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From the Selected Works of Robert M. Jarvis

January, 2018

The Maritime Origins of Sherlock Holmes

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The Maritime Origins of Sherlock Holmes

Robert M. Jarvis*

I INTRODUCTION

This year (2018) marks the 125th anniversary of the publication of Dr. (later Sir) Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Adventure of the Gloria Scott*.¹ Set during Sherlock Holmes's brief time in college,²

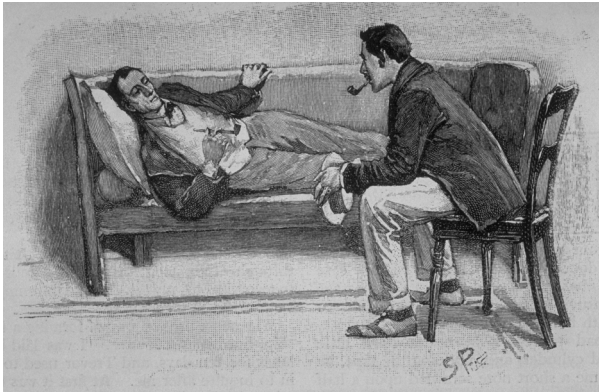
*Professor of Law, Nova Southeastern University (jarvisb@nova.edu). Member of the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Maritime Law and Commerce*. This piece has had an unusually long gestation, during which I received help from many quarters. I am particularly grateful to Timothy J. Johnson, the E.W. McDiarmid Curator of the Sherlock Holmes Collections at the University of Minnesota's Elmer L. Andersen Library; Alison Rosenberg, the Assistant Director for Research & Reference at the Panza Maurer Law Library at the Shepard Broad College of Law; and Katie Kaplan (Goldberg), who served as my 2008-09 research assistant.

¹*The Adventure of the 'Gloria Scott'* was published in April 1893 in THE STRAND MAGAZINE with illustrations by Sidney Paget (several are reproduced herein) and in HARPER'S WEEKLY (April 15) with illustrations by W.H. Hyde. The story was published in THE MEMOIRS OF SHERLOCK HOLMES December 13, 1893 by George Newnes of London and February 2, 1894 by Harper & Brothers in New York. It is unknown if the [original] manuscript [of] the story still exists." The Diogenes Club, *A Brief Note About the Adventure of the Gloria Scott*, at <http://www.diogenes-club.com/glorinfo.htm>. As explained infra notes 50–53 and accompanying text, reprints of the story (both free and fee-based, and both on-line and in print) are easy to find.

²When writing about Holmes, it is customary to treat him as though he were a real person:

In his review of a collection of Holmes stories, T.S. Eliot observes, "[P]erhaps the greatest of the Sherlock Holmes mysteries is this: that when we talk of him we invariably fall into the fancy of his existence." Despite the fact that Holmes is undoubtedly a fictional character, even the most scholarly writings on his adventures regularly discuss him without the faintest acknowledgment that those adventures never actually occurred. This pleasant scholarly delusion is not confined to a few eccentric authors; even famous figures like Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Dorothy L. Sayers offer perfectly serious theories on details of the detective's life. . . .

Corey Hayes, *The Adventure of the Immortal Detective: Adaptation and Audience Investment in the Cases of Sherlock Holmes*, 7 (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Liberty University, 2016) (footnote omitted), available at <http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/cgi/>



Sherlock Holmes (reclining on couch) telling Dr. John H. Watson about the case of the Gloria Scott (illustration by Sidney Paget, from The Strand Magazine (April 1893)) (courtesy of Time Life Pictures/Mansell/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images)

it is one of only two entries in the Holmes canon³ that occurs before Holmes met Dr. John H. Watson⁴ and formed literature's most famous crime-fighting partnership.⁵ It also is the story that speaks

viewcontent.cgi?article=1405&context=masters. See also *Sherlockian Game*, WIKIPEDIA: THE FREE ENCYCLOPEDIA, at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sherlockian_game ("The Sherlockian game (also known as the Holmesian game, the Great Game or simply the Game) is the pastime of attempting to resolve anomalies and clarify implied details about Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson from the fifty-six short stories and four novels that make up the Sherlock Holmes Canon by Arthur Conan Doyle. [The game] treats Holmes and Watson as real people and uses aspects of the canonical stories combined with the history of the era of the tales' composition to construct fanciful biographies of the pair.").

³"[T]he term 'canon' is an attempt to distinguish between Doyle's original works and subsequent works by other authors using the same characters." *Canon of Sherlock Holmes*, WIKIPEDIA: THE FREE ENCYCLOPEDIA, at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canon_of_Sherlock_Holmes. For a further discussion, see, e.g., THE APOCRYPHA OF SHERLOCK HOLMES (Leslie S. Klinger ed., 2009); Peter Ridgway Watt & Joseph Green, THE ALTERNATIVE SHERLOCK HOLMES: PASTICHES, PARODIES, AND COPIES (2003).

In 1947, the noted Sherlockian Jay Finley Christ gave all of the stories in the canon a unique abbreviation (based on the first four letters of their titles) to make referencing them easy and uniform. See <https://www.arthur-conan-doyle.com/index.php?title=Canon:Abbreviations>. The *Gloria Scott's* identifier is "GLOR." For a complete list of the abbreviations, see *Publication Order of Sherlock Holmes Stories by Arthur Conan Doyle*, at <http://www.angelfire.com/ks/landzastanza/publication.html>. For more about the canon, see *The Original Stories*, at <http://www.sherlockian.net/canon/>.

⁴The other such story is *The Adventure of the Musgrave Ritual*, which was published one month after the *Gloria Scott*. While the *Gloria Scott* is considered one of Doyle's poorer efforts, the *Musgrave Ritual* generally is viewed as one of his finest. See, e.g., CHRISTOPHER REDMOND, SHERLOCK HOLMES HANDBOOK 21 (2d ed. 2009).

⁵It would be difficult to overstate the pair's cultural impact:

most directly to maritime lawyers, involving, as it does, a mutiny aboard one ship and a rescue by another.

II PLOT

The *Gloria Scott* is a blackmail tale⁶ that clocks in at 7,892 words.⁷ Its plot can be summarized as follows. In 1855, an uprising

Though not the first fictional detective, Sherlock Holmes is arguably the most well-known, with Guinness World Records listing him as the “most portrayed movie character” in history. Holmes’s popularity and fame are such that many have believed him to be not a fictional character but a real individual; numerous literary and fan societies have been founded that pretend to operate on this principle. Widely considered a British cultural icon, the character and stories have had a profound and lasting effect on mystery writing and popular culture as a whole, with both the original tales as well as thousands written by authors other than Conan Doyle being adapted into stage and radio plays, television, films, video games, and other media for over one hundred years.

Sherlock Holmes, WIKIPEDIA: THE FREE ENCYCLOPEDIA, at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sherlock_Holmes.

In 2009, the duo was introduced to a new generation when Warner Bros. released *Sherlock Holmes*, starring Robert Downey Jr. as Holmes and Jude Law as Watson. In 2011, Downey and Law reprised their roles in the sequel *Sherlock Holmes: A Game of Shadows*. Each movie grossed \$500 million. A further installment (dubbed *Sherlock Holmes 3*) currently is under development. See Justin Kroll, *Warner Bros. and Team Downey Set Writers’ Room for ‘Sherlock Holmes 3,’* VARIETY, Oct. 27, 2016, at <http://movieweb.com/sherlock-holmes-3-robert-downey-jr-guy-ritchiel/>.

