

A History of the World in Twelve Shipwrecks

by David Gibbins

SOURCES

Listed below are the sources for the quotes that I use in the book, with each number corresponding to the page on which you will find the quote referenced here.

More resources and background information for each chapter can be found on my website: www.davidgibbins.com

Prologue

xi (Braudel on the sea): Braudel, Fernand, 1972. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Trans. Siân Reynolds. London, HarperCollins, p.17.

Chapter 2: Royal cargoes at the time of Tutankhamun in the 14th century BC

- 19 (discovery at Cape Gelidonya): Bass, George F., 1967. *Cape Gelidonya: a Bronze Age Shipwreck*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series 57.8, p.15.
- 20 (Tailliez on excavation techniques): Tailliez, P., 1961. 'Travaux de l'été 1958 sur l'épave du 'Titan' à l'île du Lévant (Toulon).' *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Sottomarina, Albenga 1958*. Bordighera, p.175–198.
- 23 (Epic of Gilgamesh): George, A., 1999. *The Epic of Gilgamesh. The Babylonian Epic Poem and other texts in Akkadian and Sumerian*. London, Penguin, p.22–39.
- 23 (cedar of Lebanon): 1 Kings 5:6
- 24 (Theophrastus on terebinth): *Theophrastus, Enquiry into Plants*. Trans. Sir Arthur Fenton Hort. London, Heinemann, 1916, 9.2.2
- 25 (Homer on Mycenae): Homer, *The Iliad*. Trans. A.T. Murray. London, Heinemann, 1924, II. 11.40–6.
- 25 (Schliemann on the Mask of Agamemnon): telegram sent by Heinrich Schliemann to Greek newspapers and printed on 3–4 December 1876.
- 27 (the cup of Nestor): Homer, *The Iliad*. Trans. A.T. Murray. London, Heinemann, 1924, II. 11.630–6.
- 32 (the writing tablet): Homer, *The Iliad*. Trans. A.T. Murray. London, Heinemann, 1924, II. 6.156–70.
- 35–37 (Urtenu at Ugarit): Cohen, Yoram, 2021. 'The 'Hunger Years' and the 'Sea Peoples': preliminary observations on the recently published letters from the 'House of Urtenu' archive at Ugarit.' In Machinist, P. et al. (eds), *Ve-'Ed Ya'aleh (Gen 2:6): Essays in Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Edward L. Greenstein*. SBL, Atlanta, p.47–61.

Chapter 3: Wine trade in the Golden Age of classical Greece in the 5th century BC

- 41 (Plato on the Ship of State): Plato, *The Republic* VI, 488–90. Trans. Benjamin Jowett. Oxford, 1888.

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD IN TWELVE SHIPWRECKS

- 52 (Hamilton on vases): *Collection of engravings from ancient vases mostly of pure Greek workmanship discovered in sepulchres in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies . . . now in the possession of Sir Wm Hamilton*. Published by M.W. Tischbein, Director of the Royal Academy of Painting at Naples, 1791. Vol 1, p.8.
- 54 (Plato on the State): Plato, *Laws* 773d. Trans. R.G. Bury. Cambridge, 1968.
- 57 (Horace, Graecia Capta): Horace, *Epistles* 2.1: 156–7.

Chapter 4: A shipwreck from the height of the Roman Empire in the 2nd century AD

- 59 (Thucydides on Plemmyrion): Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* 7.3–7.
- 61 (Dumas on Plemmirio): Gibbins, D.J.L. and Parker, A.J., 1986. ‘The Roman wreck of c. AD 200 at Plemmirio, near Siracusa (Sicily): Interim report.’ *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 15.4: 267–304, p.267.
- 65 (funerary inscription from Ostia): *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* XIV, 477 (EDR 147084).
- 66 (Celsus on eye surgery): Celsus, *De Medicina* 7.14. Loeb, 1935.
- 68 (Celsus on melancholia): Celsus, *De Medicina* 3.18. Loeb, 1935.
- 68 (brothel inscription): *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IV, 2200.
- 70 (Cassius Dio on the battle): Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, Book LXXVII, 7.1–2. Loeb, 1927.
- 72 (Livy on Rome): Livy, *Roman History*, V 54.4.
- 75 (Diodorus Siculus on the Gauls): Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 26.3. Loeb, 1939.

