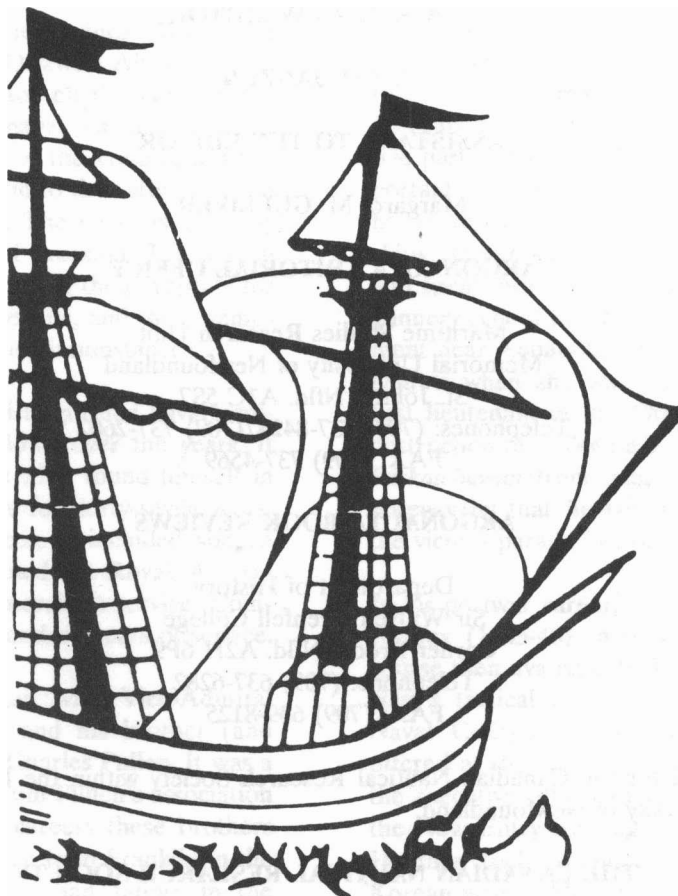


ARGONAUTA

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In Memoriam: Thomas Charles Pullen, 1918-1990

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EDITORS

Lewis R. FISCHER
Gerald E. PANTING

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

Olaf U. JANZEN

ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR

Margaret M. GULLIVER

ARGONAUTA EDITORIAL OFFICE

Maritime Studies Research Unit
Memorial University of Newfoundland
St. John's, Nod. A1C 5S7
Telephones: (709) 737-8424/(709) 737-2602
FAX: (709) 737-4569

ARGONAUTA BOOK REVIEWS

Department of History
Sir Wilfred Grenfell College
Corner Brook, Nod. A2H 6P9
Telephone: (709) 637-6282
FAX: (709) 639-8125

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CNRS MAILING ADDRESS

P.O. Box 7008, Station J
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PRESIDENT'S CORNER

*In Memoriam: Captain Thomas Charles Pullen,
Oc, CD, RCN (Ret'd), 1918-1990*

A great seaman, one of the world's foremost Arctic navigators, and an active member of the Anglican laity, Tom Pullen died on 3 August 1990. At Ottawa's All Saints Cathedral, where his funeral took place on 6 August, there was hardly an empty pew. Former naval persons and serving sailors comprised a large part of the congregation; a naval funeral party escorted the coffin to the cathedral; and naval officers served as pallbearers. The navy, as so many have remarked, has a great sense of occasion. The person to whom the navy and others were paying their respects for the last time was no exception to the rule, and the ceremony was accordingly appropriate to the circumstances.

The Pullen family has a long and distinguished naval pedigree, which Tom himself tracked down over the years. It began with Nicholas Pullen, who in 1781 found himself in the Royal Navy and went on to serve for thirty-seven years, achieving the rank of warrant officer. It included sixteen other Pullens, who subsequently joined the Royal, Australian and Canadian navies and the merchant service. Combined they accumulated over four hundred years of service.

The connection with Canada began with Vice-Admiral William John Samuel Pullen, RN, and his brother (and Tom's namesake), Captain Thomas Charles Pullen. It was a remarkable coincidence, in view of Tom Pullen's association with the Arctic, that early in their careers these brothers took part in the search for Captain Sir John Franklin in the Canadian Arctic. The principal Canadian sailors in the family tree, Tom and his older brother, the late Rear-Admiral Hugh Francis Pullen, RCN, seem to have been indirect descendants of a third brother in that nineteenth century naval family, an earlier Hugh Francis Pullen (1825-1883), who served as Paymaster-in-Chief of the Royal Navy.

Tom was born in Oakville, Ontario, where his parents had settled, on 27 May 1918. He fell in love with the navy and with ships as early as he could remember, and in 1936 followed his brother into the RCN after attending what is now called Lakefield College School. His early training, like that of all Canadian naval officers at the time, was with the Royal Navy, and he was one of a very successful lot, including Vice-Admiral Ralph Hennessy, Vice-Admiral William Landymore, Rear-Admiral "Bob" Welland, and Rear-Admiral "Bobby" Murdoch. Yet among the members of this

term, even if he did not reach flag rank, T.e. Pullen's sea-going achievements stand alone.

His midshipman's journal, the preparation of which was to so many "young gentlemen" a dreadful penance, shows the orderly mind and indestructible enthusiasm that would characterize his career, both as a naval officer and as Canada's leading authority on ice navigation. His early service in the Second Destroyer Flotilla of the Mediterranean Fleet (perhaps the most efficient, and certainly the most competitive part of the Royal Navy between the wars) was an important formative influence. During the Second World War he qualified as a specialist gunnery officer; served in the ships *Assiniboine*, *Chaudiere*, *Ottawa*, and *Saskatchewan*; and spent more time than he wanted (about a year) at the gunnery school in HMCS *Cornwallis*, the training establishment near Annapolis, N.S. He was a first lieutenant on the *Ottawa* when she was torpedoed on 13 September 1942; first lieutenant of the *Chaudiere* during the long hunt and destruction of *U-744* on 5-6 March 1944; and captain of the *Saskatchewan* from August 1944 until October 1945. It is noteworthy that he commanded the RCN's contingent at the victory parade in London, England, on 8 June 1946.

In his postwar career, he ran the RCN's gunnery school at Halifax (1945-48); managed to take virtually every staff course then available to RCN officers (including the Royal Navy's tactical course and the staff course at the Royal Naval College in Greenwich, both in 1948; and those offered at the Imperial Defence College in 1958); and was the executive officer of HMCS *Cornwallis*, which was then the New Entry training establishment, from 1951 to 1953. He then took command of HMCS *Huron* for service in Korean waters. He was for a while Commander, Canadian Destroyers Far East, before receiving a two-year appointment to Naval Headquarters in Ottawa in 1954.

It was in February 1956 that he received the prize of his naval career: command of HMCS *Labrador*. The navy acquired this Westwind-class icebreaker, built at the Davies shipyard in Quebec, to give the RCN the capability to navigate in Canadian Arctic waters at a time that the country was participating in the supply of Distant Early Warning stations. Under the command of Captain O.C.S. "Robby" Robertson, RCN, the *Labrador* in that year completed the first deep-draft navigation of the Northwest Passage.

Having sailed in the ship for familiarisation in the Eastern Arctic and the Foxe Basin in 1955, Captain Pullen took command and assumed the role of Senior Officer for the

U.S. Navy, U.S. Coast Guard and Canadian Eastern Arctic DEW-Line sealift convoys in 1956. The next year, when he was thirty-nine years old, he became the U.S. Navy Task Force Group Commander for the survey and opening of Bellot Strait. As the writer of his obituary in the London *Daily Telegraph* put it, "he drove *Labrador* so hard during 211 days at sea that she sailed through 37,000 miles of largely uncharted waters without dropping anchor once." Pullen was the second and last naval commander of the ship; the navy turned her over to the Department of Transport in 1958. It is safe to say that under naval command the ship had a more purposeful and productive career than it has had since.

In 1960 he took command of the naval airstation, HMCS *Shearwater*, and of the first-of-class supply ship *Provider* (1%3-64). In these posts he made his mark by conducting the first twenty-knot night refuelling of the Mackenzie-class destroyer escort, HMCS *Yukon*. It was, however, to be his last seagoing naval command. In 1%5, as the army, navy and airforce were enduring the transition to a single unified service, he was one of those sailors who chose to pursue their avocation elsewhere.

He established himself without pause as a consultant on Arctic navigation and as an ice master. His "list of credits" in these roles is too long to list in its entirety, but it included six Arctic surveys with the Canadian Coast Guard; the 1969 and 1970 voyages of the *Manhattan* in the Northwest Passage; advice in 1976 on the design and construction of icebreakers in Finland; and seven seasons as ice master in the Arctic (plus one in the Antarctic for good measure). Tom assessed his most important efforts as the double transits of the Northwest Passage in one season "of that enormous 155,000 ton icebreaker *Manhattan*;" the successful tow from the St. Lawrence of a twelve thousand-ton barge "in the face of so many critics who were determined that it could not be done;" the completion of four Northwest Passage transits; and the "circumnavigation of Fury and Hecla Strait and the heavy pack in the Gulf of Boothia, late in the season, and totally unaided." In recognition of his services to Arctic knowledge, he was appointed to the Order of Canada in 1984. The same year, the Royal Canadian Geographic Society awarded him its prestigious Massey Medal.

For several years Tom served on the council of our society and made lively and useful contributions to the meetings he was able to attend. It always worried him that he was "sailing under false colours," but there was no doubt in the minds of his fellow directors that his presence on the board was of the greatest value. In a May 1990 letter declining nomination for First Vice-President of CNRS, Tom wrote that:

I have continuing commitments now for two companies involved in Arctic cruising, and subsequently demands for my services as Ice Master for voyages through the Northwest Passage and also into Soviet Arctic waters leading, it is to be hoped, to an attempt on the Northeast Passage. Three new expedition ships are building to meet a growing demand for these specialist cruise...It is my determination to carry on being involved in the Arctic operationally (rather than in research) for as long as I am physically up to it.."

It was of course that full seagoing life that made him so important to those of us who attempt to write about the sea, and it is the connection between the seafaring community and those who engage in research about it that gives our society its lifeblood. When that letter was written nobody had any idea how soon, how sadly, and in what an untimely fashion his plans would have to be abandoned. The committee chosen by the Admiral's Medal Foundation to select this year's winner of the Admiral's Medal was no exception. Thus, it was not until 22 October that Tom Pullen was announced as the recipient of the award for 1990. The citation reads:

For his significant personal contribution to navigation, exploration, geographical knowledge and the advancement of science in the Arctic. By continuing to apply his rare expertise and remarkable intellect to problems of Arctic operations and through his tireless and ongoing studies, he made himself a leading expert in his field, which is of extraordinary and special importance to Canada and to maritime affairs.

The world has lost a precious asset in this modest, supremely competent, and good humoured man. We extend our deepest sympathy to his family.

W.A.B. Douglas
Ottawa, Ontario

ARGONAUTA EDITORIALS

(I)

The production work for this issue of *ARGONAUTA* was done under what were without question the saddest conditions that we have yet encountered. The reason for these negative emotions should already be apparent from reading

Alec Douglas' moving and eloquent tribute to the late Tom Pullen, whose death this summer cast a pall over the preparation of this issue. As a measure of the importance we attach to his loss and as a mark of respect for the contributions he made both to CNRS and to Canadian maritime studies in general, we have altered the traditional format of *ARGONAUTA* for this issue only. That is why the "President's Corner" began on page one.

There is only one thing that we would like to add to Alec's eulogy: a thought that has sustained us for the past few months. Those of us within the society who were fortunate enough to have known Tom personally will of course have our individual memories. But perhaps one that we can all share reflects perhaps his most natural talent, one at which he never had to work. We refer of course to his remarkable knack for enriching the lives of those with whom he came into contact. Tom's accomplishments were formidable, to be sure, but his warmth, graciousness and generosity of spirit were if anything even more impressive. As Alec wrote, he will indeed be missed. But we are all better people for having had the opportunity to be touched by his presence.

Lewis R. Fischer
Gerald E. Panting

(II)

We would like to apologize for the late appearance of this issue of *ARGONAUTA*. The delay was caused by an event beyond our control: a lengthy strike by the support services staff at Memorial University. This included the university's Printing Services, the people who print the newsletter. The Executive joins us in expressing our regrets for any inconvenience caused by this unfortunate circumstance.

Because of the backlog of work caused by this strike, there will also be some longer-term consequences for our publications. We expect that the January *ARGONAUTA* and the inaugural issue of *The Northern Mariner* will both be delayed by about one month. Our present projections are that the April issues of both publications will appear about two weeks behind schedule. Our goal is to ensure that beginning with the July 1991 issues we will be able to resume our regular publication timetable.

We hope that you will bear with us through these delays. Readers can be assured that we will do everything possible to minimize them.

Lewis R. Fischer
Gerald E. Panting

(III)

Ever since the founding of the Canadian Nautical Research Society, the membership has expressed a desire that the organization have its own journal. The hurdles between rhetoric and reality proved daunting, however, and despite the groundwork put in by a number of members, the time never was deemed to be quite right. It is therefore with a great deal of satisfaction that we can now tell you that the right time has finally come. In August the executive approved the establishment of *The Northern Mariner*, CNRS' own quarterly journal. You will be receiving your first copy in January. *The Northern Mariner* will contain a selection of articles, notes, memoirs and book reviews. We hope that you will find them enjoyable, and we also hope that you will consider contributing to this endeavour. For the journal to be successful, we are going to have to have members' support. We will tell you more about *The Northern Mariner* in an article in the "ARGONAUTA News" section.

But what does this development mean for *ARGONAUTA*? Along with the executive, we have pondered this question long and hard. It is with a great deal of satisfaction that we can now tell you that *ARGONAUTA* will continue to appear in your mailboxes every three months. It will be slimmer, averaging sixteen pages per issue, but it will contain many of the features that you have come to expect--columns, news from members and museums, the *ARGONAUTA* diary, and certain kinds of articles. All that will be missing will be the feature articles and book reviews, which you will now find in *The Northern Mariner*.

CNRS members will now be receiving a quarterly journal and a quarterly newsletter--a better bargain than in any other national maritime organization in the world. Part of this is possible through the continued generous financial support of Memorial University of Newfoundland. But part of the costs are going to have to be borne by the membership. The June 1989 Annual General Meeting in Halifax approved a hike in membership fees to \$25 per year for individuals and \$50 per annum for institutions, contingent upon the establishment of the journal. The executive has now reconfirmed this decision and membership fees will be increased accordingly on 1 January 1991.

While we are understandably reluctant to see fees rise, we think that the service that will be delivered to members will prove the decision justified. We are excited about January. We hope that you will be, too.

Lewis R. Fischer
Gerald E. Panting

(IV)

The envelope containing this issue of *ARGONAUTA* no doubt has confused a number of members since it may appear to contain two issues. But before you discard one (or send it back to us), please note that the "second" *ARGONAUTA* is really our special research directory issue. For technical reasons having to do with our printing facilities at Memorial, it proved impossible to combine the research directory with the regular issue of *ARGONAUTA*. For this reason we asked the Executive to fund the directory as a special issue. For the convenience of those who bind their issues of *ARGONAUTA*, we decided to publish the directory in the same format as the other four issues for the year.

We would also like to thank all the members who took the time to assist us in compiling the research directory. While we did not attain our goal of one hundred percent participation, we believe that the directory is complete enough to be a useful reference tool for our members. We hope that after reading it you will share this view.

Lewis R. Fischer
Gerald E. Panting

ARGONAUTA MAILBAG

(Editors' Note: At the June 1989 Annual General Meeting in Halifax, the membership approved a motion to support CNRS Councillor Eileen Reid Marcil in her efforts to have the Davie Shipyard in Levis, Québec declared an Historic Site. Following is a letter from the Honourable Robert R. de Cotret, Minister of the Environment, approving this designation. Nonetheless, the owners are not legally obligated in any way to protect the heritage value of the site, so the battle is not yet won. We will keep you informed on further progress.

In the meantime, however, readers might wish to support Eileen by writing to the mayor and councillors of Levis-Lauzon and to the Minister of Cultural Affairs of Quebec expressing support for the establishment of a museum. The address for the mayor is: Maire Vincent Chagnon, H6tel de Ville, 225 Cote du Passage, Levis, Québec G6V 5T4. The Minister of Cultural Affairs can be contacted by writing to Madame la Ministre, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 225 Grande-Allée est, Quebec, Quebec GIR 5G5.)

Dr. Eileen Reid Marcil
1216 Maine
Charlesbourg, Québec
G1G 2J4

Dear Dr. Marcil:

Thank you for your letter of June 8, concerning the outcome of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada's deliberations regarding the Davie Shipyard at Lévis, Québec.

I am pleased to inform you that I have recently approved the following recommendation arising from the Board's February meeting:

"The Davie Shipyard at Levis, Quebec, the oldest shipyard in Canada in operational condition, is of national historic and architectural significance and should be commemorated by means of a plaque, the text of which should focus on its place in the history of Canadian shipbuilding while mentioning the technical innovations which were introduced there."

Further, the Board noted the extent and quality of *in situ* resources at Levis relating to the shipbuilding industry in the 19th century and it expressed the hope that a means would be found to preserve those resources and present them to the Canadian public.

Allow me to emphasize that the procedures in place for the drafting and approval of plaque inscriptions are such that the commemoration of national historic sites cannot take place for some time following designation. To discuss possible scheduling of the Davie Shipyard commemorative ceremony, you might wish to contact Mr. G. Desaulniers, Director General of the Canadian Parks Service's Quebec region. He can be reached at P.O. Box 6060, 3 Baude Street, Haute-Ville, Quebec GIR 4V7 (418-648-4042).

In closing, I want to mention that the presence of a Board plaque does not place the owners of the property under any obligation, except perhaps a moral one, to protect its heritage value. I share the Board's hope, however, that the recognition given to the shipyard will be a positive influence in its preservation.

Yours sincerely,
Robert R. de Cotret
Minister of the Environment

Sirs:

A sunken wreck commonly believed to be the *sow str. Bruce* was dedicated in a ceremony held in Ottawa on August 7, 1982 to mark the creation of an underwater park for

wrecks. The wreck is positively *not* the *Bruce*.

The wreck is still unknown but there is a prospect that it is the wood barge *Minnie* (No Registry No.), built in 1873 at Brewer's Mill, Ontario and officially reported sunk in the Ottawa River about July 1929. My reckoning is that the barge was later salvaged and removed to the site near the entrance of the Rideau Canal, then eventually abandoned.

Nonetheless, the evidence remains inconclusive. I am therefore still searching for the clues necessary for a positive identification. I would welcome hearing from any readers with views on this matter.

George Ayoub
194 Arthur Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1R 7C4

Sirs:

I can add some scraps of information to John E. Roué's very interesting essay, "Some Ships Named *Canada*," which appeared in the July *ARGONAUTA*.

In *Jersey Sailing Ships*, John Jean lists two *Canadas*: a 144-ton brig built in Gaspé in 1832 and owned by Philip Pellier and Company of Jersey from 1835 to some uncertain date; and a 156-ton brig built in Gaspé in 1856 and owned by A. de Gruchy of Jersey from 1859 to 1863 (the Guernsey *Directory* of 1873 shows the same vessel owned by de Gruchy, Renouf and Company of Jersey in 1872). The brig built in 1832 appears to have been the 144-ton *Canada* shown in Rosa's list (published in Brookes' *The Lower St. Lawrence*) as having been owned and/or built by Theo. LaMothe in 1834. In that connection, although the vessels in Rosa's list can usually be taken to have been built at or near Quebec City, some thirty vessels built on the Gaspé coast prior to 1843 are included (although their Gaspesian origin is not shown). The probable reason for their inclusion is that before Gaspé and New Carlisle became ports of registry in 1842, the majority of the vessels built on the Gaspé coast were registered at the port of Quebec.

Between 1824 and 1856 about forty Gaspé-built vessels were registered for the first time in Jersey, probably having been issued certificates of British registry at the ports of Gaspé, New Carlisle or Quebec. It can be assumed that the 156-ton *Canada* built in 1856 had such a certificate prior to its registry in Jersey.

Exactly where on the Gaspé peninsula's four hundred miles of coast these two *Canadas* were built is unknown. Some of

the possibilities, however, include Ste. Anne des Monts, Gaspé Bay, Mal Bay, Paspebiac, New Carlisle, Bonaventure, New Richmond, Maria and Carleton.

David J. McDougall
3735 Fort Rolland Avenue
Lachine, P.Q.
HBT IV8

Sirs:

I am currently working on my Ph.D. at Brown University exploring trade relations between Yankee sailors and Northwest coast Indians in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I am particularly interested in locating documents, including logbooks and journals, that pertain to American trade on the Northwest coast between 1788 and 1840, especially those that might be in out-of-the way collections. I would be most grateful for any assistance that *ARGONAUTA* readers might be able to offer.

Mary Malloy
Advisory Curator
Kendall Whaling Museum
27 Everett Street, P.O. Box 297
Sharon, Massachusetts 02067

ARGONAUTA ARTICLES

NOTES ON CUSTOMS HARBOUR CRAFT AND PREVENTIVE SERVICE PATROL BOATS, 1887-1931

By David J. McDougall
Lachine, P.Q.

The Customs Preventive sea-going cruisers were discussed in an earlier essay in *ARGONAUTA*[1] and information on some cruisers not included there will be discussed in a later essay. This essay is a catalogue of the smaller vessels used by Customs and the Preventive Service as harbour craft and patrol boats in fairly sheltered waters. The information has been assembled from a variety of sources and, as is apparent in Table 1, many details remain to be found.

