

In This Issue

- From the President 1
- A Personal Maritime History 2
- New Publications 4
- in Memoriam 8
- Cholera and Ice 11
- A List of Recent Publications 13
- New PhD Opportunities 13

INTERNATIONAL MARITIME HISTORY ASSOCIATION

Newsletter May 2020

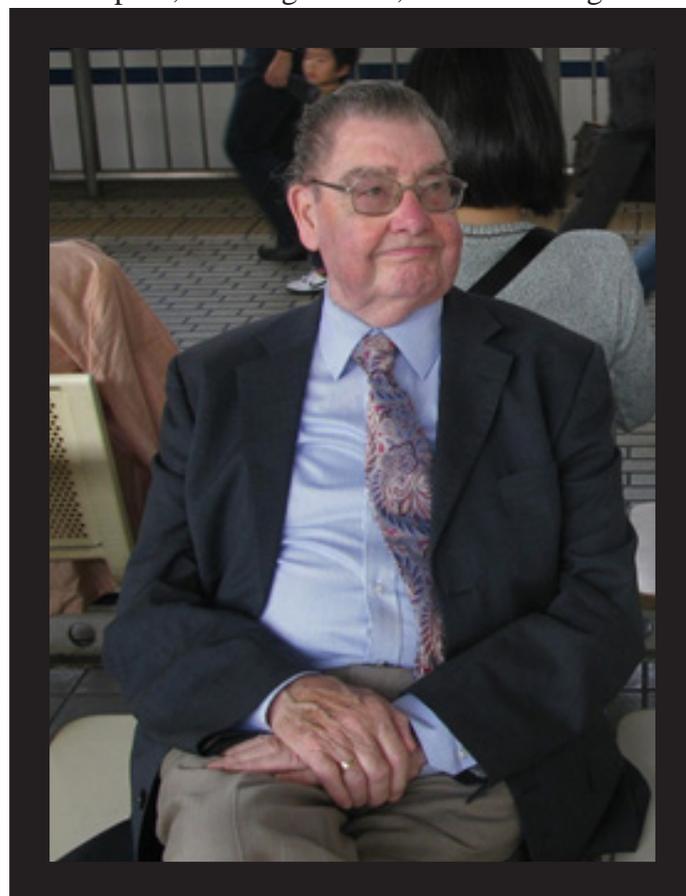
Welcome to the second newsletter for 2020.

Most of you will be aware of the sad news that Professor Peter Davies, a giant of maritime history, passed away on 19 March 2020 at the age of 92. Peter's many achievements included playing a leading role in the establishment of the International Maritime Economic History Association (now IMHA); he became our first President in 1990. I am very grateful to two of his colleagues, Robert Lee, of the University of Liverpool, and Stig Tenold, of the Norwegian School of Economics, who have

both contributed moving and insightful obituaries in this Newsletter.

As one generation passes, another emerges. The recent submissions for the Frank Broeze Prize have demonstrated that there is a promising new generation of maritime historians. I am delighted that Dr Lisa Hellman, the winner of the Frank Broeze, has contributed a personal history in this Newsletter.

I remind you that ICMH8 has been rescheduled to 30 June–4 July 2020 at the University of Porto. Many countries are having success in 'flattening the curve' but there is still a long way to go before international conference travel can safely resume. For further updates



Peter Davies at a conference in Tokyo, Japan, October 2011
Source: Wikipedia

and information you can contact Professor Amélia Polónia and her team at the conference email address: 8th.imha2020@gmail.com.

If you haven't yet paid your membership fees for 2020 you can do so via our website <https://imha.info/>.

This Newsletter lives or dies based on your contributions and I thank all of you who have submitted material. My thanks also go to Dr Ian Chambers for his help with producing this newsletter.

I trust you and your families will stay safe and healthy in these difficult times.

From the President
Professor Malcolm Tull 1

A personal maritime history

Lisa Hellman



Lisa at the ruins of Ephesus, Turkey

For as long as I can remember, the smell of salt water makes me feel at home. I grew up on the west coast of Sweden, in a town characteristic for the region. Few fishermen can make a living on the now-empty sea, and the docks have long been out of business. Still, a working harbour remains, as does a strong relationship to the sea.

In some of my earlier memories, my brother and I are fishing crabs or, lacking sand to build castles of, built slippery and gruesome towers of stranded jellyfish. In late summer when I was a teenager, my father would take the small family motorboat, pick me up from school, and head to one of the rocky islands of the archipelago, where we would swim and eat our dinner in the cool but bright summer evenings. My father also took me kayaking and sailing. Unfortunately, this enthusiasm for the sea revealed that I could get astonishingly seasick. In the coming decades, I would hurl from all imaginable kinds of transports (whether on a cruise ship, yacht, wagon, camel or elephant); I was as green and miserable on a raft on the Mekong as on a Korean passenger ferry.