Holmes and Watson also appear in two current television series: *Sherlock* (a BBC offering that debuted in 2010 and stars Benedict Cumberbatch as Holmes and Martin Freeman as Watson) and *Elementary* (a CBS show that premiered in 2012 with Jonny Lee Miller as Holmes and, in a twist, Lucy Liu as Joan Watson). See Michael Starr & Sara Stewart, *‘Elementary’ vs. ‘Sherlock’: Who’s the Better Holmes?*, N.Y. POST, Jan. 16, 2014, at <http://nypost.com/2014/01/16/elementary-vs-sherlock-whos-the-better-holmes/>.

For a further discussion, see, e.g., MATTIAS BOSTROM, *FROM HOLMES TO SHERLOCK* (2017); ZACH DUNDAS, *THE GREAT DETECTIVE: THE AMAZING RISE AND IMMORTAL LIFE OF SHERLOCK HOLMES* (2015); ROGER JOHNSON & JEAN UPTON, *THE SHERLOCK HOLMES MISCELLANY* (2012). See also DONALD A. REDMOND, *SHERLOCK HOLMES: A STUDY IN SOURCES* (1982).

⁶Blackmail is a popular canon subject. See further Ross E. Davies, *Holmes, Coase & Blackmail*, 18 GREEN BAG 2D 93 (2014).

⁷See *Sherlockian.Net: The ‘Gloria Scott,’* at <http://www.sherlockian.net/canon/stories/glor.html>. This makes it an “average length” Holmes story. See Frank Mentzel, *Data! Data! Data!—The Gloria Scott*, Oct. 2, 2015, at <http://fourthgarrideb.com/2015/10/data-data-data-the-gloria-scott/> (“At 7,892 words GLOR has the 28th most words (#1 is VEIL—4,499, #56 is NAVL—12,701)”).

takes place aboard the barque GLORIA SCOTT,⁸ an English convict ship headed to Australia.⁹ The attack has been arranged

⁸In a speech urging his House colleagues to vote for a proposed bill exempting the Mississippi riverboat DELTA QUEEN from various federal safety requirements due to her age, Representative David W. Dennis II (R-Ind.) confused Doyle's GLORIA SCOTT with Mark Twain's WALTER SCOTT, which appears in the *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884): "Many of us will recall Huckleberry Finn and Jim climbing aboard the *Gloria Scott*." 116 CONG. REC. H-41520 (daily ed. Dec. 15, 1970). According to one commentator, the GLORIA SCOTT's name pays homage to one of Watson's earliest loves:

[William S.] Baring-Gould[, the foremost authority on Sherlock Holmes,] quotes Richard W. Clarke in "On the Nomenclature of Watson's Ships" as saying that "Gloria Scott . . . (was a) former childhood sweetheart whom Watson endeavored to honor in his sentimental way; hoping, no doubt, that their eyes would see the printed page where their names appeared."

THE SHERLOCK HOLMES ILLUSTRATED CYCLOPEDIA OF NAUTICAL KNOWLEDGE 67–68 (Walter W. Jaffee ed., 2009) [hereinafter *Nautical Cyclopedias*].

⁹Under normal circumstances, a ship like the GLORIA SCOTT would not have been used to transport prisoners:

It was the year '55 when the Crimean war was at its height, and the old convict ships had been largely used as transports in the Black Sea. The government was compelled, therefore, to use smaller and less suitable vessels for sending out their prisoners. The *Gloria Scott* had been in the Chinese tea-trade, but she was an old-fashioned, heavy-bowed, broad-beamed craft, and the new clippers had cut her out. She was a five-hundred-ton boat; and besides her thirty-eight jail-birds, she carried twenty-six of a crew, eighteen soldiers, a captain, three mates, a doctor, a chaplain, and four warders. Nearly a hundred souls were in her, all told, when we set sail from Falmouth.

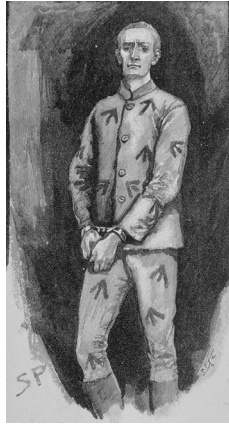
The partitions between the cells of the convicts, instead of being of thick oak, as is usual in convict-ships, were quite thin and frail.

Gloria Scott, supra note 1. The GLORIA SCOTT's physical characteristics are discussed further in NAUTICAL CYCLOPEDIA, supra note 8, at 68; "Captain" Jack Crelling, *The Nautical Holmes—Some Notes on the Adventure of the Gloria Scott*, 25 CAMDEN HOUSE J. 2 (June 2003).

In what surely is one of the most convoluted law review footnotes ever written, an article comparing health insurance in the United States to the Crimean War (itself a questionable analogy) uses the *Gloria Scott* to justify an earlier reference to one of the canon's other stories:

The source of this metaphor is Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's short story *Silver Blaze*. SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE, *Silver Blaze*, in THE MEMOIRS OF SHERLOCK HOLMES 1, 1–44 (D. Appleton & Co. 1902) (1893). Holmes surmises that no stranger was present at a racing stable because "[t]he dog did nothing in the night-time," *id.* at 34, leading him to conclude that a groom was killed by the eponymous racehorse while trying to steal it, *id.* at 40. For readers who might feel that this digression into Victorian literature is a perfect example of how law review articles love to cite tangential material, please rest assured that there is a substantive

and financed by a prisoner named Jack Prendergast, who has organized the convicts, bribed the crew, and smuggled guns onto the vessel.



Prisoner Jack Prendergast in his prison uniform (illustration by Sidney Paget, from The Strand Magazine (April 1893)) (courtesy of Time Life Pictures/Mansell/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images)

In the midst of the takeover, several of the mutineers get cold feet. Prendergast, although angry, agrees to spare their lives and sets them adrift in a small boat. Moments later, the GLORIA SCOTT blows up when a misdirected bullet (or possibly a match) ignites a barrel of gunpowder. One seaman, named Hudson, survives the explosion and is rescued by the castoffs

The next day, the HOTSPUR,¹⁰ a brig bound for Australia, comes upon the boat. The men in it claim to be passengers from a

connection. A subsequent chapter of the same book tells the story of a prison break aboard a convict ship bound for Australia, which only occurred because the better secured vessels usually employed for such purposes were being used for transporting troops in the Black Sea, as “[i]t was the year [18]55, when the Crimean war was at its height.” SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE, *The “Gloria Scott,”* in *THE MEMOIRS OF SHERLOCK HOLMES*, *supra*, at 108, 129.

William M. Sage, *Managed Care’s Crime: Medical Necessity, Therapeutic Benefit, and the Goals of Administrative Process in Health Insurance*, 53 *DUKE L.J.* 597, 602 n.18 (2003).

¹⁰As has been noted elsewhere, the HOTSPUR was an actual ship:

This was something of a famous ship among the clippers of the 1860s and 70s. . . . The real *Hotspur* was a full-rigged clipper built at the Tyne yard of T. & W. Smith in 1851. She could easily have picked up the crew of the *Gloria Scott* in 1855, for she had been running four years at that time. Described as having “plenty of



Seaman Hudson being rescued (illustration by Sidney Paget, from The Strand Magazine (April 1893)) (courtesy of Time Life Pictures/Mansell/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images)

vessel that sank off the coast of Africa and are accepted as such. Upon reaching Sydney, they find work as gold miners, grow rich, and later return to England using their assumed identities.

In 1874,¹¹ while visiting a classmate (Victor Trevor Jr.) in Donnithorpe during a school holiday,¹² Holmes becomes caught up in the mutiny's messy aftermath. Eventually, he realizes that a nonsensical note actually is a coded message, and that by reading every third word it says: "The game is up. Hudson has told all. Fly for your life." This is meant as a warning to Victor's father, Justice of the Peace Victor Trevor Sr. Years earlier, as James Armitage, he had been convicted of embezzlement while working at a bank and consigned to the *GLORIA SCOTT*, where he became a last-minute participant in the uprising and was one of the men who got

deadrise, bluff bows and a fine run," she measured 1,142 tons and was 165' 7" long with a beam of 33' 6" and a draft of 22' 9". She was owned by Blackwall Line. Her best average speed was about 12 knots.