In the late 1880s the Department of Customs is reported to have had three small steam vessels in use, two of which were owned jointly with Marine and Fisheries. The steam yacht *Dream*, which had been acquired in 1887 for use on the Bay of Fundy, was owned jointly by Customs and Marine and Fisheries until the end of 1891, after which it was used solely by Customs. The *Cruiser*, also owned jointly,

was stationed on Lake Ontario in 1889 and appears to have been sold to private interests sometime during the 1890s. The Customs' steam tender *Argus* was in use in Halifax harbour from 1889 to 1910. The *Argus* and the *Dream* were first registered as Department of Customs vessels about 1901 but during at least the last half of the 1890s, the registered owner of the *Argus* was Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who had been Minister of Customs from 1878 to 1892, Minister of Trade and Commerce from 1892 to 1894 (which between 1892 and 1897 included Customs under the administration of a Controller) and then the Conservative Prime Minister of Canada from 1894 to 1896. Similarly, the registered owner of the *Dream* was Nathaniel C. Wallace, Controller of Customs from 1892 to 1895.

The Customs Preventive Service was formed in 1897. In the previous year, Captain O.G.V. Spain, commander of the Marine and Fisheries fleet, had recommended to the Controller of Customs (then the Liberal William Patterson) that in addition to the cruiser *Constance* based at Gaspé and a second cruiser stationed at North Sydney, there should be "a good stout steam launch" operating from Rivière-du-Loup to patrol the lower St. Lawrence river.

In 1897 the Preventive Service fleet is reported to have consisted of seven vessels, but I have only been able to identify four: the steam cruiser *Constance* in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; the steam cruiser *Victoria* at Cape Breton; the steam yacht *Dream*, probably on the Bay of Fundy; and the steam launch *Argus* in Halifax harbour. There could have been a steam launch at Rivière-du-Loup, but I have not found any evidence that the Preventive Service had any vessel stationed there. The other vessels were probably either owned or chartered by Marine and Fisheries and loaned to the Preventive Service, an arrangement which was used occasionally until the early 1900s. Two small Marine and Fisheries vessels used for short periods by Customs were the tug *Gladiator* during the summer of 1898 and the tug *Davies* during the winter of 1900. A third small vessel, the steam yacht *Puritan*, which patrolled the Baie des Chaleurs from 1903 to 1906, had been chartered by Marine and Fisheries in 1903 then returned to her owners sometime before 1910.

Harbour Craft

From 1910 until about 1922 the only Preventive Service small craft appear to have been harbour patrol vessels. At Halifax the *Arthur W.* replaced the *Argus* in 1910, followed by the *Violetta G.* from 1914 to 1925; *Customs A.* from 1926 to about 1929; and *Guardian* from 1929 to 1932. At Saint John, New Brunswick, the first powered harbour craft appears to have been the *Albatross* from 1913 to 1917, followed by the *Ephie L.* from 1917 to 1927 and the *Volunda*

II from 1927 to 1931. At North Sydney, a "Viper-type speed boat" acquired in 1924 seems to have been the harbour patrol launch *Tenacity*, which was still in use as an RCMP Marine Section vessel in 1938. The *Tillicum*, which operated at an unstated location in the Maritimes during 1928-29, was a harbour craft at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia in 1930 but was no longer in use in 1932.

The Patrol Vessels

During the 1920s several rum-running vessels which had been seized by Customs became Preventive Service patrol boats. Some were schooners with auxiliary engines and, although their formal Preventive Service names were *Patrol* plus a number, they were commonly called by their original names. The first was the auxiliary schooner *Patrol I (Marona)*, seized about 1922 and stationed at Gaspé Bay until she was sold in 1926. The auxiliary schooner *Patrol II (Edna H.)*, seized in 1922, and the auxiliary schooner *Patrol III (Vagrant)*, confiscated around 1923, were both stationed at North Sydney. *Patrol II* was still in use in 1929 but had been disposed of before 1932. *Patrol III* sank in Glace Bay on May 2, 1930, after striking a harbour obstruction. *Patrol W (Stumble Inn)* was an ex-American submarine chaser which was described in an earlier paper.[1] *Patrol V* is only known to have been in use in 1927, while *Patrol VIII* served from 1927 until it was sold in 1929 and *Patrol X* was operational from about 1928 to 1932. The original names of the last three vessels are not known, although one could have been the *Stella Maris*, acquired in 1924 but probably not used until after 1926, while another could have been the *Madeline A.*, in use near Shelburne, Nova Scotia in 1926. No information has been found concerning *Patrol VI*, *VII*, and *IX*.

Thornycroft-Type Patrol Boats

Following the investigation of the Department of Customs by a Royal Commission in 1926-27, the newly-appointed departmental administrators began a programme of acquiring new, faster cruisers and building fast patrol boats. The first of the new patrol boats were built at Gravenhurst, Ontario in 1927 and were described as an improvement on the British high-speed torpedo boats built in 1916 by Sir John Isaac Thornycroft at Woolston Works in Southampton and used in the North Sea during World War I. The hulls were mahogany, thirty-eight feet in length, with a v-shaped bottom to a little ahead of midships where there was a step of about four inches; from there they were nearly flat to the stern. They were extra broad in the beam to accommodate tanks with enough fuel for a cruising range of 3500 miles and were powered with two hundred horsepower, three-cylinder Sterling Dolphin Special gasoline engines, which

enabled them to attain speeds of thirty-five knots. The cockpit was self-bailing with steering gear similar to an automobile and an instrument panel in front of the operator. Each was armed with rifles and usually a tripod-mounted machine gun. Accommodation was provided for a crew of three.

Eight of these mahogany patrol boats have been reported to have been built, the first two of which were the *Bebee* and *Behave*, which were put into service in Nova Scotia in September 1927. The names of two others supposed to have been shipped from Bracebridge to Vancouver about the same time have not been found. The *Bristle*, *Whippet* and *Whirl* were in use in 1928 and had probably been built that year. Both the *Whirl*, stationed at Big Bras d'Or, Cape Breton, and the *Bristle*, stationed at Saint John, New Brunswick, had net tonnages slightly greater than the other Thornycroft-type patrol boats, which suggests that they had been built at the same shipyard. In that connection the *Whirl* has been reported to have been built in Quebec and was thirty-four feet long with a 250 horsepower gasoline engine. On August 8, 1929, the *Whippet* sank after colliding with the patrol boat 0-29 in Northumberland Strait. On November 16, 1930, the *Whirl* caught fire during engine repairs and burned at the dock. The *Guardian*, built at Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia in 1929 and powered by a Sterling six-cylinder gasoline engine, was used mainly as a harbour patrol craft at Halifax. The *Fernand Rinfret*, also built in 1929 (probably in Quebec on the same design), first patrolled the St. Lawrence river between Montreal and Trois Rivières, but by 1932 was stationed at Gaspé Bay. The *Stalwart*, in use at North Sydney in 1930, was stationed at Little Bras d'Or in 1932 and could also have been a Thornycroft-type patrol boat built in 1930.

Other Patrol Boats

A few other Preventive Service patrol boats were in use during the first half of the 1920s. The patrol boat G, which had been built for the Dominion government during World War I, was transferred to Marine and Fisheries in 1922, then acquired by the Preventive Service in 1924. Usually stationed at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, she was renamed *Ellsworth* about 1927 and was still in use as an RCMP Marine Section patrol boat in 1939. The patrol boat *Nerid*, based at Saint John in 1926, was no longer in use by 1928.

Three patrol boats, named 0-27, 0-28 and 0-29, were probably acquired in 1929. After colliding with the *Whippet* and sinking on August 8, 1929, the 0-29 was reported to have been thirty feet long with a speed of twenty-two knots. Both of the others were transferred to the RCMP Marine Section in 1932, but 0-28 was sold that year and 0-27 had been

disposed of by 1934. The *Neguac*, in use during 1928-29, was an RCMP Marine Section patrol boat at Shippigan, New Brunswick in 1933.

Little except the names has been found for five Preventive Service patrol boats. The *Bayman*, in use during 1928-29, had the same net tonnage as *Ellsworth* and could have been of similar design. The patrol boat *Vigil*, stationed at Riverport, Nova Scotia in 1932 and Dalhousie, New Brunswick in 1933; the patrol boat S based at Shediac, New Brunswick in 1932 and no longer in use in 1933; the patrol boat *Gananoque*, which operated from Gananoque, Ontario in 1932; and the patrol boat *Fort Francis*, which had been sold by September 1932, had all been transferred from the Preventive Service to the RCMP Marine Section on April 1, 1932, but when they were acquired is not known.

The information summarized above and in the attached table has been extracted from *Annual Reports* of the Department(s) of Marine and Fisheries, 1887 to 1892; Lists of Vessels on the Registry Books of the Dominion of Canada 1887 to 1921; newspaper reports in the *Halifax Chronicle*, 1922-1932; the *Halifax Herald* 1925-1927; the *Sydney Record* 1925 and 1927; the *Charlottetown Guardian* (scattered dates supplied by Geoff Robinson); the 1912 to 1931 diaries of John Neil Ascah, lighthouse keeper of the Sandy Beach light, Gaspé Bay; the minutes of proceedings of the House of Commons Special Committee investigating the Department of Customs and Excise, 1926; the minutes of proceedings of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Customs and Excise Department (at Halifax, N.S., St. John N.B. and Ottawa), 1926-27; Muster Rolls of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Marine Section, 1932 and 1933; a short history of the Preventive Service by R.A.S. MacNeil in the *RCMP Quarterly*, 1937; and the following publications on smuggling on Canada's East coast during the 1920s and 30s: *Booze and a Buck*, by J. William Calder, 19n; *The Nellie J. Banks*, by Geoff and Dorothy Robinson, 1980; *It Came by the Boat Load* by Geoff and Dorothy Robinson, 1984; and *Over the Side* by J.P. Andrieux, 1984. The only lists of patrol boats were found in the *Journal* of the Senate of Canada, May 13, 1930 (for 1928-29) and the *Annual Report* of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for 1932.

I would be grateful for any comments, corrections and criticisms.

Notes

1. David J. McDougall, "Notes on the Customs Preventive Cruisers 1897-1931," ARGONAUTA, VI, No. 2 (April 1989).

Table 1: Customs Harbour Craft and Preventive Service Patrol Boats, 1887-1931

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<i>Name</i>	<i>Tonnage</i>	<i>Length(ft)</i>	<i>Knots</i>	<i>Armament</i>	<i>Crew</i>	<i>Station</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Disposition</i>
<i>Albatross</i> (5 HP steam)	19 gross 13 net	60				St. John harbour	1913	Sold, 1917 replaced by <i>Ephie L.</i> 1917
<i>Argus</i> (50 HP)	27 gross 19 net	55				Halifax harbour	1889	Sold, 1910 Sold, 1910 replaced by <i>Arthur W.</i> 1910
<i>Arthur W.</i> (2 HP steam)	36 gross 33 net	60				Halifax harbour	1910	Sold, 1919 replaced by <i>Violetta G.</i> 1914
<i>Bayman</i>	9.56 net			unarmed	4	Mar. Provo	1928-29	Out of use 1932
<i>Beebe</i> (200 HP gas. engine)	5.86 net	38	35	2 rifles 1 mach. gun	3	Ingramport NS Jeddore NS	1927 1932	RCMP 1932
<i>Behave</i> (200 HP gas. engine)	5.86 net	38	35	2 rifles 1 mach. gun		Chester NS Ingramport NS	1927 1932	RCMP 1932
<i>Bristle</i>	6.12 net			2 rifles 1 mach. gun	3	St. John NB	1928-32	RCMP 1932
<i>Customs A</i> (2 gas 40 HP engines)	24 net			unarmed	4	Halifax harbour	1926-29	Replaced by <i>Guardian</i> 1929
<i>Cruiser</i>	55 gross 24 net	83				Lake Ontario	1889	Cust. and M. & F. Out of use 1901
<i>Davies</i>						Halifax harbour	Winter 1990	Mar. & Fish. tug

ARGONAUTA

OCTOBER 1990

<i>Name</i>	<i>Tonnage</i>	<i>Length(ft)</i>	<i>Knots</i>	<i>Armament</i>	<i>Crew</i>	<i>Station</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Disposition</i>
<i>Dream</i> (10 HP steam)	42 gross 12 net	50				Bay of Fundy Mar. Prov.?	1887-91 1892-1920	Cust. and M. & F. Reg. cancel 1921
<i>Edna H.</i> (see <i>Patrol II</i>)								
<i>Ellsworth</i> (gas. engine) (ex G)	9.56 net		10	2 rifles	4	Yarmouth NS St. John NB Yarmouth NS Barrington Passage NS	1925 1926 1928 1932	 RCMP 1932
<i>Ephie L.</i> (5 HP gas. eng.)	15 gross 9 net	43			3?	St. John harbour	1917-27	Replaced by <i>Volunda II</i> 1927
<i>Femand Rinfret</i>				1 mach. gun	3	Montreal Gaspé, Que.	1929 1932	 RCMPI 1932
<i>Fort Francis</i>						Ft. Francis Onto	1932	RCMP 1932 Sold 1932
G renamed <i>Ells-</i> <i>worth</i> c. 1927								
<i>Gananoque</i>						Gananoque Onto	1932	RCMPI 1932
<i>Gladiator</i>	70 gross					Mar. Prov.?	1898	Mar. & Fish. tug
<i>Guardian</i> (6 cyl. gas.)	5.86 net			1 rifle	3	Halifax harbour	1929-32	RCMPI 1932
<i>Madeline A.</i> (14 HP gas.) engine)	39 gross 27 net	64				Nova Scotia	1926	Chartered?
<i>Marona</i> (see <i>Patrol I</i>)								

OCTOBER 1990

ARGONAUTA

<i>Name</i>	<i>Tonnage</i>	<i>Length(ft)</i>	<i>Knots</i>	<i>Armament</i>	<i>Crew</i>	<i>Station</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Disposition</i>
<i>Neguac</i>	8 net			2 rifles	3	Mar. Provo Shippigan NB	1928-29 1932	RCMP 1932
<i>Nerid</i>						St. John NB	1926	Out of use 1928
<i>O-27</i>		30?	22?	1 rifle	3	Mar. Provo L'Etat, NB	1929 1932	RCMP 1932
<i>O-28</i>		30?	22?	2 rifles	3	Mar. Provo Shediac NB	1929 1932	RCMP 1932 Sold 1932
<i>O-29</i>		30	22	2 rifles	3	Mar. Provo	1929	Sunk Northumber- land Strait Aug. 1929
<i>Patrol I</i> (ex <i>Marona</i>)	16 gross 13 net	45			4	Gaspé Bay Que.	1922-26	Sold 1926
<i>Patrol II</i> (ex <i>Edna H</i>)	19 gross	47			6	N. Sydney NS	1923-29	Out of use 1932
<i>Patrol III</i> (ex <i>Vagrant</i>)	18 net				6	N. Sydney NS	1923-29	Sunk Glace Bay harbour 1930
<i>Patrol V</i>						Northumber- land Strait	1927	Out of use 1928
<i>Patrol VIII</i>						Northumber- land Strait	1927	Sold 1929
<i>Patrol X</i>					3	Mar. Provo Bras d'Or	1928-29 1932	RCMP 1932
<i>Puritan</i> (steam)	6 gross 4 net	41				Baie des Chaleur	1903-06	Chartered

<i>Name</i>	<i>Tonnage</i>	<i>Length(ft)</i>	<i>Knots</i>	<i>Armament</i>	<i>Crew</i>	<i>Station</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Disposition</i>
<i>S</i>						Shediac NB	1932	RCMP 1932
<i>Stalwart</i>						N. Sydney NS	1930	
						Little Bras d'Or, NS	1932	RCMP 1932
<i>Stella Maris</i>						Reconditioned unused up to Aug. 28th 1926	1924	
<i>Tenacity</i>	3.24 net			unarmed	3	N. Sydney harbour	1924-31	RCMP 1932
<i>Tillicum</i>				unarmed	1	Mar. Provo Yarmouth NS	1928-29 1930	Out of use 1932
<i>Vagrant</i> see <i>Patrol III</i>								
<i>Vigil</i>						Riverport NS	1932	RCMP 1932
<i>Violetta G.</i> (2 HP steam)	19 gross 13 net					Halifax harbour	1914-26	Replaced by <i>Customs A</i> 1926
<i>Volunda II</i>	23 net			unarmed	2	St. John harbour	1928-29	Not transferred to RCMP
<i>Whippet</i>	5.86 net	28?	22?	2 rifles 1 mach. gun		Mar. Provo	1929	Sunk Northumberland Strait Aug. 1929
<i>Whirl</i> (250 HP gas. engine)	6.12 net	34		2 rifles 1 mach. gun		Mar. Provo Big Bras d'Or	1928 1930	Burnt Nov. 1930

Source: See Text.

OCTOBER 1990

ARGONAUTA

DANISH SCHOONERS AND SCHOONERMEN IN THE ATLANTIC TRADE

By Ole Mortensen
Rudkøbing, Denmark

The Danes were among the last to work wooden sailing ships in the transatlantic trades. Some would perhaps credit this to their stubborn Viking heritage, but the fact is that they were able to stay in business when others had given up because they possessed excellent ships; had good, low-cost crews; and attracted confident local investors. The sailing vessels from the little islands south of Funen, with home ports such as Marstal, **Thurø** and Svendborg, were frequent visitors to North American harbours as late as 1930. This paper is a brief sketch of the vessels and seamen that engaged in this trade.

The islanders had been going to sea for centuries. In the sixteenth century they manned much of the Danish Royal Navy and in the eighteenth century their merchant vessels traded in the Mediterranean. Since the islands were densely populated, had fertile soil and boasted plentiful oak timber, labour, capital and raw materials were all available. In the nineteenth century shipping became a prosperous business for the growing population. Around 1855 shipping boomed and many shipowners made fortunes. Northern Europe formed the backbone of their trade, but ships sailed to lands as far distant as China and Australia. After 1880, as Canadian maritime historians well know, international freight rates declined sharply and sailing vessels faced much tougher competition from steamers, which were much improved during these years. Bessemer and Siemens found cheap methods to produce steel plates and new types of boilers appeared, thus providing better economy and greater speed.[1] In 1880 world steam tonnage overtook sail. In the United Kingdom, France and Germany, owners who remained committed to sail responded by building iron ships of considerable size compared with those of the past, many of them in the three to five thousand ton class rigged as barques. But in the South Funen archipelago owners refused to shift to steel and steam. They stuck to their oak vessels built by local ship carpenters and rigged by native sailmakers. Capital was still raised in the shipping communities, not only from shipbuilders, captains and sailmakers but also from bakers, smiths, innkeepers and farmers. Even farmhands sometimes bought a share. By improving the wooden hull and the schooner rigging; by reducing crew size and hence wages; and last but not least by using mainly newly-built vessels and mutual assurance, the islanders managed to find profitable cargoes in the Baltic as well as the Atlantic. The result of the battle between sail and steam, and wood and steel, was the triumph of the new

technology on most of the world's trade routes by the time of the Great War. Wooden-built schooners, on the other hand, cheap and handy, survived much longer in residual trades. In the North Sea and the Baltic these trades were mainly in coal and wood.

But from 1900 until about 1935, Danish sailing vessels were also to be seen every year in the transatlantic trades. In Brazil scores regularly appeared in Rio Grande do Sul to transport hides and bones to Europe. In this port sail had little competition from steam, since a sandbar limited passage to a ten foot draught, thus preventing most steamers from entering. From the shallow Lake Maracaibo in Venezuela Danish schooners took cargoes of divi-divi and in Haiti they picked up logwood. Lumber was loaded in Savannah and Pensacola, but most wood cargoes came from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where Danish sailing-ships were seen in small harbours, such as Gaspe, Dalhousie, and Chatham, as well as in larger ports, such as Saint John and Halifax. In Newfoundland ports the Danes were also very active. Stockfish was carried to Portugal, Spain, Italy, and even Greece in the autumn and winter so as to be available for the coming of Lent. The crossing of the northern Atlantic in winter entailed hardship for both crew and equipment. Losses and damages occurred frequently and in the 1920s ships were every year reported lost with all hands.

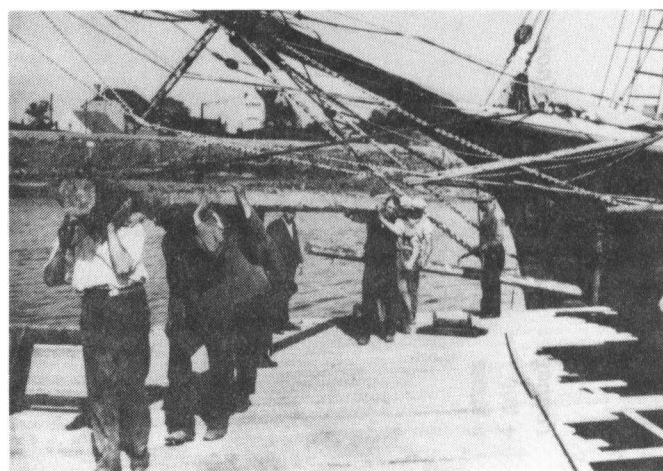


Figure 1: Danish timber ships were regular visitors to eastern Canadian ports. The schooners had loading gates in the stem.

Source: Langelands Museum.

Still, the sad fact was that in spite of this activity the number of harbours in which sailing vessels could obtain profitable freights declined rapidly during the 1920s. By 1935 the

days of sail had effectively ended. Most sailing ships now had engines installed and sailed on for years in local waters and in the Baltic.