Thankfully, one can also take a more theoretical approach to the sea, one which always came to me with ease and less bodily discomfort. Entering university, I opted for the combination of Egyptology and Japanese, at which point my parents let me know that they had given up any hope that I would provide for them in old age. Taking advantage of the free state education, I dove into any courses that struck my fancy at Stockholm and Uppsala University. When it was time to write my master's thesis, I had the good fortune to get Professor Leos Müller for supervisor. He picked up on my interest for East Asia, and pointed me in the way of the Swedish East India Company.

After a stint at Kyoto University, I returned to Sweden in 2010 to embark on a PhD at the new Centre for Maritime History, CEMAS, also with Professor Müller. He helped me discover how maritime history has the potential to break up conceived boundaries, whether national, gendered, or geographic. This inspired me in more ways than one: I spent the following years going to archives, conferences, seminars and guest positions all over Europe and Asia. Often this meant long travel. At other times, like when I was living in Macao, I could just take the ferry over to Hong Kong but – alas – that weakness of mine. For any talk or workshop, I had to calculate a proper recuperation time. I also refined my Chinese pronunciation of “for the love of god, does nobody have a sick bag?” Fortunately, my host in Macao, Professor Paul Van Dyke, is a singularly kind and generous man, who taught me much of the local world of the Canton trade, and only twice took me on board boats.

In December 2015, my thesis ‘Navigating the foreign quarters: everyday life of the Swedish East India Company employees in Canton and Macao 1730-1830’ was defended at Stockholm University. The ensuing party was, of course, given on board a boat proving that – if nothing else – finishing a PhD teaches persistence.

This thesis aimed to combine maritime, global and urban history with a social perspective, and using both Chinese and European language sources. While focusing on Swedish company employees, I tried to use them as a prism for life in the peculiar and restricted port environments of Canton and Macao. Doing so, I could follow the social groups that formed, the spatial construction of the port, the daily consumption, communication and the making of trust. Using the last decades of work on the construction of class, gender and ethnicity, I could see how such construction was used by Chinese authorities, to control the foreign trade groups, how these same aspects were used as local adaptation to the Chinese dominance – and, eventually, how these same processes were used to subvert control by the Chinese authorities.

The Centre for Maritime Studies not only helped me find this broad approach, fostered my international outlook, and got me used to interdisciplinary work (it integrated archaeologist, ethnologists and historians) but, in particular, it opened my eyes to how museums contribute to our field. A highlight was when I helped produce a permanent exhibit based on my thesis at the Maritime Museum in Stockholm. The museum connection also brought some odd moments. Once, at the Nobel Museum, I got the Secretary of the Swedish Academy to chair a one-day workshop. I was bursting with questions about his literary work and tried to discuss Persian poetry, but all he wanted to talk about was different kinds of rigging.

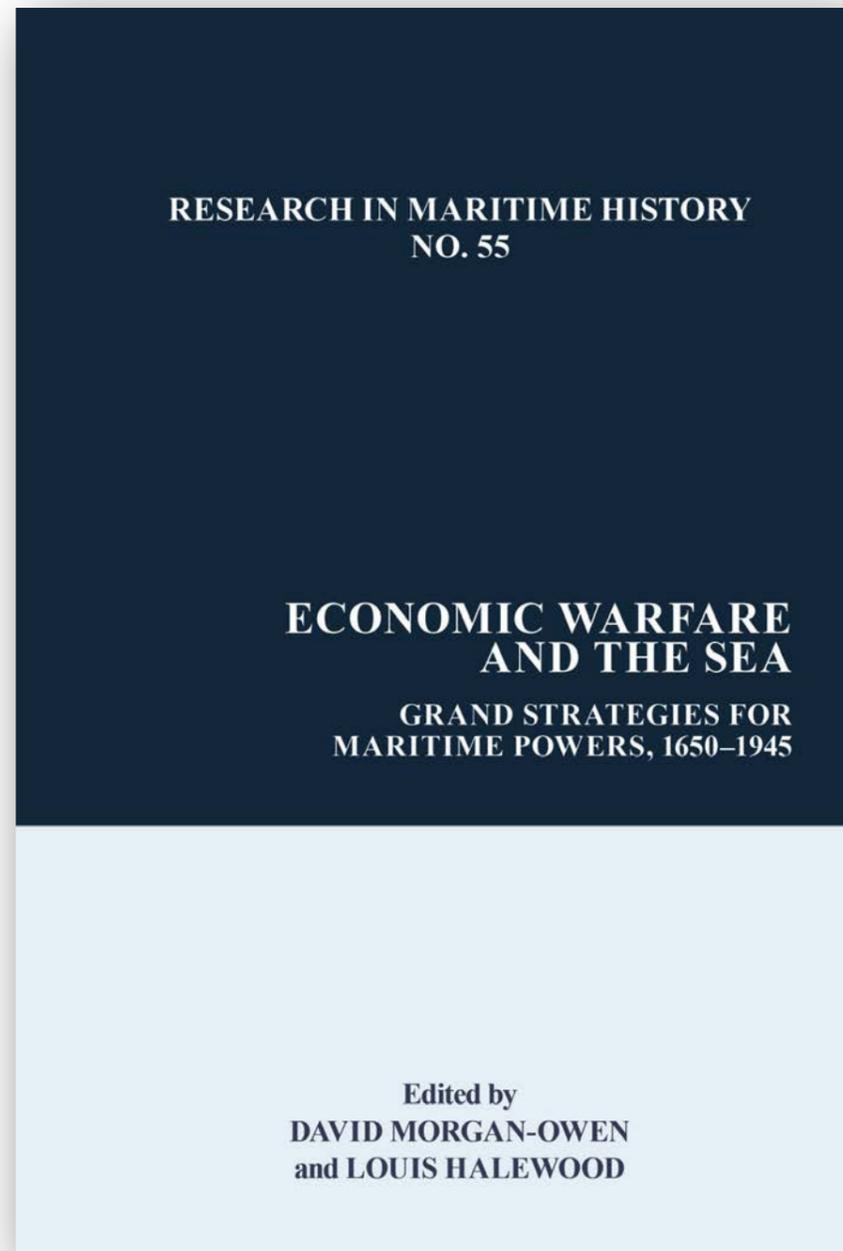
At this time, I continued to a JSPS postdoc at Tokyo University, where I compared the port cities of Nagasaki and Canton, and was fascinated by the differences in the gender interactions, despite similarities in the political reasoning of the states. I was also impressed by my Japanese colleagues' comprehensive source knowledge and attention to detail. Here, I finally got to make use of my Japanese – now I just need to find a way to also incorporate Egyptology.