Chapter 5: Christianity and early Byzantium in the 6th century AD

- 83 (Procopius on buildings): Procopius, *De Aedificiis* VI, 17. Loeb, 1940.
- 84 (Procopius on Syracuse): Procopius, *The Gothic Wars*, I, 18. Loeb, 1919.

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD IN TWELVE SHIPWRECKS

- 86 (Pliny the Elder on colourants): Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XXV.
- 87 (Procopius on churches): Procopius, *De Aedificiis* I, 3.2. Loeb, 1940.
- 90 (Paul the Silentiary on Hagia Sophia): *Paul le Silentiaire: Description de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople* (ed. Marie-Christine Fayant and Pierre Chuvin). Paris, A. Die, 1997, 146–9 (translation after Mango, Cyril A., 1972. *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453; Sources and Documents*. Toronto, Prentice-Hall, p.95–6).
- 91 (Cassiodorus on Amalasantha): Cassiodorus, *Variae epistolae* X. 8. In Hodgkin, Thomas (ed.), *The Letters of Cassiodorus*. Oxford, 1886.
- 93 (Codex Justinianus): *Codex Justinianus* I. In S.P. Scott (trans.), 1932. *The Civil Law* XII. Cincinnati.
- 94 (Pliny on marble): Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XXXVI, 1.2. Trans. Bostock, John and Riley, H.T. London, Taylor & Francis, 1855.
- 95 (the Miracula Santi Demitrii): Anastasius the Librarian, *The Passion and Miracles of St Demetrios* (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina 2122–3), Miracle 9.
- 96 (Price Edict): Diocletian, *Edict on Maximum Prices* (Blümner, Hugo and Mommsen, Theodor, 1893. *Edictum Diocletiani de pretiis rerum venalium*. Berolini, Georgium Reimerum).
- 99 (Holmes on excavation): Report by R.R. Holmes to the Trustees of the British Museum (in the British Museum Archives for 1868), quoted in Munro-Hay, Stuart, 1989. ‘The British Museum excavations at Adulis, 1868’. *The Antiquaries Journal* 69.1: 43–52.
- 100 (a dread portent): Procopius, *The Vandal Wars* II, 14. Loeb 1916.
- 101 (Gibbon on scourge): Gibbon, Edward, 1781. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Volume 2. London, Strahan and Cadell, chapter 43.

Chapter 6: Tang China, the Land of Gold and Abbasid Islam in the 9th century AD

- 103 (Sinbad the Sailor): Burton, Sir Richard, 1885. *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*. Vol. VI. The Burton Club. The Sixth Voyage of Sindbad the Seaman, p.58–67.
- 107 (Liu Xun on ships): Liu Xun, *Ling biao lu yi ji* (ms in Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University; undated).
- 107 (Montecorvino on ships): Letter from Friar Menentillus, a Dominican, forwarding a copy of a letter from John of Monte Corvino. In Yule, Henry, 1914. *Cathay and the Way Thither. Being a collection of medieval notices of China*. (New edition edited by Henri Cordier). London, the Hakluyt Society, Vol. III, p.66.
- 107 (Zhu Yu on ships): Zhu Yu, *Pingzhou Ketan* (sourced in Heng, D., 2008. ‘Shipping, Customs Procedures, and the Foreign Community: the ‘Pingzhou Ketan’ on aspects of Guangzhou’s maritime economy in the late eleventh century’. *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 38: 1–38.
- 108 (Suleyman the Merchant): Renaudot, Eusèbe, Sulaiman al-Tājir and Abu Zaid Hasan ibn Yazid al-Sirafi, *Ancient accounts of India and China by two Mohammedan Travellers, who went to those Parts in the 9th century; translated from the Arabic*. London, 1733.
- 111 (Procopius on ships): Procopius, *The Persian Wars* I 19.23. Loeb, 1914.
- 111–12 (The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea): Casson, L., 1989. *The Periplus Maris Erythraei. Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Princeton University Press.
- 113 (Marco Polo on camphor wood): Yule, Henry, 1903. *The Travels of Marco Polo* (3rd edition, revised by Henri Cordier), Book 3, Chapter XI.
- 113 (Meadows of Gold): Maçoudi (Al-Masudi), 1861. *Les Prairies d’Or*. French Trans. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille. Paris, Société Asiatique, Vol I.
- 114 (Ibn al Faqih): Goeje, M.J. de (ed.), 1870. *Compendium libri Kitāb Al-Boldān auctore Ibn al-Fakih al-Hamadhānī. Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum*. Leiden, Brill, Vol. 5.
- 114 (Ibn Khordadbeh): Ibn Khordadbeh, 1865. ‘Le Livre des Routes

