

Saving “Harald”

A discussion on degradation of shipwrecks in the North Sea

The Historical Part



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Placing *Harald* in the History – Introduction

Designing the history around *Harald* extends to several different aspects of this ship's history. What is in focus in this section is the socio-historical aspect around the ship. This concerns the society around *Harald*, the owner, the companies involved in *Harald* and the ship's usage reflected upon that society; cargo and passenger transport.

With that said, we have to include the close history of *Harald*. The biography. What harbors did the ship travel to and what cargo did it carry? With this information, we can hopefully get a better picture of the important harbors that received international transport-ship of this size around the world, as well as some of the commodities that were sought after in this period. Did this ship transport typical goods of this time?

Another aspect of *Harald's being* is to place into the macro history. What long-term historical movements was this ship a part of, and what long-term impact did this ship inflict on present day people. With this in mind, a brief section about the Danish migration history will be mentioned. This can help to point out need for historical attachment to its ancestors. This national identity is multicultural, and not only something we see in United States. The urge to investigate your own ancestor's history, and thereby your own history has become very popular in the last decades in Denmark.

Lastly, there is the question of placing *Harald* in the steamship history. How does *Harald* and its sister ship *Volmer* fall into the late 19th century steamship evolution? This is only briefly covered in this section, since this is thoroughly covered in the construction part with technical aspects of this ship's place in the "construction history", but we can look into the people, who got these ships made. Did this vessel affect the people who got it made?

Being the first steamship used for transatlantic migration from a Danish company it's natural to focus on the historical importance, that *Harald* earned, placing itself as a milestone for the Danish entrepreneurship in the late 19th cen. (Heinberg, 1936) But *Harald* was also part of a socio-historical milestone when it came to steam ship building and larger cargo transport. These types of ships were financed by multiple investors, which created the opportunity to build ships with more than a 1000 T.dw. (ton deadweight), and the ability to cover long distances with some certainty on the scheduled arrival. *Harald* is therefore a part of one of the national markers, that shows the Danish *drive* to connect to the world, and recover itself to its former glory as a maritime nation.

Harald did only serve as a migration ship during its leasing period from 1880-1881 with a total of 10 trips for the Danish migration company *Thingvalla*. It was not the first migration-ship sailing from Copenhagen to

America. Several foreign company had tried to establish a Scandinavian route to America before, but found it too difficult.

S/S Harald was not intended as a migration ship at first, but built as a cargo ship for with freight transportation in mind by *De Carlske Rederier*, but it's purpose was altered due to an accident inflicted on *D/S Thingvalla's* other ship by same name. Harald was leased by *D/S Thingvalla* and by coincidence *S/S Harald* became the first ship, owned by a Danish company, carrying Scandinavians to the new world with the intention of making a profit of this. (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977) For this reason, Harald marks one of the great Danish progresses and ingenuities in this golden industrial age, that is marked by great entrepreneurs such as C.F Tietgen (1829-1901) during the second half of the 19th century.

The Danish steamship history in short

The first Danish owned steamship “Caledonia” was set into route between Copenhagen and Kiel in 1819. The ship was built in London and brought back to Copenhagen by Steen Andersen Bille, who had seen the steamboat's potential. Caledonia was a steam paddle ship, that was planned to route between the two biggest cities in Denmark at that time (Copenhagen and Kiel), bringing the country together and create a stable connection to the surrounding world through the river Eider.

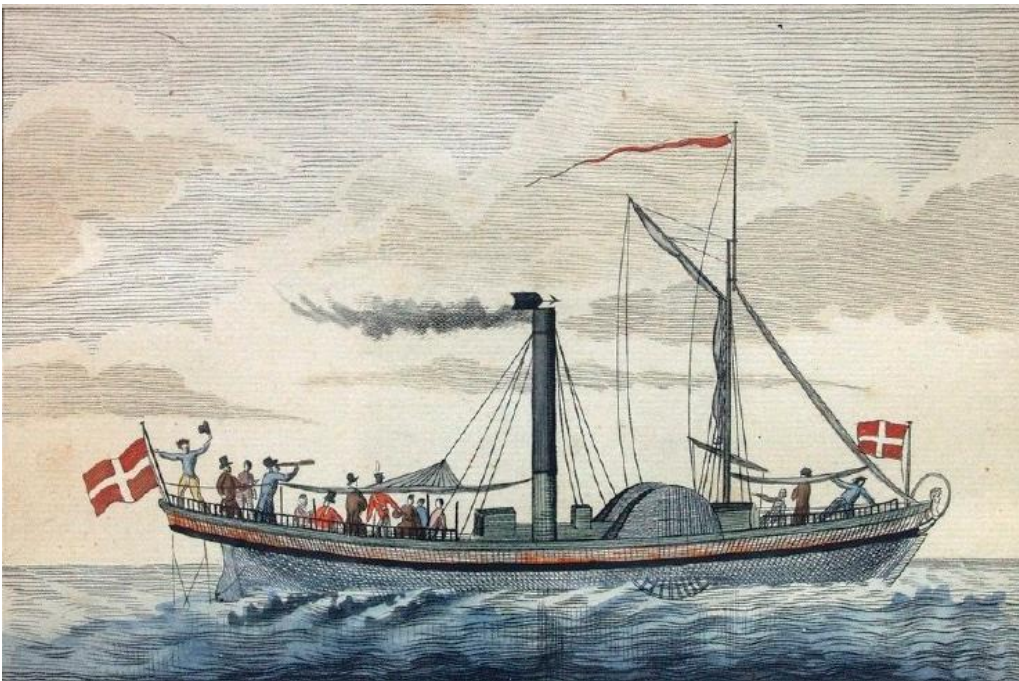


Figure 1. Caledonia, painting from 1915

The ship was not an immediate success. The Danish Postal service, was threatened by the speed and regularity this ship represented, and every attempt was conducted to prevent the ship from getting its license

to sail this route. Common people were skeptical about this technology as well, and preferred to travel with the smaller sailing vessels commuting between the cities. The ship was instead used as a pleasure boat in the waters around Zealand for vacationists going on summer holidays, when not in service (Munchaus, 1983). It was not until later the same year in 1819, that the ship was acknowledged for its competence and safety, when the Royal couple together with the Duke of Hessen went onboard “Caledonia” in Copenhagen, and approved this new technology. The ship but the ship continued to serve more as an amusement than as a tool for public transportation (Munchaus, 1983).