Our research makes us consider mobility, but a postdoc lives it. From Tokyo, I moved on to Berlin and Freie Universität Berlin where, in the last months of 2018, the thesis was published with Brill as the book *This house is not a home: European everyday life in Canton and Macao 1730-1830*. I am also restless and mobile in my research interests: while I have continued to work on daily life and gender relations on board, I started up a new project in which I focus on eighteenth-century prisoners of war in Central Asia. Just like before, I combine sources in diverse languages, and follow actors across regions. And finally, I get to involve others in my bright ideas and travel plans: in April this year, I began leading the group Coerced Circulation of Knowledge at the Bonn Centre for Dependency and Slavery Studies.

Just as I had gone to Gent, it felt natural to attend the IMHA conference in Perth, where I not only went scuba diving and got queasy in the bay of Perth, I was also introduced to my would-be publisher. When the Frank Broeze Prize was awarded there, I realised I now had my own chance to submit. At both conferences, I was struck by how welcoming the field of maritime history is. When I found out that I had been awarded the Frank Broeze prize this time around, while we all wait for our chance to go to Porto, I was both delighted and surprised. To me, it shows that maritime history appreciates the beauty of us all being different, and coming with complementary approaches and insights.

Having spent ten years in the field of global history is not particularly long. Glancing at the folder where I gather future projects, I think a lifetime might not be enough to get to them all. Based on the joy and friendship this field has brought me thus far, however, I am certain the journey will be a good one (as long as absolutely nothing rocks).

New Publications



The latest volume in *Research and Maritime History*, *Economic Warfare and the Sea*, David Morgan-Owen and Louis Halewood, (eds.) has been published by Liverpool University Press. *Economic Warfare and the Sea* examines the relationship between trade, maritime warfare, and strategic thought between the early modern period and the late-twentieth century. Using a variety of geographic and chronological examples, it presents a *longue duree* approach to a crucial theme in maritime strategic thought.

IMHA members can order their copy with a 30% discount by using code IMHA30 on the Liverpool University Press website.

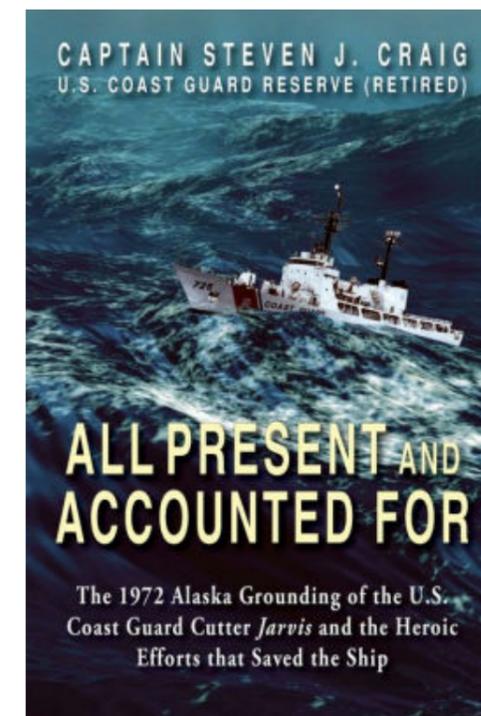
LUP currently has a 50% off sale on all ebooks. Purchase the *Economic Warfare and the Sea* ebook and use code EBOOKLUP to receive this discount.

Dr Phillip Reid's first monograph, *The Merchant Ship in the British Atlantic, 1600--1800: Continuity and Innovation in a Key Technology*, was published in April by Brill, as Volume 18 in their series, *Technology and Change in History*, edited by Adam Lucas and Steven A. Walton.

