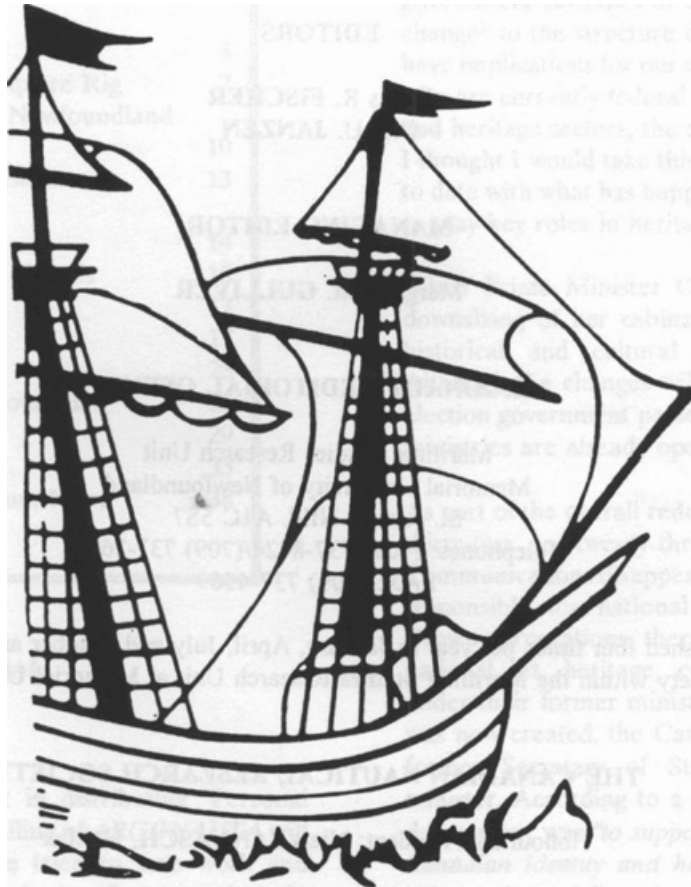


ARGONAUTA

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CONTENTS

Editorial	1
President's Corner	1
Mailbag	2
Articles	
- Beyond Jack Tar	3
- Two Masts and Square Rig	7
- James Hutton in Newfoundland and Australia	10
- Canadian "Park" Ships	13
Columns	
- Swing the Lamps	14
- Steam Passenger Vessels	15
Commentary	17
News	17
Video Reviews	25
Around Maritime Journals	26
Diary	29
Personal News	35
Archives and Museum News	38

EDITORIAL

(I)

With this issue, our experiment in distributing "Personal Information Sheets" with each mailing of ARGONAUTA will end. For the past year we have tried to save work and reduce costs by soliciting personal news from members in this way. But not enough members responded to justify the approach. It would appear that folks are more interested in reading the news than in helping us collect news for the next issue. It's a shame, really. While ARGONAUTA is carrying more news than ever before, it has also been our philosophy that the news that matters the most is the news about ourselves. Nothing better conveys the society's commitment to the promotion of nautical research than to see just how much activity and interest in nautical research exists within the membership. For this reason, the "Personal News" column has always been a favourite. Yet of late, it has been starved for material because members would not fill in a "Personal Information Sheet" that did not arrive by separate mail. So, though it may cost a few trees' more worth of paper, we are reverting to our old practice.

PRESIDENT'S CORNER

By Faye Kert
Ottawa, Ontario

As an organization, the CNRS is independent of federal government subsidies or assistance. Nevertheless the recent changes to the structure of government in this country may have implications for our members. Certainly, for those of us who are currently federal public servants within the cultural and heritage sectors, the changes have been fairly extensive. I thought I would take this opportunity to bring members up to date with what has happened to the departments that used to play key roles in heritage and cultural policy.

When Prime Minister Campbell undertook the dramatic downsizing of her cabinet on 25 June, 1993, a number of historical and cultural responsibilities were realigned. Although the changes will only become official if the post-election government passes the appropriate legislation, most ministries are already operating within the new structure.

As part of the overall reduction of federal departments from thirty-two to twenty-three, the former Department of Communications disappeared. This had been the department responsible for national museums (while they are now Crown corporations, there is still ministerial responsibility), national art, heritage, cultural and broadcasting policies under their former minister Perrin Beatty. A new portfolio was now created, the Canadian Heritage Department, with former Secretary of State Monique Landry appointed minister. According to a press release, the role of the new department was *"to support and encourage a strong sense of Canadian identity and heritage based on the fundamental characteristic of Canada - bilingualism and multiculturalism - and our diverse cultures and heritage."*

To this end, the new department will assume the responsibilities of the former Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship; the arts, heritage, cultural and broadcasting role of the Department of Communications; official languages, Canadian studies, native programme and state ceremonial from the Department of Secretary of State; amateur sport from the Department of Health and Welfare; Parks Canada and historic sites from the Department of the Environment; and eventually, the Registrar General function from the former Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. The minister of this new mega-ministry will also be answerable for the National Capital Commission, CBC, the Canada Council and the national museums.