Other people saw the possibilities in the steamboats as well, and the second Danish steamship *Prindsesse Wilhelmine* sailed by Mathias Büring Lou was giving the right to sail between *Lübeck* and *Copenhagen* in 1824, with from the senate in Lübeck (Munchaus, 1983). This was again sought prevented by the postal service again by accusing *Caledonia* and *Prindsesse Wilhelmine* for smuggling of letters and other contraband, but a movement was on the rise and in 1830 a third steam ship “Frederik VI” was set into route between Lübeck and Copenhagen.

The amount of steamship gradually increased through the years replacing sail ships in the inland traffic providing scheduled timetables and better infrastructure. Although it took a hundred years more to phase out most of the public transportation with commercial sail boats, the golden age of steamboat transportation had begun with the perseverance of Steen Andersen Bille and his ship “Caledonia”.

Several Danish steam-ship companies operated on international water in the second half in the 1900-hundred, with the largest one being gathered in the conglomerate called “DFDS” (Det Forenede Dampskibs-Selskab), which was established by C.F. Tietgen in 1866. The with the (Gyldendal, 2014) At this point DFDS already sat heavily on the market with 29 Ships at a total of 5888 Reg. Tons in 1871 (, but the ships were smaller, (under 1000 tons d.w.) which meant that they were mainly used on national waters. The smaller ships were too fragile for the greater oceans and the cost-benefit of the long-distance connections were to inefficient, compared to the cargo-volume, which resulted in trade situated around the Baltic- and North Sea (Munchaus, 1983).

Ships were still largely built for individual private owners, who made their living of trading with nearby countries or between regions in Denmark. 10 out of a total of the 100 ships, that were constructed in Baumeister & Wains in the period of 1854-1876 reached more than a 1000 Tdw., including ships constructed for passenger-transport. (B&W, 2016) This tendency changed during the end of the 19th century, due to the investment of larger cargo-ship by share-holders, combined with change of propulsion (from wind to steam) and work capacity on the shipyard in B&W, and the demand for larger vessels increased rapidly. The next hundred ships built on Baumeister & Wains from 1876-1899, 43 out of 100 ships exceeded 1000 Tdw,

indicating the beginning of large bulk cargo transportation on international waters, financed by shareholders, financing large 1000 ton plus ships as investments with larger profit. A mentality we see in other production sectors as well, such as the farming industry with dairy cooperatives, which rose during the same decades (Kayser Nielsen, 2011).

Another important factor for need increase volume and travel distances with the vessels was the Second war at Schleswig with the Germans in 1864. Not only had the Danish national pride received a crushing blow, but 1/3 of the Danish national landmass was also lost. Suddenly Denmark has lost its second biggest city Kiel and the access to the Eider channel (built 1777-1785) was now on German hands (Carl, 1949). A vital tax-income and gateway to the North Sea was lost. The commercial power balance had shifted, and instead receiving foreign ships with commodities passing through to the Baltic Sea, the Danes were now in a greater extent dependent on seeking out commercial relations on foreign territory. Bigger ships were necessary, if merchants wanted to continue profiting on maritime trade, which they could not afford alone, which resulted in part sharing companies, consisting of 1 or several large vessels in one company split into several investors (Munchaus 1983).

The ship owner

One of the ship owners that benefitted from the economic advancements in the period, was Lindhard Hansen Carl (1813-1893) and his sons and successors Adolf Carl (1848-1908) and Martin Carl (1857-1921).

L. H. Carl was a driven ship owner, who came from a long line of sailors from the island *Rømø* on the Danish west coast (North Sea). Lindhard began sailing from age 9½ with his farther, serving as a cabin boy¹ in 1823. He continued sailing and serving under different captains until 1850, when he had enough money to buy his first ship. He found a schooner from *Gothenburg*, with which he continued sailing a fixed merchant route between Liverpool and Copenhagen. His insight in commercial potentials and low risk travels (Hans P. Carl mentions pure luck) rewarded him and already four later he was able to buy a second ship. His first interaction with a steamboat was 1846, when it was used as a towboat for the ship he was sailing on in British waters. From that moment, it is possible, that he saw the potential of the steam engine, and when he came back to Denmark in 1856 after having his main harbor in Liverpool, he started his first company with C. P. A. Kock, who was already an agent for a small inland steamship company. Together with four other investors they opened *Det almindelige danske dampskibsselskabs Virksomhed*². L. H. Carl continued to show great tenacity and eye for an income, and during the second battle of Schleswig, his company sailed Danish troops and supplies to the front in 1864. A service from which he later was rewarded “etatsråd” by the Danish King

¹ The average age for serving on ships, as cabin boys or similar was at that time was 12-14 years (Carl, 1949).

² Translated: The ordinary Danish Steamship company enterprise

Christian the 9th in 1892, which meant he raised to the third social class and was part of the Kings personal counseling (P. Carl, 1949; Gyldendal, 2018). This was mainly an honorary title and this had no effect on the company, since he had already retired and led Martin Carl overtake his leading position in 1888 (Fode, 2011).

In 1967 L. H. Carl established the share-holding company (11/50 parts) named “Dampskib-selskabet Danmark” after the company’s main ship *S.S. Danmark*, built in 1867 by *Henderson, Coulborn & Co.* in Renfrew. *D.S. Denmark* became a limited company in 1969, and with the newly invested money, four iron screw steamers were ordered from the same company *Henderson, Coulborn & Co.* in Renfrew, Scotland. *Gorm* and *Knud* were finish in 1871, while *Svend* and *Erik* were finished in 1872, all signed to an individual limited company. All ships chimneys were painted red given the same office, with a white circular band going around the chimney, while a longitudinal white band was painted on each side, with the result of a Danish flag on each side of the chimney (H. P. Carl). The *D.S. Danmark* company flag was a red sheet with a wide white ring. The flag that *Harald* and *Volmer* sailed under was a white diamond with a red diamond inside, indicating, that the administered by *D.S. Carl*, a third limited company. Altogether, the ships went under the name *De Carlske Rederier*, with the same chimney mark, as seen on paintings of the individual ships stocked on the Maritime Museum in Helsingoer (Carl, 1949).

Investing in ships has always been a risky business, with high risks of wreckage and short lifespans on ships, thus one of the key concerns made by investors are the building cost pro ton. With alternating pricing on building materials (mainly iron), and the construction costs (wages), L. H. Carl alternated by building his ships between the shipyards in Scotland (*Lobnitz & Company/Henderson, Coulborn & Co.*), Denmark (*Baumeister & Wains*) and later Sweden (*Kockums*).