Phillip also has a chapter, entitled "Conveyance and Commodity: The Ordinary Merchant Ship in the British Atlantic, 1600--1800," in *Cultural Economies of the Atlantic World: Objects and Capital in the Transatlantic Imagination*, a collection edited by Victoria Barnett-Woods, also published in April (by Routledge).

Phillip can be contacted at: phillipfrankreid@gmail.com.

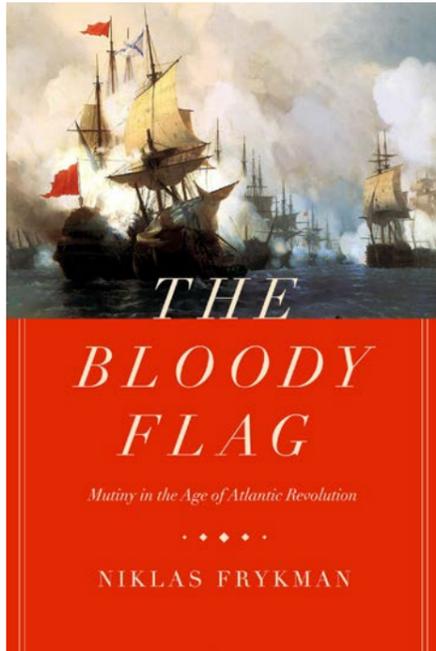
Professor Michael Quinlan's new book *Contesting Inequality and Worker Mobilisation: Australia 1851-1880*, will be published by Routledge, NY, in August 2020. It has a chapter on and numerous other references to the maritime industry. The brief details are at: <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781003018971>



Steven J. Craig's book, *All Present and Accounted For*, the true story of the grounding and near sinking of the U.S. Coast Guard Cutter *Jarvis* in November of 1972 off the coast of Alaska and the heroic efforts that saved the ship, has recently been published by Hellgate Press. Research by the author included interviews with over 30 of the former crew members along with review of over 1000 pages of related research. See www.stevenjcraigbooks.com for excerpts, reviews and additional information.

AVAILABLE FROM UC PRESS

The Bloody Flag
Mutiny in the Age of Atlantic Revolution
NIKLAS FRYKMAN



"Adhering to the highest standards of world scholarship with sources in multiple languages buried in dispersed archives, Niklas Frykman balances brilliant story telling with impeccable analysis. During the cauldron of the revolutionary 1790s tens of thousands of sailors were caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. They created a third option, namely, mutiny, and it evolved from armed riot to economic strike to insurrectionary challenge. The origins of the red flag, of the maritime republic, and of the internationalism of the working class are found in the tremendous events discovered here and told by a master historian."—Peter Linebaugh, author of *Red Round Globe Hot Burning*

"This indispensable book imagines a revolution made by common people subject to the churning forces of capitalism, empire, and war. Examining shipboard mutinies with startling clarity, Niklas Frykman illuminates the sailors' vision of a transnational radical republicanism. Written with vivid intensity, the narrative conveys the sensory worlds of ships, their unique forms of antagonism and fellowship, the mortal terror seamen felt during wartime engagements, and their solidarity in struggles against imperial states. This is maritime history at its rollicking best."—Vincent Brown, author of *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War*

"Deeply researched and superbly illustrated, Frykman's study of mutiny across British, Scandinavian, Dutch, and French navies, is groundbreaking, detailed, and rich in anecdote, offering fresh insights into life at sea during the late eighteenth century."—Margarette Lincoln, author of *Trading in War: London's Maritime World in the Age of Cook and Nelson*

Frykman's account of the great age of mutiny is one of the most illuminating, accessible, and elegantly written works of maritime history in years. The revolutions afloat in the 1790s came to different ends, but *The Bloody Flag* shows that they were animated by shared grievances over the horrific treatment of common sailors and shaped by political ideas then in wide

circulation."—Lincoln Paine, author of *The Sea and Civilization: A Maritime History of the World*
"This gripping book immerses the reader in the rough and tumble world of working class sailors consigned to rickety vessels spread across the Atlantic. Tens of thousands rebelled, forging transnational bonds of solidarity and developing republican modes of self government in defiance of ruthless, authoritarian regimes. I highly recommend you take the plunge and let *The Bloody Flag* transport you to an age when the spirit of revolution traveled by ship and democratic aspirations confronted hell and high water."—Astra Taylor, author of *Democracy May Not Exist, but We'll Miss It When It's Gone*

"Niklas Frykman spins a spellbinding yarn about the brave and mutinous motley crews who rose from the lower deck to challenge the global order and pose revolutionary solutions to the problems of their day. Brilliantly restoring to history a world-shaking maritime movement long divided, buried, and denied in narrow nationalist accounts of the past, *The Bloody Flag* forever transforms our vision of the Age of Revolution. This is history from below at its vivid, dramatic best."—Marcus Rediker, author of *The Slave Ship: A Human History*