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD IN TWELVE SHIPWRECKS

- et des Provinces.’ French Trans. C. Barbier de Meynard. *Journal Asiatique* 60.5, 1865.
- 114 (eighteenth-century traveller): Marsden, William, 1811. *The History of Sumatra*. London (3rd edition), p.301.
- 115 (The Wonders of India): Al-Ramhurmuzi, 1883–6. *Livre des Merveilles de L’Inde*. Arabic text by P.A. Van der Lith; French Trans. L. Marcel Devic. Leiden, Brill.
- 116 (The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea): Casson, L., 1989. *The Periplus Maris Erythraei. Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Princeton University Press.
- 116 (Ptolemy on China): Ptolemy, *Geography*.
- 116 (Cosmas Indicopleustes): McCrindle, J.W., 1897. *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian Monk*. London, the Hakluyt Society.
- 118 (Bai Juyi poem): Waley, Arthur, 1919. *More translations from the Chinese*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf. Po Chü-I (Bai Juyi), ‘Song of past feelings’, no. 60.
- 118 (Zhao Rugua on Boni): Louis, François, 2010. ‘Metal Objects on the Belitung Shipwreck’, in Krahl, J.G., Wilson, J.K. and Raby, J., *Shipwrecked: Tang Treasures and Monsoon Winds*. Washington D.C., Smithsonian Books, 85–91, p.91. Adapted from *Chau Ju-Kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi*. Translated from the Chinese and annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W.W. Rockhill. St Petersburg, Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911, p.156.
- 119 (Bai Juyi on mirrors): Louis, François, 2010. ‘Bronze Mirrors.’ in Krahl, J.G., Wilson, J.K. and Raby, J., *Shipwrecked: Tang Treasures and Monsoon Winds*. Washington D.C., Smithsonian Books, 213–19, note 10 (p.280). Adapted from Zhu Jincheng, *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao* (Commented and annotated edition of Bai Juyi’s collected works). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1988 p.1, nos 204–5.
- 119 (the mirror inscription): Louis, François, 2010. ‘Bronze mirrors.’ in Krahl, J.G., Wilson, J.K. and Raby, J., *Shipwrecked: Tang Treasures and Monsoon Winds*. Washington D.C., Smithsonian Books, 213–19, p.214.
- 120 (Lu Yu on Tea): Lu Yu, 1974. *The Classic of Tea*. Trans. Francis Ross Carpenter. New Jersey, The Ecco Press.

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD IN TWELVE SHIPWRECKS

- 122 (Changsha bowl poem): Lui Yang, 2010. 'Tang Dynasty Changsha ceramics', in Krahl, J.G., Wilson, J.K. and Raby, J., *Shipwrecked: Tang Treasures and Monsoon Winds*. Washington D.C., Smithsonian Books, 145–59, p.156.
- 122 (Sinbad's fifth voyage): Burton, Sir Richard, 1885. *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*. Vol. VI. The Burton Club. The Fifth Voyage of Sindbad the Seaman, p.58–67. (Roc is spelled Rukh in Burton's translation).
- 123 (Dharani Sutra): *The Great Compassion Dharani Sutra* (translated into Chinese by Bhagavaddharma).

Chapter 7: Viking seafaring and voyages of discovery in the 11th century AD

- 125 (the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle): *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Translated and edited by G.N. Garmonsway. Everyman's Library No.624. London, J.M. Dent and Sons, 1953. For another version of that passage, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. A revised translation edited by Dorothy Whitelock with David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961.
- 126 (letter from Alcuin): Alcuin, letter to Ethelred, King of Northumbria. In Whitelock, Dorothy (ed.), 1979. *English Historical Documents*, Vol. 1 c. 500–1042. London, p.775–7.
- 127–8 (the Viking ship at New York and the mate's description): Boyesen, H.H., 1893–4. 'The voyage of the "Viking"?' *The Chautauquan*, Vol. XVIII (October 1893 to March 1894), p.420–4.
- 131 (King Cnut's fleet): Campbell, A. (editor and translator), 1949. *Encomium Emmae Reginae*. Camden 3rd Series Vol. 72. London, The Royal Historical Society, II 4.
- 133 (ibn Fadlān on the ship burial): *Ibn Fadlān. Ibn Fadlān and the Land of Darkness. Arab Travellers in the Far North*. Translated with an introduction by Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone. Penguin, 2012.
- 135 (fish teeth): al-Muqaddasī, *Ahsan at-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*. Edited by M.J. Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* III (Leiden 1877; second edition 1906).