In the beginning of the 1870’s, five ships³ were built for L. H. Carl on the Scottish shipyard *Lobnitz & Company* in Renfrew at 228-244kr. pr. ton., which was considerably lower compared to prices in Denmark, but this did not come without a cost. Low wages created strikes and alcoholism was a huge concern for L. H. Carl, who meant that 3 shipbuilders did one man’s job here. He was afraid of rushing them or commenting on changes on the ships, risking that the workers would get furious, put down their tools and leave their job, creating even greater delays (P. Carl 1949).

Smartened by his father’s experiences in Scotland combined with raised production and material costs, Martin Carl (B&W, 2016), who was now a part of the companies leading administration, and he did not put all eggs into one basket, and ordered two new ships in Denmark by *Baumeister & Wains*, “*Volmer*” and

³ This includes the iron screw steamer *Olaf* which finished in 1875 and considered a “sister-ship” with the same dimensions and built as *Volmer* and *Harald*. (Carl, 1949; CMRT, 2018)

“Harald” on February 8th 1874, at a price of 319.500 Rdl. pr. ship⁴ (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977). The third ship *Olaf* was built on the same shipyard as the four previous ships in Renfrew, Scotland.

L. H. Carl mentions that the *Olaf* was ready in November 1874, while the *Harald* and *Volmer* should be finished in January and April 1875, but *Olaf* is not registered completed until 1875 in the Scottish registers (CMRT, 2018), and L. H. Carl later writes, that the Danish constructed ships were tested on water in August 31., 1875 (*Volmer*), September 9. 1875 (*Harald*) without engines installed (P. Carl, 1949).

Harald and *Volmer* was not set into service until 1876, according to *Baumeister and Wains* construction list, showing long delays on all three ships (B&W, 2016). By then the production costs had risen to 342kr. pr. ton. pr. ship, making them 40-50% more expensive than the previous four ships built four years earlier.

***Harald's* first years in service**

Captain C.A. Bonde was given the command of *Harald*, which he kept until it's loss in October 19th 1889. He was a beloved captain, who was praised by Thingvalla in his short service. He continued to work as a harbormaster in *Copenhagen* after the loss of the *Harald* (Heinberg, 1936; Mikkelsen, 1952).

Olaf, *Volmer* and *Harald* came into use in a period with depression. When the ships were set into use during 1875-1876, all ships followed random freight routes, due to the decline in the freight market (P. Carl, 1949). The company had to take up cargo wherever and whatever that was possible. This gave the captain of the ship wide authority, especially with limited communication to the ship owner, and cargo was freighted to and from every harbor that had commodities to transport. *Harald's* maiden voyage went to *Reval* (Present day *Tallinn*, Estonia) with an undefined passenger cargo and then back to *Copenhagen*, then to *Le Havre* in France. Next was *Cardiff* in England after a Coal-transport, and then to the *Odessa* and *Constantinople* in the Black Sea and then to *Aden* in Yemen, finally ending up in Kurrachee (now Karachi in present day Pakistan) through the newly built Suez channel (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977). After a long year it was time to go back through the Suez with stops in Port Said Jan. 20th, Malta Jan. 28th, Gibraltar Feb. 5th, Dunkirque (Dunkerque) March 1st 1877. A letter positions *Harald* in New Ross, Ireland on June 20th to June 31th 1876 having an unnecessary long halt waiting for cargo, and looking at the ledger in D/S Carl's main book, the halt was actually even longer from July 19th to Aug. 6th, showing a time shift in letters, mentioned several times by Hans P. Carl in his *Memoria's*. (Carl, 1949; Carl, 1876). The many stops underway in the Mediterranean, Black Sea and Atlantic coast could also indicate, that the ship was taking smaller loads of cargo and transferring

⁴ 1 Rigsdaler (Rdl.) is converted to 2 kroners (kr.) in 1973 (Christensen, 2010). The total cost is set to 647,506.56kr for *Volmer* incl. navigation equipment, carpets, rope etc. in the ledgers from 1876 (Carl, 1876). A similar price for *Harald* must have been expected. The change in currency compared to the letter in *rigdaler* is due to the national currency reform in 1873, changing from, rigsdaler, mark, pound, kroner solely to Danish kroners and øre (Christensen, 2010).

short distances, as an attempt to make profit on whatever was available, but this is hard to prove since the only information registered in the ledgers from 1876, are the commission of 5% and the amount earned (Carl, 1876).

According to Hans P. Carl, no trips were made to the Black Sea in 1877 due to the Russian-Turkish war, which meant that both Volmer and Harald stayed in northern part of the Atlantic in these years, transporting Horses from Le Havre to New York on a scheduled route through this year (Carl, 1949). Although no transport is done in the black sea in this period, the first half of the year is mainly in the Mediterranean, but no transatlantic trips are done in 1877. According the charts, most of the sailing is done in the Baltic in summer, and at the end the year *Harald* continues its voyages along the European Atlantic coast, while the rest of the Carl's ships were in China, Singapore, Japan Australia and New York.

Harald's first transatlantic trip happens from Gibraltar in Feb. 6th 1878, and arrives on the Island St. Vincent on Feb. 15. From there the ships goes further south to Rio De Janeiro on March 1st, and the Back north along the South American coast to *Bahia, Bermuda*, arriving to *New York* on May, 20., and then back to *Le Havre*. It is likely that *The Merchant Express Line* was established during this voyage, due to the intensified connection with the harbors around New York, and L. H. Carl had made a cooperation with Danish steamship company *D.S. Freja*, the agents from the company *French, Eddie & Co* in New York and the American railroad companies. After a short summer in the Baltic, a fixed route was created from Le Havre to New York via Cardiff and Rotterdam, carrying cargo and passengers with 4 ships in total. Two ships from *D.S. Carl - Harald* and *Olaf*, and two ships from the, Captain C. F. Johansen, who owned Hermod and Heimdal under *D.S. Freja*. These ships worked as small-time emigration ships as well, from which Captain Johansen's brother V. T. Hein saw the potential of building a direct Scandinavia-America line. V. T. Hein was later a representative for *D.S. Thingvalla* under its construction and early years (Carl, 1949).

The ship was in South America in the beginning of 1878 and in June 1878 back on a fixed route between New York, Le Havre, Rotterdam and Cardiff. Martin Carl overtook the service of *Olaf* as first mate, and his older brother Adolf Carl was reinstated as the new manager of the company. *Harald* and *Olaf* continued their route in *The Merchant Express Line*, with a detour for Copenhagen for maintenance back at *Baumeister & Wains* (Norway Heritage, 2018; Munchaus & Lorentzen 1977).