The sailing vessels used in the Atlantic trade were schooners and new ships were launched as late as the 1920s. The last three-masted schooner built for the Newfoundland trade was the *Activ* of Marstal, which slid down the slipway in 1925. If we look at the hulls of these last sailing vessels we can see that two conceptions of shape existed. The first was the clipper hull, which had a clipper stem and stem and thus overhang both fore and aft (see Figure 2). The other type of hull was the indigenous Danish type known as the *jagt* hull. Here the stem in a slightly curved way stretched from the keel and the stem was flat with a heart-shaped transom (see Figure 3). The hull was bulgy and strong with a large sheer and the transom added a feminine touch to the lines, which inspired confidence in many a seaman. The look, however, was a matter of debate and some Yankees scornfully named the Danish craft "jackass schooners!" These vessels did not have steam-winchs, tall masts or ornate bows and looked prosaic compared to some of their competitors. Danish seamen, however, were not deceived:

In New Haven several big American schooners were to be seen, their spanker booms over-hanging the stem by twenty feet and their bowsprits pointing to the sky as mounted bayonets. We had only been there a few days, when a Dane, who sailed in a four-masted schooner, invited us on board to look at things and eat supper. The heated deckhouse, the food and the whole ship was impressive and I felt like a Hottentot in front of a steam roller. Everything on board was so huge that I, being just a boy, was convinced never to grow big and strong enough to sail in such a ship, but the Dane on board said things were quite simple, if you only got down to it. Chips, however, was sure that our schooner would outlive any of those schooners by a hundred years if it had luck and Jack commented that he would not like to do a voyage as hard as the one we had just experienced in a coffin like that![2]

Danish schooners in the Atlantic trade usually had three masts with crosstrees (see Figure 4). Ten sails sprouted from the bowsprit: a flying jib, outer jib, inner jib, fore-staysail, schooner sail, schooner topsail, mainsail, main topsail, mizzen sail, and mizzen topsail. Some were topsail

schooners--they had two or three square sails on the fore-mast--but as in the U.S., development from the nineteenth century leaned toward vessels with fore-and-aft rigs. This kind of rigging was cheaper and more handy than a square rig; since most of the sails could be worked from the deck, they were also safer. The typical Atlantic schooner, which was also used in the northern European trades, measured between 150 and 225 gross registered tons and carried a crew of six or seven: a master, mate, and four or five young seamen. ABs were rarely hired. Sometimes the cook was an adult, but this was not always the case. The biggest vessels--measuring 250 to three hundred gross tons--were often rigged as barquentines and were manned by a crew of eight. On the other hand, small two-masted schooners measuring around one hundred tons and using a crew of five (including mate and skipper) were seen in the Newfoundland trade in the 1920s. For a vessel of that size the passage across the North Atlantic in winter was quite an achievement. As a seaman remembered:

We went to Cadiz in Spain and loaded salt and on the way up to Newfoundland the upper sail yard broke but we lashed it with three pieces of oak. Our ship was the 3-masted topsail schooner *Leif--a* fine ship and we left Denmark in 1919. We came up to Marystown on the western side of the island but had to sail to Change Island to unload the salt. It took quite a long time--by Jove--we unloaded in barrels and with manual power and then afterwards we loaded the stockfish. I think we were lying there for a couple of months. We had some young people--girls--on board to help stow the fish. A handbarrow was used for loading and I think they carried a quintal each, which they tipped down the cargo hatches, where it was carefully stowed in the holds. I had the work to nail up pieces of bark on the sides and the bottom was covered with brushwood like pine, since the fish under no condition was allowed to touch the planking. The fish was laid head to tail all the way through the cargo. We talked to the girls--it was in broken Danish since none of us could speak English. It was our only diversion and yes the Salvation Army!! Everybody went there so we just followed and there was music and singing. From Newfoundland we crossed to Oporto in Portugal and proceeded in ballast to Cadiz to take another cargo of salt up to Newfoundland,

but this time it was really bad weather, since it was late in the year and when we reached the banks the frost was so hard that the ice was in the rigging and we had to grip the belaying pins and knock down the ice in the shrouds and stays. The sails too were icy and when the wind suddenly came out from the land we lost them. Then we drifted out eight or ten days and hove to. We had snow and storm from northwest and for once we were allowed to heat the fo'csle at sea...When the wind came from the east, we set our sails and baled out for Newfoundland, where we managed to get into a bay and were afterwards tugged to a better harbour since new ice was all around us. We got another cargo of fish and were this time bound for Valencia. But those voyages were always tough--damn it yes!! When we couldn't carry sails any longer, we hove to and the wheel was lashed and we had only one man on deck for 100kout.[3]

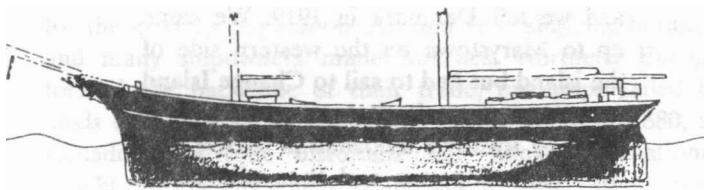


Figure 2: Clipper Hull.

Source: Author's drawing.

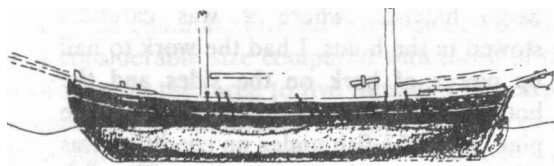


Figure 3: Jagt Hull.

Source: Author's drawing.

There was also in the north Atlantic the ever-present danger of icebergs. Without either radar or radio weather reports, the master and mate had to rely on their own experiences and observations. Some regularly took the water temperature, especially when fog reduced visibility to zero. In this way they hoped to get some warning of drifting

icebergs.

On our way up to Labrador we passed by many icebergs. Often at dusk we counted 5-6 and up to eight icebergs and then we had to reduce the sail area, giving us only two knots or so. I remember one night we were called. It had turned very cold suddenly and the skipper said: There is an iceberg close at hand! So we were called and the ship was turned in the other direction and after an hour or so the air was once again mild.[4]

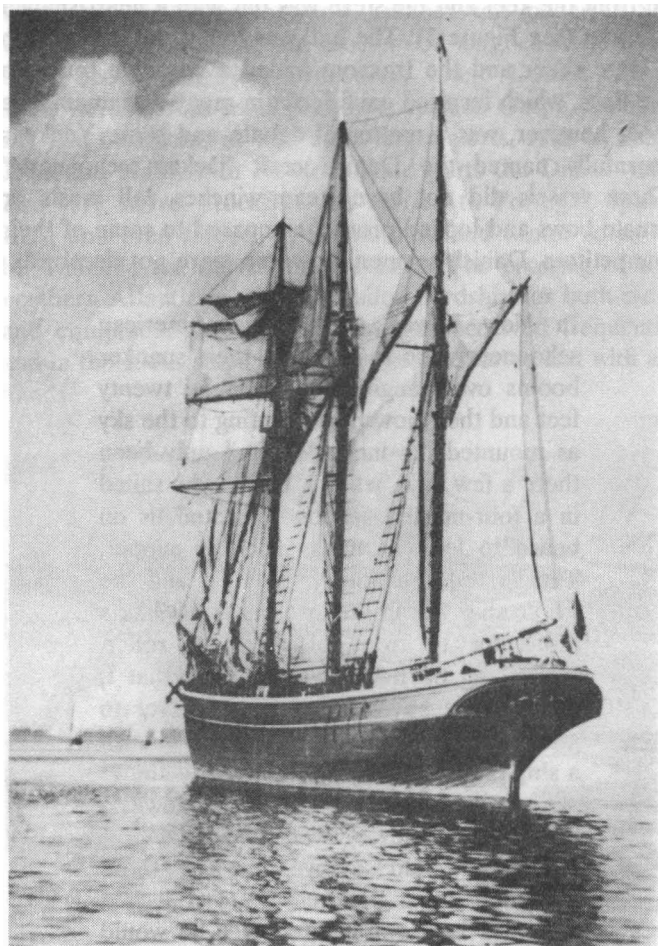


Figure 4: Typical Danish three-masted topsail schooner.

Source: Langelands Museum.

Damage at sea was not uncommon though the ships were well-built and new:

On our way home in *Iris* [a small two-

masted fore-and-aft schooner of Marstal] a sea came over and smashed our starboard bullwark from the foremast down to the poop. Stanchions and main rail were gone. The ship had been built in 1914 and this happened in 1921, so it was a new ship. Had it been an old ship the seams of the gunwhale had been torn up and maybe we'd be gone, but this looked as if the stanchions had been neatly sawed away. When we came over to England, we thought the starboard side of the cargo hold would be soaked with seawater, but very little salt was wet.[5]



Figure 5: Barquentine *Fuglen* of Aeroeskoeping in the Atlantic in the 1930s.

Source: Maritime Museum of the Atlantic.

The schooners did not offer much comfort for the crew. The entrance to the crew's residence was through a companionway, down a steep ladder, and into a narrow triangular room with bunks along the sides, a small table nailed to

the pawl-bitt and the sea-chests on the floor. This damp and smelly dark hole was the living quarters for four to five men. Here they slept, took their meals and spent what little they had of spare time--at sea practically none, since the watch ran around the clock in two shifts and since in manoeuvring the watch below was often called on deck, sometimes hardly giving the men time to sleep and eat. As for the food, while it was scant, nobody starved except in times of crisis. But the food was not good, a fact on which most seamen agreed. At sea the fare was mostly soup, stew, and the like, and often some very salty meat. There were no vegetables and bread was a rarity, unless the ship had a good cook who was able to bake fresh bread. The average menu at sea was something like this:

Sunday:	Preserved meat
Monday:	Pea soup and salt pork
Tuesday:	Stockfish
Wednesday:	Brown beans and salt pork
Thursday:	Preserved meat or salt meat
Friday:	Curly cole and salt pork
Saturday:	Salt meat

The meat was of various quality--sometimes tasty and good, at other times fat and unappetizing. American or Argentinean beef was nicknamed "Buffalo Bill." Two hundred grams of cheese and sausage was the weekly ration and young seamen usually consumed it in two days--the rest of the week they had to do with bread or ships' biscuits plus leftovers from the galley. Stealing from the provisions was considered a heroic deed.

It happened quite often that somebody stole from the provisions. Sometimes they had to ventilate the provision-chamber and it was surprising how far down an arm could reach to snatch a sausage or whatever. All went forward, where it was eaten away, each of us getting his fair share.[6]

Sanitary conditions for the crew were atrocious. The master and mate, having their own cabins, shared toilet facilities. The crew, on the other hand, had to defecate on deck in a barrel or climb the bowsprit. Water for washing was very scarce and full baths were possible only in port. The consequence was afflictions such as worms and saltwater abscesses. As well, the forecabin was plagued by bedbugs. On the whole, however, health was good due to the fresh air and good exercise--and most young seamen had muscles and endurance exceeding those of modern body-builders, being trained to climb, haul, and shovel twelve hours a day.

Wages for all this exertion were low. Although Danish seamen spent four years at sea before becoming ABs (and

thus were skilled people), their wages were little better than the unskilled worker or farmhand, although pay was considerably better on steamers. It was next to impossible to feed a family on the wages of an AB on a sailing vessel; consequently older seamen tended to move into steam. Sailing ship owners were quite happy to employ youngsters, who were cheaper. Perhaps the pay was too low, though, since when the schooners came to Canadian or U.S. ports the master often lost crew despite the fact that it was strictly forbidden to leave ship except in Danish harbours or after two years of sailing. But the temptation of wages twice as high as in the Danish ships--and perhaps a lust for adventure--made many take the chance. Indeed, during these years the U.S. and Canadian merchant fleets enjoyed a considerable influx of young Scandinavians, many of whom never returned to their homelands but settled in America. Apparently these youngsters were very welcome, since crew were never sent back to their ships forcefully.

When we came to the U.S. we were examined and photographed. We had 3-4 who left our ship. They signed on American ships and got good American dollars.[7]

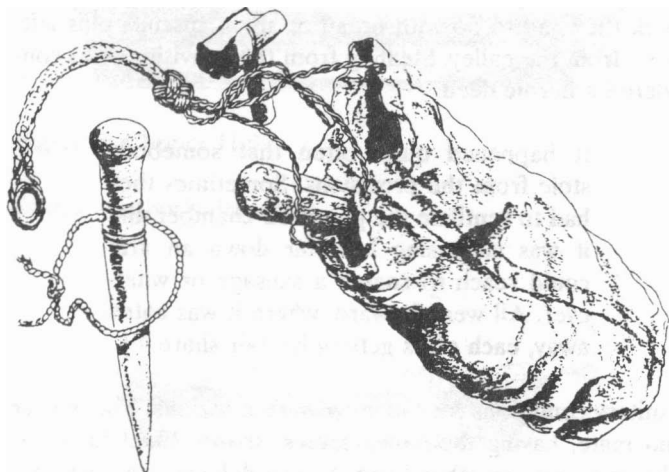


Figure 6: Seaman's ditty-bag, containing tools necessary to work with rope and sails.

Source: Author's drawing.

"Channel fever" was also known in the schooners, but much less than in the tall ships on which the crew left the vessel as soon as it was in dock, if not before. The schoormen did not try to compensate for all the privation in a few

hectic days. This was not necessarily because they were temperate but rather was due to the fact that the master held their money, seeing to it that they did not waste everything in one hectic spree. As well, the fact that crews tended to be drawn from the same town limited excesses, since reputations were at stake. Only the "sea hobos," whose ties with home were often rather fragile, could afford to ignore such restraints.



Figure 7: Four Danish sailors in Ibiza, 1919. This was a typical port for vessels in the Newfoundland trade.

Source: Langelands Museum.

The seamen in the forecabin were comrades--they had to be. If someone broke the rules of this good fellowship the punishment was prompt and severe. Theft, for instance, was extremely rare. That is why it was considered an intolerable provocation to lock up private things--the result of such behaviour was often that the lock of the offender's sea chest was smashed or the lid was nailed shut. Seamen

learned that you had to trust your shipmates: one neglected futtock, for example, could mean that a fellow mariner would lose his life.



Figure 8: Danish seaman in Newfoundland, 1921. He is wearing a woollen blue jacket, an Elsinore-skin cap, and has a sail glove on his left hand.

Source: Langelands Museum.

The discipline among the men in the forecabin was also harsh. Again, it had to be, since everyone had to rely on his mates. There was little room for selfishness and parasitism. A seaman who went to work for the Seaman's Union recalled that

the years in those sailing ships were to me my best years, though conditions were rotten, I never had money and hardly any

clothes on my body...all the same when all the sails were up and the log showed 11 knots all hearts on board trembled--skipper or boy--all were united in the sailing and if one failed it might prove disastrous to all. This gives good judgement and a feeling of liberty never to disappear once met with.[8]

Nostalgia? Perhaps, yet this love for voyaging under sail is repeated by all seamen, albeit in different words. The fascination of sail goes beyond economic and social analysis.



Figure 9: A young seaman at the wheel of a schooner, with a mate alongside.

Source: Langelands Museum.

The hope for any young seaman was to rise to be a captain or perhaps a shipowner. But in the twilight of sail it became obvious that there was no future in local shipping. The maritime communities--at least the smallest of them--collapsed, and capital and labour moved to other fields and professions. What was left went into steam and eventually motorships. Shipping became an industry rather than a way of life. But it is significant that some of the masters of modern VLCCs grew up in the little wooden schooners. They have taken an immense technological step, but despite it all they demonstrate a continuum of seafaring.

What happened to the ships as the sun set on sail? Some survived--at least for a time. Many were sold abroad. Fish exporters in Newfoundland bought a number and many ships were sold to Sweden, where the Baltic lumber trade still provided employment. Each had its individual fate--sometimes sad, sometimes fascinating. The schooner *Nep-tune*, sold to owners in St. John's, drifted in a gale all the way across the Atlantic, but thanks to good ship carpentry, the crew were all saved. In the 1930s these ships were

already becoming antiquities and attempts were made to save some as sail-training vessels. Thus the barquentine *Norden* of Marstal was laid-up in New York until the Italian-American, Captain Ambrogi, took her over in 1935 to use as a floating school for homeless waifs, the idea being to restore *Norden* and go to sea. But a shortage of funds caused the project to fail and the vessel sank in a remote corner of the harbour.

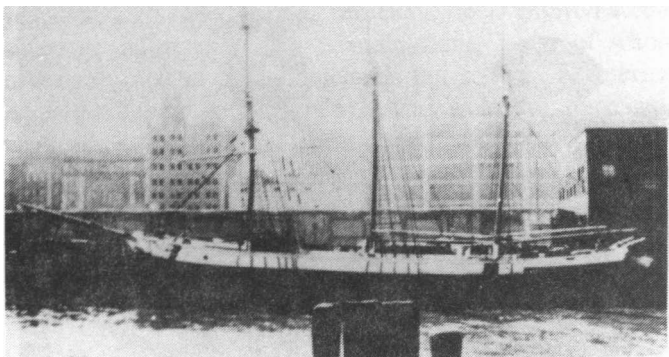


Figure 10: Barquentine *Norden* of Marstal in New York Harbour, March 1936.

Source: Maritime Museum of the Atlantic.

It was not until the 1960s that ship preservation was organized, especially in Europe. Today a few veteran Atlantic schooners are still sailing.[9] The *Fulton* (built in 1915), once a Newfoundland schooner, is owned by the Danish National Museum. The *Marilyn Ann* (*ex-Frem*, launched in 1919) has been newly restored and now takes school children to sea. Finally the *Bonavista* (constructed in 1914), a handsome two-masted schooner, is now a privately-owned charter craft. These vessels allow contemporaries to experience at least a little bit of what until the 1930s was an important way of life for the residents of the Danish islands.

Notes

This article is based on the author's book, *Sejlskibssfolk* (Rudk0bing, 1987). The book is a social and economic analysis of community-based shipping during the last days of sail from 1900 to 1935.

1. Basil Greenhill, *The Ship. The Life and Death of the Merchant Sailing Ship* (London, 1980), 30.

2. Knud Andersen, *Erindringer*. Vol. 1: **Første rejse** (Copenhagen, 1964).

3. Interview with seaman Christensen, born 1902, Langelands Museum, 1982.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Interview with seaman Hansen, born 1906, Langelands Museum, 1981.

6. Interview with seaman A. Madsen, born 1901, Langelands Museum, 1977.

7. Interview with seaman **Petersen**, born 1903, Langelands Museum, 1976.

8. Holger Vivike, *Bagbord om, Erindringer fra et godt liv* (Copenhagen, 1982).

9. A Danish National Maritime Trust has just been approved by the state. The Trust has published a booklet on the topic of preserving ships and vessels of the past: **Fartøjsbevaring i Danmark** (K0benhavn, 1989).

REVISITING THE AGE OF SAIL IN ATLANTIC CANADA

By Eric W. Sager
Victoria, B.C.

I have had many opportunities to hold forth on the subject of shipping in Atlantic Canada. Why trouble ARGONAUTA readers with further musings on this venerable subject? My first reason is that the subject is still fascinating, even if professional historians like myself surround it with thickets of theory and statistics. Serious study of this subject began with Frederick William Wallace in the 1920s, and since then there have been popular histories, collections of paintings and photographs, memoirs and diaries, novels, and occasional writings by university-based historians.

History does not have an end, and each generation will re-interpret the past for itself. A century after the great shipping industry of Atlantic Canada declined, we should think about it again, because some of the old interpretations do not help us much. My first effort to re-think the era of "wooden ships and iron men" was *Seafaring Labour*, and in 1990 McGill-Queen's University Press has published another book, *Maritime Capital*, which I wrote with Gerry Panting. This book focuses more directly on the decline of the industry, and I hope that this essay will encourage CNRS members to read it.

Somebody once said that my colleagues at Memorial University and I treated ships as "statistical abstractions crossing the sea." It might well appear that way! Members of the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project--including the worthy editor of *ARGONAUTA*--were famous (in some circles notorious) for their long and hard labour in computerizing ship registries and crew agreements. We spread computer print-outs over living room floors and kitchen tables, talked about correlation coefficients and regression equations, spent week-ends in our offices producing even more tables of numbers, and found many other ways to make great nuisances of ourselves.

trying to track the changes in a very large industry over many years. In showing the results, the graphs and tables do not make things more complicated--they make it easier and simpler to see patterns and changes in a very complex process.

And the decline of the shipping industry in Atlantic Canada was a complex matter! It used to be simpler. The old explanation was that this industry was based on wooden sailing ships, and when they became obsolete, the shipping industry inevitably declined. This is technological determinism, and it should not satisfy anybody.

There are two main reasons why the technological explanation is unsatisfactory. First, it merely begs another question: if wooden sailing ships were obsolete, why did businessmen in the Maritimes and Newfoundland not build or buy more iron steamships? They did not lack experience with steamships, after all! Judith Fingard (in her reviews of *Seafaring Labour*) suggests that when studying shipping in Atlantic Canada we have to be satisfied with barques, but this is a very misleading suggestion, because steam-powered vessels *did* appear on registry in the region--some 250,000 gross tons before 1915. The Atlantic region was not an isolated rural backwater, stuck in a pre-industrial or pre-steam age. And other maritime countries, including some in Europe, could actually benefit from the big lead held by Great Britain in the field of steam shipping. They purchased, at declining prices, second-hand steam tonnage from British owners, and so made the shift from sail to steam. Swedish shipowners did this--and so did many in Atlantic Canada. The question remains: why did Maritimers not do this on a much bigger scale?

Whether we like it or not, this question is very difficult to answer. One possibility is that owning and operating deep-sea ships was simply unprofitable by the 1880s and 1890s, whatever technology one deployed. If you could not make a good return on your capital, why not wrap up the business and go into something else? There is a chapter on profits in *Maritime Capital*, and it concludes that profits in sailing ships were very good in the early 1870s, declining sharply by the 1880s. But the decline in profits was not so great as to explain the collapse of investment in shipping which occurred in the 1880s and 1890s. Furthermore, in these decades most major shipowning nations expanded their fleets! Presumably they were making profits with ships, or had other reasons to invest in the maritime sector. Again, why not Atlantic Canada? Declining profits is part of our explanation, but only part.

