charles Wilson appear recurrently in the historiography, with Harrower labelling him an 'autocratic and […] hard employer' who could be 'rude and forthright' in business interactions.[262] Given the strong tone with which he handled interactions with LR, it would come as no surprise to hear that this was the impression that Charles left on the Society, but he was not the only leading member of the family to take issue with LR and its work. Like his father, Charles Henry Wellesley Wilson, known as Tommy, could be equally forthright in his own interactions with the Society, not least in the case of the *Ariosto* in which he directly threatened to take the family's business away from LR. However, Tommy's fiery interactions with LR are all the more notable for perhaps the most unexpected reason. At the time he threatened to completely withdraw the family's business from LR, Tommy Wilson was a serving member of the Society's GC.

Within three months of his ascension to vice-chairman of the Wilson Line on 21 October 1909, Tommy had been elected by the Hull Chamber of Commerce to sit and represent the port on the GC of LR alongside the Chamber's chairman Henry Samman, another Hull shipowner who had represented Hull on the GC since at least July 1895.[263] Indeed, Tommy Wilson retained his position on the GC until at least July 1916, his name having disappeared from the annual GC list in the register book for 1917. [264] This almost certainly came about as a result of the sale of the Wilson Line to Sir John Ellerman in November 1916, Tommy likely standing down from the GC once his own ties to shipping had been largely sold away. His

[262] Harrower, *Wilson Line*, 20.

[263] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1909-10*,* Meeting of the General Committee on 10th January 1910, 150.

[264] Lloyd's Register, *1917-18 Register Book, Vol. One: Sailing Vessels* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1918), ix.

presence on the GC was the only example of this from any member of the family throughout their years of ownership and management of the firm, representing the closest connection between the firm and the Society up to that point, although it was later continued under Ellerman's ownership through the election of Oswald Sanderson to the same position on the GC between 1921 and his death 1926.

Given the poor relationship between the family and LR firmly established in this chapter, Tommy's position within the Society may well come as a surprise, but his election to the GC was almost certainly not a coincidence. Although no confirmed reason for his move has been found, it is likely that, upon the arrival of the third generation of family-chairmen, the firm sought to attempt to influence its relationship with LR from the inside, using their position of utter dominance in the port of Hull to ensure Tommy's election to the GC through the Hull Chamber of Commerce. Certainly, it does not appear that the election was driven by any demand from LR for more Hull representation, Samman having served on the GC alone for 15 years prior to Tommy's election. Irrespective of the reasons for the appointment, however, it is abundantly clear that Tommy's position on the GC had little to no influence on the state of the relationship between the Society and the Wilson Line. Indeed, it could be argued that the relationship only worsened during the chairmanship of the third generation, the Wilson Line under Edward and Tommy having the lowest percentage of vessel acquisitions classed by LR of any version of the firm (see Table 3.1). Certainly, his LR position did not help sway LR's decision making in the Wilson Line's favour in interactions with the firm, as evidenced by the Society's defiant response to the direct threats and criticism from Tommy regarding the *Ariosto*. Nevertheless, it does show that the family sought to implement their tactics of intimidation not only in the firm's business interactions with LR, but also into the Society itself, however unsuccessful they may have been.

3.4.3 Lloyd's Register and Ellerman's Wilson Line

The tense and troubled relationship between the Wilson Line and LR, therefore, is abundantly clear to see within the Wilson documents held by LRFHEC, and the many interactions between the two addressed in this chapter demonstrate how difficult conversations could become. This further supports the quantitative analysis of Section 3.3, with both areas of research demonstrating the lack of cordiality and trust between the Society and the Wilson Line. What is equally clear from the Wilson Line documents, however, is that the relationship between the two only saw significant improvement after the Ellerman takeover of the Wilson Line in 1916, another assertion supported by the earlier data analysis.

From 1916, the documents relating to the firm are dominated by the much more procedural forms and reports found across the Ship Plans and Survey Reports collection, the argumentative Wilson letters replaced by far more collegial interactions between LR and the EWL. That is not to say there were no disagreements between the two, but they appear to have been conducted in a more respectful manner, both parties willing to listen and compromise, but also stand firm if necessary. This can be clearly observed in the case of the *Orlando*, a vessel built in 1904 and acquired by Ellerman upon the takeover of the Wilson Line. In 1929-1930, when the vessel was laid up in Hull awaiting minor repairs, LR informed the EWL that the *Orlando* was overdue for a special survey and that, in order to retain her class, she needed to complete the outstanding survey and repair work within the then lapsed year of grace allowed by the Society's rules.[265] The EWL responded by stating that the vessel was due to sail to the Mediterranean, and enquiring as to whether an upcoming 'passenger ticket survey' would be acceptable to the Society to secure 'an extension of her year of grace'.[266] Standing firm, the Society insisted upon the completion of the required special survey, but issued the EWL with a compromise, allowing the survey to be 'postponed provided it were held without fail on the vessel's return from her voyage to the Mediterranean, a voyage that ultimately did not take place, the *Orlando* continuing to be laid up.[267]

This interaction, while showing further evidence of LR's resolute defence of its rules and practises, demonstrates the far more respectful tone of communication the Society received from EWL compared to its family-run predecessors. It is also equally clear from these documents that the EWL committed to regular communication with LR, keeping the Society up-to-date with any relevant information and even asking permission to undertake certain actions. On 23 March 1931, the EWL wrote to LR to inform them of their intention to move both the *Orlando* and *Rollo* to Southend for permanent berth while the vessels were laid up, stating that the 'purpose of our letter is to ascertain whether you [LR] have any objection to either or both of these vessels proceeding under their own steam to Southend or any place that may be secured for their accommodation', especially in light of the overdue surveys.[268] This seeking of endorsement from LR prior to undertaking the voyage, which the Society did

[265] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W701-0258-F, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from A.M. Brown, Assistant Marine Superintendent, for Ellerman's Wilson Line Ltd, to Lloyds Registry of Shipping, London, regarding *Orlando*, 19th August 1929.

[266] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W701-0258-F, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Form of Postponed Surveys for *Orlando*, 30th June 1930.

[267] *Ibid.*

[268] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W701-0258-F, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Henry Stonehouse, Marine Superintendent, for Ellerman's Wilson Line Ltd, to Lloyds Registry of Shipping, Hull, regarding *Orlando*, 23rd March 1931.

approve, shows the respect the EWL held towards the Society, representing a marked improvement in relations between LR and the Wilson Line and being a far cry from the Wilson family simply ignoring LR even when approached directly. Another example of this can be found in the documents relating to the *Leo*, launched in 1908 as the second Wilson vessel of that name. In April 1932, the EWL wrote to LR's head office to challenge a decision to require the *Leo* to comply with various 'timber load line' regulations, stating that the Society were 'under a misapprehension as to our requirements in connection with this vessel', a far more muted and respectful approach to complaints than those made by the Wilson family.[269] In response, the Society, through both the Hull surveyor team and the general secretary, acknowledged the mistake, stating that all the incorrect timber regulations 'need not be complied with' in this instance, providing not only another example of the amiable interactions between the two, but also introducing another noticeable feature of those interactions, the acknowledgement of mistakes.[270]

As evidenced by the example of the *Leo,* the acknowledgement of mistakes often came as direct result of miscommunication. On 19 July 1932, LR sent a firmly-worded letter to representatives of a sister Ellerman company, stating that the EWL did not inform the Society of the *Orlando*'s sale and subsequent voyage under tow to a breaking-up yard, a matter that 'should have been reported'.[271] Leslie Storey, a member of the clerical team in Hull referenced in Chapter 5, intervened, stating that, 'in fairness to the Ellerman's Wilson Line', the surveyors in the port had been informed of the move prior to the vessel leaving Hull, the surveyor team waiting for confirmation from the EWL of the vessel's destination before informing head office.[272] Hull surveyor J.H. Mackirdy confirmed Storey's account, after which the Society sent an apologetic note to the Ellerman group, stating that 'the Hull surveyors express regret that the information they had was not forwarded to this Office earlier which had they done so would certainly have kept the matter in order'.[273] In a similar fashion, the Society waived an electrical survey fee for the *Erato* which had been challenged by the EWL, the firm stating that

[269] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W410-0211-O, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Henry Stonehouse, Marine Superintendent, for Ellerman's Wilson Line Ltd, Hull, to Lloyd's Register, London, regarding Timber Load Line for Leo, 19th April 1932.

[270] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W410-0211-O, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Secretary of Lloyd's Register, London, to The Surveyors, Hull, requesting that the owners be informed that Timber freeboards are not required for *Leo*, 20th April 1932.

[271] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W701-0258-F, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Copy of a Letter to L.C. Harris, Esq, Ellerman & Bucknall Steamship Co Ltd, London, regarding *Orlando*, 19th July 1932.

[272] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W701-0227-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Leslie Storey to E Carey, Esq, London, regarding *Orlando*, 20th July 1932.

[273] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W701-0227-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Copy of a Letter to L.C. Harris, Esq, Ellerman & Bucknall Steamship Co Ltd, London, regarding *Orlando*, 26th July 1932.

the *Erato* had been ordered 'a very considerable time before any fees were asked for by Lloyd's for electric light installations'.[274] Acknowledging the error, the assistant to the secretary of the Society wrote to the EWL, stating that they had 'the pleasure to say that in the circumstances the Society's surveyors have been instructed that the charge is not to be pressed', another example of the cordial exchanges between the two, especially when compared to the handling of similar fee-related issues by the family years earlier.[275]

This acknowledgement of mistakes and issues was equally present on the part of the EWL. When the Society informed the firm that an updated classification notice would not be issued for the *Dynamo* 'until the electrical installation is placed in order' following the discovery of a number of faults, the EWL quickly acknowledged the errors, assuring the Society that the faults would 'receive our attention as soon as possible'.[276] The complete lack of tension within these interactions only serves to further the assertion that the relationship between the Wilson Line and LR only saw significant improvement after the arrival of the EWL, the two parties approaching collaboration with a level of respect and cordiality that would have been unrecognisable to the Society of the nineteenth century dealing with the combative and difficult family. Perhaps the simplest demonstration of this improved relationship, however, can be found in the exchange of letters following the loss of the *Darino* to enemy action in December 1939. The managing director of another Ellerman firm, Ellerman and Papayanni Lines Ltd, wrote to the Society's staff to thank them for their letters, noting the Ellerman-group's 'entire agreement' with LR's proposals to 'make a record of these losses in the Society's Register Book'.[277] This expression of gratitude, given in response to LR contacting the firm after the loss of one their vessels, provides a clear and concise demonstration of the

[274] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W36-0234-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from W.S. Hide, Superintending Engineer for Ellerman's Wilson Line Ltd, to Lloyds Register, Aberdeen, regarding fees for *Erato*, 9th November 1923.

[275] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W36-0230-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from the Assistant to the Secretary for Lloyd's Register, London, to Ellerman's Wilson Line Ltd, Hull, regarding fees relating to electric lighting installation survey for *Erato*, 20th November 1923.

[276] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W29-0004-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from Clerk to the Lloyd's Register Classification Committee, to Ellerman's Wilson Line Ltd, Hull, regarding examination of the electrical system for *Dynamo*, 24th February 1943; LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W29-0003-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from W.P. Brackenbury, Superintendent Engineer, Ellerman's Wilson Line Ltd, to Lloyd's Register of Shipping, Wokingham, regarding arrangements to correct the insulation faults found in the electrical system on board *Dynamo*, 2nd March 1943.

[277] LRFHEC, LRF-PUN-W452-0128-L, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Letter from R. Ennuf, Managing Director, for Ellerman & Papayanni Lines Ltd, Liverpool to Clerk to the Classification Committee, Lloyd's Register, Wokingham, regarding the record to be made in the Register Book after the sinking of *Darino*, 18th December 1939.

improvement in the relations between the Society and the Wilson Line under the ownership and management of the Ellerman group.

3.5 Lloyd's Register and the Wilson Line: a troubled relationship

The evidence detailed in this chapter clearly illustrates the troubled relationship LR maintained with one of Hull's most significant maritime firms, demonstrating how the Society engaged with the Wilson Line specifically while also providing a glimpse into its interactions with both Hull's mercantile community, and large British shipping companies more generally. The tense nature of the interactions between the two fosters questions of the causal factors at play which, in the absence of definitive evidence from the Wilson family directly, can only answered speculatively. Nevertheless, the evidence presented in this chapter certainly alludes to some possibilities.

For example, it is abundantly clear that LR's steadfast defence of its own modus operandi became the source of significant irritation to a family-firm that expected to be able to use its size and status to influence the Society. The family frustration, on display within the correspondence between the two organisations, is indicative of a firm caught off-guard by a business partner so resolute in its insistence on vessel construction and maintenance. It certainly appears that the Wilsons prioritised the volume of shipping at work over any thought of first-rate vessel quality and operations, focusing on getting vessels to sea as often as possible, and cutting costs and corners where necessary to achieve this. In pursuit of these goals, the Wilson's found themselves frequently at odds with an organisation like LR that willingly and routinely highlighted Wilson corner-cutting and insisted on those issues being rectified. To add insult to injury, the firm were then charged survey fees for a process which, in the eyes of the Wilson family, delayed the classification process through an obsession with minor detail.

It is, therefore, no real surprise that the Wilson's took issue with LR with such regularity. The Society's operational playbook was the antithesis of the firm's approach to shipping, serving as a hindrance to the rapid vessel turnaround and cost-cutting that saw the family rise to a monopolistic position across the North Sea. Given the competitive nature of the business of shipping, it is highly likely that the firm's competitors would have adopted similar means of operation, and would, therefore, have also found themselves at odds with the Society's insistence on quality vessel construction and maintenance. It is, however, very difficult to assess the typicality of the strained relationship between the Wilson Line and LR owing to the limited historiography. In its quantitative and qualitative analysis of the relationship between the two organisations, this chapter provides one of the only firm-focused

appraisals of LR's work, offering the first indication of LR's approach to large shipping companies. Consequently, it is currently impossible to make assessments of typicality with any degree of certainty. It is, however, possible to speculate that other large-scale shipping companies would have also taken issue with LR's dogged pursuit of quality, and no doubt queried and challenged issues where necessary, although perhaps not with the fire of members of the Wilson family. Nevertheless, as a distinctive feature of its maritime history, the Wilson Line are an important lens to observe LR's work in the port of Hull. However, as mentioned at the start of the chapter, the Wilson Line are just one of two such distinctive features utilised by this enquiry. The second, the subject of the following chapter, focuses on the Society's work in one of Hull's major areas of maritime activity, trawling.

Chapter 4 Lloyd's Register and Trawling

Following the analysis of LR's interactions with the Wilson Line, this chapter presents a second distinctive feature of Hull's maritime history that can illuminate the Society's work in and around the community of the port. Indeed, in no other port in the country did trawling, alongside significant mercantile activity, grow to account for such a large share of the maritime business as it did in Hull. By investigating the Society's involvement in surveying and classifying the port's trawlers, this chapter sheds further light on LR's relationship with the maritime community in Hull, and introduces to the vast trawling historiography a new angle from which the industry can be analysed.

As stated by Robb Robinson, it would have been 'fair' to label fishing history as 'a neglected area of academic study', even well into the late 1980s.[278] Indeed, much of the early fishing and trawling literature centred on the production of densely-packed overviews, good examples being Holdsworth's *Deep-Sea Fishing and Fishing Boats* (1874) and *Sea Fisheries* (1877-83), Anson's *Fishing Boats and Fisher Folk* (1930), *and* Howell's 1921 work *Ocean Research and the Great Fisheries*.[279] There were some exceptions to this overview trend however, one example being Elder's 1912 work on the Royal Fishery Companies during the seventeenth century, which Robinson described as a 'substantial work' that 'helped set standards for the objective study of fisheries history in the twentieth century'.[280] In addition to Elder, *The Sea Fisheries* by Jenkins introduced an detailed assessment of the industry from the perspective of a lawyer, and Morgan's *World Sea Fisheries* also expanded on the descriptive overview model, analysing the world's major fishing areas to 'assess their relative importance'.[281] This inclusion of a degree of analysis and assessment marks the works of Morgan, Jenkins and Elder out from many of the other descriptive works that emerged during the early twentieth century.

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[278] R. Robinson, "Hook, Line and Sinker: Fishing History – Where We Have Been, Where We Are Now and Where Are We Going?', *MM*, 97 (2011), 167.

[279] G.C.L. Howell, *Ocean Research and the Great Fisheries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), 7; P.F. Anson, *Fishing Boats and Fisher Folk on the East Coast of Scotland* (London, Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1930); E.W.H. Holdsworth, *Deep-sea Fishing and Fishing Boats: An Account of the Practical Working of the Various Fisheries Around the British Islands with Illustrations and Descriptions of the Boats, Nets and Other Gear in Use* (London: Edward Stanford, 1874); E.W.H. Holdsworth, *The Sea Fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland: An Account of the Practical Working of the Various Fisheries Around the British Islands,* (London: Edward Stanford, 1883).

[280] Robinson, "Hook, Line and Sinker", 168; J.R. Elder, *The Royal Fishery Companies of the Seventeenth Century* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1912).

[281] R. Morgan, *World Sea Fisheries* (London: Methuen, 1956), vii; J.T. Jenkins, *The Sea Fisheries* (London: Constable, 1920).

Another notable portion of the literature on British trawling tailored its content and style to suit a more casual audience. For example, some of the most useful reference works for this chapter, such as Mike Thompson's *Hull's Side-Fishing Trawling Fleet* (1987) and *Hull and Grimsby's Stern Trawling Fleet* (1988), are essentially ship lists, produced to give a sense of the scale of trawling activity in ports like Hull.[282] In a similar fashion to Thompson's and Harrower's work on the Wilson Line in Chapter 3, these fleet lists have been heavily utilised to cross-compare trawling fleet data with the register books of LR within this chapter, in addition to charting the progression of technology which was particularly relevant to LR's interaction with the industry. However, beyond a small amount of biographical information on each trawling company, the works are simple lists, with little room for analysis. Certainly, they make no attempt to appraise the work of organisations like LR in trawling, utilising the records of the Society solely in the form of the register books. Likewise, Nicklin and O'Driscoll's *Trawler Disasters, 1946-1975*, published in 2010, references the work of LR in trawling through the register books alone, citing 'Lloyd's Registers' rather than specific documents and articles.[283] These general audience works, therefore, are immensely useful reference tools, but lack major analytical contributions to the literature, and clearly identity the historiographical gap this chapter seeks to fill.

Many of these general audience works are tailored to specific ports, and for Hull, these have been produced most notably by Alec Gill and Brian Lavery.[284] It can be strongly argued that no other author has brought the tales of Hull's Hessle Road to life more frequently than Alec Gill, and his works are important contributions to the literature. However, their focus on narrative detail over analytical assessment slightly reduces their overall utility in the historiography on trawling, and this can be seen again in contributions of Lavery. His work, *The Headscarf Revolutionaries*, for example, is one of the only large-scale studies of the work of Lillian Bilocca and the Hull wives campaign in the aftermath of the Triple Trawler Tragedy in 1968, and *The Luckiest Thirteen* provides a focused account of the loss of the Hull trawler *St. Finbarr* in 1966.[285] In bringing such topics to the attention of the wider general public, and in

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[282] M. Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Trawling Fleet 1946-86* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1987); M. Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet 1961-88* (Beverley: Hutton Press Ltd, 1988).

[283] J. Nicklin & P. O'Driscoll, *Trawler Disasters 1946-1975: from Aberdeen, Fleetwood, Hull, and Grimsby* (Stroud: Amberley, 2010).

[284] See A. Gill, *Lost Trawlers of Hull: Nine hundred losses between 1835 and 1987* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1989); A. Gill, *Good Old Hessle Road: Stories of Hull's Trawling and community life* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1991); A. Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage: Aspects of life in the Hessle Road Fishing Community* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2018).

[285] B.W. Lavery, *The Luckiest Thirteen: The Forgotten Men of St. Finbarr – A Trawler Crew's Battle in the Arctic* (Hull, London: Barbican Press, 2017); B.W. Lavery, *The Headscarf Revolutionaries: Lillian Bilocca and the Triple Trawler Disaster of 1968* (Hull, London: Barbican Press, 2015).

providing easily accessible accounts of these events, Lavery's work are valuable contributions to the literature. However, like the majority of these non-specialist, general audience works, they focus on detail over significant analysis, and little attention is afforded to groups involved in the mitigation of risk like LR.

Despite the prevalence of narrative overview works, there has been a substantial academic output relating to the fisheries, building on the earlier work of authors like Cushing, Borgstrom and Heighway, and Traung, alongside *The Cod Fisheries* by Harold Innis, and Graham's *Sea Fisheries*.[286] Indeed, Graham's work represents one of the first significant academic works on the British fishing industry, and, as an edited volume, was particularly notable for its collaborative approach to fisheries research, using fishing as a lens through which other subjects could be analysed. The 1990s were punctuated by the arrival of further academic research into the British fishing industry, particularly trawling. Robb Robinson's *Trawling: The Rise and Fall of the British Trawl Fisheries*, first published in 1996, contains the most detailed and comprehensive academic coverage of trawling found in the literature.[287] Similarly, *England's Sea Fisheries*, originally published in 2000, collated the research of twenty-six authors in an overarching study of the commercial fisheries of England and Wales from the Middle Ages right up until the book's publication.[288] However, neither work appraises the work of LR in trawling, again demonstrating the gap this chapter looks to fill.

Aside from these major works, the majority of the academic research on the fisheries undertaken after the 1980s was published in articles, particularly after the arrival of *Studia Atlantica*, a series of publications generated by the North Atlantic Fisheries History Association [hereafter NAFHA]. NAFHA's principal aim is to 'enhance research in the history of the North Atlantic fisheries from the Middle Ages to the late twentieth century', and the *Studia Atlantica* series contains papers presented at NAFHA conferences since 1995, along with other research articles on the fisheries of the North Atlantic, representing a major addition to fisheries

[286] See G. Borgstrom & A.J. Heighway (eds), *Atlantic Ocean Fisheries: Catching, Processing and Marketing* (London: Fishing News, 1961); Jan-Olof Traung (ed.), *Fishing Boats of the World* (London: Fishing News, 1955), volume 1; D.H. Cushing, *The Arctic Cod: A Study of Research into the British Trawl Fisheries* (London: Pergamon Press, 1966); H.A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954); M. Graham (ed.), *Sea Fisheries: Their Investigation in the United Kingdom* (London: Edward Arnold, 1956).

[287] R. Robinson, *Trawling: The Rise and Fall of the British Trawl Fisheries* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996).

[288] D.J. Starkey, C. Reid & N. Ashcroft (eds.), *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000).

historiography and literature.[289] Certainly, it would be fair to argue that, in addition to works like Robinson's *Trawling*, and *England's Sea Fisheries*, the formation of *Studia Atlantica* was one of the seminal advances in the academic study of Britain's fishing industry. Many articles, however, have also been published elsewhere and a number of key themes have emerged, not least the safety and mortality of trawlers and trawlermen, building on landmark works on the subject by Schilling, Moore, Reilly, Roberts and, perhaps most famously, Jeremy Tunstall.[290] In addition to these works, Robert Mumby-Croft's investigation into the conditions aboard UK distant-water trawlers, published in two articles in 1999, represents one of the most detailed investigations into the conditions faced by trawlermen on the distant-water grounds, and Capes and Robinson's 2008 article in *The Mariner's Mirror* deals exclusively with the historical health and safety of British distant-water trawling. [291] This work is also particularly strong on government intervention in the industry, arguing that the government took a 'traditional reaction to disaster rather than a pro-active and preventative approach to welfare and safety at sea' which created a serious block in attempts to pursue improvements in industry health and safety legislation.[292] As shall be demonstrated, this reactionary approach could be seen to a certain extent in the work of LR in trawling, making the analysis of the government in this article an important study for this chapter in particular. Despite this however, the many articles published on trawling have continued to overlook an overall assessment of the role of organisations like LR. Chris Reid uses the register books to corroborate trawler statistics from *World Fishing's* survey of new trawler construction in the twentieth century, providing one example of an academic use of LR material to study trawlers.[293] However, this again raises the

[289] J. Th. Thór, "Publisher's Preface", in G. Th. Jóhannesson, *Troubled Waters: Cod War, Fishing Disputes, and Britain's Fight for the Freedom of the High Seas* (North Atlantic Fisheries History Association, 2007), 7.

[290] See R.S.F. Schilling, "Trawler Fishing: An Extreme Occupation", *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 59 (1966), 405-10; S.R.W. Moore, "The Occupation of Trawl Fishing and the Medical Aid available to the Grimsby Deep Sea Fishermen", *British Journal of Industrial Medicine*, 26 (1969), 1-24; S.R.W. Moore, "The Mortality and Morbidity of Deep-sea Fishermen Sailing from Grimsby in One Year", *British Journal of Industrial Medicine*, 226 (1969), 25-46; M.S.J. Reilly, "Mortality from Occupational Accidents to United Kingdom Fishermen 1961-80", *British Journal of Industrial Medicine,* 42 (1985), 806-14; S.E. Roberts, "Hazardous Occupations in Great Britain", *Lancet*, 360 (2002), 543-4; S.E. Roberts, "Occupational Mortality in British Commercial Fishing, 1976-95", *Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, 61 (2004), 16-23; S.E. Roberts, "Britain's Most Hazardous Occupation: Commercial Fishing", *Accident Analysis and Prevention*, 42 (2010), 44-9; J. Tunstall, *The Fishermen: The Sociology of an Extreme Occupation* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1969).

[291] R. Mumby-Croft, "The Living Conditions Onboard UK Distant-Water Trawlers, 1945-1970", *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du nord*, 9 (1999), 25-33; R. Mumby-Croft, "The Working Conditions on UK Trawlers, 1950-1970", *IJMH*, 11 (1999), 163-80; S. Capes & R. Robinson, "Health and Safety in the British Deep-Sea Trawl Fisheries during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", *MM*, 94 (2008), 298-313.

[292] Capes & Robinson, "Health and Safety", 305, 307

[293] C. Reid, "Britain's Most Antiquated Industry: Mr. Tunstall and the Fishing Industry", *IJMH*, 22 (2010), 171-97.

issue that, other than the referencing of register books by the likes of Reid and Thompson, none of the works mentioned within this review have utilised the other valuable primary archival holdings of the LRFHEC. By deploying such material to assess LR's interactions with the Hull trawling fleet, this chapter looks to rectify this.

4.1 Lloyd's Register and Trawling

From the introduction of steam trawlers in the late-nineteenth century, LR maintained a serious interest in the development of trawling, with no port offering a better opportunity for LR to engage with the sector than Hull. As stated by Robinson, by the end of the 1880s, 'Hull and Grimsby had embarked upon a large-scale replacement' of their older sailing smacks by 'steam trawlers', and the two ports continued to embrace new trawler technologies, often at an earlier stage than other trawling centres around the UK.[294] During the final two decades of the nineteenth century, Hull and Grimsby began to play 'a major role in the development of the purpose-built steam-screw trawler', a vessel design that drew the interest of LR who sought to use experiences in Hull and Grimsby to extend its own outreach through the development of a unique set of rules and regulations for the construction of trawlers.[295] Trawling interests in the Humber, particularly in Hull, continued to push the development of trawler technology well into the twentieth century, with changes in ownership patterns allowing trawling companies in Hull to 'pursue a policy of replacing their vessels' far more regularly than other major fishing centres.[296] It can, therefore, be argued that the opportunity to engage with trawling in Hull was one of the key factors behind the Society's decision to maintain a larger technical staff in the port than its dwindling shipbuilding output warranted during the twentieth century (see Chapters 2 and 5). Those surveyors were tasked with increasing the Society's involvement in trawling through three key areas of operation: surveying, developing a new set of LR rules and regulations; and classifying vessels.

4.1.1 The Surveying of Trawlers

Surveying the nation's trawlers was perhaps the major contribution of LR to distant-water trawling, providing regular checks on vessels as quality assurance for the UK trawling fleet. In many ways, and perhaps to the detriment of its overall utility, LR approached trawlers in the same way it dealt with merchant vessels, its survey work falling into one of two categories. Vessels could be surveyed by the Society either during or after construction. As the name

[294] Robinson, *Trawling,* 83.

[295] Robinson, *Trawling*, 91.

[296] Sea-Fish Commission for the United Kingdom, *Second Report: The White Fish Industry* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1936), 14.

suggests, surveys during construction required an LR surveyor to monitor the construction process, and perhaps the best summary of this can be found in the Society's 1939 *Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Steel Trawlers*, which states that:

> During the progress of construction, from the laying of the keel to the completion of the vessel, it is the duty of the surveyors to examine the material and workmanship in order to ensure that the requirements of the rules and the approved plans are satisfactorily carried out. The surveyors are required to point out as early as possible anything that is objectionable, or that is not in accordance with the rules or with the plans approved by the Committee for the particular vessel.[297]

Surveys during construction were a more intensive process compared to the other survey work undertaken by the Society. Whereas many surveys were annual affairs, the process of surveying a trawler during construction required regular inspections to ensure the Society's rules and regulations were being followed at every stage. For example, the Hull trawler *Arctic Outlaw*, originally named *St. Bartholomew,* was surveyed and inspected a total of 46 times between 18 May 1945 and 11 March 1946, with eight vessel-surveys undertaken in February 1946 alone.[298] The machinery and equipment of trawlers built under survey were subjected to an equally intensive process. In the seven months between September 1945 and March 1946, the *Outlaw*'s machinery faced a total of 43 surveyor visits, and its boilers were inspected 35 times. Trawlers that underwent this survey process were awarded an additional classification in the Society's register books, identified by a Maltese Cross (✠) before both the vessel and machinery classifications. As shown later in the chapter in Table 4.1, the Maltese Cross was frequently inserted against the names of Hull trawlers.

Wherever possible, the Society preferred to survey during construction, primarily to ensure that new trawlers were as up-to-date as possible and built in accordance with its rules and regulations. Indeed, according to the rules and regulations, even surveys of repair work undertaken on trawlers would, like surveys during construction, be 'carried out under the inspection and to the satisfaction of the Society's surveyors' wherever possible.[299] However, LR also devoted significant effort to the surveying of vessels after construction had been completed, and the trawlers of the Hull fleet were no exception. Trawlers that had not been built under survey were required to have a special initial examination before LR classification

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[297] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Steel Trawlers* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1939), 9-10.

[298] LRFHEC, Ship Plans and Survey Reports, Documents for the *Arctic Outlaw* (Formerly *St. Bartholomew*/*Stella Arcturus*, Survey Report for *St. Bartholomew*, 1946 [Accessed in person 09/04/2019, so no online LRFHEC reference code].

[299] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1939*, 12.

could take place. Plans and drawings from the construction of the vessel were to be submitted to the surveyors, and the vessel itself would have to be 'thoroughly examined', including inspections of the machinery, boilers and electrical equipment, often to a more detailed extent than those built under survey.[300]

Once such work had been completed, trawlers surveyed by LR, both during and after construction, were subjected to regular post-construction surveys, occurring either annually or at specified points in a vessel's lifespan. As stated in the 1939 *Rules and Regulations*, 'all vessels' were subject 'to annual or occasional surveys when practicable', and inspections of the hull, shell plating, transom, rudder trunk, castings and fittings were commonplace at such annual surveys, along with inspections of machinery, boilers and equipment when possible.[301] In addition to annual surveys, trawlers were also required to undergo periodical special surveys in accordance with LR's rules and regulations. In order for trawlers 'to retain the characters assigned to them in the Register book', they were 'required to be subjected to the periodical special surveys, designated No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3', taking place at '4 years, 8 years and 12 years respectively from the date of build'.[302] Each periodical special survey inspected the vessel and its equipment to a greater extent than the previous, and were designed to ensure that trawlers and all vessels were maintained to the highest possible standard throughout their years of service. For example, in the first of these special surveys, no less than two strakes fore and aft on each side of the trawler would be removed so that surveyors could ascertain the condition of the vessels' hull.[303] In the second periodical special survey, this requirement was increased to no less than three strakes, and by the third, enough material was to be removed to expose all the steel work for examination, along with the removal of all rust from the iron and steel throughout the vessel, and the recoating of all such surfaces.[304] This periodical and annual survey process was also adopted by LR for the machinery, boilers and electrical equipment for trawlers. The trawler rules for 1939 state that 'the machinery and boilers of all steam trawlers are to be surveyed annually if practicable, and in addition are to be submitted to a special survey upon the occasion of the vessels undergoing the special periodical surveys Nos. 1, 2, and 3, prescribed in the rules'.[305] Such surveys, therefore, helped to ensure consistency in the seagoing quality of the nation's trawling fleet, and ensured that

[300] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1939*, 33.

[301] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1939*, 12, 32.

[302] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1939*, 11.

[303] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1939*, 15.

[304] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1939*, 18, 21.

[305] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1939*, 25.

each vessel was held to the same standards, as set out in the Society's rules, throughout its operational life.

4.1.2 The Development of the Rules and Regulations for Trawlers

While surveying represented a major part of LR's activity in trawling, it was underpinned by the Society's *Rules and Regulations*. As stated in the Society's technical magazine in 1977, the 'primary purpose' of the rules and regulations was 'to convey to those with whom the Society does business what the Society requires and expects', and for building yards, they contained a detailed guide for the construction of vessels that would comply with LR's highest classification standards.[306] For LR, the rules provided the framework for the survey and classification of vessels around the world, and the Society's work in trawling provides an opportunity to study the development of the rules and regulations in more detail.

For example, it is evident that the first-hand experience of the Society's surveyors was crucial to the initial development of the regulations for trawlers. Interactions between the Society's surveyors and those engaged in trawling produced a greater understanding of the requirements of the industry, and led to recommendations for measures to be included in the rule books. In November 1883, the Society's Chief Surveyor submitted evidence to LR detailing the experience of the Grimsby North Sea Mutual Fishing Vessels Insurance Company on the topic of the appropriate scale of equipment for trawlers.[307] Based on this experience, LR's GC adopted a new table for the equipment of trawlers, appearing in the rule book for steel ships from 1884 onwards and becoming the first collection of rules targeted at trawlers specifically. In February 1889, the GC ordered the Sub-Committee of Surveyors to undertake a review of the table, and three months later, the Sub-Committee returned its report and the updated equipment table was incorporated into the rules for steel ships from 1889.[308]

Aside from internally driven research and experience, information that could contribute to the development of the rules was also gained from consultations with parties holding interests and experience within the area of work under review. Often, such consultations were undertaken by the LR Staff Association, whose members would meet to discuss papers and evidence submitted to them by those parties with vested interests in certain trades and industries. For example, in the 1920 to 1921 session, an article entitled

[306] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 108.

[307] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minutes, 1883-84, 171, Meeting on 29 November 1883, Recommendations of Sub-Committee for Surveyors, Unpublished Internal Report, 26 November 1883.

[308] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minutes, 1888-89, Meeting of the General Committee, 30 May 1889, 115.

"Drifting and Trawling" was submitted to the Staff Association with the purpose of describing the history of such activities, the principal characteristics of the vessels and gear employed in such work, and 'to suggest a few improvements which might be made in the structural details of the vessels'.[309] The reactions of the members of the Staff Association certainly suggest that the recommendations made by the paper were accepted as valid, with one member stating that 'the suggestions for improvements should be fully endorsed by the Surveyors'.[310] This is particularly significant as the paper was submitted to the Society in a period in which LR were preparing the most significant change to the rules and regulations regarding trawlers, and it is therefore likely that the discussions and information around this paper would have informed some decisions made in the following years, demonstrating that industry experience played a vital role in the development of rules and regulations tailored to trawlers.

The collation of evidence through the above research channels allowed LR to introduce rules and regulations for a wide range of vessels and facilities. As shown in Chapter 3, the Society produced a plethora of unique rules targeted at vessels of particular build materials, fuels and trades, among other criteria. However, given the largely anecdotal nature of such research, the Society often 'took a cautious approach' to the introduction of new rules 'to sustain the integrity of classification, […] delaying the issue of definitive rules until sufficient experience had been accumulated' by the Society itself.[311] According to the *Annals*, this caution could be traced back to the pre-reconstituted Society, that body being 'far behind the times in admitting steamers to classification'.[312] It appeared again in the introduction of the rules for steel ships, with Blake stating that the Society approached the arrival of steel in shipbuilding 'with characteristic caution'.[313] This can certainly be identified in the development of the rules and regulations for trawlers, hampering the overall impact the Society had in this industry.

It is clear that LR initially focused on the equipment for trawlers rather than the vessels themselves. In the editions of the rules and regulations available to this enquiry, the first notable reference to trawlers did not appear until the 1884-1885 edition, in which the specification and scale of a trawler's equipment was set out for the first time, a direct result of

[309] LRFHEC, *Transactions of the Lloyd's Register Staff Association* (1920-21), Paper No.1, S. Townshend & C. Bartlett, "Drifting and Trawling", 3.

[310] LRFHEC, *Transactions of the Lloyd's Register Staff Association* (1920-21), Paper No. 2, "Discussion on Mr. S. Townshend and Mr. C. Bartlett's Paper on Drifting and Trawling", 3.

[311] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 109.

[312] LR, *Annals* (1884), 27.

[313] Blake, *Lloyd's Register*, 72.

the aforementioned information from Grimsby put forward by the Chief Surveyor in November 1883.[314] This was a predictable move for LR to make given the fact that the first purpose-built steam trawler, the *Zodiac*, had only been completed a few years earlier, leaving little time for the Society to gain its desired level of information and experience for a unique set of rules and regulations. Indeed, for the rest of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, trawlers and other fishing vessels were built to, and assessed against the criteria of the rules and regulations for general ships, leaving the equipment as the only distinguishing feature for trawlers. Initially, this focus on equipment concentrated on the chains and anchor requirements for trawlers up to 80 registered tons, with the information presented remaining relatively unchanged until the publication of the 1889-1890 edition of the rules which incorporated the aforementioned recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Surveyors. For the first time, a distinction was drawn between sail and steam trawlers, and vessels up to 140 registered tons were now covered by the table of equipment, to which hawsers and warps had been added.[315] The following year, the specifications for chains included the recommended minimum weight for stud and short links, and by the 1900-1901 edition, the equipment table included details on the plating numbers for both sail and steam trawlers, a detail that was extended by four further grades by 1907.[316]

For the majority of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, therefore, the cautious approach of the Society meant that the small equipment table represented the only major focus of LR in producing trawler-specific rules. The Society did introduce other instructions for trawlers within the standard rules and regulations however. In the 1902-1903 edition, for example, a stipulation for steam trawlers was added to section 29 of the rules which dealt with engine and boiler openings and casings, and a table detailing the use of bulkhead stiffeners in trawlers and tugs was added to the rules in the 1922-1923 edition.[317] These additions, however, were piecemeal in nature, and trawlers continued to be assessed as

[314] Lloyd's Register, "Table of Equipment for Trawlers", in *Rules and Regulations for the Building and Classification of Iron Ships* (London: Wyman & Sons, 1884).

[315] Lloyd's Register, "Equipment for Sailing and Steam Trawlers", in *Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Iron Vessels* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1889).

[316] Lloyd's Register, "Table 22 – Equipment for Sailing and Steam Trawlers", in *Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Vessels* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1890); Lloyd's Register, "Equipment for Sailing and Steam Trawlers", in *Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Steel Vessels* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1900); Lloyd's Register, "Equipment for Sailing and Steam Trawlers and Tugs", in *Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Steel Vessels* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1906).

[317] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Steel Vessels* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1902), 83; Lloyd's Register, "Table 29: Bulkhead Stiffeners in Trawlers and Tugs", in *Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Steel Vessels* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1923), 255.

standard steel vessels until well into the 1920s, the Society's caution delaying the publication of a rule book for trawlers until 1927.

The 1920s, therefore, represented a major turning point for LR's work in trawling. By the end of the decade, the Society had taken the existing rules for trawlers from within the general rule books, and issued a separate specific volume of the rules targeted at the construction and classification of trawlers. The exact date for this rule book has caused a degree of confusion in the literature on LR. A list of the rules and regulations by Watson suggests that the first specific rule book for the construction of trawlers was introduced in 1925, and another list sent to this enquiry suggested that the publication occurred between 1925 and 1926.[318] However, this project found no evidence to suggest that a specific set of rules for trawlers had been published by this time. In reality, the evidence suggested that the first specific set of trawler rules and regulations, although in development in the years prior, was published in 1927. An entry in the GC minutes for 18 February 1926 revealed that a 'proposed draft rules for trawlers' had been referred to a special sub-committee consisting of several members including the chairman, and representatives from the ports of Aberdeen, Middlesbrough and Hull.[319] The fact a draft version of such rules already existed by February 1926 suggests that a specific set of rules for trawlers must have been in development during 1925, perhaps explaining the confusion around the publication date in the historiography. By June 1926, the GC reiterated that the draft rules needed to be 'agreed and recommended for approval' by that special sub-committee before they could be published, clearly demonstrating that the rules, although existing in draft form, had not been issued by middle of 1926.[320] That sub-committee submitted its report to the GC on 4 June 1927, and an entry for 16 June records the details of a special meeting of the GC at which the report was considered.[321] At that meeting, the GC ordered 'that the proposed rules and regulations be approved and adopted' as the *Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Steel Trawlers*, and approved a recommendation from the Society's Chief Surveyor that suggested the rules for steel ships needed to be re-arranged on the adoption of the new rules for trawlers.[322] A coversheet in the 1927 edition of the rules for steel vessels makes the change clear, stating

[318] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 367, Appendix 3: Selected Rules Published by Lloyd's Register.

[319] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minutes, 1925-26, Meeting of the General Committee on 18 February 1926, 130.

[320] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minutes, 1926-27, Meeting of the General Committee on 24 June 1926, 18.

[321] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minutes, 1926-27, Meeting of the General Committee on 16 June 1926, 352.

[322] *Ibid.*

that the rules for trawlers were now to be found in a new publication for trawlers specifically, providing further evidence for a 1927 publication date.[323] No such statement had been made in any rule book prior to this, and it can therefore be confidently asserted that the rules for trawlers were first issued in 1927.[324]

After this point, the rules and regulations for trawlers were updated and amended when the Society deemed it appropriate, and again this was hampered by the Society's caution. The foreword to the second edition of the 1961 rules for trawlers was particularly revealing, stating that, due to the advancements and revisions being made in trawler design at the time, particularly around the introduction of the stern trawler, the Society would wait until 'these matters have been finally resolved' before it would 'prepare a complete revision of the rules'.[325] The resulting 1969 publication of a second edition of the rules from 1961 was, in itself, a stop-gap 'interim measure' on the part of the LR to cover the growing list of amendments and additions that needed to be made to the rules for trawlers, a good example being the need to comply with the 1966 International Convention on Load lines, issued after the publication of the first edition of the 1961 rules.[326] This stop-gap approach was deployed again in July 1971, when the Society issued pamphlet containing additions and amendments to the second edition of the 1961 rules.[327] The pamphlet, which contained incremental changes to guidance on machinery, steam pipes, oil fuel bunkers and tanks, represented another interim measure utilised by the Society in place of a full revision of the rules and regulations, further demonstrating the cautious process by which LR updated its regulations.

Although the Society, therefore, endeavoured to keep its rules and regulations for trawlers up-to-date, it did so at a much slower pace than the industry would have liked. Between 1927 and 1971, there were at least seven revisions of the rules for trawlers, coming in 1939, 1949, 1955, 1958, 1961, 1969 and 1971, with the latter two arriving in the immediate aftermath of the Triple Trawler Tragedy. While this may have been a coincidence, it is likely the uproar caused by the disaster may have spurred the hesitant Society into limited action. Many

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[323] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Steel Vessels* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1927).

[324] Future access to editions of both the rules for steel vessels and the rules for steel trawlers will allow for a detailed examination of the differences between the two sets of rules. This project only had access to a limited number of rule books.

[325] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Steel Trawlers, 1961,* 2nd Edition (London: Lloyd's Register, 1969).