NAUTICAL CYCLOPEDIA, *supra* note 8, at 84–85.

¹¹Because Doyle does not actually provide the year, some sources think Holmes's visit took place in 1875 or 1876. See further *infra* note 23.

¹²A recent book helpfully describes the many places to which Holmes travels in the story. See THOMAS BRUCE WHEELER, *THE LONDON OF SHERLOCK HOLMES*, 27–29 (2011) (discussing such locations as Admiralty House, Bishopsgate Terminus, and Montague Street). See also Paul Hayes, *Sherlock Holmes: Early Adventures Set in Norfolk, Research Suggests*, BBC NEWS, Aug. 26, 2013, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-norfolk-23808837>.



*Sherlock Holmes (left) reading to Dr. John H. Watson the coded message that caused Victor Trevor Sr. to have a stroke (illustration by Sidney Paget, from *The Strand Magazine* (April 1893)) (courtesy of Time Life Pictures/Mansell/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images)*

cold feet.¹³ The note's sender is Trevor Sr.'s former shipmate and fellow mutineer Evans, who now uses the name Beddoes.¹⁴

Doyle leaves the story's ending uncertain. While he makes it clear that Trevor Sr. died from a stroke caused by the note's

¹³The Sherlock Holmes Museum in London features a wax figure of Armitage dressed in his prison garb. For a photograph, see http://literature.wikia.com/wiki/The_Adventure_of_the_Gloria_Scott.

¹⁴Except for Evans, Doyle says nothing about the other men who were set adrift. According to one commentator, this omission was intentional:

When James Armitage and Evans survived the rebellion and explosion on the *Gloria Scott* and were rescued by the *Hotspur*, they were not the only men in their lifeboat. Five prisoners and three sailors accompanied them as they shoved off from the *Gloria Scott* in the fashion of Captain Bligh of the *Bounty*.

Trevor never mentions the names of the three prisoners or three sailors. Or did he? I think he did and Holmes held back this information. One of those prisoners was none other than Hubert Wilson, convicted of public drunkenness, breaking into pawnshops, and spitting in the Underground. Holmes knew his true name and withheld it from Watson. Trevor had mentioned it but Holmes did not want to cause Watson any pain and so held back this damning information. What Holmes knew is that the third prisoner had changed his name as did Armitage and Trevor. And Wilson, Holmes also knew, from Trevor's document, had changed his name to Watson and was none other than the father of John Hamish and Herman Watson.

E.A. (Bud) Livingston, Some of my Favorite Sherlockian Things: A Compendium of Pawky and Outré Mongraphs, Posts, and Whatnots 10–11 (2016).

message (after first leaving a long, written confession so that his son will know the truth), Doyle has the police guessing that Hudson killed Beddoes while Holmes theorizes that Beddoes murdered Hudson and then took off for parts unknown. Either way, neither Beddoes nor Hudson are ever heard from again.¹⁵

III INSPIRATION

Although it is the 19th story in the canon, the *Gloria Scott* is Holmes's first case¹⁶ and the one that sets him on the path to

¹⁵For an alternate ending to the story, see Bob Byrne, *The Public Life of Sherlock Holmes: The Gloria Scott—The Real Story*, May 23, 2016, at <https://www.blackgate.com/2016/05/23/the-public-life-of-sherlock-holmes-the-gloria-scott-the-real-story/>. For another such effort, see “FinalProblem,” *The Adventure of the Gloria Scott*, Nov. 2, 2013, at <http://finalproblem.tumblr.com/post/65767835678/the-adventure-of-the-gloria-scott>.

According to a widely-circulated, but obviously apocryphal, anecdote, Doyle once “sent similar telegrams to a dozen prominent men, all of whom packed up and left town immediately. [The telegram read:] FLEE AT ONCE—ALL IS DISCOVERED.” Sam Roberts, *Dot-Dot-Dot, Dash-Dash-Dash, No More*, N.Y. TIMES, Feb. 12, 2006, at C7. A different version of the same anecdote claims it was one of Doyle's friends who came up with the idea, that he sent just one telegram, that the recipient was an archdeacon of seemingly impeccable character, and that upon receiving it he “disappeared and has never been heard of since.” “*Fly at Once*,” OSWEGO (N.Y.) DAILY TIMES, Oct. 13, 1897, at 7.

¹⁶*Gloria Scott*, supra note 1 (“Watson: ‘But why did you say just now that there were very particular reasons why I should study this case?’ Holmes: ‘Because it was the first in which I was ever engaged.’”).

In 2008, a new quarterly called *Sherlock Holmes Mystery Magazine* debuted. In introducing it, its editor wrote:

For those readers (if such exist) who are not familiar with the original sixty Sherlock Holmes adventures, cases and memoirs, *Sherlock Holmes Mystery Magazine* intends to reprint one each issue, beginning with *The “Gloria Scott”* . . . [I]t is offered first in this magazine because it is, in effect, Sherlock Holmes's very first case.

The nautical theme of *The “Gloria Scott”* is echoed in the other Holmes tale in these pages. “The Strange Case of the Haunted Freighter,” a brand new Holmes adventure with occult overtones . . . was written especially for *Sherlock Holmes Mystery Magazine* by Carole Buggé, author of numerous Sherlock Holmes tales. . . .

Marvin Kaye, *From Watson's Scrapbook*, 1 SHERLOCK HOLMES MYSTERY MAG., 3, 9 (Winter 2008).

becoming a professional detective.¹⁷ Doyle never explained why he chose a nautical calamity to launch Holmes's career,¹⁸ but three

¹⁷*Gloria Scott*, supra note 1 (“Holmes: ‘And that recommendation [by Trevor Sr.], with its exaggerated estimate of my ability which with he prefaced it, was, if you will believe me, Watson, the very first thing which ever made me feel that a profession might be made out of what had up to that time been a merest hobby.’”). Trevor Sr.’s life-altering suggestion (id.: “I don’t know how you manage this, Mr. Holmes, but it seems to me that all the detectives of fact and of fancy would be children in your hands. That’s your line of life, sir, and you may take the word of a man who has seen something of the world.”) is discussed further in, e.g., *THE SHERLOCK HOLMES BOOK: BIG IDEAS SIMPLY EXPLAINED*, 116 (Alexandra Beeden ed., 2015); STEVEN DOYLE & DAVID A. CROWDER, *SHERLOCK HOLMES FOR DUMMIES*, 89 (2010); DANIEL SMITH, *THE SHERLOCK HOLMES COMPANION: AN ELEMENTARY GUIDE*, 84 (2009).

One commentator has insisted (unconvincingly) that Holmes did not become a detective because of Trevor Sr.:

To this chance remark Holmes traced the beginning of his career. Perhaps, by the time he confided this version of events to Watson, he had himself come to believe the story but the evidence suggests that he was being disingenuous. It seems more likely that Holmes drifted into his life’s work rather than making a conscious decision to become a consulting detective.

NICK RENNISON, *SHERLOCK HOLMES: THE UNAUTHORIZED BIOGRAPHY*, 32–33 (2005). A recent novel similarly ignores the information contained in the *Gloria Scott*. After reimagining Holmes as a woman named Charlotte, it has her become a detective after a series of unfortunate events leaves her with no other way to support herself. See SHERRY THOMAS, *A STUDY IN SCARLET WOMEN* (2016) (the title refers to both the canon’s first entry, *A Study in Scarlet* (1887), and Charlotte’s ruined reputation).