Perhaps there was a vital connection between two industries--shipbuilding and shipowning. Shipping in eastern

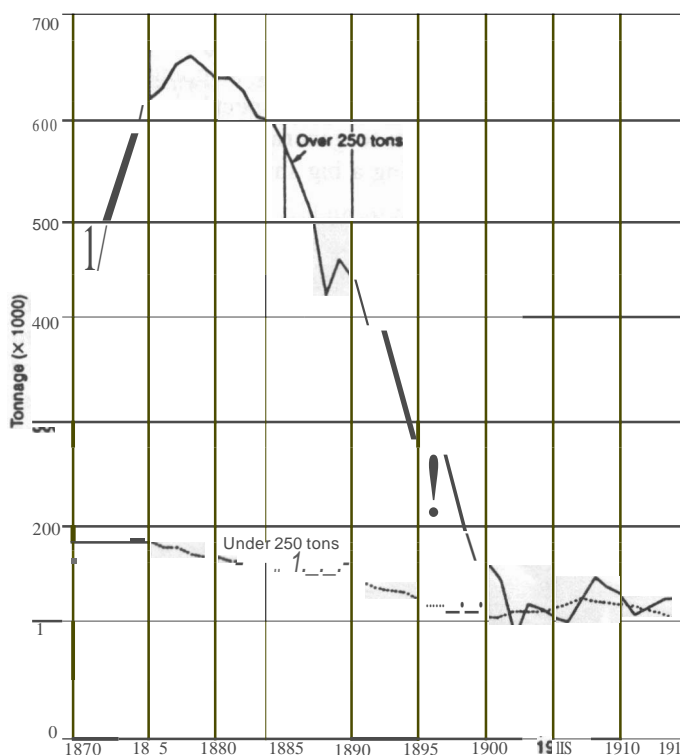


Figure 1: Tonnage on Registry in Eight Major Atlantic Canadian Fleets, 1869-1914.

Sources: Vessel Registries for Charlottetown, Halifax, Miramichi, Pictou, Saint John, St. John's, Windsor and Yarmouth.

So it is no surprise that *Maritime Capital* contains thirty-eight graphs, twenty-eight tables, and an Appendix full of numbers. But most of the book consists of plain ordinary prose, and please do not expect me to apologize for the quantification! In economic and social history the numbers are often essential forms of evidence. They are unavoidable if the historian tackles entire fleets of ships, instead of focusing on specific vessels or individual shipowners. We were

Canada as a whole had become a genuine domestic industry by the last half of the nineteenth century: the ships were owned by Quebeckers or Maritimers or Newfoundlanders, and most were manufactured by people living in eastern Canada. Perhaps the industry grew because these people had very good supplies of timber, the essential raw material for shipbuilding. This gave them relatively cheap vessels, and an incentive to enter the shipping business. When iron steamships entered international trades, this advantage was lost. Without a major shipbuilding industry behind it, ship-owning declined.

The problem with this argument is that it takes us back again to the old technological determinism. First, if you look at the history of shipping across the globe in the twentieth century, you will see that it is *not* necessary to have a domestic shipbuilding industry in order to have a merchant marine. Second, the argument ignores a critical question--and I would say that the argument is actually dangerous, because it discourages us from asking essential questions--why did Maritimers not *build* iron steamships? It is not an answer to say that they lacked raw materials, capital and labour: they had coal, iron ore, steel plants, labour, and pools of capital and savings. If Maritimers could make steel and help build Canadian railways, why did they not build more steamships? It is no answer to say that the cost of building steamers was too high: when they did build steamships in Nova Scotia at the end of the First World War, the costs were not higher than elsewhere in Canada. Furthermore, the decision to get out of the business was made long before anybody had estimated the costs of building iron steamers in the region.

A good explanation for the decline of shipping lacks neatness and simplicity. At one level, there is an important difference between Canada and many (not all) other shipping nations: we did not have the specific kinds of state support required to sustain a relatively large merchant marine in the twentieth century. The contrast with France or with Japan is particularly striking. In the age of iron and steam, a large domestic merchant marine would require, at the very least, one or more of the following: direct state bounties or capital support for shipbuilding; cargo reservation policies or other incentives to carry exports in ships carrying the national flag; large mail contracts reserved for domestic carriers; a mechanism to maintain stable freight rates without penalizing producers and exporters of domestic goods; a domestic navy, not only for defence but to stabilize demand for the shipbuilding industry; complete domestic control over one's own shipping legislation and registry practices. The remarkable thing about Canada, at the beginning of the twentieth century, is that we had *none* of these things! Only briefly, mainly during world wars, did

we acquire a few of them.

Now as soon as I state this argument I begin to squirm. By itself, this argument tends to encourage that old Canadian game of bashing the federal government. The decline of the merchant marine suddenly becomes the fault of Wilfrid Laurier, or his misguided ministers, who subsidized railways and steel but not shipbuilding, and failed to build a navy. Especially in the Maritimes, there is a tendency--and a very understandable one given the events of the 1980s--to find scapegoats and villains in Ottawa.

But my story is not finished, and I am not sure that the Dominion government was the primary villain. For one thing, it is extremely difficult to show that Atlantic Canada would have been better off with a big shipping industry in the twentieth century. This would be speculation, and in any case there are better ways to generate employment opportunities than by maintaining a big shipping industry.

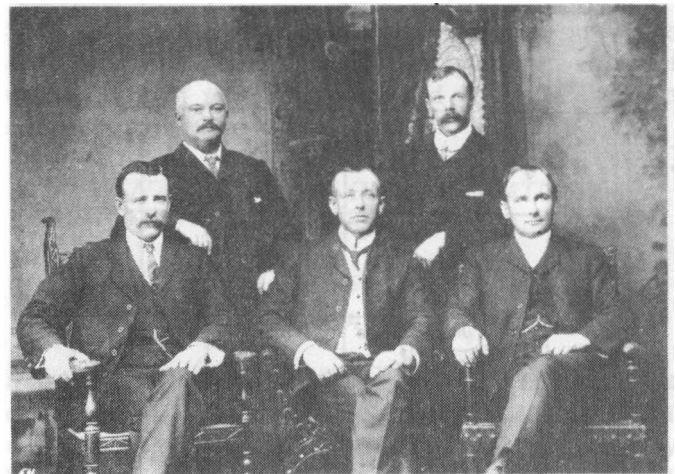


Figure 2: Nova Scotia Shipmasters in Newcastle, N.S.W. in 1904. Left to right, standing: Farnham Doty of Yarmouth and Oscar Henderson, Halifax. Seated: Everett MacDougall, Maitland; Henry Nickerson, Shelburne; and Percy Crosby, Yarmouth.

Source: Maritime Museum of the Atlantic.

But the real problem is that we still have to explain why Maritimers themselves lost interest in shipping. Political and business leaders in the Maritimes did not unite to demand protection of the kind outlined above for shipping. On the contrary--many of them opposed such policies! There were remarkably few tears shed for the sailing ships in the 1880s and 1890s, and the campaigns to revive the business in the early 1900s were too little and too late.

So what happened? The answer lies in the society and culture of the Maritimes. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, ownership and control of ships lay mainly with merchant capitalists, who were interested, above all else, in the exchange of goods and money. Shipowners, in other words, were merchants first and shipowners second, even at the height of the age of sail. And even in the "golden age of sail" Maritimers--at least those with money to invest--were more a landward than a seaward people. Even before Confederation, they were excited by railways, landward industries, and continental markets. Confederation merely accelerated this landward orientation. The decline of the shipping industry was an event recorded in merchants' ledgers--and it was an event in the mental horizons of merchant capitalists who saw in Canada's industrial revolution new opportunities to "buy cheap and sell dear." They did not need deep-sea fleets to exchange goods and services with central Canadians.

There may be no single villain here at all, but if one exists, it is the process of industrialization within capitalism, as it occurred in the Canadian Confederation. A large domestic merchant marine was not in the interests of any major segment of capital in Canada--not the [manciers, not the grain traders, not the railway-builders, nor even the iron and steel manufacturers. Those who might conceivably have benefitted from a large shipping/shipbuilding complex were the workers who might have been employed in such industries, and they had no say in the matter, as they moved west or south in search of work. This is not a romantic story of the passing of sailing ships, therefore. Nor is it simply a story about the geographic distribution of political and economic power within a large continental Confederation, important as that was.

This is also a story about vast forces working to wrest ownership and control of production from workers and from regions. I do not mean to imply that workers or producers before our industrial revolution always controlled the conditions of their life and work. But the absence of such control in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was very directly related to industrial capitalism, which is inherently a social system concentrating control in very few hands and in few places. This is not a digression from the subject of our shipping industries: the decline of shipping in the Maritimes was directly contingent upon this process of industrialization, which gave Maritimers little choice over whether or not they would have a shipping industry.

The absence of a large domestic merchant marine in Canada is a natural consequence of the economic system and criteria that our forebears chose, and which we continue to accept. If you wanted, or continue to want, a large merchant marine, you must accept a very different system from

the one we have had. A merchant marine exists only if you take control away from shippers, those corporate interests that wish only to ship raw materials out of the country as cheaply as possible. This means conceiving and planning economic life very differently, and allowing much greater regional and collective influence over investment decisions and national economic strategy. And this is to argue for a very different Canada from the one we know.

THE CONWAY AND CANADA: THE CANADIAN CONNECTIONS OF A FAMOUS TRAINING SHIP

By CD. Maginley
Sydney, N.S.

The Queen's Conway gold medal is the most prestigious of the prizes awarded at the annual graduation ceremonies at the Canadian Coast Guard College. This medal has been inherited from the well known British training establishment HMS *Conway* and is awarded under the original terms prescribed by Queen Victoria in 1865. The qualities demanded are an impressive series of Victorian virtues, which can be summed up as outstanding leadership and impeccable character, and an important characteristic in the awarding of the prize is that the recipients are selected by their peers in a free vote following nominations by the administration of the College.[1]

It is not inappropriate that the medal is now awarded in a Canadian institution. The *Conway* has always had connections, direct and indirect, with Canada. Many Canadians had their initial sea training on the *Conway*, and quite a lot of other *ex-Conways* have settled in Canada: mostly, it appears, on the west coast, where there are thriving associations in Victoria and Vancouver. But they are also scattered right across the country, many holding senior positions in the marine industry. In fact it was Coast Guard Commodore Eric Brand and Captain George Graves, a medal winner himself (in 1931), who were instrumental in transferring the award to the Coast Guard College, where it was first awarded in 1979. As the *Conway* (for reasons connected with a reorganisation of the British education system) had ceased to exist in 1974, there was a gap of four years during which no medal was awarded.

The *Conway* as an institution was a product of the technical advances occurring in the mid-nineteenth century. The shipowners and shipmasters of Liverpool saw the need for a better-educated class of ship's officers and asked the government to provide a ship to be stationed in the Mersey "to train boys to become officers in the merchant service." The

Admiralty obliged by donating a small frigate, HMS *Conway*, launched at Chatham in 1832. With guns removed and some internal modifications, she was placed at permanent moorings on the Cheshire side of the river and training started in 1859. The first Captain was Charles Powell, who gave up command of the Allen Royal Mail Line's screw steamer, the SS *Anglo-Saxon*, to take the post. The Allen Line was the principal steamship connection between Britain and Canada, so perhaps we might say that this was the first Canadian link.

In 1862 the *Conway* was replaced by the larger frigate *Winchester*, which assumed the *Conway* name. This vessel had been first commissioned in 1822 and had seen service all over the world, including the North American station. The first and second *Conways* were perfect examples of the smallest and largest types of frigate in the last phase of the wooden sailing navy.

By mid-1870s the second *Conway* was also found to be too small, but still available were a number of old line-of-battle ships of the previous era. They had been slowly and carefully built in the peaceful years that followed the Napoleonic wars, and were extraordinarily long-lasting. The one selected to replace the second *Conway* was the *Nile*, which had considerable associations with the North American station and with Canada. This was the vessel on which most *Conways* received their introduction to the sea, for she lasted from 1876 to 1949. Her construction and history thus merit consideration.

As a ship, the *Nile* typified the progress of warship construction in the second quarter of the last century. She was one of three second-rate line-of-battle ships (the other two were named *Rodney* and *London*) designed by Sir Robert Seppings. The keel was laid in October 1827 but she was not launched until June 1839. Seppings' system of diagonal bottom framing enabled these ships to be built longer than their predecessors and to carry more than ninety guns on two principal gun decks. To those unfamiliar with the terms used to describe wooden fighting ships, it should be pointed out that the uppermost tier of lighter guns did not count as a full deck, so a two-decker like the *Nile* actually had guns on three levels.

Another feature of the design of the *Nile* and her sisters was a uniform armament of thirty-two pound smooth-bore cannon, ninety-two in all, but as actually completed she was given a mixed armament of eight-inch shell-firing smooth bores and solid-shot thirty-two pounders, with a large sixty-eight pounder pivot gun on the forecastle. This gave her ninety-one guns. Finally, during her last commission, the upper deck guns were replaced by seven-inch rifled breech

loaders and the total number carried reduced to seventy-eight.

The final item of early nineteenth century progress was conversion to steam. The *Nile* was never commissioned as a sailing ship. In 1853 she was fitted with a screw propeller and second hand machinery removed from the iron screw frigate *Euphrates*. The best speed achieved under steam was about eight knots.

War with Russia broke out in 1854 and the *Nile* was assigned to the fleet sent to the Baltic. There was little in the way of action as the Russians withdrew into their fortified ports. Much the same happened in 1855 and by the time the British had built a large number of gunboats and were ready for inshore action during 1856, the war ended. The *Nile* finished the commission with her first period of service on the North America and West Indies station.

After that came two years as flagship at Queenstown, Ireland. Then, after a major refit in 1859, she was commissioned in 1860, again for the North America and West Indies station, but this time as the flagship for Vice-Admiral Alexander Milne. This was a critical period, as the American Civil War was raging. The squadron had to look after British interests and was maintained at a higher level than usual, including several line-of-battle ships, while the first four British ironclads, the *Wanior*, *Black Prince*, *Defence* and *Resistance*, were stationed at Lisbon as quickly available reinforcements. During this commission the *Nile* was frequently in Halifax and there is a photograph of her in the harbour in 1862. In 1864 she was paid off into the Reserve, until becoming the *Conway* in 1876.

The number of boys under training in the *Conway* varied from about 150 to 180. As time passed, these included a number of Canadians. This trend seems to have reached a peak in the 1920s and 1930s. When Captain G.H. Hayes was on the *Conway* from 1936 to 1938, over twenty of the cadets, a large proportion, were Canadian. Many of these were going to enter the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company to serve on ships such as the Empress liners that connected B.C. with the Orient. It was not uncommon for C.P. to give these boys, most of whom were from British Columbia, free passages by train across Canada and by ship across the Atlantic to join the *Conway* and even to come home for the long summer holidays. After the war the number of Canadians declined. When I was there in the late 1940s we had only two Canadians, both from B.C.

A certain proportion of *Conway* cadets went straight into the Royal Navy; similarly, some of the Canadians joined the Royal Canadian Navy. Quite a few more joined when the

war started in 1939. Several have reached high rank. These include Commodore MA. Medland (about 1928-1930); Rear Admiral R.W. Timbrell (1935-1937); Captain G.H. Hayes, the second Canadian gold medal winner (1936-1938); Commander Robin Hayward (1937-1938); and Commodore I.B.B. Morrow (1937-1939). Vice-Admiral D.S. Boyle was also briefly on the *Conway* in 1939, but soon transferred to the Royal Navy College at Dartmouth.

The Coast Guard (and its predecessors) can claim Captain J.T. Walbran (1862-1864), the well-known commander of CGS *Quadra* and *Justice of the Peace* on the west coast in the early years of the century, as well as Commodore Brand (1909-1910) and Captain Graves (1929-1931), as already mentioned. Serving officers in the Coast Guard fleet include Captain Peter Golden, Regional Manager, Search and Rescue for Western Region, and Captain Fayaz Ali of the CCGS *Nahidik*, on the Mackenzie River system. There have been others in the Ship Safety Branch and in other organisations: Mr. Adam Kerr, former Regional Hydrographer; Captain Ted Worthington, Chairman of the Atlantic Pilotage Authority; and Mr. John Aspin, General Manager of Northumberland Ferries, just to name a few in the Atlantic region. Mention should also be made of Mr. John (Jock) McCulloch (1928-1929) of Toronto. Jock and his wife Jessie have been constant in their support of the *Conway* Club in Canada, and frequently attend the annual *Conway* dinners in the U.K. It is also only fair to admit that the *Conway's* great rival, the similar training ship *Worcester*, also contributed a number of senior officers to Canada.

John Masefield, who was on the *Conway* in the early 1890s, published his book *The Conway, from her Foundation to the Present Day* in 1933, and gives innumerable insights about life on board during various periods. It does not seem to have changed much through the life of the third *Conway*. Sail drill must have ceased sometime in the early 1900s, and the curriculum was updated from time to time, but life for a cadet consisted of a very active day of cleaning the ship, classroom instruction, manning the boats (which were the sole connection with the shore and which had to be hoisted manually every night), and sports afternoons ashore. The idea was to keep us so busy that we did not have time to think, but we could get up to mischief all the same. Masefield, and indeed any *Conway*, has some good yarns to tell. A recurring theme is the tale of two cadets who decide to jump in for a swim, the second yelling "Man Overboard!" as he dives. When they are picked up by a boat, the first boy is punished and the second rewarded for attempting a brave rescue. This seems to have occurred several times, with varying degrees of success.

Compared to the students at the Coast Guard College, the

Conway cadets were younger: fifteen to eighteen years. The academic subjects were consequently at the high school **level**, but the nautical subjects like chartwork, astro-navigation, seamanship and so on were much the same. The *Conway* and *Worcester* had good reputations, and shipping companies were glad to take their graduates as cadets. Two years on the *Conway* earned one year's remission of sea-time towards the first certificate of competency. One great difference from the Coast Guard College was that there were no engineers, although some people did switch over later. Under the British system, engineers usually started their training in shipyards or engine manufacturing plants.

Up to 1941 the *Conway* was moored at Rock Ferry in the Mersey. In 1941, because of the heavy bombing of she was moved to the Menai Strait, which divides Caernavonshire from the island of Anglesea. At first she was moored off Bangor, but when the Marquis of Anglesea donated his mansion Plas Newydd to the school, the ship was moved to a location off the new facility. This entailed a passage under two bridges and past some dangerous rocks called the "Devil's Teeth." This was safely accomplished in 1949, but when an attempt was made in 1953 to tow the ship in the other direction, en route to a much needed dry-docking, she just missed the tide, was caught in the fierce eddies, the "swillies," and wrecked. The hulk lay alongside the Menai suspension bridge for three years, before being burned while being broken up in October 1956.

The school now moved ashore, first to temporary classrooms and later to new permanent buildings at Plas Newydd. This phase lasted nineteen years until 1974, when the establishment was closed in a reorganisation of educational systems in Great Britain.

Commodore Eric Brand had been an important influence in the decisions leading to the foundation of the Canadian Coast Guard College, now celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, and it was he who initiated the request to Buckingham Palace, through the Governor-General, to transfer the *Conway's* gold medal to the College. The College already possessed a memento of the *Conway* in the Bartlett Trophy. This handsome cup had been presented to Captain Robert A. Bartlett for a rescue at sea. Subsequently Bartlett commanded the *Karluk* in the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913 and won much recognition as an explorer. His daughter, Miss Olive Bartlett, gave the cup to the *Conway* in 1956 as a lifesaving award, and it has now been repatriated to Canada.

The gold medal and the Bartlett Trophy are not the only "*Conway*" awards given in Canada. The influence of the alumni has resulted in two others, named for the old ship.

The HMS Conway-Canadian Coast Guard Ian Fraser Award is presented annually to the Search and Rescue unit that performs the most notable rescue operation. It is named for Ian Fraser, VC, DSC (1936-1938), who won his VC when in command of the midget submarine XE-3 by sinking the Japanese cruiser *Takao* in 1945. The Vancouver *Conway* Club makes the selection. The other presentation is the HMS *Conway* Trophy which is presented annually to the most effective ship in the Navy's west coast Training Squadron.

A room at the Coast Guard College has been designated the "Conway Lounge." It contains an enlarged replica of the medal and a list of the recipients since its re-institution in 1979; prints of watercolours by John A. Speer showing the third *Conway* as the *Nile* in 1862 and off Rock Ferry in 1929; a large print of a painting by Thomas H. Shuttleworth of the *Conway* off Plas Newydd; and a set of plans of the *Nile* as designed and as completed. The Shuttleworth picture and the plans were presented to the College by the Vancouver *Conway* Club. The plans are not originals but copies made in 1924; still, they look appropriately ancient and authentic. Finally, there are framed short histories in English and French, and portraits of Prince Michael of Kent (who officially opened the lounge in 1984) and H.M. the Queen.

When I first joined the staff of the College, I had no idea of its *Conway* connection, but it has been one of my self-appointed tasks each year to ask a *Conway* graduate to participate in the presentation of the medal. So far, I have always succeeded in finding a different one. These Canadians have helped to keep alive the tradition of the *Conway* in this country at the Coast Guard College, an institution which has reached its own quarter-century, is respected throughout the maritime world, and has now created a worthy tradition of its own.

Notes

1. The recipient of the Queen's *Conway* Gold Medal must demonstrate: "cheerful acceptance of direction, self respect and independence of character, kindness and protection of the weak, readiness to forgive offence, desire to conciliate the differences of others, and above all, fearless devotion to duty, and unflinching truthfulness."

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COLUMNS

MARITIME PROVINCES STEAM PASSENGER VESSELS

By Robin H. Wyllie
East LaHave, Nova Scotia

S.S. Westport III

Specifications:

Official Number:	116208
Builder:	J.A. McGowan, Shelburne, Nova Scotia.
Date Built:	1903
Gross Tonnage:	140.01
Overall Length:	101 feet
Breadth:	21.3 feet
Draught:	9 feet
Engine Builder:	The New Burrill Johnson Iron Co. Ltd., Yarmouth.
Engine Description:	Steam, 2 cylinder, 12"-24", developing 24 N.H.P.