[326] *Ibid.*

[327] Lloyd's Register, *Notice No. 1 for the Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Steel Trawlers, 1961*, 2nd Edition (London: Lloyd's Register, 1971).

of the changes, as previously stated, were incremental in nature, and targeted the equipment rather than the design of the vessel itself. For example, between 1939 and 1969, LR added a detailed section on fire extinguishing provisions to the rules for trawlers, something that had been absent from the first edition of the rules available to this enquiry. The new guidance stated that all trawlers should have provisions for the fighting of fire, with trawlers under 150 gross tons required to have at least one power pump and trawlers over 150 gross tons required to have at least two - with a hose positioned at each end of the vessel.[328] All machinery spaces were also required to have a fire hydrant and hose, and oil-burning trawlers were to have at least one portable fire-extinguisher alongside bins containing sand or other fire-fighting materials.[329]

Such provisions were not the only incremental change made to the rules for trawlers. Another good example can be found in the required plans needed for trawler survey. In 1939, the rules and regulations provided only the vague statement that 'plans showing the details of scantlings and arrangements' were 'to be submitted through the local Surveyors for the approval of the Committee' prior to the start of any work.[330] By 1969, however, LR provided a full list of the exact plans the Society required, including documents on shell plating, watertight bulkheads, motor seating, and steering gear.[331] By the 1971 revisions, the list had been amended with the removal of the longitudinal section plans, and the inclusion of plans for propellers.[332] The survey process itself also faced incremental alterations. By 1969, LR had introduced a more in-depth set of regulations for the periodical special survey of trawlers, dependent on the age of the vessel under survey. For trawlers between five and ten years old, the periodical special surveys contained five further stipulations, including a closer inspection of the steel structure of the vessel.[333] Vessels aged ten years or older had to comply with these five additional regulations, but also faced a further nine, and vessels over 20 years old were required to comply with another two regulations.[334] Perhaps the most notable of these additional regulations revolved around the condition of the steel plating. In addition to the aforementioned drilling tests already required by the standard periodical special survey, all

[328] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1961,* 2nd Edition, 161-3.

[329] *Ibid.*

[330] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for the Construction and Classification of Steel Trawlers* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1939), 35.

[331] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1961,* 2nd Edition, 39-40.

[332] Lloyd's Register, *Notice No. 1 for Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1961,* 2nd edition, 4.

[333] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1961,* 2nd Edition, 20-1.

[334] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1961,* 2nd Edition, 21-3.

trawlers over 15 years old were subject to a closer inspection of plating, including drilling 'in at least two places in each strake of plating on each side within the midship half length'.[335] Trawlers over 20 years old were subject to such tests around those areas, but also in areas between the light and load water lines, and around deck openings, all of which was to be reported 'in detail' to the Classification Committee.[336]

Incremental, equipment focused changes, therefore, were common within the updated rules and regulations. Some changes, however, were slightly more significant, and reflected the Society's growing awareness of the requirements of trawlers. A good example here are the additional requirements for the strengthening of vessels for sailing through ice that appear in the 1969 edition of the trawler rules. In the earlier editions, no mention is made of a need to provide extra strengthening for navigation in ice, but by 1969, a full section had been added to the rules, containing additional requirements for framing forward and abaft of a trawler's collision bulkhead, instructions for an increase of shell plating thickness up to 50 per cent greater than the standard requirements, and a requirement that the diameter of the rudder-head be increased by ten per cent for navigation in ice.[337] This new guidance reflected a growing awareness within the Society of the conditions regularly faced by trawlers, and the requirements that such conditions demanded from the vessels. There was also a growing awareness on the part of LR of the new and evolving technologies of trawler design. For example, by the 1969 edition of the rules for trawlers, the Society had included guidance on the framing and floor plating around cruiser sterns, a feature absent in the 1939 edition. The cruiser stern, which first arrived into the Hull trawling fleet in 1931, was a more hydrodynamically efficient stern shape, affording trawlers a 'full-half knot advantage over vessels with the same engine and power'.[338] Although the exact date for its introduction into the rules is not clear, the fact that such information was not present in the 1939 edition of the rules, nearly eight years after the technology had been introduced to the trawling fleet of Hull, provides another demonstration of the Society's cautious approach to updating the rules, particularly concerning new technology.

An example where LR were perhaps more up-to-date with new regulations, however, can be found with regard to fuel. Although the 1939 rules for trawlers still contained guidance on the stowage facilities and machinery for coal-powered vessels, they also contained detailed

[335] *Ibid.*

[336] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1961,* 2nd Edition, 23.

[337] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1961,* 2nd Edition, 53-4.

[338] Robinson, *Trawling*, 152.

guidance for newer oil-fired trawlers. By 1969, the guidance for coal vessels had all but disappeared from the rules, reflecting the changes to the trawling fleet at large. By 1955, 'only thirty per cent of Hull's trawling fleet still burned coal' with the port's last coal-burner retiring from service in 1963.[339] LR's experience in other steel vessels meant that it was ahead of the curve with regards to oil-fired trawlers. As previously stated, guidance for such facilities appeared in the 1939 edition of the rules, but Robinson states that the first purpose-built oil-fired trawler was not ordered until 1946.[340] Fuel and features like the cruiser stern, therefore, provide clear examples of both LR's awareness of the changing nature of trawler design, and the evolution of the rules and regulations for trawlers. Perhaps the clearest demonstration of the latter however, can be found in the rules surrounding stern trawlers. The inclusion of rules for the construction of stern trawlers in the 1969 rule book was perhaps the most notable rule change since 1939. The regulations introduced focused on the transom and ramp facilities of stern trawlers, stipulating that ramp thickness should comply with the Society's guidance for the thickness of trawler shell plating generally.[341] What is surprising, however, is how little guidance LR issued specifically for stern trawlers, a revolutionary new trawler design that will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. The 1969 edition only features three regulations targeted at such vessels, alongside a statement that the vessel should follow the existing guidance for side trawlers already in the rules.[342] Given that the first stern trawler had been introduced to the Hull fleet in 1961, one might have expected a more detailed set of regulations in the nine years before the Society updated its rules for trawlers, but no such advancements arrived, the caution of the Society towards new technology again hampering its ability to make a significant difference to trawlers and their safety.

The rules and regulations, therefore, represented one of the Society's most detailed and intensive involvements in trawling. Through the rules, the Society was able to help maintain a consistent quality standard within the trawling fleet, an important, if limited, contribution to the safety of trawlers around the country. Indeed, the rules represented the cornerstone of LR's operational activity in trawling and provided the crucial bedrock on which the Society could undertake its other operations, particularly the surveying and classification of trawlers. However, the hesitant speed at which the Society engaged with the changing technology of the industry significantly hindered the impact LR's work in trawling could have been expected to make. The amendments that were introduced tended to focus more on

[339] Robinson, *Trawling*, 211.

[340] *Ibid.*

[341] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1961,* 2nd Edition, 76.

[342] *Ibid.*

equipment rather than the design of the vessels themselves, with the Society still assessing trawlers like standard steel vessels well into the second half of the twentieth century. This lack of unique and detailed trawler rules and regulations was an issue identified by other organisations working to improve the trawling industry, one of which will be addressed later in this chapter.

4.1.3 The Classification of Trawlers

The final element of LR's strategy for trawling centred on classification. Underpinned by the rules and regulations and the Society's survey process, the classification of trawlers, and vessels generally, is perhaps the most commonly cited element of LR's operational activity in the historiography on both LR and trawling. As stated by Watson, LR classification was 'an assessment against defined standards of the seaworthiness of a ship either under construction or already in existence'.[343] For trawlers, like any other vessel, LR classification focused of several key areas, but two of the most important were the vessel and the machinery, each awarded a separate classification if found to be in compliance with the Society's rules. The machinery of trawlers could be awarded one of a number of classifications, the most common being the Lloyd's Machinery Certificate, commonly cited as "LMC" in the register books and survey documents. As stated in the 1969 edition of the rules for trawlers, all machinery, including engines and boilers, that had been satisfactorily 'constructed and installed on board the trawler in accordance with the Society's rules and regulations' was entitled to the LMC class mark, and many trawlers were awarded this classification.[344]

The classifications of the trawlers themselves, however, was slightly more complex. From the launch of the *Zodiac* in 1881, Hull's steam trawlers were classed under LR's 100A1 system. "100" referred to the suitability of the vessel for seagoing service, with the 100 designation being the highest grade awarded by the Society.[345] The "A" signified that that the vessel had been constructed and maintained in a good and efficient condition, and the "1" indicated that the anchoring and mooring equipment had been found to be in a similarly good and efficient state.[346] Prior to 1927, trawlers were awarded this class as standard iron or steel ships, occasionally given the added title of "for fishing purposes", but after the introduction of trawler-specific rules they were recognised and classed as 100A1 steam trawlers, with the "for

[343] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 11.

[344] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1961,* 2nd Edition, 4.

[345] Lloyd's Register Foundation, *Infosheet No. 35: Classification* (London: Lloyd's Register Foundation, 2016). Available Online: https://hec.lrfoundation.org.uk/archive-library/information-sheets [Accessed 02/03/2021].

[346] *Ibid.*

fishing purposes" distinction reserved for fishing vessels outside the trawling fleet. The 1960s, however, brought the most significant changes to this classification system. By the end of decade trawler classification distinguished between side and stern trawlers for the first time. For example, the first stern trawler introduced to the Hull fleet, the *Lord Nelson,* appears in the 1961-62 register book, but it is only awarded the 100A1 trawler class mark, followed by the acknowledgement that the exact class of the vessel was still being contemplated.[347] The "class contemplated" statement was often deployed by the Society for vessels built to a specification outside of the remit of the rules and regulations, remaining in place until LR had either updated its rules and regulations accordingly, or specifically decided how to individually class the vessel in question. While providing a useful insight into the process by which new vessel designs were classified by the LR, this clearly demonstrates that the stern trawler class had not been introduced by 1962. Indeed, the first reference to the new 100A1 stern trawler class in the rules consulted by this thesis did not appear until the 1969 edition, with the register book from the following year providing several examples of the class being used on the ground.[348] It is highly likely, however, that the class would have been introduced before this, with some of the stern trawlers listed in the 1970 register book having been built under LR survey as early as 1966.[349] The entry for the *Lord Nelson* in the 1967-68 register book notes the vessel as a 'stern fishing factory ship', suggesting the distinction was being drawn between trawlers from the second half of the 1960s onwards.[350]

In addition to the stern trawler class, the 1969 rules also provide the first mention of a new Ice Class system. In all likelihood, this probably coincided with the introduction of the rules for the strengthening of vessels for navigation in ice. In fact, the 1969 rules and regulations explicitly tied the two together, stating that 'where an ice class notation is desired, additional strengthening is to be fitted in accordance with the special requirements given in the construction rules'.[351] Like that of stern trawlers, it is absolutely clear that these ice classes were in use by the end of the 1960s, with the 1970 register book providing information on the *Arctic Raider*, an 100A1 trawler built under LR survey in 1968 that had been awarded the

[347] Lloyd's Register, "Entry for the *Lord Nelson*", in *1961-62 Register Book, Vol. One, Register of Ships*, (London, Lloyd's Register, 1961).

[348] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1961,* 2nd Edition, 3; Lloyd's Register, "Entry for the *Arctic Freebooter*" in *1970-71 Register Book* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1970).

[349] *Ibid.*

[350] Lloyd's Register, "Entry for the *Lord Nelson*", in *1967-68 Register Book* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1968).

[351] Lloyd's Register, *Rules and Regulations for Steel Trawlers, 1961,* 2nd Edition, 4.

distinction of LR Ice Class 3.[352] What is certain is that by the end of the 1960s, LR had established a sophisticated set of classifications that trawlers could be awarded, distinguishing between side and stern trawlers, and recognising those vessels that had been specifically fitted for the harsh conditions faced by trawlers on a regular basis. Armed with such classification tools, LR regularly surveyed and classed many of the nation's trawler fleet, particularly in the port of Hull. Taking the firms listed by Thompson and cross-referencing them alongside the register books of the Society reveals the widespread adoption of both LR classification, and construction under LR survey, across the trawling industry in Hull (see Table 4.1).

[352] Lloyd's Register, "Entry for the *Arctic Raider*", in *1970-71 Register Book* (London: Lloyd's Register, 1970).

Table 4.1 Percentage of Hull Trawler Fleet built under Lloyd's Register Survey (LRS)

Trawler Company	Built under LRS	Not Built under LRS	% Built under LRS
Alliance Steam Fishing Company	1	0	100
Boston Deep Sea Fisheries	42	5	89.4
Boyd Line	28	2	93.3
Charleson-Smith	25	1	96.2
Dagger Line	3	0	100
Eastern Fishing Company	3	0	100
Eton Fishing Company	3	2	60
F & T Ross	4	1	80
Hellyer Bros.	28	2	93.3
Hendersons	2	0	100
Henriksen & Company	13	0	100
Hudson Bros. Trawlers	28	1	96.6
Hull Merchants Amalgamated Trawlers	8	2	80
J. Marr & Sons	48	2	96
J. Tomlinson Jr	1	0	100
Jutland Amalgamated Trawlers	3	0	100
K. Percival (Trawlers)	2	0	100
Kingston Steam Trawling Company	41	1	97.6
Loch Fishing Company	17	1	94.4
Lord Line	47	0	100
Marine Steam Fishing Company	3	0	100
Newington Steam Trawling Company	16	3	84.2
Ocean Steam Trawling Company	7	1	87.5
Oddsson & Company	1	2	33.3
Robins Trawlers	2	0	100
Standard Steam Fishing Company	1	0	100
Thomas Hamling & Company	30	2	93.8
Victoria Fishing Company	3	0	100
West Dock Steam Fishing Company	7	0	100
Yorkshire Trawlers	3	0	100
Total	420	28	93.8

Source: Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Trawling Fleet*; Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet*; Lloyd's Register, *Register Books, 1900-1978*.

As can be clearly seen, 93.8% of Hull trawlers identified by Thompson were built under LR survey and classed by the Society. Only Eton Fishing Company and Oddsson & Company, both small trawling operations with only five and three vessels respectively, had below 80 per cent of their fleets built under the watch of the Society's surveyors. Half of the firms listed in Table 4.1 had 100 per cent of their fleets built under LR survey and classed by the Society thereafter. With regard to the major trawling firms, every company with a fleet of ten or more trawlers had the vast majority of their fleets built under LR survey, with only three major firms having a rate of less than 90 per cent. Crucially, these figures cover the portion of the trawling fleet built under LR survey, not simply those that were classed by the Society. Indeed, many of the trawlers shown in Table 4.1 that were not built under LR survey were still classed by the Society, a point that can be clearly seen with the Boyd Line fleet later in this chapter. The fact that most trawlers were built under LR survey, coupled with the majority of trawling firms choosing to have LR surveyors present during the construction process, not only demonstrates the significant scale of LR involvement in such vessels in the port of Hull, but also provides clear evidence for the largely positive relations the Society maintained with many of Hull's leading maritime firms. In turn, this provides some of the only comparable data for testing the typicality of the Society's relationship with the Wilson Line, suggesting that the tension between the two was an outlier to what were largely positive interactions with Hull's mercantile community. However, positive relations were not the only reason for the high uptake in LR classification across Hull's trawler fleet. As shall be demonstrated later in the chapter, many trawler owners had a financial incentive to class their vessels with the Society, no doubt a major motivational factor behind the high levels of LR classification seen in Table 4.1.

Across the classification status of Hull's trawling fleet, therefore, LR's frequent engagement with the trawling community in the port can be clearly identified. While this macro focus is useful, taking a micro focus on a single company can prove equally fruitful. According to Thompson's fleet lists, between 1946 and 1988, the Boyd Line operated a total of 30 trawlers out of the port of Hull, with 25 side-trawlers and five stern-trawlers being based at the port under that company.[353] Research into the register books of LR suggests that all of these 30 trawlers were classed by the Society during their work for the Boyd Line, a statistic that demonstrates the domestic and international outport networks in action, with some of

[353] Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Trawling Fleet,* 20-5; Thompson*, Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet,* 43-52.

the vessels built as far afield as Gdynia in Poland.[354] Perhaps even more notable are the statistics on the number of these Boyd Line vessels built under LR survey and thus awarded the Maltese Cross (✠) alongside their classifications (see Figure 4.1).

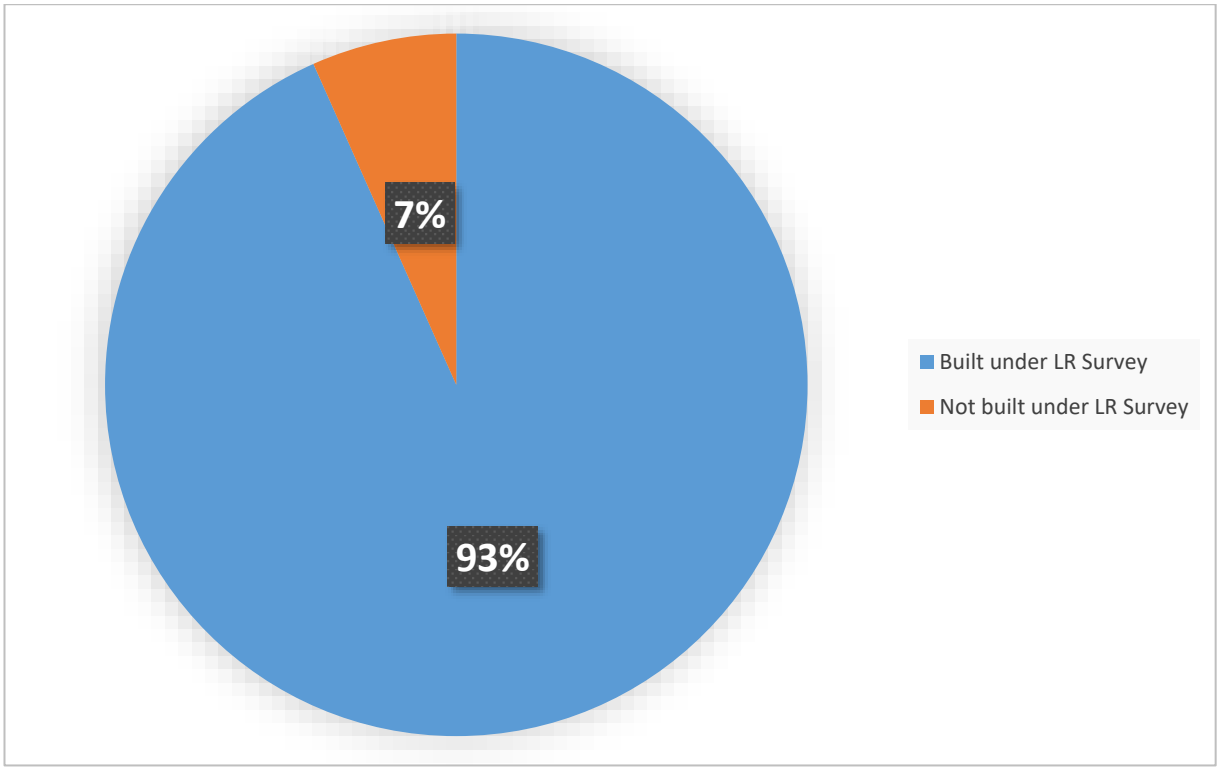

Figure 4.1 Number of Hull-registered Trawlers, owned by Boyd Line Ltd, that were built under Lloyd's Register Survey

Source: Lloyd's Register, *Register Books*, *1937-1978*.

Of the Boyd Line trawlers listed by Thompson, 93 per cent were built under LR survey and awarded the ✠100A1 classification. Similarly, 93 per cent of the trawlers also had machinery surveyed during construction, and were awarded the ✠LMC class mark. It is clear that LR surveyors were working on Boyd Line vessels right from the founding of the company, with the first three Boyd Line trawlers all being built to ✠100A1 ✠LMC standard. Only two of the 30 Boyd Line trawlers, the *Arctic Buccaneer* and *Arctic Galliard*, were not built under LR survey, both having been built at yards in Gdynia in 1973. Geography, however, was not the reason for the lack of survey under build in these two cases. Indeed, the stern trawlers *Arctic Raider* and *Arctic Privateer* had been built under LR survey in Gdynia in 1968. Instead, the novel design of the 1973 trawlers brought LR's cautious approach to new technology into play.

[354] Lloyd's Register of Shipping, *1937-1938 Register Book; 1945-1946 Register Book*; *1950-1951 Register Book, Vol. 1*; *1956-1957 Register Book, Vol 1; 1961-1962 Register Book*; *1970-1971 Register Book*; *1974-1975 Register Book*; *1977-1978 Register Book*.

Thompson states that, upon her arrival in Hull, the *Arctic Buccaneer* was 'the biggest trawler to join the British fleet' and her sister ship, the *Arctic Galliard,* was also built to the exact same specifications.[355] As previously mentioned, LR would regularly award a "class contemplated" mark to vessels incorporating new and novel designs, and the size of these two trawlers certainly placed them in this category. As a result, they were not surveyed during construction and, although recognised as 100A1 quality stern trawlers, were awarded a "class contemplated" mark in the register books.

For the vast majority of trawlers, therefore, the Society was an ever-present companion, surveying and monitoring throughout their operational lives and ensuring that consistent standards were maintained on Hull's trawling fleet. The fact that every Boyd Line trawler registered in Hull was classed by LR certainly demonstrates this, but it also reveals the respect and understanding companies like the Boyd Line held for the Society, a pattern seen across the trawler fleet as a whole. However, despite its high level of engagement with the trawling industry, the impact of LR's work on trawlers was no doubt hindered by the cautious approach taken to the development of unique and detailed rules and regulations targeted specifically at the industry, particularly when dealing with the arrival of new trawler designs and technology. As a result, LR's own rules and regulations for trawlers, which were largely based on the standard rules for steel ships, did not provide enough adequate detail to be seen as the definitive rules and regulations for trawler construction across the industry. Consequently, other organisations stepped in to fill the gap left by LR, and comparing the approach of another organisation, the White Fish Authority [hereafter WFA], to that of LR is perhaps the most effective means of assessing LR's overall impact on trawlers and the industry.

4.2 Lloyd's Register vs. The White Fish Authority

The WFA was established in 1951 by the government of Clement Attlee who, in an address to the House of Commons on 4 July 1950, gave the new body 'adequate powers to regulate, re-organise and develop the white fish industry', the WFA being firmly established by the Sea Fish Industry Act which received Royal Assent on 10 May 1951.[356] The differences between the WFA and LR were clear immediately.

[355] Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet*, 46.

[356] House of Commons Debates, Vol. 477, Column 237-8, 4 July 1950. Available Online: https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1950-07-04/debates/539e90be-0728-48d4-9974-a4f91a1889ae/WhiteFishIndustry(GovernmentsProposals) [Accessed 22/06/2020].

Whereas the safety of vessels was a cornerstone of LR's approach to its work across shipping, the annual reports of the WFA make it abundantly clear that it did not see safety as within its remit for action. In an interview for this thesis, 'Participant A', a former naval architect and technical authority within the WFA, stated that the main priority for the organisation was to 'catch more fish more efficiently'.[357] The WFA itself acknowledged this in its 1967 Annual Report, in which it stated that steps towards reducing loss of life and the risk of accidents on fishing vessels were 'not a matter within the Authority's direct administrations', reiterating the following year that that the 'responsibility for matters connected with safety at sea rests with the Board of Trade', not the WFA.[358] However, like British society more widely, the Authority's interest in trawler safety spiked in response to disasters, such as the 1966 loss of the *St. Finbarr* and the Triple Trawler Tragedy of 1968. Indeed, alongside LR, the WFA was one of a number of bodies invited to submit evidence to the Holland-Martin inquiry convened in the wake of the 1968 tragedy. In its testimony, the Authority rather ironically stated that, during the 1960s, 'it was almost as though the British public realised for the first time that fishing is always one of the hardest of occupations and at times dangerous in the extreme', a criticism that perhaps could have been made of the WFA's own reporting.[359] This reactionary approach of the WFA to safety in some ways echoes the cautious approach to trawler development maintained by LR throughout its work on that section of the Hull fleet, and ably demonstrates that safety was not the primary concern of the WFA throughout its work on trawlers. However, despite this reactionary approach to safety matters, the WFA arguably did more than most, LR included, to better the safety issue in the distant-water trawl fisheries, and its work could be the subject of a thesis in its own right. For the purposes of this chapter, however, two aspects of this work warrant closer study.

4.2.1 The WFA and Trawlermen

The WFA's work in the trawling industry bore many similarities to that of LR, not least in its approach to the vessels themselves. It had, however, some major differences, one of which was the work the Authority devoted to the human side of the industry. Like LR's approach to its own technical staff (see Chapter 5), the most significant WFA investment in this area came through the Authority's commitment to training, both for labour and ownership. From its early

[357] 'Participant A', Interview A for the project "The Humber Outport: Lloyd's Register in the Port of Hull since c.1760" [Recorded Conversation], 1 December 2020, 10:00. Recorded online via Zoom. (Time Stamp: 00.22.50).

[358] White Fish Authority [hereafter WFA], *Sixteenth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1967* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1967), 8; WFA, *Seventeenth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1968* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1968), 9.

[359] WFA, *Seventeenth Annual Report*, 1.

days of operation, the WFA was one of the leading supporters, and later providers, of training to trawlermen and owners from all areas and sectors of the industry. One key feature of this investment was the provision of maintenance grants to those undertaking training for work in the industry. As early as the first annual report, the WFA had agreed to a Grimsby Exchange appeal to financially support fishermen undergoing training, initially covering 60 per cent of maintenance payable.[360] The following year, the Authority agreed to extend its grant coverage to assist those undertaking engineering courses, and by March 1954, it covered new entrants courses and examinations.[361] The provision of maintenance grants for upgrading, engineering and new entrants would remain the cornerstone of the WFA's training work, with hundreds of successful candidates passing examinations each year with the financial backing of the Authority (see Figure 4.2).

[360] WFA, *First Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1952* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1952), 22.

[361] WFA, *Second Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1953* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1953), 26; WFA, *Third Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1954* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1954), 35-6.

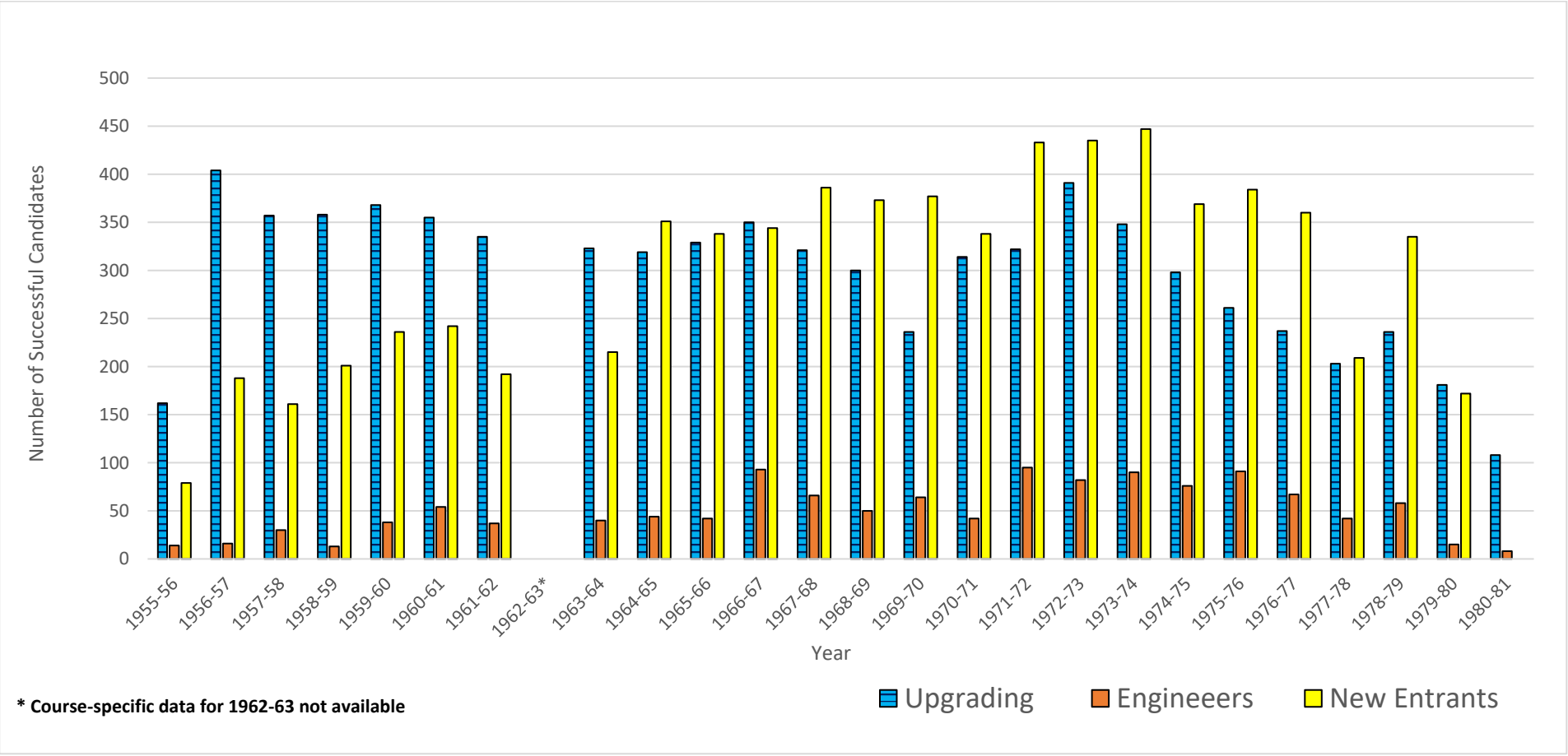

Figure 4.2 Breakdown of Successful Training Candidates funded by the White Fish Authority

Source: WFA, *Annual Reports, 1956-81*.

By March 1981, the Authority had extended is training support to cover radio and wireless operation, firefighting, fish processing operations, deck and propulsion machinery, electronics (including sonar), construction, repair and operation of new fishing gear and an officer cadetship course, all of which resulted in a comprehensive collection of training courses available to fishermen.[362] By March 1981, over 16,000 candidates had successfully passed through the three cornerstone courses with the support of the WFA, and the Authority had spent thousands in the provision of maintenance grants.

The WFA's training activity, however, was not limited to the provision of maintenance grants. As early as 1964-1965, the Authority acknowledged that, although its statutory obligations only covered the provision of grants, it 'had felt for some time that there was urgent need to improve and extend the training given to fishermen', and to 'improve the facilities for training'.[363] By March 1967, the WFA had established a 'working party' to make recommendations on the content of training for the catching side of the industry, and a year later had established two advisory training committees, covering both the trawl fleet and inshore fishing.[364] In 1969, it invested in the development of an experimental simulator for the formal training of skippers in the interpretation of data from new fishing aids, and by March 1973, the WFA had produced and extended specific training for trawler officers, including guidance on 'setting-up and interpreting fish detection and other instruments', in collaboration with Hull Nautical College.[365]

Investment in modern training facilities continued into the 1970s. In September 1973, it commissioned the development of the Mobile Training Unit [hereafter MTU], which consisted of a large vehicle and trailer, fitted out with a 24-seat cinema and a mock-up vessel bridge (see Figure 4.3).[366] By March 1974, the MTU had helped train 130 fishermen, and by the same month in 1981, it had been stationed at 21 locations and served 220 students over the

[362] WFA, *Twentieth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1971* (London: HM Stationary Office, 1971), 19; WFA, *Twenty-first Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1972* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1972), 21.

[363] WFA, *Fourteenth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1965* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1965), 19.

[364] WFA, *Sixteenth Annual Report, 1967*, 23; WFA, *Seventeenth Annual Report 1968*, 23.

[365] WFA, *Eighteenth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1969* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1969), 18; WFA, *Twenty-second Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1973* (Edinburgh: White Fish Authority, 1973), 20.

[366] WFA, *Twenty-Third Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1974* (Edinburgh: White Fish Authority, 1974), 14.

course of a year.[367] In addition to the MTU, the Authority had also invested in a collaborative project to develop and install an 'active simulator' facility at Hull Nautical College, a project that was given major financial assistance by Humberside County Council.[368] The facility, which was the 'world's first digital navigation and fishing system', included radars, Decca Navigators, and digital computers, with the Authority 'providing systems analysts to define and programme the ship and trawl manoeuvring characteristics'.[369] Perhaps the most important facility development, however, was the WFA's investment in establishing the Fisheries Training Centre in Hull, which opened in February 1976 and contained the 'world's largest' flume tank, enabling the Authority to go further, not only in its training programme, but also its research and development work, with the tank allowing for the testing of new designs of trawl gear.[370]

Figure 4.3 The White Fish Authority's Mobile Training Unit, 1974

Source: WFA, *Twenty-Third Annual Report*, 1974, 13.

[367] *Ibid.*; WFA, *Thirtieth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March, 1981* (Edinburgh: White Fish Authority, 1981) 9.

[368] WFA, *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1975* (Edinburgh: White Fish Authority, 1975), 13.

[369] *Ibid.*

[370] WFA, *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1976* (Edinburgh: White Fish Authority, 1976), 14; WFA, *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1977* (Edinburgh: White Fish Authority, 1977), 4.

The Fisheries Training Centre, the Active Simulator at Hull Nautical College, and the MTU enabled the WFA to rapidly expand its training output. By March 1978, the Authority had commissioned a total of 53 courses, with 23 held at the centre in Hull, and 30 in the MTU at various ports around the country.[371] The facilities also enabled the WFA to introduce training for ownership, including courses on business and fisheries management, and vessel design.[372] It is unsurprising therefore that the peak of WFA financial expenditure on training came during the mid-1970s, when it was spending nearly £100,000 each year (see Figure 4.4). This investment in training represented a significant contribution to the pursuit of safety, especially after the WFA moved to increase training accessibility by abolishing some tuition fees for British fishermen in the mid-1970s.[373]

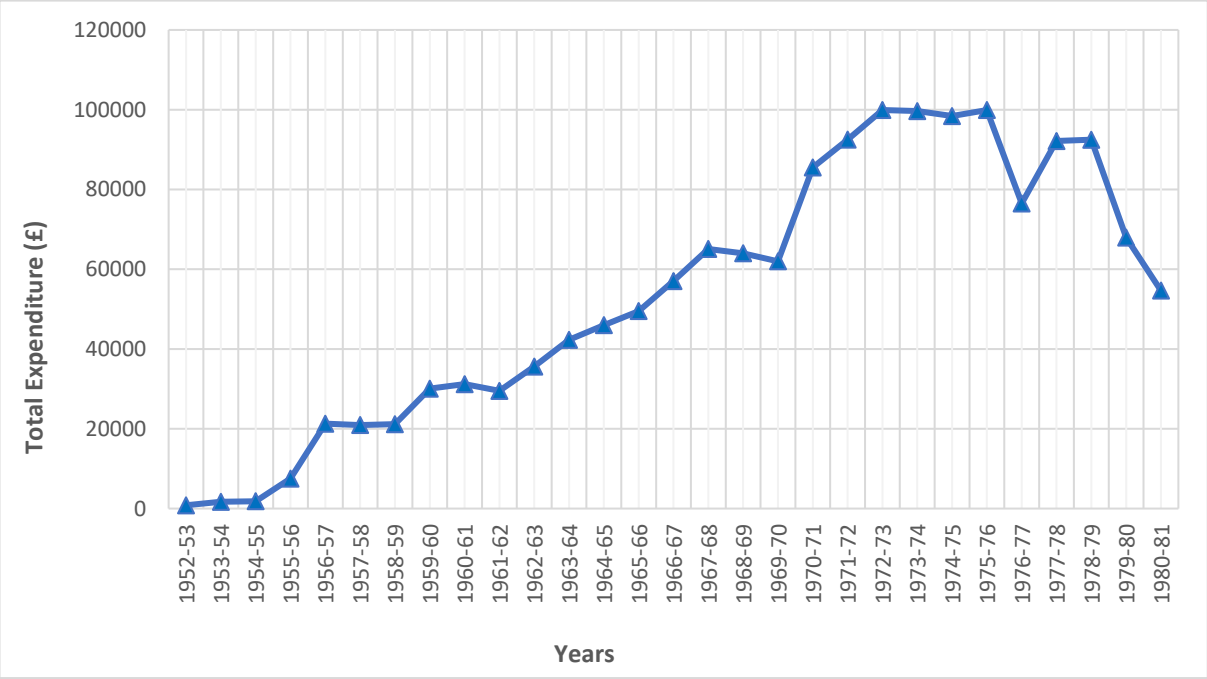

Figure 4.4 White Fish Authority Expenditure on Training, 1952-1981

Source: WFA, *Annual Reports*, 1953-1981.

The consistency with which the WFA supported training, therefore, represents one of the Authority's major contributions to the improvement of safety in the trawl fisheries, and certainly sets the WFA apart from LR for whom such training fell well outside of its area of operational activity. In demonstrating how another organisation adopted a different approach to the same industry, however, the WFA's training work begins to suggest that organisations

[371] WFA, *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1978* (Edinburgh: White Fish Authority, 1978), 16.

[372] WFA, *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report, 1975*, 13-14.

[373] WFA, *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report, 1976*, 14.

like the WFA had perhaps a more important and longer lasting positive impact on trawler safety than LR.

4.2.2 The WFA and Trawlers

The work that both organisations devoted to the trawlers themselves is the area in which the closest comparisons between the WFA and LR can be made. In fact, the two adopted very similar approaches to trawlers, the main difference being that the WFA went further than LR largely as a result of perceived shortcomings with the latter's activity in this area. Put simply, the WFA and its technical staff decided early on that LR had introduced a set of rules and regulations for trawlers that were neither unique nor comprehensive enough to meet the specialised requirements of the industry. As 'Participant A' stated, the industry as a whole was 'still in the age of building [trawlers] as we built ships before', largely overlooking the unique demands placed on vessels engaged in distant-water trawling.[374] This was certainly a criticism the WFA levelled at the work of LR which had continued to assess trawlers against regulations designed for vessels engaged in far less demanding activities. As 'Participant A' asserted, the level of understanding required for positive engagement with the trawling industry 'could only be achieved, not by reading it up but by being there', stating that, in order to obtain that level of expertise, 'Lloyd's would have had to have a team specialising in fishing vessels and the extra risks that they had'.[375] In response, the WFA devoted significant attention to work directly on trawlers, not least through the provision of 'its own standards of design and construction of fishing vessels', the Authority publishing a set of rules that 'were higher than the standards set by Lloyd's' in order to address the shortcomings of the Society's own rules and regulations for the industry.[376] 'Participant A' stated that the WFA 'effectively […] became really an extension of Lloyd's rather than a competitor of them'. [377] In providing perhaps the best summary of the WFA's approach, they stated that:

> We built better ships than Lloyd's Register would have asked for […] because we built in those extra things against the fishing conditions which Lloyd's, of course, would not know about. Lloyd's […] covered cargo ships and passenger ships and tankers and such like, but we built in special protective features into trawlers that I think were taken up by a lot of people around the world, and we had our own books for the […] safe building of trawlers in different materials from wood to steel to plastic. […] I think a lot of those rules went round the world.[378]

[374] 'Participant A', Interview A (00.10.20).

[375] 'Participant A', Interview A (00.07.41 and 00.42.14).

[376] 'Participant A', Interview A (00.10.20).

[377] 'Participant A', Interview A (00.42.14).

[378] 'Participant A', Interview A (00.33.47).

The WFA's provision of a set of rules and regulations for trawlers that was specifically designed to meet the needs of the industry demonstrates that the work of LR, although notable in scale, was not as important nor as valuable to the industry as the work of organisations directly engaged with trawling on a regular basis. These rules, however, are not the only area of the WFA's activity on trawlers that leave this impression of LR's work. For example, in contrast to LR's conservative approach to trawling innovation, the WFA sought to improve the quality of the nation's fishing fleet by trialling and championing new trawler designs, leading modernisation campaigns, and helping trawler owners financially to comply with newer rules and regulations. As part of this process, the Authority trialled numerous trawler design alterations throughout its years of operation, conducting sea trials on various hull forms, power units, wind and wave resistance, and also testing equipment like anti-roll devices.[379] Perhaps the most notable aspect of such work was its continuous pursuit of stern freezer trawlers, a section of the fleet to which LR had adopted a far more cautious approach. Although the primary motivation was the increased efficiency offered by freezing at sea, such technology, and its ramifications for vessel design, had a significant impact on safety. Unlike the traditional side-winders that had dominated the distant-water fleet, stern-freezer trawlers drew in their catch through the stern, allowing the vessel to move head to wind and removing the need to turn broadside to the sea when recovering the trawl, a far more dangerous manoeuvre.[380] This not only aided vessel stability, but also meant that hauling the trawl, a previously 'dangerous and strenuous exercise' of man-handling over the side, could now be done 'by winch alone', reducing the workload of the crew and their exposure to risk.[381] Furthermore, freezer trawlers often benefitted from covered working spaces, meaning that the crew could sort and gut fish under cover, protected from the extreme environment outside. On side-trawlers, such work was often carried out on the open deck, exposed to the elements. The end result was that, by the end of the 1970s, stern freezer trawlers had a safety record that was 'considerably better than on side trawlers', and the WFA's pursuit of such technology certainly aided the industry's uptake of the new vessel design.[382]

As early as its first Annual Report in 1952, the WFA were advocating for the utilisation of freezing at sea, stating that it was 'essential' if the most was to be made of distant-water

[379] WFA, *Sixteenth Annual Report, 1967*, 16-7.

[380] Robinson, *Trawling*, 215.

[381] A. Credland, "Introduction", in Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet,* 8; Robinson, *Trawling*, 215.

[382] Robinson, *Trawling*, 221.

fishing grounds.[383] A year later, the WFA funded research into fitting freezing plants onto existing vessels, and by March 1956, it had co-funded an experimental voyage for freezing at sea on the Grimsby trawler *Northern Wave*.[384] By March 1959, the WFA had even offered to provide the freezing plant and cold store for a prototype freezer trawler, should one emerge.[385] Such early backing for freezer and stern fishing technology, which even included the sponsoring of a stern trawling conference in Grimsby in September 1963, stood the WFA in stark contrast to the general conservatism towards this technology found within both the industry itself, and organisations like LR.[386] Whereas the Society opted to wait until stern trawlers became a fixture of the fleet, it can certainly be argued that the early impetus provided by the WFA helped to turn attitudes towards freezer technology, even if motivated by matters other than safety. This early impetus was given a major boost in 1961-1962 when the WFA provided a grant for a diesel-electric trawler designed to freeze all of its catch at sea, stating that 'the best method of assistance' to experiment and promote freezer technology 'was for grants to be given in suitable cases for the building of experimental vessels on the condition that full information was made available to the industry'.[387] From this point onwards, the WFA continually provided grants to distant-water trawler owners to help them introduce stern-freezer trawlers to their respective fleets. By March 1964, five such grants had been made by the WFA, and a year later, all but one of the thirteen vessels to which the Authority provided grant and loan assistance were freezers.[388] Such support helped the industry to embrace the new vessel technology and design. By 1970, there were 36 freezer trawlers in the British distant-water fleet, and by the annual report of 1974-1975, this had risen to 48.

In addition to grants and loans provided for freezers, the WFA offered further financial assistance to the industry to replace its aging fleet, and after initial limitations were removed by the Sea Fish Industry Act of 1962, the uptake was immediate (see Figure 4.5).[389]

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[383] WFA, *First Annual Report*, 10.

[384] WFA, *Fifth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1956* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1956), 27.

[385] WFA, *Eighth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1959* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1959), 9-10.

[386] WFA, *Thirteenth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1964* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1964), 13-4.

[387] WFA, *Eleventh Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1962* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1962), 33.

[388] WFA, *Thirteenth Annual Report, 1964,* 5; WFA, *Fourteenth Annual Report*, 7.

[389] WFA, *Twelfth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1963* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1963), 12; WFA, *Eighth Annual Report, 1959*, 9.

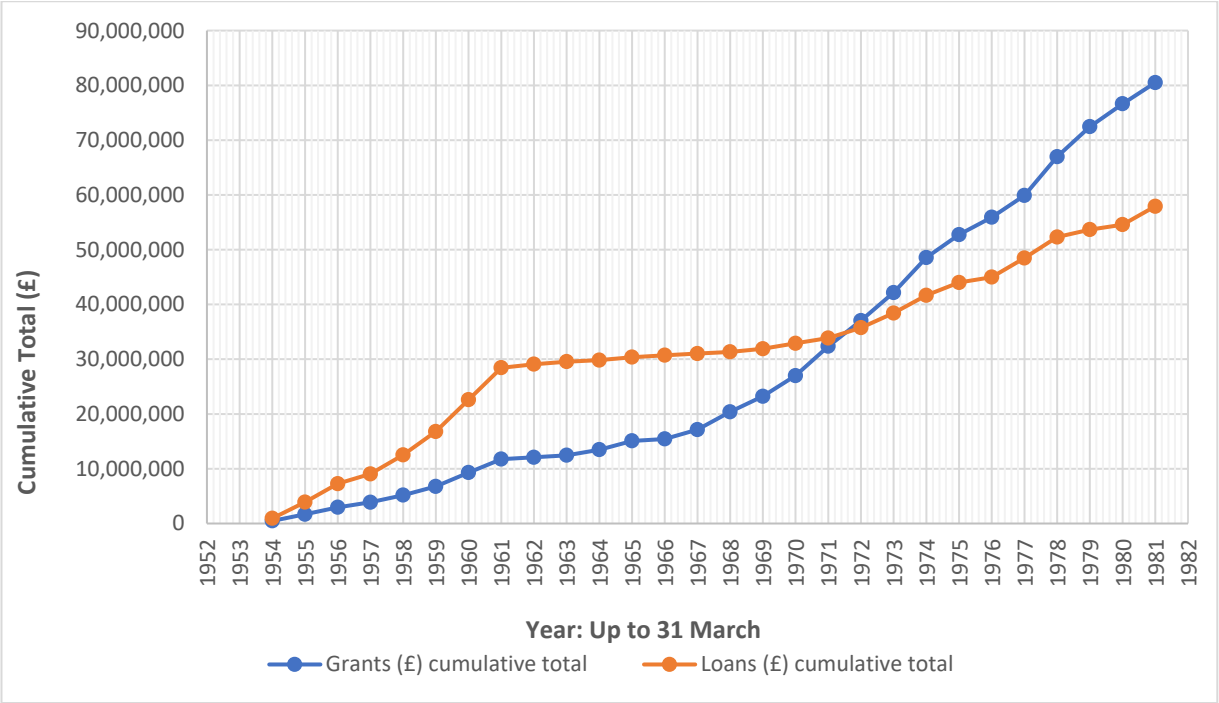

Figure 4.5 Cumulative Total of Grant and Loan Assistance for all Fishing Vessels from the White Fish Authority, 1954-1981

Source: WFA, *Annual Reports*, *1954-1981*.