On January 3th 1879, Harald left New York on its northern route for Rotterdam. The ship sailed right into a winter storm and the ship froze over just as it came out of Sandy Hook Bay. Instead of going back, it went south in hope of warmer weather, but the storm rose, and the ship laid ahull until the next day, when a huge wave struck the bridge, destroying the binnacle and crushing a skylight, filling the cabin with 3 feet of water. The ship sailed for shelter until it observed the wreck of the schooner *A. Seemann* on January 5th, still floating

with a broken mast. Captain Bonde tried to approach the ship, when it was discovered that the crew was still onboard, but the steam engine broke down due to the waves, and a rescue boat was instead lowered into the water. Four sailors from *Harald* went into the rescue boat together with captain Bonde and rowed to the schooner, when the crew onboard *Harald* was told, that it was the beloved Danish first mate Carl Christian Heintzelmann who was onboard. The men succeeded in approaching the boat, and the seven surviving crew-members from *A. Seemann* were able to jump into the boat. The crew was later set ashore in Rotterdam healthy and recovered from the accident. C. C. Heintzelmann continued his service on the ferry *S/S Læsø* until his death in 1908 (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977; Petersen, 2004; Petersen, 2017; Marcussen, 2018). *Harald* continued tours across the Atlantic until its leasing by Thingvalla in March 1880.

The history of the Danish steamship migration

From the middle of the 19th cen. Until mid-20th cen. more than 400.000 people migrated from Denmark, which culminated in 1910 with 250.000 Danish citizens living outside of Denmark. Around 210.000 of them lived in the U.S, while the last 40.000 people had migrated to Canada, Australia, South America or New Zealand (Bender, 2007). From the 1820's until 1900 around 200.000 had left Denmark in hope of a better future in America (Bender, 2007; Thomsen, 2001). Passengers were dependent on the wind and weather of the normal wooden sailing packets in the beginning of the 19th cen., but steamship slowly won their position in the middle of the 19th cen., due to their reliability and fix schedules, reducing the duration of the travel from several months to a couple of weeks (Thomsen, 2000).

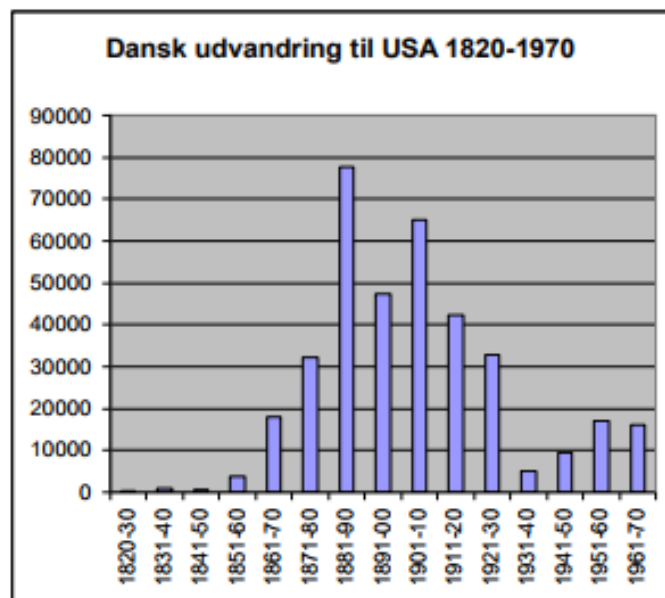


Figure 2. Danish migration to the US shown 1820-1970. From Bender's manuskript "Kilderne på nettet til udvandringen fra Danmark" (2000)

The first migration ship announced was the American hybrid paddlewheel steamer *Savannah*, that had its destination in Sankt Petersburg via Liverpool. The ship was an experimental ship leaving on its maiden voyage, and for that reason no passengers were interested in sailing with it. No-one dared to sail with it risking their lives and luggage, and even though it had once crossed the Atlantic to Europe in 27 days, no Europeans wanted to sail with it back to the U.S. Instead it returned to America unsold and without passengers. The ship was deemed to advance of its time, and the engine taken out of the ship



Figure 3. *Savannah, First Transatlantic Steamship Leaving Port, May 1819, by John Stobart*

when it returned. It continued as a sailing packet until its wreckage in 1821. The ship was twice in Copenhagen on its journey through the Baltic, but it was kept on open water away from the harbor due to fire-hazard (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977; Morrison, 1909; Smithsonian, 1891).

Although direct steamship routes have been arranged between Le Havre, Hamburg, Rotterdam, Liverpool, Britol and New York from 1838, the next migration steamship, taking up passengers in Denmark, was not until 48 years later with the iron screw steamer *Ottawa*. The ship sailed from Copenhagen on July 31. 1866 with 101 Danish emigrants onboard, to Goteborg and Kristiania (present day Oslo), bringing 300 additional Scandinavians on a 15-day trip to New York (Heinberg, 1938; Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977).

Onboard living conditions 1820-1868

In the beginning the majority of the migrators used German and English travel agencies to cross the Atlantic, but they were mitigated by Danish agents in Denmark, who promised them good travel accommodations' and the prospect of a deed for a patch of land when they reached America. This was the case with the

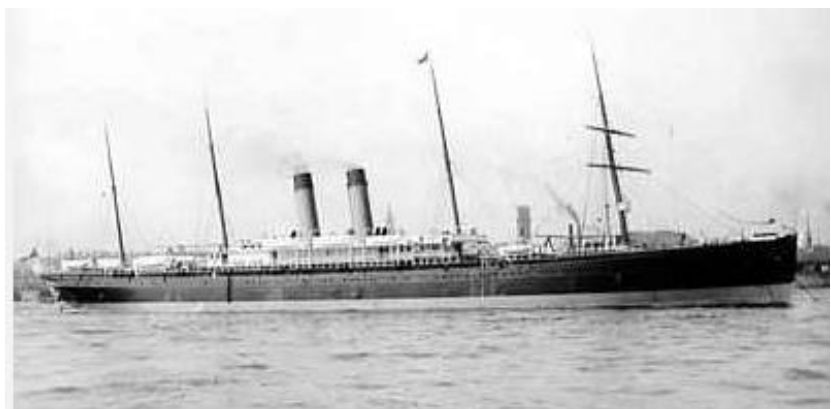


Figure 4. The steamship *Ottawa* sailing under the company "White Star", old photograph, ca. 1895

agency, who sold the tickets on credit to the passengers on *Ottawa*, in exchange of buying parcels of land in Texas upon which they could work and pay back their tickets to the company. But when the emigrants arrived to the U.S., no land was being sold in Texas, and the passengers were stranded in New York without a future destination (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977).