¹⁸Doyle’s autobiography, entitled *Memories and Adventures*, was published in 1924. For biographies of Doyle (1859–1930), see, e.g., JON L. LELLENBERG ET AL., *ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE: A LIFE IN LETTERS* (2007); ANDREW LYCETT, *THE MAN WHO CREATED SHERLOCK HOLMES: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE* (2007); DANIEL STASHOWER, *TELLER OF TALES: THE LIFE OF ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE* (1999); MARTIN BOOTH, *THE DOCTOR, THE DETECTIVE AND ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE: A BIOGRAPHY OF ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE* (1997); MICHAEL COREN, *CONAN DOYLE* (1995); JOHN DICKSON CARR, *THE LIFE OF SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE* (1949).

In *The Adventure of the Sussex Vampire* (1924), Doyle did comment briefly on the *Gloria Scott*:

“Matilda Briggs was not the name of a young woman, Watson,” said Holmes in a reminiscent voice. “It was a ship which is associated with the giant rat of Sumatra, a story for which the world is not yet prepared. But what do we know about vampires? Does it come within our purview either? Anything is better than stagnation, but really we seem to have been switched on to a Grimms’ fairy tale. Make a long arm, Watson, and see what V has to say.”

I leaned back and took down the great index volume to which he referred. Holmes balanced it on his knee, and his eyes moved slowly and lovingly over the record of old cases, mixed with the accumulated information of a lifetime.

reasons can be suggested: 1) as a former ship's surgeon,¹⁹ Doyle frequently included vessels in his stories;²⁰ 2) a mutiny was a sure-

"Voyage of the *Gloria Scott*," he read. "That was a bad business. I have some recollection that you made a record of it, Watson, though I was unable to congratulate you upon the result. . . ."

Exactly why Holmes felt the *Gloria Scott* was "bad business" and "was unable to congratulate" Watson on his write-up of the case is open to speculation. Moreover, as has been pointed out elsewhere, listing the *Gloria Scott* under the letter "V" (rather than "G" or "S") is a rather odd bit of alphabetization. See S.C. ROBERTS, HOLMES & WATSON: A MISCELLANY 13 (1953) (calling the choice "exasperating . . . for anyone wanting information about the *Gloria Scott*. . .").

Doyle referenced the *Gloria Scott* in two other stories, both published in 1893: *The Adventure of the Musgrave Ritual* ("You may remember how the affair of the *Gloria Scott*, and my conversation with the unhappy man whose fate I told you of, first turned my attention in the direction of the profession which has become my life's work.") and *The Adventure of the Resident Patient* ("The small matter which I have chronicled under the heading of 'A Study in Scarlet,' and that other later one connected with the loss of the *Gloria Scott*, may serve as examples of this Scylla and Charybdis which are forever threatening the historian.").

¹⁹In the summer of 1880, just before his final year of medical school at the University of Edinburgh, Doyle served as the doctor aboard the whaler HOPE during its journey to Greenland. At the time, doing so was a common way for medical students to gain practical experience. See Chris Routledge, *Arthur Conan Doyle's Arctic Whaling Journals*, Aug. 7, 2012, at <https://chrisroutledge.co.uk/2012/08/07/arthur-conan-doyle-arctic-whaling-journals/> ("At least as far back as the early nineteenth century a voyage on an Arctic whaler was a kind of informal internship for young doctors."). In 1881, following his graduation from medical school, Doyle again served as a ship's surgeon, this time on the steamer MAYUMBA during a trip to West Africa. In his autobiography, see *supra* note 18, Doyle wrote extensively about his experiences at sea. See chs. 4 (discussing the HOPE) and 5 (discussing the MAYUMBA). As Doyle makes clear, he greatly enjoyed the HOPE but hated the MAYUMBA.

While aboard the HOPE, Doyle kept a detailed journal. In 2012, it was published along with extensive editorial notes. See ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE, *DAUGHTERLY WORK: DIARY OF AN ARCTIC ADVENTURE* (Jon Lellenberg & Daniel Stashower eds., 2012).

²⁰In addition to the *Gloria Scott*, ships are central to the plots of such stories as *The Five Orange Pips* (1891) (LONE STAR), *The Adventure of the Cardboard Box* (1893) (CONQUEROR and MAY DAY), and *The Adventure of Black Peter* (1904) (SEA UNICORN).

In *The Five Orange Pips*, Watson mentions, but does not tell, the story of "the loss of the British barque *Sophy Anderson*." See further SANDOR JAY SONNEN, *THE SOPHY ANDERSON* (2016). Likewise, in *The Adventure of the Norwood Builder* (1903), Watson alludes to "the shocking affair of the Dutch steamship *Friesland*, which so nearly cost us both our lives." For my guess as to its details, see Multiple Authors, *The Adventure of the Norwood Builder: A Lawyerly Annotated Edition*, 5 J.L.: PERIODICAL LAB. LEGAL SCHOLARSHIP 235, 244 n.36 (2015) (suggesting that the case actually involved a different ship called the SPAARNDAM and its effort, in 1890, to reach the United States before a new tariff on imported tobacco took effect).

fire way to attract readers and hold their attention;²¹ and, 3) England's controversial use of convict ships was still fresh enough in the public's mind in 1893 to make it a relatable backdrop.²²

For a further look at the canon's ships, see, e.g., THE CANONICAL SHIP ART OF WILLIAM R. WALSH (Walter W. Jaffee ed., 2016); NAUTICAL CYCLOPEDIA, *supra* note 8; K.V. "Ginger" Aldrich, *Transport—Ships*, THE OCULAR HELMSMAN, at http://www.jadedcompass.com/ocular_helmsman/transport/ships.html.

²¹Many other writers have used mutinies as plot devices for this same reason. See, e.g., ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON, TREASURE ISLAND (1883); JACK LONDON, THE MUTINY OF THE ELSINORE (1914); HERMAN MELVILLE, BILLY BUDD, SAILOR (1924); HERMAN WOUK, THE CAINE MUTINY (1951); C.S. FORESTER, LIEUTENANT HORNBLOWER (1952); PATRICK O'BRIAN, POST CAPTAIN (1972); DAVID WEBER, MUTINEERS' MOON (1991); PATRICIA SHAW, THE FIVE WINDS (2002). To this list one could add such movies as *Mutiny!* (1952) (starring Angela Lansbury and directed by Edward Dmytryk), *Pirates* (1986) (written by Roman Polanski and starring Walter Matthau), and *Crimson Tide* (1995) (starring Gene Hackman and Denzel Washington).

It is believed by some that Doyle based the *Gloria Scott* on the 1829 mutiny of the convict ship CYPRUS, "in which some convicts refused to take part. Two rowed away—and the captain who picked them up was named Hudson." Beeden, *supra* note 17, at 119. This seems quite likely, especially if Doyle was acquainted with Marcus Clarke's 1874 novel, *For the Term of His Natural Life*, which includes a fictionalized account of the CYPRUS mutiny. For a non-fictional look at the uprising, see FRANK CLUNE & P.R. STEPHENSEN, THE PIRATES OF THE BRIG CYPRUS (1962).

²²Between 1787 (some sources say 1788) and 1868, England exiled 162,000 convicts to Australia. "Transportation," as such punishment was known, is the subject of numerous analyses. See, e.g., JACK WALTON ET AL., SHIPS SURGEONS ON CONVICT FLEETS 1787–1868 (2013); DEBORAH J. SWISS, THE TIN TICKET: THE HEROIC JOURNEY OF AUSTRALIA'S CONVICT WOMEN (2010); ALAN BROOKE & DAVID BRANDON, BOUND FOR BOTANY BAY: BRITISH CONVICT VOYAGES TO AUSTRALIA (2005); ROBERT HUGHES, THE FATAL SHORE: HISTORY OF THE TRANSPORTATION OF CONVICTS TO AUSTRALIA, 1787–1868 (1987); L.L. ROBSON, THE TRANSPORTATION OF CONVICTS TO AUSTRALIA (1974); MAGGIE WEIDENHOFER, THE CONVICT YEARS: TRANSPORTATION AND THE PENAL SYSTEM, 1788–1868 (1973); CHARLES BATESON, THE CONVICT SHIPS, 1787–1868 (1959).