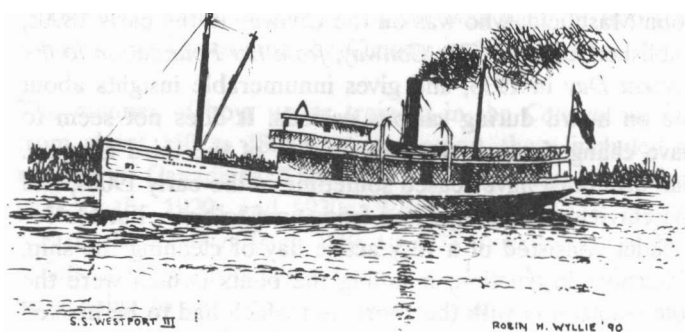


Figure 1: S.S. Westport III

Source: Author's drawing from company timetable, c. 1910.

History:

Westport III was built in 1903 in the Shelburne yard of J.A. McGowan for the Insular Steamship Company Ltd. of Westport, Nova Scotia. She was a small wooden steamer with the traditional white hull and black funnel of east coast inland and coastal passenger steamers. Her design owed

much to the wooden steam drifters and her large deck saloon and extended boat deck facilitated the carriage of considerably more than the twenty-five passengers for which she was licensed.

Speculation is that she was built in anticipation of the government subsidy contract that the company was awarded in 1904 to connect the isolated communities of Digby Neck, Long and Brier Islands with the mainland railheads of Yarmouth and Saint John. *Westport III* was well-suited to her duties, and maintained her busy schedule (see Figure 2), with a brief hiatus during W.W.I., until 1920, when she was sold to Burns and Kelliher of Halifax. It has not been determined to what use this company, which owned a machine shop on Grafton Street, put the vessel, but this is not surprising, particularly during prohibition.

INSULAR S. S. CO. LTD.

SUMMER TIME TABLE.

Commencing April 1. ending October 30

S. S. WESTPORT III.

Capt. BYARD POWELL.

Leaves Westport every Monday for Weymouth via Freeport, Tiverton, Little River, Mink Cove and Sandy Cove, returning leaves Weymouth Tuesdays.

Leaves Westport every Wednesday morning for Yarmouth, via Meteghan, returning leaves Yarmouth Wednesday at 1 p.m. calling each way at Meteghan.

Leaves Westport Thursdays for St. John's, returning leaves St. John's every Friday at noon.

Same Trips and Ports of call will be made throughout the year except Meteghan.

W. J. ORR Secretary S. T. PAYSON President.



Figure 2: Timetable reproduced from pre-WWI postcard.

Westport III is next heard of in 1923, when she was sold to Captain Isaiah (Ike) Horton of Guysborough, who apparently had some connection with the Cann Company of Yarmouth, which was receiving the subsidy for the Mulgrave-Guysborough run on which the vessel was placed. In 1929, she became part of the Eastern Canada Coastal Steamship Company Ltd., organised by a group of Halifax and Saint John businessmen who, through purchase and share allotments, managed to take control of virtually all Maritimes' coastal shipping and to monopolise the lucrative government subsidies.

Economy was a major factor in Eastern's operation and a number of steamers, including *Westport III*, had their steam engines replaced by diesels. Possibly about the same time, her mainmast was removed and a small cabin was placed on the rear of the boat deck. This did not enhance her appearance. She continued on the Mulgrave-Guysborough run, with a stop at Queensport, even after Richard B. Bennett's Conservatives came to power and Eastern lost many of the subsidy contracts to party faithful. *Westport II*rs end came in March 1934 when, enroute from Mulgrave, she was wrecked in heavy ice off Hadleyville.

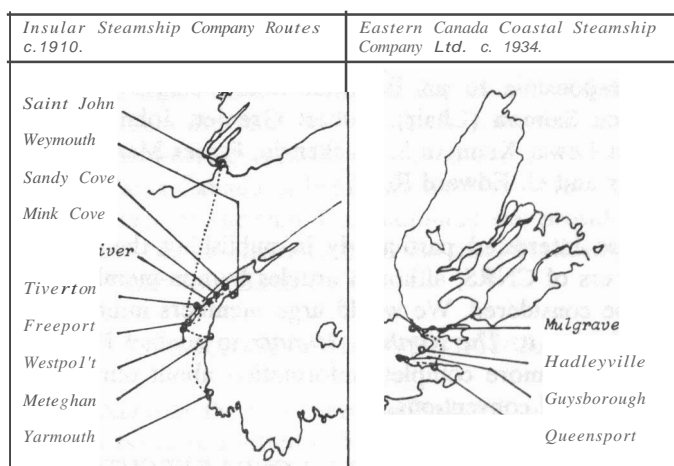


Figure 3: Location of Ports Mentioned in Text and Timetable.

Sources:

Belcher's Fanners Almanac. Halifax, 1903-1934.

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ARGONAUTA NEWS

NORTHERN MARINER TO BEGIN PUBLICATION IN JANUARY

As we announced earlier in *ARGONAUTA*, in January CNRS will begin publishing its new journal, *The Northern Mariner*. To appear quarterly, *The Northern Mariner* in the first year will average seventy-two pages in length. It will

contain feature articles on all types of marine topics, including the navy, merchant shipping, maritime labour, law, maritime communities, ports and nautical archaeology, to name but a few. The emphasis will be on historical essays, but we will cheerfully consider articles with a contemporary focus as well. We are also interested in publishing maritime memoirs and commentaries on marine affairs. The *Northem Mariner* will also include all our book reviews beginning in January and will contain the *Canadian Maritime Bibliography*, which will no longer be published separately.

The *Northem Mariner* will be published at Memorial University of Newfoundland under the editorship of Lewis R. Fischer, Olaf U. Janzen and Gerald E. Panting. The editors are responsible to an Editorial Board **consisting** of M. Stephen Salmon (Chair), Robert Grenier, John Harland, Walter Lewis, Kenneth S. Mackenzie, Fraser McKee, Marc Milner and G. Edward Reed.

We are interested particularly in publishing the work of members of CNRS, although articles by non-members will also be considered. We would urge members interested in contributing to *The Northem Mariner* to contact Professor FIScher for more complete information about our stylistic and editorial conventions.

NEWAPPOINTMENTS TO CNRS EXECUTWE

Dr. *WA.B.* Douglas, President of the Canadian Nautical Research Society, is pleased to announce two new appointments to the Executive. Dr. Eileen Reid Marcil of Charlesbourg, Quebec, is a new Vice-President, filling a vacancy that had existed since the Victoria AGM. A long-time member of CNRS, Dr. Marcil has served previously as a Councillor and a member of the Matthews Awards Committee. She is also the Quebec member of the Liaison Committee, a position she will continue to hold. Commander Fraser McKee has been appointed as a Councillor. Like Dr. Marcil, Commander McKee has long been an active member of CNRS and a prolific contributor to *ARGONAUTA*.

On behalf of all CNRS members, we welcome Eileen and Fraser on board. Members are invited to contact them with suggestions and queries. You will find their addresses in the research directory supplement to this issue of *ARGONAUTA*.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR MARITIME HISTORY ELECTS NEW EXECUTWE

At its General Assembly in Madrid on 31 August, the International Commission for Maritime History (ICMH), of

which the Canadian Nautical Research Society is one of the key members, elected its new executive. The new President is Dr. Frank *JA.* Broeze of Perth, Australia. Vice-Presidents are Dr. Peter N. Davies of Liverpool, England; Dr. Lars U. Scholl of Bremerhaven, Germany; and Captain Hugo O'Donnell of Madrid, Spain. The Treasurer is Dr. Timothy Runyan of Cleveland, Ohio and the Assistant Secretary-General is Mme. Anne Kroell of Paris, France.

From a Canadian perspective, perhaps the most important election was for Secretary-General, the post which carries with it responsibility for the day-to-day operation of the organization. For the first time, this position went to a Canadian. The new Secretary-General is Prof. Lewis R. Fischer, the Secretary of CNRS and one of the co-editors of *ARGONAUTA*. The location of the secretariat in Canada should enable CNRS members to play a larger role in the international commission; at the same time, it should facilitate the dissemination of news about both the ICMH and its other member commissions to readers of *ARGONAUTA*. Beginning in January, each issue of *ARGONAUTA* will contain approximately four pages of news about the work of the commission and our sister organizations.

The Secretary-General will not, however, be the sole Canadian on the Executive. Elected to the Council were Dr. Barry M. Gough of Waterloo, Ontario, past-President of CNRS, and Prof. Gerald E. Panting of St. John's, Nfld., who has served on the ICMH Council for six years and is, like Barry, a past-President of CNRS. A complete list of the Council will be published in the ICMH section of the January *ARGONAUTA*.

ICMH TO HOLD 1995 CONGRESS IN CANADA

The International Commission for Historical Sciences (ICHS) is a large organization which represents the interests of historians the world over. One of its affiliates is the International Commission for Maritime History (ICMH); CNRS is in turn an affiliate of this latter organization. Every five years the ICHS holds a major congress to bring together historians from around the world. ICMH also holds a large conference as part of this congress.

At its meeting in Madrid in August, ICHS decided that its 1995 congress will be held in Montreal. This means that the next ICMH congress will also be held in Quebec's largest city. The selection of a theme has been left to a programme committee consisting of Lewis R. Fischer (Canada, convenor); Els van Eyck (Netherlands); Yrjo Kaukiainen (Finland); and Ugo Tucci (Italy).

The 1995 congress will mark the first time that these prestigious organizations have held their meetings in Canada. And it obviously opens up a good deal of scope for participation by members of CNRS. We will keep you informed of the deliberations of the programme committee. But in the interim, any CNRS member who might be interested in assisting in the organization of the ICMH conference is invited to contact Prof. Fischer or Dr. W.A.B. Douglas, the President of CNRS.

MARINE ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE CANADIAN PARKS SERVICE

During the 1990 field season, the Marine Archaeology Section of the Canadian Parks Service has been continuing its assessment of submerged cultural resources in various National Parks across the country.

For the third consecutive year, the Section conducted a survey in Pacific Rim National Park on Vancouver Island in an attempt to complete an inventory of wrecks. A survey in Fathom Five National Marine Park in Tobermory, Ontario, was continued with the aid of a side-scan sonar. This project began in 1988. Similar technology was used in Lake Minnewanka in Banff National Park. The lake was created after the construction of a dam in 1941 which submerged the small town of Minnewanka. An evaluation survey was conducted in Atherley Narrows, Ontario, where a prehistoric fishweir site had previously been discovered. Finally, the annual monitoring of the submerged resources in Louisbourg harbour to evaluate site preservation and the impact of sport diving will take place at the end of the season.

Aside from these projects, which are aimed mainly at the completion of the Parks Service's submerged sites inventory, research is continuing on the Basque whaler excavated at Red Bay, Labrador.

CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM SMALL BOAT VOYAGING PROJECT

The Canadian War Museum's Small Boat Voyaging Project carried out a successful crossing of Lake Champlain, 17-19 July 1990. Three craft using period rigs successfully arrived off Burlington, Vermont, after a day on the lake in foggy conditions. The CWM's own whaleboat crossed in three and a half hours from Port Kent, New York, using a boat compass (and a conch foghorn) and remained on one tack for the crossing. Upcoming voyages planned include a retracing of Barclay's track from Amherstburg to Put-in Bay on Lake Erie in 1813, and a Toronto to Niagara-on-the-Lake sail-and-oar crossing. The use of period clothing and kit has produced sometimes surprising observations and

lessons for the participants. Further information is available from the Director of the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa.

HMCS HAIDA RECOGNIZED AS HISTORIC SITE

HMCS *Haida*, the world's only remaining Tribal Class destroyer, now berthed at Toronto's Ontario Place, has been recognized by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. A plaque, to be mounted on the upper bulkhead, was unveiled in a well-attended ceremony on August 30. Those present included Ontario's Lieutenant-Governor, the Vice-Chief of the Defence Staff, and city and federal representatives, as well as people from the two groups that initially saved the ship from the breaker's yard: *Haida* Inc. and Friends of *Haida*. The Board's Chairman, Professor Tom Symonds of Trent University, who acted as the master-of-ceremonies for the ceremony, pointed especially to Parks Canada as being responsible for the government's interest in the ship. Entertainment was provided not only by the Navy's *Stadcona* band but also, ironically, by a German band from Bavaria.

HMCS SACKVILLE AND HMCS ALBERNI

HMCS *Sackville*, the only surviving Flower Class corvette, is gradually being retrofitted to her 1944 condition as a Canadian Naval Memorial Trust ship. The vessel is docked in Halifax, and major assistance in the restoration has come from interested Canadians as well as from HMC Dockyard Halifax. Because this has generated some publicity, readers may be interested in the recent announcement that the remains of a sister ship, HMCS *Albemi*, have been visited by sports divers twenty-five miles south of the Isle of Wight off England's south coast. The *Albemi*, under the command of Lt-Cdr. I.H. Bell, RCNVR, was torpedoed on 21 August 1944 by *U-480*, commanded by O-L HJ. Forster, with the loss of fifty-nine lives. The divers report that while most of the *Albemi's* upperworks have been swept clear, a number of artifacts are still on the site. It is hoped by *Sackville's* restorers that some of these artifacts can be utilized in her restoration. We will keep you informed of future developments.

NEW EDITORS NAMED FOR MARITIME JOURNALS

The leading journals of maritime history in the United States and Great Britain have announced the appointments of new editors. *American Neptune*, the U.S. publication, will now appear under the editorship of Dr. Timothy J. Runyan of Cleveland State University, while *Mariner's Mirror* will be edited by Dr. Michael Duffy of the University of Exeter.

Dr. Runyan has been named to succeed the late Professor

Archibald Lewis, who passed away this past winter. Dr. Runyan is a specialist in medieval maritime history and over the past few years has added the maritime history of the Great Lakes to his repertoire. He is currently President of the Great Lakes Historical Society and Treasurer of the International Commission for Maritime History. Dr. Runyan is especially interested in increasing the number of submissions from Canadian maritime historians. Researchers interested in submitting manuscripts may do so by sending them to *American Neptune*, Peabody Museum, East India Square, Salem, Massachusetts 01970.

Dr. Duffy, a specialist in seventeenth and eighteenth century British naval history, assumes the editorship of *Mariner's Mirror* from Brian Dolley. At the same time, Dr. David J. Starkey, also of the University of Exeter, has become the new book review editor. Like Dr. Runyan, Dr. Duffy is interested in broadening the scope of his journal. While he is interested in manuscripts similar to those that have in the past been published by *Mariner's Mirror*, he is also keen to publish more essays on the history of the merchant marine and non-British subjects. Readers who would like to submit a manuscript or to learn more about his policies may write him at the Department of History, University of Exeter, Exeter, England.

EL BOTE JUANITA

The Vancouver Wooden Boat Society, in association with the Vancouver Maritime Museum, is constructing a replica of a *bote* (Spanish for small boat) used in a 1792 Spanish expedition to the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

In 1792, Dionisio Alcala Galiano and Cayetano Valdes sailed north from San Blas, Mexico on the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana*. Built specifically by the Spanish navy for exploration in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, they were considered the most seaworthy of vessels docked at San Blas. Their shallow drafts made them especially suitable for exploring shallow channels and facilitated handling either under sail or when propelled by oars. They were used by Galiano to circumnavigate Vancouver Island, effectively disproving the notion that the Strait was an entrance to the Northwest Passage.

Both vessels carried small lifeboats. It is these small craft that are the subject of the project currently underway in Vancouver. The goal is to recreate one of the lifeboats carried by the *Sutil*. When complete, the *bote* will have a length of 5.3 metres, a breadth of 1.7 metres, and a depth of .7 metres. She will have six rowing oars and a two-masted spritsail rig.

Further information on this project may be obtained from the Vancouver Wooden Boat Society, 923 East 13th Avenue, Vancouver, B.C. V5T 2L7.

THE WRECK AND RESCUE OF THE J.H. BARIZELL

A new video is available which we are certain will be of interest to many of our members. "The Wreck and Rescue of the Schooner *J.H. Hartzell*" is a fifty-eight minute, full-colour production which faithfully recreates a true adventure during the "golden age of sail" on the Great Lakes. It is available in VHS format from Brauer Productions, 402 Cass Street, Traverse City, Michigan 49684 (tel.: 616-941-0850). To give you an opportunity to see what you are getting, the distributor will also provide a free two-minute excerpt on request.

THE CANADIAN FISHERMAN

The *Canadian Fisherman*, founded by Frederick William Wallace, was Canada's first monthly fisheries journal and was primarily concerned with the country's commercial fisheries. Published from 1914 to 1969, it covered fisheries on both coasts as well as the freshwater fisheries of the Great Lakes and the Prairies. The journal covered a wide range of subjects and contained numerous photographs depicting life and work on the sea. At present, there are no known complete series of this publication in anyone location and it has never been microfilmed.

The Maritime History Archive (MHA) at Memorial University would like to rectify this situation. The staff have recently identified the various institutions that hold various years of the journal and have obtained copyright clearance to have the complete run microfilmed. Estimates on the cost of filming the approximately thirty thousand pages are in the vicinity of \$20,000. This will enable the MHA to offer copies on 35mm film for \$1800.

Before proceeding with this project, however, the MHA would like to have an indication of the institutions that would be interested in acquiring this valuable research tool. Institutions that might be interested are asked to contact Ms. Heather Wareham, Archivist, Maritime History Archive, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Nfld. A1C 5S7. While the MHA would like to hear from institutions with a serious interest, this expression, of course, is not necessarily a commitment to purchase.

CALL FOR PAPERS: THE GREAT OCEAN

The North Pacific Studies Center of the Oregon Historical Society announces the second in its series of international,

interdisciplinary conferences and invites the submission of proposals for papers. The conference will be held March 20-23, 1991, in Portland, Oregon. Its subject matter will be the peoples of the North Pacific rim in the seventeenth century. As with the first conference, on the North Pacific to 1600, the focus will be the region's history, but contributions from ancillary disciplines are not only welcome but encouraged. Some funding will be available. The language of the conference will be English. Papers delivered at the conference will be published by the Oregon Historical Society Press as Volume 2 of *The Great Ocean*, part of the "North Pacific Studies Series." The five volumes of *The Great Ocean* will illuminate major currents and themes in the region's history; papers selected for presentation and subsequent publication will be those that best contribute to this objective.

Scholars working in North Pacific studies are invited to submit proposals--consisting of an abstract and the author's *curriculum vitae*--to Peter A. McGraw, Interim Director, North Pacific Studies Center, Oregon Historical Society, 1230 S.W. Park Avenue, Portland, Oregon 97205 (tel.: 503-222-1741; FAX: 503-221-2035). The abstract should be a brief summary--ideally, no longer than one page--outlining the research on which the paper will be based, the major points to be covered, and any conclusions suggested by the research so far. The *curriculum vitae* should briefly outline the author's educational background, current position, publications, etc. In order to be considered for the 1991 conference, proposals should reach the Center by *December 15, 1990*.

AROUND THE MARITIME JOURNALS

AMERICAN NEPTUNE (L, NO.3, SUMMER 1990)

- Marc Suttor, "A History of Fluvial Navigation: The Example of the Meuse"
 Malcolm H. Murfett, "An Old Fashioned Form of Protectionism: The Role Played by British Naval Power in China from 1860-1941"
 A.F. Tilley, "Warships of the Ancient Mediterranean"
 Melvin H. Jackson, "The Philadelphia Steamboat of 1796"
 Alan Rogers, "'A Dangerous Sport': A Boston Boy's Life at Sea, 1820-1837"
 David Syrett, "The Safe and Timely Arrival of Convoy SC 130, 15-25 May 1943"

THE ARCHWIST (XVII, NO.4, JULY-AUGUST 1990)

- Larry McNally, "The *Royal William*: The Saga of a Pioneer

Steam Vessel"

- Allan Poulin, "Floating the Ocean Lines: The Transatlantic Mail Subsidies"
 M. Stephen Salmon, "With Iron Men Commanding Them: Lloyd's Captains Registers, 1851-1947"
 Sheila Powell, "All Present and Accounted For: Passenger Lists from the Europe to Canada Steamship Runs"
 Bruce Weedmark, "The Ocean Highway"
 Peter Robertson, "'Feeling Like a Cock': Mackenzie King at Sea, 1934"
 Daniel Somers, "What Did Grandpa Do in the War?"