Other times, when passengers, bought a ticket, it only included the transport from Hamburg or Copenhagen to Hull, where they afterwards had to change boats Liverpool or Bristol to a transatlantic steamer. This meant that the passengers often had to take the train to another city, if they should reach the ship in time. When they arrived to the right location, the passengers would sometimes have to wait for weeks until the next ship was ready for the journey, with great chance of losing their baggage. The train journey and these unwanted halts were not included in the price, and could ruin families, who had not accounted for these extra expenses. When it was finally time to board the ship in Liverpool, some passengers would be left with an invalid ticket, because the agent would either have misspelled the passengers name, or simply forgotten to report their stay on the ship, leaving them stranded in England (Heinberg, 1938; Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977; Zinklar, 2009).

The transatlantic steamers were unhygienic and the food uneatable after the first week onboard the ship, far from the menu, which was described by the brochure from the agent. The second-class passengers would live very close together in double bunkbeds, often 200-350 passengers together in one big dark room with 3-4 toilets to share. If illnesses would spread during the journey, the ships would have an infirmary, but the crew would overcharge free medicine, since most of the passengers would not be able to read or understand German or English, which was the language spoken onboard (Zinklar, 2009; Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977; Thomsen, 2000; Madsen, 1912).

When the passengers finally reached America, the passengers were often being left on the dock on the emigrant *Ellis Island*, with no further assistance, from which they were later released, and left on their own to find transport themselves to their future home. If a passenger was deemed unfit to work, was sick, a female without a male provider in America, or without sufficient savings, they would be denied access to America and would immediately be shipped back to Europe (Zinklar, 2009).

Onboard living conditions 1868-1880

The Danish government sought it necessary to control the whereabouts and condition of the migrating citizens, and with the increasing complains from mistreated people in America, new migration laws were hastily signed by Christian IX May 1st, 1868 and adopted May 26th 1868, targeting the agencies and companies

selling tickets to the promised country. New improvements on the travel logistics were written in §8, which stated that the companies and their agents were imposed to:

(Roughly translated from 19th cen. Danish (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977, p. 8))

1. Give information on all migrating passengers concerning: their full name, date of birth, hometown, employment/education and future destination.
2. Inform about the company's travel arrangements, time of departure, from which and to what harbor they will leave and arrive, and if their accommodations are on or below deck, and if the passengers have been sufficiently provided during the whole trip.
3. Provide the name of the company and if possible the name of the ship including the departure from Europe, and if it's a wooden sailing packet or iron steamer.
4. Give a clarification of who is providing the accommodation and diet onboard, and in what state the food is served onboard for the customer.
5. Notify if luggage and other personal belongings are included in the fare.
6. Secure and provide future travel arrangements to the appointed location in case of wreckage.

English and German migration-agencies were still sending a constant flow of ships to the Baltic after 1868, and although in some aspects, the situation was improved in Danish waters, the Danish government had no control over the travel logistics and conditions onboard, when the ship left Denmark. It was well-known that bunk-beds were added to the already full third class, when the ship entered Norway, making room for additional passengers, and destroyed shortly before entering the harbor on Ellis Island (Zinklar, 2009).

Due to this law, the national archive is now in possession of 375.000 registered emigrants. 227.000 of these with their last address in Denmark, 103.000 of these foreigners traveling through Denmark, mainly from Sweden (81.000) and Russia (10.000), and additional 45.000 emigrants with Danish names, but with a foreign address in America. This includes the latter group were so-called "commuters", travelling between Europe and America, either because they wanted to bring their families with them to America, or they were businessmen travelling after the greatest economic boom. The term "tourist" is also used for the first time in Denmark in these files, showing that the western economy, was already strong enough in the late 19th cen. to support pleasure trips, visiting family or go "sightseeing" overseas (Bender, 2006).

Thingvalla

The opportunity for establishing a direct Scandinavian line was now profitable in the 1870's. Danish entrepreneurs saw the huge economic profit, that foreign companies had on shipping Scandinavians to America from harbors in Bremen and Hamburg. With a growing demand for Scandinavian speaking personnel and ships with respectable conditions from Danish migrators, a board was set with some of the leading members of Danish financial world: Bank manager Stephan Linnemann as chairman, Consul Ferdinand Wolff, ship owner Carl Frederik Stage, supreme court attorney and banker Rasmus Nyerup Strøm, and Frederich Wilhelm Kiørboe, who was elected the manager of the 800.000kr limited company *Post Dampskibs Selskabet Thingvalla*.⁵ The old part of the company from *Sejl- og Dampskibs Selskabet* was restocked into shares, and the "sick" part of the company, which was considered the sail packets, were sold. A 3436 ton steamship *Thingvalla*, built in 1873 on B&W, was bought from the new funds. This prior freight ship, was sail to Denmark from its voyages in East Asia, and refitted for 662 second class passengers and 9 first class passengers (Zinklar, 2009).

C. F. Tietgen, Theo. Koch, C.D. A. Hansen, F. J. Martins, F. Stage reinvested their old shares from the old company into the new, and with an additional funding of 700.000 kr., and later increased to 2.5 million kr. In 1881⁶, which mainly financed by C. F. Tietgen and his bank. Having the majority of the shares he then overtook the position as chairman of the board on November 9th 1880, while F. W. Kiørboe remained the manager and founder of the company (Thorsøe, 2001; Zinklar 2007, Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977; Thomsen, 2000). The intention was to have a fixed departure every second week culminating with a weekly departure when sufficient amount of ships was bought, but this was not financially possible at present. A departure every second week required 4 ships, and new ships had to be built. Two steamships *Geiser* and *Island* were ordered at Baumeister & Wains in Copenhagen while the third *Hekla* was ordered at *Kockums Shipyard* in Malmø, all three of them costing 1.050.000kr. each⁷ (Munchaus, 1997; Thorsøe 2001).

Harald during its service for Thingvalla

Harald was leased by *Thingvalla* and arrived to Copenhagen on March 7, 1880. The spare deck was refitted for 221 passengers second class passengers including two toilets on the middle deck and two on the main deck, while the cabins already present on the ship, were used for 10 first class passengers. The total

⁵ Translated: The Postal Steamship Company Thingvalla..

⁶ Thomsen mentions that the rise to 2.5million happened on Nov. 11 1880, while Munchaus and Lorentzen mentions 1881 (before April) and Zinklar mentions some time before Jan. 1882.