By March 1981, the WFA had provided nearly £80.5 million in grants and close to £58 million in loans to help the industry improve its fleet. To trawler applications, the WFA set a number of prerequisite conditions, one of which required the owner of the vessel under construction to prove that it would replace an older trawler built before the Second World War. The Sea Fish Industry Act of 1962 stipulated that assistance would be awarded on the basis of 'scrapping two old tons for every ton of new construction', helping to ensure the modernisation of the fleet and the safety benefits that accompanied it.[390] Another prerequisite for WFA-funding brought the WFA and LR into close contact and collaboration. In June 1957, the Authority stated that the 'approval of financial assistance towards the cost of building […] would be conditional upon vessels being classified at Lloyd's [Register] and remaining in class for the control period of the grant or the period of the loan, whichever was the longer'.[391] While clearly acknowledging the role and importance of the Society within the industry, this prerequisite for WFA-funding suggests that LR's work in trawling would be more accurately defined as a baseline rather than pinnacle for quality across the trawler fleet. The WFA evidently utilised LR classification in this manner, the Society ensuring a uniform base standard of quality across new trawler construction before the Authority's own rules and regulations

[390] WFA, *Twelfth Annual Report*, 12.

[391] WFA, *Seventh Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1958* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1958), 13.

catered for the unique demands of the industry. This supports 'Participant A's assertion that LR's own rules and regulations were not specific enough, and that the WFA often acted as an extension of LR, tailoring more detailed construction regulations to suit the needs of the industry. Furthermore, it also suggests that the high uptake of LR survey and classification within Hull's trawler fleet was not simply the result of positive relations between the industry and LR and the respect many held for the Society, but was also due to the fact trawler owners had a financial incentive to have new construction projects classed with LR. It is impossible to state with any confidence which of these factors motivated trawler owners to a greater extent, but for an ownership group well known to be economically frugal, the grant and loans of the WFA would no doubt have been a major pull towards LR classification.

Despite these prerequisite conditions, the WFA spent significant amounts of money on the distant-water fleet after the passing of the Act of 1962, predominantly through the provision of grants to owners (see Figure 4.6).

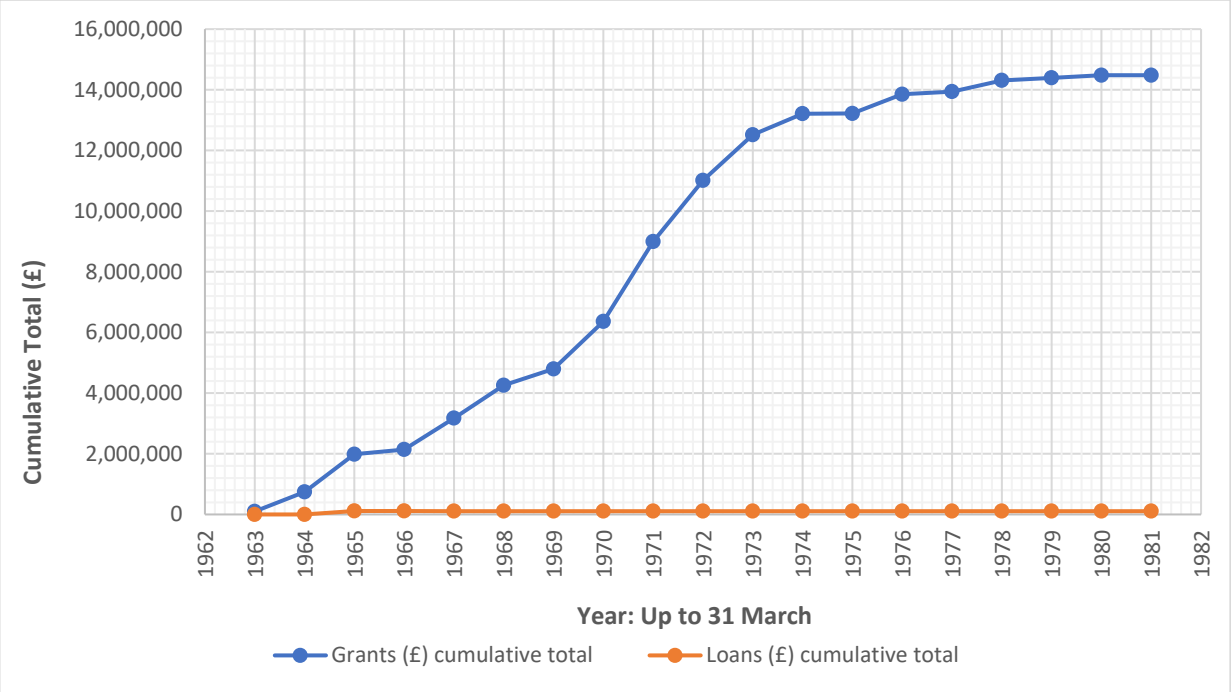

Figure 4.6 Cumulative Total of Grant and Loan Assistance for Distant-water Vessels from the White Fish Authority, 1963-1981

Source: WFA, *Annual Reports, 1963-1981.*

By March 1981, the Authority had awarded £14,481,278 in construction grants to the distant-water section of the industry, and £110,000 in loans. Such assistance represented a significant investment in the distant-water sector, and undoubtedly aided the progression of safety on distant-water trawlers, especially through the replacement of older vessels with modern designs like the stern-freezer trawler.

In addition to new construction, and particularly after a major amendment in March 1967, the WFA also provided financial backing for a vessel improvement scheme which enabled owners to address issues relating directly to safety, in addition to those relating to working conditions and the general quality of vessels. Again, the uptake on the grant scheme was immediate, with the Authority reporting in 1968 that staff were under increasing strain because of the 'heavy demand for improvement grants' (see Figure 4.7).[392]

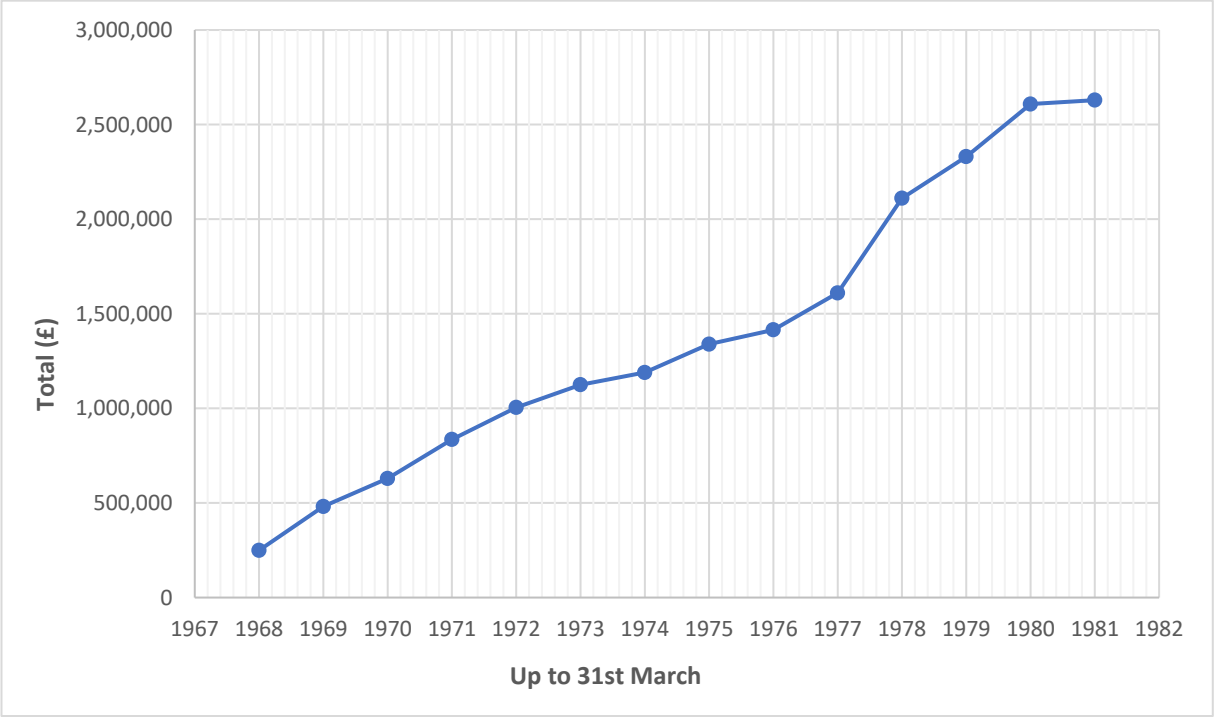

Figure 4.7 Cumulative Total of White Fish Authority Improvement Grants given to Distant-water Vessels

Source: WFA, *Annual Reports, 1968-1981.*

From 1967 onwards, applications to the improvement scheme rapidly increased, and were given further impetus by both the Holland-Martin Report, and the Board of Trade's Recommended Code of Safety of Fishermen on Trawlers, both being listed in the WFA Annual Report of 1970 as factors in the 'considerable number' of improvement applications submitted to the WFA.[393] By 31 March 1970, the WFA had approved 1,119 applications worth a total of £629,429, and by the same date in 1981, this had risen to 2,711 approved applications worth £2,629,064. Crucially, improvement grants enabled owners to improve the quality of vessels that were not old enough to be scrapped under the new construction grant and loan scheme, allowing for incremental improvements that directly contributed to the improvement of

[392] WFA, *Seventeenth Annual Report, 1968*, 6.

[393] WFA, *Nineteenth Annual Report and Accounts for the period ended 31st March 1970* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1970), 8-9.

safety. New safety recommendations and technological developments could be implemented faster and with a reduced financial burden on the ownership, a critical factor in an industry known to be conservative with its expenditure.

It is also worth noting that WFA grant and loan assisted projects were also overseen by the Authority's own team of marine surveyors. As stated in the Annual Report of 1969-1970, 'all applications for grants and loans, whether for new vessels or improvements' required the 'technical clearance' of the WFA's marine surveyors who, in addition to supplying such clearance, were also tasked with undertaking regular vessel surveys and inspections to ensure the quality of nation's fishing fleet.[394] Furthermore, the surveyors were the source of technical information for trawler owners, providing 'advice on design details for new vessels' and assisting 'owners to decide on the type of improvement best suited to their vessels'.[395] Not only does this further demonstrate the significant work of the WFA on trawlers, it also highlights another similarity between the work of the WFA and LR with regards to the trawler fleet.

Apart from the obvious difference of the grant and loan schemes, the two organisations adopted almost identical approaches to the trawling industry. Both produced unique rules and regulations to target the industry specifically, with those rules being implemented and monitored by dedicated teams of surveyors working on behalf of the two organisations. In both cases, compliance with the rules and regulations would result in an award, either through the grant and loan schemes of the WFA, or in LR classification, and it can certainly be argued that the WFA drew inspiration from LR's system of operation when implementing its own strategy for work on trawlers. Again, this suggests the WFA certainly valued the work of LR. However, the extent to which the WFA became involved in the same areas of trawling as LR, coupled with the fact that it felt the need to implement more detailed and specialised rules and regulations in addition to the provision of grant and loan assistance, suggests that the work of the Society in trawling fell short of making a significant impact in the industry beyond simply providing as baseline level of quality across the trawling fleet upon which organisations like the WFA could implement more targeted and impactful policies.

4.3 Lloyd's Register in Trawling: A Success?

Through its surveys, construction rules, and vessel classification, LR devoted frequent attention and work to British distant-water trawlers, a fact that is particularly evident in the port of Hull.

[394] WFA, *Nineteenth Annual Report, 1970*, 9.

[395] *Ibid.*

Although on the surface this work may not have appeared to be a particular priority for the Society, its work in trawling represented an opportunity for LR to be at the cutting edge of maritime technology, monitoring the progress made in the development of trawlers in order to tailor its rules and regulations to help produce the safest vessels possible. When viewed in isolation, therefore, the work of LR in trawling appears to have been a hugely successful area of operation for the Society, especially when observing the high levels of LR classification across Hull's trawler fleet. However, when compared to the work of organisations like the WFA who were more involved in the industry than the Society, LR's contribution to trawlers leaves a far less positive impression. The WFA took on the responsibility of surveying trawlers in order to cover the shortcomings in the Society's own approach to meet the demands of the industry. Drawing inspiration from LR's system of operation, the WFA produced more detailed and specialised rules and regulations that were implemented on the ground by the Authority's own team of surveyors. Grant and loan support for both vessels and the training of staff targeted improvement across the industry, and left the WFA as one of the most important organisations involved in fishing generally, but especially in the pursuit of safety. Certainly, it can be argued with some confidence that those involved in trawling would have found their needs met to a far more satisfactory extent by the WFA than they could have expected from LR.

Despite this, trawling was an area of work that was crucially important for the Society's own operational goals. LR's own constitution summarised the purpose of its operational activity as a means 'to secure for the benefit of the community high technical standards of design, manufacture, construction, maintenance, operation and performance for the purpose of enhancing the safety of life and property at sea and on land and in the air'.[396] As an industry with industrial risk to life that was up to 'twenty times greater than any other industrial risk in the world', trawling provided the Society with an opportunity to abide by its constitution and work to help alleviate some of the risks associated with that industry, saving both life and property at sea in the process.[397] Indeed, the legacy of LR's work in trawling can still be seen in the Society of the twenty-first century. Safety in fishing remains a priority for the modern LR, and is a particular focus for the Lloyd's Register Foundation [hereafter LRF]. In June 2018, LRF published an insight report that made several recommendations for the purpose of securing a safer future for fishing in countries like Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Philippines, and one of its most recent strategies, launched in October 2019, listed the high fatality rates in the modern fishing industry as a particular area of focus for its work in the

[396] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 5.

[397] Robinson, *Trawling,* 2.

pursuit of safety at sea.[398] As it did for the industry and organisations like the WFA, its work in trawling provided the bedrock for the Society and LRF to build upon, and its importance, therefore, should not be overlooked. LR's work ensured a relative continuity of quality across the trawling fleet, providing a base upon which more specialised organisations like the WFA worked to alleviate the risks facing the nation's trawler fleet. In an industry blighted by uncertainly, whether through international and geographical politics, rates of catch, or even the unpredictability of the weather, the importance of the certainty of vessel quality provided by the work of organisations like LR and the WFA cannot be overstated, and is undoubtedly deserving of more attention in the historiography. For many yards, the guidance of the Society provided a valuable tool in the construction of the vessels, although not without its limitations. For the trawlers, LR were a constant companion, ensuring quality throughout their lives from construction to the scrapyard.

[398] LRF, *Insight Report on Safety in the Fishing Industry;* LRF, *Engineering a Safer World.*

Chapter 5 The People of Lloyd's Register in Hull

> The people of Lloyd's Register are Lloyd's Register. The organisation depends for its reputation upon the men and women who work for it, whether they are surveying ships or oil refineries, inspecting components for power stations, revising the rules and conducting research, or delivering essential services support.[399]

Since the reconstitution in 1834, 'one of the Society's priorities had been to build up a network of staff'.[400] Hull, by some measures the third largest port in the British Empire on the eve of the First World War, provides an excellent example of LR's strategy. Through a close analysis of staff records, this chapter further demonstrates LR's long-standing presence in the port of Hull and the Humber area, and reveals how staffing policies and approaches enacted at the Society-wide level affected those employed by LR on the ground in outports like Hull.

In its focus on the staff in Hull, and through its utilisation of the frequently overlooked material with the staff records collection of the LRFHEC, this chapter forms one of the most in-depth assessments of the Society's workforce in the literature hitherto. It would be fair to state that, before Nigel Watson, none of the previous histories of LR gave any significant attention to the staff at all. Any exceptions to this approach were concentrated almost entirely on those recruited to work at the Society's head office, or in London, this narrow focus being supplemented by the occasional reference to landmark appointments in crucial shipbuilding centres like Glasgow. The first *Annals* volume, for example, gave only limited insight into the Society's employees, using the number of surveyors to illustrate LR's position in selected years with little mention of surveyor names or wider staffing policies.[401] However, this use of staffing levels to illustrate Society growth and activity was the first attempt, albeit limited, to utilise the extensive staff records to appraise the Society. These tentative steps inspired the analysis of this chapter which takes employment levels in Hull and across the Society to uncover the evolution in LR's operational activity.

The 1934 *Annals* adopted a similar approach, deploying statistical staffing evidence to demonstrate the growth of the Society into the twentieth century, particularly abroad.[402] Again, the focus here was largely concentrated on head-office, providing important insights into topics like the administrative and senior staff. Any attempt at the provision of biographical

[399] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 215.

[400] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 28.

[401] LR, *Annals* (1884), 61.

[402] LR, *Annals* (1934), 171.

information was strictly limited to those deemed to have made important contributions to LR, one example being secretary Bernard Waymouth, to whom the *Annals* devote a short celebratory passage.[403] However, as the first key work published after 1918, the 1934 *Annals* brought a brief appraisal of the impact of the First World War on LR's staff, revealing that fifteen employees had been lost to active service.[404] Similarly, one of Blake's major contributions to the literature was his account of the Society during the Second World War. Although continuing the top-down historiographical trend, Blake's insights should also be acknowledged for introducing the arrival of women into LR employment.[405] Although only mentioned in passing, the reference to the wartime employment of women across LR's staff was the first of its kind, and laid the groundwork for later works to expand upon, with both Watson and this chapter studying the topic.

Watson's study of the Society represented the most significant effort to incorporate accounts of its workforce into the literature on LR. The two chapters dedicated to the staff, and their training and education respectively, were undoubtedly the most significant contributions to the literature on LR's labour across the key works.[406] Far more attention was given to the individuals themselves, Watson arguably naming more surveyors in a single chapter than his predecessors had managed collectively. This was not limited to the technical staff. Watson devoted significant coverage to the Society's administrative team, with particular attention falling on those stationed in head office and London.[407] Indeed, through his study of both the technical and administrative workforce, Watson identified a number of employment trends and patterns across the Society as a whole, providing a first significant assessment of LR's staffing policies. These trends and assertions are used throughout this chapter to underpin the discussion of Hull, using the surveyors and clerical team on the Humber to test Watson's work. However, it is in the tight focus on LR as a whole, and on head-office, that the most significant limitation of Watson's landmark book can be identified. Although the outports are mentioned when addressing the growth of the Society's workforce in the UK and internationally, no focused assessment of regional recruitment is made, and no significant analysis of the experience of surveyors in domestic outports is included beyond reference to issues like technological developments and their impact on surveyor recruitment. Although

[403] LR, *Annals* (1934), 172.

[404] LR, *Annals* (1934), 187.

[405] Blake, *Lloyd's Register*, 115-25.

[406] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 214-57, 274-87.

[407] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 234.

significantly enhancing the historiography, therefore, Watson's work left significant gaps in the literature on LR's staff. The following two chapters consider these gaps.

5.1 A Chairman, a Fire and an Enlightened Man from Hull – Lloyd's Register in Hull c.1760-1834

Although the connections between the port of Hull and Lloyd's Register are older than the reconstituted Society itself, it is very difficult to firmly establish an exact start date for LR's presence in the port. Documents relating to the pre-reconstituted Society were lost in the 1838 fire at the Royal Exchange, which, rather ironically, was probably the result of 'an over-heated stove in Lloyd's Coffee-House', the same business from which LR itself originated and took its name.[408] However, surviving evidence suggests that Society for the Registry of Shipping, the precursor to the reconstituted LR, had a presence in Hull from the earliest days of its existence. Entries in the first available register book of the pre-reconstituted Society, published in 1764, reveal that it had surveyed vessels from Hull in those early years. In fact, the fourth vessel to be listed in that first register book was the *Albion*, a 110-ton merchant vessel built in Hull in 1763 and engaged to carry goods to St. Petersburg.[409] Vessels from Hull remained an ever-present in that Society's books, and in both the red and green registers from this point onwards, and the centenary edition of the *Annals* stated that, by 1766, Hull was one of fifteen 'surveying ports' frequented by the surveyors of the pre-reconstituted Society, although no staff records have survived from this time.[410] What can be stated with certainty is that, by 1824, Hull had been formerly recognised as an important "outport" for the Society, being one of a number of ports represented on the Committee of Inquiry that would eventually lead to the reconstitution of LR in 1834 (see Chapter 2).[411] Perhaps more importantly however, Blake noted that the amalgamation of the red and green books, and the subsequent reconstitution of the Society, were 'led by an enlightened man from Hull', John Marshall, who went on to represent the port on the Committee of Inquiry.[412]

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[408] W. Thornbury, 'The Royal Exchange', in *Old and New London: Volume 1* (London, 1878), 494-513. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol1/pp494-513 [Accessed 06/04/2022].

[409] Society for the Registry of Shipping, *1764-1766 Register Book* (London: Society for the Registry of Shipping. Reprinted by Gregg Press), 1. Available Online: https://archive.org/details/HECROS1764/mode/2up?q=Hull [Accessed 06/04/2022].

[410] LR, *Annals* (1934), 18.

[411] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 15.

[412] Blake, *Lloyd's Register*, 14.

Marshall was born in Ferrybridge, Yorkshire, in 1787, but spent much of his early life in and around Hull, perhaps even serving an apprenticeship in the port.[413] Alongside his brother, Thomas, he started work as a ship agent and insurer, but soon began purchasing a substantial fleet of ships operating out of Hull and London. Ignoring his strong connection to Hull, it is this link to the capital that saw Marshall simply referred to as 'a shipowner from London' in the historiography prior to the works of Blake and, most notably, Liz Rushen.[414] Through marriage, Marshall also had family connections to other Hull merchant families and shipbuilders, notably the Earles, one of Hull's most famous shipbuilding families.[415] Crucially for LR, John Marshall played a pivotal role in the reconstitution and birth of the modern Society. It was through their merchant activity in Hull that the Marshall brothers became familiar with LR, first appearing in the register books of the pre-reconstituted Society as shipowners in 1820.[416] Like many merchants and shipowners, the Marshalls were frustrated by the dissent over the system of classification and the resulting emergence of the two rival register books, red and green (see Chapter 1).[417] Indeed, Marshall would later label this system as 'the most injurious, arbitrary and unconstitutional state of things' that required swift 'annihilation'.[418]

This process began at a meeting in London on 11 December 1823, where Marshall 'argued for wholesale reform of the classification system', calling for a 'single register' and a 'revised classification system, based on age, condition and the quality of construction'.[419] His proposals, which also called for 'greater control over surveyors and a reformed committee' with wider representation were 'unanimously backed' by the attending members of the Society, and, after further delays, a Committee of Inquiry was called to discuss the matter, issuing its report in February 1826 and adopting many of Marshall's proposals.[420] The report would form the basis for the reconstitution between 1832-4, with Marshall's proposals providing the foundation for the new Lloyd's Register to be built upon. The *Annals* refer to Marshall as the 'mainspring of the inquiry committee' and 'pioneer in the reform of ship classification', with the instructions to surveyors also based on his proposals.[421] Such was the

[413] E. Rushen, *John Marshall: Shipowner, Lloyd's Reformer and Emigration Agent* (Melbourne: Anchor Books, 2020), 5.

[414] LR, *Annals* (1884), 29; LR, *Annals* (1934), 33.

[415] Rushen, *John Marshall*, 24.

[416] Rushen, *John Marshall*, 46.

[417] *Ibid.*

[418] Marshall, *Statement,* x.

[419] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 14-5.

[420] *Ibid.*

[421] LR, *Annals* (1934), 50.

importance of Marshall's contribution to the reconstitution that he was offered a position on the new GC of LR, a post he rejected in favour of pursuing his burgeoning career as an emigration agent.[422] Nevertheless, the reforms he proposed and helped to implement shaped LR and continue to influence the operational activity of the Society into the twenty-first century.

Marshall, however, was not the only important figure in the early days of LR who had a strong connection to the port of Hull. Indeed, the first official chairman of the reconstituted Society, David Carruthers, had important political links to the port. Carruthers was a London insurance broker well-versed in marine insurance having previously worked for Lloyd's of London, for whom he had been a committee member.[423] As a member of the General Shipowners' Society, Carruthers had also been a part of the discussions around the reconstitution of LR, and, on the 24 October 1834, he was chosen to succeed George Palmer as chairman, claiming 10 out of a total 14 votes and becoming the first to hold the office for the newly reconstituted Society.[424] During his tenure as chairman, Carruthers was also elected as a Member of Parliament for Hull, standing for the Tory party and taking more votes than the incumbents William Hutt and Matthew Davenport Hill in January 1835.[425] Carruthers had initially been selected by the Tories to stand for election in Hull in 1832 because of his maritime connections in London, as the party wanted a candidate 'well acquainted with commercial and maritime affairs' to appeal to the maritime interests on the Humber.[426] Having lost the 1832 election, largely due to allegations of bribery and his initial vagueness on issues such as slavery emancipation, Carruthers stood again in 1835 and was elected, claiming 1,836 votes to the 1,536 of Hutt and 1,371 for Hill.[427] Allegations of bribery were levelled at Carruthers again in a petition of August 1835, and Ward argues that, although there is little direct evidence to support the claims of the petitioners, 'there was probably more than a grain of truth in their accusations'.[428] The petitions, however, were not given the chance to arrive any meaningful conclusion. Within five months of his election, Carruthers died, with rumours

[422] LRFHEC, Minute Book, Provisional Committee, Minutes of the fifth meeting of the Provisional Committee of the New Register Book on 21 November 1833, 45.

[423] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 16.

[424] Lloyd's Register Foundation, "Past chairmen: David Carruthers" (Webpage). https://web.archive.org/web/20171112183340/http:/www.lrfoundation.org.uk/public_education/Past-Chairmen/David-Carruthers.aspx [Accessed 06/04/2022].

[425] R.C. Ward, "Political Correspondence Relating to Kingston-Upon-Hull, 1678-1835" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 1989), 105.

[426] Ward, 'Political Correspondence', 100.

[427] Ward, 'Political Correspondence', 105.

[428] Ward, 'Political Correspondence', 27.

at LR stating that he had died because of a 'broken heart' caused 'by the enormous sum he had to pay to win' the election in Hull that year.[429] His ten-month tenure as chairman remains the shortest term served by a chairman of the Society, and, in another blow to his legacy, he was succeeded in that office by Thomas Chapman, perhaps the most important and influential chairman in the Society's history, and a man who became known as 'the father of Lloyd's Register'.[430]

Carruthers and Marshall, therefore, are two individuals with connections to the port of Hull who had an important role in the reconstitution of LR. Perhaps more importantly however, the stories of these two men demonstrate that the links between LR and Hull can be identified and analysed through the people who worked for the Society. Indeed, an appraisal of LR staffing not only reveals the scale of the Society's involvement in an outport like Hull, but also provides evidence as to the development of LR as a whole, and infers whether general Society-wide patterns and trends, identified in the historiography, were apparent in Hull. Adopting the distinction made by LR itself, the Society's workforce is considered in two groups: the administrative and technical staff.

5.2 The Administrative Staff

The surveyors, or technical staff, are the most commonly referenced members of LR's workforce. But their work would not have been possible were it not for the administrative staff employed by the Society all over the world. As stated by Watson, 'the administrative staff of LR […] always provided essential support for the technical staff', and the lives and work of those employed in Hull offer useful insights for this enquiry.[431]

Very little information on the administrative staff in the outports has survived. According to archival staff at LR, much of the documentation for administrative staff in the outports would have been kept by the offices in those areas, and very few staff records from the outports were sent back to London. As a result, the majority of the material available in the archives of LR focuses on the administrative team from the London offices, whether that be the head office at Fenchurch Street or the general office for the London district. There are, however, some documents that relate to Hull and other outports, including a few staff biographies, a wage booklet, and a short booklet covering the period around the Second World War, all of which have been consulted by this enquiry. Within the Society's lists of officers, this

[429] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 16.

[430] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 22.

[431] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 234.

enquiry was able to identify biographies for five clerks who worked for LR in the port Hull between 1867 and 1953. Three of the biographies state clearly that the individuals in question were clerks, while the other two biographies were confirmed as clerks by cross-referencing the biographies with the aforementioned wage booklet, which clearly identified the individuals as working in that capacity.[432] Although they are limited in scale and scope, these five biographies are a useful tool in comparing the outport of Hull to the trends Watson identified within the London offices.

5.2.1 Administrative Staff Retention

Watson suggests that working in the administrative staff of the Society in London was a source of pride for the workforce, with many having long careers with LR in the capital.[433] High staff retention rates are equally clear in Hull across the biographies. Of the five Hull clerks, three joined the Hull office from a previous LR appointment elsewhere, with A.F.H. Bancroft having joined from Southampton, and Patrick Dowden and Leslie Storey both joining Hull from London.[434] For the other two, Hull was their first LR appointment, but they would go on to serve the Society at other ports around the UK.[435] Indeed, departures from Hull across the five also suggest that staying in LR employment was a common career move for the administrative staff. Four of the five left Hull for another LR post in other ports, namely Düsseldorf, Cardiff, Newcastle and London, the only exception being Leslie Storey who 'died suddenly' whilst working for LR in Hull, with Dowden arriving to fill the subsequent vacancy.[436]

The five biographies also provide another indication of the value placed on LR employment. It was not uncommon for members of the administrative team to spend the rest of their careers working for LR. Watson provides the example of Henry Adams, the longest serving member of staff who died in 1887 after 72 years of service.[437] Although not to the scale of Adams, the Hull biographies provide several examples of long service, with all five remaining in LR employment for the rest of their careers after appointment. In fact, three of them, Storey, Taylor and Bancroft, are still employed by LR at the time of their deaths. Four of the five served LR for at least 23 years, the longest serving example being Patrick Dowden, who retired from LR service and the notable position of Secretary to the Scottish Committee in

[432] LRFHEC, Staff Records, Staff Wage Book, c.1872-3.

[433] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 240.

[434] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1834-1905, Entry for A.F.H. Bancroft, 51; LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entries for Patrick George Dowden and Leslie Storey, no page numbers.

[435] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1834-1905, Entries for W.G. Slater, 45, and John B. Taylor, 28.

[436] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Leslie Storey, no page number.

[437] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*¸ 234.

August 1972 at the age of 61, having spent nearly 44 years working for LR.[438] The second longest service of the five biographies was that of Leslie Storey. He dedicated his whole working life to the Society, baring two brief periods spent training with Royal Naval Reserve in the 1930s.[439] He joined LR aged 15 as an office boy in Hartlepool, and went on to serve the Society in Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle before arriving at Hull in March 1932.[440] His sudden death aged 43 in November 1946 brought to an end a 27-year career with LR, again demonstrating that the Society was a valued place of employment for those engaged in the administrative staff.

5.2.2 Education and Training of Lloyd's Register Administrative Staff in Hull

A second area Watson investigates within the London administrative staff is training and education, and again, the Hull biographies can support the arguments made. Although education was important for entry into LR, the biographies available to this enquiry provide little information on education explicitly beyond a statement that Dowden had been educated at St. George's College, Weybridge.[441] They reveal rather more on administrative staff training, something that LR placed great emphasis on, with successful candidates expected to 'pay out of their own pocket to learn shorthand and typing at evening classes'.[442] The main focus for LR revolved around in-house training that prepared candidates for the day-to-day work they could expect. Like that of the surveyors, which will be addressed later in the chapter, this training often centred on probationary or temporary service, during which candidates could be mentored by senior members of staff. Junior clerks, for example, were required to 'serve at least three years' probation before becoming permanent', and Watson notes that it was common practice for temporary clerks to serve 'in nearly every department […] before joining the permanent staff'.[443]

The biographies for the Hull administrative staff provide clear examples of such training. After working as an office boy, Storey was appointed on a temporary duty in Liverpool before being made a permanent member of the Society's staff in November 1921.[444] Likewise, Dowden was made permanent in 1935, having served the Society in London on a temporary

[438] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for Patrick George Dowden, no page number.

[439] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Leslie Storey, no page number.

[440] *Ibid.*

[441] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for Patrick George Dowden, no page number.

[442] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 238.

[443] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 237.

[444] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Leslie Storey, no page number.

basis since 1928.[445] The biographies also reveal that training continued throughout the service of those employed in the Society's administrative staff, with LR seemingly keen to keep staff up to date with the demands of their work. For example, immediately prior to his transfer to Hull, Dowden 'spent two weeks at [the] Middlesbrough office for training purposes', ensuring he had the skills needed for his new appointment on the Humber.[446]

5.2.3 Impact of Conflict and the Employment of Women

Patterns identified by Watson within the London administrative staff, therefore, can be identified in the port of Hull through the biographies available to this enquiry. This is also true when addressing perhaps the most important trend Watson observed in London, the impact of conflict. Watson notes that some administrative staff from London saw active service during the Second World War. [447] The biographies provide evidence to support this, revealing that Dowden, who had been working in the London office, left LR between March 1941 and May 1946 to undertake 'military duty'.[448] It is equally clear that the war also impacted the administrative staff within the Hull office, although not from the information within the biographies. According to a separate book detailing the LR clerical staff at the outports c.1932-1945, the Hull office lost at least one clerk to the war effort, one Dorothy Jacobs, who left LR service at Hull in December 1942 to join the Women's Royal Naval Service, known more popularly as the WRENs.[449] One other Hull clerk is listed as having left the office after being 'called up' in January 1945, although there is no confirmation as to whether this was for war service or not.[450] Interestingly, the book also lists similar war service departures in the LR offices at places like Glasgow, Hartlepool, Leith, Liverpool, Plymouth, Sheffield and Swansea, suggesting that departure trend and impact of the Second World War identified by Watson in London could also be identified across the Society's UK outports.[451]

Perhaps even more importantly, Dorothy Jacobs' employment in the LR office at Hull also provides evidence for another of Watson's London war trends, the increasing employment of women. Watson states that 'for many years Lloyd's Register was a male-dominated environment', and the impact of war had a significant role to play in changing the

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[445] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63*,* Entry for Patrick George Dowden, no page number*.*

[446] *Ibid.*

[447] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 247.

[448] LRFHEC, Staff Records, Lists of Officers, 1930-63*,* Entry for Patrick George Dowden, no page number*.*

[449] LRFHEC, Staff Records, Clerical Staff at Outports, c.1932-1948, "Hull", no page number.

[450] *Ibid.*

[451] LRFHEC, Staff Records, Clerical Staff at Outports, c.1932-1948.

discriminatory employment culture within the Society.[452] Interestingly, the outports took 'a more enlightened approach' and were often more progressive on this front than the head office.[453] For example, LR offices around the country had started to employ women to the administrative staff 'from about 1907 onwards', but 'it was not until the First World War that women were appointed as temporary clerks and shorthand typists at head office' in London, although all would leave that office at the end of the war.[454] The aforementioned limitations on source material prevent a full assessment of the impact of the First World War on the employment of women in the office at Hull. What is clear, however, is that by the 1930s, women were playing a vital role within the Hull office, and one that would continue throughout the Second World War which, in many ways, had a more significant and longer lasting impact on the Society's attitudes to the employment of women. Watson states that, 'during the Second World War, women were again appointed to administrative posts', and again the outports were more progressive than head office.[455] 'Over 200 women were appointed to clerical posts in the outports during the Second World War, dwarfing the number recruited at Fenchurch Street', which Watson suggests was around 35.[456] Although the scale of its impact on the employment of women in Hull is difficult to ascertain due to the limited amount of data available before 1930, this widespread arrival of women in the administrative staff between 1939 and 1945 can be clearly identified in Hull and the other Humber LR offices (see Figure 5.1).

[452] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 248.

[453] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 251.

[454] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 248.

[455] *Ibid.*

[456] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 252, 248.

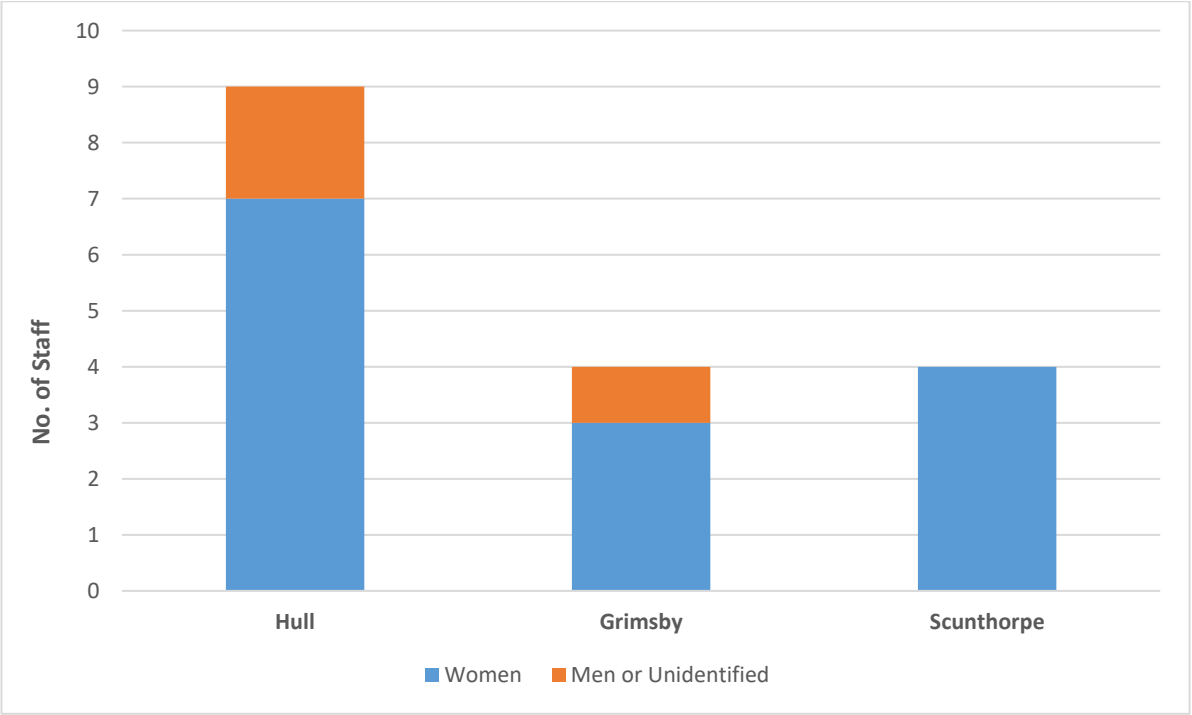

Figure 5.1 Number of Administrative Staff employed at Lloyd's Register Offices around the Humber, c.1932-1945

Source: LRFHEC, Staff Records, Clerical Staff at Outports, c.1932-1948.

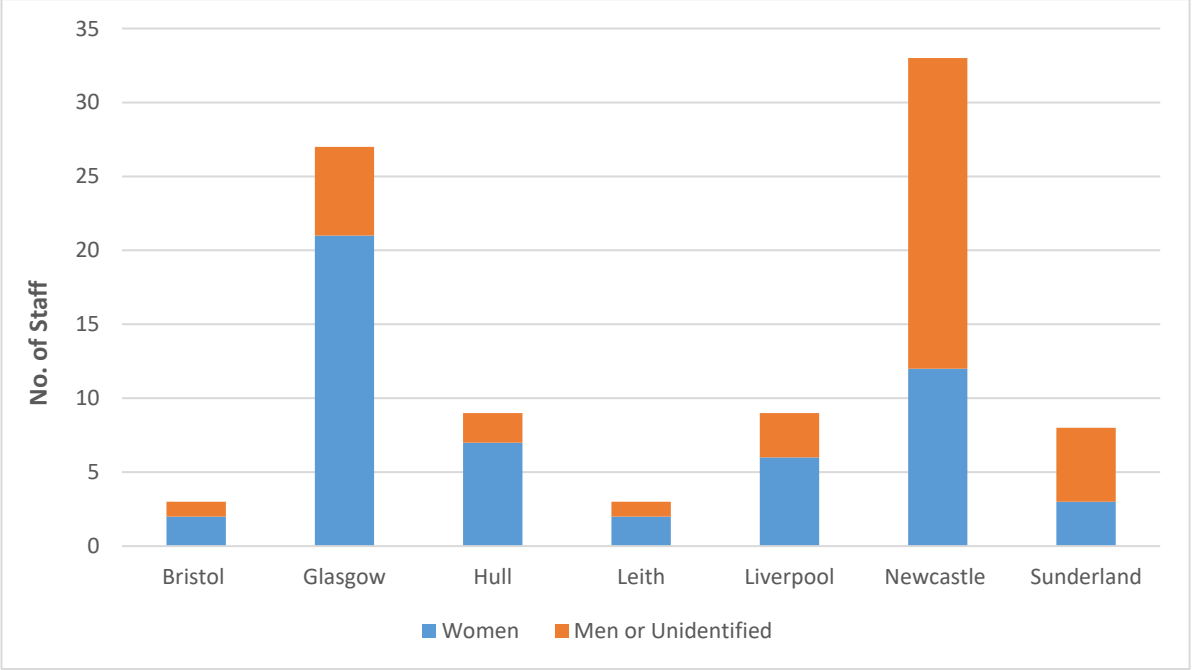

Figure 5.2 Number of Administrative Staff employed at Selected Outports, c.1932-1945

Source: See Figure 5.1.

The vast majority of the administrative staff in Hull during the 1930s and '40s were women. Seven out of the nine members of the administrative staff listed in Hull between 1932 and 1945 are clearly identified as women in the sources available to this project.[457] Similarly, three out of the four administrative staff in Grimsby, and all four staff members in Scunthorpe were also women, demonstrating the importance of women to the operational activity of LR around the Humber between 1932 and 1945.[458] This pattern of employment, however, was not unique to the Humber and can also be seen at many of the LR offices around the UK (see Figure 5.2). Outport offices including Aberdeen, Glasgow, Bristol, Leith, Cardiff, Hartlepool and even the significant outports of Liverpool and Glasgow had administrative teams comprised of mostly women. In fact, of the first seven exclusive outports of the Society, that being Bristol, Glasgow, Hull, Leith, Liverpool, Newcastle and Sunderland, all but the latter two had offices where women made up the largest section of the administrative staff. Such patterns could also be found in outports abroad, with international offices including New York and Sydney being staffed mostly by women in the 1930s and '40s.[459] As seen in Scunthorpe, some outport offices' staffing was entirely female during this period. Further, UK Offices in Barrow, Belfast, Fleetwood, Greenock, Manchester, Middlesbrough, Plymouth and Southampton, along with international offices in places like San Francisco, Pittsburgh and Paris, only employed female staff - a situation that was far more progressive than the staffing profile at head office.[460]

5.2.4 Average Age of the Administrative Staff

What is also clear from the limited source material available is that, in the 1930s and '40s, members of the administrative staff were appointed at a much younger age than their technical colleagues. Watson suggests that around this time the common practise within LR was to appoint people to the administrative workforce shortly after they had left school, a policy that remained in place until after the Second World War and the chairmanship of Sir Ronald Garrett who pushed for the Society to look at graduates from universities.[461] This resulted in young administrative teams, particularly when compared to the technical staff. For example, between 1932 and 1945, the Hull office appears to have had one of the youngest administrative teams, with the nine appointments having an average age of 16.1 years old at appointment. According to the available data, twenty-three appointments were made to the

[457] LRFHEC, Staff Records, Clerical Staff at Outports, c.1932-1948, "Hull", no page number.

[458] LRFHEC, Staff Records, Clerical Staff at Outports, c.1932-1948, "Grimsby" & "Scunthorpe", no page number.