Episode 27 ("Rebellion!") of *Trifles*, a weekly Sherlock Holmes podcast featuring Scott Monty and Burt Wolder, focuses on the transportation aspects of the *Gloria Scott*. See <http://www.sherlockholmespodcast.com/2017/07/27-rebellion.html> (first aired July 4, 2017).

IV RECEPTION

Even though it provides important clues about Holmes's formative years,²³ the *Gloria Scott* is one of Doyle's lesser-known

²³The story, however, hides as much as it reveals, failing, for example, to provide the name of Holmes's college. This has led one writer to argue (implausibly) that Holmes was attending law school. See Albert P. Blaustein, *Was Conan Doyle's Famed Detective a Lawyer?*, 34 ABA J. 473, 473 n.6 (1948). For a summary of the more conventional theories, see, e.g., Dennis Simanaitis, *Holmes' College Days—But Where??*, Oct. 30, 2015, at <https://simanaitissays.com/2015/10/30/holmess-college-days-but-where/>. For other questions raised by the story, see, e.g., "scfrankles," *Canon Discussion: The 'Gloria Scott'*, May 31, 2015, at <http://sherlock60.livejournal.com/496436.html?style=light>.

A particular irritant to Sherlockians are the dates in the *Gloria Scott*, which make a mess of the canon's timeline. See, e.g., EDDY WEBB, WATSON IS NOT AN IDIOT: AN OPINIONATED TOUR OF THE SHERLOCK HOLMES CANON 69 (2013) ("[The plot's timeline is] pretty much impossible to reconcile with the established canon. . . . 'Gloria Scott' is probably the epitome of chronology snarling.").

Many commentators have tried to "fix" the story's problems and fill in its gaps. See, e.g., Rosane McNamara, *A GLORIOUS Mystery*, in AUSTRALIA AND SHERLOCK HOLMES, 83 (Bill Barnes & Doug Elliott eds., 2008); Shigeru Sugiyama, *The Gloria Scott Set Sail in 1855*, at <http://www.holmesjapan.jp/english/glor01.htm>; and the numerous sources listed in the *Universal Sherlock Holmes*, at <https://www.lib.umn.edu/scr/bm/ush/volume-2-section-VIB2> (under *The "Gloria Scott"*). Entry "C.6816" (a reference to Kirk Ditzler, *The Game is Up: 'The Gloria Scott' Revisited*, 4 WHEELWRIGHTINGS, 9 (Sept. 1981)) argues that the narrative is so leaky because it was made up by Watson.

Recently, however, one of the story's "problems" has been shown to not be a problem at all. During his first visit to Donnithorpe, Holmes noticed the initials "J.A." tattooed on Trevor Sr.'s arm. When Holmes asked about them, Trevor Sr. fainted. After he came to, he claimed they referred to a former lover, an explanation Holmes did not buy. For many years, Sherlockians were put out by this detail:

While James Armitage's tattoo of "J.A." on the inner bend of his elbow seems not all that odd at first glance, further consideration makes one really wonder about the reasons for such a thing. First, why would anyone bother getting a tattoo with their own initials? And second, getting a tattoo is somewhat painful isn't it? Why pick a sensitive area like the inside of the elbow?

Brad Keefauver, *The 17 Steps: The Strangeness of a Commonplace Tattoo*, at <http://www.sherlockpeoria.net/OneMoreRead/GLOR/OneMoreReadGLOR.html>. In an exhaustive study published in 2016, however, it was revealed that many real-life Australian convicts had exactly these kinds of tattoos:

Letters of the alphabet were the most common tattoos. Over one-third of tattooed male convicts bore names and initials, almost half of which correspond[ed] with the bearer's name. Such tattoos could provide a means of identifying the dead. Reverend Robert Hawker, who dealt with shipwrecks near his Cornwall parish, felt sailors tattooed with their names showed great foresight and resignation to 'a mournful probability.'

SIMON BARNARD, *CONVICT TATTOOS: MARKED MEN AND WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA*, 74 (2016). As Barnard further points out, “Convicts were more inclined to bear tattoos on their forearms than anywhere else[.]” *Id.* at 23. Because it was essentially impossible in the 19th century to remove a tattoo, see *id.* at 8 (describing such crude and unsuccessful methods as “cutting, cauterizing and counter-tattooing,” as well as more radical steps involving amputation and pouring acid on one’s skin), Trevor Sr. was stuck with this part of his past.

Some observers have claimed that the *Gloria Scott* provides proof that Holmes was gay (or at least gay-curious) because of the adoring way he describes his classmate (Victor Trevor Jr.) in recounting the story to Watson. See, e.g. “Nekosmuse,” *DECODING THE SUBTEXT: BEING AN EXAMINATION OF THE HOMEROERIC SUBTEXT CONTAINED WITHIN THE SHERLOCK HOLMES CANON 2–5* (2007), available at <http://www.nekosmuse.com/sherlockholmes/decodingthesubtext.pdf>. It also has been suggested that Watson should be understood as taking the place of Victor Trevor Jr. See, e.g., Jaime N. Mahoney, *Some Thoughts on Character: Victor Trevor*, *BETTER HOLMES & GARDENS*, Jan. 16, 2012, at <http://betterholmesandgardens.blogspot.com/2012/01/some-thoughts-on-character-victor.html>.

stories²⁴ and often receives middling ratings from Sherlockians²⁵ due to its lack of action²⁶ and similarity to other Holmes stories.²⁷

²⁴See, e.g., Colin Quartermain, *Plot Summary of the Adventure of the Gloria Scott*, LETTERPILE, Nov. 8, 2016, at <https://letterpile.com/books/Plot-Summary-of-the-Adventure-of-the-Gloria-Scott> (“The Adventure of the ‘Gloria Scott’ is an often overlooked Sherlock Holmes story from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.”).

²⁵See, e.g., WEBB, *supra* note 23, at 71 (“But despite an interesting attempt to do something new in a Holmes story [i.e., telling it from Holmes’s perspective], it ends up being mediocre.”); Mentzel, *supra* note 7 (“The *Gloria Scott* falls in about the middle of the ratings[:] 1999—The Baker Street Irregular members voted it 38th of the 56 short stories[:] 1999—Sherlock Holmes Society of London voted it 29th of the 56 short stories”); *A Statistical Analysis of the Sherlock Holmes Stories*, at <http://www.christianpeccei.com/holmes/> (regression analysis giving the story three stars out of five); Charlotte Anne Walters, *56 Stories in 56 Days—The Gloria Scott*, Oct. 5, 2011, at <https://barefootonbakerstreet.wordpress.com/2011/10/05/56-stories-in-56-days-the-gloria-scott/> (“I do always feel a little short changed when Holmes doesn’t save the day and did find this story a bit too far-fetched. I also missed having Watson’s usual involvement. Just 5 out of 10 I’m afraid.”).

