

# Constraining the temperature history of the past millennium using early instrumental observations

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## Abstract.

The current assessment that twentieth-century global temperature change is unusual in the context of the last thousand years relies on estimates of temperature changes from natural proxies (tree-rings, ice-cores etc.) and climate model simulations. Confidence in such estimates is limited by difficulties in calibrating the proxies and systematic differences between proxy reconstructions and model simulations. As the difference between the estimates extends into the relatively recent period of the early nineteenth century it is possible to compare them with a reliable instrumental estimate of the temperature change over that period, provided that enough early thermometer observations, covering a wide enough expanse of the world, can be collected.

One organisation which systematically made observations and collected the results was the English East-India Company (EEIC), and their archives have been preserved in the British Library. Inspection of those archives revealed 900 log-books of EEIC ships containing daily instrumental measurements of temperature and pressure, and subjective estimates of wind speed and direction, from voyages across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans between 1789 and 1834. Those records have been extracted and digitised, providing 273,000 new weather records offering an unprecedentedly detailed view of the weather and climate of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The new thermometer observations demonstrate that the large-scale temperature response to the Tambora eruption and the 1809 eruption was modest (perhaps  $0.5^{\circ}\text{C}$ ). This provides an out-of-sample validation for the proxy reconstructions — supporting their use for longer-term climate reconstructions. However, some of the climate model simulations in the CMIP5 ensemble show much larger volcanic effects than this — such simulations are unlikely to be accu-

rate in this respect.

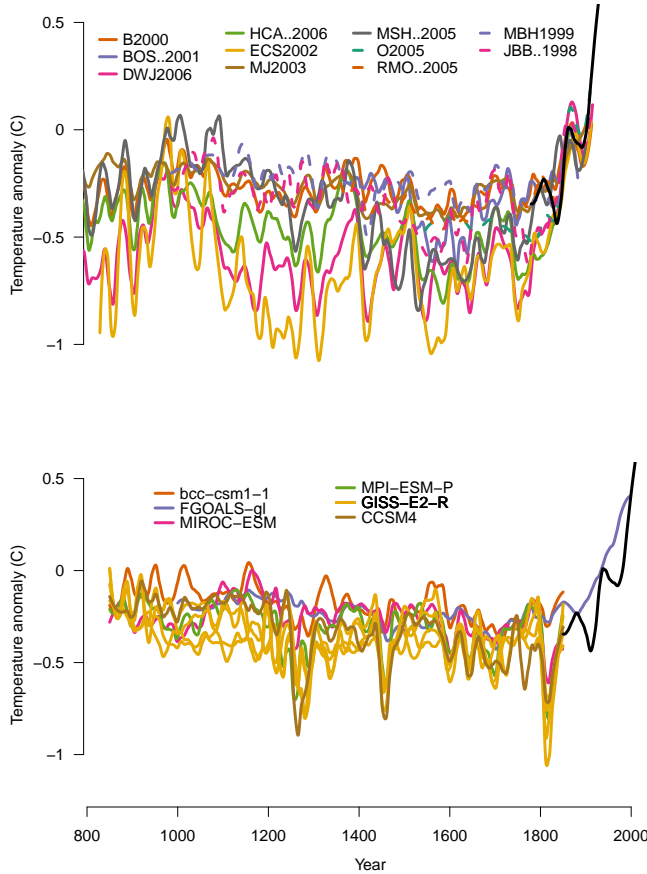
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## 1 Introduction

The temperature history of the past millennium provides vital context for predictions of future change, and attributions of recent change to anthropogenic causes (Jones and Mann, 2004). Back to about 1850 large-scale temperature changes are fairly well known from thermometer measurements (Brohan et al., 2006), but longer-timescale reconstructions are based on a variety of natural proxies (tree-rings, ice cores, speleothems etc.) and have a large uncertainty (figure 1).

The proxy reconstructions not only disagree amongst themselves, but they share a reliance on calibration to recent instrumental (thermometer) records. Calibration is a statistical estimate of the scaling factor relating a change in the proxy value (ring width etc.) to a change in temperature, and it is necessary to assume that this scaling factor does not change with time or temperature. Recent years have seen a lot of research into improved calibration techniques, but despite these technical improvements the uncertainty in the reconstructions remains large (Frank et al., 2010; Jones et al., 2009).

An alternative estimate of temperature changes is given by General Circulation Model (GCM) simulations, and the WCRP Coupled Model Intercomparison Project Phase 5 (CMIP5 — Taylor et al. (2012)) includes an ensemble of state-of-the-art GCM simulations covering the period 850–1850 (figure 1). Comparison of the GCM simulations with the proxy reconstructions shows systematic differences: the simulations usually have little inter-decadal variability (which would support those proxy reconstructions showing least variance) but often show large responses to volcanic eruptions (which are generally much less pronounced in the proxy reconstructions). This large difference has led to the suggestion that tree-ring based proxy reconstructions systematically



**Fig. 1.** Northern Hemisphere surface temperature estimates for the last millennium. Upper panel: recent proxy reconstructions (after figure 6.10 of Jansen et al. (2007)). Lower panel: GCM simulations from CMIP5 (where possible (MIROC-ESM-P & GISS-E2-R) these have been corrected for drift by subtracting a linear trend fitted to their unforced parent experiment). In each case the black line shows instrumental observations (Brohan et al., 2006). Data used is listed in table 1.

under-represent the effects of large volcanic eruptions (Mann et al., 2012).

Because the main difference between the reconstructions is in their calibration, the spread in centennial and longer timescale temperatures is highly correlated with the spread in shorter timescale variability: reconstructions that have a larger variability over (say) the first few decades of the nineteenth century also show larger variability over the whole reconstruction. So if the reconstructions could be more tightly constrained over a short period, this would reduce the uncertainty over the whole millennium. The early nineteenth century is a strong candidate for such a validation period, as it includes short-term temperature variability of uncertain size associated with large volcanic eruptions (1809 and Tambora in 1815), and there are some thermometer observations for the period, which could potentially be used to quantify the temperature variability much more precisely. Precise information on temperature changes over this period would also resolve a major disagreement between the GCM simulations, which vary greatly in the simulated magnitude of the 1809 and Tambora eruptions.

Accurate instrumental weather observations have been recovered for limited regions going back well before 1800 (Carnuffo and Bertolin, 2011; Alcoforado et al., 2012), so to do this validation is merely a matter of recovering enough such observations, covering a large enough area of the Earth, to constrain the large-scale temperature.