[459] LRFHEC, Staff Records, Clerical Staff at Outports, c.1932-1948, "New York" & "Sydney", no page number.

[460] LRFHEC, Staff Records, Clerical Staff at Outports, c.1932-1948.

[461] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 247.

Society's technical staff in Hull over the same time period, with an average of age of 39.9 years old at appointment. Only one of the appointments to Hull's administrative staff in this period was of someone 20 years or older in age, and in that instance, the appointee was returning to Hull having previously joined the administrative team there at the age of 16.5 years old.[462] Taking their first appointment, the average age of administrative staff appointments in Hull would drop to 15.6 years old. Hull's administrative staff also looks particularly young when compared to some of the other major outports with available data in this period (see Figure 5.3).

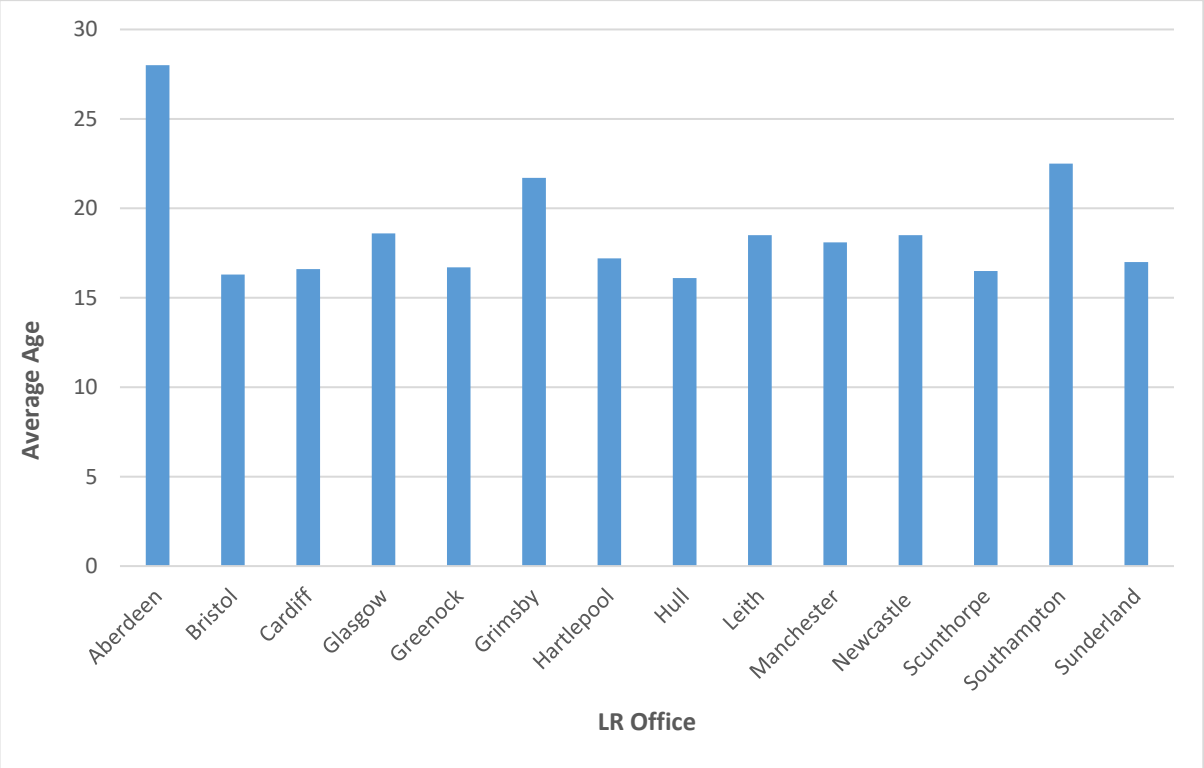

Figure 5.3 Average Age of the Administrative Staff at Appointment at Selected Lloyd's Register UK Offices c.1932-1945

Source: See Figure 5.1.

Hull's average age for administrative appointment of 16.1 is the lowest of offices with data available to this enquiry. Looking at the other Humber LR offices, Grimsby had one of the higher average ages for administrative staff appointments, standing at 21.7, but Scunthorpe was closer to Hull with an average age of 16.5. Away from the Humber, the vast majority of ports and offices had average appointment ages falling between 16 and 19, with Bristol, Cardiff and Greenock all being fairly close to average ages of around 16 years old. Aberdeen and Southampton had the highest average ages, 28 and 22.5 respectively, but both had much

[462] LRFHEC, Staff Records, Clerical Staff at Outports, c.1932-1948, "Hull", no page number.

smaller staff numbers than Hull, suggesting perhaps that those outports sought out fewer candidates with more experience than offices like Hull. More source material would be needed to investigate this further, but the differences in ages are interesting nonetheless, particularly in building up a picture of the LR staff in Hull.

The administrative staff, therefore, provide a first glimpse of the information that can be obtained about the operation of the Society itself through the people it employed both in Hull and around the UK. The work of the administrative staff in Hull begins to demonstrate how LR established outport-labour, and how those outports functioned on a day-to-day basis. They are also useful in demonstrating how important outports were to the organisation as a whole, particularly in driving the Society forward on issues such as the employment of women. As Watson states, it is through the employment of these women 'that we catch a glimpse of the huge contribution made to the organisation by the outports'.[463]

5.3 The Technical Staff

Although the administrative staff were crucial to the successful day-to-day operations of outport offices like Hull, it was LR's technical staff, particularly the surveyors, that were vital to the Society's goal of vessel safety and classification. The surveyors were LR's representatives in ports all around the world, carrying out the surveys of vessels, machinery and materials, ensuring that the high standards of the Society were being accurately implemented on the ground. As a result, they 'quickly earned a reputation for competence and integrity', something LR would go to great lengths to preserve.[464] Through an analysis of Hull and its surveyors, both the importance of the technical staff to the operation of successful outports and the evolution of the surveyors' role can be assessed.

5.3.1 Origins of the Lloyd's Register Surveyor

Surveyors were a vital tool in LR's arsenal, and had been so since the very early days of the pre-reconstituted Society. As the *Annals* of 1884 stated, 'there can be no doubt that such officers were employed from a much earlier period', with the earliest register books of the 1760s pointing 'to a supervision being exercised by officers of the Society upon ships when under repair, even so far back as that date'.[465] However, as stated by Watson, the names of only two surveyors from the Society for the Registry of Shipping have survived, making an

[463] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 251.

[464] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 23.

[465] LR, *Annals* (1884), 12-3.

assessment of the earliest surveyors in Hull impossible.[466] What is known for certain is that none of the previous surveyors were immediately retained during the reconstitution process. At a meeting on 31 October 1833, the Provisional Committee requested that the Chairman of the two older register books 'give immediate notice' to those previous surveyors that the newly-reconstituted Society 'would not require their services', inviting them to apply to become surveyors for the new Society.[467] It is not known how many did so, but it is clear that the new Society wanted full control over the appointment of its new surveyor team, and it set out its own criteria for appropriate candidates, some of which would remain part of the Society's recruitment policy well into the twentieth century.

Age was one important criterion. The Provisional Committee decided that applications for surveyor posts would only be considered if the candidate was 'not […] under 30 years nor exceeding 50 years' in age.[468] Applications that did not comply were simply discarded, with a candidate for Hull deemed ineligible after their application did not provide any proof of age.[469] Outside of age, the Committee also drew a distinction between shipwright and nautical surveyors, providing slightly different criteria for employment to each. Candidates for shipwright surveyor positions, for example, were to be 'practical men possessing the higher attainments of their profession' which would 'qualify them to judge of the quality and construction of ships'.[470] They were expected to 'have served a seven-year apprenticeship under a master shipwright' along with holding 'at least five years' experience in a shipyard.[471] Conversely, candidates for nautical surveyor posts were required to be 'well informed in the construction and quality of ships', in addition to having had 'experience in the superintendence of their building, repair and equipment', along with 'sea-going experience', usually holding the rank of master.[472] Both shipwright and nautical surveyor candidates were also required to have the 'general knowledge and experiences' that would enable them to 'undertake the inspection and survey of all matters that may arise in relation to shipping

[466] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 216.

[467] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee, Minutes of a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the New Register Book on 31 October 1833, 33.

[468] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee*,* Minutes of a Meeting of the General Committee on 28 January 1834, 101.

[469] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee*,* Minutes of a Meeting of the General Committee on 14 April 1834, 299.

[470] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee*,* Minutes of a Meeting of the General Committee on 28 January 1834, 105-6.

[471] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 216.

[472] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee*,* Minutes of a Meeting of the General Committee on 28 January 1834, 105-6; Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 216.

concerns', a key condition of employment that certainly remained a part of LR criteria well beyond the reconstitution in 1834.[473]

The Provisional Committee also implemented some quality assurance measures into its recruitment drive that would become a crucial component of LR's commitment to preserving the integrity of its surveyors. At a meeting on 28 January 1834, the Provisional Committee stated that 'no surveyor shall under any pretence receive directly or indirectly for his own private use or benefit any fee, gratuity or reward' for any work in connection with their role as an LR surveyor 'on pain of immediate irrevocable dismissal'.[474] Surveyors were also 'banned […] from having an interest in any of the ships under their survey', and were 'regularly moved from port to port' to prevent any bias developing through strong connections to local shipowners and builders.[475] As shall be demonstrated later, this movement of surveyors could certainly be identified in the outport of Hull.

In addition to the distinction drawn between shipwright and nautical surveyors, the Provisional Committee, and LR in the years after reconstitution, also separated surveyor appointments into those employed on exclusive terms and those on a non-exclusive basis. This distinction was important, particularly as it played a major role in the development of the surveyor team around the Humber. Exclusive surveyors, as the name suggests, were individuals who were employed solely as 'servants of the Society', and were 'not permitted to engage in any other business or employment whatsoever'.[476] Non-exclusive surveyors tended to be appointed to smaller ports and were contracted to carry out all surveys on behalf of LR, except those for vessels under construction, but were not restricted from undertaking work for other employers.[477] Of the 63 surveyor appointments made by the reconstituted Society in 1834, only 13 were recruited on an exclusive basis.[478]

This distinction is important in understanding the development and origins of the surveyor team in Hull. From the outset, Hull was one of only eight ports identified as places

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[473] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee*,* Minutes of a Meeting of the General Committee on 28 January 1834, 106.

[474] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee*,* Minutes of a Meeting of the General Committee on 28 January 1834", 109.

[475] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 25.

[476] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee, Minutes of a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the New Register Book on 17 October 1833, 19.

[477] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 25.

[478] Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping, *Register Book of 1834* (London: J. Cox & Son, 1834, Reprinted by Gregg Press), 28-9.

where appointments should be solely comprised of exclusive surveyors, the others being London, Newcastle, Sunderland, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow and Leith. Of the 13 exclusive surveyors appointed at the reconstitution, two were appointed to Hull, William Atkinson Brigham and James North.[479] This, however, does not appear to have been the original plan for the port. Minutes from various meetings of the Provisional Committee reveal that LR's initial intention was for Hull to have only one exclusive nautical surveyor, and that this appointment would be supported by non-exclusive surveyor appointments in Grimsby, Goole and Gainsborough.[480] However, this proposal was abandoned after the Provisional Committee received several letters from the Hull Shipowners Society between December 1833 and March 1834, in which the shipowners 'suggested to alter the arrangements proposed' and recommended that the Society appoint two surveyors to Hull, a nautical and a shipwright surveyor'.[481] The Provisional Committee adopted those recommendations and moved to appoint two exclusive surveyors in Hull, but also instructed that the two surveyors 'extend their duties of survey to the neighbouring ports of Gainsborough, Goole, Selby, Thorne and Grimsby', removing the need for the intended non-exclusive appointments to those smaller areas.[482] It certainly could be argued that this left the Humber slightly worse off, moving from a proposed team of four surveyors to one of only two exclusives appointments. However, this intervention on the part of the Hull shipowners did result in the only major alteration to LR's initial exclusive surveyor plans, and goes some way in demonstrating the importance placed on Hull and its mercantile community by the early Society. It also goes some way in revealing how the early Society operated, particularly with regards to establishing its presence in selected outports. It reveals that, although the Society was keen to retain control over surveyor appointments, it was willing to listen to suggestions from the communities in which the surveyors were to be appointed, endeavouring to find a compromise where possible.

This collaborative approach between LR and the outports can be seen again in the actual election of the surveyors. Evidence from the Provisional Committee minutes suggests that, of the eight ports and regions designated for the appointment of exclusive surveyors, three were given special dispensation to help select candidates, one being Hull. After the Committee had drawn up a list of surveyor candidates for Hull, it was sent to Samuel Cooper, the chairman of Hull Shipowners Society, the Committee requesting that the group give 'their

[479] *Ibid.*

[480] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee*,* Minutes of a Meeting of the General Committee on 28 January 1834, 113-5.

[481] LRFHEC, Minute Book, Provisional Committee*,* Minutes of a Meeting of the General Committee on 10 March 1834, 222-3.

[482] *Ibid.*

opinion of the merits of those candidates who they may consider to be most eligible' for appointment to Hull.[483] The shipowners replied a few days later on 10th April 1834, providing the names of six candidates, three for nautical and shipwright positions respectively, from which the Provisional Committee elected James North and William Atkinson Brigham.[484] This collaborative approach can also be seen in the first surveyor elections to Liverpool and Sunderland, with members of the mercantile communities of both ports being invited to give their opinions on prospective candidates.[485] This is perhaps unsurprising given those three ports were the only areas outside of London to receive more than one exclusive appointment. Evidence suggests that candidates for appointment in Bristol, Glasgow, Leith and Newcastle were reviewed by the Committee alone, with the candidates for London also being appointed solely by the Committee who were well versed in London shipping requirements.

5.3.2 The number of Lloyd's Register Surveyors in Hull

It is clear even through this brief analysis of the early surveyor teams, therefore, that by the reconstitution of the Society, Hull had firmly cemented itself as an important outport for LR. However, its importance fluctuated and was affected by a number of factors which can be perhaps more easily identified by taking a look at the size of the surveyor teams maintained by the Society at the aforementioned eight exclusive surveyor ports between 1834 and 1970 (see Figure 5.4)

[483] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee, Minutes of a Meeting of the General Committee on 4 April 1834, 277.

[484] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee, Minutes of a Meeting of the General Committee on 14 April 1834, 298-300.

[485] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee, Minutes of Meetings of the General Committee on 28 January 1834 and 6 March 1834, 102-3, 217.

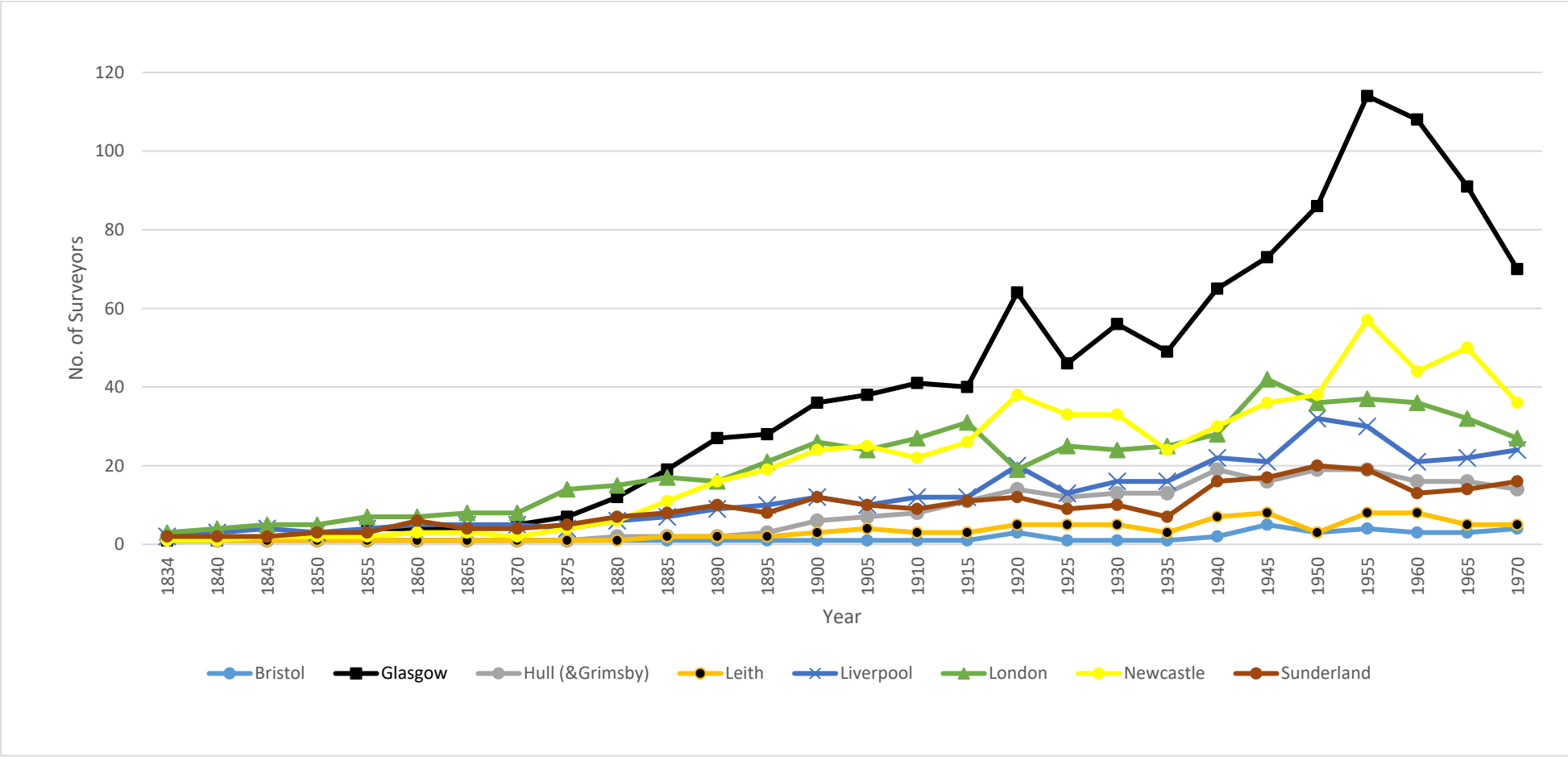

Figure 5.4 Number of Lloyd's Register Surveyors at Selected Ports, 1834-1970

Source: LRFHEC, *Lists of Surveyors*, 1834-1970.

What is immediately apparent in Figure 5.4 is the fact that the outport surveyor teams remained relatively stationary in the immediate years after the reconstitution as the Society began to find its feet around the UK. By 1837, the team in Hull had been reduced back down to the originally intended single surveyor after the resignation of James North, but this did not coincide with an increase in non-exclusives posts around the Humber, with the number of LR surveyors in the area remaining at one until the late 1870s. The increase in staff across the outports from this time onwards was the result of a number of factors.

Firstly, the growth in surveyor numbers reflected the general growth in British maritime activity in the years up to the First World War, particularly the rapid increase in shipping and shipbuilding (see Chapter 2). More vessels in British ports necessitated an increase in the number of LR surveyors needed to ensure the fleet was being maintained in a safe and efficient manner, particularly with the emergence of new shipbuilding technologies. As Watson states, 'the use of iron', along with the increasing prevalence of steam engines 'led to the demand for new surveyors and technical staff with theoretical knowledge' beyond that which had previously been required of the technical staff.[486] The increasing number of surveyors after the late 1870s coincided with the first arrival of the engineer surveyor to LR's staff around the UK, part of a diversification of LR's operational activity that will be addressed later in the chapter. Indeed, the first engineer surveyor to work out of the Hull office was A.E. Keydell, who was appointed as a non-exclusive surveyor in April 1876.[487] The changing technology in shipping and shipbuilding also explains the significant growth in the surveyor teams at the outports of Glasgow and Newcastle seen in Figure 5.4. In 1834, the UK shipbuilding industry had been dominated by yards in London and on the South Coast, but the move to iron construction and the advent of steam dramatically altered the geographical concentration of the industry. As stated by Slaven, 'by the beginning of the twentieth century half of all merchant shipbuilding output was concentrated on the North East coast', with another 'great concentration' existing on the Clyde which 'regularly delivered around 30 per cent of new merchant tonnage'.[488] By 1957, the Scottish LR offices at Glasgow, Greenock and along the Clyde had a total of 129 surveyors.[489]

Aside from general patterns in British maritime activity, there are a few other factors that directly influenced LR surveyor numbers at the outports around the UK seen in Figure 5.4.

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[486] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 220.

[487] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1847-1884, Entry for A.E. Keydell, 170.

[488] Slaven, *British Shipbuilding,* 50.

[489] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Surveyors, 1956-1959.

Some were more minor than others. For example, the rises seen around 1949-50 in some of the ports were possibly the direct result of the amalgamation of the Society with the British Corporation for the Survey and Registry of Shipping [hereafter BC]. Some former BC surveyors were retained by LR after the amalgamation, one example being Thomas Dixon, who was kept on as an LR surveyor in Hull having previously worked as a surveyor for BC in that port.[490] A more important factor however, and one that is particularly important to the staffing levels in Hull, was the development of British trawling (see Chapter 4). The growth of the surveyor team in Hull corresponded with the emergence of new trawling technology, and the constant modernisation in shipyards around the Humber made the Hull office an ideal location for LR to engage with the trawling industry and extend its sphere of influence into the most dangerous maritime occupation in the world. This goes some way in explaining why surveyor numbers in Hull and Grimsby continued to follow an upward trend in the years after the 1880s and 1890s, and why such staff were retained even after major Humber shipyards like Earles Shipbuilding and Engineering Company closed down in the early 1930s. (see Figure 5.5).

[490] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Thomas Leslie Dixon, no page number.

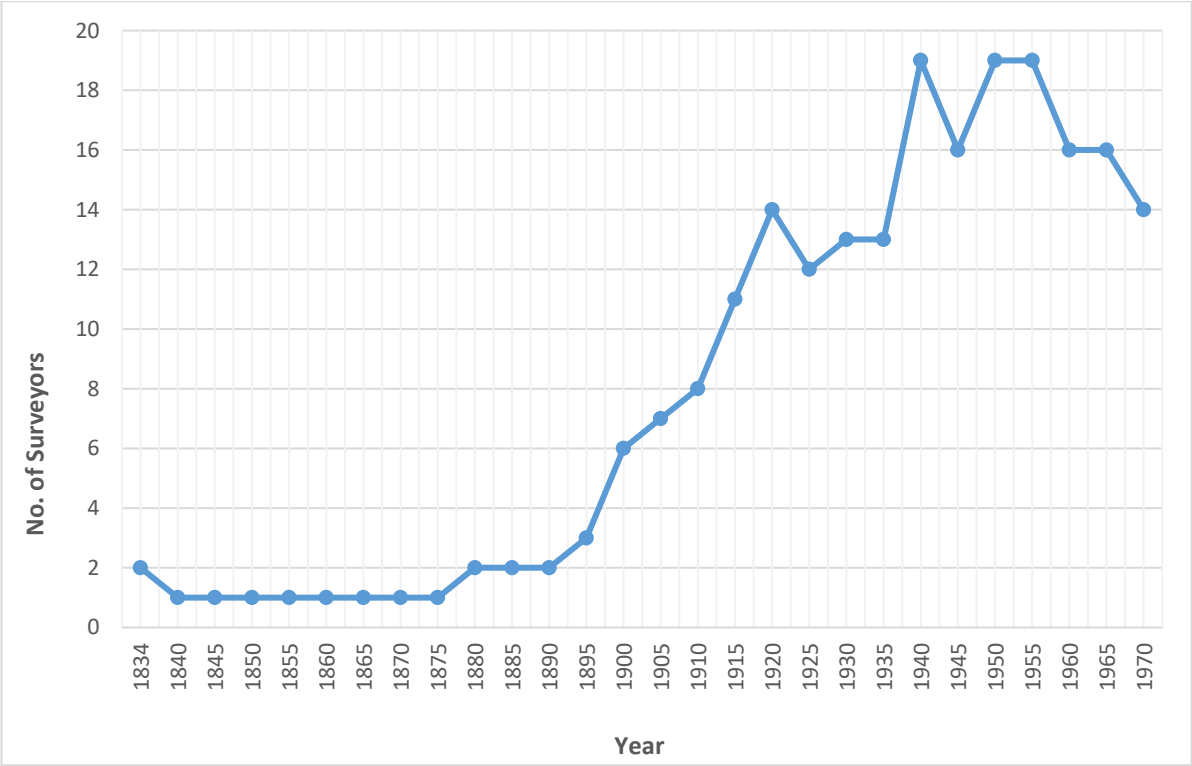

Figure 5.5 Number of Lloyd's Register Surveyors based at the Humber Outport Offices, 1834-1970

Source: See Figure 5.4.

A final factor that influenced surveyor numbers in outports like Hull, and perhaps the most significant, was the impact of conflict. As seen in the analysis of the administrative staff in Hull, conflict affected staffing levels across the outports, and no section of the LR staff was more significantly affected than the surveyors. In some instances, conflict directly led to an increase in surveyor numbers. Watson states that, as a result of British shipyards being instructed to give priority to military requirements in the First World War, 'the Society found itself busier than ever', with total surveyor numbers rising from 360 in 1914 to 513 during the conflict.[491] This could certainly be seen in the surveyor numbers on the Humber, with the total number of surveyors across the Hull and Grimsby offices rising from twelve in 1914 to reach seventeen in 1918. The depression years of the 1930s saw a reduction in staff across the Society generally, although the number of surveyors in Hull remained steady, even slightly increasing, largely as a result of the aforementioned commitment to the modernisation of the trawler fleet.

A closer inspection of the surveyors in Hull during the Second World War also allows for a better understanding of the conflict's effect on the day-to-day lives of the surveyors. Some staff stationed overseas were forced to abandon their positions and return home, one

[491] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 37, 221.

example being Albert Scott, who joined the LR office in Hull in September 1939 having been forced to leave his post in Genoa at the outbreak of the war.[492] This represented the second time that Scott's LR career had been impacted directly by conflict having been forced to leave his position in Valencia and return to London in August 1936 as a result of the Spanish Civil War.[493] For other surveyors, conflict forced them to take on other roles and responsibilities. Often alongside his LR work in Hull, Roynon Piddington joined the Board of Trade 'for duty under the director of Sea Transport in Newcastle, the department responsible for the merchant shipping requirements of the armed forces during the Second World War.[494] In fact, several members of the LR team in Hull at the time volunteered to help the war effort during the conflict. Dorothy Jacobs, the clerk who would eventually leave Hull to join the WRENs, volunteered as a member of the cyclist messenger corps in the city in September 1942 during her employment with LR.[495] Likewise, Piddington, William Engledow, and Alfred Edwards all volunteered in Hull as fire guards and watchers alongside their work as LR surveyors in the port.[496] Given that most estimates place Hull as the 'second most blitzed British city of the war', it is likely these three surveyors would have seen some service during this voluntary work, particularly during the bombing raids of 1942, the year that at least two of the three surveyors volunteered as fire guards and watchers.[497]

5.3.3 Diversification of Lloyd's Register in Hull

Cleary, LR surveyor staffing levels in Hull provide an insight into the wide variety of factors, both national and regional, that influenced the number of surveyors employed by LR not only in and around Hull and the Humber, but also across the Society. Indeed, taking a closer look at the data from the Humber region can provide useful insights into the development of the Society as a whole, particularly in the diversification of its operational activity (see Figure 5.6).

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[492] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Albert Edward Scott, no page number.

[493] *Ibid.*

[494] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for Roynon Sanders Piddington, no page number.

[495] HHC, Hull City Archives, C TYR/3/1001, Registration of Personnel for Civil Defence Service, Cyclist Messenger Corps personnel card: Dorothy Ada Jacobs (28 September 1942).

[496] HHC, Hull City Archives, C TYR/4/1/2207119, Registration of Personnel for Civil Defence Service, Fire Guard Section personnel card – Men: Roynon Sanders Piddington (12 March 1942); TYR/4/1/12929, Registration of personnel for Civil Defence Service, Fire Guard Section personnel card – Men: Wm. Burcham Engledow (18 March 1942); C TYR/4/1/12428, Registration of Personnel for Civil Defence Service, Fire Guard Section personnel card – Men: Alfred Edwards (c.1939-1945).

[497] D. Atkinson, "Trauma, Resilience and Utopianism in Second World War Hull", in Starkey, *et al.*, *Hull*, 239, 247.

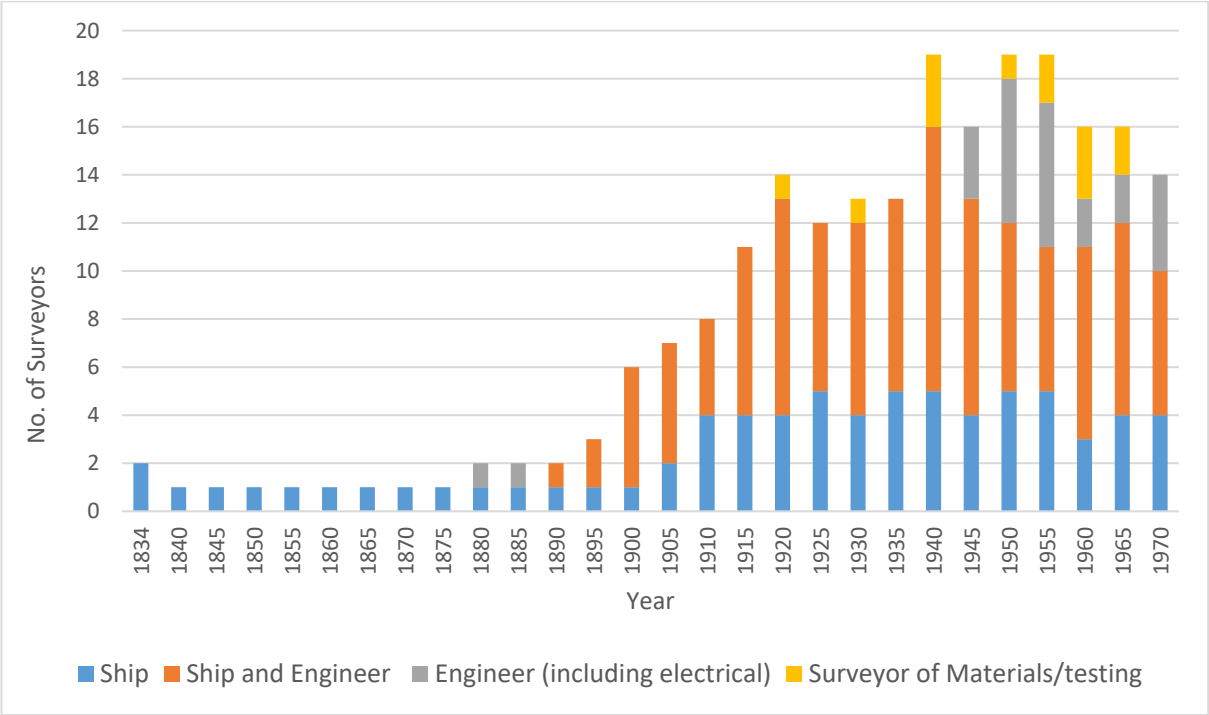

Figure 5.6 Diversification of Lloyd's Register Surveyor Employment around the Humber, 1834-1970

Source: See Figure 5.4.

By taking the total number of surveyors in the Humber offices of LR, and by drawing a distinction between the different roles, it is possible to observe and analyse the evolution within the staff of the Humber offices and of the Society's response to changing technologies alongside the subsequent diversification of its work as a whole. What is immediately apparent from the data in Figure 5.6 is that, for the first few decades after the reconstitution, the role of the LR surveyor remained focused on the vessel under survey. For outports like Hull, this meant that candidates were employed either as shipwright or nautical surveyors, the former group being responsible for surveying vessels under construction, and the latter employed to survey vessels in service.[498] Although the distinction between shipwright and nautical surveyor seemingly remained in use by the Society until the 1870s, it was not made within the lists of surveyors found in the register books nor in the biographical information kept for each surveyor before the twentieth century. Instead, the Society either did not provide a role identification or, after 1874, grouped the two together under the blanket term of "ship surveyor", a title adopted by this enquiry in Figure 5.6. Within the material available to this enquiry, the only year in which a definitive distinction can be drawn between shipwright and nautical surveyors in Hull is 1834, when Hull shipowners had campaigned to have one of each stationed at the LR office in the port. Nevertheless, it is clear from the data presented in Figure

[498] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 216.

5.6 that the Hull office moved through the first few decades after reconstitution with a surveyor staff comprised entirely of either shipwright or nautical surveyors, a pattern that could be clearly identified across the outports of the Society.

The first major change occurred in the 1870s with the arrival of specialist staff trained to work with engineering developments emerging in maritime industries. The arrival of the "engineer surveyor" was one example of the Society's response to these developments and, to a certain extent, further demonstrates the cautious approach that the Society often took towards technological change. Steam engines, and related technological developments had been a factor of maritime work long before LR appointed its first engineer surveyor. In 1850, sixteen years after the reconstitution, sail still dominated the British fleet, accounting for 89 per cent of all vessels built and first registered in the UK, with steam only accounting for eleven per cent of the total.[499] However, by 1870 steam had risen dramatically to account for 65.9% of such vessels.[500] LR itself had issued its first set of rules and regulations for ships navigated by steam in 1835, with rules for vessels built of iron arriving in 1855, but it was not until 1873-4 that the first three engineer surveyors arrived in London.[501] This delay was likely the result of the caution deployed by LR when tackling emerging technologies. It appears the Society wanted to wait until steam accounted for more vessels than sail before committing to the widespread deployment of specialist engineering staff. The specific timing of this deployment could also have been the result of the Society needing a set of specialist staff in place around the country to implement its plans for a set of rules and regulations tackling machinery, which were eventually published in 1885, just over a decade from the first arrival of the engineer surveyors.[502]

Whatever the reason for the initial caution, once the decision had been made to appoint engineer surveyors, their arrival across the outports was rapid. The 1874 register book was the first to contain engineer surveyors, listing three such appointments in London.[503] The following year, the number of engineer surveyors had risen to seven, with the outports of Cardiff, Greenock, Liverpool and Sunderland all having engineers added to their staff.[504] Hull's first engineer surveyor, A.E. Keydell, arrived in 1876 along with similar appointments in

[499] Slaven, *British Shipbuilding*, 17.

[500] *Ibid.*

[501] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 367; Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping, *Register Book for 1874* (London: Wyman & Sons, 1874).

[502] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 367.

[503] Lloyd's Register, *Register Book for 1874.*

[504] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Surveyors, 1871-1886.

Dundee, and in the following three years, the outport offices at Hartlepool, Newcastle, Glasgow and Falmouth all received their first LR engineer surveyors.[505] This selection of outports is unsurprising and demonstrates LR targeting the initial phase of engineer surveyor appointments at offices within the major shipbuilding areas of the UK at the start of the decade (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Top Ten Regions for Output of UK Shipbuilding, 1871

Region	Net Tonnage	% UK Total
Clyde	115,136	29.0
Wear	73.196	18.7
Tyne	55,398	14.2
Tees	37,034	9.5
Mersey and North West	28,837	7.4
Humber	28,410	7.3
Thames and South East	13,038	3.3
Southwest and Bristol Channel	9,663	2.5
Belfast	1,842	2.0
Aberdeen and North East Scotland	7,314	1.9

Source: Slaven, *British shipbuilding*, 19-20.

By the end of the 1870s, the ten most important regions for UK shipbuilding at the start of the decade all had access to at least one LR engineer surveyor, with appointments in Dundee and Greenock covering Aberdeen and Belfast respectively. By 1879, at least fifteen engineer surveyors had been appointed by the Society across the UK, a number that would continue to increase in the following decades. The arrival of the engineer surveyor also altered the labels given to surveyor appointments. As previously mentioned, 'the old distinction between shipwright and nautical surveyors vanished', being replaced by the all-encompassing label of "ship surveyor" which would continue to be seen within the staff of the Hull office for the remainder of the period under review.[506] Arguably more important however, was the emergence of a dual designation. Known as the "ship and engineer" surveyors, the arrival of this group in the early 1880s is perhaps the clearest demonstration of the evolving nature of the Society's work. As the name suggests, ship and engineer surveyors were staff who were qualified to undertake surveys of the growing engineering element of the Society's work alongside the decades old process of standard ship surveying. By replacing two separate

[505] *Ibid.*

[506] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 220.

surveyors for ships and engineering respectively, this all-in-one approach enabled engineering work to be undertaken by the Society even in smaller outports where the retention of a large staff was not practical. Hull's first dual designation surveyor was James Innes, who was appointed as a ship and engineer surveyor in 1886 and remained in that capacity in Hull for eighteen years before departing for a senior engineer position for LR in Hartlepool.[507] From this first appointment, the position of ship and engineer surveyor quickly came to dominate the Hull office, as shown in Figure 5.6. In 1891, ship and engineer surveyors outnumbered those employed solely as ship surveyors for the first time and, although occasionally on par with each other, the latter would never overtake the former in the Hull office for the remainder of the period in question.

From the mid-1890s until the 1970s, the majority of the surveyors employed in the Hull office had an engineering element to their appointment, whether in a singular or dual designation, a clear demonstration of the evolving nature of the Society's work. By 1883, over 80 per cent of the vessels built and first registered in the UK were powered by steam.[508] It was no longer acceptable for a majority of the surveyors employed by LR in outports like Hull to focus on surveying ships alone. They needed to be familiar with evolving engineering practises in order to undertake survey work on engines, boilers and machinery, all of which were fast becoming a major part of the Society's work around the world. The dramatic shift away from the "ship surveyor" towards an engineering staff in ports like Hull is undoubtedly one of the clearest demonstrations of this evolution of the Society's operational activity, and goes some way in signifying the diversification of LR's work across the outports. Another example of this, seen within the staff in the Humber offices in Figure 5.6, is the employment of surveyors whose focus was not on vessels at all, but rather on materials and material testing. The appointment of such surveyors began long before their arrival around the Humber, with inspectors for steel forgings having been appointed to places like Sunderland as early as 1883.[509] The Society's interest in this area, however, soon began to grow and diversify, with LR keen to ensure that new materials intended for maritime usage were being adequately produced and tested. This resulted in a flurry of new rules and regulations being introduced at the end of the 1880s, starting with a new set for the construction of steel ships in 1888, and followed by rules for steel yachts and rules for iron and steel the following year.[510]

[507] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Surveyors, 1886-1889.

[508] Slaven, *British Shipbuilding*, 17.

[509] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Surveyors, 1871-1886.

[510] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 366.

Surveying the materials linked to ship construction, therefore, became a vital part of the Society operational activity, and its close proximity to the major steel works in Scunthorpe made the Humber an ideal candidate for the appointment of such surveyors. The first two Humber-based material surveyors arrived in the Grimsby office in 1914. They were responsible for the testing of steel, largely out of Scunthorpe, that was being used in the construction of vessels around the area, particularly on the strength of steel being used on trawlers.[511] From this time onwards, surveyors focused on the materials used in vessel construction were a regular part of the technical staff based around the Humber, although not to the same level of consistency as the engineering presence. Such staff would eventually move to an office in Scunthorpe which opened in 1941-42 and was initially independent of the neighbouring LR offices in Hull and Grimsby before being designated as a sub-office under the administration of the principal surveyor in Hull in 1947-48.[512]

The different surveyor roles, therefore, seen in the Humber offices of the Society provide a clear indication of the diversification of LR's operational activity, particularly from the 1870s. In the forty years immediately after reconstitution, the Society's staff around the Humber remained relatively consistent, focusing their work on the surveying of ships both afloat and under construction. In the following forty years however, those offices saw the familiar ship surveyor positions supplanted by the introduction of an engineering staff that would come to dominate the operational activity of the Society on the Humber, and the arrival of staff whose focus was not on the vessels themselves but on the materials used in their construction. Such dramatic changes are a useful example of the changing work of LR around the world, and the impact that changing technological demands within maritime industries had on the Society at both a technical level, and on the ground in places like Hull.

5.3.4 Average Age of the Technical Staff in Hull

Though factors like the diversification of staff roles within outport offices can provide an insight into the operational activity of LR, the staff records of the Society can also provide a number of useful avenues of research relating directly to the people being employed by LR to fill those roles. One such area of investigation can be explored by looking at the age of the technical staff in Hull. The focus here is threefold, analysing the age of surveyors at both their appointment to and departure from the Hull office, and charting the average age of the team stationed at Hull during a case study period (see Figure 5.7). Taking each in turn, these areas of

[511] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Surveyors, 1911-1915.

[512] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Surveyors, 1936-1941; LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Surveyors, 1942-1947.

research can shed light on both the surveyors themselves, and the response of LR to the ever-changing demands being placed upon it.

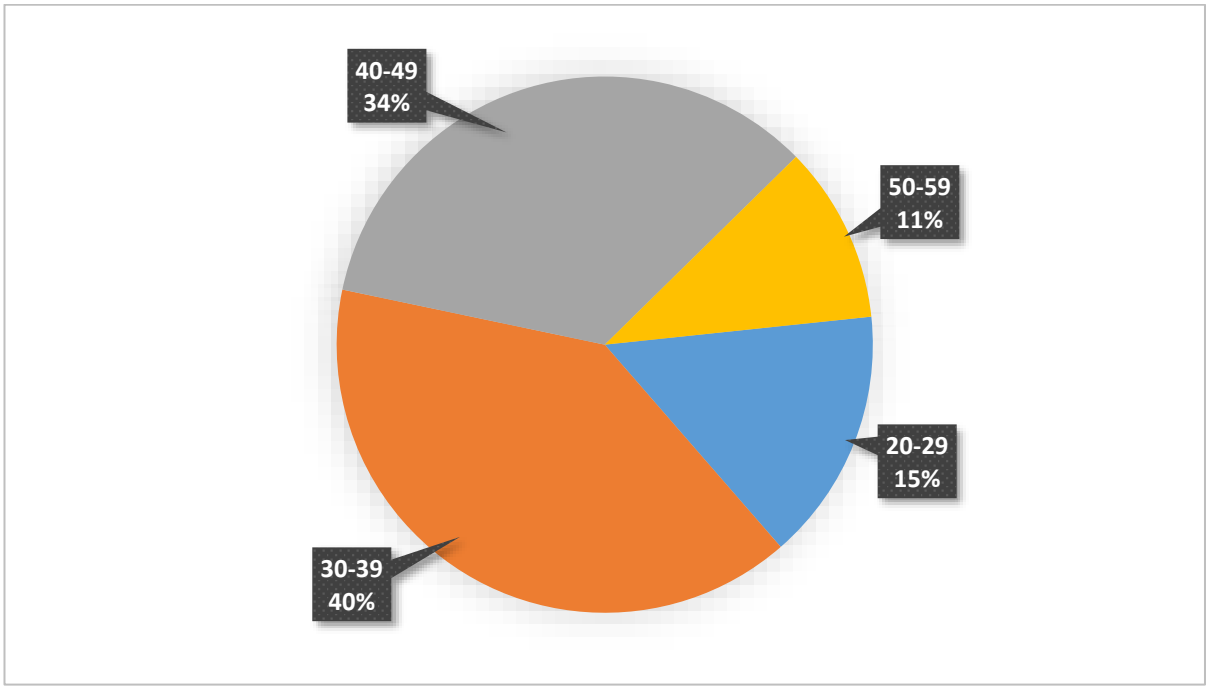

Figure 5.7 Age of Lloyd's Register Surveyors at their appointment to the Hull Office, c.1834-1972

Sources: LRFHEC, Lists of Surveyors, 1834-1970, Lists of Officers, 1834-1963.

Between 1834 and 1972 there were 131 surveyor appointments made to the Hull office for which age data is available. Across those surveyors, the average age at appointment was 38.7 years old, with the majority of the appointments to Hull involving candidates aged between 30 and 39, with 52 appointments or just under 40 per cent of the surveyors being in their thirties at the time of their appointment. 45 appointments, equating to 34 per cent of the total were of candidates in their forties, and 20 appointments involved surveyors aged between 20 and 29 upon their arrival in Hull. The smallest section of the data involved candidates in their fifties, with only fourteen of the 131 appointments involving surveyors aged between 50 and 59, the oldest being Frederick Ramsay Palmer who was appointed to the Hull office in June 1942 aged 58 years and 10 months.[513] Interestingly, Palmer's appointment in June 1942 came in the same month that the youngest surveyor appointed to Hull left the office. Robert Hallan Thompson Gordon was 25 years old at his appointment to Hull in January 1941, becoming the youngest surveyor LR had appointed to the port hitherto, and he was only 26 when he left that office in June 1942, with Palmer possibly even being brought in as a direct

[513] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Frederick Ramsay Palmer, no page number.

replacement for Gordon, with both men being designated as ship surveyors.[514] It is also worth noting here that the data suggest the average age at appointment to Hull fell during the first half of the twentieth century, a fact explored in more depth in the next section of this chapter, and in the data presented in Figure 5.10. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the fact that Robert Gordon was 26 when he left Hull for another LR post in Manchester also made him the youngest surveyor to leave LR's employment in the port, and the departure ages for surveyors working in Hull are another interesting area of investigation (see Figure 5.8).