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD IN TWELVE SHIPWRECKS

- 136 (Kingittorsuaq runestone): Rundata catalogue, GR1 (Nationalmuseet, København MCCXII A 712).
- 137 (Papal letter of 1492): Magnusson, M. and Pálsson, H., 1965. *The Vinland Sagas. The Norse Discovery of America*. London, Penguin, p.23.
- 138 (Greenlanders Saga and the Saga of Erik the Red): Magnusson, M. and Pálsson, H., 1965. *The Vinland Sagas. The Norse Discovery of America*. London, Penguin.

Chapter 8: The Mary Rose (1545): flagship of King Henry VIII

- 143 (Van der Delft on the sinking): *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, Vol. 8, 1545–46. Edited by Martin A.S. Hume. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904. No. 101, Van der Delft to the Emperor, 23–24 July 1545.
- 149 (Sir Edward Howard on the *Mary Rose*): Letter from Sir Edward Howard to the King, 22 March 1513. In Knighton, C.S. and Loades, David (eds.), 2022. *Letters from the Mary Rose*. Cheltenham, The History Press, no.13.
- 151 (Van der Delft on the fleets): *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, Vol. 8, 1545–46. Edited by Martin A.S. Hume. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904. No. 101, Van der Delft to the Emperor, 23–24 July 1545.
- 152 (the diver Jacques Francis): Interrogation and Deposition made by Jacques Francis on Tuesday, 8 February 1547 (O.S.), 18 February 1548 (N.S.). The National Archives, HCA 13/93/2.2v–203r. Reproduced in Ungerer, G., 2005. 'Recovering a Black African's Voice in an English Lawsuit: Jacques Francis and the salvage operations of the *Mary Rose* and the *Sancta Maria* and *Sanctus Edwardus*, 1545–ca 1550. *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 17: 255–271.
- 163 (Letter from Harvel to Cromwell): Gairdner, J. & R.H. Brodie, 1895. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Vol. 14 part 2, August–December 1539. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, no.280.
- 164 (the *Gaude gloriosa* fragment from Oxford): Skinner, D., 2016. 'Deliver me from my deceitful enemies': a Tallis contrafactum in time of war.' *Early Music* 44.2: 233–50.

- 164 (Pastyme with good companye): The Henry VIII Manuscript, British Library Additional Manuscripts 31, 922.
- 164 (Mary Rose Committee): Rule, M., 1983. *The Mary Rose: the Excavation and Raising of Henry VIII's Flagship* (2nd edition). London, Conway Maritime Press, p.54.

Chapter 9: The *Santo Cristo di Castello* (1667): lost masterpieces of the Dutch Golden Age

- 170 (William Paynter oath): Deposition of William Paynter (also Painter) of Sitney, 17 March 1668. The National Archives, HCA 13/270 (for consistency I have spelled it Paynter in the transliteration). *Santo Cristo di Castello* is spelled variously, with the Italian version used here.
- 170 (Pepys on Godolphin): *The Diary of Samuel Pepys M.A. F.R.S.*, edited with additions by Henry B. Wheatley F.S.A. London, George Bell & Sons, 1896, vol. VII, p.312 (entry for Monday 10 February 1667/8).
- 171 (Petition of Viviano): The National Archives, State Papers Domestic 29/169 (26–31 August 1666).
- 172 (ship cast away): *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles II, 1667*. Ed. Mary Anne Everett Green. London, 1866, p.501–22, no. 104, 9 October 1667.
- 173 (Adam Smith on pins): Smith, Adam, 1776. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, in two volumes. London, W. Strahan and T. Cadell, vol. 1, p.6–7.
- 177 (Paulus Cloots): Notarial Deed 246655, Amsterdam City Archives 5075/3658 (9 March 1668).
- 177 (Petition of Basso): The National Archives, State Papers Domestic 29/213 (9–17 August 1667).
- 177–9 (*Sacrificio d'Abramo* prize papers): The National Archives, HCA 30/1057. *Sacrificio d'Abramo* is spelled variously, with the Italian version used here.
- 181 (Sauli papers and Rembrandt): Magnani, L., 2006. '1666. Un'inedita committenza Genovese per Rembrandt.' *Annali di critica d'arte* II: 569–584. Lo Basso, Luca, 2022. 'Rembrandt e il capitano Viviano sulla rotta Amsterdam–Genova (1666–1668).' *Il Tempio delle Arti. Scritti per Lauro Magnani. Materiali d'Arte Genovese*, 310–18.