FRESHWATER (V, NO.1, 1990)

- John Summers, "Forgotten Watercraft: Small Craft for Work and Pleasure in Toronto Harbour"
 Walter Lewis, "The Lodor Proposal"
 Walter Lewis, "Steamboats on Lake Erie, January 1836"
 M. Stephen Salmon, "Paper Passages: An Introduction to the Sources for the Study of Great Lakes History at the National Archives of Canada"
 Maurice D. Smith, "Kingston Shipyards--World War II"

MARITIME ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES (III, NO.1, 1990)

- Sally C. Cole, "Cod, God, Country and Family: The Portuguese Newfoundland Cod Fishery"
 Peter R. Sinclair, "Fisheries Management and Problems of Social Justice: Reflections on Northwest Newfoundland"
 Marian Binkley and Victor Thiessen, "Levels and Profiles of Job Satisfaction among Former and Current Displaced Water Fishers in Nova Scotia"
 E. Paul Durrenberger, "Policy, Power and Science: The Implementation of Turtle Excluder Device Regulations in the U.S. Gulf of Mexico Shrimp Fishery"
 Craig T. Palmer, "Balancing Competition and Cooperation: Verbal Etiquette among Maine Lobstermen"
 Jojada Verrips, "On the Nomenclature of Dutch Inland River Craft"
 Inge Tvedten, "The Difficult Transition from Subsistence to Commercial Fishing: The Case of the Bijagos of Guinea-Bissau"

STEAMBOATBILL (XLVII, NO. 2, SUMMER 1990)

- Peter Kohler, "*America*: To the Ocean White with Foam"

PERSONAL NEWS

WUIS C. AUDETTE tells us that he has received several letters from a U-boat captain who sank three of the ships

escorted by his group. He also writes that he has had "quite a few dealings [recently] with young historians or researchers. They use me unmercifully and I delight in **helping** them." Young scholars please note! (451 Besserer Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6C2).....WILLIAM P. AVERY is studying naval confrontations between the United Provinces and the Batavian Republic during the French Revolutionary War period. He hopes to be able to publish a book on the topic in 1991.....G.T. JOHN BARRETT is planning to construct a model of the *Sir Isaac Brock* this winter.....DAVID P. BEATTY is editing the diary of a World War I prisoner-of-war.....RENÉ BEAUCHAMP tells us that Canada Maritime will have six vessels rather than four on its run to Europe beginning this fall. **René** is the author of *Seaway Ships* 1989, which marks yet another improvement in his annual index of *St. Lawrence seaway vessels*. His regular readers will know that his various editions of *Seaway Ocean Vessels* excluded Great Lakes ships, but the new volume for the **first** time includes Lakers. Interested readers may purchase these highly informative and enjoyable annuals directly from **René** (9041 Bellerive, Montreal, P.Q. H1L 3S5). He also tells us that the regular bi-monthly slide shows in Montreal will begin in October. Readers interested in attending are invited to phone him at 355-3891.....In addition to chairing the Board of Trustees of the Vancouver Maritime Museum Society, THOMAS F. BEASLEY is Past President of the Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia; Vice-President of the Artificial Reef Society of British Columbia; and Chairperson of the Heritage Council of British Columbia.....THOMAS BRADY is working on revising a paper on command and control in the Royal Navy during the Dutch Wars of the 1660s and 1670s for publication as an article.....JEAN-FRANÇOIS BRIERE is the author of *La Pêche française en Amérique du Nord au XVIIIe siècle*, a 270-page volume which was published this summer by Fides in Montreal. **Jean-François** has also been appointed Book Review Editor of the *International Journal of Maritime History*.....JOHN BURGESS is working on a study of the UGjGU convoys from Norfolk and New York to Gibraltar and Casablanca.....EDGAR ANDREW COLLARD is the author of *Passage to the Sea: A History of Canada Steamship Lines*, which will be published in December by Doubleday Canada.....ROBERT W. COOK is now a self-employed, full-time model builder.....JOHN S. DAVIES is the editor of *The Barnacle*, the Newsletter of the World Ship Society, Vancouver Branch.....S. MATHWIN DAVIS is the author of "Cancellation of the General Purpose Frigate: Lessons from a Quarter Century Ago; *Canadian Defence Quarterly* (June 1990) and the editor of *Healthy Populace, Healthy Policy: Medicare toward the Year 2000* (Kingston, 1990). He is currently working on a study of naval technology, 1950-1965.....SERGE MARC DURFLINGER, who is

working on a doctorate in military history at McGill University, has contributed **five** articles to the *World War II in Europe Encyclopedia*, which will be published in 1993 by Garland Publishing. He is also the author of "The *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, 1933-35: Canadian Military Writing of a Bygone Era," which will appear next year in the *Canadian Defence Quarterly*.....PETER EDWARDS has been appointed Honorary Historian of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club.....VAUGHAN EVANS, who does such a splendid job of editing the newsletter for our sister society, the Australian Association for Maritime History, is the author of *Shipshape Downunder*, a history of shipbuilding in Australia from 1788 to 1988 which is currently in press. It will be published jointly by Oxford University Press and Sydney University Press.....LEWIS R. FISCHER is co-editor (with Helge W. Nordvik) of *Shipping and Trade, 1750-1950* (Leuven University Studies in Economic History Number 10, Leuven, 1990) and *Shipping and Trade, 1750-1950: Essays in International Maritime Economic History* (Pontefract, Eng., 1990).....GREG FOSTER has designed a replica of a Spanish launch which will be constructed this fall in the Vancouver Maritime Museum (see the story in the *ARGONAUTA* News section).....WILLIAM GLOVER has recently joined the Directorate of History at the Department of National Defence to work on the new **official** history of the Royal Canadian Navy.....BARRY M. GOUGH is currently working on books on "Britannia in American Waters: The North America and West Indies Station" and "*Pax Britannica*, Illusions and Realities, 1815-1914". Barry has also been elected to both the Council and the Nominating Committee of the **International** Commission for Maritime History. He has also been selected as a NATO Research Fellow and will undertake research on "Statesmen and Seapower since 1945".....DONALD E. GRAYES presented a paper entitled "Naked Truths for the Asking: The Historian and the Battlefield Narrative in the 20th Century" at the "Clio and Mars" Conference at the University of New Brunswick last month. He is currently working on an operational history of the RCN in World War II and a monograph on the Napoleonic battle.....MICHAEL L. HADLEY's latest book, *Tin-Pots and Pirate Ships: Canadian Naval Forces and Gennan Sea Raiders, 1880-1918* (co-authored with Roger Sarty), will be published in February 1991 by McGill-Queen's University Press.....C. KNICK HARLEY is the author of "North Atlantic Shipping in the Late Nineteenth Century: Freight Rates and the Interrelationship of Cargoes; in Lewis R. Fischer and Helge W. Nordvik (eds.), *Shipping and Trade, 1750-1950: Essays in International Maritime Economic History* (Pontefract, Eng., 1990), 147-172.....DANIEL G. HARRIS, who will celebrate his seventy-fifth birthday in December, is the author of an essay on "Chapman's Frigates; which will appear in the 1990 edition of *World Warships*.....BARRY D. HUNT is

working on "The Admiral's War: Politics, Strategy and the British Naval High Command 1914-1918".....NORMAN HURST is the compiler of *Naval Chronicle 1799-1818: Index to Births, Marriages and Deaths*. This volume, which was reviewed in the July issue of *ARGONAUTA*, is available from Norman for £8.70 or CAN \$14 post free (25 Byron Avenue, Coulsdon, Surrey CR5 2JS, England).....OLAF U. JANZEN is the author of "'Bretons sans scrupule': The Family Chenu of **Saint-Malo** and the Illicit Trade in Cod during the 18th Century," which is forthcoming in the Proceedings of the *Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*.....BRIAN KEEFE will be speaking to the Ottawa Branch of CNRS in January on "Some Aspects of Steam Propulsion".....FAYE KERT will be presenting a paper next May to a conference on piracy and privateering at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands. At present, she is working on organizing the fall events for the Ottawa chapter of CNRS.....HAL LAWRENCE is working on a sequel to his 1979 book, *A Bloody War, 1939-1945*. Entitled "A Sickly Season: The Death of a Navy," it examines the RCN from 1946 to 1966 when due to the unification of the armed forces the navy disappeared as a distinct service. Hal's most recent book, *Victory at Sea: Tales of His Majesty's Coastal Forces*, which was published last year by McClelland and Stewart, is still available and is highly recommended to all readers of *ARGONAUTA*.....LAWRENCE LEE is working on an MA. thesis at the University of Western Ontario on "The British Corps of Marines and the Seven Years' War".....WALTER LEWIS is the author of "The Lodor Proposal," *Fresh Water*, V, No. 1 (1990), 12-15; and "Steamboats on Lake Erie, January 1836," *Fresh Water*, V, No. 1 (1990), 16-19.....DONALD MACKAY is the author of *Flight from Famine: The Irish Emigration to Canada in the 19th Century*, which will be published this fall by McClelland and Stewart.....In the press of reporting on the Annual General meeting in the last issue, we neglected to note that the day of the AGM coincided with the eighty-fifth birthday of member DUNCAN O. MACKENZIE. Belatedly, we would like to join the members who were present that day in congratulating Duncan and in wishing him many more years of happiness and good health!!!.....C. DOUGLAS MAGINLEY is the author of "What Do We Do with Our Forces," *Policy Options*, XI, No.7 (September 1990).....EILEEN R. MARCIL has been appointed a Vice-President of the Canadian Nautical Research Society.....DAVID J. MCDUGALL is the author of "Captain LaCouvée, the *Margaret* and the **Gaspé** Navy," *Gaspésie*, XXVIII, No.2 (Guin 1990), 26-36.....FRASER M. MCKEE has accepted the post of Councillor of CNRS.....CHRIS MILLS finished his final shift as assistant keeper at the Seal Island (N.S.) light on 12 September and began as assistant keeper at Machias Seal Island (N.B.) on September 24. His former light in Nova Scotia is due to be

fully automated by October or November of this year. Chris is also working on a video documentary (home-produced) on the Seal Island light and has been contributing artifacts and information to the Seal Island Light Museum in Barrington, N.S.....CHARLES MOORE will be teaching an undergraduate course at Simon Fraser University this spring on nautical archaeology; the course will focus on man's seafaring endeavours throughout history from an archaeological perspective. He is continuing his thesis research on the early inshore fishing vessels of the west coast.....HELGE W. NORDVIK'S latest essay is "Norwegian Emigrants and Canadian Timber: Norwegian Shipping to Quebec 1850-1875," in Klaus Friedland (ed.), *Maritime Aspects of Migration* (Köln, 1990), 279-291.....GORDON OLMSTEAD will be presenting a paper on "Merchant Navy Prisoners of War" at the monthly meeting of CNRS' Ottawa Branch in November (details in "*ARGONAUTA* Diary").....ROSEMARY E. OMMER has written "Capitalism in a Cold Climate," *Acadiensis*, XIX, No. 2 (Spring 1990); and "Merchant Credit and the Informal Economy: Newfoundland 1918-1928," *Historical Papers* (1990, forthcoming). She is the editor of *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, which was published this summer by Acadiensis Press in Fredericton and is currently working on a project with Robert Sweeny on merchant fishing firms in Atlantic Canada.....GERALD PANTING has been elected Secretary/Treasurer of the International Maritime Economic History Association; Secretary of the Editorial Board of the *International Journal of Maritime History*; and a member of the Council of the International Commission for Maritime History. He is also co-author (with Eric W. Sager) of *Maritime Capital: The Shipping Industry in Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914* (Kingston, 1990).....A. KEVAN PARRY has accepted a new position as Marine Surveyor/Nautical Examinations with the Canadian Coast Guard in Ottawa. He would also be interested in hearing from readers who know of any good sources of information on the skills required of a ship's crew in the operation of modern vessels (74--1900 Marquis Avenue, Gloucester, Ont. K1J 8J2).....WALTER W. PEDDLE is studying the process by which material culture designs were transmitted from Great Britain to Newfoundland.....J. DAVID PERKINS' essay, "Canada's World War One Submariners," will appear in an upcoming issue of *Naval History*.....JAMES PRITCHARD will deliver a paper on "The Sailors of the D'Enville Expedition to Acadia, 1746" to the Jack Tar in History Conference at St. Mary's University this month. The paper is part of a larger project to reconstruct the events surrounding the French expeditionary force sent in 1746 to reconquer Acadia but which ended in failure.....PETER ROBERTSON's article, "'Feeling Like a Fighting Cock': Mackenzie King at Sea, 1934," appeared in *The Archivist* (July-August 1990), 17,20, as part of a theme

issue devoted to steam navigation on the Atlantic. Peter has recently retired as General Editor of *Archivaria*, the Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists, after completing a two-year term of office.....PETER ROGERS will be presenting a paper next month to the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society on the paddle steamer *Royal William*. He is also planning a collection of his historical writings, many of which have maritime themes, in the next few years.....FRANK T. ROWAN has been Executive Director of the Canada-USSR Trade Task Force since April 1988. The Task Force is designed to assist the Soviets to expand their exports and hence to correct the great trade imbalance they have with Canada. Frank invites anyone interested in the issue of bilateral trade to communicate with him (40 Middle Gate, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3C 2C4).....ERIC J. RUFF represented the Yarmouth County Museum at the Seventh International Congress of Maritime Museums held at Stockholm in August. He also took part in the subsequent tour to various maritime museums in the Gulf of Finland area. Eric's latest publication is "Loran Ellis Baker," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XII (Toronto, 1990).....ERIC W. SAGER is co-author (with Gerry Panting) of *Maritime Capital: The Shipping Industry in Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914*, which has just been published by McGill-Queen's University Press. He is presently completing a book, tentatively entitled "Ships and Memories," which is an oral history of work, experience and conditions on board Canadian steamships between the 1920s and 1940s. Eric will also be presenting a paper at the "Jack Tar in History Conference in Halifax at the end of this month on "Sailors and Oral History".....M. STEPHEN SALMON has been appointed to chair the Editorial Board of *The Northern Mariner*. His recent publications include "'With Iron Men Commanding Them': Lloyd's Captains Registers 1851-1947," *The Archivist* (July-August 1990), 8-9; and "Paper Passages: An Introduction to the Sources for the Study of Great Lakes History at the National Archives of Canada," *Fresh-Water*, V, No. 1 (1990), 20-29. Steve is also the author of the forthcoming essay, "'Rank Imitation and the Sincerest Flattery': The Dominion Marine Association and the Revision of the Canadian Coasting Regulations, 1922-1936," which will appear in *The Northern Mariner*, I, No.2 (April 1991).....ROGER F. SARTY is the author of "Canadian Maritime Defence 1892-1914," which will appear in the December issue of the *Canadian Historical Review*. He is also one of the seven-person team writing the new official history of the ReN. He will be presenting a paper on "The Defence of the West Coast" at the conference on "Canada, the Pacific and War" in Victoria in February.....DONALD M. SCHURMAN is the author of "Writing about War," in Jack Schultz (ed.), *Writing about Canada* (Toronto, 1990); and "La marine canadienne de 1867 à 1945," *Guen-es mondiales et conflicts contemporains*, CLVII (January 1990, with

Roger Sarty). He is currently contributing (with Alan Pearsall) to the centennial volume on the Navy Records Society which will appear in two years time as well as writing another volume for NRS (also with Alan Pearsall).....GEORGE SCHUTHE is the author of "The Sinking of the S.S. *Lisieux*," *Resolution* (Summer 1990), 8-11. He is continuing his work on a history of the famous "Room 19," the radio communication centre operated by the Vancouver School Board from 1925 to prepare candidates for certificates of proficiency in wireless telegraphy and careers in marine radio and the broad area of radio communications.....BOB SHOOP is interested in hearing from readers having information on CAP rescue craft (the so-called "crash boats"). He is interested in plans, drawings, photos and colour schemes for both the twenty-five and forty foot boats. He is also interested in information on Canadian Coast Guard aircraft and helicopters (1704 Lorraine, #A3, Colorado Springs, Colorado 80906, U.S.A) MARILYN GURNEY SMITH has been seconded to Ottawa for five weeks to serve on the Task Force on Military History Museum Collections in Canada.....MAURICE D. SMITH has written "Kingston Shipyards--World War II," *Fresh-Water*, V, No. 1 (1990), 30-34.....IAN K. STEELE is the author of *Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre"* (New York, 1990).....ROBERT ST.G. STEPHENS is working on a biography of his father, Rear-Admiral G.L. Stephens, in the context of the engineering history of the RCN from its inception to the early 1950s.....VICTOR SUTHREN is presently writing a comprehensive maritime history of British Columbia and a fourth Edward Mainwaring **novel**, entitled *Captain Monsoon*.....ALLEN D. TAYLOR is volunteering as the assistant to the Curator of Marine Transportation at the National Museum of Science and technology.....CHRISTOPHER J. TERRY has written "Vive La Vigilance," *Aeroplane Monthly* (December 1989). This article focuses upon the Curtiss HS-2L flying boat, the world's first bush aircraft.....ROBERT D. TURNER has been working with the Canadian Parks Service and the Kootenay Lake Historical Society on the stabilization and restoration of the sternwheeler *Moyie*. His particular focus has been the structural and operational history of the vessel and a study of its historic fabric. A monograph on the vessel is in preparation. Bob also has a book on logging railroads in British Columbia in press for publication later this year and is working on a history of the CNR (including the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern) coastal steamships in British Columbia.....RICHARD W. UNGER has written "Grain, Beer and Shipping in the North and Baltic Seas," in Christianne Villain-Gandossi, Salvino Busuttil and Paul Adam (eds.), *Medieval Ships and the Birth of Technological Societies. Vol. I: Northern Europe* (Vienna, 1989), 121-135.....TED WAKEFIELD tells us that he has just completed his annual cruise on his "Grand Banks

trawler." This year he went from Midland to Gore Bay.....MICHAEL WATSON is writing a PhD thesis at the University of Western Ontario on "Vice-Admiralty Court Judges in Colonial British America".....PAUL WEBB recently spent three weeks at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich conducting research on the building, repairing and budgeting policies of the Royal Navy, 1793-1815. He also offered some assistance in the planning for the centenary volume of the Naval Records Society.....ROBERT LLOYD WEBB, who among other attributes is an accomplished musician, travelled to Portsmouth, England in early July for a weekend of shanty singing with English colleagues aboard H.M.S. *Warrior*.....ROLAND H. WEBB is working on a numerical cross-reference list of all official numbers issued by Canadian ports.....DONALD F. WITHROW has been acting as membership chairman for the Marine Heritage Society of Ontario. He is also involved with the Snider Project (see the July *ARGONAUTA*) and would welcome any help that members might be willing to offer to complete it.....WILLIAM D. WRAY has published "The 'Mitsui Fight,' 1953-1956: Japan and the Far Eastern Freight Conference," in Lewis R. Fischer and Helge W. Nordvik (eds.), *Shipping and Trade, 1750-1950: Essays in International Maritime Economic History* (Pontefract, Eng., 1990), 213-237.....DAVID ZIMMERMAN, whose book *The Great Naval Battle of Ottawa* was published last year by the University of Toronto Press, is currently working on a study of the Royal Canadian Navy's Officer Corps in World War II.

AROUND CANADA'S MARITIME MUSEUMS

KANAWA CANOE MUSEUM (HALIBURTON, ONTARIO)

The museum has announced plans to construct a new centre on the banks of Little Lake in Peterborough. A committee to raise the approximately eight million dollars that will be needed to develop the four acre site has been established under the chairmanship of Jack Matthews of Lakefield. Former Lieutenant-Governor John Black Aird will serve as Honorary Chairman. The museum's collection currently includes more than six hundred canoes, kayaks and other watercraft along with more than one thousand other canoe-related artifacts.

MARINE MUSEUM OF THE GREAT LAKES (KINGSTON)

A forty-three page finding aid for the German and Milne Collection (discussed in the July *ARGONAUTA*) is now available. The collection is divided into five main parts. Series I is composed of the main set of drawings; series II

contains the "calculation books" and indices; series III, comprising forty-two shelf feet of material, contains the bulk of the manuscript material; series IV includes ship surveys for *Bureau Veritas*; and series V is comprised of the company's vertical me. The German and Milne Collection provides a rare insight into the evolution of twentieth century Canadian ship design and shipbuilding.

On October 28, the museum will be hosting the official opening of the exhibit "Grant Macdonald's Navy," showing the work of the famous marine painter. The opening ceremonies will also honour the more than four hundred contributors who made it possible for the museum to acquire this collection. Plans are underway to circulate this exhibit to other locations in Canada beginning in the fall of 1991.

MARINE MUSEUM OF UPPER CANADA (TORONTO)

Paul Merriam, formerly with the Toronto Historical Board, has replaced Teresa Rigg as Historical Interpreter. Additions to the museum's collections in recent months include a large collection of photographs of Toronto ships and harbour scenes, c. 1910; a series of colour slides of vessels in the Welland Canal and St. Lawrence Seaway in the 1960s; a scale model of a turn-of-the-century steam-powered bucket dredge; and a pair of early twentieth century ice skates used on Grenadier Pond. The latter will complement the museum's two iceboats and will help in the interpretation of winter water-related activities. The museum has also received a donation of a half-inch to the foot waterline model of the Great Lakes schooner *Lucia A. Simpson*, which was constructed for use in educational programmes by museum volunteer Ozzie Coates.

The painting show and sale, "Toronto's Historic Harbour," which opened June 9, will close on October 17. The exhibit featured the work of approximately twenty local marine artists; a number of the works have been sold. The travelling exhibit, "Welcome Aboard: The First Steamships on the St. Lawrence," which was mounted by the David M. Stewart Museum in Montreal, will open on 1 November and run until the end of February 1991.

Finally, this fall and winter the museum will begin the documentation of its historic watercraft collection. The first boat to have its lines taken will be the "Durnan" livery skiff, a lapstrake double-ended pulling boat from the early twentieth century.

MARITIME MUSEUM OF BRITISH COLUMBIA (VICTORIA)

Liz Webster, formerly with the Museum of Northern British

Columbia in Prince Rupert, joined the staff as Education and Programs Officer effective 1 August. The museum has received a significant grant in support of its Vintage Vessel Registry from the British Columbia Heritage Trust.

VANCOUVER MARITIME MUSEUM (VANCOUVER)

The museum's upcoming winter exhibition, "Boats to Mess about In; which celebrates the joys of creating and "simply messing about" in small boats, is scheduled to open 15 October 1990 and to continue through 2 January 1991. It will include examples of locally-built small wooden boats, as well as a special in-gallery boatbuilding demonstration organized in cooperation with the Vancouver Wooden Boat Society. Some of the boats on display will include two dugout canoes found on Breakwater Isle; a gill-net skiff used in River's Inlet from 1900 to the 1930s; a locally-built speedboat used as a rumrunner in the 1930s; and a lifeboat from a CPR liner some sixty years ago. A replica of a Spanish launch, designed by master boatbuilder Greg Foster, will be constructed, thus giving museum visitors the opportunity to see traditional boatbuilding techniques in action.

Scheduled to open on 22 January 1991 is an exhibit entitled "Enlightened Voyages: Malaspina and Galiano on the Northwest Coast 1791-1792." This exhibition, which explores the role of Spanish explorers and navigators in the development of knowledge about the geography and peoples of the region, features important loans of original navigational and scientific documents from Spanish museums. The exhibit will also include a wide range of original charts and drawings made during the voyages of exploration. The exhibit will also appear in Tacoma, Washington and Ottawa later in 1991.

YARMOUTH COUNTY MUSEUM (YARMOUTH)

The Curator, Eric J. Ruff, recently attended the Seventh International Congress of Maritime Museums, which took place in Stockholm and at various locations around the Gulf of Finland. The museum reports that it has recently acquired two more ship portraits: the Ship *Charles* by Victor Adam and the Ship *Ruby* by J.E. Baker.