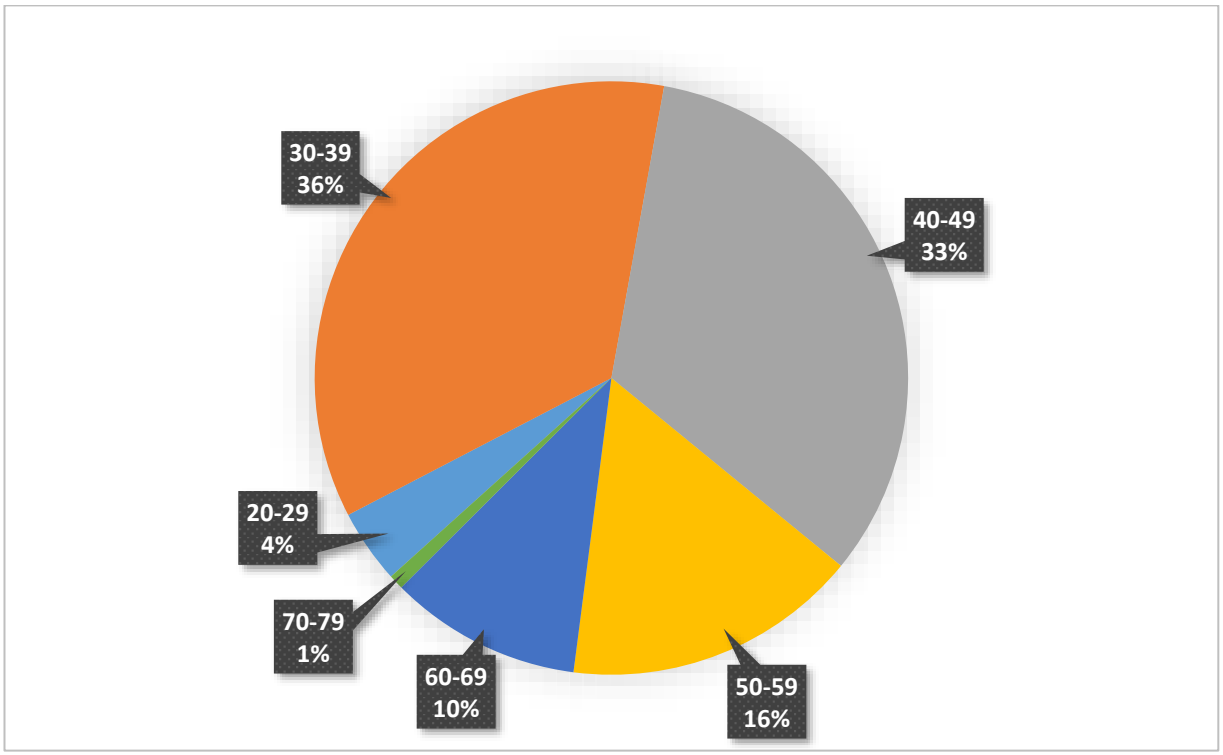

Figure 5.8 Age of Lloyd's Register Surveyors at their departure from the Hull Office, c.1834-1970

Source: See Figure 5.7.

Figure 5.8 contains the age of surveyors for the 124 departures from the Hull office for which such data was available. The vast majority of departures from Hull were of staff aged 40 and above, with around 60 per cent of the surveyors aged between 40 and 70 years old when they left the Hull office. Indeed, the average age for departure from Hull was towards the bottom of this range, standing at 43.8 years old between the years listed in Figure 5.8. When taken in combination with the average age at appointment, the data suggest that, on average, surveyors would spend around five years working for the Society in the Hull Office, which fits within LR's own operational aims regarding the movement of surveyors, something that will be discussed later in this chapter. Breaking down the departure statistics by decade

[514] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for Robert Hallan Thompson Gordon, no page number.

reveals that the most common age for departure fell between 30 and 39, with 44 of the 124 departures involving surveyors who were in their thirties when they left LR employment in Hull, providing an explanation as to why the average age of departure is at the lower end of the 40-70 age bracket. 33 per cent of the departures involved surveyors in their forties, with 41 surveyors leaving Hull between the ages of 40-49, and 20 left Hull aged between 50-60, equating to sixteen per cent of the total. Five surveyors left Hull during their twenties, the youngest again being Robert Gordon who, as previously mentioned, left the Hull office in June 1942, shortly after his 26th birthday.[515] At the opposite end of the age spectrum, fourteen surveyors left the Hull office aged between 60 and 80, with thirteen being in their sixties at the time of their departure from the office. The remaining surveyor, electrical engineer William George Connell, was 70 years and seven months old when he retired from the Society in June 1958 after almost seventeen years in LR employment. [516] This made him the oldest surveyor to have worked on behalf of the Society in Hull, and one of number of surveyors who retired from LR service in that port, another topic that will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

The age of surveyors at their appointment and departure from the Hull office therefore provides useful information when appraising the people of LR, but age statistics are also immensely useful in understanding how factors both internal and external affected the Society's employment of surveyors. This is perhaps most apparent when studying the average age of the surveyor team in Hull during a shorter case study period between 1901-1949 (see Figure 5.9).

[515] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for Robert Hallan Thompson Gordon, no page number.

[516] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for William George Connell, no page number.

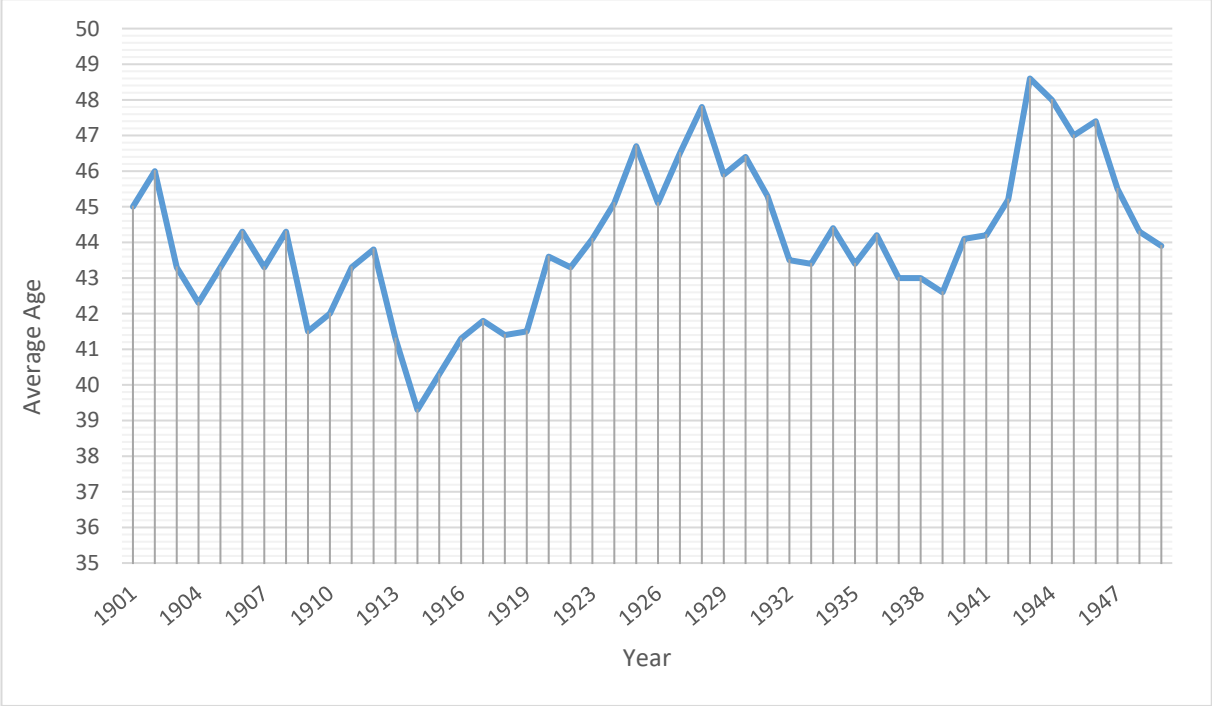

Figure 5.9 Average Age of the Lloyd's Register Surveyor team in the Hull Office, 1901-1949

Source: See Figure 5.7.

What is immediately apparent in Figure 5.9 is the steady downward trend in age during the first decade of the twentieth century. Indeed, in 1914, the team had an average age of 39.3 years old, the lowest age of any surveyor team in Hull during the case study period, and the youngest since the 1890s. The main reason for this reduction is the fact that the first decade of the twentieth century saw a significant movement of staff in and out of Hull, largely as a result of the changing demands being placed on the Society and the subsequent move towards a staff largely comprised of engineers. As a part of this evolution, many of the older members of the technical staff in the Hull office at the start of the decade had left by the mid-1910s, with the majority of the departures being of surveyors over 45 years old. This included principal surveyor Allison. B. Wilson who retired from the Society in 1913 aged 60 after 28 years of LR employment as a ship surveyor.[517] Equally apparent in Figure 5.9 is the general increase in the average age of the team during the First World War and the interwar years. It has been suggested by Watson that wartime demands placed on the Society forced it to recall older surveyors from retirement, but this does not appear to have occurred in the Hull office, and it is certainly not the reason behind the increase in average age of the staff in Hull.[518] That increase was rather the result of limited staff movement, with surveyors being retained in Hull,

[517] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1874-1930, Entry for Allison B. Wilson, 259.

[518] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 37.

thus increasing the average each year as surveyors grew older. Five of the seven surveyors listed as working in Hull in 1914 were still stationed in that office in 1919.

Likewise, after a significant post-war change of staff between 1921 and 1922, the remainder of the 1920s also saw another period of relative staff stability in Hull, led by Henry Gibbs who served as the principal surveyor in the port for much of that decade. There were likely several reasons for this move, but two are particularly important. Firstly, the retention of staff during the First World War gave the Hull office the stability it needed to handle the increased wartime workload of the Society, one factor directly responsible for the increased number of surveyors employed across the outports identified earlier in Figures 5.4 and 5.5. This, of course, does not explain the retention of staff during the 1920s, but this was likely the result of the Society wanting to maintain a team in Hull that would be familiar with the designs and requirements of trawlers. Evidence from the surveyor biographies supports this theory. Shortly before his departure from the Hull office, Henry Gibbs was awarded an extra £105 for his work on the development of the Society's new rules for the construction of trawlers in 1927, demonstrating the fact that LR were utilising the experience of the surveyors in Hull to develop rules and expand its operational outreach.[519] This was not the first time Hull surveyors had been deployed in this manner. The 1884 *Annals* note that Henry Adams, stationed at Hull from 1850 to 1863, was one of three surveyors who formed a committee to consider the introduction of rules for iron ships in the 1850s, their subsequent reports constituting 'an excellent and safe guide in the preparation of the rules for iron ships'.[520] Within a year of the publication of the first set of trawler rules, two of the oldest and most senior surveyors in the Hull office during the 1920s, Gibbs and Arthur Scullard, had both left the port, again possibly demonstrating that the Society had kept them in Hull until the trawler rules had been completed using their experience. The departure of these two surveyors was also a contributing factor for the decrease in average age seen at the end of the 1920s and into the 1930s. Older staff were again replaced in a notable rearrangement of the team in Hull, further supporting the assertion that this marked the end of the major project of developing trawler rules.

The most dramatic rise in age during the period came during the Second World War, during which the average age of the Hull surveyors reached 48.6 years old, that figure arriving in 1943 and representing the highest average age in Hull for over 100 years. As with the First World War and interwar period, this rise in average age was partly the result of

[519] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1874-1930, Entry for Henry Arthur Gibbs, 15.

[520] LR, *Annals* (1884), 77.

relative stability within the staff, with half of the eight surveyors based in the port in 1939 still working in Hull in 1945. However, the rise was also due, in part, to the arrival of older surveyors into the Hull office. George Laing and Albert Scott, both over 50, were appointed to the Hull office after being recalled from offices in Europe upon the outbreak of war, and the oldest surveyor to join the Hull office, Frederick Palmer, was also appointed during this period, replacing the youngest ever appointment to Hull, explaining why the rise in average age during the period is so dramatic.[521] As seen to a smaller extent at the end of the First World War, the final year of the Second World War and the first years of peace that followed saw another decrease in the average age of the staff in Hull. Some of its older surveyors left at this time, starting with the departure of William Engledow at the age of 61, but also including the then 63-year-old George Laing who retired from service in 1947.[522] This, coupled with the departures of staff after the publication of trawler rules, further demonstrates LR's policy of keeping a steady team of surveyors together during difficult or high-pressure periods, allowing surveyors to then leave shortly after such periods ended.

The average age figures, therefore, can offer a unique glimpse into both the staff who worked on behalf of the Society in Hull, and the staffing policies adopted by LR across the outports, and the many factors that could influence those policies. One such factor that should be addressed in more detail, however, is the educational and training policies adopted by the Society for its technical staff.

5.3.5 Education and Training of Lloyd's Register Surveyors in Hull

In addition to quantitative analysis of factors such as the number of surveyors, the diversification of LR's operational activity, and the average age of the team in Hull, the qualitative data available on the Society's surveyors who worked in and around the Hull office can also provide a valuable insight into the life and work of those surveyors. LR kept brief biographies of the surveyors who worked for the Society all over the world in a series of documents titled the Lists of Officers, although known colloquially at LR as the staff bibles. These biographies provide a fascinating insight into the careers of the surveyors, and initially focused on providing a list of each appointment held by every surveyor. By the 1930s, however, the biographies had become more detailed, providing extra information on the background of each surveyor, alongside their LR career profile. This enquiry has consulted

[521] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entries for George Alexander Laing and Albert Edward Scott, no page numbers; LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Frederick Ramsay Palmer, no page number.

[522] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1874-1930, Entry for William B. Engledow, 203; LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for George Alexander Laing, no page number.

biographies for 123 surveyors who worked for either LR or BC in the port of Hull or its sub-office in Scunthorpe at some point in their careers. Studying the biographical information kept in these documents, particularly on topics like education and training, and the reasons for appointment and departure, allows for a fuller understanding of the experience of an LR surveyor, revealing some of key tools used by the Society to maintain effective outports.

The education and training of LR surveyors is one factor that can be better understood by taking a closer look at the technical staff in and around the Society's office in Hull and, for the purposes of this enquiry it is useful to draw a distinction between education and training before LR employment, and training taken after the surveyors had joined the Society. Education and training before LR appointment was an integral part of the surveyor selection process. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, LR had high expectations for candidates for surveyor posts right from the off, with the Provisional Committee for the reconstitution laying out in detail the expectations for candidates for shipwright and nautical surveyor positions. Unfortunately, due to limitations in the staff bibles up until the 1930s, it is not possible to provide an accurate analysis of the education and training for 47 of the 123 Hull surveyor biographies consulted for this enquiry. However, some more general remarks on the education and training of the early LR surveyors can still be made. For example, it is certainly clear that at the reconstitution, the Society focused more on the experience held by each surveyor candidate rather than on any formal qualifications they might have. As previously addressed, candidates for shipwright surveyor posts were generally expected to have undertaken an apprenticeship of around seven years, followed by five years shipyard experience, and nautical surveyors were likewise expected to have had previous experience, particularly in work at sea, and were usually required to have reached the rank of master.[523] The original notice produced by the Provisional Committee to announce the opening of applications for surveyor posts makes little reference to formal qualifications beyond the simple statement that candidates for shipwright surveyors should be 'practical men possessing the highest attainments of their profession' alongside 'general knowledge and experience' in that field of work.[524] The stipulations for nautical surveyor candidates were equally vague on qualifications, stating that nautical surveyors should be 'well informed in the

[523] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 216.

[524] LRFHEC, Minute Books, Provisional Committee, Notice on the Appointment of Surveyors, 20 January 1834, by N.W. Symonds, 127-8.

construction and quality of ships', instead stressing that candidates must have had 'experience in the superintendence' of the building of ships, 'repairs and equipment'.[525]

Experience, therefore, was a particularly important factor for the Society when appointing surveyors, and it remained so throughout the period of focus for this chapter. It is equally clear, however, that, as the operational activity of the Society became more diverse, LR became more interested in the qualifications and background of the surveyors, collecting information on the formal education and qualifications alongside the experience of each candidate. After 1930, the biographies reflect this diversification of focus, with the result being that 76 of the 123 Hull surveyor biographies consulted by this enquiry provide detailed background information. From this data, a few useful observations can be made.

Firstly, the importance the Society placed on training through apprenticeships is clear. All of the 76 Hull surveyors whose biographies have background information available had previously served at least one apprenticeship in a related industry. The majority, that being 46, had their first apprenticeship with a shipyard, either serving a shipbuilding, shipwright, repair or shipbuilding and engineering company. Sixteen of the 76 surveyors served an apprenticeship with an engineering firm including electrical engineering, and six worked for various shipping companies, including John Little Smith who served his apprenticeship with Cunard.[526] The remaining eight surveyors had apprenticeships with a variety of different companies including iron and steel works, mining companies, and even one who had an apprenticeship with the General Post Office as an electrical engineer.[527] This diversity within the apprenticeships undertaken by Hull surveyors is, therefore, another demonstration of the diversification of the Society's work, particularly seen through the number of surveyors whose education and training related directly to engineering.

Many of the 76 Hull surveyors had also received formal education prior to or during their apprenticeships. The information in 53 of the 76 surveyor biographies states that the individual had attended school, college or university prior to or during their apprenticeships. For the majority, this formal education focused on engineering, with 52 of the 76 Hull surveyors listed as having studied or held a formal qualification in engineering prior to their appointment with the Society, another example of the shift in LR's operational activity towards engineering. Many of these engineering qualifications were awarded by the Board of Trade, but others came from traditional academia, with ship and engineer surveyor, John Stileman,

[525] *Ibid.*

[526] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for John Little Smith, no page number.

[527] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for William George Connell, no page number.

having graduated with a degree in engineering from the University of Cambridge in the early 1920s.[528] Furthermore, 25 of the 76 surveyors, including some that had qualifications in engineering, also studied or had experience in naval architecture prior to their appointment with LR, one example being Walter Malcolm, who had graduated from Armstrong College, Newcastle, with a B.Sc. in naval architecture before joining the Society in 1919.[529] Some of the 76 surveyors were even educated in and around Hull and the Humber. Engineer surveyor, John Holdorf, attended Hull Grammar School before studying at Hull Municipal Technical College [hereafter HMTC], the latter also being attended by Leonard Hornshaw before his apprenticeship with The Humber Shipwright Company on Hull's St. Andrew's Dock.[530] Another Hull engineer surveyor, John Jarvie, was also educated in Hull, attending Hymers College and HMTC before his apprenticeship with the Hull shipyard of Brigham & Cowan Ltd.[531] This enquiry also found the biographies of three other LR surveyors who were educated and or trained in Hull but did not go on to serve the Society in the port. David Edwards, who would serve LR in London, went to Hymers and HMTC before an apprenticeship with Hull-based marine engineers and boilermakers Amos & Smith in the late 1940s.[532] Kenneth Lowson attended Hull Trinity House Navigation School and studied mechanical engineering at HMTC before his apprenticeship with the Hull engineering firm C.D. Holmes & Company, over ten years after fellow LR surveyor Edward Butler had also served an apprenticeship with that company before serving LR in offices at London, Liverpool, Oslo and Naples.[533]

Outside of formal education, some of the 76 Hull surveyors also brought useful experience to the table. 48 had some experience working at sea, most commonly as engineers, and fourteen of the 76 even had prior surveyor experience. For example, Desmond Crowley, who joined the LR office in Hull as an engineer surveyor in August 1947, had previously worked for the Municipal Mutual Insurance Company as an engineer surveyor, and Joseph Ellis had previous experience as an inspector of materials for the Air Ministry during the Second World War before joining LR in the Scunthorpe office in May 1940.[534] Perhaps the most appropriate

[528] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for John Stileman, no page number.

[529] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Walter Malcolm, no page number.

[530] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entries for John Trevor Holdorf and Leonard William Hornshaw, no page numbers.

[531] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for John Nicol Jarvie, no page number.

[532] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for David Francis Edwards, no page number.

[533] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entries for Kenneth Raymond Lowson and Edward Frederick Butler, no page numbers.

[534] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entries for Desmond Albert Richard Crowley and Joseph Sydney Ellis, no page numbers.

example of previous surveyor experience for this enquiry was that of Alexander Hopkins who LR hired as a ship surveyor in Hull in March 1948 directly from his previous position of temporary ship surveyor in the port for the Ministry of Transport between June 1944 and February 1948.[535] Past experience of survey or inspection work was certainly not a prerequisite for employment with the Society, but in some cases, particularly that of Hopkins, it undoubtedly helped.

Education and training prior to LR appointment was clearly an important factor for the surveyors of the Society in Hull, but such training did not stop after they joined the Society. In fact, training its staff was a priority for LR throughout the period under investigation. The training that some of the earlier surveyors in Hull received from the Society is not clear, owing to the aforementioned brevity of the early biographical information kept by LR. However, when looking into the twentieth century, the in-house training offered to surveyors by the Society becomes clear. The focus was seemingly twofold, investing in training at appointment, and during a surveyor's career. The latter appears to have been a priority for surveyors embarking on a new appointment. For example, Bryan Maddocks, who worked for LR in Hull between 1957 and 1960, left the port to undertake training at Newcastle ahead of being appointed to Valencia.[536] However, other than Maddocks, few references are made to mid-career training in the surveyor biographies consulted for this enquiry. More evidence can be found for the training LR provided at appointment. Speaking in 1873, secretary of the Society, Bernard Waymouth stated that 'you cannot make a surveyor in a day', and advised LR that the most productive move would be for the Society 'to take young men, well-educated and well-grounded in the theory and practice of their profession, and then put them with good experienced surveyors', recommendations that the Society would continue to implement throughout the period of focus.[537] As stated by Watson, by the mid-twentieth century, 'staff training programmes had been operated for many years', often centring on periods of work spent in 'designated training outports where senior experienced surveyors acted as mentors for newcomers'.[538] This can be clearly identified across the Hull surveyor biographies consulted by this enquiry.

Of the aforementioned 76 examples that contain early career information, the biographies of 62 LR surveyors who served in Hull suggest that the surveyor either had a

[535] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Alexander Murray Hopkins, no page number.

[536] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for Bryan Bennett Maddocks, no page number.

[537] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 32.

[538] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 232.

period of probationary or temporary service at the start of their LR careers. For the majority of these surveyors, this period of service lasted a year from the date of their first appointment. For some, however, this period could be extended on account of substandard results, with Thomas Jobling's probationary period extended by six months after the Society deemed the 'manner in which he had discharged his duties' to be 'not entirely satisfactory'.[539] The surveyor's appointment to LR was not officially confirmed until this period of training had been completed. A typical example of this can be found the career of Francis Macfarlane, who worked as an engineer surveyor in the LR office in Hull from November 1951 until November 1952. Upon his appointment to the Society, Macfarlane was appointed to Hull for probationary service, completing his training in that port before being officially made a permanent member of staff on 1 November 1952, after which he was appointed to the new LR office in Suez, Egypt.[540] Macfarlane's biography states clearly that this early service was probationary, but other biographies included in the 62 either list this period as temporary service before official appointment confirmation, or simply state that a surveyors appointment was confirmed at a date later than the stated commencement of employment with LR.

One possible result of this increased staff training is the aforementioned reduction in the average age of surveyors at their appointment. Taking the first five decades of the twentieth century as a case study, it is clear that the average age of surveyor appointments to the Hull office decreased after a spike between 1901-10, coinciding with the arrival and increased use of the staff training schemes mentioned by Watson (see Figure 5.10). It is possible that, as a direct result of the increased training, the Society were able to employ surveyors earlier in their careers, the in-house training replacing the need for the increased levels of experience the Society previously requested of its candidates. More research would need to be done across the outports to confirm this theory, but it is certainly observable in the data for the Hull office.

[539] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Thomas Maurice George Jobling, no page number.

[540] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for Francis Alexander Macfarlane, no page number.

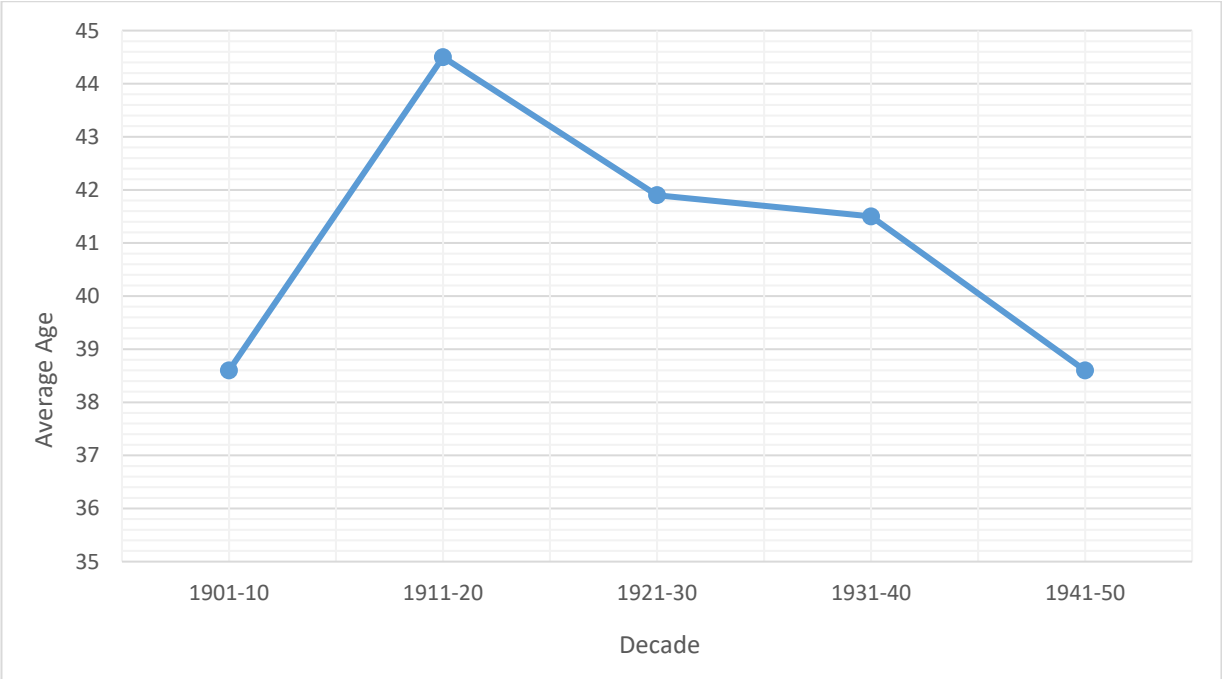

Figure 5.10 Average Age of Appointments to the Hull Office by Decade, 1901-1950

Source: See Figure 5.7.

Aside from early training, the aforementioned case of Francis Macfarlane's is also interesting given that his period of probationary service was undertaken in Hull. As mentioned earlier, Watson states that LR had selected a series of 'designated training outports', to which newly appointed surveyors could be sent to familiarise themselves with the standard practises of the Society.[541] A confirmed list of such training outports has not been seen by this enquiry, but the evidence certainly suggests that Hull was one. For example, taking the 62 biographies which suggest or state that a period of probationary or temporary service was taken at the start of a career, it is possible to get a breakdown of the ports to which those surveyors had been appointed to undertake their probationary or temporary service (see Figure 5.11).

[541] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 232.

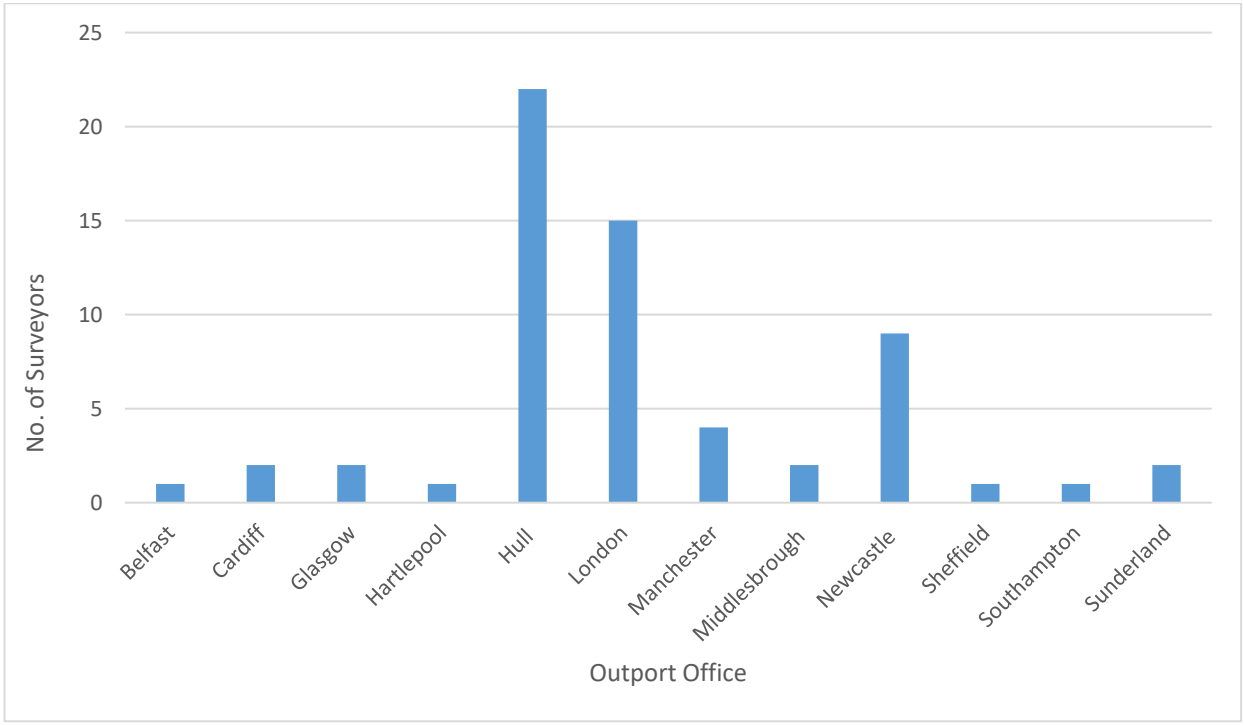

Figure 5.11 Outports for Probationary or Temporary Service of the Lloyd's Register Surveyors who worked in Hull

Source: LRFHEC, Lists of Officers, 1930-63.

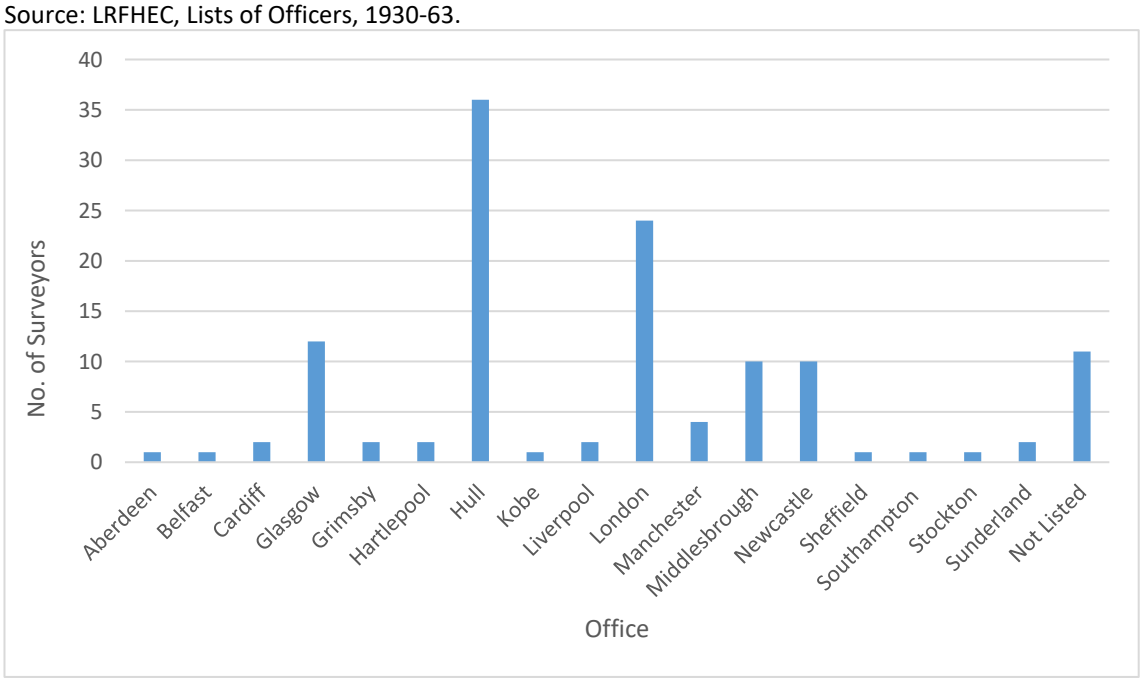

Figure 5.12 First Lloyd's Register Appointments for the Surveyors who worked for the Society in Hull, c.1834-1970

Sources: LRFHEC, Lists of Officers, 1834-1963.

The most common port for probationary or temporary service at the start of an LR career among the 62 biographies was Hull, which accounted for 22 surveyors or 35.5% of the total. Its closest rival, perhaps unsurprisingly, was London, with fifteen of the 62 surveyors undertaking their probationary or temporary service at the Society's head office. Further evidence to support the suggestion that Hull was one of the designated training outports can be found by expanding the surveyor net to encompass all 123 biographies consulted during this enquiry, paying particular attention to the first LR positions held by each of those 123 surveyors (see Figure 5.12). Although a majority of the surveyors who served LR in Hull did not start their careers in the Hull office, Hull appears more frequently than any other port or office when investigating these first appointments. Of course, this enquiry has focused solely on the surveyors who at some point in their careers worked out of the Hull office, so there will be a bias towards Hull within the data. Nevertheless, the scale of difference between Hull and the other outports for the Society, even between Hull and the Society's head office in London, suggests that it was a common place for surveyors to undertake their first official work for the Society, again supporting the assertion that Hull was, in all likelihood, one of the designated training outports for LR.

One can find further evidence by looking at some of the biographies in greater detail. The biography of Alfred Edwards is particularly interesting in this respect. In June 1953, Edwards, who spent many years in Hull as a ship and engineer surveyor before becoming Hull's principal surveyor in January 1955, was awarded a £100 grant from the Society in recognition of his 'good work as Senior surveyor' in Hull, 'especially in training probationers'.[542] The fact that senior surveyors in Hull, like Edwards, were obviously training new appointments frequently and well enough to warrant financial recognition again suggests that Hull must have been a centre for training within the Society. Furthermore, the fact the senior surveyors were clearly mentoring new staff, in combination with the clear presence of probationary and temporary service within Hull, means that the port fully complies with the model outlined by Watson for the designated training outports. Accordingly, the data presented in the staff biographies clearly demonstrates the importance placed on education and training by the Society, and reveals that Hull was likely a vital tool in this operational aim of LR.

5.3.6 Appointment and Departures of Lloyd's Register Surveyors in Hull

Like with training, the staff biographies also provide important information on the reasons behind surveyor appointments to and departures from the Hull office. The vast majority of

[542] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for Alfred William Bernard Edwards, no page number.

appointments to the Hull office were either to fill a vacancy or to increase the size of the team working out of the port. However, some surveyors were appointed to Hull for a specific reason, good examples being for training, or in response to the arrival of new shipping and shipbuilding technologies like the arrival or iron and steam. As shown earlier, the data presented within the staff biographies on the appointment of surveyors provides a clear indicator of the Society's response to issues like technological change, beginning to demonstrate the utility of the appointment and departure information within the staff biographies. The latter of those two sets of data, however, is more interesting, as the information about surveyor departures offers both a unique glimpse at the functioning of an LR outport and surveyor team, and an insight into the methods utilised by the Society to maintain effective outports in places like Hull (see Figure 5.13).

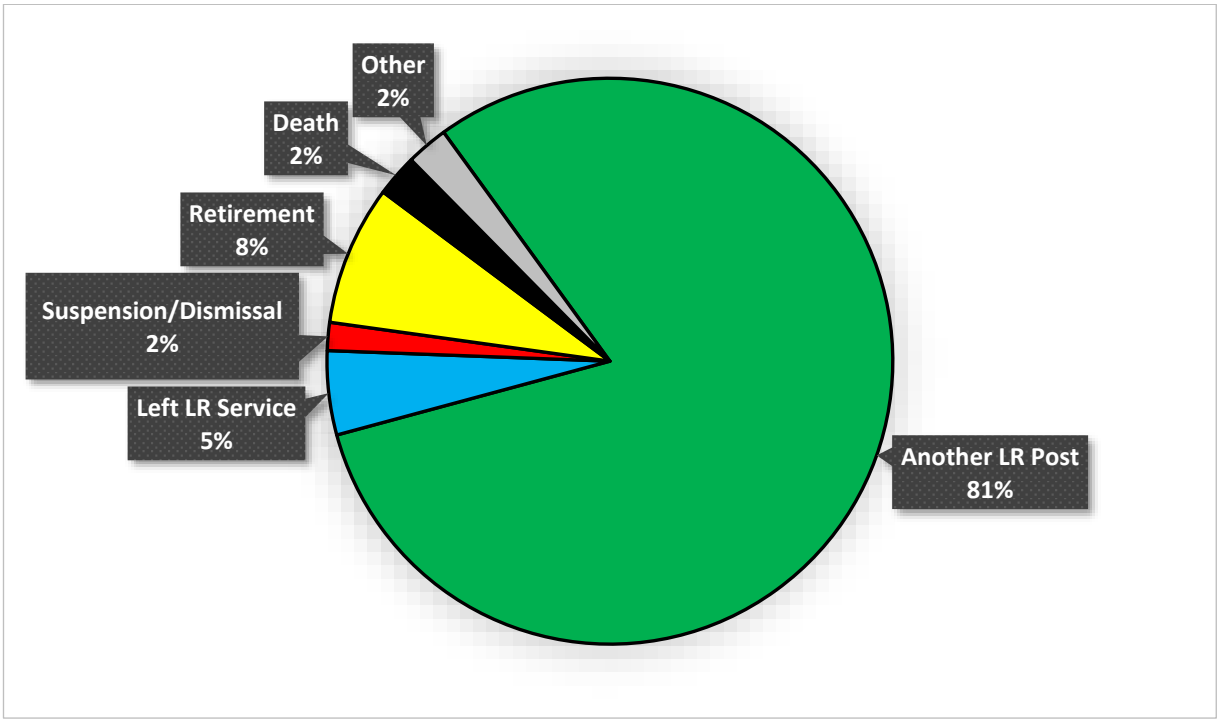

Figure 5.13 Reasons for Surveyor Departures from the Lloyd's Register Office in the port of Hull, 1834-1970

Source: See Figure 5.11.

It is important to state that the figures for departures from Hull also includes temporary absences, those from the sub-office in Scunthorpe, and the multiple departures of surveyors like Charles Sinclair Newton who worked in and left the Hull office on more than one occasion.[543] This explains why the total exit figure of 125 is higher than the total number of Hull surveyor biographies consulted during this enquiry. There are also some of the 123

[543] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for Charles Sinclair Newton, no page number.

biographical entries for which departure information was simply not available, largely due to the fact that the surveyors were still employed in the Hull office at the time the documents were produced. Furthermore, the "other" section of Figure 5.13 refers to surveyors who left the Hull office for war service, or after a jurisdiction change, a good example being the move to place the Scunthorpe office under the control of Sheffield rather than Hull in 1969-70, meaning the surveyors in Scunthorpe were no longer on the books at Hull. Nevertheless, Figure 5.13 contains some useful insights into LR's approach to maintaining effective outports.

As can be clearly seen, the vast majority of technical staff departures from the Hull office were the result of surveyors moving to take up another role within the Society, most commonly another outport post. Of the 125 departures recorded in Figure 5.13, 101 left Hull for another LR post, and this begins to shed light on a few key tools deployed by the Society to maintain effective outports. Firstly, and perhaps most obviously, it begins to reveal the significant effort the Society expended in staff retention. The fact that 101 surveyors left Hull for another LR post demonstrates the success LR had in this field, especially when compared with the low number of surveyors who resigned and left LR service which amounted to just six in Hull. Indeed, high rates of staff retention can be identified within the records of both the technical and administrative staff in Hull, and this was primarily achieved through a number of methods deployed by the Society.

The first was the notable effort put into making LR an attractive employer, both during the time served and after a surveyor's time with the Society came to an end. This started with a surveyor's salary. As stated by Watson, during the 1890s and into the early twentieth century, the LR surveyor was 'among the better-paid professional men of the day', with surveyors based in Europe earning on average between £300 and £500 annually.[544] Additionally, LR devoted significant resources to staff care, gaining a reputation for looking kindly on staff who had fallen on hard times.[545] In July 1926, Frederick Palmer, who served the Hull office as a ship surveyor in the early 1940s, received an extra £100 from LR to help alleviate his 'financial difficulties', and Walter Malcom received a grant of £30 in 1931 whilst he was awaiting an operation during his time working in Hull.[546] Support from the Society also extended to the families of its surveyors in times of need. In July 1933, Hull surveyor Alfred

[544] Watson, *Lloyd's Register,* 221.

[545] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 235.

[546] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entries for Frederick Ramsey Palmer and Walter Malcom, no page numbers.

Edwards was given a grant of £120.10 to help his family after his wife had fallen ill.[547] It is, therefore, unsurprising that staff retention rates were high within LR, and perhaps even more unsurprising to see that the second most common reason for departure from the Hull office was retirement, with surveyors keen to remain with the Society for the rest of their careers.

Ten of the 125 departures from Hull were due to retirement, all being over 60 years old at the conclusion of their careers, with the oldest, William Connell, retiring in June 1958 at the age of 70.[548] In fact, six of the ten were over 65, a particularly important age given that, as stated in the biography of Frederick Palmer, the Society increased the pension rate paid to surveyors who remained in LR service after reaching 65 years of age.[549] Pensions were another key tool in LR's retention of staff. The Society's first formal pension scheme had been introduced in 1884 at the insistence of Bernard Waymouth, providing dependable, non-contributory pensions to all staff aged 60 and above, or to younger staff members who had been forced to leave the Society early due to illness or an accident.[550] Like its policy towards staff aid, the Society also provided annuities for the families of surveyors who had passed away whilst serving the Society, a situation that arose on three occasions in the Hull office. After those three deaths of Hull surveyors, two families received a pension from the Society, with the wife of John Robertson also receiving an extra annual allowance payment from LR for their child for the two years immediately after Robertson's death in December 1927.[551] The only family that did not receive an annuity was that of Henry Adams, who died whilst serving as a ship surveyor in Hull in May 1863, well before the pension scheme and related policies had been introduced by the Society.[552]

Aside from revealing the efforts LR made to make itself an attractive employer, the statistics in Figure 5.13 also enable an insight into some of the staffing policies adopted by the Society to maintain effective outports, particularly relating to the movement of surveyors. LR constantly monitored and responded to situations in its outports, primarily to ensure the continued successful operation of the Society in those areas. For example, some of the 101 departures to other LR posts were to cover temporary or emergency departures at important outports, the need being particularly prevalent in the Society's expansion abroad. In 1944,

[547] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for Alfred William Bernard Edwards, no page number.

[548] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for William George Connell, no page number.

[549] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Frederick Ramsey Palmer, no page number.

[550] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 235.

[551] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1874-1930, Entry for John Robertson, no page number.

[552] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1834-1905, Entry for Henry Adams, 129.

Alfred Scott was temporarily moved from his office in Belfast to 'report on the Society's business and future prospects' in Spain, where Scott had previously worked.[553] As a result, Hull surveyor Frederick Palmer was temporarily moved to cover Scott's work in Belfast, the Society prioritising its activity in Belfast over the Humber.[554] On other occasions, however, this movement of surveyors was deployed as a result of a more serious situation, particularly following the death of a surveyor. In the General Committee minutes of 28 April 1904, the death of the senior engineer surveyor in Sunderland was the catalyst for a series of emergency appointments and moves, starting with the senior engineer surveyor at Hartlepool being transferred to Sunderland.[555] Subsequently, Hull's senior engineer surveyor, James Innes, was transferred to Hartlepool and was replaced in Hull by James Barclay, who had been transferred from Swansea, with the latter port taking the engineer surveyor from Manchester as a result.[556] This carousel of surveyors aptly demonstrates one factor that influenced the number of departures from Hull, but also shows the constant surveillance of the Society over its outports, and the speed at which it would respond to developing situations.