⁷ The material cost considered low in 1880-1881, resulting in an increasing number of larger steamships ordered in this period (Carl, 1949)

cost of the passenger accommodation ran up to 9.281.20 kr., before it was set into service. The total crew onboard consisted of 29 members, where only 2 of these were foreigners. These were divided into 1 captain, 3 officers/mates, 5 able seamen and 3 ordinary seamen on deck. Below deck there were 3 engineers, 6 stokers and 1 boiler smith in the engine compartment. The service area consisted of 1 steward, 2 chefs, 1 kitchen boy, 1 caretaker/waiter and 1 boy/runner (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977).

The intension was to lease *Harald* 4-6 months at a time together with another steamship *Asia* from A/S *Dampskibsselskabet* Kjøbenhavn, another company from which F. W. Kjørboe was a part of the board. Both ships were refitted for passenger transport and set into service, hoping that the ships *Island*, *Hekla* and *Geiser* would be ready as soon as possible. *Harald* was leased for 900£ for the freight lease plus 375£ for compensation to the *D. S. Carl A/S*, and if the ships were not ready, *Harald's* lease would extend 2 months at a time⁸ (Thorsøe, 2001; Thomsen 2000).

Both ships gave the company Thingvalla as loss. The income from *Harald* was 345,370.85 kr. in 1880, while the expenses came to 346,754.39 kr. excluding the 9,281.20 kr. for the passenger accommodation. A total loss of 10,665.74 kr. The loss is even higher in 1881. A loss of 35,574.58 kr. for *Harald* and 12,701.57 kr. for *Asia*. (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977; Thorsøe, 2001).

The thought was to have the main ship S/S Thingvalla ready for the departure on the company's maiden voyage. But, the ship was under repair, due to an engine wreckage, and it was not bought by the company D/S Thingvalla until March 30, when the ship was ready. Additionally, *Thingvalla* still needed to get

refitted for accommodation incl. first class cabins, and therefore it was not ready for departure until the end of April 1880 (Thorsøe, 2001).

The company had to take advantage from the rise of migrants travelling to America as fast as possible, and establish themselves as a reliable company, which meant that on March 12th 1880, *Harald* left the harbor in *Copenhagen* with 164 second class passengers and 2 cabin passengers for *New York* via *New Castle* for coal,

År	Danmark	Norge	Sverige
1880	1.261		
1881	2.531	1.072	
1882	4.989	4.569	1.585
1884	4.229	3.866	
1886	6.029	6.215	50
1887	7.890	6.153	
1888	6.261	5.155	
1889	3.820	2.376	
1890	4.258	2.212	
1891	5.993	3.562	
1894	2.429	2.032	1
1895	3.459	3.180	803
1896	3.373	2.701	
1897	2.249	1.711	56
Den procentvise fordeling er 55%			
		42%	3%

Figure 5. Scheme showing the dispersal of passengers from the different harbors

⁸ One trip took two months, which meant *Harald* was leased pr. trip. after the first 6 months.

and arrived to destination in New York on April 6th, 1880.⁹ The first Danish owned migration ship, with a direct line to *New York* (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977; Thorsøe, 2001).

No stops were done in *Gothenburg* or *Christiania* in 1880 taking up passengers, but while this changed from the next year, the majority of the passengers still consisted of either Danes or Norwegians. The lack of Swedes showing in the table could be, that the transport to *Copenhagen* was easier for the Swedes than going to *Gothenburg* and therefor they registered as departing from Denmark on the passenger list.

Harald sailed a total of 10 trips, before the contract was cancelled in November 9th 1881¹⁰. The accommodations were taken out of *Harald*, when the ship arrived to *Copenhagen* harbor, and on December 4th, *Harald* continued to *Riga* as a cargo ship for *D/S Carl*. As thanks for its service in *D/S Thingvalla*, Captain C. A. Bonde was given a 200-kr. bonus for his service. An amount considered half a month's lease for a captain¹¹ (Thorsøe, 2001). No wreckage or major maintenance have been registered in its short leasing period by *D/S Thingvalla*, and *D/S Carl* earned 56.029.00 kr. on the lease and profited from the deal in a period with low freight income (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977; Carl, 1949)

What role did Harald play in the migration stream?

First it is mentionable, that around 250.000 people had used *D/S Thingvalla* as their choice of transportation from 1880-1898, more than half of the total migration through Denmark and Norway was done through *D/S Thingvalla* in these years. If we then look at it from a Danish perspective, the impact of the migration is quite noticeable. With a population of 2.2 million citizens, more than 10,3% migrated in a period of 18 years leaving some Danish islands like *Bornholm* (17.7%) and *Langeland* (30%) without any skilled labor, since 2/3 of the migrators were men between 16- 29 years old.

Of these quarter million travelers, around 2000 thousand of these people migrated with *Harald* to the United States, and compared with the 17 million emigrants from 1820 to 1900, *Harald's* influence sounds small (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977; Thomsen, 2001). But due to the accumulation of Danes in specific regions, the impact on certain areas was quite strong, and the Danish heritage is still strong in those areas¹². (Thomsen, 2001) For those people living in these cities, their Danish heritage is still a part of the identity, when living in a country only 200 years old. Even though they have forgot the language, and most of the Danish culture, the uphold a national pride with which they combine with the new American culture. The

⁹ Thorsøe mentions the date as March 11, 1880, and mentions that it was a total of 155 passengers, while referring to sources writing a total of 166 passengers.

¹⁰ Thorsøe mentions the date as November 7., 1881.

¹¹ The average worker, was payed 20 øre an hour in 1880's (Thorsøe, 2009).

¹² Areas to mention are Iowa (15.510), Nebraska (14.397), Minnesota (14.133), Wisconsin (13.885), Illinois (12.044) og Utah (9.023). People moved along the railroad from Chicago, and settled in various enclaves, keeping some of national ties.

result is cities like Solvang in California and regions called *Little Denmarks'* in states as Michigan, Maine, South Carolina and even in Australia.

After the leasing from Thingvalla

Hans P. Carl does not go into specifics about the whereabouts of the ships after 1881 in his book, and he mentions, that hardly anything is written down in L. H. Carl's private letters or his "little black book". What is mentioned is that travels continued in the North Sea and Baltics, including the black sea, united states, Cuba and La Plata, but this includes all 10 ships, and does not clearly indicate all the locations the ships have been. If we look at the ledgers from 1887-1889, we see that Harald's shipping routes are mainly focused around the North Sea and Baltics, while the rest of the ships have longer route across the Indian, Chinese, Pacific and Atlantic oceans (Carl, 1887-1889).