## 2 New instrumental weather records for the early nineteenth century

Amongst the archives in the British Library (BL) in London are some 4000 logbooks from ships in the service of the English East India Company (EEIC); each recording the details and events of a voyage from England to the Indies (usually India, China or both) and back, typically taking the best part of two years. The EEIC received its charter from Elizabeth I in 1600, and many of its earliest voyages became famous because of their excellent records of new lands; for example that by Henry Middleton to the Moluccas in 1604-6 (Foster, 2010). These early voyages were recorded in diaries; logbooks — formally prepared documents of a standard format — did not begin to appear until the 1650s. Their preparation was part of an officer's duties until the gradual expansion of the Company in the 1830s into a quasi-military and political body responsible for overseeing British interests in India and beyond. Those archived in the BL, therefore, extend from the 1600s through to the 1830s, and are well known to historians (Farrington, 1999). They document social conditions, discipline, medicine and health, the trade and transport of goods, people and passengers. They touch on first contact with new lands and peoples, convey colonial attitudes and cultures, and describe long lost coastal towns and vil-

lages. Many even contain detailed drawings of coastlines, ships, mammals, birds and sea creatures.

Ship's logbooks are also valuable sources of historical climate data (Chenoweth (1996); Wheeler et al. (2006); Brohan et al. (2009, 2010)), and the EEIC logbooks include daily records of the weather along the routes taken by the ships: They cover large parts of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and include the occasional foray into the Pacific. All the logbooks contain wind speed and direction records, as this was vital information for early navigators, but the later logs, starting in about 1790, are even more valuable, as some of them contain daily thermometer and barometer observations as well as the wind reports. The principal instigator of the addition of instrumental observations was Alexander Dalrymple — the Company's, and later the Royal Navy's, first hydrographer. Dalrymple was both an explorer and an enthusiastic scientist, and, as hydrographer, he was responsible for ensuring that the EEIC ships could transport goods to and from England as quickly as possible and at minimum risk of loss. With this in mind, he equipped the East Indiaman *Grenville* with a set of meteorological instruments for her voyage in 1775 under Captain Burnet Abercrombie (Dalrymple, 1778), and set a pattern to be later adopted by officers on all EEIC ships.

It is the routine inclusion of regular instrumental weather observations that distinguishes the EEIC logbooks from their contemporaries such as the Royal Navy and the Hudson's Bay Company (which did not routinely make such records until many years later). The EEIC logbook records offer a potential source of detailed information on climate change and variability over a large area of tropical and sub-tropical ocean for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century — a time and region where other observations are almost completely missing. About 10% of these logbook observations have been examined in previous studies (Chenoweth, 1996; Farrington et al., 1998; Chenoweth, 2000), but most of them have never been digitised or examined, and none have made it into the standard climate datasets for widespread use.

### 3 Digitisation of the weather records

The BL's EEIC logbook collection has been catalogued (Farrington, 1999), but that catalogue, though extensive, does not distinguish those logbooks that contain instrumental data. So research was undertaken in the BL archives to produce a catalogue detailing exactly which logs contain instrumental observations; whether the observations are of pressure, air or sea surface temperature; the name of the ship; the year of its voyage; and the ship's route with dates. It also includes additional information such as how frequently the readings were taken, and whether any unusual weather events took place. Many of the logbooks dating from 1790 or later contained some instrumental observations, but not every log con-

tained observations, and on occasion observational records were sporadic.

Using this catalogue, the 891 logbooks including consistent instrumental records were selected for digitisation: the earliest that of the *Melville Castle*, starting in February 1789; and the last that of the *Sherborne*, finishing in August 1834. Figure 2 shows a typical example, logbook records for one day from EIC ship *Carmarthen*. That logbook records a voyage from London to Bombay and back to the UK, through the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and round the Cape of Good Hope. The voyage took 20 months (May 1810 to January 1812); records were only made on days when the ship was at sea, but even so the logbook includes 372 such daily records.

Digitising each day's observations from all 891 logbooks proved to be a major undertaking. To make it possible to work on the logbooks outside the BL, the books were photographed. This produced about 140,000 digital images, each showing one page. Most pages contained two day's records on a standard pre-printed form (figure 2 shows the top half of one page) though, in rare cases, variant form types were used that only contained one day's records; also hand-drawn forms were occasionally used — presumably to make up a shortfall in printed forms. These images were indexed and stored in the electronic media archive of the U.S. Climate Database Modernisation Program (CDMP), managed from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's (NOAA) National Climatic Data Center (NCDC).

CDMP also managed the transcription of the weather observations from the images. The data to be transcribed were selected — these are the highlighted sections in figure 2 — and staff were trained to read and key the specified elements. A detailed set of instructions was prepared for the keying operators to ensure that the data was transcribed into a uniform format. Budget constraints limited transcription to the noon observations of air temperature, barometric pressure, and location; the wind direction and force closest to noon; and all details of the state of the weather and sea. Each element was double keyed to give a minimum transcription accuracy of 99%.

For the most part the logbooks recorded elements to a basic standard that can easily be understood today. However, the age of the documents made the transcription unusually challenging: the handwriting is not easy to read and contains frequent and variable abbreviations, and the document format is not entirely regular, so judgement was often required in identifying the elements to be transcribed. Values were sometimes recorded in unconventional methods (e.g. complex fractions or the use of dashes (–) to represent the number zero), and sometimes positioned on the wrong part of the form. Every logbook was pre-screened to notify the keying operators of any strange and unusual recording methods or deviations from the most common recording practices, and the keying operators were vigilant in identifying irregularities. Unusual entries often required a full review of the logbook to determine how the observer was recording the

H	Courses	K F	Winds &c.	LEE WAY	Monday 24 <sup>th</sup> Sept	Remarks
1	N 6 E	4	W. from E. state with			A light Breeze & W. breeze with Squalls
2		4	fine W. and some heavy			Chains in the Middle part.
3		5	Clouds			Made Signal 176 & show 63.11 & do 175.
4		5				Lord Eldon W. N. W. Eldon and 68.25.
5		4				
6		4				do — do 2 1/2 hours
7		3	4 Short sail for Eldon			
8		4				do — W. S. 2 m
9		3	4			
10		3	4			do — do do
11		3	4			
12		3	4			do — W. S. W. 1/2.
1		4	6			
2		4	6 Made sail			do — do 2.
3		6	6 Slightly Rain very			
4		5	6 W. W.			not in sight.
5		5	6 fair			At daylight Lord Eldon S. W. W. 5 m
6		5	6 West			Signal 92 & to the N. E.
7	N 6	5				Lord Eldon S. W. 4.
8		5				
9	N 6	2	Taken aboard with from			People & Traders men picking up more
10	N 6	2	N 6 all round the Camp			necessary, Soldiers picking oakum
11		3	4 W. S. fine W. S. 1/2			
12		3	4			Lord Eldon S. W. 3/4.
Dist 48 m P. Log.						
Course & Dist.		Lat. 70	Lat. 69	Lat. 92 7/8	Lat. 64 38	Var. 1/2 m.
N 46 E - 37		ac. 68	chr. 77	ac. 4.25	chr. 64.28	am. 3 W.
45 - 10 1/2						
Depart. 69	N of Acc. 2	P of Acc. 8	Bar 30.98	Ther. 82 45	From Bombay N 40 E	708 m

**Fig. 2.** Logbook of EIC ship Carmarthen for 24th September 1810. Ship's days run from noon to noon 12 hours ahead of the civil day, so this covers the afternoon of the 23rd and the morning of the 24th. For each hour there is space to enter the ship's course, its speed (in Knots and Fathoms), and the wind direction. To the right of this table is a section for general remarks (which almost always includes reference to the wind speed); and at the bottom is a table of summary data for the day. The elements digitised are highlighted in yellow. from top to bottom they are: the date (September 24th); the wind force (a light breeze — Beaufort force 2), the wind direction (West by South - 258.75° magnetic), the noon position (9 degrees 27 minutes North, 64 degrees 28 minutes East), the barometric pressure (30.05 inches of mercury) and the air temperature (82 degrees 45 minutes — 82.75° Fahrenheit).

questionable element and if they were consistent throughout with their recordings. Once the logbook was thoroughly inspected, an educated decision was made on how to transcribe the values to the common format outlined in the keying instructions. Once a logbook had been keyed in its entirety, it was then quality controlled by CDMP and distributed for further format conversions and analysis. In all 272852 daily records were transcribed.