This movement of surveyors was also an important tool in its own right. As referenced when addressing the administrative staff, the Society adopted a conscious policy of moving surveyors around the outports to ensure and preserve the integrity and reputation of the Society, something that was of paramount importance to LR. Moving the technical staff around the outports enabled the Society to prevent any surveyor becoming too close to interests within each outport, a move further strengthened by the strict enforcement of rules against surveyors accepting any payments from such parties.[557] The fact that 54 surveyors left the Hull office to take up another UK-based role on behalf of the Society could well reflect this policy in action, as could the aforementioned fact that the age statistics suggest that surveyors spent an average of around five years working in Hull. However, this also indicates another key outport strategy of the Society which sought to utilise the experience of surveyors to help boost the strength of its outport network. This can certainly be seen on the ground in Hull, with a number of the departures relating to the expansion of the network and promotions within the Society. Some of the 101 departures in question left to take up senior positions for LR elsewhere, using the experience gained in offices like Hull to strengthen another outport. In

[553] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Albert Edward Scott, no page number.

[554] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-60, Entry for Frederick Ramsay Palmer, no page number.

[555] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1904–05, Meeting of the General Committee on 28 April 1904, 142.

[556] *Ibid.*

[557] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 25.

July 1911, after working as the senior surveyor in the port for seven years, James Barclay left the Hull office to take up the long-term position of senior surveyor at Cardiff where he remained until his retirement in 1928.[558] Joseph Thomson was appointed as the principal surveyor in Hartlepool in 1903 after working in that capacity at Hull for nearly seven years, and Henry Gibbs left Hull to become the principal surveyor in Glasgow, arguably one of the most important surveyor positions in the UK when he joined that office in February 1928 after serving as Hull's principal surveyor for just over seven years.[559] In all three cases, the experience gained whilst serving the Society in Hull was deliberately utilised to strengthen the outports in key regions, demonstrating that LR used outports like Hull to regularly train surveyors for future seniority within the Society. This, however, was not limited to UK expansion. Perhaps more importantly, LR used outports like Hull to train staff for service abroad, aiding the global expansion of the Society's work. Of the 101 surveyors who left Hull for another LR post, 47 surveyors left Hull for posts abroad, travelling to places like Buenos Aires, Piraeus, Lisbon, Hamburg, Lagos, Valencia, Yokohama, Kobe and several ports in the United States of America (see Figure 5.14).

[558] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1874-1930, Entry for James Barclay, 363.

[559] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1834-1905, Entries for Joseph Thomson and Henry Arthur Gibbs, 236, 175.

Figure 5.14 Map showing the International Offices of Lloyd's Register to which Surveyors were appointed immediately after leaving the Hull Office, c.1834-1970

Source: See Figure 5.11.

For some of those 47 surveyors, their experience working out of the Hull office was used to prepare them for the opening of future outport offices outside of the UK. Francis Macfarlane, who joined the Hull office in November 1951 for his probationary year, left Hull to take up an appointment to the newly established LR office in Suez, becoming the first surveyor appointed to that office when it opened in December 1952.[560] Previously, Suez had formed a joint office with Port Said based in the latter area, but Macfarlane's appointment to Suez marked the opening of a new office right next to one of the busiest shipping lanes in the world. Likewise, George Allan became the first surveyor appointed to an LR office in Savannah, Georgia, when he left the Hull office in May 1918, during the Society's expansion of operations in the United States of America.[561] Allan would remain working at various ports in the USA until 1927, when he was transferred to Montreal, another example of LR utilising the experience of surveyors to cement its position in overseas ports.[562]

From the statistics on the surveyors who left Hull for another LR post alone, it is clear that LR worked hard to ensure the successful operation of its outports, continually

[560] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for Francis Alexander Macfarlane, no page number.

[561] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1874-1930, Entry for George Allan, 353.

[562] *Ibid.*

monitoring the situation at its offices around the world. Another final area that clearly demonstrates this can be found when observing the Society's approach to disciplinary matters. The surveyors were LR's representatives in the outports, and any action on their part that could damage its operation and reputation was dealt with in a swift and firm manner. Although it was an extremely rare occurrence, two of the 125 departures from the Hull office were the direct result of a dismissal, both coming within a few months of each other in 1899 and 1900. The dismissals demonstrate that the Society was not afraid to permanently remove any surveyor found to be in breach of its high standards, either in the quality of work or in the conduct of its employees. Perhaps the best example of the latter was the case of W. C. Hamilton, who had been appointed to the Hull office in February 1899.[563] After receiving a letter from the then senior surveyor at Hull, Joseph Thomson, reporting that Hamilton had 'given way to intemperance', the General Committee moved to suspend him from active duty, and launched an inquiry into his conduct both in Hull, and in his former post at Glasgow.[564] After reports from both had been returned, and after Hamilton had written to the General Committee expressing his regret, he was 'given one more chance' and reinstated to Hull, with the senior surveyor being tasked with reporting Hamilton's conduct to the General Committee every month.[565] However, less than a year later, Thomson had written to the General Committee again, reporting that Hamilton had arrived at work in a state of semi-intoxication on more than one occasion since his reinstatement. The Society cancelled Hamilton's appointment as a surveyor and discharged him from the Society's service with immediate effect on 1 March 1900.[566]

Hamilton's case aptly demonstrates LR's approach to disciplinary matters relating to staff conduct, a hugely important process particularly for defence of the Society's image and integrity. Any allegation of misconduct made against a member of staff was thoroughly investigated by the Society and, as shown in Hamilton's case, the outports were a key tool in this process, with senior surveyors around the country routinely asked to help in such matters. Most commonly, this came through either the direct submission of evidence, or through an on-going monitoring and reporting of a developing situation, both being identifiable in the case of Hamilton. The Society was, by no means, ruthless towards its staff. It did not operate a total

[563] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1834-1905, Entry for W.C. Hamilton, 474.

[564] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1899-1900, Meeting of the General Committee on 13 July 1899, 104.

[565] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1899-1900, Meeting of the General Committee on 20 July 1899, 110.

[566] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1899-1900, Meeting of the General Committee on 1 March 1900, 362.

zero-tolerance policy regarding misconduct, with Hamilton being given warnings and final chances. Crucially, however, it was equally not afraid to remove individuals who ignored these warnings and broke the rules. This approach was not limited to instances of misconduct, as the Society adopted an equally measured but firm approach to issues relating to the quality of work. In fact, it could be argued that LR took a more hard-line approach towards breaches in the quality of work than it did matters of misconduct. For example, when complaints were made against the work of Hull engineer surveyor Thomas Robertson, an internal investigation led by senior figures in the Classification Committee recommended that Robertson be removed from LR service, the final decision being made by the General Committee on 2 August 1900, when Robertson was informed that his services were no longer required.[567] The General Committee also placed Hull's principal surveyor, Joseph Thomson, under further investigation. Although it is not exactly clear what Robertson had done, the involvement of the Classification Committee, and the fact that the complaints initially came from the owners of a vessel he had surveyed suggests that the issue related directly to the quality of his work, and the firm and swift action of the Society supports this assertion, with LR keen to stamp out any issue that could result in its own reputation being damaged. Interestingly, Robertson had been brought into the Hull office to replace Hamilton after his dismissal months earlier, the two dismissals being a short blemish on what was an otherwise clean disciplinary record in the Hull office. Nevertheless, the two cases aptly demonstrate that LR took a firm approach to any and all disciplinary issues, and acted rapidly to preserve its reputation and work whenever it was called into question by the action of its surveyors.

The staff that the Society employed in Hull are, therefore, an important lens through which the Society as a whole can be assessed. The lives of the administrative and technical workforce not only show how the day-to-day business of LR was conducted in an outport, but also reveal how staffing policies enacted at the highest levels of the Society filtered down and affected those it employed in regional centres like Hull. The chapter demonstrates that Hull retained a complement of surveyors that reflected its importance to the operational focus of the Society, particularly when engaging with developing industries like trawling. It also proves the validity of many of the assertions made by Nigel Watson about the Society as whole, revealing that hypotheses identified across the Society can be tested and enhanced through close study of individual outports. Perhaps most importantly, however, the chapter illustrates the immense value of the staff records held by the LRFHEC. The potential of this evidence base to illuminate the historiography on topics including British labour history,

[567] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1900, Meeting of the General Committee on 2 August 1900, 85.

maritime history, technological revolutions, the impact of conflict and matters of local history are shown across this chapter's findings, and much more can be made of this collection through increased scholarly engagement. Equally, more can be made of the Hull staff, particularly after the arrival of computers and new methods of working post-1900 altered the Society's modus operandi. It is onto this section of LR's workforce in Hull that this thesis now turns.

Chapter 6 Lloyd's Register and the port of Hull, 1992-2023

> For Lloyd's Register, the new century heralded change more fundamental than at any time since the reconstitution of 1834. It required not simply the implementation of new structures and new methods but a complete cultural transformation.[568]

The seismic change within the Society from the 1990s to the 2020s had a long-lasting impact across the outport network, and this could certainly be seen on the ground in Hull. By taking the chapter topics presented in the thesis thus far as discussion themes, this chapter presents the findings from a round of interviews, based on an interview guide, conducted with three LR surveyors, all of whom worked in the Hull office during the period from 1992 to 2023 (see Appendix A). The accounts of these surveyors demonstrate that, in the 1992-2023 era there have been continuities with the Society's past in terms of its modus operandi alongside some notable changes, not least in the focus on volume of work for the surveyors, and in the importance of Hull to the outport network. The interviews also reveal that such continuities and changes have been driven by various factors, including technology, a changing market, operational costs and external shocks, all of which significantly altered the way in which the Society conducted its business in Hull.

Very little historiographical attention has been devoted to LR and its work from the 1990s to the 2020s, reflecting both the general dearth of literature on the Society overall, and the fact that the vast majority of the histories of LR were published well before this period. The only key work published after 1960 was that of Watson whose history of LR contains the only coverage of the Society's operations from the middle of the twentieth century up to 2010. However, Watson's study of LR ends in 2010, leaving the period from that date up to 2023 entirely untouched by the historiography on the Society. Despite its temporal limitations, however, Watson's work does make important contributions to the literature on the period of focus for this chapter, not least in the fact that it presents the only account of LR's work since the 1960s. Its appraisal of LR's financial position, and its response to technological progression and changing market demands provide vital context for the discussions within this chapter, allowing the thesis to again test Society-wide patterns on the ground in Hull. This chapter, therefore, provides a unique insight into the work of LR since 1992, especially in the period after 2010 where there has been no historiographical study of the Society.

It is worth noting that this issue of limited coverage however, is not simply an LR problem. The attention given to LR's rival classification societies has also avoided discussion of

[568] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 85.

the period from 1992-2023. The self-published history of Germanischer Lloyd ends in 1992, some 21 years before that society was amalgamated into Det Norske Veritas in 2013.[569] Similarly, Andersen and Collett's history of the latter organisation itself ends in 1989, with limited information on the history of the society since that date being available on its website.[570] In an approach closely resembling the marking of LR anniversaries, Jean-Paul Menges appraisal of Bureau Veritas ends in 1978, the 150-year anniversary of its founding in 1828, omitting any coverage of the period under review in this chapter, although brief information can again be found on its own website.[571] Aside from Watson's coverage of LR, the only exception to this pattern can be found the history of the American Bureau of Shipping. The seventh edition of its own self-published history, updated regularly since its first publication in 1937, was released in 2013, and contained two detailed chapters tackling the work of that organisation from 1985 to 2012.[572] Although this brought the historiography on classification societies a few years beyond that of Watson, it does nothing to fill the gap in the period after 2012. This chapter, therefore, through its study of LR's office in Hull from 1992 to 2023, begins to rectify this gap in the literature, bringing the historiographical coverage of LR up to the 2020s and shedding light on the various factors since 2012 that have profoundly impacted the Society's operational activity.

6.1 The Participants

Before delving into the information presented in the interviews, it is important to provide some background information to set each participant in context for the discussion. As with 'Participant A' in Chapter 4, each participant has been anonymised and will therefore be referred to by letter. At the time of the interview, 'Participant B' worked as an LR surveyor in the UK, but specifically worked for the Society in Hull as a trainee then full surveyor between September 1992 and 1996, a period not discussed in the preceding chapters owing to data protection measures on available primary source material.[573] Both participants C and D,

[569] See Germanischer Lloyd, *Germanischer Lloyd: 1867-1992* (Hamburg: Germanischer Lloyd, 1992); Det Norske Veritas, "Our History" [Webpage]. Available Online: https://www.dnv.com/about/in-brief/our-history/ [Accessed 22/07/2024].

[570] See H.W. Andersen & J.P. Collett, *Anchor and Balance: Det Norske Veritas 1864-1989* (Oslo: Det Norske Veritas, 1989).

[571] J.P. Menges, *Bureau Veritas 1828-1978: A Record of 150 Years* (Belgium: Bureau Veritas, 1978); Bureau Veritas, "Our History" [Webpage]. Available Online: https://www.cps.bureauveritas.com/who-we-are/our-history [Accessed 22/07/2024].

[572] American Bureau of Shipping, *The History of the American Bureau of Shipping 150th Anniversary*. (Houston: American Bureau of Shipping, 2013), 91-144.

[573] 'Participant B', Interview B for the project "The Humber Outport: Lloyd's Register in the Port of Hull since c.1760" [Recorded Conversation], 22 August 2023, 13:00, at Lloyd's Register EMEA, The Bloc, Unit F05, 38 Springfield Way, Anlaby, Hull. (Time stamp: 00.00.37).

however, were current members of the LR surveyor team in Hull at the time of writing. 'Participant C' joined that office in 2006 as an offshore verification officer, working in that capacity until 2022 when they retired from full-time employment with the Society, remaining in the Hull office as a part-time shore-based officer.[574] Their account of offshore work not only provides a useful insight into the office, but also provides evidence for a new area of operational activity for the Society that has not appeared hitherto in this thesis. 'Participant D' joined LR in Hull in 2005 as a trainee surveyor before being made into senior surveyor, a role they retained up to 2023 with a view to retirement within the following twelve months.[575] The collective testimony from the three surveyors creates an invaluable insight into the work of the Society in and around the Hull office since the 1990s, addressing all major operational activity undertaken from that office, and shedding further light on the topics discussed in the preceding chapters of this thesis.

6.2 The Modern Hull Office in the Outport Network of Lloyd's Register

As shown in Chapter 2, the LR office in Hull was just one cog in a significant network of outports operated by the Society around the world. This network, and Hull's role within it, therefore, makes for a useful first port of call when assessing the continued connection between LR and the Humber outport since the 1990s. In order to assess this area of focus it is prudent to adopt a twofold focus, looking initially at the role of a modern LR outport like Hull, followed by an assessment of the Hull office's interactions with, and its importance to, the network of the Society since 1992.

6.2.1 Continuities and Evolution in the Role of an Outport of Lloyd's Register

The information presented by the three participants covers a number of key roles of the outports, many of which represent continuations in functionality from the network assessed in Chapter 2. One such role revolved around the extension of the Society's operational outreach to enhance its reputation both domestically and internationally. Indeed, the interviewed surveyors commented on the reputation of LR during their time working in Hull, with 'Participant B' stating it had 'a very good reputation' at the point they joined the Society in 1992, and 'still has a very good reputation' today.[576] 'Participant C' echoed a similar sentiment,

[574] 'Participant C', Interview C for the project "The Humber Outport: Lloyd's Register in the Port of Hull since c.1760" [Recorded Conversation], 25 September 2023, 10:00, at Blaydes Maritime Centre. (Time stamp: 00.01.27).

[575] 'Participant D', Interview D for the project "The Humber Outport: Lloyd's Register in the Port of Hull since c.1760" [Recorded Conversation], 27 October 2023, 09:00. Recorded online via Zoom. (Time Stamp: 00.04.14).

[576] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.11.08 and 00.11.22).

stating that, 'Lloyd's Register, [are] held in high esteem' and are seen as the 'go-to' for surveying work in both marine and offshore oil and gas in the twenty-first century.[577]

This enhancing of its reputation through the outport network went hand-in-hand with increasing the visibility and accessibility of LR's work, particularly within the UK. 'Participant D' specified that the accessibility of LR remains a 'big plus for Lloyd's', having heard 'a number of client superintendents' comment favourably on the fact that LR's 'coverage in the UK is […] probably better' than its competitors who have 'fewer local offices' manned by surveyors who are 'expected to travel'.[578] In addition to issues of reputation and visibility, the outport network has also continued to offer more practical uses to the Society since the 1990s. For example, the network could be deployed to great effect when completing and enforcing repair work the Society had recommended. 'Participant D' noted the case of a vessel that departed the port of Hull for Antwerp with a number of outstanding improvement recommendations against it from surveys in Hull. Modern methods of rapid communication enabled the Society to quickly inform the LR team in Antwerp that the vessel was inbound, with 'Participant D' stating that the vessel's 'superintendent knew that it wasn't watertight […] so we [LR] held her up in Antwerp'.[579] This interaction between Hull and other outports, which will be explored in more detail later in the chapter, provides an early demonstration of the ability of the network to carry LR recommendations around the world. This, in many ways, represents a continuation of the work of the early network in conveying the new methods of operation of the reconstituted Society around the UK and then the world, a key rationale behind establishing the network in the first instance in 1834. The continuation of this function well into the twenty-first century shows the longevity of the network's design and utility.

This can be further observed through the most commonly cited function of network within the three interviews, its role as a melting pot for knowledge and experience exchange and support. Its presence in earlier chapters shows that this was not a new concept for the modern operation of the Society. LR outports regularly exchanged knowledge and expertise throughout the period under investigation, Hull and the sharing of trawler knowledge being an obvious example. The three participants make regular mention of this exchange, citing several examples to illustrate this function in action since 1992. 'Participant D' stated that whenever they found themselves in a position where they were on board a vessel that required a second opinion from a 'specialist knowledge', particularly for issues like 'statutory matters' or client

[577] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.24.59).

[578] 'Participant D', Interview D, (01.08.38).

[579] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.49.39).

disagreements, they would regularly call upon the expertise of those stationed elsewhere in the network for guidance, in this instance the 'statutory specialist at head office in Southampton'.[580] Likewise, 'Participant B' stated that they had experienced 'many cases' where issues go 'higher in the chain', suggesting that, if they were 'ever faced with a situation' where they 'didn't have the engineering knowledge to properly advise', they would take it higher, first to the surveyor in charge in Hull and then even 'higher than that' through consultation with experts around the network.[581] This exchange, however, was not a one-way street. Specialists from the Hull office could regularly be called upon to assist in planned surveys outside of the jurisdiction of that office. 'Participant C' found that, in their capacity as an offshore surveyor in Hull, they could be called upon by LR offices around the country to assess the implications of a manufacture destined for offshore work, even if a local surveyor had already completed a survey of the item.[582] Although this could cause a degree of confusion and conflict over survey responsibility within the network, these examples from the interviews nevertheless demonstrate this knowledge and experience exchange in action on the ground in Hull. It also reveals that the knowledge and expertise of individual surveyors has been important to the development of outport offices at even the most basic of levels. As a result of their previous career experience, 'Participant C' 'ended up […] doing an IT course with a number of surveyors' in how to utilise improved software like 'Microsoft Office, spreadsheets, databases, and word processors' during the early years of their employment with LR.[583] The examples given by the three participants, therefore, not only demonstrate how such knowledge and experience exchange aided the network, but also how it could be used to support staff to acclimatise to new methods of working within the outport offices themselves, particularly during the advent of digitised bookkeeping.

Knowledge and experience exchange, therefore, represents one key role of the outport network and, although it was not a new function, new methods of communication certainly aided its development in the period covered by the interviews, not least in the aforementioned speed at which information could be passed between outports. The ease of modern communication has also increased the regularity at which this exchange can take place. 'Participant D' revealed that it is now commonplace for outport representatives to hold regular meetings to discuss operational matters. As they stated, 'the larger offices, Southampton, Liverpool, Glasgow […] have surveyors in charge, and the satellite offices have

[580] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.40.23).

[581] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.39.50).

[582] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.05.13).

[583] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.09.41).

lead surveyors, […] and once a week, the heads of those offices […] have a meeting […] to discuss whatever is the subject of that week'.[584] This insight, in addition to revealing that Hull is not considered to be one of the larger outport offices, demonstrates that platforms like this weekly meeting, likely held online for ease of access, have enhanced the ability of the network to share knowledge and expertise at speed, a tool particularly useful when tackling new and emerging technologies and industries, something with which the Society has historically struggled to keep pace.

Facilitating knowledge exchange through activities like meetings also aided LR's desire to present a uniform Society-wide approach to developing issues, a continuation of a principle at the core of the reconstitution process in 1834. Indeed, the ease and speed of communication has been hugely beneficial for the Society's operations overseas. As shown in chapters 2 and 5, the development of the international outport network regularly involved surveyors from within UK outports being called upon to share knowledge and expertise abroad. Again, the interviews provide useful evidence of the continuation and expansion of this theme into the twenty-first century. 'Participant C' revealed that they had 'done a lot of certification activity […] with operators and owners outside of the UK waters' in places around the Middle East and the Mediterranean, citing examples in Libya, Tunisia, Nigeria and Dubai.[585] Interestingly, all of this international work for 'Participant C' was done while they were registered in Hull, with all of their international surveying work being submitted and reported 'through the Hull office'.[586] As shown in Chapter 5, international work was not uncommon for surveyors based in Hull, but this usually necessitated a temporary registry with one of the international outports. The experience of 'Participant C' suggests that improvements in the accessibility and speed of international travel and communication have removed the pressing need for temporary registration, although more research beyond the scope of this project would be needed to assess the extent to which this has taken place. Nonetheless, it is an interesting reflection on the changing nature of work being undertaken out of the Hull office, demonstrating the expansive impact that modern methods of travel and communication have had on the geographical reach of an outport like Hull. Indeed, the interconnectivity of the domestic and international outports in more recent times has not only made communication with colleagues overseas easier, but has also filtered down into the composition of local surveyor teams in the UK. 'Participant D' stated that one of the most enjoyable parts of their work with LR in Hull has been the fact that they have 'worked with a multinational workforce'

[584] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.42.13).

[585] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.29.59).

[586] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.29.33).

and can 'speak to anybody globally', with 'colleagues all over the world' who can be called upon for advice whenever it is needed.[587] Clearly, the exchange of knowledge and expertise is an element of the network's function that is hugely valued by those employed by the Society as a means of support. Perhaps most importantly, the increased ability to exchange knowledge and expertise gave surveyors assurance that they were not facing increasing workloads alone, especially after the staffing contractions experienced in Hull which will be covered later in this chapter. As stated by 'Participant D', 'you've always got somebody that you can call up'.[588]

The above roles and functions of outports like Hull since the 1990s demonstrates both a continuity of approach, but also an adaptability and modernisation within the Society's operational activity. However, they do not cover one of the most important roles that the office in Hull has played throughout its life, that being its position as a training centre. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, it is clear that Hull has operated as training centre for the Society since the reconstitution. From the information presented by the three interviews, this appears to have remained the case for Hull well into the twenty-first century. 'Participant B' stated that, in the 1990s, they felt that Hull was one of the Society's 'favourite ports' for training as its 'work was varied enough' to showcase a wide range of LR's operational activity, alongside having a surveyor team sufficient in size to allow new recruits to benefit from 'all their experience and knowledge'.[589] Indeed, 'Participant B' joined the Society as part of its graduate training scheme in 1992, with Hull being one of a number of ports where the eighteen graduate recruits were sent for training that year.[590] By the mid-2000s and the arrival of Participants C and D, Hull was still an active training outport, but seemingly on a reduced scale. As 'Participant C' stated, the Hull office 'didn't have many' trainees on the books when they first arrived, 'Participant C' being one of only two trainees in stationed in Hull in 2006.[591] Indeed, this reduced training scale was certainly present in the offshore side of the office. Hull struggled to keep pace with the growth of major offshore centres like Aberdeen. As Watson stated, 'a new office for the central coordination of all offshore work in the North Sea was opened at Aberdeen' in the late-1970s, with 'Participant C' estimating the Scottish port as having 'ten times the capacity' of the Hull office for training new recruits in offshore verification.[592] In-depth training was particularly important for offshore work. In addition to all

[587] 'Participant D', Interview D, (01.08.38).

[588] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.44.15).

[589] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.07.52).

[590] *Ibid*.

[591] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.16.49).

[592] Watson, *Lloyd's* Register, 189; 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.16.49).

the standard Society induction and training courses, offshore recruits were also put through specialist safety training needed for helicopter travel, particularly underwater escape training.[593] This was either provided, or funded, by the Society, demonstrating that safety, long a priority for LR, has remained a key facet of its mission into the 2020s. This training was also vital for surveyor work abroad, with 'Participant C' utilising their offshore training in Hull to provide expertise on their aforementioned trips to platforms and installations around the world. Indeed, as shown in Chapter 5, Hull had been regularly used by the Society as a training centre for surveying work abroad, and the three interviews certainly suggest this has continued into the early 2020s. Of the three participants, two were offered an international move after their training time in Hull, with both Participants B and D being presented with a move to Rotterdam, the former taking the opportunity and the latter choosing to remain in Hull.[594] 'Participant C' was the only one of the three who did not mention any offer of an international office move although, as has been demonstrated, this did not prevent them from working abroad out of the Hull office. The Rotterdam offers presented to both Participants B and D, therefore demonstrate clearly that the office in Hull continues to fulfil its role as a training centre for LR to this day, but they are also worth analysing in more detail because they present a brief glimpse into the Society's approach to its staff between the 1990s and the mid-2000s. 'Participant B' stated with some conviction that the Society was training surveyors in Hull with the expectancy that they would be moved on, many to outports overseas:

> It wasn't so much of an ask, it was more of an expectation that you would go on from somewhere, and you were waiting for a letter, and I got my letter and it was just to say on this date we'd like you to start working in the port of Rotterdam, reporting to a new line manager who is this particular guy, and please start making arrangements to be there on that particular date. There wasn't a lot of discussion, it was just expected. You could, obviously, object to going if you had reasons, but the reasons had to be good.[595]

Although 'Participant B' welcomed the move abroad, stating that 'there was no reason for me not to go', there certainly does appear to have been a feeling of pressure placed on trainee surveyors to take positions abroad when they were offered.[596] Certainly, the repeated notion of "expectation" does not foster an impression of total free will on the part of surveyors faced with a decision to move overseas. This apparent lack of choice reappeared in the testimony of 'Participant D' who, having been presented with the Rotterdam position 'within

[593] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.48.42 + 00.50.09).

[594] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.03.57); 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.09.56).

[595] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.16.41).

[596] *Ibid.*

six-months of starting in Hull' in 2005, seemingly felt the same pressure, stating that they 'didn't wish to say to Lloyd's' that they 'didn't want the position'.[597] In fact, they suggested that it came as a relief when Hull staff intervened to request that 'Participant D' be retained in Hull, stating they 'fortunately […] didn't have to turn it down' and face the reality of refusing an international move.[598] Again, as with 'Participant B's use of expectancy, the use of the word "fortunately" does not imply that surveyors felt that they had much choice when it came to such moves, relying on good fortune to step in and prevent the transfer. This is not to say that LR was a difficult employer. Historic staff retention levels shown in Chapter 5 certainly challenge such a theory, as does the fact that all three surveyors interviewed for this chapter stayed in LR employment up to and including the time at which they were interviewed for this project. In fact, as shall be shown later this chapter, the participants generally present a positive reflection on LR employment, but not one without criticism. Nevertheless, this internal pressure placed on surveyors is an important point to address when considering the experience of surveyors in Hull since 1992.

6.2.2 Hull in the Outport Network

Given the above examples of the role of the Hull office within the wider Society, one begins to question how that outport relates to the rest of the network, both domestic and international, and its overall importance to LR. Many of the patterns of domestic and international interaction identified in the preceding chapters can be identified in the twenty-first century though the interviews, not least the fact that the modern Hull office continues to report to head office on a regular basis. When it came to LR's marine work, 'Participant D' stated that the Society's head office could be involved in 'every job [and] every ship' surveyed by the staff in Hull, with head office being particularly important for internal vetting procedures.[599] 'Participant B' stated that reports would be checked initially by the local surveyor in charge, after which head office would 'pull, periodically, reports from every port, check them', and issue any comments to respective outports as part of a 'big machine that seemed to work behind the scenes'.[600]

This is virtually the same system identified in the earlier chapters whereby chief surveyors and their staff in London would monitor the work being completed in the outports, ensuring the uniformity of process and product across the network. A similar system was

[597] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.09.56).

[598] *Ibid.*

[599] 'Participant D', Interview D (00.40.23).

[600] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.31.10).

deployed for offshore work, but it does not appear to have operated quite as smoothly as the marine side of the Society's operation. 'Participant C' noted that there was 'a bit of tension between London and Aberdeen' over who had head office jurisdiction for offshore work.[601] 'Aberdeen considered itself the head office for offshore' but tended to focus more on the North Sea, 'whereas there was a retained group, and a department in London that dealt with the same' offshore work, particularly that which came 'outside of the Offshore Safety Case', an important set of regulations that will be addressed in more detail later in the chapter.[602]

Arguments between the likes of London and Aberdeen would no doubt have complicated the working lives of offshore surveyors at outports around the country, Hull included, but they still demonstrate that the head office-outport relationship identified in the earlier chapters of this thesis remained alive and well during the 1990s and up to 2023. However, one notable difference that can be observed in the interviews conducted for this chapter is an apparent demotion of status experienced by the Hull office when it came to the outport hierarchy. Previously, the Hull office stood as the largest and most significant of the outports around the local area, and was frequently the outport to which smaller local offices in places like Scunthorpe and Grimsby would send reports for review. In the interviews for this chapter, however, it becomes clear that Hull's status has changed, with the participants revealing that the Hull office now falls under the jurisdiction of other larger outports. 'Participant B' suggested that, during their time in Hull, the office came under the jurisdiction of another senior LR officer, stating that Hull's 'surveyor in charge reported to the area manager […] who was based in Leeds'.[603] By the mid-2000s, Hull seemingly came under the supervision of high-ranking surveyors in Liverpool, with 'Participant C' stating that 'our reporting was verified […] by the Liverpool office', and 'any reports we produced would go to the Liverpool office' for scrutiny.[604] By the time of the interviews in 2023, the Society's office in Lowestoft appeared to be completing some of this quality assurance work for Hull, with documents being sent to Lowestoft for approval.[605] As shall be demonstrated when looking at the staff in more detail, this relationship with the Lowestoft office, despite being a recent development when considering the whole period under investigation in this thesis, is one that

[601] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.07.05).

[602] *Ibid.*

[603] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.19.43).

[604] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.00.08).

[605] *Ibid.*

has become increasingly important to the Hull office, particularly regarding administrative work.

The relationship with ports like Leeds, Liverpool, and Lowestoft, along with the fact that Hull surveyors were regularly visiting places like Huddersfield and Sheffield, raises the question of the outport's geographical coverage. As shown in the earlier chapters, the Hull office has long served the Society as a base from which it could undertake work in the immediate hinterland around the Humber, with particularly strong connections to places like Immingham, Grimsby, Beverley, Selby, Goole, and Scunthorpe. Interestingly, the modern office outreach as addressed by the three interviews appears to have covered a much greater distance whilst retaining influence in many of those aforementioned local places. In some instances, this influence was minor. For example, by the 1990s, the Scunthorpe office had seemingly left the remit of Hull, with the latter's interaction with the former limited to occasions where cover was needed in the absence of Scunthorpe's material surveyor.[606] Covering absence elsewhere was vital function of the network itself, with 'Participant B' also having to cover absences in Sheffield during their time in Hull.[607]

Scunthorpe aside, however, when the question of geographical coverage was broached, 'Participant B' stated that 'probably the geographical area is bigger, because we'll incorporate Grimsby but we'll also go further west […] as far as places like Huddersfield'.[608] Again, the connection with Liverpool reappears here, this time aiding the demarcation of working areas for the two outports, with the Mersey office covering work 'east probably to just about Manchester', and Hull covering work anywhere 'east from Manchester all the way across' to the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire coastline.[609] As stated by 'Participant B', the geographical remit of the Hull office was 'quite tightly defined', with surveyors expected to cover work 'about as far north as Scarborough, maybe to Whitby', alongside regular visits to places like Grimsby, Goole, Beverely and Selby and more infrequent visits to the likes of Sheffield and even Lowestoft.[610] 'Participant D' encountered a similarly large geographical area, working on jobs and with clients based in places like Huddersfield, Chesterfield and Sheffield.[611] For jobs in locations at the very edge of this remit, work could be concentrated to

[606] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.21.15).

[607] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.54.54).

[608] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.21.15).

[609] *Ibid*.

[610] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.32.18).

[611] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.59.49).

full days to prevent the regular need to travel long distances. Citing Scarborough as an example, 'Participant B' stated trips 'would take a full day of work due to the travel times required'.[612] Although increasing Hull's area of influence, work outside of Hull's immediate hinterland could also cause problems within the network, particularly when office-areas overlapped and communication fell short. As alluded to previously, 'Participant C' encountered such issues when conducting onshore surveys for offshore components, citing an example of poor communication and organisation on a trip to Sheffield where they were asked to survey the offshore implications of a particular manufacture. Having arrived on location, they discovered that a surveyor based in Mansfield had been sent over to survey the same item, with both surveyors having not been informed of the work of the other.[613]

One might expect that the growth of the Hull office's geographical coverage suggests an increase in status within the outport network. Indeed, the expansion opportunities of its immediate hinterland was a positive factor in LR's focus on Hull in the first place. In reality, however, it can be argued that this modern-day geographical expansion was more a result of opportunity rather than intention. Modern systems of working, particularly developments in remote working, have no doubt influenced this picture. 'Participant D's ability to work from home rather than travel into the Hull office has resulted in the concentration of their work on industrial clients in the areas around Sheffield. Furthermore, and in a demonstration of the decrease in Hull's status, many of the reports undertaken in those locations within Hull's geographical outreach area were submitted directly to either the aforementioned regional lead office, or to head office, with very few being filtered through Hull.[614] At the very least, this provides another demonstration of the fact that the responsibility for the quality assessment of wider reports and documentation filling had been largely removed from Hull, with the office no longer functioning as the centre for LR document handling in its local region. With the changing nature of document handling within the Society, and the notable loss of staff numbers in Hull, both of which will be addressed later in this chapter, this was likely expected. Nevertheless, it still demonstrates a loss of status in Hull, which asks further questions about the port's status to the wider outport network. The loss of responsibility for processing documentation is just one of a number of examples from the interviews that suggest a decrease in Hull's importance to the outport network from the 1990s to the 2020s. Certainly, it can be said with some confidence that Hull no longer functions to the same major level as it

[612] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.53.49).

[613] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.05.13).

[614] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.34.25 + 00.35.12).

once did within LR's network, particularly during the early years of the Society. This contraction of status reflects changes both within Hull, and within the Society itself.

Since the end of large-scale trawler fishing in Hull in the 1970s, shipbuilding in the Humber region has fallen to a shadow of its former self, and Hull has lost ground to regional and national neighbours with regards to number of vessels frequenting the port, Immingham now operating as the dominant port on the Humber. Changes within LR itself have also served to reduce Hull's status within the outport network. As stated by 'Participant C', the modern domestic network is made up of a proliferation of 'many little […] offices dotted here, there and everywhere' in major population and industry centres around the country, removing the reliance on the traditional outports as the centres of LR's operation.[615] Furthermore, as noted in Chapter 2, by the 1970s, the domestic outport network had noticeably shifted its focus away from ports hugging the coastline, LR preferring to establish larger offices in inland centres of production and manufacture like Leeds and Sheffield. Hull represented the old guard of the outport network, the traditional large port to which the Society had long been drawn, but from which it was now retreating. It is abundantly clear from the interviews that Hull's status has declined. As stated by 'Participant C', the office in the 2020s is 'very much a minor reflection on the past' with staffing levels noticeably smaller than those the surveyor experienced upon arrival in Hull in 2006.[616] Indeed, 'Participant C' stated with some conviction that Hull's significance to the Society has 'definitely shrunk' during the years in which they have been working out of the office, citing contractions in ferries, shipbuilding, and the move to green energy solutions as contributing factors.[617] Although the port of Hull has sought to rebrand itself in recent years as the UK's Green port, flush with investment from leading renewable energy companies like Siemens Gamesa, LR has not made any significant inroads into this area of work and, as a result, Hull's status as a green port may well have, for the moment, come at the cost of its status within the outport network of LR.

To illustrate this loss of status further, 'Participant C' gave the example of Lowestoft as an outport that has grown within the Society to outrank Hull. Lowestoft, which predominately focuses on the southern North Sea, is now a 'very, very busy office, busier than Hull' in both the marine and offshore sides of operation.[618] 'Participant C' suggested location and proximity to clients as a leading cause, stating that 'a lot of operators […] have bases at the Lowestoft

[615] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.05.13).

[616] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.37.37).

[617] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.47.52).

[618] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.46.04).

marine', with the southern North Sea being a 'large enterprise' for LR.[619] Crucially, they also suggested that this loss of ground to Lowestoft, particularly regarding offshore work, was primarily due to the fact that Lowestoft 'developed itself to support the offshore industry better than Hull did', although surveyors from Hull were often sent to support the Lowestoft offshore operation.[620] With the availability of greater offshore support in Lowestoft, the Hull office only retained two offshore contracts in 2023, only one of them being with a major supplier in Perenco after LR lost its contract with Centrica around 2012.[621] This contraction of the offshore element has seen the Hull office experience a decline in workload and thus importance to Society's network since 2000, and this undoubtedly contributed to the workforce contractions that can be identified in Hull over this period. Indeed, the staff are another lens through which the fortunes of the Hull office since 1992 can be assessed, and it is therefore important to analyse staffing issues in a little more in depth.

6.3 The People of Lloyd's Register in the port of Hull, 1992-2023

A study of the staff employed by the Society in Hull since the 1990s can provide an immensely useful insight into the function of that office, and the Society more widely. Indeed, by taking some of the key themes from Chapter 5, most notably staff team size, average age, roles, backgrounds, entry requirements, and training, and applying them to the period covered by the interviews, one can identify how various issues have directly and indirectly affected staff on the ground in outports like Hull.

6.3.1 The Size of the Hull Office

The size of the staff employed in Hull is perhaps the clearest indicator of the changing fortunes of LR's operations in the port. Indeed, the physical movement of the office itself provides the first glimpse of the notable downsizing experienced in Hull. The first recorded office location for the Society in Hull appeared in the 1883 Register Book, where Bank Chambers on the Land of Green Ginger was listed as LR's official premises in the port.[622] In 1904, after the local surveyors sent a letter to the General Committee stressing the need for increased

[619] *Ibid.*

[620] 'Participant C', Interview C, (0.46.04).

[621] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.50.01).

[622] Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping, *Register Book of 1883* (London: Wyman & Sons Printers, 1883).

accommodation in Hull, the Society moved its operation into the grand Ocean Chambers on Lowgate, most recently the home to Burstalls Solicitors (see Figure 6.1).[623]

[623] LRFHEC, Minute Books, General Committee Minute Book, 1904-5, Meeting of the General Committee on 10 March 1904, 82-3.

Figure 6.1 Ocean Chambers

Source: S.J. Wright, Own Photograph, taken 4 June 2022.

Figure 6.2 Festival House

Source: S.J. Wright, Own Photograph, taken 4 June 2022.

By 1956, and after continued growth in Hull during the twentieth century, LR became one of the first inhabitants of the newly completed Festival House on Jameson Street, the Society occupying a floor in the first permanent building to be built in the city centre after the destruction of the 1941 Blitz (see Figure 6.2).[624] All three participants cited Festival House as the first office they worked out of on behalf of the Society in Hull, with LR remaining in that building until well into the 2000s at the earliest.[625] In fact, Festival House remains the only one of the three city centre office locations that still bears the name of Lloyd's Register at the door. However, as the moves into Ocean Chambers and Festival House were indicative of the growth in staff experienced in Hull, the departure from Festival House marked the beginning of a notable contraction.

Although the two participants who were still working in Hull at the time do not land on an exact date, they suggest that the move out of Festival House occurred between 2008 and 2013, with the Society decamping to a smaller office block on an industrial estate in Hessle, a town a few miles west of Hull.[626] After further staffing contractions in Hessle, the Society moved again in 2022-2023 to a single small office room in an building in the neighbouring village of Anlaby, a far cry from the grandeur of buildings like Ocean Chambers. This significant physical downscaling of the Hull office is perhaps the clearest indication of the reduction in the size of the staff employed by the Society in Hull, but it is by no means the only one. Indeed, this reduction in staffing levels can be clearly identified in the three interviews. In 1970, the end of the period analysed in Chapter 5, the LR office in the port of Hull had a total of eleven surveyors, with a further three stationed in Grimsby under the control of Hull's principal surveyor, F. N. Sutcliffe.[627] By the early 1990s and the arrival of 'Participant B' in Hull, this had been notably reduced. The office 'had a surveyor in charge, and then we had […] about another six surveyors, including myself', alongside 'the office in Grimsby where there was another surveyor', although they technically 'weren't part of the Hull office apart from the proximity'.[628] In the eyes of 'Participant B', who was just starting out on their career within LR and had only a passing experience of other outports, this made Hull 'quite a reasonable sized

[624] Lloyd's Register of Shipping, *Register Book of 1954-55. Vol. 1: A-L* (London: Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1955), xxviii; Carnegie Heritage Centre, "Festival House, Hull Firsts Trail" (2017) Available Online: https://www.carnegiehull.co.uk/hull-firsts/festival-house.php [Accessed 11/01/2024].

[625] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.19.30); 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.37.01); 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.20.27).

[626] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.37.01); 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.20.27).

[627] LRFHEC, Staff Records, Lists of Surveyors, 1969-1970.

[628] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.19.43).

office'.[629] However, this total falls short in comparison to the staffing levels identified in Chapter 5, and the situation has seemingly not improved into the twenty-first century. During the remainder of 'Participant B's time in Hull, the size of the office remained steady and consistent, the only major change being the replacement of retiring administrative staff.[630] By the mid-2000s, there does appear to have been a degree of staff expansion, with 'Participant C' stating that there was 'about twelve' staff stationed in Festival House when they started in 2006, and 'Participant D' stating that they had around nine surveyors at the height of operations during their time in Hull.[631] However, both participants C and D present these heights to emphasise the contraction the office has experienced during their careers. As seen earlier, 'Participant C' labelled the staffing levels currently found in Hull as 'very much a minor reflection on the past', with the modern office accounting for about five surveyors.[632] 'Participant D' concurred with this assessment, stating that the office today is now 'down to five' surveyors, with a further remote surveyor based in Lowestoft covering some work for the Hull office, another demonstration of the aforementioned modern connection between the LR offices in Hull and Lowestoft.[633] As they stated, the 'Humber is a busy port', and the reduction in staff has left a team whose number was 'far too few for a busy port like Hull'.[634]

Taken at face value, therefore, this loss of staff in Hull certainly suggests a reduction in status for the Hull office into the twenty-first century. However, 'Participant D' suggested that this contraction was more the result of supply-side factors than a reflection of falling demand for LR within the port. They stated that 'the workload' in Hull 'has been considerable' and staff have been forced to work 'evenings and weekends' in order to keep up with the demand for LR's services in and around the Humber.[635] In attributing causal factors, 'Participant D' asserted that recruitment issues have caused a universal shortage of staff across the classification sector, stating that, in 'talking to my colleagues with other societies, I don't think we're any different to them, […] we're all in the same boat' in 'finding it difficult to find guys'.[636] According to 'Participant D', the 'traditional path to surveying', led by candidates with sea-going experience coming ashore, has seen 'a dramatic drop off in [the] UK' since 2000, with

[629] *Ibid.*

[630] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.20.26).

[631] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.37.37); 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.29.26).

[632] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.37.37).

[633] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.29.26 + 00.30.38).

[634] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.30.38).

[635] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.11.42).

[636] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.11.42 + 00.32.22).

notably less UK students going to sea.[637] As a result the 'pool of prospective surveyors has diminished' and classification societies like LR have thus found the recruitment of new surveyors difficult.[638] Such problems have only been compounded by Britain's exit from the European Union. LR has long looked to international recruitment avenues to cover any shortcomings in the domestic candidate market. However, as stated by 'Participant D', 'since Brexit, the cost […] for bringing people in from overseas has been […] prohibitive' and, consequently, 'Lloyd's have preferred to look to recruit from within the UK because it's cheaper', increasing the demand placed on an already reduced domestic pool of candidates.[639] Such recruitment difficulties have therefore contributed to a reduction in staff across a number of LR's offices like Hull, as the Society looked to stretch a smaller surveyor team across the UK. This stretching of staff also provides compelling evidence for the increased geographical outreach experienced by the Hull office, as the staff of larger outports are forced to cover work outside of the traditional remit of those offices.