Mutiny tore like wildfire through the wooden warships of the age of revolution. While commoners across Europe laid siege to the nobility and enslaved workers put the torch to plantation islands, out on the oceans, naval seamen by the tens of thousands turned their guns on the quarterdeck and overthrew the absolute rule of captains. By the early 1800s, anywhere between one-third and one-half of all naval seamen serving in the North Atlantic had participated in at least one mutiny, many of them in several, and some even on ships in different navies. In *The Bloody Flag*, historian Niklas Frykman explores in vivid prose how a decade of violent conflict onboard gave birth to a distinct form of radical politics that brought together the egalitarian culture of North Atlantic maritime communities with the revolutionary era's constitutional republicanism. The attempt to build a radical maritime republic failed, but the red flag that flew from the masts of mutinous ships survived to become the most enduring global symbol of class struggle, economic justice, and republican liberty to this day.

Niklas Frykman is Assistant Professor of Atlantic History at the University of Pittsburgh.

304 pp. 6 x 9 Illus: 10 b/w illustrations, 4 maps
9780520355477 \$32.95 | £28.00 Cloth September 2020

The Ontario edition of *The Globe and Mail* has just published "Enterprising Researcher Rewrote a Chapter of 16th-century History," an essay by Joan Sullivan on the life and scholarly contributions of the late Selma Barkham. Dr. Barkham passed away earlier this month in England. She was instrumental in drawing attention to, and world recognition of, the role that the Basques played in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century trans-Atlantic fisheries, with particular attention to whaling on the coasts of Labrador and Quebec's North Shore, as well as cod fishing and sealing in those waters. The essay is available at: https://globe2go.pressreader.com/@Joan_Sullivan/csb_GKNXMnyrd7wJqd3oVWLZvO5SqssnHUijy3WWIYXSO-wauQhCmN8sDNgAaVb5TnJPT

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In memoriam: Emeritus Professor Peter Davies



The death of Emeritus Professor Peter Davies at the age of 92 after a short illness marks the end of a lifetime commitment to the business and maritime history of Merseyside and of the wider world, including West Africa and Japan.

Apart from periods spent abroad, whether undertaking research or as a visiting professor at two Japanese universities (Musashi, Tokyo and Hiroshima Shudo), he remained a member of staff at the University of Liverpool from his original appointment as Tutor in 1964, being awarded a personal chair in the Department of Economic and Social History in 1991, shortly before his retirement in 1993 when he became an Emeritus Professor.

For 10 years, he served as Head of Department. He continued to be research active for around 25 more years; was a stalwart supporter of the Centre for Port and Maritime History; and remained President of ESHGOM (Economic and Social History Grumpy Old Men) until his death, only ever missing a single meeting. Today, such a total commitment to a University is unusual, but Peter's career was exceptional in three ways.

First, Peter was a product of the 'Liverpool School of Maritime History', at a time when it was the foremost centre for research in this field in the country. Led by Francis Hyde, the Chaddock Professor of Economic History, and ably supported by colleagues, including Sheila Marriner (whose work never received the credit it deserved), they made significant contributions to the development of maritime business history with detailed studies of some of the port's most successful shipping companies and founded in 1958 the pioneering journal *Business History*.

Peter, having entered the Department of Commerce and Economics in October 1958 as a 30-year-old mature student, subsequently took his MA and PhD there, having developed a passion for maritime history.

There followed a series of monographs, each of which tackled new themes and extended the research agenda, including Peter's most important book *The Trade Makers: Elder Dempster in West Africa, 1852-1972* (1973; second edition 2000). This was followed by *Sir Alfred Jones: Shipping Entrepreneur Par Excellence* (1978) and a brief, but innovative, study of *Henry Tyrer: A Liverpool Shipping Agent and his Enterprise, 1879-1979* (1979).

But what sets Peter apart from many other maritime historians was his willingness to contextualise Liverpool's maritime history within an international framework, whether focusing on trading in *West Africa* (1976), *the history of Fyffes and the banana trade* (1990) and, with Tomohei Chida, a modern history of the Japanese Shipping and Shipbuilding Industries (1990).

His growing interest in Japan was reflected in a biography of Brigadier Sir Philip Toosey, the senior Allied officer at the Tha Maa Kham Japanese prisoner-of-war camp on the Burma-Thailand Railway (1991), which was notable for the contribution of HRH Prince Philip in writing the foreword; the publication of the memoirs of Yoshihiko Futamatsu, the engineer who supervised its construction (2013); and the editing of the letters of Frederick Cornes, one of the most successful British traders in Japan (2008).

Second, Peter played a key role in strengthening the international standing of maritime history. For too long, it had been a fragmented discipline with a mix of high-quality academic papers and informative contributions by amateur historians. Nor did it have an institutional profile. Peter, together with other colleagues, was instrumental in establishing the International Maritime Economic History Association and became its first President in 1990.