In many ways, the rearrangement seems to make sense. For instance, by combining a number of heritage and historical responsibilities under one ministry, the government should be able to better coordinate efforts to preserve heritage sites and buildings, excavate and interpret important archaeological sites, evaluate cultural property and purchase or retain items of historic or cultural importance to the nation. By the same token, cultural lobby groups will have one-stop-shopping when they wish to present a case, instead of having to present briefs to several different departments with a variety of other interests.

Given the number of maritime heritage issues of particular interest to CNRS, the enhanced profile of a Department of Canadian Heritage should work to our advantage. A department focused on culture and heritage should be able to develop a federal heritage policy encompassing such concerns as the protection of submerged cultural resources, salvage rights, marine parks and the transfer or loss of maritime cultural property outside Canada.

The final decision regarding whether the new structure will remain as it was proposed in June, or assume some other form under the next government, will have to await the outcome of the federal election. With the present situation in mind, a ministry devoted to Canadian Heritage sounds like a positive first step. It will be up to all of us to keep our eyes on the changing face of government to ensure that our opinions, concerns and recommendations contribute to the development of Canada's future maritime heritage policy.

ARGONAUTA MAILBAG

Sirs:

I am looking for plans, sources of information, etc. about the use of small craft that were armed for use in the American Revolutionary War. I'm already familiar with gundaloes such as the *Phi/adelphia* but I am looking more toward whale-boats and shallops that had been converted to armed use in the Chesapeake Bay and Eastern Seaboard areas. Sometimes these craft were called 'Spider Catchers' and employed in flotillas. I need sources for particular situations where these craft were used and their configurations. It is my hope that this research will result in a reconstruction of such a craft (approx. thirty-six to forty feet). I would appreciate any pointers. By the way, I already have Howard Chapelle's *Early American Small Sailing Craft*. With thanks in advance.

Tom Apple
3552 Amherst Street
Norfolk, VA 23513
USA

Sirs:

In looking at the information available about wartime (World War II) merchant shipbuilding, it seems that the US Liberty Ship program has been well-documented; a recently published Australian book, *Liberty Ships in Peacetime*, describes the activities and careers of Liberties after sale by the US government, and there is even a new book about US World War I ships, *The Hog Islanders*. However, I can find very little about Canadian-built merchant ships.

During a recent visit to Ottawa I visited the War Museum, in which there is a model of the *Fort Ville Marie*. I wrote the museum asking if they could direct me to information and the reply was that they didn't know of any sources, except for a book published in the UK in 1966 titled *The Oceans, The Forts, And The Parks* by W.H. Mitchell and LA. Sawyer (Galleon Printers, Stockport, Cheshire). I have written the publishers, but it seems too much to hope that they are even still in business. I should appreciate any suggestions or assistance.

Arthur B. Harris
458 Martinique Drive
Windsor, Ontario
N8P 1G7

Sir:

I am doing some research into Watts, Watts & Co. Ltd. of London. Between 1929 and 1932, they managed seven ships for Dominion Shipping Co. Ltd. Montreal. I have photos of two of the ships - the *Rose Castle* 1915 and *Daghi/d* 1916, but not of the other five. I wrote to Capt. H.G. Hall of ShipSearch to ask if he had any photos of them. Unfortunately he was unable to help me, but he suggested that you might be able to help. The ships are:

Hochelaga 1912
Kamouraska 1911
Lingan 1911
Lord Strathcona 1915
Wabana 1911

If you can help me with any of the above I would be pleased to hear from you. Could you also tell me how I should pay for the photos (e.g., would a cheque on an English bank be acceptable)? Thank you for your time and trouble.

KW. Bottoms
72 Frizlands Lane
Essex RM10 7YJ
England

Sir:

I am researching the building, owning and operating of wooden freighters known as "double-enders," like the *Vagabond Prince*, *Velvet Lady*, *Walter G. Sweeney* and Newfoundland's "splinter fleet," and I would welcome any information and photographs. Thank you.