To be useful to the community of climate and other researchers who use historical marine observations, each record must be converted into the International Maritime Meteorological Archive format (Woodruff, 2007). In most respects such conversion is straightforward - conversion of latitude from degrees-minutes-seconds to decimal degrees, and of temperatures from Fahrenheit into Celsius. Conversion of pressure measurements is slightly more complicated, as not only must the measurements be converted from inches of mercury to hectopascals, but corrections may be applied for systematic biases in the method of measurement (section 3.2.2). Conversion of wind direction from 32 or 64-point compass directions to degrees east is also straightforward, but the wind speed must be converted to  $\text{ms}^{-1}$  from verbal descriptions such as ‘light gale’ or ‘moderate monsoon’ (section 3.2.3). Temperature, pressure, and wind records are further discussed below.

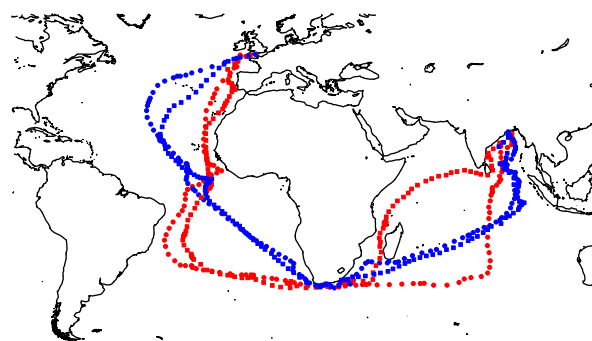
As well as the units conversion and adjustment, the opportunity was taken to apply some basic quality control to the ship positions. In many cases the hemisphere flags (E/W or N/S) attached to position observations were missing or obviously wrong, occasionally obvious errors would appear in latitudes and longitudes as well. All these problems can be seen plainly in a plot of the course of the ship and such erroneous values, when found, were corrected if the correction was obvious, and set to missing otherwise.

The IMMA format allows attachments, and the original version of each record is attached to each IMMA record, so that the un-converted and un-corrected data can be recovered if necessary. All the IMMA records are provided as supplementary information.

### 3.1 Ship routes and observational coverage

A sailing ship travelling between England and the Indies, before the opening of the Suez canal in 1869, had to follow a route constrained by the global wind fields: the prevailing winds close to the Equator are the easterly trades, so sailing to the East from England meant travelling southwest through the Atlantic down to the latitudes of the southern hemisphere westerlies, and using those winds to make the necessary easting. Once in the Indian Ocean the ships could either sail up through the Mozambique Channel (between Madagascar and the continent of Africa) and use the Southwest monsoon to carry them over to India, or make all their Easting in the strong westerly winds around 35–40° South and then sail directly north to their destination. Both choices remained pop-

ular throughout the period: the Mozambique Channel could only be used if arriving in boreal summer (when the southwest monsoon blows in the northern Indian Ocean) the alternative route was used throughout the year. Figure 3 shows examples of both routes. The route back was simpler - a



**Fig. 3.** Daily positions on the outward (red) and return (blue) voyages of the Astel in 1812-13 (squares) and Thomas Grenville in 1827-28 (circles).

direct route round the Cape using the easterly trades, northwest into the mid-Atlantic and then back to England with the Northern Hemisphere westerlies.

Figure 4 shows the coverage of the observations from all 891 logs. The observations are strongly concentrated along the standard routes, but with enough variation to explore a large area of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans - occasional ships do take radically different routes - visiting the Red sea and Persian Gulf, or looping through the South Pacific on the way to China. The records are fairly evenly distributed through time, with at least 30 ships contributing in every year between 1794 and 1833.

### 3.2 Temperature, pressure and wind

The logbooks contain instrumental observations of air pressure and temperature, and qualitative descriptions of wind speed. The details of how the measurements were made are not known, and we should expect some biases even in the instrumental observations, caused by limitations in the instruments used and the observational protocols. The model and make of instruments used on board the EEIC vessels is rarely recorded within the logbooks, and in most cases no record has been found indicating the manufacturer or type of instrument used. Dalrymple’s 1775 voyages used barometers and thermometers of Nairne and Blunt manufacture (Dalrymple, 1778) but it is known from some of the more assiduously maintained logbooks that barometers of different manufacture were also used, such as Dolland, Barraud, Troughton, and Gilbert. On occasion more than one barometer was in use (e.g. Dolland, Barraud and Troughton on board the Thomas

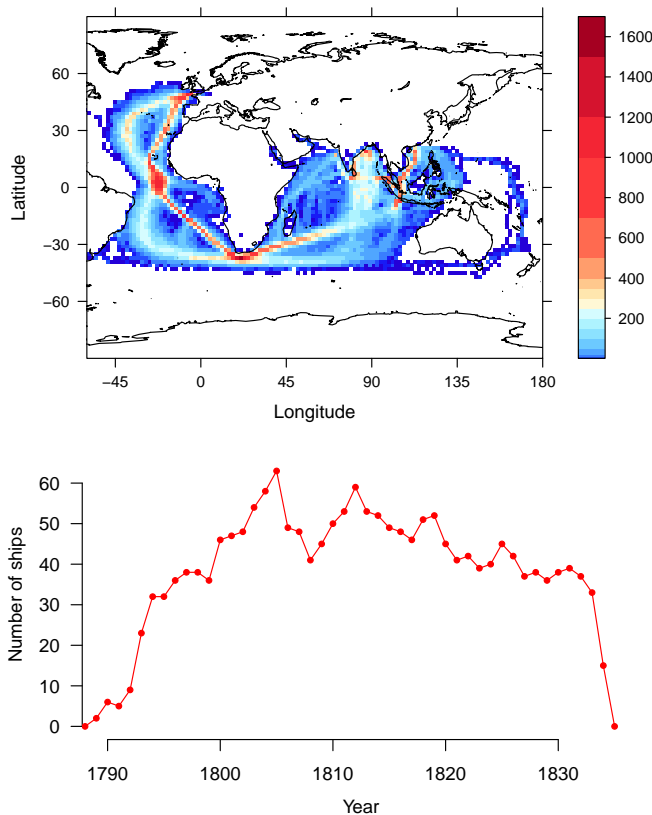


Coutts voyage of 1817-1819), and multiple thermometers are also occasionally seen (e.g. Gilbert and Blunt manufactures on board the Neptune voyage of 1814-15). It is likely that a diverse range of instruments was used across the EEIC fleet.