Chapter 10: The Royal Anne Galley (1721): gold, piracy and the African slave trade

- 191 ('great detestation'): Johns, C.A., 1848. *A Week at the Lizard*. London, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, p.74.
- 195 (the ballad): *The Unhappy Voyage: giving an Account of the Royal Anne Galley, Captain Willis Commander . . .* Broadside Ballad, 1721/2.
- 196 (Lord Belhaven in his chambers): Wodrow, Robert, 1842–3. *Analecta: Or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences*, ed. Matthew Leishman, 4 vols, Edinburgh, vol. 3, p.173–4.
- 199 (orders): Admiralty to Willis, 12 September 1721. The National Archives, ADM 2/50, 430. The exact wording of the orders received by Willis can never be known, as they were lost in the wreck; my summary is derived from the copied orders in 'Lords' Letters: Orders and Instructions' (ADM 2/50), which is also summarised in Camidge, Kevin, et al., 2006. *Royal Anne Galley, Lizard Point, Cornwall. Marine Environmental Assessment. Phase 1, Desk-based Assessment*. Cornwall County Council, p.142.
- 199 (on Lethbridge): widely reported in the papers including the *Newcastle Courant*, 2 December 1721, p.10, and the *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 January 1722, p.1626.
- 200–1 (Lethbridge on his career): Lethbridge, John, letter in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XIX (1749), p.411.
- 200 (The Lethbridge 1736 inscription): Lysons, Daniel and Lysons, Samuel, 1822. *Magna Britannia; being a concise topographical account of the several counties of Great Britain. Volume the Sixth, containing Devonshire. Part II*. London, Thomas Cadell, p.569.
- 201 (Irvine on diving): Desaguliers, J.T., 1744. *A Course of Experimental Philosophy*. London, W. Innys, Vol. 2, p.215.
- 203–4 (Evans diary): The National Archives, HCA 15/40.
- 207 (Belhaven appointment): *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies 32 (1720–21)*. Ed. Cecil Headlam. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933. 9 August 1721, 605 i.

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD IN TWELVE SHIPWRECKS

- 208 (Willis' logbook): Captain's log, *Royal Anne Galley* 25 August 1719 to 19 May 1721. The National Archives, ADM 51/4315.
- 209 (The despatch of two ships): Board of Admiralty minutes, 4 February 1719. The National Archives, ADM 3/31. See also Wilson, David, 2021. *Suppressing Piracy in the Early Eighteenth Century: Pirates, Merchants and British Imperial authority in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans*. Woodbridge, The Boydell Press.
- 209 (pirates to Africa): Pearse to Admiralty, 3 June 1718. The National Archives, ADM 1/2282. 'The Memoriall of the Merchants of London trading to Africa . . .', 29 July 1729. The National Archives, ADM 1/3810.
- 209 (ripe for piracy): Willis to Admiralty, 21 October 1720. The National Archives, ADM 1/2649.
- 210 (Rascalls on shore): Plunkett to Royal Africa Company, 16 April 1719. The National Archives, T 70/6, 97–8.
- 211 (no intelligence as yet): Willis to Admiralty, 27 February 1720. The National Archives, ADM 1/2649.
- 214 (Robinson Crusoe): Defoe, Daniel, 1818. *The life and adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. London (first published 1719), p.199.
- 216 (Brandão): Processo de Franciso Rodrigues Brandão Faro. Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Coimbra, proc. 8867. Portugal, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo.
- 216 (Pepys on Tangier): *The Diary of Samuel Pepys M.A. F.R.S.* Edited with additions by Henry B. Wheatley F.S.A. London, George Bell & Sons, 1895, Vol VI, p.318 (entry for Tuesday 14 May 1667).
- 217 (*Royal Anne Galley* wreck): This account 'from Halstoun' (Helston) in Cornwall, of 13 November 1721, was widely published in the newspapers, for example the *Caledonian Mercury* of 23 November 1721, p.1519.
- 218 (Wilkie Collins): Collins, Wilkie, 1861. *Rambles beyond Railways, or Notes in Cornwall taken a-foot*. London, Richard Bentley, p.104.
- 218 (Whaley Will): The National Archives, PROB 11/582/405, 7 December 1721.
- 218 (Eunice Weld): The National Archives, SP 42/17/197, 11 February 1723.