In addition, he was Senior Vice-President of the International Commission for Maritime History, Chairman of the British Commission for Maritime History and Chairman of the Editorial Board of the *International Journal of Maritime History*. This, indeed, was a formidable service to his discipline and testimony to his skills at managing fellow academics without ever upsetting them. He was always ready to ask questions at seminars, but never in a way that placed in question the speaker's central hypothesis.

Third, Peter's career is an excellent example of the way in which universities used to promote social mobility. He was brought up in Egan Road, part of the Council's housing development for the North End of Birkenhead in the early 1920s.

Even then, it was a disadvantaged area, prompting his father, an employee of the Great Western Railway, to reflect that among the road's residents, 'only he and a postman were in regular jobs' during the early 1930s.

He attended two local primary schools and, subsequently, Temple Road School. Conscripted for National Service (in the Royal Army Service Corps) he claimed to have been one of the last British soldiers to have left Palestine.

After being demobbed, his fascination with motorcycles (particularly the new Japanese models) led him eventually to establish a business in Birkenhead (Davies & Jones) which was followed some years later by his acquisition of a stake in two local car companies. This was hardly a traditional background for anyone seeking university admission, but after obtaining his teaching diploma at St. John's College, York, he taught History for two years at Hamilton Secondary School for Boys in Birkenhead.

By the 1970s, Peter's success certainly encouraged junior staff in the Department of Economic History to believe that they had made the right career choice. He drove Professor Hyde, then suffering from failing eyesight, into the University in his 1953 Bentley R Type, arriving precisely at 10.30 in time for refreshments in the Senior Common Room.

He left Birkenhead behind and built a house in Caldy whose residents already enjoyed a higher life expectancy than those on the eastern side of the Wirral Peninsula, and 'Cmar' (otherwise known as 'the ranch') became the venue for the annual reception for external examiners. Today, as a result of the government's tuition fee policy, mature students have become a rarity, but Peter by his own determination proved what could be achieved at a time when opportunities were also restricted.

He first met Maureen Cheshire in 1956 when they both attended a British Constitution 'A' level course at Birkenhead Technical College.

Throughout their marriage, she was a constant support: looking after a stream of visiting academics, including a Japanese professor who stayed with them for three months; entertaining external examiners; and always showing a supportive interest in Peter's colleagues and research students. He was 'a lovely man and a real gentleman'. Peter is survived by Maureen and Simon, his son, of whom he was very proud.

Peter Neville Davies, born Birkenhead, 14 July 1927; died Caldy, 19 March 2020.

Robert Lee

W. R. Lee, Chaddock Professor of Economic and Social History (Em.), MBE, FAcSS, WTA.

Obituary, Peter Neville Davies, 1927-2020

Professor Peter Davies, one of the Grand Old Men of maritime history, passed away on 19 March 2020 after a short illness, at the age of 92.

I am not going to write an overview of Peter's academic life. For that, see the obituaries by his University of Liverpool-colleague Robert Lee on the Economic History Society website (<https://www.ehs.org.uk/news/obituary-peter-davies-1927-2020>) and this newsletter; by Professor Hugh Murphy in the *Mariner's Mirror*, or even Peter's Wikipedia-page, which is impressively detailed and trustworthy. Rather, my aim is to acknowledge the two important ways in which Peter has fundamentally influenced our community of maritime historians; through its structure, and through its culture.

In his presentation of Peter on the website of the International Maritime History Association (<https://imha.info/founders/>), Skip Fischer wrote that 'If a visionary leader is crucial in the development of a discipline, then Peter Davies is the person who provided it for maritime history.' Together with Keiichiro Nakagawa, Peter organized the session at the Ninth International Congress of Economic History that led to the establishment of what is now the IMHA. Fittingly, Peter became the first President of the International Economic History Association, as it was then known. He also hosted, and organized, the first International Congress of Maritime History (Liverpool 1992). Consequently, Peter was pivotal in creating the 'maritime history infrastructure', the institutions that have been the foundation of our scientific community over the last three decades – our organization, our conferences and our journal.

However, as most business historians know, 'culture eats structure for breakfast'. In my opinion, Peter has been equally important in fostering the culture of maritime history. He has contributed greatly towards creating a diverse, inclusive, supportive and inquisitive scientific community.

Peter was an extraordinarily pleasant, kind and positive mentor and colleague. For a great introduction to Peter's personal qualities, by someone who knew him longer and better than me, see David Williams' 'Peter Neville Davies: An Appreciation' in 'From Wheel House to Counting House', the festschrift that was published in Peter's honour in 1992. In the appreciation, David pointed out that the festschrift was really 'very much a tribute to someone who commands not merely respect for his [research] achievement but, even more so, respect as a person'.