The vast majority of the temperature and pressure observations were made at noon (a handfull of logbooks record morning and afternoon observations on the same day); the location of the instruments is not known for certain, but it is likely that the thermometer and barometer were kept together in the captain's quarters and adjacent gallery at the stern of the vessel — Dalrymple's report includes the following "this thermometer belonged to Mr. Russell, and hung in the open air in the balcony" (Dalrymple, 1778).

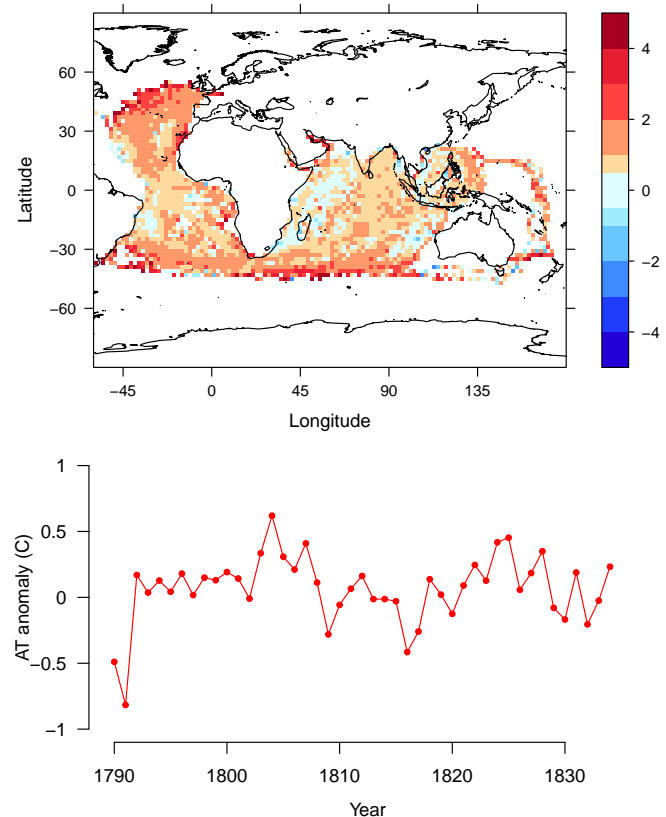
### 3.2.1 Temperature

The temperatures are recorded in degrees Fahrenheit: usually to a precision of 1 degree but sometimes to a quarter or a tenth of a degree. In some instances thermometer values were recorded in the format of degrees and seconds (e.g.  $82^{\circ}45'$ ,



**Fig. 4.** Geographical coverage of the observations. Upper panel: total number of observations in each 2x2 degree square. Lower panel: number of ships providing observations in each year.

representing  $82.75^{\circ}F$ , as seen in figure 2), similar to the typical format for latitude or longitude. As the observations pre-date the development of the modern Stevenson-type screen, the major difficulty in comparing them to modern observations will be their exposure — the details of how the thermometer was screened from solar radiation. It is likely that the thermometers were less well screened than the modern standard, and also contaminated by ship heating (Chenoweth, 2000; Berry and Kent, 2005). They will therefore be biased warm, and the bias will be larger in regions where the surface solar radiation is large. Figure 5 shows the distribution of the temperature anomalies (difference from recent values). The



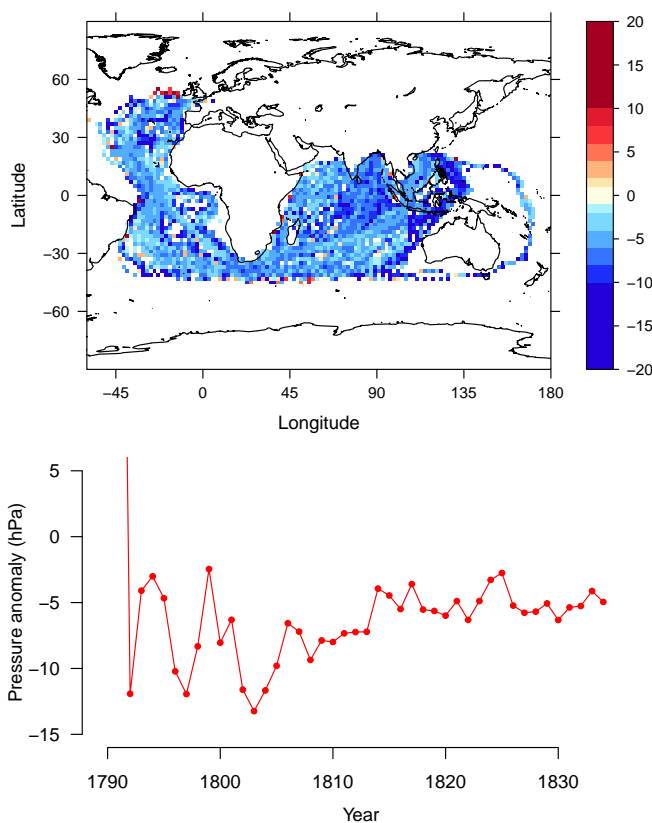
**Fig. 5.** Air temperature (AT) anomalies ( $^{\circ}C$ ): observations minus an air-temperature climatology for 1961–90 (Rayner et al., 2003). Upper panel: truncated mean AT anomaly in each 2x2 degree square. Lower panel: truncated mean AT anomaly in each year. Note that the observed temperatures are not bias-adjusted.

temperatures are consistently warmer than their recent equivalents, but the difference is much more likely to be a result of exposure bias than an indication that surface temperatures were warmer in 1789-1834 than in 1961-90. The mean temperature changes little over the period of the observations, with modest falls in 1809 and 1816 — almost certainly a

consequences of the two large tropical volcanic eruptions in the period.

### 3.2.2 Pressure

The pressures were recorded in inches of mercury, usually to a decimal precision of 1/100 of an inch, but occasionally as a fraction (e.g.  $29\frac{7}{8}$ ). The pressures have been corrected for gravity (using the observed ship latitude) and for temperature (using the associated air temperature where available - no barometer attached temperatures were recorded). Figure 6 shows the distribution of the pressure anomalies (difference from recent values). The pressures are systematically



**Fig. 6.** Air Pressure (AP) anomalies from mercury barometers (hPa): observations minus a sea-level pressure climatology for 1961–90 (Allan and Ansell, 2006). Upper panel: mean AP anomaly in each 2x2 degree square. Lower panel: mean AP anomaly in each year.

and consistently about 5hPa (0.15 inches) below their recent equivalents. This bias has been observed before in pre-1855 marine observations (Ansell et al., 2006; Brohan et al., 2010) and the cause is still unknown. It is unlikely to be an effect of gravity or temperature correction because it doesn't vary with temperature or latitude, and it seems equally unlikely

to be an artifact of the movement of the ship as it appears equally in stormy and calm regions.