A journalist from "Social-demokraten" wrote that on January 17th, 1883, that *Harald's* sister ship *Volmer* apparently had been caught by the authorities in San Francisco, smuggling 40 Chinese women into America. The women were apparently dressed up as Indians and sold as slaves to other Chinese citizens, now living in America. The journalist mentions, that the freight marked was low in this period, and the message from L. H. Carl to captain Thomas Heintzelmann (the previous Christian Heintzelmann's brother) was to take any cargo available. This also corresponds with Hans P. Carl's notes (Carl, 1949; Petersen, 2004). Taking jobs wherever possible was especially necessary on the long voyages, since these trips were very expensive to finance for the companies. When only small amounts of cargo were available and the shipping cost were pro ton. In these incidents legal and ethical questions were apparently ignored. Under these circumstances these people were probably charged as passengers and freighted in the cargo hull, since no additional accommodations were built on *Volmer*, and the ship had only room for 10 cabin passengers. (Carl p. 62, 1949; Petersen, p. 144, 2004; Marcussen, 2018).

Harald ended its days on Oct. 19th, 1889, around 3 nautical miles from *Bovbjerg fyr*. The hull ruptured in the engine compartment on its way from *New Castle* to *Kronstadt*, and the ship was abandoned shortly after with all crewmembers saved. The cargo of 1400 ton coal was lost. Adolph Carl writes in the Ledger from 1889, that the cargo was assured, when the ship wrecked, which secured a profit for the ship 9113,74kr on its last trip and a total profit of 41649,92kr for the whole year (Carl, 1949; Carl, 1889).

What goods did Harald transport?

From the first ledger mentioning *Harald* in 1876, the maiden voyage to *Reval* is defined as *passagerfragt* (passenger transport), from April 18th to April 24th. The ship's sea worthiness was probably tested during this trip, and cargo was then brought back from Estonia. But what cargo is brought back to Copenhagen on the April 27th is undefined, and this continues for 1876. What is defined is the fixed commission of 5% from the

cargo, which is divided into 1/3, which goes to shipping company and the other 1/3 to the Coal company Powell Duffeyn Co. and 1/3 to Andersen Becker Co. whose profession is not specified, but it could be a draper providing, tare, rope, food, water, beer and other vital products for the ship and crew, which shown in the books as expenditure, but not from whom (Carl, 1876). This could indicate, that the shipping company, was completely dependent on what the captain reported back and what he calculated as the appropriate commission for the cargo transport. This continues until the 1879 in the ledgers, where the only specific information the shipping company receives are the total earnings. This could also explain, why Volmer was able to transfer Chinese slaves in the cargo hull without administration knowing in 1883. The only specific information we receive about the ship's cargo content, is that a large content of the cargo during the *Merchant Express Line* consists of horses, cattle, cabbage, coal and passengers with *mobilias* in smaller quantities. When *Harald* continued its cargo transport after *Thingvalla*, a large quantity of the cargo consisted of different corn species - mainly linseed, buckwheat, wheat, oats and barley or a large coal transport ranging between 1400-1750 tons (Munchaus & Lorentzen 1977; Carl, 1887, 1888, 1889). This could indicate, that the freight marked had stabilized for D/S Carl in the late 1880's giving Harald a steady cargo route in its last years, but this is not reflected on the remaining steamships owned by D/S Carl, who continues to sail in the orient and on transatlantic cargo routes. Harald could be the exception of this company, and thus not representing the general cargo for this company or the whole freight marked in general. If so, further examinations of ledgers from other ships needs to be examined.

On-board Harald

The passenger's food did improve compared to the foreign companies, although the journey onboard these steam ships were still hard. On some foreign passenger ships a whole bread was given in the beginning of the trip, on other ship the bread was stocked from the harbor when boarding, and gradually this bread became moldier during this several week long trip, which resulted in people getting sick (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977). Bread was now baked from ovens onboard the Danish ships - including rye-bread (Zinklar, 2009). Though from the crew list we can see, that S/S *Harald* and S/S *Thingvalla* are the only two ships from the Danish company, who did not have an appointed baker onboard the ship. This could either mean, that these two ships would not have an oven baking bread onboard, or job of baking bread was a matter taken care of by the kitchen chefs already onboard the ship, which later was proved so comprehensive, that a position as a baker was necessary on other ships (Appendix 1).

The Danish journalist and writer Herman Bang wrote about his voyage onboard *Thingvalla* in "Nationaltidende" in 1881, travelling with the ship from Copenhagen to Christiania. He mentions, that the beds were tightly positioned but not uncomfortable, and people got organized and accustomed to their

temporary accommodations onboard. Sharp light came from 2 lanterns positioned for every 100 passengers bunked, which did not give much light. The air below deck was muggy and thick, and the smell was especially bad during bad weather, but everything was cleaned daily and sick individuals were isolated in the infirmary, reducing contamination. The noise must have been intolerable during daytime with running and playing kids between the bunkbeds, but the food was plenty and service was kind and in Danish.



Figure 6. Illustration of the middle deck on Northern Light. Illustration by R. Olsen. Illustreret Tidende 1868/69.

The meals were controlled by the ministry of justice in Denmark as well, giving minimum requirements of quantity and diversity with a minimum of 3 servings a day (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977). Herman Bang describes the food schedule on second class as: Breakfast consist of tea with sucker, with bread and butter ad libitum. Lunch is cabbage soup with beefsteak and bread. Other days the lunch consists of porridge, fish, cabbage and soup along meat as long as it's fresh. Live pigs and poultry is kept onboard for the cabin passengers, and they are served Danish delicatessens for lunch. During afternoon, coffee is served for all passengers. Herman Bang does not mention the dinner, but from this usually served cold, such as sausage,

cheese, different kinds of bread, with tea and sucker¹³ (Munchaus & Lorentzen , p. 51, 1977), see also appendix 2 for full menu). There is no seasickness while Herman Bang is onboard, but the doctor explains, that freshly caught herring was given as a treatment against sea sickness. One barrel could easily be eaten a day (Zinklar, p. 14, 2009).