Captain H.G. Hall
P.O. Box 9020
RR #3
Yarmouth, Nova Scotia
B5A 4A7

Sirs:

I am presently beginning a study of women who work (or have worked) aboard liners. I would therefore be interested in hearing from any woman with such experience or from anyone who knows of such a woman. My focus is likely to be Canadian Pacific liners, so I am especially eager to learn of women who worked for that firm.

Jo Stanley
29 Norcombe House
Wedmore Street
London N19 4RD
England

Sirs:

I am researching the Royal Naval Hospital established in 1858 which subsequently became the Esquimalt Convalescent Hospital under the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment. It was eventually closed in 1919, but the buildings still stand in NADEN today and are crying out for someone to tell their story. If any of your readers have some information or even memorabilia, I would be most interested to hear from them. Thank you for your assistance.

A.E. Delamere, Captain (N)
Base Commander
Canadian Forces Base Esquimalt
F.M.O.
Victoria, British Columbia
VOS 1B0

CORRECTION

In the April *ARGONAUTA*, a mistake was made in printing a letter by Rick James (p. 5). The letter provided two additions to his barge inventory, *Ex-sailing Vessel Barges*, including the *Laurel Whalen*, a floating fish cannery. We

incorrectly identified the owner of the barge as the "Francis Miller" fish company; in fact, it was the Francis Millerd fish company, which was active on Canada's Pacific coast up to the 1980s. We apologize to Mr. James for the error.

That same issue of *ARGONAUTA* carried an excerpt of an article on "The *Adeona* in the Falkland Islands Fur Seal Fishery in the 1820s and 1830s." In so doing, the editors neglected to acknowledge the role of Eric Lawson in bringing the original article to our attention and suggesting that we carry the excerpt. Though Eric was too polite to bring this oversight to our attention, we felt badly that we failed to give him his credit, and so we take this opportunity to extend our apologies to him. We are anxious to encourage him and all members to continue in this way to contribute information and material of this kind, and thereby help to maintain the high quality of our newsletter.

ARGONAUTA ARTICLES

BEYOND JACK TAR

By Daniel Vickers

[Editor's note: This essay appeared in The William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., Vol. L, No.2, April 1993 as part of a Forum on "The Future of Early American History." It is re-printed here with the kind permission of the author. Mr Vickers is a member of the Department of History at the Memorial University of Newfoundland. He was a Fellow of the Institute of Early American History and Culture from 1981 to 1983. He would like to thank Valerie Burton, Sldp Fischer, Vince Walsh, and the other members of the university's Maritime Studies Research Unit, as well as Jim Millinger of the Sea Education Association in Woods Hole, Massachusetts, for help in sorting out many of the ideas in this essay.]

Popular history of seafaring in America has always commanded a wide and enthusiastic audience. Clipper ships to California, piracy in the Gulf of Mexico, whaling voyages to tropical seas, naval actions off Chesapeake Bay: all form part of a maritime mythology that supports a sizable corner of the publishing market as well as some of the most important of America's historical museums.

This popular history has no comparable academic counterpart. Consider how little most students of early American history know about the fisheries, shipbuilding industries, and seafaring communities of the thirteen colonies. American people may be interested in their maritime past, and a large group of museum historians and popular writers may labor hard to answer their questions, but the great majority of academic historians - those who train other historians - pay maritime subjects little heed. Accordingly, the maritime history of early America is strong on public presentation but weak on analytic content.

A number of possible explanations for this imbalance suggest themselves. One is that in simple quantitative terms seafarers and their families did not count for much, since most colonists belonged to agricultural or craft households that earned their living from the land. Another is that maritime subjects have not mattered terribly in the greater calculus of national affairs that activates scholarly attention today. Twentieth-century historians are far more preoccupied with topics such as class, race, gender, and economic policy - all of which have contemporary resonance - than they are with the origins of shipping and fishing industries that have spent most of this century in decay. Another is the absence of any well-defined body of maritime theory around which research and debate might be organized. Labor historians can argue the questions formulated by Marx and Weber; economic historians have an even more reformed body of thought descending from Adam Smith to give direction to their work; and ethno-historians can work with models of cultural behaviour derived from anthropology. American maritime historians do not in the main address one another at all. Lacking any powerful common agenda, they sit as it were in a circle facing outwards. All research that crosses the boundaries between older and more established subjects requires that its practitioners retain intellectual ties to the fields in which they were trained. In time, the more fruitful fields of new study do manage to generate subjects of inquiry and bodies of knowledge proper to themselves, but this is not yet true of maritime history.