In 1818, Alexander Adie patented the sympiesometer, a mercury-less marine barometer containing coloured almond oil and hydrogen gas (Middleton, 1964). Several of the later EEIC voyages carried a sympiesometer, either in tandem with the mercury barometer or as a standalone pressure gauge: 31 of the 893 digitized logbooks have records from sympiesometers. Of those 31 logs, 30 also contained records from a mercury barometer, and in some cases simultaneous observations from both instruments were recorded.

There are large and systematic differences between the sympiesometer and barometer measurements. The sympiesometer was designed to be portable and to respond rapidly to pressure changes, rather than for accuracy and stability; and time-series of sympiesometer measurements (not shown) often show large drifts in pressure readings over a voyage. So the indications are that sympiesometer records will need close attention to calibration and correction in order to be useful for historical reconstructions.

The pressure observations included in the attached IMMA records are all believed to be from mercury barometers, but it is possible that in some of the later voyages the pressure observations are actually from a sympiesometer. That is, a sympiesometer has been used in place of the usual mercury barometer but the substitution is not mentioned in the logbook.

### 3.2.3 Wind speed

The wind speed observations in the logbooks are, as is usual at sea, subjective assessments based on the sails carried and the state of the sea. The vocabulary of such assessments was not formally standardised until the 1830s, when Sir Francis Beaufort succeeded in introducing an official scale, but, even in this pre Beaufort-scale age, sailors were very consistent in their description of the winds, and it is possible to make quantitative estimates of the wind speed from the language in the logs (CLIWOC, 2003). Figure 7 shows the most frequent wind-force terms used and their Beaufort equivalents where available.

About 80% of the terms encountered can be converted to Beaufort forces, and so to 10-metre wind speeds in *m/s*. Figure 8 shows the distribution of the inferred wind-speed anomalies (difference from recent values). The notable feature of figure 8 is the large anomalies in the trade-wind regions. It's possible that the trade winds were stronger around 1800, but as no equivalent anomaly appears in the pressure fields it's more likely that the CLIWOC dictionary is slightly mis-calibrated in those regions (stronger trades imply a stronger sub-tropical high or a deeper equatorial low).

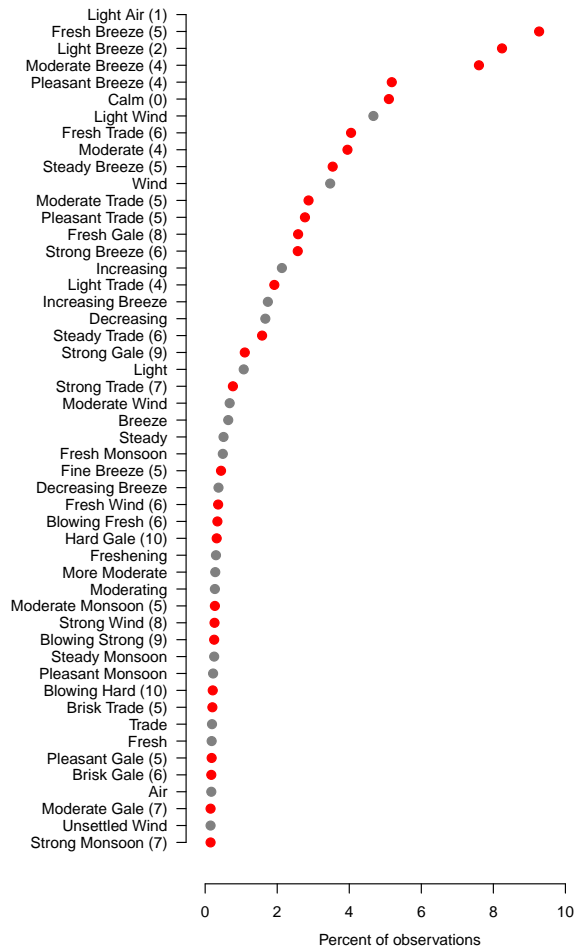
Although all the pressure and temperature observations in the selected logbooks were digitised, budget constraints meant that not all of the much more numerous and various wind observations were. There are also wind observa-

tions in the more than 3000 logbooks in the BL archive that were not examined in this study (because they had no instrumental pressure or temperature observations). So much more information on wind fields is still potentially available in the BL EEIC logbook archive. If extracted in a future project, these records would provide information on sub-daily weather variability back into the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

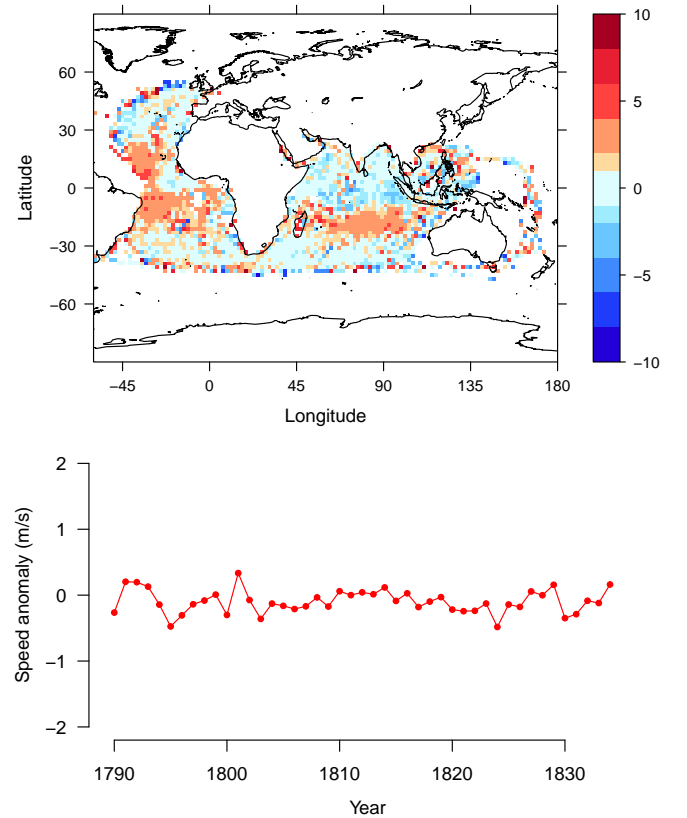
#### 4 Constraining proxy reconstructions and GCM simulations

The biases in the observed air temperatures mean that it's difficult to compare temperatures in the early nineteenth century with present day values, but the observational method

and ship routes were constant over the period covered by the EEIC observations so they can be used directly to look at temperature variations over the period 1795–1833 (when there were enough ships contributing to give reliable results). Extracting a set of pseudo-observations from each GCM run, by sampling from the model output fields at the date and location of each observation allows a direct comparison between observations and simulations (figure 9: upper panel). It's clear that the observational coverage is sufficient to show the effect of the volcanoes in the simulations, and it's also clear that the observations support those simulations with a small temperature response to the Tambora and 1809 eruptions. Much of the variation between simulations is a reflection of the uncertain forcing produced by the eruptions (Wagner and Zorita, 2005; Schmidt et al., 2011), so this says little about the accuracy of any GCM, but it does demonstrate that the large volcanic response present in several simulations did not occur.