AROUND THE MARITIME ARCHIVES

TORONTO HARBOUR COMMISSION ARCHIVES (TORONTO)

The Toronto **Harbour** Commission is currently engaged in two major projects involving the description and use of its

historical photographs. The **first** is the development of an electronic imaging system to improve the management of these collections. The current holdings of approximately thirty-seven thousand images will be recorded onto optical disc, which will be coupled with an automated inventory of these records. Inquiries using the data base will show the appropriate image on a nearby monitor, and the system will be able to generate copies of the photographs suitable for reference purposes. This application will hopefully improve access to an important and yet relatively untapped record of Toronto's waterfront heritage, while significantly reducing the wear and tear experienced by the original items.

As work begins on this project, finishing touches are being applied to the recent renovation of the Commission's Pier 6 Information Centre. Originally constructed in 1907, the shed is the last remaining example of a style of architecture that was typical of the port's warehouses around the turn of the century. After two relocations and various modifications to meet the purposes of users that included the Toronto Ferry Company and the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the building is now being refurbished by the Toronto Harbour Commission at its new (and hopefully permanent) site at the head of the York Street slip. It is scheduled to open officially in the spring of 1991 as the Commission's waterfront information centre, and will include a number of permanent and changing exhibits devoted to the history of Toronto harbour.

CNRS BRANCH NEWS

OTTAWA

President: Faye Kert; Secretary/Treasurer: G. Edward Reed

The **first** meeting of the Branch's sixth season will be held in the **Officers'** Mess of the Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa on Wednesday, October 17 at 8 PM. The programme will feature an illustrated talk by Eric Sharp, a marine archaeologist with the Canadian Parks Service, on "Structural Modifications to the British Fleet on Lake Ontario during the War of 1812." Subsequent branch meetings for the current year will include the following:

- Nov. 14 Gordon Olmstead, "Merchant Navy Prisoners of War"
- Jan. 16 Brian Keefe, "Some Aspects of Steam Propulsion"
- Feb. 13 M. Stephen Salmon, "Maintaining the Empire: The St. Lawrence River Forwarding Trade, 1870-1900"
- Mar. 20 Ken Mackenzie, "Some Aspects of the Canadian Government Merchant Marine"

All meetings will take place in the Officers' Mess of the Cameron Highlanders at 8 PM. CNRS members visiting Ottawa are cordially invited to attend. Members living in the Ottawa area are also invited to become members. Branch dues for 1990-91 have been set at \$14 and include a newsletter published regularly throughout the year. Dues may be paid at the October or November meetings; alternatively, a cheque payable to "The Canadian Nautical Research Society--Ottawa Branch" may be sent to the Secretary/Treasurer at 517 Hillcrest Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario K2A 2N1.

NEWS FROM CANADA'S MARINE SOCIETIES

SAVE ONTARIO SHIPWRECKS

SOS announces that their "Marine Heritage 1991 Calendar" will be available in September. It comes illustrated with black and white and colour photographs, drawings, and interesting historical facts on hundreds of marine heritage and shipwrecks incidents. The cost is only \$11.95, plus \$2.50 for postage and handling; all net proceeds will go towards SOS marine heritage programmes. Orders may be sent to SOS at 6065 Forestglen Crescent, Orleans, Ontario K1C 5N6.

Readers are also reminded of the benefits of joining SOS. Individual memberships, which include the monthly newsletter, are only \$15 per year; institutional memberships are \$25 per annum. Memberships may be obtained by writing to the address above.

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

The Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War will be holding a conference at Dunsmuir Lodge in Victoria, B.C., 14-16 February 1991. The theme of the conference is "Canada, the Pacific and War: A Fifty Year Retrospective." Interested CNRS members are cordially invited to attend. Information on this event may be obtained by contacting the Canadian Committee for the Second World War, Directorate of History, National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0K2. The tentative programme of papers is printed below.

Gregory Johnson (University of Alberta), "The Context"
Donald G. Paterson (University of British Columbia), "The Regional Economy, 1939-1945"

Hector M. Mackenzie (Department of External Affairs), "Mackenzie King and National Government, 1940-1941"

Robin Fisher (Simon Fraser University), "Duff Pattullo and B.C. Politics in 1941"

Galen Perras (University of Waterloo), "The Historiography of Hong Kong"

Paul Dickson (Guelph University), "General H.D.G. Crerar and Hong Kong Repatriation"

Roger F. Sarty (Department of National Defence), "The Defence of the West Coast"

Brereton Greenhous (Department of National Defence), "The RCAF and Tiger Force"

Serge Bernier (Department of National Defence), John English (University of Waterloo), and Jack L. Granatstein (York University), "Roundtable on Canada, the Pacific and War"

ARGONAUTA DIARY

June 7-
Oct. 17 1990 "Toronto's Historic Harbour" Exhibition, Marine Museum of Upper Canada, Toronto

July 11990-
June 1991 New Brunswick Maritime History Exhibition, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick

October 1-4
1990 "Mapping America," Eighth International Symposium of the International Map Collectors Society, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Information: Eric W. Wolf, 6300 Waterway Drive, Falls Church, **Virginia** 22044)

October 5-7
1990 "**Rowing** Craft for Work and Pleasure," Museum Small Craft Association Annual Conference, Lunenburg, N.S. (Information: David B. Flemming, Director, Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, 1675 Lower Water Street, Halifax, N.S. B3J 1S3)

October 12-14
1990 Fifteenth Annual Whaling Symposium of the Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Massachusetts (Information: Dr. Stuart M. Frank, Director, Kendall Whaling Museum, 27 Everett Street, P.O. Box 297, Sharon, Massachusetts 02067)

October 13
1990 Diving in the Future Symposium, Toronto, Ontario (Information: Dr. G.H. Koch, Great Lakes Chapter, Undersea and Hyperbaric Medical Society, Toronto General Hospital, 200 Elizabeth Street, Toronto, Ontario M5G 2C4)

October 15-
1990-2 Jan. 1991 "Boats to Mess about In" Exhibition, Vancouver Maritime Museum, Vancouver, B.C.

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|-----------------------|---|---------------------------------|--|
| October 17
1990 | Monthly Meeting of the Ottawa Branch of CNRS, Officers' Mess of the Cameron Highlanders, Ottawa, Ontario (Speaker: Eric Sharp, "Structural Modifications to the British Fleet on Lake Ontario during the War of 1812") | January 16
1991 | Monthly Meeting of the Ottawa Branch of CNRS, Officers' Mess of the Cameron Highlanders, Ottawa, Ontario (Speaker: Brian Keefe, "Some Aspects of Steam Propulsion") |
| October 20
1990 | Reunion of Former Students of "Room 19" of the Vancouver Radio Communications Centre, Richmond Inn, Richmond, B.C. (Organizer: Hugh Martin, R.R. 4, Site 455, Courtenay, B.C. V9N 713) | January 22-
April 21
1991 | "The Enlightened Voyages: Malaspina and Galiano," Vancouver Maritime Museum, Vancouver, B.C. |
| October 22-24
1990 | Conference on Naval Museums, Archives and Naval History, Washington, D.C. (Information: Dr. William Dudley, Naval Historical Center, Building 57, Washington Navy Yard, Washington, D.C. 20374) | February 13
1991 | Monthly Meeting of the Ottawa Branch of CNRS, Officers' Mess of the Cameron Highlanders, Ottawa, Ontario (Speaker: M. Stephen Salmon, "Maintaining the Empire: The St. Lawrence River Forwarding trade, 1870-1900") |
| October 25-28
1990 | Towards a Complete History: Canadian National Railways 1918-1984," Montreal, P.O. (Organizer: Dr. Kenneth S. MacKenzie, CN Archives, P.O. Box 8100, Montreal, P.O. H3C 3N4) | February 14-16
1991 | Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, Conference on "Canada, the Pacific and War: A Fifty Year Retrospective," Dunsmuir Lodge, Victoria, B.C. (Information: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, Directorate of History, National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa, Ontario KIA 0K2). |
| October 25-28
1990 | "Jack Tar in History: Seamen, Pirates, and Workers of the North Atlantic World," St. Mary's University, Halifax, N.S. (Organizer: Dr. Colin D. Howell, Department of History, St. Mary's University, Halifax, N.S. B3H 3C3) | February 22-23
1991 | Conference on the Battle of the Atlantic in World War II, Newport Beach, Virginia |
| Oct. 28-Dec.
1990 | Grant Macdonald Exhibition, Marine Museum of the Great Lakes at Kingston, Kingston, Ont. | March 20
1991 | Monthly Meeting of the Ottawa Branch of CNRS, Officers' Mess of the Cameron Highlanders, Ottawa, Ontario (Speaker: Ken Mackenzie, "Some Aspects of the Canadian Government Merchant Marine") |
| November 2-4
1990 | Save Ontario Shipwrecks Fall Forum, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (Organizer: Barry Lyons, 14 Muriel Drive, RR 4, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario P6A 5K9) | March 20-23
1991 | "The Great Ocean: The North Pacific in the Seventeenth Century," Portland, Oregon (Information: Peter A. McGraw, Interim Director, North Pacific Studies Centre, Oregon Historical Society, 1230 S.W. Park Avenue, Portland, Oregon 97205, U.S.A. [tel.: 503-222-1741]) |
| November 14
1990 | Monthly Meeting of the Ottawa Branch of CNRS, Officers' Mess of the Cameron Highlanders, Ottawa, Ontario (Speaker: Gordon Olmstead, "Merchant Navy Prisoners of War") | March 22-24
1991 | Canadian-American Business History Conference, Toronto, Ontario (Information: Professor H.V. Nelles, Department of History, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Downsview, Ontario) |
| January 9-13
1991 | Society for Historical Archaeology Conference on Underwater Archaeology, Richmond, Virginia (Information: Dr. L. Daniel Mouser, Archaeological Research Center, Box 3029, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, Virginia 23284) | April 11-13
1991 | Malaspina Symposium, Vancouver Maritime Museum, Vancouver, B.C. (Information: Dr. Richard W. Unger, Department of History, University of British |

Columbia, 1297--1873 East Mall,
Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1W5)

Research Unit, Memorial University of
Newfoundland, St. John's, Nfld. A1C 5S7)

April 26-28
1991

Annual Scrimshaw Collectors' Weekend,
Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Massa-
chusetts (Information: Dr. Stuart M.
Frank, Director, Kendall Whaling
Museum, 27 Everett Street, P.O. Box 297,
Sharon, Massachusetts 02067)

May 30-June 1
1991

Annual Conference of the Canadian Nauti-
cal Research Society, Ottawa, Ontario;
Theme: "Ships, Men and Governments:
The Connection between Government
Policies and Naval and Mercantile Ship-
ping" (Information: Dr. W.A.B. Douglas,
President, CNRS, P.O. Box 7008, Station
J, Ottawa, Ontario K2A 3Z6; Paper Pro-
posals: Garth S. Wilson, Curator, Marine
Transportation, National Museum of
Science and Technology, P.O. Box 9724,
"Ottawa Terminal," Ottawa, Ontario K1G
5A3)

May 30-June 1
1991

Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the North
American Society for Oceanic History,
State University of New York Maritime
College, New York City (Information:
Professor Karen Markoe, Department of
Humanities, State University of New York
Maritime College, Fort Schuyler, Bronx,
New York 10465)

April 17-19
1992

Vancouver Conference on Exploration and
Discovery, Vancouver, B.C. (Information:
Dr. Hugh Johnston, Department of His-
tory, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby,
B.C. V5A 1S6)

April-Sept.
1992

"Captain George Vancouver--Navigator
and Surveyor," Vancouver Maritime
Museum, Vancouver, B.C.

August 11-15
1992

First International Congress of Maritime
History, Liverpool, England (Organizer:
Lewis R. Fischer, Maritime Studies Re-
search Unit, Memorial University of New-
foundland, St. John's, Nfld. A1C 5S7)

August 1995

International Congress of Historical
Sciences, Montreal, P.O., including the
Congress of the International Commission
for Maritime History (ICMH Organizer:
Lewis R. Fischer, Maritime Studies

BOOK REVIEWS

Brian Loring Villa. *Unauthorized Action: Mountbatten And The Dieppe Raid*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989. xiii + 314 pp., photos, two appendices, extensive notes, index. \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-19-540679-6. \$14.95, paper; ISBN 0-19-540804-7.

The Dieppe Raid in August 1942 was very nearly an unmitigated disaster. A few military writers, some of its leaders, and quite a few Canadians feel there were some gains made from its lessons, later applied at the Normandy invasion to reduce casualties; this is probably true. As weD, several lessons were learned at senior levels about military decision-making, operational planning and approvals. Villa, in two quite extensive appendices, particularly examines what went wrong with the executive-level decision-making and approval processes that took place just before the Dieppe raid, and the later scurrying for cover when blame for the losses appeared imminent. Thus the title, *Unauthorized Action*: he does not hesitate to assign blame to then-Vice Admiral Mountbatten, Chief of Combined Operations who planned the "Raid"; to Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff, who knew of it but did nothing to prevent its going forward; and to the second level of decision-makers such as Canadian Lieutenant-General Andrew McNaughton, who commanded the Canadian troops in England, Captain Hughes-Hallett, Mountbatten's effective deputy for the raid and its sea-borne commander, and others.

There were 6,320 troops landed on the beaches on August 19th, of which 4,963 were Canadians; the rest were made up of two Army and one Royal Marine Commando, fifty American Rangers, and ten newsmen. Of these, the Canadians suffered sixty-eight percent casualties in killed, captured and wounded, and there were fifty-eight percent casualties overall. If one includes the naval, RAF and RCAF support forces of another 8,929 men, the total casualties amounted to twenty-nine percent. In the larger war's picture, even at that early date, out of a total involvement of some 15,200, these casualties would probably be considered serious, but not calamitous. Compared to the recent fall of Singapore and Hong Kong, the loss of Crete, and the enormous losses of the Russians in the face of the German "Barbarossa" invasion, Dieppe was not decisive though it was mismanaged, nor did it cause major re-thinking of Allied strategies as the other calamities did. Of the thirty tanks of the Calgary Light Horse embarked, twenty-seven landed successfully and half reached the town promenade. But none penetrated the town to support the infantry and

all were abandoned four hours later. Only one landing force reached its [mal objective, Simon Fraser Lord Lovat's **#4** Commando. One thousand Canadians were spared because their landing craft could not even reach their beaches. While the main object remembered in most histories of the Dieppe Raid was to provide sea landing experience for a future invasion, Villa provides convincing evidence that this rationale was just for the benefit of the troops and to provide a sop to ease the consciences of the Canadians and others for the unacceptably high casualties.

Supported by extensive notes (thirty-eight pages worth, an average of forty-three per chapter, and one over a page long itself), massive research into primary sources, and extensive quotations from senior military levels and from other published histories, Villa concludes that Mountbatten, appointed at Churchill's insistence as Chief of Combined Operations ten months before with absolutely no previous experience, was the primary culprit. He cites Mountbatten's search for a high **profile** image (such as his lengthy involvement at the time of Dieppe with the Rank movie "In Which We Serve," a thinly disguised account of his life in HMS *Kelly*), his public relations advancement, and his conviction that he was always right. That he did not have [mal and published authority for making the actual attack on August 19th is of lesser import, and still open to some doubt. Of greater significance are the reasons for the raid and for the acceptance of its more-or-less apparent and serious dangers (particularly the fact that the original plan, named "Rutter," had to be abandoned when weather prevented a landing in early July). He examines these reasons in the greatest of detail: political reasons in Britain and reasons in Canada having mostly to do with the Army, Navy and Air Force. For instance, as a result of the German drive deep into Russia, the Soviets were exerting enormous pressure on Churchill for some sort of an attack on German forces at a time when he had been forced to cancel summer convoys into Murmansk following the PO 17 debacle. At the same time, the Army needed a quick success to offset complaints that it no longer showed a successful fighting spirit. Politically and militarily the Canadians wanted a visible Canadian operation against the prime enemy, Germany. Finally, RAF Air Marshal "Bomber" Harris and the Chief of Air Staff Sir Charles Portal, defending the already suspect strategic bombing of Germany in the face of severe problems in mounting the **first** of the publicised "thousand-bomber" raids, refused to divert any bomber effort to "side-shows" such as cross-Channel raids. As a result, the Dieppe Raid was preceded by only a few minutes of pre-landing bombing. Even the Americans, despite their recent hard lessons of losses on their coasts to U-Boats due to their unpreparedness, were pressing for a full-scale invasion of the Continent, even if only temporarily. While the British

realised **this** was ludicrous, given the Allies' complete lack of preparation, they were looking for some substantive action to quell all these pressures. As Villa states, it was the politically explosive intrusion of public opinion that made necessary that disastrous gesture. And here were the Canadians, principally McNaughton, actually looking for an opportunity, even volunteering to take on all raiding for the Army. Mountbatten claimed he did have authority to remount "Rutter," using the same troops, under its new and [mal name "Jubilee." But in reality he had only a directive to plan for such a new and badly needed operation, and he was expected, as was normal, to come back to the Chiefs of Staff for [mal approval signatures. They certainly knew of the operation and accepted it and the actual mounting of it, and took no steps to prevent its occurrence. This, in effect, provided Mountbatten's "out."

Villa produces a closely reasoned story and resolves many of the contentious issues, such as the claim that German defensive troops had forewarning (which they didn't), the pressures on the ultra-conservative Mackenzie King to accept combat for Canadian troops, the lack of supportive parachute landings, or aerial or naval bombardment, and the many diverse bodies lurking in the decision making background all wanting a major raid by someone on a Continental port. It is this assessment of pressures on events that gives the book its primary value, foreshadowing Henry Kissinger's observation, made in an entirely different context, that "Outside observers of policy making assume people sat around in a seminar-type discussion, having all the facts.... That is rarely the case.... Usually decisions are made in a very brief time with enormous pressure and uncertain knowledge. (1973)" In his [mal pages, Villa eases off on his condemnation of Mountbatten and even of the Chiefs of Staff, partly because of Lord Lovat's observation that "It would have taken a very strong man [to resist the pressure for action] and he [Lord Mountbatten] wasn't... rather [he was] like a cork on a wave...everyone pushing on him (pp. 210, 242)." This book will not be enjoyed by devotees of Churchill and Mountbatten, as this reviewer is to some extent. But his points are well supported by facts and the book illuminates new facets of that sorry event, forming an excellent counterpoint to earlier assessments, even if perhaps it tends to some rather blatant armchair-quarterbacking after the event. Maybe it is best, as a Canadian, to give the [mal word to Lieutenant-Colonel Cecil Merritt, VC, of the South Saskatchewan, wounded that day and taken prisoner: "We were very glad to go... We were up against a very difficult situation and we didn't win, but to hell with this business of saying the generals did us dirt (p. 247)."

Fraser M. McKee
Markdale, Ontario

Robert H. Bruce (ed.). *The Modern Indian Navy and the Indian Ocean: Developments and Implications* (Studies in Indian Ocean Maritime Affairs, No.2). Perth: Centre for Indian Ocean Regional Studies, 1989. x + 168 pp., map, tables. AUS \$22.50 (AUS \$20 for members of CIORS or The Australian Institute of International Affairs). ISBN 0-908155-63-8.

The steady and impressive growth of the Indian Navy over the past two decades (capped by the recent lease of a Soviet Charlie-class SSN, INS *Chalera*) has again focused attention on the Indian Ocean region (IOR). What, navalists ask themselves, are the Indians up to? Do they have a blue water fleet and if they do what are the implications for the littoral states and the superpowers? At first glance, the Indians appear to have such a fleet. But all is not quite what it appears. The great value of Robert Bruce's study is that it provides a timely and detailed corrective (set, appropriately, in historical and geo-strategic contexts) to simplistic assessments of Indian naval developments.

As a number of authors in this volume suggest, Indian cultures--with the notable exception of the Chola people of south India long ago--were essentially continental in their outlook. The sea was not perceived to be a source of wealth or power. What is more, threats to Indian polities traditionally sprang from the land frontiers to the north. Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that on the eve of the Sino-Indian War of 1962 only 4.7 percent of the defence budget went to the Indian Navy and 77.5 percent went to the army. As in times past, it was Russia, China and now Pakistan (both east and west) that constituted the gravest dangers.

However, in the 1960s and much more profoundly after the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971, in which the Indian navy distinguished itself, the Indian defence community became increasingly aware of the need to complement India's defensive perimeters in the north with similar perimeters at sea to the south. India is, of course, ideally located to assert its presence in the IOR since fifty percent of the ocean lies within nine hundred n.m. of the Indian coast and many of the world's busiest sea lanes pass close by.

Confronted happily by a burgeoning economy the Indian Navy has had to make relatively few hard choices. While it remains the "Cinderella service" in terms of defence appropriations (though those have remained steady at about 9.7 percent since 1973), the navy has acquired the glass slipper, a balanced fleet of roughly one hundred ships supported by an impressive military and industrial infrastructure. Much of the fleet consists of Soviet submarines and surface combatants like *Kashin-class* destroyers. The Indian Navy has tilted toward the Soviet Union since the 1960s and has pursued

an asymmetrically critical policy toward the United States Navy. This policy derives in considerable part from the insertion of the USS *Enterprise* into the Bay of Bengal during the 1971 war, continued American support of the Pakistani government, and the dramatic buildup of US naval forces in the IOR since the late 1970s.

From the Indian perspective the IOR is becoming an increasingly volatile and unpredictable place with political instability in Sri Lanka and Burma, to mention only two examples. Consequently, what the Indian Navy has attempted to do is to develop a layered defence, consisting of concentric rings radiating outwards across the IOR from India. The navy has the ability to assert sea control over the inner areas close to the Indian coast and limited ability to assert sea denial well away from the coast. In this way it hopes to deter any local aggressors and signal extra-regional players that the cost of intervention would be unacceptably high.