Consider the parallel case of oceanography. Here a broad interdisciplinary subject has succeeded in developing a core of common knowledge and theory sufficient to support a solid structure of research, a wide periodical literature, and a syllabus of university instruction. Within their fields and subfields - many comparable in scope to maritime history - oceanographers research, write, and teach one another. Historical enquiry cannot be expected to proceed on quite the same level of abstraction as natural science. Still, the common ground of significant questions that academic maritime historians debate among themselves is comparatively narrow. Even where it does exist, it is often shared only by those who study within specific national fields. Thus Canadian maritime historians debate whether sailors were merely "working men who got wet," their American counterparts wonder whether the Yankee shipping fleet was manned by "successive waves of adventure-seeking boys," and Britons argue the relationship of shipping to industrialization; none of the three groups seems interested or even well informed about the progress of debate outside its own bailiwick.¹

One well might ask whether we ought to bother with maritime history as an organizing concept at all. Nostalgia, romanticism, and an antiquarian interest in ships have been

the stays that supported the field for most of the present century. The early classics of maritime history - the works of Samuel Eliot Morison, Howard I. Chapelle, and Frederick William Wallace, to name a few - were fundamentally celebrations and not analyses.² *American Neptune* and *Mariner's Mi"or* are still marked by the antiquarianism that prompted their establishment earlier in the century. Yet even if the sea is a natural object of wonder and the age of sail a common subject for nostalgic interest, we are hardly authorized on these grounds alone to constitute maritime history as a distinct field of its own. There have to be better reasons.

The strongest arguments for treating maritime history as a separate field of study follows from a consideration of the ocean itself. When North American colonists looked seaward, they saw several things. Chiefly, they knew the sea as a hostile environment that (1) impeded regular communication by those without the skill, the capital, and the nerve to master it and (2) encouraged extraordinary communication by those possessing such mastery. In addition, the colonists recognized in it an enormous and seemingly inexhaustible reservoir of natural resources, especially fish, but even fishermen had to be mariners to sail to where the fish could be caught. The sea was a remarkable medium for the transportation of people and things, but it could never be a home. Although it afforded opportunities to seafaring societies, it did so only on condition that those who worked upon the deep be more or less constantly on the move.

The people who led the Great Reconnaissance and extended European hegemony into the Western Hemisphere during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries labored, travelled, robbed, and fought their way across the North Atlantic, and they conducted their business at a great many points around its perimeter. An even larger number of mariners, merchants, and bureaucrats worked either to formalize that hegemony into empire or to contest the development of metropolitan control through the early modern age. All of them differed from most people of their day in that their lives unfolded across great spaces and in a wide range of cultural settings. We cannot make sense of their intentions and achievements if we continue to place them only in the local, regional, or national contexts in which we commonly study the past; their stories need to be told from a variety of transoceanic perspectives. Two principles apply: the North Atlantic history of the early modern era demands that we understand maritime history, and maritime history must be conceptualized, researched, and written from a variety of North Atlantic perspectives.

The best maritime historians have always understood this. Morison, J.H. Parry, C.H. Boxer, and Harold A. Innis were international historians in research and thought. The most

interesting recent work in the maritime history of the early modern period also stretches across the seas to grasp its mobile subjects in the many settings they inhabited. Marcus Rediker argues that the culture of common seamen was international in character because it was shaped by the exploitation inherent in "the accumulation of capital through international trade."³ In a brief, intriguing piece of research, Julius Scott traces the role that a free African-American seaman from Massachusetts played in the circum-Caribbean events surrounding the Haitian Revolution of the 1790s to suggest how the countless black mariners who sailed the North Atlantic in that period helped to sustain "a truly international" and potentially revolutionary "Afro-Atlantic perspective.... Robert C. Ritchie makes sense of Captain Kidd's ill-starred seafaring career by situating it within an international scheme - promoted by the Mughal emperor, the East India Company, and the Tory politicians at Westminster - to rid the Indian ocean of pirates.⁵ Rosemary E. Ommer describes the cod fishery of the Gaspé founded during the eighteenth century as an outpost of its metropolitan base on the island of Jersey to explain why it was that the local economy generated profits in the Old World but poverty in the New.⁶ Maritime historians are not the only ones, of course, to study the past in a transatlantic perspective. Students of imperial politics have been following this route; migration historians have done the same; and the most ambitious projects in economic history - of which Jacob Price's work on the tobacco trade between France and the Chesapeake is the best example - cover the spread of markets overseas.' But maritime historians ought to be the most consistent in maintaining this international outlook, and the best of them have made it their business to describe the structures of seafaring life that made transoceanic relationships possible at all.