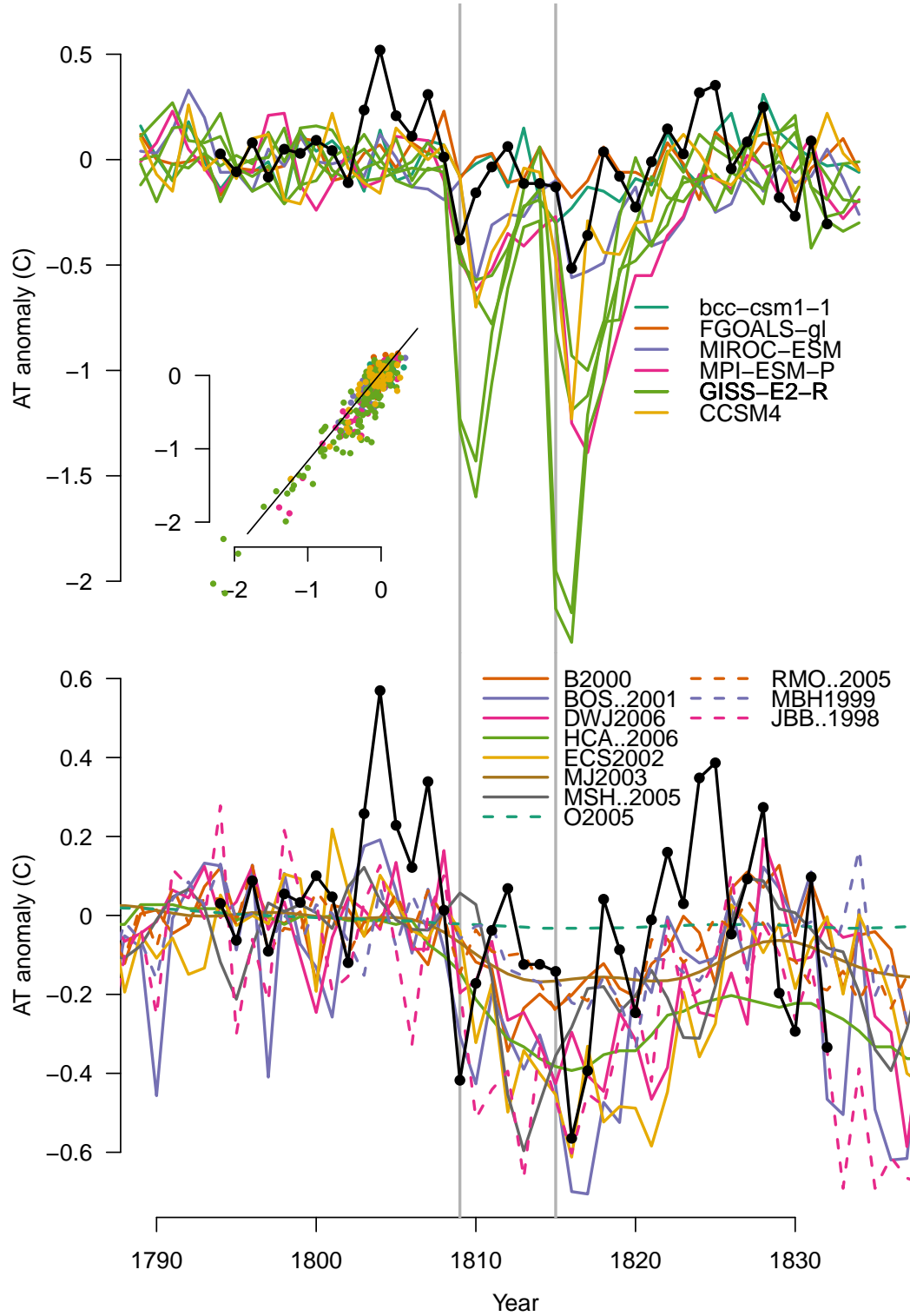


**Fig. 7.** The most common wind-force descriptors in the logs. Red points mark descriptors that can be converted to a Beaufort force using the CLIWOC dictionary (the Beaufort category is given in brackets after the descriptor in these cases). Grey points are terms which can't be converted.



**Fig. 8.** Wind Speed (WS) anomalies (m/s): observations minus a wind-speed climatology for 1961–90 from the ERA-40 reanalysis (Uppala et al., 2005). Upper panel: truncated mean WS anomaly in each 2x2 degree square. Lower panel: truncated mean WS anomaly in each year.





**Fig. 9.** Comparison of observed, simulated, and proxy-derived large-scale near-surface temperature variability over the early nineteenth century. Upper panel: tropical (observations coverage) marine temperatures from observations (black) and the CMIP5 simulations. Lower panel: northern hemisphere temperatures from observations (black) and proxy reconstructions. Inset: relationship between observations coverage (x) and northern hemisphere (y) temperature in the simulations, with best fit line (slope 1.2). All series normalised to have mean zero over 1795-1805. The grey vertical lines mark the dates of two large volcanic eruptions (1809 and 1815). Data used is listed in table 1.

Comparison with the proxies is more complicated, as they don't usually provide field reconstructions — just time-series for the entire Northern Hemisphere (NH). However comparing the GCM results subsampled to the coverage of the observations with their NH averages (figure 9: inset) indicate that the NH temperature anomalies are linearly related to the observational anomalies  $\Delta T_{NH} \approx \Delta T_{obs} \times 1.2$ , and figure 9 (lower panel) compares the proxy reconstructions to the observational series scaled by this factor.

With the exception of the glacier based reconstruction (O2005) which has (unsurprisingly) too little variance on these short timescales, the agreement between the proxy reconstructions and the observations is good. It's not easy to say which of the proxy series is the best, but as a group they match the observations well. As this comparison is for a period outside that used to calibrate the proxies (both in time and temperature) the observations form a validation for the proxy reconstructions — demonstrating that the proxies can be used to extrapolate back into the past, and into different climates, with success.

## 5 Conclusions

The records of the English East India Company (EEIC), archived in the British Library, offer a remarkable new insight into the weather and climate of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Their archives include 891 ships' logbooks containing daily temperature and pressure measurements, and wind-speed estimates, each covering a voyage from England to India or China and back. The 273,000 new weather observations extracted from those logs provide material for detailed reconstructions of the weather and climate between 1789 and 1834 and offer new insights into pre-industrial climate variability. For all three meteorological variables studied (temperature, pressure and wind) it's clear that the data can be used for investigating variability over the period of measurement, though comparison with measurements made decades or centuries later will require close attention to observational biases.