It was always great to have Peter in the audience when presenting a paper. During the presentation, he would nod and smile encouragingly. Afterwards, he would always give some sort of constructive feedback. Softly-spoken, in a manner that never made the presenter feel challenged or stupid, his advice would be like that of a wise, old uncle. Importantly, Peter always appeared to have your best interests at heart. This accommodating and supporting culture, rather than the confrontational one-upmanship that characterises many other scientific communities, is one of the strengths of maritime history. (A short detour: Like quite a few of the maritime historians of my generation, I was lucky enough to have Peter as external examiner on my PhD-thesis. At one stage during the public defence, the second examiner refused to be convinced by my response to a surprisingly ill-informed question. When the other examiner kept trying to hammer home a futile point, Peter told him – in his characteristic matter-of-fact manner – 'I think you should listen to the candidate, and to me. We actually know something about Asian economic policy'.)

When I joined the maritime history community in the middle of the 1990s, Peter had already retired from his Chair at the University of Liverpool. However he still participated at conferences and lectures, both in the UK and internationally. Meeting him – and his wife Maureen, who usually accompanied him – was always a something that made me cheerful. Many of us will have enjoyed the hospitality of Maureen and Peter in their wonderful house in Caldy, where the teppanyaki grill plate was one of many things that reflected their long-standing relationship with Japan. The manner in which Peter was always interested, supportive and generous at a professional level, was echoed by the two of them at a personal level.

Peter played an important role in building up the infrastructure of international maritime history. Still, perhaps his greatest achievement was the manner in which he influenced the culture of this community. For that, just as much as for his academic and organizational achievements, he should be remembered.

Stig Tenold, Professor of Economic History at the Department of Economics, Norwegian School of Economics.

Maritime history and Covid-19

An on-going maritime history research project by Professor Ingo Heidbrink is providing historical knowledge that is relevant for the current COVID-19 situation.

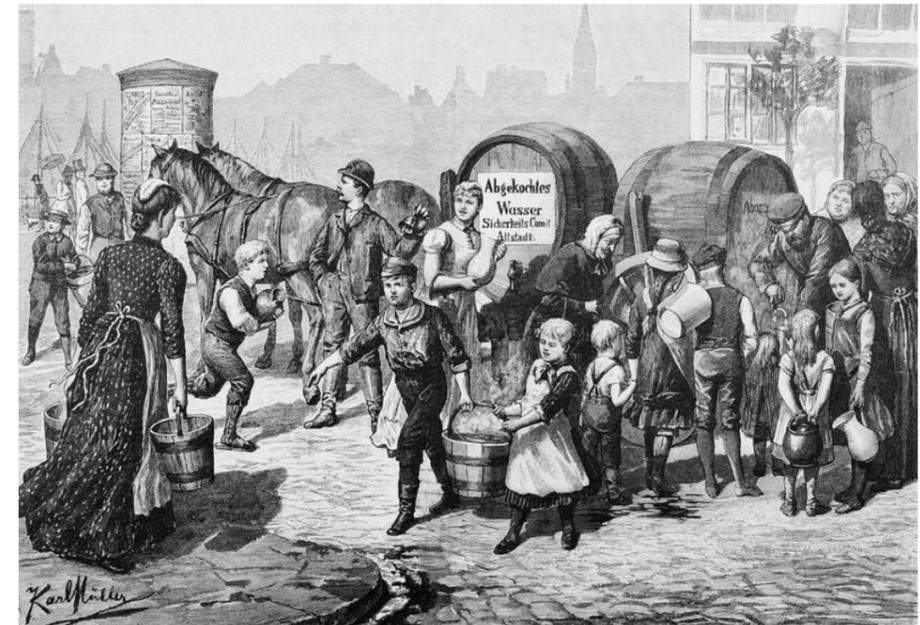
Cholera and Ice: the examples of Hamburg and Bremen



Ingo Heidbrink

Dr. phil., professor of maritime history at Old Dominion University, Norfolk Virginia, USA.

In August 1892 the city of Hamburg was hit by one of the last large cholera epidemics in Europe. After an initial phase of ignoring the epidemic despite fatalities, and even issuing health certificates for emigrant ships bound for New York (where the cholera broke out after the arrival of these ships), authorities shifted gear in late August when Robert Koch was sent to Hamburg as representative of the Imperial Government and introduced a strict set of measures to stop the spread of the cholera. These measures included closing the port, closure of schools, prohibition of large assemblies, isolation of the city from its hinterland, and most importantly the provision of clean drinking water. Nevertheless, it took ten weeks before there was a decrease of daily new infections and by then half of the near 17.000 infected had died.



Already some days prior to the outbreak of the cholera in Hamburg, the Reichsamt des Inneren (Department of the Interior) had published a set of official guidelines on how to minimize the spread of cholera and to avoid an epidemic. While it seems that Hamburg authorities ignored these guidelines (at least for the few days before the city was really hit hard), other German cities enacted them immediately and went even further. While the guidelines by the Department of the Interior dealt extensively with drinking water and sewage, they did not include any recommendations on ice, which is after all nothing else than frozen water.

One of the very first cities where ice, and in particular the local ice trade gained the attention of the authorities was Bremen. On March 22nd, 1893 the Bakteriologisches Institut (Bacteriological Institute) was formally opened, some 2 decades after public food and water inspection existed in the city. The original duties of the institute included, among others, ‘control of and advice to ice producing companies’.