Chapter 11: HMS Terror (1848): to the limits of endurance at the ends of the earth

- 219 (the cairn note): Royal Museums Greenwich, HSR/C/9/1.
- 220–1 (Rae’s letter): *Rae’s Arctic Correspondence, 1844–55*. Edited by E.E. Rich. London, The Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1953. The letter was reproduced with slightly varied wording in many publications of the time, including *Melancholy Fate of Sir John Franklin and his party, as disclosed in Dr. Rae’s Report; together with the Despatches and Letters of Captain M’Clure and other officers employed in the Arctic Expedition*. London, Betts, 1854.
- 220 (Tennyson): Alfred Lord Tennyson, ‘The Charge of the Light Brigade’.
- 229 (Cooke’s refusal): Norie, J.W., 1842. *The Naval Gazetteer, Biographer and Chronologist, containing a History of the Late Wars*. London, Charles Wilson, p.85.
- 230–1 (quotes on Franklin): Cavell, J., 2019. ‘Franklin, Sir John.’ *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. 7, 1988, revised 2019. University of Toronto/Université Laval.
- 232 (Darwin on the mystery): Darwin, Charles, 1909. *The Voyage of the Beagle*. Vol. 29. New York, Collier, p.400.
- 233 (Darwin on collecting): Letter from Darwin to J.C. Ross, 31 December 1847. *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin, Vol. 4, 1847–50*. Edited by Frederick Burkhardt. Cambridge University Press, 1988, p.101.
- 234 (Dickens on savages): Dickens’ views of the Inuit can be seen in *The Frozen Deep*, an 1856 play on the Franklin expedition by Wilkie Collins written under the guidance of Dickens.
- 235 (Rae on survival): see source for p.220 above.
- 236–40 (letters from Fitzjames and Fairholme): Potter, R.A., Koellner, R., Carney, P. and Williamson, M., 2022. *May we be Spared to Meet on Earth. Letters of the Lost Franklin Arctic Expedition*. McGill-Queen’s University Press.
- 238 (page from the Rev. John Todd): Royal Museums Greenwich, AAA2055.

Chapter 12: SS *Gairsoppa* (1941): courage and loss in the Battle of the Atlantic

- 243 (Ayres' citation): Supplement to the *London Gazette*, 18 November 1941, p.6618.
- 252 (final report of the *Gairsoppa*): The National Archives, ADM 199/1143.
- 252–3 (U-boat attack): war diary (Kriegstagebücher), U-101 (Kapitänleutnant Ernst Mengersen), 8 December 1940 to 19 February 1941. Bundesarchiv-Abt Militärarchiv, Freiburg.
- 258–60 (quoted letters): Kingsley, S.A. (ed.), 2018. *Voices from the Deep. The British Raj & Battle of the Atlantic in World War II*. London, The Undertow Press.
- 260 (Hollywood Radio and Television Institute): *The Indian Listener*, Vol.5 no.23 (22 November 1940, for 1–15 December), p.1789.
- 263 (Sunday Pictorial): *Sunday Pictorial*, 7 March 1941.
- 263–4 (News Chronicle): *News Chronicle*, 19 November 1941.
- 264–5 (The Cornishman): *The Cornishman*, 20 November 1941.
- 265 (SL 64 convoy report): The National Archives, ADM 199/1143.
- 265 (power of endurance): Hodson, J.L., 1944. *British Merchantmen at War. The Official Story of the Merchant Navy, 1939–44*. Prepared for the Ministry for War Transport by the Ministry of Information. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office/Ziff-Davis Publishing Company, p.35.
- 267 (Ayres on burial): Letter from Richard Ayres (died 1992) to the late Hugh Ferguson, reproduced in part in Hugh Ferguson, 'The Sole Survivor', WW2 People's War, at bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/32/a3563732.shtml (2005).
- 268 (on merchant seamen casualties): Elderton, Sir William P., 1947. 'Merchant seamen during the war.' *Journal of the Institute of Actuaries* 73.2: 250–284, p.267.