6.3.2 Average Age of Surveyors since 1992

As demonstrated in Chapter 5, age statistics are a useful tool when investigating the staff stationed at Hull, and this is particularly true when comparing the ages of surveyors stationed in Hull since 1990 to those identified in the earlier chapter. Before such comparisons can be made, however, it is important to acknowledge the data limitations within this research. Statistical information on the scale deployed in Chapter 5 is currently not possible for the period under investigation in this chapter. As many of the surveyors in this current period are still employed by the Society either in Hull or elsewhere, personal data is protected by the Society and data protection legislation, and therefore unavailable to this enquiry. In its place, this project utilises the anecdotal evidence offered in the interviews, which present only a limited insight into certain topics. Nevertheless, even this narrow insight offered on average age is worth a mention here to compare the key themes from Chapter 5 with the office since the 1990s. Chapter 5 revealed that, between 1834 and 1972, the vast majority of surveyors were over 30 years old at the time that they were appointed to the Hull office, with 40 per cent aged between 30 and 39 (see Figure 5.7). Indeed, the youngest appointment to Hull during this period was of 25-year-old Robert Hallan Thompson Gordon.[640] Interestingly, 'Participant B' stated that they were 24 when they arrived in the Hull office in 1992, making

[637] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.32.22).

[638] *Ibid.*

[639] 'Participant D', Interview D, (01.08.38).

[640] LRFHEC, Staff Records, List of Officers, 1930-63, Entry for Robert Hallan Thompson Gordon, no page number.

them the youngest surveyor appointed to the Hull office in the data available to this enquiry.[641]

The youth of 'Participant B', however, hides what appears to have been a much older collection of surveyors than identified in Chapter 5. 'Participant B' stated that they were the youngest surveyor in the Hull office 'by a long way', with all the other surveyors being in their 'fifties or sixties' during the 1990s.[642] While 'Participant B' states that this made Hull an ideal training centre, with surveyors holding years of varied experience to pass onto the next generation of recruits, this suggests that the average age of the Hull staff during the 1990s would have been notably higher than that identified in Chapter 5. In that earlier data, most surveyors had moved on from the Hull office before they had reached the age of 50, with only 27 per cent of the surveyors between 1834 and 1972 remaining in Hull beyond this (see Figure 5.8). For all the surveyors in Hull except 'Participant B' to have been in their fifties or sixties in the 1990s certainly suggests that the average age in Hull has increased during the period under investigation in this chapter, even if data to prove this hypothesis is not currently available. Participants C and D, however, provide further evidence. Although they did not explicitly state the age of the staff they had worked with during their careers in Hull, both participants have reached retirement age whilst working for the Society in that office. Again, this suggests that the age of the surveyor teams stationed in Hull in 2023 were, on average, older than those seen in Chapter 5. More research could confirm this hypothesis, but the limited information available in these interviews certainly suggests an increase in the average age in the staff of the Hull office in the twenty-first century.

6.3.3 Staff Roles

While the average age of the LR staff in Hull since the 1990s was likely older than that of the surveyors analysed in Chapter 5, the roles held by both groups of surveyors within the office were very similar. The most significant pattern identified in Chapter 5, that being the rise of the engineering staff, was equally apparent in the 1990s. 'Participant B' stated the office had a surveyor in charger supplemented by the team of six surveyors, all of whom had an engineering element to their work and experience, and this continued into the twenty-first century.[643] Similarly, the staff hierarchy within the office has remained relatively similar. A surveyor in charge or lead surveyor heads the Hull team, with 'Participant D' the only one of the three surveyors interviewed having served in that position in Hull, although this was only

[641] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.18.37).

[642] *Ibid.*

[643] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.23.44 + 00.25.01).

on an interim basis as the Society looked to fill the vacancy permanently.[644] Surveyors working under those leads were seemingly split into two distinct groups, surveyors and senior surveyors. 'Based on your progress', usually 'how many [clients] you visited' and 'how many reports you'd written', appointments to senior surveyor positions gave the surveyor 'jurisdiction over trainees', making those surveyors available for trainee mentorship, another example of Hull's continued role as a training centre.[645]

In addition to this seniority rank, surveyors could be distinguished based on their work designation. As seen in Chapter 5, for much of the period under investigation in this thesis, one of the most common surveyor designations was that of ship and engineer surveyor, and in the period covered by the interviews, similar patterns have emerged. As stated by 'Participant D', the 2023 team in Hull had 'three ship surveyors' including the aforementioned remote surveyor in Lowestoft, along with three marine and equipment surveyors, a new designation not seen in the earlier data.[646] This new role, combining many of the responsibilities of the material surveyors seen in Chapter 5 alongside those of ship surveyors, was likely the result of both the increasing industrial work being conducted from outports like Hull, and the aforementioned staff shortages that no doubt forced the limited staff to take on more responsibility within the office.

This increasing workload has only been exacerbated by issues surrounding another key role within the office, administration. Chapter 5 demonstrated the important role played by the administrative staff in outports like Hull, not only through aiding the day-to-day activity of the network, but also in driving the Society forward with regards to employment practises, not least the employment of women. The administrative staff were a key component of outport functionality, ensuring that all work conducted by the surveyors was reported and collated in a manner that allowed the Society to cement itself as the leading classification Society. Also, more often than not, the administrative teams in the outports were made up of local people, strengthening the ties the Society laid in offices all over the UK and the world. In the period under review in these interviews, however, the administrative staff no longer play such a significant role, and this reduction of responsibility represents the most striking difference between the Hull office of 2023, and the one analysed during the preceding chapters of this thesis.

[644] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.09.36).

[645] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.15.16).

[646] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.30.38).

By the 1990s, the administrative staff in the Hull office had seen their number reduced to just three, all of whom were local women from the Hull area.[647] Within the 2023 staff, however, there were no administrative staff at all.[648] As stated by 'Participant D', although there had been two clerical staff in Hull at their appointment to the office in 2005, there were 'no clerical' staff in the Hull office in 2023.[649] This was part of an updated and deliberate staffing policy adopted by the Society across the outports. Watson stated that, in response to financial pressure, the Society's 'costs were quickly brought under control'.[650] As a result, 'jobs were lost throughout the organisation', with 750 redundancies seen in LR's UK operations since 1999.[651] According to 'Participant C', the Society 'reduced the admin' in Hull through these redundancies and office reorganisation, moving the last members of the administrative staff in Hull to a business unit which was 'subsequently sold off'.[652] The only exception to this state of affairs came in offshore work, which 'Participant C' states is still served by a clerical officer in Lowestoft, again demonstrating the modern connection between these two outports.[653] It also appears that this significant reduction of the administrative staff was not unique to Hull. 'Participant C' stated that other outports have fallen on the receiving end of similar redundancies, citing the Liverpool office as a good example of this, although it retained some admin staff up to 2023.[654]

In addition to the loss of valued colleagues, this removal of the administrative team in Hull significantly altered the demands placed on the staff that were retained. 'Participant D' was quick to point out this detrimental effect, lamenting that it has been a 'retrograde step' for the office to lose its clerical staff, with surveyors now tasked with fulfilling all the work previously conducted by the office's administrative team.[655] Aided by technological developments like computerisation and remote working, a topic addressed in section 5.3.6, 'pretty much, from start to finish', the surveyors now 'as an individual carry out the role', whereas 'when [the office] had admin staff, […] they were very efficient'.[656] As 'Participant D'

[647] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.19.43 + 00.22.25).

[648] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.22.25).

[649] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.25.13).

[650] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 86.

[651] *Ibid*.

[652] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.41.48).

[653] *Ibid.*

[654] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.41.48).

[655] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.25.13).

[656] *Ibid.*

stated, Hull surveyors have taken on a 'balancing act' of work, and have 'noted the increase in our workload' both in preparation for survey work, and in reporting and filing, all while dealing with constantly incoming client requests.[657]

On top of increasing the workload on an already over-stretched technical staff, the loss of the administrative team in Hull also negatively affected the employment of women. As the participants noted, all of the admin staff that were employed in and left Hull during their tenures in the office were women, with the technical staff all being men.[658] Although this represents a continuation of employment patterns seen in Chapter 5, it also reveals that progressive employment practises seen across the Society since the 1970s have not filtered down to Hull. Watson stated that, since the later decades of the twentieth century, LR has 'invested heavily in fulfilling the potential of employees, regardless of their age, background or gender'.[659] In 1979, Sonia Anastassaki became the first female surveyor in Society history, marking a major change in LR's employment policy.[660] In 1992, the same year 'Participant B' arrived in Hull, '31 women held senior administrative posts in the UK and 12 overseas, while there were 67 women on the technical staff worldwide'.[661] As with the average age analysis, more evidence than available to this enquiry would be needed to draw firmer conclusions on the role of and opportunities available to women across the outports. Nevertheless, the three interviews certainly suggest that any progression made in the diversification of employment practises across the Society generally have not been echoed in Hull in any meaningful way. In fact, the opposite is true for Hull, with redundancies having fallen hardest on the office's team of women, resulting in a return to the male-dominated environment seen across the outports in the early sections of Chapter 5.

6.3.4 Identifying Surveyor Candidates

The ever-increasing workload, coupled with the existing issues within surveyor recruitment, placed an extra level of importance onto LR's identification of surveyor candidates, and looking at the Society's approach to this issue in Hull can provide further evidence for understanding both LR and the Hull office since 1992. Watson notes that, from the 1980s onwards, the Society shifted its recruitment focus onto 'young graduates', stating that, at the time of writing in 2010, LR looked 'for entrants with good degrees in subjects such as material engineering,

[657] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.25.13).

[658] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.23.06).

[659] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 254.

[660] *Ibid.*

[661] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 254.

naval architecture, ship science, marine or mechanical engineering, or electrical, control engineering and systems engineering'.[662] The accounts of the three participants show the result of this shift in recruitment policy on the ground in Hull since 1992.

The three participants all had differing backgrounds and experiences upon their appointment as surveyors in Hull, but some common themes can be seen across the three. As identified in Chapter 5, past experience, either through work or apprenticeship, was by far the most common feature found across the backgrounds of recruited surveyors, and the same can be said for the three surveyors interviewed. For example, 'Participant B', whose work within the Society focused heavily on marine engineering, gained experience in construction and engineering while working in the nuclear industry.[663] Perhaps more enticing for the Society was the fact that participants C and D had both worked directly in the field they would be recruited to cover by LR. Offshore surveyor 'Participant C' had experience as an offshore technical/electrical authority for British Gas prior to joining LR, working on the introduction of the Offshore Safety Case in 1992.[664] This was in addition to earlier work as an electrical engineer for the Yorkshire Electricity Board, again providing valuable experience for their later work with LR.[665] Similarly, 'Participant D' had joined the merchant navy, rising from the rank of cadet in 1978 all the way to chief engineer, with a brief period working as an engineer on cruise ships, work that foreshadowed the survey work they conduct on behalf of the Society in Hull.[666] Indeed, 'Participant D's early career also points to another common feature of surveyor backgrounds shared across the participants and the surveyors studied in Chapter 5, past careers at sea. Of the 78 surveyors with background information available reviewed in Chapter 5, well over half of them had sea-going experience, and this was certainly the case for the three interviews. As already stated, 'Participant D' spent much of their career pre-LR at sea with the merchant navy, even suggesting that it was a direct encounter with LR on a vessel on the Humber that inspired them to apply to the Society to fill a vacancy.[667] Similarly, 'Participant C' spent a period at sea for various employers before joining the Society, leaving 'Participant B' as the only one of the three participants to have not gone to sea in their pre-LR careers.[668] Indeed, one of the motivating factors for 'Participant D's application to LR was the fact that

[662] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 232-233.

[663] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.09.36).

[664] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.01.27).

[665] *Ibid.*

[666] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.01.40, 00.02.40, 00.03.05).

[667] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.01.40).

[668] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.01.27).

they were looking for a land-based career that kept them connected with the work they had done at sea, and they stated that this sea-going background has also enabled them 'to show a certain degree of pragmatism' when working for the Society in establishing 'what is and what isn't acceptable', further useful qualities for an LR recruit.[669]

Aside from practical experience, another of the common traits across the backgrounds of the three participants is education. Targeting graduates became an increasingly important avenue for surveyor recruitment, especially given the aforementioned staffing pressures. Traditionally, the Society 'recruited ex-seagoing chief engineers and some deck officers', but this proved 'unsustainable to meet the requirements' of the modern Society.[670] As a result, LR 'moved across to employing graduate engineers', identifying candidates with degrees in 'mechanical engineering, electrical engineering or naval architecture who were then looking to proceed towards full corporate membership of a relevant professional body such as the Institute of Mechanical Engineering or the Institute of Marine Engineers'.[671] Again, this follows patterns identified within the staff earlier in the thesis. The analysis in Chapter 5 revealed that formal qualifications were common across the 78 assessed surveyors, with 53 having attended some form of formal education. Participants B and C both attended university and obtained degrees in relevant fields. 'Participant C' graduated from the University of Bradford with a degree in electrical engineering, with 'Participant B' gaining a degree in mechanical engineering from the University of Liverpool.[672] Although they did not attend a university, 'Participant D' completed a number of training courses in both engineering and surveying, sitting final examinations at Birkbeck College in London.[673] They stated that this education certainly helped their application, as the Society were looking for 'a chief engineer' with 'a class one certificate of competency for deep sea vessels […] over 3,000 tons'.[674] This background education, therefore, represents the continuation of a growing pattern identified in the twentieth century. Indeed, 'Participant B' joined LR through its graduate scheme, a process introduced during the twentieth century and designed to aid the Society's recruitment of candidates directly from universities and other centres of education.[675] In fact, 'Participant B' suggests that, by the 1990s, this graduate recruitment had grown to the extent where LR no

[669] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.49.39).

[670] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.02.22).

[671] *Ibid.*

[672] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.01.27); 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.00.37).

[673] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.04.14).

[674] *Ibid.*

[675] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.00.37).

longer considered applications from candidates who had neither sea-going experience nor a degree. As they stated, 'if you weren't a seagoing engineer, you weren't coming to Lloyd's Register if you didn't have a degree'.[676]

While focusing on candidates with either relevant experience or education enabled the Society to recruit the most qualified surveyors, this selectivity may well have served to worsen staff shortages. 'Participant D' stated that although the Hull office has 'had some excellent graduate students come through' during their time in the port, this system of recruitment did not keep up with the demand for personnel, acknowledging that 'there's just not enough at the moment'.[677] 'Participant C' went a step further, suggesting that the Society since 2006 has focused on surveyor qualities, rather than solely on experience or qualifications. 'There's a certain level of academic, but, in my experience, there's a number of other factors that come into play, and that's your ability to engage with other people'.[678] Expanding on this interpretation, 'Participant C' stated that the surveyor role is more like 'a behavioural thing' where 'little triggers' would allow them to know that 'something's not quite right'.[679] This sixth sense idea is one of a number of qualities that 'Participant C' suggested LR now look for in prospective surveyors, alongside qualities like good 'communication and good written skills', and the ability to 'assess based on previous experience', an idea supported by 'Participant D's earlier point about surveyors using experience to act pragmatically when surveying vessels.[680] 'Participant D' also echoed the idea of surveyors having a sixth sense when conducting LR work:

> When you walk onto a ship you kind of instinctively know if you're gonna have a straightforward survey or […] a difficult survey, [and] […] 'I've had a few occasions where I've walked on thinking this is gonna be difficult or this isn't gonna be straightforward, and I haven't been wrong in that initial estimation.[681]

Again, this supports 'Participant C's assertion that the Society has developed a keen interest in surveyor qualities rather than solely focusing on their past experience and qualifications, although both remain important factors. What is for certain is that this varied approach to recruitment deployed by the Society has produced a technical staff from a variety of backgrounds and with varying degrees of experience and knowledge. As a result, an

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[676] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.41.59).

[677] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.32.22).

[678] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.07.05).

[679] *Ibid.*

[680] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.09.41 + 01.11.43).

[681] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.22.24).

increasing degree of importance is placed on the training LR provides to recruits in outports like Hull in order to create uniformity across its staff.

6.3.5 Lloyd's Register Surveyor Training since 1992

The Society's in-house training sought to unify the diverse backgrounds held by surveyors into a continuous standard of surveying across the outports. 'Participant B' provided perhaps the best overview of the rationale behind the training process:

> If you come in from a non-seagoing background, then everything is very new, and […] although you've got a good engineering knowledge, you certainly need [to] refresh that knowledge with what you are going to be doing, and the style of work going forward. Whereas if someone is coming from, like a sea-going chief engineer, they're already fully familiar with the ship operation from an engineering point of view, so they are just learning the Lloyd's Register ways of reporting and the ways of the technical standards that they require to be maintained. If you're coming in as a graduate you've got quite a bit more to learn.[682]

With this approach in mind, the Society consistently provided training to surveyor recruits throughout the period covered by this thesis. Chapter 5 demonstrated that Hull appears to have played a notable role in this scheme as one of the key training ports for the Society and, as shown earlier in this chapter, this has continued up to the 2023. Surveyors joining the Society since the 1990s could expect to undertake intensive training in both the standard procedure of LR, and in any specialisms that were required for the job, with training tailored to the needs of the candidate and the intended role. For 'Participant B', such activities were part of the Society's graduate scheme which included 'a whole programme of training which lasted for four years until you became a full surveyor'.[683] This started with 'an induction course' which involved a period at head office in London, but was swiftly followed by placements at a selection of the Society's main training ports, with 'Participant B' posted to Glasgow, Yokohama, and Croydon before arriving in Hull in September 1992.[684] During these postings, trainees would shadow other surveyors to get to know various aspects of the work of the Society, with 'Participant B's time in Yokohama and Croydon specifically targeted at LR's system of plan approval for new construction.[685] 'Participant D' experienced a similar international approach to their training, stating that, 'traditionally, we would go to

[682] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.09.36).

[683] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.03.57).

[684] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.03.57).

[685] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.03.57).

Southampton' or other domestic ports, but 'on occasions we've gone to overseas offices for training'.[686]

Alongside these placements, trainee surveyors would also attend various courses including standard 'induction, […] a technical induction course which went into more detail on the specifics of ship construction, ship survey, materials such as welding, […] and various other training courses such as statutory involvement'.[687] All surveyors joining the Society could expect to embark on this training pathway, but for the specialist surveyors, this could be supplemented by further training tailored to the work that they were expected to undertake for the Society. As stated earlier, both Participants B and C received tailored additional training for their offshore work, the former focusing particularly on safety and including 'the associated training that you needed to fly in helicopters', specifically 'helicopter underwater escape training'.[688] 'Participant C', however, received rather different training from LR for offshore work, seemingly as a result of the short-staffed Hull office. As they had already completed the safety training in a previous career, part of their preparation for offshore work with the Society involved only a short, 'three-month formal process', with 'Participant C' acknowledging that, in ports with a larger staff, some offshore training could often take longer and involve more surveyors.[689] For example, in offshore training centres like Aberdeen, the Society would 'send out two surveyors together, so one very experienced surveyor would go out with a trainee'.[690] In contrast, 'Participant C' undertook their training out on platforms 'individually', coming back into the office to 'sit with the team leader and go through' the 'practise reports' they had produced.[691] While this review process was reportedly 'robust', the account of the training received by 'Participant C' does begin to suggest that the training offered to new recruits by the Society in Hull, much like the aforementioned recruitment criteria, had been somewhat relaxed, particularly since the mid-2000s.[692] This is further supported by the training offered to 'Participant D' who arrived in the Hull office at a similar time and was required to work 'alongside a senior surveyor for six months before […] [being] allowed to continue unsupervised'.[693]

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[686] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.44.15).

[687] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.03.57).

[688] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.50.09).

[689] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.15.16).

[690] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.12.34).

[691] *Ibid.*

[692] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.12.34).

[693] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.06.34).

This limited practical training occurred alongside the aforementioned training courses, with 'Participant D' having been trained for activities like hull repairs and auditing.[694] Perhaps the most interesting revelation from 'Participant D's account was the fact that their training and assessment has been ongoing, remaining a part of their experience working in Hull right up to the time of the interview in 2023. As they stated, 'each and every one' of the surveyors, 'every two years, […] have, what they call […] activity monitoring examination' where, for annual surveys and any other ship survey work, 'another surveyor will sit in on a survey' to assess surveyor performance.[695] This continuous means of assessment not only kept surveyors training up to date, it also gave the Society another means of quality assurance, confirming that surveyors were conducting work on behalf of the Society to a uniform high standard. If modern surveyor training has been reduced in initial intensity, this has, therefore, being counterbalanced by its increased duration.

It is also worth noting here that, in addition to the training scheme, it has become clear in this research that the Society offered social activities to aid surveyor acclimatisation to new office environments. As Watson stated, 'the monotony was broken outside office hours by the recreational opportunities enjoyed by staff' both domestic and international, citing the London-based LR cricket team as a key example.[696] However, no evidence was found to suggest that such activities took place in Hull in the period covered earlier in the thesis, and the three interviews appeared to confirm this was still the case in the Hull office from the 1990s to the 2020s. 'Participant B' corroborated this theory, stating that 'there was no real social aspect within the Lloyd's Register [office] in Hull' during the period they were stationed there, although they did encounter LR-funded social activities when working abroad, stating that the 'social aspect was much more prominent when you were working in those sorts of areas'.[697] For example, when stationed in Yokohama, LR paid for 'Participant B' to become 'a member of […] the Yokohama Cricket and Athletics Club' who would 'arrange cricket, rugby, football' for ex-patriates, stating that it 'used to be very common' for LR to 'put you in contact with local clubs like that which were predominately aimed at ex-patriates' so that surveyors 'had some form of social and business connection'.[698]

[694] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.07.10).

[695] *Ibid.*

[696] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 241.

[697] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.14.56).

[698] *Ibid*.

Internationally, therefore, arranging opportunities for surveyor recruits to socialise and acclimatise to their new surroundings was a feature of LR's output. Domestically, however, it appears that social interactions for surveyors in outports like Hull were led by the surveyors themselves, with 'Participant B' choosing to attend events like the local 'Institute of Marine Engineers lectures'.[699] 'Participant D' supports this assertion, stating that, although they completed charity runs while working for LR in Hull, 'it was something [they] just did off [their] own batting'.[700] With this social system limited to international outports, the aforementioned training offered to surveyors by the Society in the domestic outports took on an even greater role, becoming the only means through which surveyors could acclimatise to new office environments, particularly if those offices had key specialisms like offshore work. Training, therefore, became one of the most important aspects of recruitment for the Society, and the interviews demonstrate that many of the training patterns identified in Chapter 5 can still be identified in the present-day Hull office.

6.3.6 An Average Day in the Hull Office

Although information surrounding the average day facing LR surveyors based in the Hull office might initially appear to be a rather mundane topic, the accounts provided by the three participants highlight major changes in the system of operation deployed by the Society in the outports, with perhaps the most significant change to working practises occurring since 2018. Between the mid-1990s and the late 2010s, average day working practises within the Hull office followed a pattern that would have been as equally familiar to the surveyors from the early twentieth century as it was to those working in the Hull office in the mid-2000s, the major difference being the use of computers. As 'Participant B' stated, surveyors would generally 'visit the office every day' to 'hand in the paperwork […] and pick up any jobs for that day and go do them', with many surveyors slightly exceeding the traditional nine-to-five day out of the office. [701] If a job overlapped days, surveyors could start on site with the clients, but they were usually required to report to the office before the end of the day, and the vast majority generally either started or finished at the office. The only exceptions to this rule came with long visits to dry docks or new construction yards where 'reporting took a bit longer' on site to complete and made returning to the office unnecessary.[702] This account of office life is supported by Participants C and D, with the former stating that surveyors were often 'sat in

[699] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.14.56).

[700] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.17.24).

[701] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.26.01 + 00.27.05).

[702] *Ibid.*

the office, working out of the Hull office' up until the late 2010s.[703] Indeed, 'Participant D' stated that, up until around 2018, they 'travelled daily from Sheffield to the Hull office', an arrangement that, despite the travel time, they enjoyed as the collegiate atmosphere gave them someone to 'speak to about whatever work you're dealing with at that time'.[704]

Although the requirement of daily office attendance created this much-valued support blanket for the team, it also meant that surveyors based outside of the immediate hinterland of Hull found workdays extended in order to account for travel time. 'Participant D' stated that they were 'losing two and a half hours easily a day travelling to the office [and] getting home', forcing them to continue to 'work in the evening'.[705] To mitigate this loss of time, the Society moved some surveyors in Hull onto a remote working model, allowing such surveyors to work from home and travel out to ships and clients in what was one of the most significant alterations to the working practises of the Society in Hull its history. Across the Society generally, experimentation with 'remotely based' surveyors had started in the late-1980s when LR 'moved to a more flexible system' aided by progress in communication technology and given a boost with the arrival of laptops in the late-1990s.[706] The exact arrival point for remote working in the Hull office is unknown, owing to protective measures on staff records. However, what is clear from the interviews is that it seemed to arrive in Hull far later than it had across the Society generally. Indeed, 'Participant D' stated that remote working was introduced to their career in Hull 'at some point around 2018'.[707] Regardless of the introduction date, remote working immediately altered the experience of surveyors in Hull. 'Participant D' stated that the move was ordered 'from a safety point of view more than anything else' as it allowed them to 'spend more time with work and […] just go direct to the ships whenever they request attendance rather than travel to Hull'.[708] As shall be addressed in detail later in the chapter, this need to work from home was given significant impetus in the immediate years following its introduction as world events forced the Society to adopt drastically new means of operation.

In addition to altering the physical workday for surveyors like 'Participant D', the move to remote working also permanently altered the means by which surveyors could write and

[703] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.26.01); 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.50.01).

[704] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.20.27 + 00.35.37).

[705] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.20.27).

[706] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 231.

[707] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.20.27).

[708] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.30.37).

submit the Society's paperwork. Prior to remote working, Hull surveyors would produce hand-written reports and certificates 'straight away', with 'the admin staff' then preparing the 'final typed certificate version for signature and stamp' from the attending surveyors.[709] Completed jobs and times would be hand-recorded in the office 'journal', with finished jobs marked as completed to notify the admin staff to compile the necessary documentation.[710] Remote working saw a complete overhaul in this department, the Society moving to a digitised system of operation. As stated by 'Participant D', everything is 'digital now', with surveyors completing paperwork and submitting reports and evidence remotely through a digital work management and exchange platform.[711] Through this system, surveyors have access to a back catalogue of reports and supplementary evidence to aid with surveyor work on site, replicating in some small way the support blanket once offered by attendance in the office. After completion, surveyors now 'submit [their] report narrative against the different surveys', alongside 'submitting photographic evidence, […] [and] sub-contractor reports', which then get 'passed to a lead surveyor to review'.[712] Once any corrections have been completed, the reports and related documents are 'closed' and then become 'available to the ship owner for his review' in addition to bodies like the Maritime and Coastguard Agency.[713] This digitised system was a far-cry from the organisation even 'Participant B' would have known in Hull, with their communication with clients done almost exclusively in person, or over mail and fax.[714]

The move to remote methods of working, while simplifying the process of document production and submission, simultaneously increased the workload for the individual surveyor, removing the need for administrative staff. According to 'Participant C', moving surveyors onto digitised remote working systems proved to the Society that it had 'staff […] that are really serving no purpose at all', with the clerical work, previously covered by a dedicated staff, now 'built in' to the new digitised systems of operation.[715] As demonstrated, once such systems were introduced to aid surveyors like 'Participant D', and particularly once events in the following years made remote working a necessity, the removal of the administrative staff took rapid effect, permanently altering the system of operation for the Society in outports like Hull.

[709] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.23.44).

[710] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.27.58).

[711] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.37.22).

[712] *Ibid.*

[713] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.37.22).

[714] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.30.06).

[715] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.41.48).

6.4 The Output of the Hull Office, 1992-2023

As shown in chapters 3 and 4, the work conducted by the Society in the port of Hull is an immensely useful lens through which to observe the changing nature of the Society's operational activity, and this is certainly the case when appraising this topic since the 1990s. Echoing the patterns of work seen previously, the three participants experienced a varied workload in Hull, particularly with all surveyors in the modern Hull office continuing to have a significant engineering element to their role.[716] As stated by 'Participant B', 'on a day-to-day basis' in the 1990s, surveyors could expect to find themselves 'visiting ships that were coming to the port of Hull, […] quite a few ship repair yards, […] new construction yards, as well as material, equipment, and component manufacturers'.[717] 'If the order books were full', 'Participant B' estimated that 60 per cent of the surveyors' time would have been spent on marine surveying, with '30 per cent [on] new construction', '30 per cent [on] existing ships' and '20 per cent' on industrial, material, equipment and components, leaving 20 per cent for an emerging area of work for the Society, offshore.[718] Taking each of these three main areas of work in turn, a greater understanding of the changing nature of the Society's work in Hull can be observed.

6.4.1 The work of Lloyd's Register in the modern Hull Office

A large portion of the Society's operational activity in Hull since the mid-1990s has focused on marine surveying, the cornerstone of LR's work throughout its life. 'Participant D' stated that, in the eyes of the Society, Hull was 'primarily seen as a ship survey office', with surveyors based around the Humber spending most of their time on ships, especially when compared to larger ports like Liverpool who handled a much wider catalogue of work.[719] Since 1992, this marine work has commonly fallen into one of two categories, new construction or existing surveys. Following the closure of Cochrane's Shipyard in Selby in 1992, 'Participant B' found themselves 'more involved' in new construction work, particularly with the two main construction yards in Hull at the time, Dunston's Ship Repairs Ltd and Yorkshire Dry Docks.[720] Work at the former focused on tugs, while the latter 'built a couple of offshore supply vessels' while 'Participant B' was working in Hull, with surveyors being on site with those vessels from 'steel cutting all the way through to […] sea trials [and] delivery'.[721] In the twenty-first century,

[716] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.25.01).

[717] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.12.44).

[718] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.51.15).

[719] 'Participant D', Interview D, (01.01.58 + 01.03.09).

[720] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.46.35).

[721] *Ibid.*

the Society has continued this new construction work, with 'Participant D' stating that they work with the two major Hull shipyards of Dunston's and MMS Ship Repair and Dry Dock Company Ltd on the construction and repair of 'relatively small vessels' of five to six thousand gross tons.[722] In addition to new construction, both participants stressed the significant amount of other marine survey work undertaken in Hull on vessels already afloat, with 'Participant B' stating that there were 'quite a few dry dockings of vessels' during their time in the office, with 'a lot of ship repair works' undertaken in Hull.[723] 'Participant D' suggested that this remained a key factor in 2023, with the Hull surveyors being kept 'busy for repairs', receiving 'plenty of requests for annual survey, damage survey' and general vessel surveys for both local and visiting vessels.[724] This marine work also included vessels caught in an incident or emergency. 'Participant D' cited a recent example of a vessel detained in Hull which required LR surveyors to 'drop everything' and 'attend immediately' to prioritise the vessel, 'represent the owners', and 'try to […] assist […] in order to have that detention lifted'.[725]

'Participant D' referenced another part of LR's marine work in Hull that has not appeared during this research hitherto, the marine surveys conducted aboard tankers and bulk carriers. During the course of their interview, 'Participant D' stated that they were authorised for 'CAP surveys' or the 'Continual Assessment Programme for tankers and bulk carriers' which involved surveyors spending a period of time aboard the vessel at sea to 'establish the condition of machinery'.[726] Similar arrangements could be made for cruise ships based out of the port, another relatively new element to the Society's operational activity from Hull with which 'Participant D' became familiar.[727] This assessment of machinery whilst underway leads on to the second of the three aforementioned areas of work the Society concentrated on from the Hull office, the survey of industry, materials, equipment, and components. Along with new construction work, 'Participant B' stated that the they were involved with 'a lot of material, equipment, and component manufacturers', regularly visiting sites ranging from engineering companies to material manufacturers like steel works.[728] This has continued to a notable degree into the 2020s. 'Participant D', who largely works from home, stated that it is 'occupying more […] time', with around 70 per cent of their workload taken up by industrial

[722] 'Participant D', Interview D, (01.04.56).

[723] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.46.35).

[724] *Ibid.*

[725] 'Participant D', Interview D, (01.04.56).

[726] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.11.42).

[727] *Ibid.*

[728] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.46.35).

clients.[729] This has enabled 'Participant D' to cover 'companies such as Sheffield Forgemasters, David Brown in Huddersfield, […] William Cook in Sheffield [and] Chesterfield Metals' and other foundries, again stretching the geographical remit of the modern Hull office.[730] This sphere of work in the post-1990 office also includes the 'audit [of] […] composite material, pressure testing, cryogenic testing of valves that go onto ships, [and] material verification for the […] plate that's used for repairs on ships'.[731] Such industrial, material, equipment and component work has also included the surveying of products intended for offshore use. For example, 'Participant B' made regular visits to survey products such as offshore hoses from a rubber manufacturer on the south bank of the Humber, a point that echoes the earlier statement from 'Participant C' that surveyors could be sent anywhere where components for offshore work were being produced, again stretching the geographical reach of the Hull office.[732] Indeed, 'Participant C' stated that they 'carried out a lot of onshore fabrication work' in their capacity as an offshore verification officer, surveying products like pipes and valves, along with any modifications carried out to components needed offshore.[733]

However, this onshore verification of offshore components was just a fraction of the work the Society devoted to offshore clients, the third key area of activity, which, in itself, demonstrates an evolution of the Hull office and its focus. LR's work offshore was 'well under way by the 1980s', during which '60 percent of the income earned by LR in the UK was coming from offshore activities'.[734] By 2005, 'LR was servicing more than a thousand offshore installations around the world' alongside '20 percent of the floating offshore installations market'.[735] The North Sea quickly became 'the major focus of its offshore operations', with Hull ideally placed to take advantage.[736] According to 'Participant C', LR's involvement offshore was driven by the need to 'carry out verification activities linked with the Offshore Safety Case' regulations, which were introduced in 1992 and updated and amended in 2005 and 2015.[737] As

[729] 'Participant D', Interview D, (01.01.58).

[730] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.59.49).

[731] *Ibid.*

[732] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.46.35).

[733] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.05.13).

[734] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 184, 190.

[735] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 184.

[736] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 184.

[737] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.01.27); *The Offshore Installations (Safety Case) Regulations 1992* (SI 1992/2885) (London: The Stationary Office Ltd); *The Offshore Installations (Safety Case) Regulations 2005* (SI 2005/3117) (London: The Stationary Office Ltd); *The Offshore Installations (Offshore Safety Directive) (Safety Case etc.) Regulations 2015* (SI 2015/398) (London: The Stationary Office Ltd).

Watson stated, LR 'reaped the benefit' of this change, with the Society 'involved from the outset in safety analysis, risk identification, design, manufacture and maintenance'.[738] Under these regulations, offshore operators and owners 'had to have a set of performance standards which defined their safety critical equipment and how it should perform'.[739] LR's offshore surveyors or verification officers were required to 'visit these platforms on pre-determined schedules, and either function-test or review this equipment', in addition to 'intrusive work into their safety management systems'.[740] Offshore officers like 'Participant C' would 'sit with offshore management and ask them questions' if they 'had any doubts about what was going on offshore', after which standard LR procedure came into force with the production of reports which were forwarded to the clients who 'would have to respond to anything […] raised within'.[741] Both Participants B and C had direct experience of conducting this offshore work out of the Hull office. The former suggested that, at one point during their time in Hull, they probably flew 'in helicopters more' than they 'used to drive' their own car, flying out to platforms 'certainly every week […] sometimes two or three times'.[742] Some trips experienced by these surveyors only lasted a single day, but others could see them stationed offshore 'for two or three days, the longest experienced by 'Participant B' being 'two and a half [to] three weeks offshore'.[743]

This significant offshore element to 'Participant B's workload in Hull may appear somewhat unexpected at first glance, but it is important to stress that they arrived in the Hull office in 1992, the same year that the Offshore Safety Case regulations were introduced for the first time. It is, therefore, unsurprising to observe the Society diverting traditional surveying staff offshore to cope with the increasing demand from this new area of work. Likewise, 'Participant C' arrived in the Hull office in 2006, within a year of the major amendment and reissue of the Safety Case in 2005. As an independent, third-party verifier, 'Participant C' regularly visited offshore platforms surveying 'safety-critical equipment', with major visits commonly occurring on an annual, two-year, or 36-month basis depending on how both the surveyors and clients felt about reports.[744] However, with regular clients, meetings could take place as often as every month, at which 'outstanding issues' from previous reports

[738] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 192.

[739] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.01.27).

[740] *Ibid.*

[741] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.01.27).

[742] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.48.42).

[743] *Ibid.*

[744] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.18.32).

and the subsequent responses were discussed, and any client who proved unsatisfactory in this department could be issued with an 'improvement notice'.[745]

The importance of the offshore work to the fortunes of the Hull office was enhanced during periods of decreasing marine activity, with 'Participant C' suggesting that the peaks and troughs in each area often served as counterbalance for the other in Hull. According to their account, after 'a peak of marine early' in their time with LR, 'it bottomed out […] and offshore […] was the main provider of the office, keeping it going'.[746] With the addition of offshore work since the 1990s, therefore, Hull was able to retain a degree of importance to the outport network that it may well have otherwise lost. However, by 2023, this intense offshore workload had been notably reduced. As previously stated, 'Participant C' revealed that the Society were only working with two offshore clients out of Hull that year, Perenco and Spirit Energy Ltd, having lost its major contract with Centrica some years previously.[747] This reflected the offshore picture for the Society generally, particularly regarding the North Sea. As Watson stated, the offshore 'North Sea boom was gently ebbing away by 2000', with limited contracts seemingly becoming concentrated in major offshore centres like Aberdeen and Lowestoft.[748] Indeed, 'Participant C' gave a particularly damning and bleak assessment of Hull's future prospects offshore, stating that it could easily be non-existent in a few years' time should current contracts not be renewed.[749]

This contract loss has been compounded by an industry-wide move towards 'decommissioning', with many fields having 'reached their 25-year estimated life'.[750] Hull surveyors have been involved in this work, with 'Participant C' stating that 'decommissioning has become a major activity which we got involved in, and I've been involved in it over the last few years before I retired'.[751] However, these current contracts are 'minor' compared to what surveyors like 'Participant C' would have experienced when they first arrived in the Hull office in the mid-2000s.[752] Such contractions provide another explanation of the aforementioned reduction of Hull's importance to the outport network since 2000. Nevertheless, offshore

[745] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.08.22).

[746] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.22.38).

[747] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.50.01).

[748] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 193.

[749] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.26.18).

[750] *Ibid.*

[751] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.50.01).

[752] *Ibid.*

surveying became a major part of the Society's work in Hull, providing an example of the changes in operational activity experienced in Hull since the 1990s.

6.4.2 Relations with Hull's Maritime Community since 1990

It is clear, therefore, from the accounts of the three surveyors that LR has continued to conduct a wide variety of work out of its office in Hull. In addition to an appraisal of the work undertaken from the modern Hull office, however, it is also important to analyse the Society's ability to work within the maritime community of the port. Maintaining cordial relations with local maritime communities was a key part of LR's work. However, as shown in Chapter 3's investigation into the Society's relationship with the Wilson Line, positive communication with Hull firms was not always guaranteed. Tackling this issue has remained a part of life for the Society in Hull since the 1990s and the importance of maintaining cordial relations with Hull firms was perhaps best summarised by 'Participant C':

> Lloyd's Register has a prominence in the industry, it's a go to, and it always has been. […] There are other societies, there are other operators out there that carry out similar activity on the marine side. I call it class wars so, there's a continual battle to gain tonnage and gain shipowners from each other, and Lloyd's win and lose some.[753]

With the threat of losing clients to other societies rumbling in the background, the Society continued to establish connections with leading members of Hull's maritime community, including some of the local area's most notable names. 'Participant B' regularly worked with Dunstons Ship Repair's Ltd, Yorkshire Dry Docks, Yorkshire Marine Containers, Shiphams Valves, P&O Ferries and Rix Shipping.[754] On the whole, relations with such clients were largely cordial, but they were not always positive, with 'Participant B' stating that 'there used to be a lot of arguments' between the Society and the mercantile community in Hull during their time in the office during the 1990s.[755] Echoing their sixth-sense idea with surveyor skills, first impressions from clients often warned surveyors of incoming arguments, with 'Participant D' stating that:

> When you get a chief engineer who, from the opening meeting, is open and honest and tells you where he has issues or he has problems, you appreciate that more than those who don't tell you anything and you uncover the shortcomings, and […] start becoming a little bit suspicious.[756]

[753] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.24.59).

[754] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.12.44 + 00.36.50).

[755] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.36.50).

[756] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.49.39).

As shown in Chapter 3, the driving forces behind these disagreements were multifaceted. Some issues were directed at the surveyors themselves. 'Participant B' stated that, as a junior engineer in Hull, they encountered clients who would 'try and take advantage because you were young', believing that it would be far easier to slip vessel inadequacies past young and inexperienced surveyors, and becoming irritable upon discovering that this was not the case.[757] Other disagreements, however, centred on issues relating to the survey process, one being the stringency of LR's rules with which the Wilson Line frequently took issue in the late-nineteenth century. In the 1990s, 'Participant B' encountered 'some fractious relationships […] because these companies would struggle to meet the requirements that Lloyd's Register wanted to set'.[758] For example, some superintendents for local firms 'had their own ideas about how things should be done', challenging the stringency of the Society's rules, especially when surveyors 'were asking for things to be done which they deemed to be unnecessary'.[759] The desire to prove an LR rule was unnecessary could lead to memorable encounters for the surveyors. 'Participant D' recalled a visit to an older vessel where they directed the superintendent to conduct a 'watertight test of the hatch covers' which 'Participant D' suspected were no longer fit for purpose, a test the superintendent deemed unnecessary.[760] In an attempt at deception, the superintendent waited for 'Participant D' to go below to record the results of the test, and then proceeded to have the hoses directed 'not at the seam, but about a metre to the side of it so that it was never under pressure'.[761] Once the ruse had been uncovered, the test completed properly, and the hold duly flooded, 'Participant D' 'really went to town on that vessel' and recalled being summoned to the office because they had imposed so many conditions of class.[762]

In addition to disagreements over the stringency of rules, surveyors could also encounter difficulties when challenged over issues like survey rates and vessel detentions. 'Participant C' revealed that they were 'always' dealing with client problems with the Society's 'charge rates', stating that 'Lloyd's, like any business' had 'a bottom line for what we charge', and many clients were reluctant to pay the hourly rate.[763] Such problems were only exacerbated when combined with vessel detentions, with clients reportedly taking issue with

[757] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.39.50).

[758] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.36.50).

[759] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.41.59).

[760] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.49.39).

[761] *Ibid*.

[762] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.49.39).

[763] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.24.59).

'how many detentions are issued' by LR.[764] According to 'Participant C', protesting shipowners or operators, particularly in the offshore oil and gas industries, threatened to transfer surveying work across to other classification societies if they felt LR had issued them several vessel detentions, in many ways mirroring the threats made by the Wilson Line in Chapter 3, an important link given 'Participant C's "class wars" comment mentioned earlier.

These interactions demonstrate that LR's relationship with the maritime community in Hull was not always as positive as either side might have hoped. Disagreements with Hull's maritime community were not always the result of difficult clients. Indeed, internal problems with surveyors had caused issues historically, and as demonstrated in Chapter 5, the Society were quick to handle internal disciplinary matters, suspending or dismissing any surveyor found to be at odds with the standards it demanded. That being said, no matters of ill-discipline or surveyor misconduct appear to have taken place in the Hull office since 1992, with none of the three participants recalling any encounter with such problems during their employment in the Hull office. That is not to say that surveyors were immune from mistakes. As 'Participant D' stated, the surveyors can and did 'get it wrong', particularly when dealing with regulations and 'occasions where it can be a bit grey, and […] it's actually written into the rules [that] it's down to the discretion of the attending surveyor'.[765] Such instances provide a first brief insight into the methods deployed by the Society to handle client disagreements and difficulties, as 'Participant D' encouraged clients to challenge surveyors on the rules they were attempting to enforce. They stated that they advised clients to 'always ask the surveyor […] where in the rules' this 'requirement [was] stipulated'.[766] If evidence could be provided, the surveyor's call would stand, but if not, they would have to 'back off' from enforcing the matter.[767]

This challenging of the surveyors represents the first level of response the Society might deploy when dealing with problematic clients, but this could be escalated should a resolution not be reached. 'Participant B' stated that disgruntled clients would 'generally speak with the attending surveyor, but if it was something a bit more, […] then that would go to the surveyor in charge', with the office's lead surveyor often called to defend their surveyors, interject on matters that required input from a surveyor with higher seniority, or to cool any

[764] *Ibid.*

[765] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.49.39).