Some Sherlockians, however, are more forgiving. See, e.g., “Keely,” *The Adventure of the Gloria Scott*, by Arthur Conan Doyle, ACAEMENIDS, Jan. 3, 2017, at <http://achaemenids.blogspot.com/2017/01/the-adventure-of-gloria-scott-by-arthur.html> (“I really liked this story. It was a mystery within a mystery and gave the reader insight on Sherlock Holmes as a young man and as it was the first Sherlock Holmes case I think it’s required reading for every Holmes aficionado.”); Hyde Lana, *Reseña: ‘La corbeta Gloria Scott,’ Arthur Conan Doyle*, Mar. 3, 2016, at <http://elblogdehydrelana.blogspot.com/2016/03/resena-la-corbeta-gloria-scott-arthur.html> (giving the story four stars out of five); Anthony Britto, QUORA, Mar. 1, 2015, at <https://www.quora.com/What-is-the-best-Sherlock-Holmes-short-story-written-by-Sir-Arthur-Conan-Doyle> (“I have read them all. *The Sign of the Four*, *Gloria Scott* and *[A] Study in Scarlet* are my favorites.”); Roberto Mattos, *Book “The ‘Gloria Scott’” by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*, Sept. 8, 2014, at <http://booksandmoviesreviews.blogspot.com/2014/09/book-gloria-scott-by-sir-arthur-conan.html> (“Another nice plot and Holmes again nail[s] it.”); Meghashyam, *The Gloria Scott: The Story, My Ratings and . . . Some Fascinating Trivia!*, at <http://www.sherlockholmes-fan.com/gloria-scott.html> (“8.5” out of “10”).

²⁶See, e.g., 2 FRANK WADLEIGH CHANDLER, *THE LITERATURE OF ROGUERY*, 541–42 (1907) (“Occasionally, by contrast, Holmes does little or nothing. . . . In ‘The Gloria Scott’ . . . he merely recounts to Watson the story of a convict mutiny. . . .”); Dana Huff, *Sherlock Holmes: The Adventure of the “Gloria Scott,” Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*, MUCH MADNESS IS DIVINEST SENSE, Jan. 9, 2017, at <http://www.danahuff.net/sherlock-holmes-the-adventure-of-the-gloria-scott-sir-arthur-conan-doyle/> (“As Sherlock Holmes stories go, the long confession as a means of resolution and the lack of a real case or mystery as a result made this one a bit of a dud for me. It was interesting to see Sherlock Holmes’s early deduction skills, but apart from that, it’s not very much fun when the mystery isn’t really solved by Sherlock.”); “Snell,” *The Gloria Scott—Sherlock Holmes and The Phantom Menace?*, OBSERVANCE OF TRIFLES, Oct. 19, 2014, at <http://observanceoftrifles.blogspot.com/2014/10/the-gloria-scott-sherlock-holmes-and.html> (“Sherlock doesn’t do a damn thing to ‘solve’ the ‘mystery.’ Victor’s left him the full account of his past, and told the doctor to tell Victor where to find it. Beddoes

and Hudson were never found—we don't know if one or both are alive, or where they've gone to, or anything. Really, all Sherlock does is decrypt the cypher . . . which the elder Trevor had done already, scrawled at the bottom of his confession. Everything would have turned out exactly the same had Sherlock never come into Victor's life!!"); "Puzzle Doctor," *Sherlockian Short—The Gloria Scott*, Mar. 31, 2013, at <https://classicmystery.wordpress.com/2013/03/31/the-gloria-scott-by-sir-arthur-conan-doyle/> ("A decent enough read, but doesn't really feel like a Sherlock Holmes story. When the truth comes out from a long letter written by the friend's father when he was apparently dying (slowly, as it's a very long letter—even more impressive when apparently he never regained consciousness!), rather from any hint of deduction, it's rather frustrating. It simply doesn't feel to me like a detective story."); Emily Marchman, *Sherlock Holmes: "The Gloria Scott"*, June 27, 2012, at <https://emilymarchman.wordpress.com/2012/06/27/sherlock-holmes-the-gloria-scott/> ("Sherlock Rating: Meh. . . . Sherlock did absolutely nothing to solve the case. He decoded the strange letter, but it was decoded in the explanation letter the father had left him anyway."); "EagleGreyTea68," *Thoughts on the Gloria Scott*, June 8, 2012, at <http://earlgreytea68.tumblr.com/post/24674163290/thoughts-on-the-gloria-scott> ("Other than the appearance of Trevor and the novelty of it being Holmes's first case, this story's a bit dull [because] Holmes doesn't have much to do in it[.]"); "Sammi," GOODREADS, Oct. 17, 2005, at <https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/15729809-the-adventure-of-the-gloria-scott> ("Bit of a letdown for a Sherlock Holmes story . . . since he doesn't really do any 'detective-ing:' the bulk of the plot is simply read aloud to him in a letter.").

On the other hand, one commentator has praised the story for how it builds suspense:

Quite an ordinary situation by the fireplace becomes exceptional and intriguing when we find in the text such pointers as "extraordinary case," "struck dead with horror." The reader can have no doubt that an exceptional situation has been encountered, which needs to be understood better. In this case the dynamism of particular hints resounds by the fireside in the drawing room, in the minds of Watson and the reader, around the Gloria Scott, and at the spot where the Justice of the Peace died after reading the sheet of paper.

The composition and the mixing of situational spaces causes an immediate and then gradual increase of interest in the story.

JACE DABALA, *MYSTERY AND SUSPENSE IN CREATIVE WRITING*, 53–54 (2012).

²⁷ See, e.g., JAMES F. O'BRIEN, *THE SCIENTIFIC SHERLOCK HOLMES: CRACKING THE CASE WITH SCIENCE AND FORENSICS*, 4 (2013) (pointing out that the *Gloria Scott* is one of "six stories [in which Doyle] reuses the idea of someone returning to England only to be followed and blackmailed or threatened."); Stephen Knight, *Watson's Wound and the Speckled Band: Imperial Threats and English Crimes in Conan Doyle*, 5:1 *LINGUAE &—RIVISTA DI LINGUE E CULTURE MODERNE*, 11, 18 (2006) ("The Gloria Scott' is a curious melange of 'The Boscombe Valley Mystery' and 'The Five Orange Pips,' as the memory of [] the wicked past of 'rich colonials,' this time at sea, is visited on a now respectable landed gentleman."); Gregory Galloway, *Codes*, at <http://www.assimpleassnow.com/codes.html> (noting that "Doyle utilizes codes and ciphers in three Sherlock Holmes stories, 'The Gloria Scott,' 'The Valley of Fear,' and 'Adventure of the Dancing Men.'").



*A mutineer, disguised as the ship's chaplain, holding the still-smoking gun he used moments earlier to kill the Gloria Scott's captain (a second mutineer can be seen standing in the doorway) (illustration by Sidney Paget, from *The Strand Magazine* (April 1893)) (courtesy of Time Life Pictures/Mansell/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images)*

Non-Sherlockians, however, have found the story useful in helping explain to doctors how to diagnose stress;²⁸ academicians how to recognize plagiarism;²⁹ lawyers how to conduct investigations;³⁰ writers how to craft radio scripts;³¹ and “foodies” why they enjoy cured meat.³² The story also is recognized as having coined the phrase “smoking gun” to denote indisputable evidence

V TRIBUTES

Despite its relatively low standing among Sherlockians, the story has its admirers. In Australia, for example, the New South Wales Sherlock Holmes society is known as “The Sydney

Despite these criticisms, the story has been complimented for how it “imaginatively weaves together the two events that determined Australia’s colonization and settlement: the penal transportation that played a key role in the initial occupation, and the gold rush that spurred large-scale immigration.” YUMNA SIDDIQI, *ANXIETIES OF EMPIRE AND THE FICTION OF INTRIGUE*, 70 (2008).

²⁸See Theodore Dalrymple, *Emotional, My Dear Watson*, 339 *BRIT. MED. J.*, 1149, 1149 (Nov. 14, 2009).

²⁹See JAMES B. STRONKS, JOHN KENDRICK BANGS CRITICIZES NORRIS’S BORROWINGS IN *BLIX*, 42 *AM. LIT.* 380, 383 (1970).