The observations demonstrate that the large-scale temperature change, over the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, associated with the two big tropical volcanic eruptions in 1809 and 1815 was modest (perhaps  $0.5^{\circ}\text{C}$ ). Some of the GCM simulations in the CMIP5 ensemble show much larger volcanic effects than this — such simulations are unlikely to be accurate in this respect. Recent annually-resolved proxy reconstructions of Northern Hemisphere temperature show a varied but similarly modest volcanic response (about  $0.2\text{--}0.7^{\circ}\text{C}$ ); the new observations therefore provide an out-of-sample validation for the proxy reconstructions — supporting their use for longer-term climate reconstructions.

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B2000	Briffa (2000); Briffa et al. (2004)
BOS..2001	Briffa et al. (2001)
DWJ2006	D'Arrigo et al. (2006)
HCA..2006	Hegerl et al. (2006)
ECS2002	Esper et al. (2002); Cook et al. (2004)
MJ2003	Mann and Jones (2003)
MSH2005	Moberg et al. (2005)
O2005	Oerlemans (2005)
RMO..2005	Rutherford et al. (2005)
MBH1999	Mann et al. (1999)
JBB.1998	Jones et al. (1998, 2001)

bcc-csm1-1	Beijing Climate Center, China Meteorological Administration (Wu et al., submitted)
GISS-E2-R	NASA Goddard Institute for Space Studies (Schmidt et al., 2006)
FGOALS-g1	LASG, Institute of Atmospheric Physics, Chinese Academy of Sciences (Zhou et al., 2008)
MIROC-ESM	Japan Agency for Marine-Earth Science and Technology, Atmosphere and Ocean Research Institute (The University of Tokyo), and National Institute for Environmental Studies (Watanabe et al., 2010)
MPI-ESM-P	Max Planck Institute for Meteorology (Raddatz et al., 2007; Marsland et al., 2003)
CCSM4	National Center for Atmospheric Research (Gent et al., 2011)

**Table 1.** Proxy series (top) and modelling groups (bottom) providing data used in figures 1 and 9



Ship Name	Years of operation
Melville Castle	1789–1790,1792–1793,1796–1802
Rose (2)	1789–1790,1799–1800
Barwell (1)	1790–1791,1795–1796
Belvedere	1790–1791
Earl Of Abergavenny (2)	1790,1797–1800
Marquis Of Lansdown	1790–1791,1793–1800
Ocean (1)	1791–1797
Bridgewater (3)	1791–1793,1796–1797
Lascelles	1792–1796
Middlesex (2)	1792–1795
Royal Admiral (1)	1792–1796
Swallow (3)	1792–1794
Ganges (1)	1792–1795
General Goddard	1792–1793
Pigot (2)	1793–1794
Ceres (2)	1793–1794
Warley (1)	1793–1794
Berrington	1793–1794
General Coote	1793–1794
Rodney (2)	1793–1796
Princess Amelia (3)	1793–1796
Francis (2)	1793–1796
Exeter (2)	1793–1794,1800–1801,1803–1804,1810–1811
Lord Thurlow	1793–1794,1797–1802
Lord Walsingham	1793–1794,1797–1799
Minerva (1)	1793–1796,1799–1800
Earl Of Chesterfield	1793–1794
Earl Of Wycombe	1794–1795,1797–1799
Sir Edward Hughes	1794–1795,1797–1803
Woodford (1)	1794–1805,1807–1808,1810–1811
Thetis (1)	1794–1797
Rockingham (1)	1794–1795,1798–1802
Walpole (4)	1794–1795
Phoenix (3)	1794–1795
Lord Hawkesbury	1794–1802,1804–1806
Taunton Castle	1794–1795,1799–1800,1804–1805,1809–1810
Europa (2)	1794–1795
Queen (4)	1794–1798
Carnatic (2)	1794–1795,1801–1802
Princess Of Wales (3)	1795–1797
Earl Of Oxford	1795–1796
Cirencester	1795–1796,1812–1813
London (13)	1795–1796
Bellona	1795–1798
Hillsborough (2)	1795–1798
Kent (5)	1795–1797
Woodcot	1795–1796
Brunswick (1)	1795–1797
Cuffnells	1796–1800,1802–1805,1809–1810
Princess Charlotte (1)	1796–1797
Albion (2)	1796–1798
Royal Charlotte (5)	1796–1807,1809–1815
Essex (4)	1796–1798
True Briton (4)	1796–1798,1801–1802
Airly Castle	1796–1797,1804–1806
Walmer Castle	1796–1798,1802–1805,1815–1816
Boddam	1796–1800
Manship (1)	1796–1800
Good Hope (3)	1796–1799
Henry Addington (1)	1796–1798
Ganges (3)	1797–1802
Prince William Henry	1797–1799
Britannia (4)	1797–1805
Warley (2)	1797–1800,1805–1809,1811–1814
Hope (2)	1797–1808,1811–1816
Arniston	1797–1798,1804–1807,1810–1811
Eurydice	1797–1799
Sullivan	1797–1798
Osterley (3)	1798–1800

Ship Name	Years of operation
Earl Howe	1798–1810
Lord Duncan	1798–1806
Ocean (3)	1798–1800
Tellicherry	1798–1799
Earl Cornwallis	1798–1800
Orpheus	1798–1800
Charlton	1799–1806
Asia (4)	1799–1803
Hindustan (2)	1799–1800
Duke Of Buccleugh (1)	1799–1800
Preston	1799–1800
Herculean	1800–1801
Dorsetshire	1800–1801,1803–1804,1806,1811–1812,1814–1815,1817–1818,1820–1823
Earl Spencer (2)	1800–1801,1803–1810
Neptune (5)	1800–1801,1804–1807,1809–1810,1812–1815
Hugh Inglis	1800–1801,1810–1812
Lady Burges	1800–1805
Walthamstow	1800–1801,1804–1805,1808–1813
Lord Nelson	1800–1801,1806–1807
Ceres (4)	1800–1805,1808–1809
City Of London	1800–1801,1803–1808,1812–1813
Bengal	1800–1802,1806–1807
Canton	1800–1805,1808–1811
Georgiana (1)	1800–1803,1805–1807
Hawke (5)	1800–1801
Earl St	1800–1801,1808–1813
Henry Dundas	1801–1802
Calcutta (4)	1801–1804
Alfred (2)	1801–1802,1807–1808,1810–1811
Caledonian (2)	1801–1803
Henry Addington (2)	1801–1802,1805–1806,1811–1812,1814–1815
Walpole (5)	1801–1802
Ocean (4)	1801–1803,1805–1806,1808–1809
Northampton (2)	1801–1805,1807–1810,1818–1819
Princess Mary (2)	1801–1805
Fort William (2)	1801–1802
Monarch	1801–1802
Experiment (2)	1801
Manship (2)	1801–1803
Sarah Christiana	1801–1802
Comet (2)	1801–1803
Marquis Of Ely	1802–1805,1811–1814,1819–1820
Marquis Wellesley	1802–1803,1806–1808
Castle Eden	1802–1804
Lady Jane Dundas	1802–1807
Thames (2)	1802–1805,1809–1810,1812–1813
Sir William Bensley	1802–1811
Tottenham	1802–1803,1806–1810
Travers	1802–1806
Alnwick Castle	1802–1813,1815–1816
Marchioness Of Exeter	1802–1803,1811–1814,1816–1817
Devaynes	1802–1808,1811–1812
Ann (1)	1803–1809,1814–1815
Experiment (4)	1803–1805
Cumberland	1803–1804,1809–1810
Warren Hastings (2)	1803–1804
Harriet (3)	1803–1811
Elphinstone	1803–1811
Tigris (2)	1803–1805,1810–1815
Marquis Cornwallis (2)	1803
Windham (2)	1803–1806,1816–1817
Europe (2)	1803–1807
Euphrates	1803–1805
General Stuart	1803–1804,1807,1811–1814
Essex (5)	1803–1805,1808–1809,1819–1820
Carmarthen	1803–1818
Union (4)	1803–1804,1808–1812,1815–1818