[766] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.49.39).

[767] *Ibid.*

disagreements that threatened to boil over.[768] 'Participant D' highlighted one such instance when a client, in response to being informed that their self-installed fire-fighting systems were not up to LR's standards, refused to have them complete the survey process.[769] The issue was escalated to the lead surveyor, who duly defended 'Participant D' and insisted that as they had started the survey, they were going to finish it.[770]

These interactions provide examples of the Society's response to difficult client relations on the marine side of the office since the 1990s. Problems with offshore clients, however, were handled slightly differently, largely due to restrictions on access. Although issues could be raised and escalated in a similar fashion to the marine side of the office, offshore issues were predominantly tackled in 'regular monthly meetings'.[771] According to 'Participant C', surveyors would meet with their offshore clients in a formal meeting every month where 'the first agenda item [was] issues from past reports', allowing grievances to be aired and tackled as swiftly as possible.[772] However, should the meeting not produce a solution, it could be escalated to a formal report, requiring the input of senior surveyors in a similar fashion to the marine escalation, in addition to offshore advisors based at other outports if necessary.[773] 'Participant C' also suggested that, in their experience handling offshore disputes, they often found it valuable to talk to the crew rather than simply limiting client interaction to managers and superintendents. As they stated, the 'best place to be' for LR's offshore surveyors was 'sat in the technicians workshop' and on the 'shop floor', where they could 'generally get an idea' for the bigger picture behind disagreements as, while 'management will tell you one thing, the guys on the shop floor will tell you another'.[774] Like 'Participant D's account of the watertight test, this offshore interaction demonstrates the constant awareness surveyors had to deploy to ensure that they were not being misled, either through misdirection or by omission of detail.

Most disputes were resolved in the above processes, but in extreme cases where relations between the surveyor and the client had irreparably broken down, surveyors could be reallocated. Although this does not appear to have occurred within the Hull office itself,

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[768] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.35.59).

[769] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.46.50).

[770] *Ibid.*

[771] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.24.59).

[772] *Ibid.*

[773] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.08.22).

[774] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.11.43).

'Participant B' stated that 'it definitely does happen', having witnessed it themselves 'in other ports' they worked in on behalf of the Society.[775] As demonstrated by the aforementioned case of 'Participant D' and the firefighting installation, the closest that the Hull office came to such action occurred when clients requested different surveyors, and seemingly resulted in such requests being unanimously refused by the port's lead surveyor. It is, perhaps, testament to the largely amiable connection between the office and the maritime community in Hull that no such occurrences appear to have taken place in the port since at least the mid-2000s, suggesting that the port's community had a certain level of respect for the work of the Society and its surveyors. Indeed, the question of respect is another that was posed to the three participants during this research. Despite the Society maintaining an aforementioned positive reputation in and around Hull, 'Participant B' was a little more reserved when addressing respect, stating that 'some [clients] were respectful, some weren't, and again it depended on what sort of work you were doing', with the aforementioned superintendents showing a lack of respect when deeming some LR recommendations to be unnecessary.[776] 'Participant B' put examples of disrespect down to instances where, on the part of the clients, 'there was some jealously, or there was some feeling that they were looked down upon maybe', but stated that, 'as far as how Lloyd's was respected, I think we were respected' within the maritime community in Hull.[777]

It does appear that this respect was limited to professional interactions, as the accounts from the three participants do not suggest that the LR team in Hull became overly engrained within the maritime community of the port, limiting its engagement with that community to professional interactions alone. 'Participant D' detailed that their interactions and engagement with the community in Hull was strictly limited to professional work, stating that the Society held a 'close relationship' with clients 'but it doesn't go much beyond that'.[778] It can certainly be argued that this limiting of engagement with the community to just professional interactions was a deliberate action on the part of the Society which, as demonstrated in earlier chapters, consistently sought to maintain its reputation and, crucially, its impartiality. Indeed, as covered in chapters 3 and 5, the surveyors could often find themselves part of this process, being moved around clients to ensure continued impartiality.

[775] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.44.17).

[776] 'Participant B', Interview, (00.41.59).

[777] *Ibid.*

[778] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.16.13).

The extent to which this desire for impartiality and professionalism affected the surveyors since the mid-1990s was another topic addressed in the interviews, and what became immediately clear was that the historic instruction to alternate surveyor-client relationships can still be identified in the modern Hull office, although it has not continued in quite the same instructional way. As 'Participant B' stated, there were certainly examples of clients who 'would have their favourite surveyors' either because 'they had a good working relationship or they were deemed more flexible', a situation that the Society had long been keen to avoid.[779] In the 1990s, it is clear that such close relationships with local clients were generally 'looked down upon', with 'Participant B' conceding that they 'wouldn't say it was a healthy thing' to have surveyors becoming too connected to the maritime community in Hull.[780] As a result, 'Participant B's surveyor team did 'try and keep the rotation going' so surveyors 'didn't visit the same places all the time' and 'didn't build up those relationships'.[781]

However, it is worth noting that this negative opinion of close relationships with clients, long held by the Society, appears to have softened in the twenty-first century. Certainly, the accounts of the matter presented by Participants C and D do not share this negativity, offering a rather more pragmatic and positive reflection on close client-surveyor relations. The former stated that, in their experience, 'familiarity is a good thing', particularly when 'working with a client for a while', and stressed that the continued need to 'maintain […] some sort of rotation' was more useful as a measure to get 'different views on what's gone on', rather than to preserve surveyor integrity.[782] Indeed, they stated that the policy of having 'one surveyor [visiting] […] a platform one year', followed by 'a different surveyor […] the next year' was beneficial in gathering 'different' opinions on similar issues.[783] 'Participant D' echoed this more positive interpretation of close client relations, stating that it was 'a good idea' 'to maintain the continuity of surveyors with certain clients' as familiarity 'makes things a little bit smoother and run quicker', increasing the efficiency of the office.[784] At the very least, these positive reflections demonstrate a relaxation of approach to client-surveyor communication within the Hull office in the twenty-first century, but they also suggest that the Society more widely has taken a similar approach, relaxing what were firmly entrenched opinions against over-familiarity with clientele. Although much of the evidence in this chapter has presented a

[779] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.44.17).

[780] *Ibid.*

[781] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.44.17).

[782] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.11.43 + 01.18.34).

[783] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.18.34).

[784] 'Participant D', Interview D, (01.13.35).

continuity of approach to surveyors and outports since 1900, this subtle but significant alteration in its approach to clients demonstrates the Society's continued growth and adaptability in places like Hull, particularly when faced with aforementioned issues like staff shortages.

This change in approach can be further identified when studying the way that the rotation of surveyors has been introduced. Historically, the rotation appeared as an instruction sent down to the surveyors across the world from head office, the idea that one surveyor could not become too friendly with clients being a key component of the orders given to surveyors at their recruitment. Indeed, 'Participant B' stated that impartiality through the rotation of surveyors was 'definitely' instilled in Hull's surveyor team from the Society itself, the rotation idea trickling down to the outports from head office during the 1990s.[785] However, 'Participant B's account also suggests that the implementation of this policy was largely driven by the surveyors in Hull themselves, rather than being dictated down to them, stating that 'we' used to keep the surveyor team moving around clients.[786] This situation whereby the surveyors took on the responsibility for implementing the rotation system is taken a step further in the accounts of Participants C and D, which both suggest that the actual introduction of the idea, not simply its implementation, was driven by the surveyors rather than head office. 'Participant D' stated firmly that they believed LR had 'changed their attitude' towards demanding rotation, admitting that the idea of LR imposing such a measure on the outports was something they 'never experienced […] [or] heard of'.[787] Similarly, 'Participant C' stated that, in all their time in the Hull office, they have 'never known an edict' stressing that LR 'want rotation' to have come down from the Society itself, revealing that, in Hull, the surveyors decided to introduce the measure 'amongst ourselves'.[788] But 'Participant C's account also introduces another factor into this discussion, suggesting that the disappearance of top-down instructions on rotation was not unanimously felt across the outports.

Despite revealing that the surveyor team in Hull decided amongst themselves to implement a limited policy of surveyor rotation, 'Participant C' stated that, in Lowestoft, the need for a rotation of surveyors around clients had 'been highlighted as an issue' by the Society who 'wanted rotation' and stated that the 'same surveyor should not be visiting the

[785] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.46.08).

[786] 'Participant B', Interview B, (00.45.29).

[787] 'Participant D', Interview D, (01.13.35).

[788] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.16.35).

same platform every year'.[789] This statement, which 'Participant C' stressed they had never come across in Hull, clearly suggests that the Society had moved away from dependence on blanket instructions that covered work across all outports, instead adopting a more pragmatic approach that enabled LR to tailor the implementation of measures to suit the needs and situations of individual outports.[790] The exact reason for Hull surveyors being given the freedom to implement measures like rotation is unknown, but one can certainly speculate with some degree of confidence that the issues around staff shortages and uncertainty in offshore markets may well have made a significant contribution. Perhaps the lack of available staff in Hull simply made a regular rotation of surveyors around clients an impossibility, and as stated by 'Participant D', familiarity made the whole process run a little bit smoother and quicker, hugely valuable factors for a staff seemingly being stretched to their limits.[791]

Whatever the reason, it is certainly clear that the Hull office was afforded a degree of autonomy when implementing measures, demonstrating the evolution of the Society's management of its own outport network, and its adaptability to work under changing demands in the twenty-first century. Indeed, such steps towards outport autonomy would have been a difficult concept to accept for the infant Society in 1834 who deployed its outport network with frequency to carry its firm and strict regulations around the world. In fact, this adaption to the modern world became an increasingly important part of the interviews, with participants C and D providing examples of the Society's handling of modern events through the lens of the Hull office, and its worth considering these issues prior to concluding this chapter.

6.5 The Impact of External Shocks on the Hull Office

According to 'Participant C', one of the strongest successes of LR's work in Hull has been its adaptability, stating that the office 'has been very efficient and very […] adaptable' when facing challenges.[792] It can certainly be argued that there have been very few times where such adaptability would have been more needed than the period since 1990. The negative impact on LR of Britain's decision to withdraw from the European Union has already been addressed earlier in the chapter, with 'Participant D' stressing that Brexit restrictions and costs have been 'prohibitive' to LR's longstanding practice of international recruitment.[793] Brexit, however, was

[789] *Ibid.*

[790] 'Participant C', Interview C, (01.16.35).

[791] 'Participant D', Interview D, (01.13.35).

[792] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.41.48).

[793] 'Participant D', Interview D, (01.08.38).

not the only external shock to have had significant consequences for LR and the Hull office, and two, namely the financial crash and the COVID-19 Pandemic, are worth addressing in more detail.

The international financial crash and its aftermath in the late-2000s early-2010s came off the back of an already bleak financial picture for LR at the turn of the century. In 1999, LR 'declared an operating loss of £18 million', which Watson notes was 'the worst in more than a decade'.[794] Costs were brought under control through the aforementioned Society-wide redundancies, but were also tackled by a systematic effort to streamline LR business. Any 'loss-making, less essential activities […] were eliminated', and larger offices were seemingly reduced in scale.[795] As 'Participant C' stated, 'there was a period where we went through' and thought 'we are not making enough money, things have to change', with the Society moving to downscale certain areas of its operational activity in order to 'streamline the business'.[796] Across the country, the Society 'decided to sell off some business units [and] amalgamate' others, moves that 'affected all offices' through 'redundancies' and the 'transfer of personnel'.[797] Hull was no exception to this downscaling, with this cost-cutting coinciding with the decision to move the Hull office from Festival House to Hessle, the interviews suggesting that this move occurred between 2008 and 2013. Despite apparently being 'looked upon as […] a profitable enterprise', the Hull office saw 'a number of redundancies' in Hessle, the team being reduced from 'about twelve' staff stationed in Festival House, to the 'less than seven personnel who remained' in Hessle after the move.[798] 'Participant D' echoed this, stating that, after financial pressures hit the Society again in the early 2010s, the office in Hull saw further redundancies to its staff, a move they described as being driven by the Society's focus on 'saving money'.[799] Financial pressure, in existence before but exacerbated by international events like the 2007-08 economic crash, had a detrimental impact across the operational activity of the Society, particularly in outports like Hull though notable staff redundancies.

However, financial pressure was not the only contributing factor to staffing contractions. Indeed, the reduction of staff was accelerated as a result of one of the most significant events of the twenty-first century, the COVID-19 Pandemic. It can certainly be

[794] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 85.

[795] Watson, *Lloyd's Register*, 87.

[796] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.37.37).

[797] *Ibid.*

[798] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.37.37).

[799] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.29.04 + 00.27.59).

argued that pandemic restrictions have forever altered the way the Society operates in outports like Hull, especially in the fast-tracked implementation of remote working. As demonstrated earlier in the chapter, remote working was not an entirely new concept to the Society at the start of the first UK pandemic lockdown in March 2020. It had already been deployed to useful effect in the career of 'Participant D', enabling them to complete Hull office work from Sheffield, increasing safety by reducing time spent commuting. Regardless of the causal factors in its arrival, what can be said with certainty is that the Pandemic rapidly 'accelerated the implementation of remote survey work' across the Society.[800] The enforced closure of offices and workplaces all around the country and the world as a result of lockdowns dramatically, and seemingly permanently, altered the way the Society conducted business. As stated by 'Participant D', since the outset of the pandemic, 'there's no question we do a lot more remotely, […] particularly in the shore-based operations', and 'Participant C' added to this, acknowledging that 'it's only recently, since COVID, it's become apparent that the job can be done [from] anywhere', particularly from home.[801]

Not only did this enable the Society to continue to operate during the Pandemic, and make the Society more flexible to the needs of clients and surveyors alike, it also dramatically reduced the dependence on the physical office and administrative staff. As mentioned earlier, remote working technology, coupled with digitised document handling, fuelled LR's move to significantly reduce administrative roles in favour of incorporating clerical work into the role of the surveyor, a move that saw a total reduction of the administrative staff in Hull.[802] Indeed, as stated by 'Participant C', the current Hull office has 'just a skeleton staff […] because the job's remote', a situation 'COVID brought […] to effect'.[803] Again, perhaps the simplest demonstration of this impact is the current office, which is confined to a single room in a business office block, demonstrating the stark reduction of staff due initially to financial pressures and the 2008 crash, and then accelerated by the Pandemic.

In addition to the loss of staff, the move to widespread utilisation of remote working also forced the Society to embrace technological innovation at a speed that they perhaps might not have done without the impetus of the Pandemic. As shown throughout this thesis, the Society had long been hesitant to embrace new technologies, especially regarding its surveying duties, but the interviews suggest that this hesitancy may well have permeated into

[800] *Ibid.*

[801] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.22.24); 'Participant C', *Interview C,* (00.41.48).

[802] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.41.48).

[803] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.37.37).

the offices, causing a degree of technological illiteracy. For example, when 'Participant C' 'first joined Lloyd's' in 2006, the 'old hands' on the staff 'weren't grasping new technology', particularly software like Microsoft Office, with 'Participant C' being drafted to run the aforementioned IT courses in Hull.[804] COVID-19 compelled the Society to throw such caution to the wind, demonstrating 'that things can be done differently', something 'Lloyd's took on board'.[805] The Pandemic, therefore, dramatically and permanently altered the way the Society operated its outports, particularly in Hull. Given the scale of the adjustment, one would be forgiven for being surprised that a physical office in Hull has been retained at all. However, the participants stressed the need for the retention of a physical space in the port, with 'Participant C' stating that they have 'always been an advocate for retaining an office because it's a physical presence […] for meetings with shipowners'.[806] Taking this further, 'Participant D' warned against an over-reliance on remote working, acknowledging that deploying the aforementioned surveyor sixth sense is much more difficult when operating remotely. As they stated, they 'prefer to be on-site' as 'there are things you see that you just don't see when you're doing it remotely'.[807]

External shocks like financial crashes, Brexit, and the COVID-19 Pandemic, therefore, have all clearly had a significant impact on the work of LR in the port of Hull. However, it is equally clear that LR has not responded actively to all external factors in the contemporary world. Indeed, the participants commented on LR's limited response to an emerging area of work that is set to play a major role in Hull's future, renewable energy. Following their declaration of a climate emergency in March of the preceding year, Hull City Council published its 'Carbon Neutral Strategy' in April 2020, aiming to make the port 'fully carbon neutral by 2030', some 20 years before the UK is stated to reach that status.[808] As a part of this move, Hull City Council, in collaboration with East Riding of Yorkshire Council and Associated British Ports, established the 'Green Port Hull' project to 'promote investment and development of

[804] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.37.37).

[805] *Ibid.*

[806] 'Participant C', Interview C, (00.50.01).

[807] 'Participant D', Interview D, (00.22.24).

[808] Hull City Council, *Hull 2030 Carbon Neutral Strategy* (Hull: Hull City Council, 2020). Available Online: https://www.hull.gov.uk/environment/hull-2030-carbon-neutral-stategy [Accessed 13/02/2024]; Hull City Council, *Carbon Neutral Hull: An Environment and Climate Change Strategy for 2020-2030* (Hull: Hull City Council, 2020) Available Online: https://www.hull.gov.uk/downloads/file/607/Hull_2030_Carbon_Neutral_Strategy.pdf [Accessed 13/02/2024], 4.

the renewable energy sector in the Humber region'.[809] This included investment from Siemens Gamesa to create an 'offshore wind turbine blade manufacture, assembly and servicing facility at […] Alexandra Dock, utilising the port's proximity to the North Sea turbine fields.[810]

Given this investment in Hull as a centre for renewable energy, and the subsequent importance and growth of that sector in the port's activity and economy, one might expect to find the LR office in Hull at the forefront of developments. The reality, however, is closer to the hesitant conservatism seen throughout this thesis. 'Participant C' stated that, although 'Lloyd's were involved in [wind turbine] construction in a minor role from the London office' alongside 'something else going on in Aberdeen', 'nothing firm came to the Hull office', with 'Participant C' stating that they asked the office directly about why they 'were not involved in the wind farms'.[811] This is not to say that LR has not maintained at least an interest in the development of renewable energy in the area. On behalf of the Society, 'Participant C' attended one of 'a number of seminars' held in Hull and Grimsby 'to advertise Siemens and what they were doing'.[812] However, the result was that 'Participant C' and the Society 'came to the conclusion that there was not really much for us to do', apparently on account of there being 'no […] danger to life, risk management, […] or a need for surveyors or third-party verification' in the renewable sector.[813] Indeed, according to 'Participant C', there were only two possible reasons for LR getting more involved in renewables from Hull in the future, the first being in response to 'a big accident'.[814] A reactionary response to accidents was mentioned by the participants as a key motivational factor for the team in Hull. Although, the participants stated that surveyors were driven by the desire to 'ensure that whatever we surveyed, certified […] complied with our rules and regulations or statutory requirements', they were also consciously aware that their work was primarily designed to improve safety, with maritime disasters serving to focus attention.[815] Citing the *Herald of Free Enterprise* and the Alpha Piper Disaster of 1987 and 1988 respectively, 'Participant B' stated that disasters were a stark reminder to the Society and its staff 'of the consequences of failure within process design or process construction'.[816]

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[809] Hull City Council, *Green Port Hull* (Hull: Hull City Council, 2024) Available Online: https://www.hull.gov.uk/business-advice-support/green-port-hull [Accessed 13/02/2024].

[810] Green Port Hull, "Siemens Gamesa: World Class Offshore Manufacturing Facility" (2024) Available Online: https://greenporthull.co.uk/what-we-do/siemens-gamesa [Accessed 13/02/2024].

[811] 'Participant C', *Interview C,* (00.54.03).

[812] *Ibid.*

[813] 'Participant C', *Interview C,* (00.54.03).

[814] *Ibid.*

[815] 'Participant B', *Interview B,* (00.56.02).

[816] 'Participant B', *Interview B,* (00.56.48).

Surveyors 'knew that the decisions you were taking were not lightly taken, […] and you had to make sure that you were competent and confident that you were giving the right advice to shipowners or new construction on what you were doing'.[817] Such a disaster in the renewable sector, therefore, may well trigger an increased interest and involvement from the Society.

In addition to a future response to disaster, the second factor that could compel the Society to engage with renewable energy more widely centred on the storage of hydrocarbons, with 'Participant C' suggesting that, given the inherent danger and risk associated with hydrocarbon […] and the processes of acquiring it and processing it', that would be the area that they would 'imagine we'd be involved in'.[818] As it currently stands, however, there is 'nothing much happening on that front' for the Hull office, with 'Participant C' admitting that they 'can't see' an increase in renewable activity from that office in the immediate future.[819] Given this approach, especially when considering how important renewable energy is set to become for the port of Hull, it can certainly be suggested that the Hull office may well find itself consigned to an even smaller role within the outport network, with the port's activity becoming increasingly involved in an industry that LR is not actively looking to engage with in the immediate future. Should this change, however, the Hull office could once again rise in importance, providing an ideal location for LR to get hands-on with an emerging technology and industry, echoing the role it played in the Society's response to the trawling industry in the twentieth century.

6.6 Reflections on the Past and Looking to the Future

This account of the Society's response to a hugely important and emerging field provides a glimpse of the possible future fortunes of the LR office in the port of Hull, and the interview participants currently working in Hull were asked to comment on their opinion of its future. 'Participant C' considered the future of the Hull office to be balanced 'on a knife edge [and] reliant on renewal of contracts', especially with regards to the office's offshore work.[820] Indeed, a loss of further contracts could soon mean that 'there wouldn't be any offshore work out of the Hull office' at all, with 'Participant C' stating that they can only 'see a continual decline' in the scale of the office's offshore activity in the immediate future.[821] Despite agreeing with this assessment of the offshore work, 'Participant D' presented a rather less

[817] *Ibid.*

[818] 'Participant C'*, Interview C*, (00.57.26).

[819] *Ibid.*

[820] 'Participant C', *Interview C,* (01.26.18).

[821] 'Participant C', *Interview C,* (00.57.26 + 01.26.18).

pessimistic look to the office's future. They stated that, 'with regards to shipping', 'there will be a need for an office' as 'the work's still there [and] it will be there in the future', acknowledging that, if the Society can 'get […] workforce numbers up in Hull', 'there's a lot of work still to keep us busy'.[822]

This positivity when considering the future of the Hull office can also be seen in the accounts given by the participants when reflecting on their time in Hull overall. 'Participant B' 'thoroughly enjoyed' their time working out of the Hull office, stating that, like many of the places they have worked on behalf of the Society, they 'learnt a lot' in the port.[823] Indeed, the experience of 'Participant B' certainly cements the status of Hull as one of the long standing training outports for the Society, and their reflections on their time in Hull demonstrate the valuable role the port has played in their career progression, with 'Participant B' still working for the Society away from Hull in 2023. 'Participant C' was equally positive about their time in Hull, stating that their decision to join the office in 2006 was 'without a doubt' the 'best move' they could have made, remaining in the service of the Hull office into 2023, albeit on a part-time basis having retired from full-time duty in 2022.[824]

However, 'Participant D' gave a slightly more neutral account of their experience in the Hull office, stating that, in the build up to their retirement scheduled for late 2024, they had 'reflected on a number of occasions [on] my time in Hull'.[825] Overall, they stated that they 'have enjoyed it', particularly as the varied 'scope of work' undertaken in Hull gave them 'the opportunity […] to remain in communication with seafarers', something they appreciated as 'trying to come ashore and do a non-marine related job just didn't work out' for them.[826] However, 'Participant D' certainly did not paint a wholly positive picture of their time in Hull, reserving criticism for the handling of a number of issues, particularly the aforementioned loss of staff. They stated that they started to become 'a little disappointed' when the 'drive to save money' from the top of the Society cost the office in Hull its admin staff'.[827] Aside from the obvious loss of a hugely valuable section of the team in Hull, the decision to remove admin staff from the office placed significant pressure on the remaining technical staff, a fact much lamented by 'Participant D', who stated that 'we had a period where we were all feeling under

[822] 'Participant D', *Interview D,* (01.08.38).

[823] 'Participant B', *Interview B,* (00.57.43).

[824] 'Participant C', *Interview C,* (01.27.53).

[825] 'Participant D', *Interview D,* (00.11.42).

[826] *Ibid.*

[827] 'Participant D', *Interview D,* (01.17.09 + 00.25.13).

pressure'.[828] In fact, they stated that a colleague from Hull 'walked out the office' and they 'didn't see him for six months because he had a breakdown' due to the stress and workload facing the staff after the removal of the admin team, with another surveyor having a shorter period of leave from Hull for a similar issue.[829] For 'Participant D', the fault seemingly fell at the feet of the Society's upper management. They stated that 'sometimes you do think that senior management possibly don't realise the amount of work they're expecting, especially when they set KPIs [Key Performance Indicators]', something 'Participant D' acknowledged they have 'failed to meet' on a number of occasions because they 'cannot keep up with it'.[830] This situation around the loss of staff and the subsequent increase in workload was a factor in their decision to retire from full-time work with the Society in the immediate future, stating that the 'disappointing' issues came 'during a period when everyone [was] really pressed, and we're going through that again now I think, except, I can now see the end'.[831]

These criticisms, linked to the Society's handling of issues addressed earlier in this chapter, demonstrate that the Society's operations in the port of Hull were certainly not without fault. That being said, however, 'Participant D' was keen to conclude their interview by reiterating that, 'on the whole', they have enjoyed their nearly 20 years of service in the Hull office, stating that 'there are episodes in your working career that you think, oh that could have gone better, but, on the whole, I've enjoyed it'.[832] Indeed, reflecting on the years to come, 'Participant D' reiterated their positive hope, stating that 'I still think there's a good future in it for Lloyd's in Hull', a future with 'plenty of work' to continue the historic connection between the port and LR.[833]

[828] 'Participant D', *Interview D,* (01.17.09).

[829] *Ibid.*

[830] 'Participant D', *Interview D,* (01.17.09).

[831] *Ibid.*

[832] 'Participant D', *Interview D,* (01.17.09).

[833] 'Participant D', *Interview D,* (01.08.38).

Chapter 7 Key Findings and Contributions to Scholarship

Research conducted for this doctoral project has yielded evidence that underpins several findings that notably enhance our understanding of the work of LR. These findings expand on the information from the key historiographical works, namely the two Annals and the company-histories of Blake and Watson. Through close analysis of LR's operational activity, particularly in reference to the British mercantile marine and key industries like trawling, this thesis also contributes to various branches of the scholarly literature, enhancing the historiography by bringing the hitherto overlooked work of the Society to the fore. This concluding chapter reflects on those contributions to ascertain the impact of this project, and looks to future avenues of research leading on from the arguments made within this thesis.

7.1 Overarching Contribution

The thesis has elucidated the operational activity of LR through a focused case study of Hull, revealing that the former has maintained an active and productive relationship with the latter since the very earliest days of the pre-reconstituted Society. As one of the first selected outports, Hull status within the Society was cemented by the reconstitution, and it has been maintained and enhanced for much of the period since 1834, only beginning to lose status and importance in the decades since the 1990s. Through the analysis contained in its chapters, this project begins to rectify a number of limitations within the extant historiography, moving away from the production of large, narrative overviews to produce an analytical assessment of the Society and its modus operandi through the lens of Hull. The focus on the port has enabled the thesis to enrich the literature by shunning the prevailing top-down, head-office orientated histories of LR in favour of a regionalised, bottom-up analysis. This has allowed for the testing of key Society-wide arguments made in the historiography, in addition to providing the first significant insights into the work of LR in an individual port like Hull.

7.2 Key Findings

This overarching contribution to the literature has been achieved through the attainment of five objectives. Firstly, findings derived from secondary literature and the LRFHEC archive has yielded an outline and explanation of the development of the LR outport network, with particular reference to Hull. In its assessment of the proliferation of LR outports, Chapter 2 revealed that, after a period of stability in the years after the reconstitution, the domestic outport network of the Society expanded rapidly in two distinct phases. The first, from 1850 to 1855 saw the exclusive domestic network rise from nine outports to nineteen, and the second phase in the three decades before 1900 saw an increase from 21 to reach the domestic network's peak of 33 in 1899. This growth mirrored, and was instigated as a direct result of,

the ever-increasing demands placed on LR, particularly by the growth in both Britain's overseas commerce and shipbuilding in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century. This growth was surpassed in the international network. After tentative steps at international growth were made in the 1850s, the expansive instructions of a special committee in 1868 saw an explosion of the influence of the Society overseas. By 1873, the international network had overtaken the exclusive domestic in scale for the first time, and by the 1970s, 181 international outports had been opened covering 78 countries. Expansion in the twentieth century, however, was not universal, with Chapter 2 revealing that the Society's domestic outport network entered into a period of stagnation and overall decline after 1900. While reflecting the impact of the two world wars, and the widespread decline of British shipbuilding in the twentieth century, this contraction, was the direct result of the realignment of the Society's interests, reflecting the diversification of LR's operational activity and the rise in importance of inland manufacturing centres. Many coastal outports were either incorporated into the remit of larger neighbours or removed to make way for exclusive offices in inland centres like Sheffield, Birmingham and Nottingham. Within this ever-fluctuating domestic picture was the port of Hull, which experienced notable growth in staff, but saw an overall decline in importance to the Society between 1834 and 1970, although not to the scale seen at other offices. In fact, it can be convincingly argued that Hull's position relative to the growth and decline of the outport network, remained fairly stable, Hull enduring until the later decades of the twentieth century thanks to its geographic potential for expansion, and its presence in industries with which the Society were keen to increase engagement. These findings not only build upon the knowledge attained by the *Annals*, Blake and Watson, but also enhance the literature on British maritime history more widely. This is particularly true for assessments of British and international shipping and shipbuilding by authors like Davis, Friel, Hope, Paine and Slaven, who have largely overlooked the work of LR, many ignoring the Society altogether.[834]

Secondly, analysis of the LRFHEC archive in combination with secondary literature has generated an important insight into the interaction between LR and large shipping companies, focusing particularly on its relationship with the Wilson Line. In addition to illuminating LR's working relationship with the maritime community of the port, particularly its shipping firms and building yards, the quantitative and qualitative analysis of Chapter 3 demonstrates conclusively that the Society maintained a troubled connection with the Wilson Line, particularly the Wilson family. LR's inflexible resolve to maintain its rules and modus operandi, especially in the face of a family-firm known to use its influence to pressure business

[834] See Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry;* Friel, *Maritime History;* Hope, *A New History of British Shipping*; Payne, *The Sea and Civilisation*; Slaven, *British Shipbuilding*.

interactions in their favour, inevitably brought the two organisations into close and often heated exchanges. In response, the Wilson family frequently looked to alternative classification options, with just under half of the immense Wilson fleet having been either classed elsewhere, or having no listed classification at all in the Society's register books. This quantitative analysis of the register books and the Wilson fleet also demonstrates the ways in which data extracted from the registers can be read, showing analysis of vessel issues like place of build, classification and method of acquisition, alongside firm-specific analysis of family-management groups. This provides a first indication of LR's approach to large shipping companies, and builds significantly upon the extant historiography on both LR, and on the Wilson Line itself. Hitherto, none of the major works tackling the firm have appraised its relationship with LR, and little use has been made of LRFHEC archive material beyond the biographical information on Wilson vessels contained in the register books utilised by Harrower and Thompson.[835] The widespread deployment of LRFHEC evidence within Chapter 3, therefore, provides a blueprint that can be adopted for the analysis of the Society's relationship with other major and minor shipping companies in Britain and around the world.

A third key objective attained by this thesis was an appraisal of the Society's response to the emergence of new maritime activities, focusing particularly on Hull's distant-water trawling business. The findings of Chapter 4, derived through the combination of extant historiography and the LRFHEC archive, provides the first significant analysis of LR's work within British distant-water trawling, an industry that experienced a level of growth in Hull unrivalled by any other British port. The chapter demonstrates that the Society did not differ from its standard approach to merchant vessels as much as one might expect when dealing with an industry at the forefront of maritime safety issues. Its findings concur with the accusation of overcaution and conservatism often placed at the feet of LR by the extant historiography. It is abundantly clear that the Society did not engage with developments in trawler design at the speed it could have done, and certainly not at the speed the industry wanted. Its rules and regulations for trawler construction, which were themselves delayed by LR caution, were neither detailed enough nor updated fast enough to make as significant an impact on the industry as the Society would have hoped. Indeed, the inhibiting impact this caution had on the impact of the Society's work on the ground is highlighted further by a comparison with the WFA, which consistently championed technological progression in the industry through funding, training and education. When compared against this work, therefore, the impact of the Society in trawling, although undoubtedly important in the provision of a base-standard for quality across the trawler fleet, was simply not as successful

[835] See Harrower, *Wilson Line*; Credland & Thompson, *Wilson Line*.

or important in the alleviation of the risks associated with the industry as the more targeted and industry-tailored approach of organisations like the WFA. Chapter 4, therefore, makes a significant contribution to the literature on LR as provided through the *Annals*, Blake and Watson, alongside the extensive historiography on British distant-water trawling, in which no author has appraised the impact of the work of LR, with very few works even referencing LRFHEC material.

Findings derived from the extensive staff records held by the LRFHEC have revealed the staffing requirements and policies of an LR outport office between 1834 and 1970, the fourth major objective of this thesis. The focus on Hull adopted by Chapter 5 presents the most intensive analytical assessment of LR's staff in the historiography to date. It demonstrates that the Hull office maintained a notable staff even when the shipbuilding output of the port rapidly decreased in the twentieth century, supporting the earlier assertion of Chapter 2 that the staff were retained because of the opportunity that office provided for the Society to branch out into its immediate hinterland, and get involved in trawling. Chapter 5 also proves the utility of LRFHEC's staff records as a lens through which the evolution in maritime technology can be seen. The standards and demands of an LR surveyor's job changed dramatically over time, and the diversification of roles with the technical staff on the ground in Hull reflected the broader patterns of technological change across the Society and maritime industry. These avenues of research enable Chapter 5 to break away from the historiographical tendency to review LR's staff solely through those stationed in London and head-office, supporting the overarching project aim of a bottom-up appraisal of the Society. Through these findings, the chapter makes a significant contribution to the scholarly literature, which has largely overlooked the Society's workforce, particularly in the outports, with only Watson providing an account of LR staff prior to this project.

A fifth and final objective of the thesis was attained through the oral testimony of current and former LR surveyors, from which subsequent findings facilitated an assessment of how and why the staffing requirements and work patterns of LR outport offices have changed since the 1990s, with particular reference to Hull. Chapter 6 introduces the immensely useful tool of the qualitative interview into history of the Society, presenting a methodological approach to data collection that has received little usage across the historiography thus far. In addition to showing the continuation of many of the patterns seen in Chapter 5, the interviews demonstrate the impact of modern technology on the staff, particularly the arrival of computers. The resulting increase in the automation and digitisation of the surveyor workload has seen the total removal of LR's administrative staff on the ground in Hull, with only a limited number of such staff retained across the outports into the 2020s. In their place,

surveyors now bear far more responsibility for the successful functioning of an outport than previous generations, completing and submitting all documents themselves. The chapter also provides some of the only assessments of LR's response to issues like financial crashes, the COVID-19 Pandemic and Brexit, demonstrating how such events have accelerated the reorganisation of the Society's operational activity, particularly the removal of the administrative staff and the increasing use of remote methods of working. Chapter 6 also provides a final example of the utility of using LR as a vantage point from which the fortunes and future of the port of Hull can be appraised. It demonstrates how the decline of industries like offshore oil and the arrival of renewable technology-development has changed the workload of the LR surveyor in Hull, the Society again deploying caution in their limited engagement with renewable technology in the port. Chapter 6 brings this thesis, and the historiography on the LR up to the 2020s, adding to the limited knowledge of the LR's operations since the 1990s only covered by Watson up to 2010. It also enhances the historiography on classification societies generally, especially when assessing the impact of external shocks like the Pandemic on an organisation like LR.

7.3 A look to the future: Avenues for further research

This thesis has presented a detailed study of relationship between LR and the port of Hull, filling several gaps in the literature by increasing focus on the outports and presenting a bottom-up appraisal of the Society. There are, however, many avenues for future research projects to continue this enrichment of the relevant historiography. With the lifting of COVID restrictions and the completion of archive renovations, a far greater evidence base than was available to this project is now ready for utilisation in future research. This situation continues to be significantly enhanced by the ever-expanding digitisation project at the LRFHEC, with more documents and sources added to the archive's website with increasing regularity. It is hoped that this thesis can act as a call to arms for an increased scholarly engagement with the potential of this archive. It can be stated with strong certainty that its true value will come through its incorporation into the collection of repositories regularly frequented by academic researchers, to be used in tandem with other archives, not simply as a means to deliver isolated assessments of LR and its work.

There is certainly scope for further research along the lines of enquiry introduced by this thesis. Indeed, this project has provided a blueprint for the future analysis of other members of the outport network, and calls for further analytical assessments of this nature. More domestic outport case studies can build up a greater understanding of the efficiency of LR's outport operations, as well as testing the typicality of the observations made of Hull in this thesis. An in-depth appraisal of international outports would be equally useful, enhancing the

historiography on the subject through the direct comparison of LR's work in an international outport to that in a domestic outport like Hull. This increased focus on outports would also increase the utilisation of the staff records of the LRFHEC. As stated throughout the thesis, these records are an immensely valuable resource, and an appraisal of the staff stationed at other outports, either domestic or international would enhance the findings and test the assertions made within this project. Perhaps more importantly, however, further case study assessments of ports will continue the work of this thesis in extending the historiographical appraisal of LR beyond the traditional head-office focus of the literature. Indeed, this author hopes that it can stimulate further "bottom-up" assessments of not only LR, but other national organisations that maintain a local presence in towns and cities across the country. Future assessments of organisations in this manner would make valuable contributions to their respective historiographies, particularly in increasing such coverage of northern communities and their ability to reflect on larger organisations.

In demonstrating the utility of the LRFHEC archive when reflecting on a single shipping company, this thesis demonstrates that there is significant scope for further projects of this nature at ports around the UK and the world. This would allow the assertions of this thesis to be tested to a greater extent than is currently possible, providing important evidence when reviewing the atypicality of LR's relationship with the Wilson Line. Furthermore, if other maritime companies can be assessed in this way, the historiography on British shipping will be able to appraise the impact of LR and its work more thoroughly, particularly when testing assertions made in the literature about the proportion of the UK fleet classified by LR. This is especially important in assessing LR's contribution to maritime safety, and a research project with that focus would make a significant contribution to our current understanding of the work of the Society. Likewise, an appraisal of the changes and continuities in LR's approach to British and international shipbuilding would prove equally valuable, again allowing a more wide-ranging assessment of LR's contribution to safety to be made. Further analysis of LR's interactions with smaller Hull firms and industries would equally enhance the demonstration of the Society's involvement in Hull beyond the confines of this thesis. Chapter 4 demonstrated the validity of this approach through the close analysis of LR's work in trawling, but other industries could be similarly appraised to shed greater light on the maritime history of the port of Hull through the eyes of LR. This project proves the longstanding connection between LR and the port of Hull, but future research could take this even further. Such projects would certainly further prove that the Society, in its relationship with the port, frequently found themselves in agreement with the old colloquial boast that its never dull in Hull.

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Entries for Allan, George. 353.; Balfour, William Maxwell. 239.; Barclay, James. 363.; Collinson, Digby. L. H. 474.; Cornish, H.P. 470.; Demarest, Louis, G.G. 172.; Dodd, Thomas, G. 427.; Engledow, William B. 203.; Farrar, Harry, C. (no page number).; Fitzgerald, Percy. 446.; Gibbs, Henry A. 175.; Gwynne, John W. 411.; Heck, John S. 419.; Innes, James. 412.; Laws, Bernard C. 178.; Moffatt, Colin. 332.; Roberts, William H. 437.; Robertson, John. 484.; Sturgeon, Frank L. 371.; Tierney, E.J. 249.; Watt, Alexander. 464.; Wilson, Allison B. 259.

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Appendix A – Interview Guide: Lines of Enquiry

The Participants were interviewed according to the following lines of enquiry. Although presented here as a formal list, this document was deployed as an interview guide rather than as a rigid set of questions in this predetermined order, allowing the interviews to move wherever the discussions led, a flexibility in keeping with the methodological approach outlined in Chapter 1.

The Interviewee's Relationship with Lloyd's Register

1) Name, occupation and place of birth/upbringing.
2) What was/is your role when employed by Lloyd's Register?
3) For how long did you work/have you worked for Lloyd's Register? How many of those years were within the LR office in Hull?
4) Was LR your first employer? If not, what did you do before joining LR - education, work, or a combination of both?

Working for LR in Hull

1) Was your position in the Hull office your first job with LR?
    a. If not, where had you worked for the Society previously, and in what capacity, and how did your move to Hull materialise?
    b. If so, were you required to work a probationary period of service before your full-time employment with LR was confirmed? If so, how did that process work?
2) Did you receive any formal training from the Society to help with your work on behalf of LR in and around Hull? If so, what form did that training take?
3) How was/is LR as an employer compared to other companies you have worked for?
4) Whilst working for LR in Hull, did you engage with the local community beyond your work? (Particularly if they were not from Hull)
5) Did the Society run any social activities like sports clubs to help you settle into the LR community, or the wider Hull (or elsewhere) community?
6) What brought your time in the Hull office to an end?

The LR Office and Staff in Hull

1) Confirm the physical location of the Hull office in which you worked.
2) Size and composition of the Hull office team:
    a. How many staff members were/are based in the Hull LR office?
    b. What was the balance between the technical and administrative teams?
    c. How many women worked in the office, and in what roles?
    d. To the best of your knowledge, did the size of the team in Hull expand, remain stable, or contract during your time working in that office?
2) What were/are the main roles within the staff team in Hull?
3) What was/is the balance between office and field work? How often are surveyors in the office? What are/were the main activities in a typical day at the Hull office?
4) How were/are survey reports/other related documents handled within the office? What was the path of a survey report from start to finish within the office?
5) In what ways did the Hull office and its staffing change over time?

Hull in the LR Network

1) Outport head-office interaction
    a. How did/does the Hull LR office interact with head office in London/Southampton?

    b. How was/is the work of the LR team in Hull transmitted to London/Southampton and vice versa? Did you feel this worked well?
2) Hull as a Hub:
    a. How did the Hull office interact with LR offices in neighbouring places like Grimsby, Scunthorpe, Sheffield?
    b. Did these interactions change over time?
3) Problem Resolution
    a. How were/are work related issues dealt with in the Hull office, particularly any issues clients had with the survey reports/process?
    b. Were there any disciplinary or staff conduct issues in the Hull office during your time there, and how were they handled by LR?

The Work

1) What would you say were the key aims of LR during your employment with the Society? Was improving safety the driving force behind the operation of the Society?
2) What were/are the main areas of work undertaken by the staff at the Hull office?
    a. What is the most important/common aspect of this work?
    b. How were/are surveys conducted? – Balance between regular surveys/ special surveys / surveys under construction etc.
    c. What is the balance between onshore work and work on seagoing vessels or at sea?
3) To what extent was/is ship surveying still a part of the work undertaken by the staff from the Hull LR office?
    a. How often were ships surveyed by staff from the Hull office during your time with the Society?
    b. Has the main focus of surveying shifted over time?
4) To what extent was material inspection/survey or offshore work a part of the office output?
5) Did any significant new areas of work develop during your time in the Hull office? If so, how was this work undertaken and how often, and has it become a priority for LR in Hull?

LR's Interactions with Hull's Maritime Community

1) LR's role in Hull's maritime community
    a. How did the Society handle business relations with leading clientele in the port during your period of work in Hull?
    b. How were problematic customers handled?
    c. Impartiality was a cornerstone of the Society's work, so to what extent is that still the case? How was that implemented on the ground? How did the staff of the Hull office maintain the impartiality of the Society?
2) How often were/are staff required to work away from the office to fulfil their duties? For example, were they ever required to visit neighbouring offices in the local area (Grimsby, Scunthorpe etc.) or clients outside of the remit of the port of Hull?
    a. If this was a factor, was staff movement around the local area commonplace?
    b. In your time in the port, did the larger LR office in Hull ever send staff to cover absences in those neighbouring offices?
    c. Were there clear boundaries between the operational remit of the offices around the Humber, or did the offices regularly collaborate? For example, was it made clear where the boundaries of Hull's activity ended, and Grimsby's began?