Knowing that water was the main suspect for the transmission of the cholera, the institute took samples from ice-deliveries in the city, regardless whether the ice was locally produced or imported. In addition, the institute introduced regulations on which ponds could be used for ice-cutting and which ones should be avoided based on water-quality. They also offered pre-season advice to any company that was interested in cutting natural ice in the area.

Despite these regulations and activities, there were some cases of polluted natural ice when tested in that summer and these cases became the starting point for a discreditation campaign against natural ice that lasted well into the 20th century.

Of course, those companies that had invested in artificial ice production with the help of ice machines had an interest in pushing natural ice out of the market as much as possible. Cholera and other diseases transmitted via water became an ideal tool for such campaigns and the rapid transition from natural to artificial ice demonstrated the success of these campaigns.

Nevertheless, the one and only reason for the pollution of the ice was pollution of the water prior to freezing and not natural or artificial freezing. As most producers of artificial ice used tap water or spring water of drinking water quality, their ice was less contaminated than natural ice simply cut in any open body of available water. Therefore, it was generally correct, that artificial ice was less problematic with respect to cholera than domestic natural ice in Germany.

But how about imported ice from Norway? With pollution of the ice being nothing else than a direct consequence of pollution of the water prior to freezing, imported ice was by no means comparable to locally produced ice and in general terms completely unproblematic when it came to cholera. Did consumers realize the difference between imported and domestically produced ice? As the manufacturers of artificial ice focused on the difference between artificial ice and natural ice, the difference between imported and domestic ice became completely overshadowed and neglected. Imported ice from Norway became collateral damage due to the real existing issues with domestic natural ice.

The cholera issue accelerated the transition from natural to artificial ice in Germany (even if this transition needed several more decades to be completed) although the epidemic was not related to the question of ice being frozen by nature or by technology, but simply by the use of polluted or unpolluted water.

The Bacteriological Institute also tested artificially produced ice made from clear and clean drinking water. They sometimes found surprisingly high numbers of bacteria but classified them as harmless. The reason for these bacteria was often insufficient hygiene and cleaning of equipment.... Does it sound familiar again today??



The Icelandic White House

A list of recent publications from the Centre of Maritime History of IMS-FORTH, Crete, Greece, supplied by Professor Gelina Harlaftis

Black Sea History Working Papers Series

1. Constantin Ardeleanu and Andreas Lyberatos (eds), *Port-Cities of the western shore of the Black Sea: Economic and Social Development, 18th – early 20th centuries*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 1, Corfu, 2016, published in www.blacksea.gr
2. Evrydiki Sifneos, Oksana Iurkova and Valentina Shandra (eds), *Port-Cities of the northern shore of the Black Sea: Institutional, Economic and Social Development, 18th – early 20th Centuries*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 2, forthcoming.
3. Gelina Harlaftis, Victoria Konstantinova, Igor Lyman, Anna Sydorenko and Eka Tchikoidze (eds), *Between Grain and Oil from the Azov to Caucasus: The port-cities of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, late 18th – early 20th centuries*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 3, Rethymnon, 2020, published in www.blacksea.gr.
4. Mikhail Davidov, Gelina Harlaftis and Vladimir Kulikov, *The Economic Development of the Port-Cities of the Northern and Southern Black Sea Coast, 19th – Beginning of the 20th century. Transport, Industry and Finance*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 4, forthcoming.
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8. Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou (eds), *The Development of 21 Black Sea port-cities. A Statistical Approach*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 8, forthcoming.
9. Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming.
10. Ioannis Theotokas, Athanassios Pallis and Maria Lekakou, *Shipping, Ports and Cities in Soviet and post-Soviet period. Reintegration in the Global Economy*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 10, forthcoming.
11. Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, Brill, Leiden, Boston 2018.
12. Alexandra Papadopoulou, *The integration of the Black Sea markets to the Global Economy, 19th century*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 12, forthcoming.
13. Anna Sydorenko, *Η οικονομική και κοινωνική ανάπτυξη των πόλεων-λιμανιών της Κριμαίας στο δεύτερο μισό του 19ου αιώνα* [The economic and social development of the Crimean city-ports during the second half of the 19th century], Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 13, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ionian University, Corfu, 2017.
14. Iannis Carras and Eugene Chernukhin, *The Balkan Merchants of Nezhin 17th-19th centuries*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 14, forthcoming.

New PhD Opportunities

Catia Antunes has announced that the Dutch Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) has generously awarded her project *Exploiting the Empire of Others* with a very handsome grant. Within this project, she is currently looking for 3 PhD candidates (see the announcements below but note the deadlines).

<https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/vacatures/2020/q2/20-161-7241-phd-position-dutch-firms-exploiting-iberian-colonial-resources-1650-1850>

<https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/vacatures/2020/q2/20-160-7236-phd-position-dutch-firms-exploiting-french-colonial-resources-1650-1850>

<https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/vacatures/2020/q2/20-158-7232-phd-position-dutch-firms-exploiting-english-british-colonial-resources-1650-1850>