**Table 2.** Ships from which observations were taken (1 of 2 — starting dates 1789 to 1803).

Ship Name	Years of operation
Ocean (5)	1803–1805
Lord Melville (1)	1803–1808, 1811–1816
Dover Castle	1804–1805, 1809–1810
Indus	1804–1805, 1810–1815
Alexander (3)	1804–1809, 1814
Lord Eldon	1804–1814
Waller	1804
Winchelsea (3)	1804–1807, 1810–1815, 1817–1818, 1820–1823, 1831–1832
Ocean (6)	1804–1814
Huddart	1804–1805, 1808–1809, 1815–1816
United Kingdom	1804–1805, 1807–1808
Bombay Castle	1805–1806
Surrey (1)	1805–1810
Northumberland (5)	1805–1818
Royal George (4)	1805–1811, 1814–1818
Sir William Pultney	1805–1807, 1815–1816
Streatham (4)	1805–1814, 1817–1818
Glory	1805–1807
William Pitt (2)	1805–1807, 1810–1820
Phoenix (5)	1805–1809, 1816–1819
Wexford	1805–1817
David Scott (2)	1806–1807, 1812–1813, 1815–1816
Glatton (4)	1806–1807, 1809–1810, 1812–1815
Sir Stephen Lushington	1806–1811
Regent	1807, 1816–1819, 1822
Lady Castlereagh	1807–1817
Admiral Gardner	1807–1808
Union (5)	1807–1808, 1813–1814
Lord Keith	1808–1811, 1814–1819
Princess Amelia (4)	1809–1825
Thomas Grenville	1809–1832
Warren Hastings (3)	1809–1810, 1814–1821, 1825–1828, 1831–1834
Coutts	1809–1810, 1812–1815
Lady Lushington	1809–1814, 1818–1819
Farlie	1809–1814, 1818–1819
Charles Grant	1810–1816, 1819–1830, 1832–1833
Surat Castle (2)	1810–1815
Lady Carrington	1810, 1812–1817
Midas	1810–1811
Warren Hastings (5)	1811–1812, 1815–1816, 1819–1820, 1823–1826
Carnatic (3)	1811–1820
John Palmer	1811
Cambridge	1811–1812, 1825–1827
Scaleby Castle	1811–1812, 1814–1828, 1831–1834
William Pitt (3)	1811–1812
Harleston	1811–1812
Moffat	1811–1812, 1818–1819
Rose (4)	1811–1822, 1824–1827, 1833–1834
General Harris	1812–1831
Broxbornebury	1812–1813, 1825–1828
Asia (6)	1812–1826, 1832–1833
Marquis Of Huntley	1812–1813, 1818–1823, 1831–1834
Perseverance (2)	1812–1814, 1818–1819
Marquis Camden	1812–1814, 1821–1829, 1832–1833
Juliana	1812–1813
Astell	1812–1813, 1818–1821, 1824–1825, 1830–1831
Princess Charlotte Of Wales	1812–1822, 1825–1828
Coldstream	1812–1813, 1816–1817, 1822–1823
Cabalva	1812–1817
David Scott (1)	1813–1814
Marquis Of Wellington (1)	1813–1822, 1827, 1829–1830
Atlas (4)	1813–1830

Ship Name	Years of operation
Lowther Castle	1813–1828, 1831–1834
Bombay	1814–1815, 1817–1822, 1825–1828, 1831–1834
Prince Regent	1814–1815, 1818–1829, 1833–1834
Lady Melville	1814–1821, 1824–1827, 1829–1834
Minerva (7)	1815–1822, 1825–1832
Surrey (2)	1815
General Kyd	1815–1816, 1823–1832
James Sibbald	1815–1816, 1826–1829
Sovereign (2)	1816–1817
Northampton (3)	1816
Fort William (3)	1816–1817
Mangles	1816–1819
Buckinghamshire	1816–1824
Providence (1)	1816–1817
Larkins (1)	1816–1817
Earl Of Balcarras	1816–1833
Vansittart (4)	1817–1824, 1827–1834
Lord Castlereagh (1)	1817–1820
Waterloo (1)	1817–1832
Bridgewater (5)	1817–1830
Herefordshire	1817–1818, 1821–1826, 1829–1834
Barkworth	1817–1818
Castle Huntley	1818–1821, 1824–1825, 1828–1831, 1833–1834
General Hewett	1818–1825
London (14)	1818–1823, 1826–1833
Canning	1818–1832
Duke Of York (2)	1818–1826, 1829–1830
Dunira	1818–1819, 1822–1823, 1830–1833
Thomas Coutts	1818–1825, 1828–1833
Henry Porcher	1818–1819
Matilda	1819–1820
Kellie Castle	1819–1830, 1833–1834
Inglis	1819–1832
Thames (5)	1819–1821, 1824–1827, 1829–1834
Cornwall	1819–1820, 1826
Windsor (2)	1819–1820, 1825–1828, 1832–1833
Marchioness Of Ely	1820–1821, 1826–1829
Orwell	1820–1831
Kent (7)	1821–1824
Royal George (5)	1821–1824
Farquharson	1821–1828, 1831–1834
William Fairlie	1822–1833
Berwickshire	1822–1833
Sir David Scott	1822–1825, 1830–1833
Duchess Of Athol	1822–1826, 1828–1833
Repulse	1823–1830
Claudine	1824–1825
Macqueen	1824–1825, 1830–1833
Java	1825
Clyde (2)	1825–1826
George The Fourth	1826–1833
Edinburgh	1826–1831
Reliance	1828–1833
Abercrombie Robinson	1828–1833
Maitland	1828–1829
Asia (10)	1829–1830
Susan (2)	1830–1831
Marquis Of Hastings	1830–1831
Lord Lowther	1830–1833
Duke Of Sussex	1831–1832
Duke Of Buccleugh (2)	1831–1832
Bencoolen	1832–1833
Sherborne (2)	1833–1834

**Table 3.** Ships from which observations were taken (2 of 2 — starting dates 1803 to 1833).