It is not mentioned in any of the books, what the crew onboard Harald was served during its service at Thingvalla, including if this is the first- or second-class menu or something completely different. A part of the crew members are paid for their services in a ticket with additional salary (p. 11-12, Munchhaus & Lorentzen, 1977; p. 14, Zinklar 2009), and this could indicate, that they were served the same meals as the second-class passengers. But it is mentioned in the *D/S Thingvalla's* ledgers, that the crew is paid dietary remuneration according to rank, when in harbor (Appendix 3). This is due a large pressure on the kitchen personnel, when being in harbor. They simply did not have time to cook for the remaining crew, when they have to prepare, clean, order and get new food for the next trip. The division of remuneration could indicate, that the captain, leading officer, chief engineer, accountant and one undefined profession (could be the steward), who all received 3kr pr. day, ate on 1st class, with 1st cabin menu, when onboard the ship¹⁴, while the remaining officers and engineers, who get 2kr pr. day, eating accordingly to the 2nd cabin passengers, and the remaining staff, who got 1kr. pr. day, ate as the 2nd class passengers.

What is also mentioned in Hans P. Carl's book is, that the normal procedure on cargo ships was, that the captain paid for the food onboard his ship. He mentions an incident onboard *Olaf* where the Captain was so cheap, that he starved his crew onboard during trips. When L. H. Carl heard about this, he went onboard the ship and corrected the captain in such a way, that the crew never went to bed hungry from that day (p. 110, Carl, 1949).

Next chapter: Introduction to Harald's construction- and history

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¹⁴ It is well known, that the 1st class, 1st cabin passengers pays extra, for dining at the captain's table.

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(Figure 5) “Table 3” on p. 137, Thingvalla linien; København – New York for 60 kroner, Finn Zinklar, Forlaget Frother (2009)

(Figure 6) *Illustration of the middle deck on Northern Light.*, by R. Olsen. *Illustreret Tidende* 1868/69. From p. 10, Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977.

Appendixes

Appendix 1

The list of crewmembers on *D/S Thingvallas* ships. The list underneath is a collection of the crew lists from 1880 and 1890 on all ships (Munchaus & Lorentzen, 1977). They mention, that the draft is edited from the ledgers kept on the national archive, and the specific crew list is only kept for every ten years. When I went to check, if this was true, I could confirm, that the remaining years ledgers only contained a total expense on personnel salary (*gage*). This list from Munchaus and Lorentzen is thus a summary of those two notes.

	Thingvalla	Harald	Geiser	Hekla (1)	Island	Heimdal	Hekla (2)	Danmark	Norge	Amerika
Skibsførere	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Styrmænd	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4
Tømmermand	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lampemand			1	1	1		1	1	1	1
Bådsmand	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Matroser	6	5	8	8	8	8	8	8	10	10
Letmatroser	2	3	2	2	2		2	2	2	2
Ungmænd	2			2	3		2	2	2	2
Drenge										2
Volonteur	1									
Maskinmestre	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4
Maskinassistent	1		3	3	3	1	3	3	3	6
Donkeymand			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Overfyrbøder			1	1	1			1		
Fyrbøder	9	6	6							18
Lemper			4							12
Fyrbøder/lemper				10	10	9	13	12	13	
Kedelsmed		1								
Storekeeper										1
Regnskabsfører			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Forvalter									1	
Hovmester	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1
Proviantmester								1	1	1
Kokke	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
Koksmather	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
Bager			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Opvarter	1	1	4	4	12	7	11	8	9	31
Støvlepudser										1
Drenge	1	1			1	1	2	1	1	2
Jomfruer			1	1	1		1		1	
Totalt antal	36	29	48	51	62	44	62	58	61	118
Heraf udlændinge	5	2	3	10	4	13	7	19	8	56

Appendix 2

The accommodation onboard D/S Thingvalla. From the 1887, brochure, from the Danish National Archive (Thomsen, p.139, 2001). The full 3 page explanation can be found in the State Archive, in the book:

“Instruktioner m.m. udstedte til regnskabførerne”, 05085 A/S Dampsselskabet Thingvalla, 1886-1888, Rejsebog, Erhvervsarkivet.

DAMPSKIBSSELSKABET THINGVALLA.

11

Iste Kahyt

er i enhver Henseende komfortabelt og hyggeligt indrettet for Passagererne.

Forpleiningen bestaar af:

Kl. 6^{1/2}—8 Morgen: Thee eller Kaffe med Biscuits, Tvebakker.

Kl. 10 Frokost, bestaaende af et velforsynet koldt Bord med 2 Retter varm Mad.

Kl. 2^{1/2} Middag, bestaaende af 3 Retter Mad, samt Dessert, Frugt og Kaffe.

Kl. 7 Aftensmad, bestaaende af koldt Bord med en varm Ret samt The.

Der findes ombord et Bibliothek til Afbenyttelse for Passagererne. Ligeledes findes særskilt Damsalon, Rygeværelse og Badeværelse.

Til Passagerernes Betjening er ansat saavel mandlige som kvindelige Opvartere.

2den Kahyt

(Hokla & Thingvalla)

og

3die Kahyt

(Island & Geisor)

er i Forhold til Passageprisen bekvemt indrettet og bestaar Forpleiningen af:

Kl. 6—7 Morgen: Thee eller Kaffe med Brød.

Kl. 8 Frokost: koldt Bord med en varm Ret.

Kl. 12 Middag: 2 Retter varm Mad.

Kl. 6 Aften: koldt Bord med The.

Ista klass

är i alla afseenden komfortabelt och trefligt inrättad för passagerarna.

Serveringen består af:

Kl. 6^{1/2}—8 på morgonen: te eller kaffe med diverse sorter bakelser.

Kl. 10 frukost, bestående af rikligt kallskuret och två rätter varm mat.

Kl. 2^{1/2} middag, bestående af tre rätter mat, dessert, frukt och kaffe.

Kl. 7 aftonmåltid, bestående af kallskuret och en varm rätt samt te.

Det finnes om bord ett bibliotek att användas af passagerarna; likaledes finnes särskild damsalong, samt rökrum och badkammare.

Till passagerarnes betjening äro anställda så väl manliga som kvinnliga upppassare.

2dra klass

(Hokla & Thingvalla)

och

3dje klass

(Island & Geisor)

äro i förhållande till passagepriset bekvämt inredda, och består serveringen af:

Kl. 6—7 på morgonen: te eller kaffe med bröd.

Kl. 8 frukost: kallskuret och en varm rätt.

Kl. 12 middag: två rätter varm mat.

Kl. 6 aftonmåltid: kallskuret och te.

Appendix 3

The dietary remuneration list, telling that due to lack of control and time for preparation from the Kitchen crew when in land, the remain crew is given dietary remuneration, in order to give the kitchen enough time to prepare for the next trip.

“Instruktioner m.m. udstedte til regnskabførerne”, 05085 A/S Dampsselskabet Thingvalla, 1886-1888, Rejsebog, Erhvervsarkivet.