³⁰See John C. Hogan & Mortimer D. Schwartz, *The Manly Art of Observation and Deduction*, 55 *J. CRIM. L., CRIMINOLOGY & POLICE SCI.*, 157, 158–59 (1964).

³¹See VINCENT MCINERNEY, *WRITING FOR RADIO* 158–69 (2001).

³²See *Feet in the Trough*, *ECONOMIST MAG.*, Dec. 23, 2006, at 88, 89.

Passengers.” As its web site explains: “We take our name from the Sherlock Holmes story *The Adventure of the ‘Gloria Scott’* . . . in which the survivors of a mutiny at sea are rescued by a ship bound for Australia and ‘after an excellent voyage the Hotspur landed us at Sydney.’”³³ Similarly, in Greenville, South Carolina, there is a Sherlock Holmes society that calls itself “The Survivors of the Gloria Scott.”³⁴

The Baker Street Irregulars, founded in 1934 in New York City, is the world’s first and leading Sherlock Holmes society; in contrast to all other such groups, membership is by invitation only.³⁵ Since 1944, each new inductee has received an “investiture name” linked to the canon.³⁶ At present, “The most issued investitures are ‘A Case of Identity’ and ‘The Gloria Scott,’ which have each been awarded five times.”³⁷

In 1998, the assorted writings of the respected Sherlockian Robert N. Brodie were collected and republished under the title *The Log of “the Gloria Scott.”*³⁸ In 2004, a cookbook based on the foods mentioned in the canon included a recipe for “Beddoes’s Ships Biscuits.”³⁹ In 2010, “Noikmeister” challenged other players

³³*The Sydney Passengers*, at <http://www.sherlock.on.net/>. For a further look at the group, see Scott Monty, *Episode 97: The Sydney Passengers*, May 30, 2016, at <http://www.ihearofsherlock.com/2016/05/episode-97-sydney-passengers.html>.

³⁴See *Survivors of the Gloria Scott*, at <http://www.sherlock-holmes.com/grenville.html>. The group’s Facebook page can be found at <https://www.facebook.com/Survivors-of-the-Gloria-Scott-387312834762187/>.

³⁵See further *BSI History—An Introduction: A Brief History of the Baker Street Irregulars*, at <http://www.bsitrust.org/2015/01/bsi-history.html>. As this source explains, the group, which has approximately 300 members (half of whom are located outside the United States), is best known for two things: publishing a quarterly research periodical (*The Baker Street Journal*), and organizing a dinner each January to celebrate Holmes’s birthday. See <http://www.bakerstreetjournal.com/bsiweekend.html>.

³⁶See *Explanation of BSI Honours & Terms*, at <http://www.bsitrust.org/2015/01/glossary.html>.

³⁷Alexian Gregory, *The ABC of BSI Investitures & The Florin Society*, at <http://www.sherlockian.net/societies/gregory.html>. The current holder of the title (since 2009) is William Barnes, the longtime captain (president) of The Sydney Passengers. See *Bill Barnes*, at <https://www.sh-whoswho.com/members/262/profile/?grpage=2&num=10>.

³⁸See *The Log of “the Gloria Scott”*: *The Practical Book of Sherlock Holmes with some Observations upon the Segregation of the Irregular—The Writings of Robert N. Brodie* (Warren Randall ed., 1998).

³⁹See WILLIAM S. DORN, *COOKING FOR SHERLOCK HOLMES AND DR. WATSON: BRITISH RECIPES FOR TWO PERSONS* 16–17 (2004). As Dorn points out, *id.* at 16, before being cast adrift, Armitage, Evans, and the other prisoners “were given a suit of sailor

to find his “geocache” using the cipher in the *Gloria Scott*.⁴⁰ In 2014, as part of its “Famous Ships That Never Sailed” collection, the Perth Mint issued a one-ounce silver coin commemorating the *Gloria Scott*.⁴¹ And in 2015, Gordon Larson, a Scottish Sherlockian, started a men’s grooming brand called “Hudson & Armitage.”⁴²

togs each, a barrel of water, two casks, one of junk [salt beef] and one of biscuits, and a compass.” For a description of these items, see John Foster, *Brad’s Summer Reading List—#10—Gloria Scott (GLOR)—Not a Luxury Cruise at All*, July 3, 2014, at <http://sherlockholmesofstcharles.blogspot.com/2014/07/brads-summer-reading-list-10-gloria.html>.

⁴⁰See “Noikmeister,” *The Gloria Scott*, June 30, 2010, at https://www.geocaching.com/geocache/GC2B11H_the-gloria-scott?guid=0d34824f-274c-4cbd-a24c-a64b6c869fd4 (revealing that the cache could be found somewhere in the Australian Capital Territory).

In a similar spirit, “Apathetic Executioner” [actually Brian McCabe, a Sherlockian from Arizona] posted a list pairing classic board games with selected stories from the canon. For the *Gloria Scott*, he selected Parker Brothers’ “The Sailor Boy: A Game” (1889). See *Games Sherlock Holmes and Watson Might Have Enjoyed*, BOARDGAMEGEEK, Aug. 17, 2010, at <https://boardgamegeek.com/geeklist/57828/games-sherlock-holmes-and-watson-might-have-enjoyed> (under number 18). As the BGG web site explains, see <https://boardgamegeek.com/boardgame/40952/sailor-boy>, “This is a simple spin the spinner and move game where you begin your adventure at sea as the lowly CABIN BOY and by successfully moving around the board eventually get promoted to ENSIGN, LIEUTENANT, CAPTAIN and in order to win the game, ADMIRAL.”

⁴¹See Perth Mint, *Famous Ships That Never Sailed—Gloria Scott 2014 1oz Silver Proof Coin*, at <http://www.perthmint.com.au/catalogue/famous-ships-that-never-sailed-gloria-scott-2014-1oz-silver-proof-coin.aspx> (explaining that the coin “portrays a representation of the Gloria Scott sailing in the background, with Sherlock Holmes sitting onshore smoking his pipe in the foreground. The inscriptions ‘Sherlock Holmes’ and ‘The Gloria Scott’ [are] feature[d] as part of the design. . . . The coin is presented in a wooden case moulded in the shape of a book. . . .”). For a further discussion, see Greg Ruby, *Tuvalu Issues 2014 Sherlock Holmes—Gloria Scott Dollar Coin*, Oct. 30, 2015, at <http://fourthgarrideb.com/2015/10/tuvalu-issues-2014-sherlock-holmes-gloria-scott-dollar-coin/>. As Ruby mentions, the mint has retired the coin (resales, however, can be found on eBay, usually for about \$100).

The seven other ships in the mint’s collection are the CHIMERA (from *The Seven Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor*), DEMETER (*Dracula*), FLYING DUTCHMAN (17th century folklore), JOLLY ROGER (*Peter Pan*), NAUTILUS (*20,000 Leagues Under the Sea*), PEQUOD (*Moby Dick*), and THUNDER CHILD (*The War of the Worlds*). See <http://www.perthmint.com.au/catalogue/famous-ships-that-never-sailed-silver-coins.aspx>.