This review opened with a question about India's blue water capability. The evidence advanced indicates that while India possesses a powerful "brown water navy" she lacks the depth, firepower, sustainability, marine capability, and inventory for blue water operations. Her carriers (INS *Vikrant* and INS *Viraat*) are elderly and the "third carrier" will almost certainly be a replacement rather than an addition. What India has created is essentially a defensive force, but defence is in the eyes of the beholder and one of the sobering concerns to emerge is the degree to which India is, in fact, forfeiting her security by raising levels of apprehension (and weapons procurement) throughout the IOR.

The Modern Indian Navy is a useful text particularly in view of the relative paucity of detailed studies of the Indian Navy. However, it bears many of the hallmarks of haste. It is larded with typographical errors (one of which suggests that Gandhi went to England in 1988!), mistakes of fact (the implication on page 99 that Canada has deployed a nuclear-powered combat vessel) and an inadequate table of contents, which fails to list the tables outlining fleet sizes, nuclear weapons inventories, etc. Furthermore, McKinley's chapter on "Indian Naval Developments and Australian Strategy in the Indian Oceania," which tends to be a somewhat ponderous academic analysis of the international relations regime in which the Indian Navy can be situated, might better have come at the beginning of the volume. That said, Ashley Tellis' examination of "The Logic, Structure and Objectives of India's Naval Expansion" (which is certainly the most powerful contribution to this thought provoking and useful volume) is a good place to start.

James A. Boutilier
Garsdon, England

William N. Still, Jr. *Monitor Builders: A Historical Study of the Principal Firms and Individuals Involved in the Construction of USS Monitor*. Washington, D.C.: Division of History, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1988. 35 pp., notes, bibliography, illustrations. Paper.

The American Civil War began in January, 1861 with the secession of several of the United States. In April, the Confederates captured Norfolk Navy Yard and found the new steam frigate *Merrimack* scuttled but her machinery undamaged. The Confederate Navy decided to convert her to an ironclad, giving her an armoured casemate on a cut-down hull with ten heavy guns **firing** shells and armour-piercing shot.

Meanwhile the Union Navy accepted plans in August, 1861 from a Swedish designer, John Ericsson, for a vessel named *Monitor* "that she might be a warning to others." She would be armed with only two eleven-inch guns, but these were in a revolving turret able to **fire** on any bearing. *Monitor* was built with the utmost haste and arrived off Hampton Roads on 9 March, 1862.

Merrimack, now renamed CSS *Virginia*, had put to sea the day before and sunk USS *Congress* and USS *Cumberland*. The next morning she was setting out to sink USS *Minnesota* when she sighted what appeared to be a water tank. The "cheesebox on a raft" drew closer and opened **fire**. It was USS *Monitor*. The Battle of Hampton Roads which followed lasted nearly four hours. *Monitor* **fired** every seven or eight minutes; *Virginia* (*Merrimack*) took up to **fifteen** minutes between broadsides. Neither ship could pierce the other's armour. *Virginia* tried to ram but failed. They did not re-engage. *Monitor* foundered under tow in a moderate sea later in 1862. The remains of *Monitor* lie seventy metres deep twenty miles southeast of Cape Hatteras and were the **first** to be designated as a National Marine Sanctuary. *Virginia* was burned by the Confederates in May 1862 when they abandoned Norfolk to Union land forces.

A pamphlet containing four essays on the history and importance of *Monitor* was reviewed in the October 1989 issue of ARGONAUTA. *Monitor Builders* is a companion pamphlet analyzing the **firms** involved in casting, forging, manufacturing and assembling *Monitor*. Most of the iron works, foundries and machinery-manufacturing **firms** involved were located **in** New York City. *Monitor's* builders were mechanics, inventors, engineers and businessmen, generally self-taught. The ironworks and foundries together with some of their managers and other personnel are described in interesting detail. The centre of manufacture of steam-engines and the machinery driven by them was also in New York City. One such **firm** built *Monitor's* turret while another

built her propulsion machinery. These manufacturing plants and their histories are well described, accompanied by some excellent illustrations.

Remarks on the actual contracting and on the progress of construction of *Monitor* may be of interest to those who have been involved in overseeing or even just in standing by vessels under construction. For *Monitor* everything seemed to flow smoothly and according to plan. Her great success **justified** the efforts of all concerned and, for its day, was a triumph of technology.

Monitor was symbolic of the industrial and transportation revolution that transformed the United States in the last century. This pamphlet graphically portrays a moment in time in the emergence of the United States as an industrial nation.

L.B. Jenson
Queensland, N.S.

D.K. Brown. *Before the Ironclad. Development of Ship Design, Propulsion and Armament in the Royal Navy, 1815-60*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1990). 217 pp., illustrations, index, bibliography. £30, cloth.

Nineteenth century naval developments have been coming under increasing scrutiny lately, and *Before the Ironclad* is the latest book in the **field**. It covers the period between the end of the Napoleonic war and the appearance of the ironclad.

The author, David K. Brown, is a member of the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors and is head of Ship Design Policy for the Royal Navy. It is plain that he is not only expert in his **field** but has had access to all the Admiralty archives. The book is therefore authoritative as well as being interesting to read and attractively illustrated.

The book covers all the aspects of changing warship design: Sir Robert Seppings' diagonal framing, which made it possible to build wooden ships long enough and strong enough to carry machinery, Symonds' attempts to improve sailing performance, the introduction of shell **firing** guns, the development of paddle and then screw steamships, and the use of iron for ship construction.

To me, the most interesting parts of the book were those dealing with the **first** paddle sloops and frigates, and with the construction of the early iron frigates and their subsequent conversion to troopships. It has become customary to dismiss the Admiralty of the day as being hopelessly conservative compared to commercial companies and shipbuilders.

Brown shows that this was not so. The Navy kept up with developments, but were rightly slow to introduce new designs in quantity until they had been proven. For example, Brunel's wooden paddler *Great Western*, commenced in July 1836, 1,340 tons burden and 212 feet long, had been preceded in 1835 by HMS *Gorgon*, 1,111 tons burden and 178 feet in length, while the last and largest of the early iron screw frigates, the *Simoom*, of 1845 compared quite favourably with the *Great Britain* and was one of the largest iron ships of her day.

A good feature of the book are numerous small tables giving ship characteristics or comparing contemporary vessels. The illustrations are excellent, but the book would have been visually much enhanced if it been possible to include a few full or half-page coloured reproductions of some of the attractive contemporary paintings that are presented in small black and white form.

Although it covers the same period, *Before the Ironclad* is a companion volume, not an alternate, to Andrew Lambert's *Battleships in Transition* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1984). The latter book deals with steam ships-of-the-line of all nations; Brown's covers the Royal Navy only, but all types of vessels, and he seems to have had both Lambert's book and the forthcoming sixth volume of *Conway's All the Worlds Fighting Ships, 1816-1859* in mind. For instance, apart from the small comparison tables mentioned above, lists of ships with their specifications are omitted from *Before the Ironclad*. The Conway publication will eventually supply them in full.

Before the Ironclad is an essential book for anyone interested in the development of the warship in the **first** half of the last century, and is an attractive and interesting volume for anyone interested in ships in general.

C. Douglas Maginley
Sydney, N.S.

Allison Mitcham. *Island Keepers*. Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press, 1989. 183 pp., source material, illustrations, maps. \$9.95, paper. ISBN 0-88999-383-1.

The significance of the eastern coast of British North America as an area of shipping throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries eventually prompted the introduction of humane establishments by colonial government to give assistance to shipwrecked mariners. By the early nineteenth century increased shipping, due in part to a mass exodus of emigrants from Britain, resulted in an increasing number of shipwrecks along the treacherous coastline of what is now the Maritime Provinces. Islands such as St.

Paul's, Sable, Seal and Scatarie became notorious as graveyards for ships blown off course or sailing through poorly charted waters. Due to their position in relation to trade and immigration routes, the islands of Sable and Scatarie claimed a high percentage of ships travelling between Britain and the British North American colonies. Sable's low-lying sands and constantly shifting sandbars made navigation anywhere in the vicinity of the island extremely dangerous at times, and Scatarie's reefs and shorelines claimed emigrant ships from overseas making for the St. Lawrence. Through political pressure and in part as a result of public concern over the fate of shipwrecked mariners and their families, lifesaving stations were established on these islands.

In *Island Keepers* Allison Mitcham follows the careers of two brothers, James and Philip Dodd, who together spent more than thirty-five years on Scatarie and Sable Islands respectively as superintendents of the lighthouse and lifesaving stations. Born into the influential Dodd family of Sydney, Cape Breton, James and Philip amassed a great amount of experience at sea before becoming involved with the lifesaving stations. A humane establishment had been erected on Sable in 1801 when James and Philip were very young, and by the mid-1830s another was established on Scatarie. Scatarie's potential as a **fisheries** base, especially in an era when disputes with American fishermen in waters off Sable and Scatarie were common, had long been discussed by the Nova Scotia government. Ultimately though, the problem of shipwrecks attracted the attention of influential members of the political community such as Samuel Cunard, John Howe (father of Joseph) and James' and Philip's brother Edmund who was elected to the Nova Scotia House of Assembly as member for Sydney in 1832. In addition, complaints from residents in areas such as Main-a-Dieu (adjacent to Scatarie), who sheltered increasing numbers of shipwrecked sailors and families while straining their own meagre resources, spurred the government to action. It is very likely that James' and Philip's placements on Scatarie and Sable resulted from their connection in government, but it was widely known that the brothers were devoted to their duties on the humane stations.

Mitcham begins her book with some background information on the Dodd family and their position in the Cape Breton establishment. Subsequent chapters look at Scatarie and Sable Islands before and during James' and Philip's superintendentships. Appendices contain chronologies and events pertaining to the establishment and running of the humane establishments, lists of Cape Breton governors, information on the Dodd family from entries in the family Bible, Philip's view of the fisheries disputes, a list of the

fust five superintendents of the Sable Island Humane Establishment and a list of vessels wrecked on or near Scatarie from 1831 to 1855 and on Sable Island during Philip's tenure as superintendent. These appendices provide a useful quick reference to developments and incidents in political circles and on the islands' humane establishments. Mitcham's account is somewhat marred by a casual and colloquial style, but she does state that the book is aimed at the average reader. Academics may not approve of the "retrospective, episodic and reflective" format of the account of the brothers' lives. Mitcham has attempted to bring to life the experiences of the Dodd brothers, and does so fairly successfully although a disproportionate amount of attention has been given to Sable Island and Philip's experiences there, as well as to day-to-day details of life on the humane station, relations with the staff, wrecks, salvaging, the supply schooner *Daring*, the fishery, wild horses and visitors to the island. Unfortunately, such details have not been provided on James' life on Scatarie, leaving the focus of the book more on Philip (and the influential Edmund) than on James.

Nevertheless, Mitcham has made accessible information about an area in Nova Scotia history that is largely unexplored. Islands have played an important role in the history of the Maritime Provinces. Humane establishment attendants and lighthouse keepers for many years provided an invaluable service to all mariners and the story of James and Philip Dodd's involvement with Sable and Scatarie Islands brings to light the work of those who dedicated themselves to the service of mariners before the age of electronic navigation.

Chris E.L. Mills
Head of Saint Margaret's Bay, N.S.

Mary Weeks-Mifflin and Ray Mifflin. *Harbour Lights: Burlington Bay*. Erin, Ont.: Boston Mills Press, 1989. 84 pp., bibliography, photographs. \$12.95, paper.

The fates and fortunes of pre-1900 towns and cities on the Great Lakes were tied closely to their ports. While harbours and ports were an integral part of the communities they served, they were also communities in their own right. *Harbour Lights: Burlington Bay* examines the milieu of life of the Burlington Bay waterfront community: the people, vessels and buildings which defined that area from the War of 1812 onwards. Through a specific harbour the book traces changes which affected the Great Lakes generally, as schooners gave way to steamers and paddlewheelers to propellers. It is the story of the building of the Burlington Bay Canal, the men who manner her lighthouses, and the infinite variety of activities which took place in the vicinity of

the canal.

The point is made in *Harbour Lights* that the area closest to shore, the harbours and the canals, posed as much danger to the sailor as did the open lakes. That point is amply illustrated by the authors in their descriptions of the catastrophes, major and minor, which befell the Burlington Bay port. Many ships were wrecked when they failed to negotiate the canal entrance. In 1848 the barquentine *Elenora*, running for the safety of the canal during a gale, missed the canal entrance and was driven onto the north pier where she was completely wrecked. Some mishaps were less serious. In 1885 the schooner *Lillie*, seeking shelter in the Bay, hit the railway bridge over the canal, dismasting the ship and tearing her canvas.

Harbour Lights is a narrative rather than an analytical study and is designed more for the layperson than for the professional historian. A heavily illustrated volume, the book is both readable and interesting, not overly technical yet rich in detail.

Stephen J. Davies
Montreal, P.Q.

William Sutherland. *The Ship-Builders Assistant: or, Some Essays Towards Comp/eating the Art of Marine Architecture* (Facsimile of 1711 fust edition). Rotherfield, England: Jean Boudriot Publications, 1989. ix + 165 pp., 13 plates. £55, cloth, £75, deluxe binding. ISBN 0-948864-03-6.

Although the oldest manuscript account of English shipbuilding dates from late in Queen Elizabeth I's reign, it was not until Bushnell's *Complete Shipwright* of 1664 that the topic was discussed in print. This work was less than fully satisfactory, however, and the first really clear, published description of English shipwrighty was *The Ship-Builders Assistant* of 1711. Its author, William Sutherland, was employed in the Royal dockyards as a master carpenter and an inspector of shipwrights. His important book has now been re-published in a facsimile limited edition. It is beautifully produced on heavy antique laid paper, with the fold-out plates coloured to resemble the hand-tinted originals.

As was normal for contemporary treatises on shipwrighty, Sutherland dealt with a wide range of topics, only some of which are likely to interest any particular nautical historian or archaeologist. In addition to methods for the preparation of warship draughts and a description of the physical structure of such ships, he provided extensive tables of rigging, scantlings and ship's equipment, along with a useful glossary. He also discussed such varied matters as the strength and price of timber, hydrostatic theory, tonnage measure-

ment and his own classification of the principles of naval architecture ("solidarity," "economy," "disposition," "convenience" and "beauty"). His account of the intricate design of spiral, tapering staircases, while of limited relevance to maritime history, could well be used to advantage when restoring period houses!

Of all this, Sutherland's accounts of ship design and hull construction are the most important. The former is less clear for a modern reader than is Sir Anthony Deane's manuscript (*circa* 1670, published 1981). Readers familiar with the latter will, however, have no problem following Sutherland's version and may compare the two for evidence of developments in ship design. The real strength of Sutherland's book, however, is its explanation of ship structures. Armed with this book, it is possible to make sense of the still earlier sources, such as the anonymous *Treatise on Shipbuilding of circa* 1625 (published 1958). Without Sutherland, however, those earlier manuscripts can be incomprehensible. Hence, this book is the essential key for nautical archaeologists interested in post-medieval English ships.

Besides this limited readership, the book would be valuable to historians of naval architecture and to those ship modellers who wish to produce accurate representations of seventeenth or **early** eighteenth century prototypes. Historians of many other specializations may occasionally find it a useful primary source. Anyone who would like to know that, when fitting a ship out, he should "to every 300 of nails allow one leather bucket" and "to every barrel of tar allow one brush" will enjoy this book.

Jean Boudriot Publications should be congratulated for republishing this important original source, thus making it available to those who lack easy access to library collections of rare books. The new edition, however, is clearly aimed at the antiquarian book collector market rather than research users. In consequence, the price is rather high and the limitation to 750 copies will impose some continued restriction on access. (Perhaps the publisher might print more copies of future reproductions at a lower unit price?) Potential readers should buy a copy while they still can or else persuade their favourite libraries to do so.

Trevor Kenchington
Musquodoboit Harbour, N.S.

James P. Delgado. *To California by Sea: A Maritime History of the California Gold Rush*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990. xiv + 237 pp., bibliography, illustrations, index. US \$24.95, cloth.

In January 1848, gold was discovered in the tailrace of Sut-

ter's Mill on the Sacramento River. The territory known as California was under the control of an American military governor, pending the completion of the formalities of surrender by the Mexican government. There were neither laws, valid titles to land, nor government other than the presence of the occupying US Army and the Pacific Squadron of the US Navy. The non-aboriginal population of California was about fifteen thousand, of whom perhaps one thousand lived on San Francisco Bay.

During the next three years, somewhere around half a million people came to California, attracted by gold. Many books have been written about the gold rush; relatively little has been published on the travels of those people (nearly all came by sea) or on the supply of everything they needed from needles to ships. Delgado has done this in *To California by Sea*, at least as far as transportation from the United States is concerned.

The main routes from the eastern seaboard were either around Cape Horn, or by ship to Panama, then across the isthmus on foot or by mule train to embark for San Francisco, or lastly by ship to Nicaragua, across the country partly by boat and partly afoot, again to embark for San Francisco. The latter two routes involved "twice loading and thrice unloading" (p. 67) cargo, according to the author.

Most of the travel was in sailing ships, but some unreliable steamers with dangerous boilers came more into the picture as time went on. With low pressure boilers and in most cases inefficient side wheels, they had an enormous appetite for coal, or firewood if the coal gave out.

The book covers the experience on all three routes, relying on newspaper accounts, published reminiscences of gold seekers, and letters written by passengers, either *en route* or on their arrival. In the absence of all but the most scanty official papers, this may be the best that can be done, but it has some limitations. The personal letters convey the experience of passengers, but the logistics of supplying all the needs of this horde of people are given insufficient attention. For example, the Pacific passage by steamers from Panama or Nicaragua to San Francisco was made possible by bringing coal from Australia in sailing ships, but this is not mentioned.

Other than coal, the principal transport of goods and passengers was from ports in the United States. Still, transport from other countries was significant. Relying on a newspaper account, the author says that only thirty-six vessels cleared foreign ports for California from January 1 to October 9 of 1849. In fact, harbour records for Australia and New Zealand during that time show eighty-six vessels clear-

ing for California, of which only one did not arrive, aborting its voyage in Hawaii. There were also ships from Europe and Asia, to the extent that one count reported by Delgado shows 487 arrivals of American vessels and 318 of foreigners during 1849. As late as November 1851, he records that 242 of the 487 vessels in port were foreign.

Transportation, *per se*, is only a part of Delgado's story. The Port of San Francisco developed from a chaotic start to a functioning seaport in a surprisingly short time. The **first** port facilities were hulks scuttled in Yerba Buena Bay. Later the bay was **filled** in and the hulks were replaced by buildings--this in a place which was a governmental and administrative vacuum when the gold rush began.

Equally important was the rapid growth of marine industries, starting with sail and rope making, and progressing through chandlery, shipyards, engine and boiler works, and a host of marine services. Shipbreaking became a thriving trade until the harbour was cleared of the hundreds of abandoned vessels that are so prominent in early photographs, one of the most famous of which is included in the book.

Delgado devotes his penultimate chapter to tales of shipwreck, based largely on accounts from survivors. While some might argue that this is not pure history, it is pure enjoyment to read. He closes with an account of events after the gold rush, when California continued to grow and prosper, in contrast to the "boom and bust" sequence suffered in so many other places. The transitory wealth of gold mining was replaced by the permanent wealth of agriculture.

In summary, this is a readable and valuable book, and the reviewer's comments on its limitations in part reflect limitations in the available data.

John Kendrick
Vancouver, B.C.

Dorothy Harley Eber. *When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989. xvii + 187 pp., photographs, illustrations (colour and black and white), bibliography, index. \$29.95, cloth. ISBN 0-7735-0702-7.

Dorothy Eber and McGill-Queen's University Press have between them created a gem of a book in *When the Whalers Were Up North*. Fascinating oral testimony, gathered over a decade with the support of the Urgent Ethnology Program of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (in addition to other programs) at Cape Dorset,

Rankin Inlet, Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay), and other settlements, has been skilfully mingled with written Canadian records, American logbooks, even Scots family memorabilia--and an astonishing display of photographs and Inuit drawings, stonecut prints, and stencils--to produce a volume of value as history, ethnology, and artistic interpretation. The author modestly notes (p. 169) that her objective was only to collect the material and make it accessible in an adequate historical context, "but not to attempt interpretation or analysis as a geographer or historian might do." But the very act of selection is always interpretation, and Ms. Eber has succeeded well in elucidating the interaction between Eastern Arctic Inuit and the American and Scottish whalers who came to Cumberland Sound, Hudson Strait, and Hudson Bay in the century before the last whaler left in 1915.

What is most striking about this work is its ability to reach beyond mere "impact," whether the introduction of technology, lifestyles, or devastating diseases (such as exterminated the remote Sadlimiut of Southampton Island) to indicate the ways in which Inuit interpreted strange images in the context of existing culture: pigs, for example, clearly were "tonwarks," guardian spirits which the whites carried for safety; Capt. George Comer, who did so much to preserve turn-of-the-century Inuit life on photograph plates, gramophone discs, even plaster casts, was of course "Angakkuq," or "shamen"--one who makes strange things appear. To some extent the Inuit took what was useful (new weapons, new techniques) or essential in their dealings with the whalers who employed them (days of the week, for example). But in other ways, whaling remained foreign; the Inuit never really understood the utility of whale fat itself, since seal oil was so much more effective as fuel for their stone lamps. In all this there are some images as striking as Comer's plates--such as the suspicious Inuit group yielding to uncontrollable mirth at the repeated "ha-ha-ha" of a Harry Lauder recording.

In the memories of informants elderly in the 1980s, whaling days were a golden age, in which the relationship (although whites clearly were dominant) came far closer to equality than anything which has been experienced since. Perhaps the reflection comes from a distorted mirror, but it is impossible to deny Eber's poignant conclusion (p. 165): "Long after the whaling days were done, the influence of the American and Scottish whalers continued and, like the wild sweet accordion music they introduced, still echoes in Inuit life." Anyone interested in the socio-economic impact of Arctic whaling, the Inuit, or the ethnological record of such inter-cultural contact, will find this book worthy of study.

Briton C. Busch
Hamilton, New York

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