⁴²See “Libby B,” *Hudson & Armitage*, Apr. 2, 2015, at <http://hatchlingsclub.co.uk/hudson-armitage/> (“How did you come up with the name of your brand? I’m a bit of a Sherlock Holmes fanatic, and in one of the stories (The Gloria Scott), there are two sailors called James Armitage and Hudson (first name unknown), so I combined these

Some fans have created their own adventure stories using details borrowed from the *Gloria Scott*.⁴³ For example, Philip Craig Robotham, a Sydney-based writer, has penned a 1930s-style radio serial entitled *The Visitor from the Gloria Scott*. To date, he has released three installments of his supernatural thriller: “Of Dogs and Death,” “Return to Donnithorpe,” and “Salting the Bones.” The scripts are meant to be read aloud during a dinner party in one’s home, with each guest playing a different role.⁴⁴

In his 2012 novel *Snake Bite*, Andrew Lane, an English journalist, imagines Holmes as a youngster working aboard the GLORIA SCOTT:

For what felt like the thousandth time, he wondered how he had gone from being a boy living in Hampshire to a sailor on a ship bound for China. There was a gap in his memory between suddenly falling asleep back in his uncle’s library in Farnham and waking up on the *Gloria Scott*. The best explanation he could come up with was that he had been drugged, abducted, and left on the ship before it sailed, but who would do that to him, any why?⁴⁵

As Wikipedia reports, similar “adaptations” of the *Gloria Scott* can be found in many other genres:

The 1946 film *Dressed to Kill* with Basil Rathbone as Holmes and Nigel Bruce as Watson is a very loose adaptation of *The Adventure of the Gloria Scott*. “The *Gloria Scott*” was also an episode of the animated series *Sherlock Holmes in the 22nd Century*, in which the titular prison ship was a spacecraft en route to the Moon.

The 1954 *Sherlock Holmes* series loosely adapted the story for its episode “The Case of the Blind Man’s Bluff,” changing the name of the ship to the *Gloria North*. It retains elements from the story, such as a respectable character with a tattoo he has tried to erase but which Holmes observes anyways. . . . The episode was later remade, retaining the plot structure and much of the dialogue, for

to make something which I think sounds great and quite accurately reflects the brand, not just a pointless combination of words.”)

⁴³As explained supra note 3, pastiches, parodies, and copies of Doyle’s work are commonplace.

⁴⁴See *Host Your Own Old Time Radio Drama*, at <http://weirdworldstudios.com/> (the *Gloria Scott* scripts can be found using the site’s search engine).

⁴⁵ANDREW LANE, *SNAKE BITE*, 11 (2012).

the 1980 American-Polish series *Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson* starring Geoffrey Whitehead. . . .

In the 2014 episode “The Empty Hearse,” the first episode of the third series of the BBC television series *Sherlock*, Dr. Watson’s fiancée, Mary Morstan, solves a coded text message on a cellphone by reading every third word. In the fourth series episode “The Final Problem” in 2017, it is revealed that Holmes had a childhood friend named Victor Trevor.

In 2005, Croatian writer Mima Simić published a short story collection entitled *Pustolovine Glorije Scott (Adventures of Gloria Scott)*. This rather free adaptation introduces a queer parody of the Sherlock Holmes canon through the gender reversal of the protagonists: disastrous detective Gloria Scott and her faithful assistant Mary Lambert. A TV animation series based [on] this adaptation is under development as of 2014.

The 2016 book *The Murder of Mary Russell* by Laurie R. King is based on the premise that [the] *Gloria Scott’s* Hudson is none other than the father of Holmes’ landlady Mrs. Hudson. . . .

[The] Chicago-based Irish Folk Rock band *The Tossers* recorded a song “221B/The Sneaky Priest (The Gloria Scott)” on their album *On A Fine Spring Evening*. The song is a medley including the theme from . . . Jeremy Brett[’s 1984] *Sherlock Holmes* series and what is believed to be an original composition by the band.⁴⁶

In 1998, in a case of life imitating art, a Texas woman named Gloria Scott agreed to smuggle drugs into the U.S. Penitentiary in Florence, Colorado. Her brother, Rodney B. White, was serving a 10-year prison sentence and needed the drugs to pay off a \$300 gambling debt. Learning of the scheme through intercepted phone messages, officials arrested Scott when she showed up at the prison with “two cellophane bags of M & M peanut candies that . . . contain[ed] small balloons of tar heroin.”⁴⁷

⁴⁶*The Adventure of the Gloria Scott*, WIKIPEDIA: THE FREE ENCYCLOPEDIA, at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Adventure_of_the_Gloria_Scott (footnotes omitted).

Another commentator has suggested that FBI agent Aloysius Pendergast, the protagonist (since 1995) of a series of novels by Douglas Preston and Lee Child, is an homage to the *Gloria Scott’s* principal mutineer (notwithstanding the different spellings of their last names). See Rhonda Harris Taylor, *A Singular Case of Identity: Holmesian Shapeshifting*, in *SHERLOCK HOLMES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: ESSAYS ON NEW ADAPTATIONS*, 93, 98 (Lynnette Porter ed., 2012).

⁴⁷*United States v. White*, 68 F. App’x 870, 871 (10th Cir. 2003).

VI CONCLUSION

Like most of Doyle's works, the *Gloria Scott* is in the public domain.⁴⁸ It therefore can be found on multiple web sites;⁴⁹ in the many printed editions of the canon that have been issued;⁵⁰ in a crimes-at-sea anthology;⁵¹ and as taped readings on YouTube.⁵² A version written in 21st century English exists,⁵³ as does a graphic novel aimed at kids.⁵⁴ One enterprising company even sells customized versions of the *Gloria Scott*. For \$34.95, purchasers

⁴⁸All Holmes stories published before 1923 are in the public domain. See *Klinger v. Conan Doyle Estate, Ltd.*, 988 F. Supp. 2d 879 (N.D. Ill. 2013), *aff'd*, 755 F.3d 496 (7th Cir.), *cert. denied*, 135 S. Ct. 458 (2014).

⁴⁹See, e.g.:

<http://appledore.azurewebsites.net/Story/GLOR;>

[http://etc.usf.edu/lit2go/40/the-memoirs-of-sherlock-holmes/576/adventure-4-the-gloria-scott/;](http://etc.usf.edu/lit2go/40/the-memoirs-of-sherlock-holmes/576/adventure-4-the-gloria-scott/)

<http://www.eastoftheweb.com/short-stories/UBooks/GlorScot.shtml;>

<http://www.pages.drexel.edu/~ina22/200/SH-Texts-4-Memoirs-04-Gloria-Scott.htm;>

[http://www.sherlock-holmes.org.uk/the-gloria-scott/;](http://www.sherlock-holmes.org.uk/the-gloria-scott/)

https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Memoirs_of_Sherlock_Holmes/The_%27Gloria_Scott%27 <https://sherlock-holm.es/stories/pdf/a4/1-sided/glor.pdf>;

https://www.arthur-conan-doyle.com/index.php?title=The_Adventure_of_the_Gloria_Scott;

<https://www.scribd.com/document/62279476/Gloria-Scott;>

⁵⁰At present, the leading such collection is the two-volume work *THE NEW ANNOTATED SHERLOCK HOLMES* (Leslie S. Klinger ed., 2005). The *Gloria Scott* appears in Volume 1 at pages 501-27; Klinger's numerous (52) footnotes, besides being a delight in their own right, make the story much more intelligible for modern readers.

⁵¹See ROSEMARY HERBERT, *MURDER ON DECK!: SHIPBOARD & SHORELINE MYSTERY STORIES*, 3-18 (1998).

⁵²See, e.g.:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6bYSqVzzlaE;>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PK8Bey6y8Fw;>

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d-uy5kpOPqg.](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d-uy5kpOPqg)

See also <http://www.cbsrmt.com/episode-740-the-gloria-scott.html> (1977 CBS Radio Mystery Theater version narrated by E.G. Marshall).

⁵³See "Ashe," *The "Gloria Scott,"* Sept. 13, 2014, at <https://111booksfor2011.wordpress.com/2014/09/13/the-gloria-scott/>.

⁵⁴See *THE ADVENTURE OF THE GLORIA SCOTT: ON THE CASE WITH HOLMES AND WATSON* (Murray Shaw et al. eds., 2012).

can change Holmes's and Watson's names (and those of several other characters) to ones of their own choosing.⁵⁵

⁵⁵See Customized Classics, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes—Starring You!*, at <http://www.customizedclassics.com/sherlock-holmes-adventures.asp>.