There can be a cost to maintaining too strict an international perspective, if the shoreside communities from which mariners sprang and to which they returned upon retirement from the sea are neglected. And, indeed, this is where even the best maritime historians have tended to falter. This is particularly striking for the preindustrial period, given that the most noteworthy achievement of early modern historians in the past quarter-century has been precisely their ability to probe the workings of local communities and decipher the social relations that connected ordinary people within them. Even the most sophisticated social histories of seafaring in the age of sail - including Rediker on the eighteenth century and Eric Sager on the nineteenth - do not inquire seriously into sailors' origins, their families at home, or their later careers on shore.' All of this matters, for more than most callings of the day seafaring was a stage in life. Every piece of evidence known to me points to the same conclusion - that, with the exception of a small minority who rose into

officers' ranks, merchant seamen, fishermen, and whalers were nearly all young men between the ages of fifteen and thirty.⁹ David Alexander may not have captured the entire truth when he suggested that seafarers differed little in their essential character from other working men, but beyond question the great majority lived most of their lives - even most of their working lives - on land.¹⁰

There are two principal reasons why the shoreside context of seamen's lives remains obscure. The first is that, although it is very easy to catch these individuals in mid-ocean, it is much harder to discover where on earth (quite literally) they came from or to trace them through their subsequent lives. The second is that, although it is also quite easy to examine a given port and identify by the title "mariner" certain professional seamen (mostly officers) whose names entered the port's record system, one can be almost certain that the majority of working seamen were too peripatetic to leave any such trace and have therefore escaped the net of research strategies designed for relatively sedentary populations on land. Fishermen and whalers were generally more locally or regionally based and are therefore easier to study in the context of the shoreside communities where they spent the rest of their lives; but until ways are found to trace all ranks of merchant seamen to their homes, the discrete adventures we happen upon in court records, newspapers, journals, and the like will not be fully understood.

The challenge to the maritime historian, therefore, is to integrate what we now know about life at sea with our increasingly sophisticated understanding of life in port. Research of this sort might be directed at a number of broad projects. Although the literature about the great explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is enormous, we still understand little about exploration as social activity. To an important degree, the great voyages of discovery resulted from individual inspiration, technological achievement, and royal sponsorship - themes all thoroughly developed in the literature. But they were also the work of an integrated seafaring community. Da Gama, Columbus, Magellan, and the like knew or knew of each other, belonged to the seafaring society that frequented the waterfronts of several dozen European ports, and kept in touch with networks of map makers, shipwrights, and merchants around the continent. The day-to-day workings of this world remain something of a closed book. How were master mariners trained in the Age of Discovery, and how did they recruit and manage their hands? Was the relationship between maritime capital and the labor it employed as antagonistic in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as it became by the eighteenth? What sort of feedback existed between work at sea and technical maritime innovation at home? How were seafaring traditions transmitted from one generation of

mariners to the next?!! Much information survives in scattered form on all of these subjects; but we have little systematic understanding of the social context that spawned the practical maritime activity of exploration.

Not simply for the Age of Discovery, but for the whole early modern period, knowing more about how port communities operated could deepen our understanding of the seafaring activities that built and maintained empires overseas. What sense, for example, are we to make of arguments regarding the character of seafaring culture, when the best evidence suggests that most mariners spent less than a decade at sea and returned to land by the age of thirty. Recent historians of the seafaring community care deeply about the role of class and class struggle on board ship, but until we can situate seamen within their shore communities, we cannot really make sense of the ultimate intentions of people who may have understood their seafaring careers to be only a stage in their lives. We know little about the backgrounds they hailed from, how they supported themselves when they quit the sea, and whether they raised their sons to be seafarers after them: I would argue that until the workings of the waterfront community are better understood, we cannot know whether common seamen belonged to a seaborne proletariat, whether they constituted a species of traditional journeyman, or whether most treated their sea experience as merely an interlude in lives acted out primarily on shore. This problem, posed repeatedly but answered differently by succeeding generations of maritime historians, from Morison to Lemisch to Rediker to Sager, still sits unresolved.

Gender is another subject whose obvious importance to maritime history has hardly been recognized. Though they seldom went to sea, women commonly ran households on shore, precisely because the men in their lives were so often away.¹² J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur noted how women were accustomed to handling family and business affairs on Nantucket during the 1760s, and the same must have been true of American seaports in general.¹³ The special responsibilities that women undertook in order to sustain the waterfront community are only now coming under scrutiny, and they clearly deserve more attention.¹⁴ On another tack, we need to think more carefully about the gendered character of life on board ship - the very range of masculine strategies that seafaring men employed. Margaret Creighton's argument for the antebellum period that New England youths went whaling in order to become men may have a logic that extends no farther than the Victorian notions of the day, but it certainly pushes us to consider what seafaring had meant to young men in colonial times.¹⁵

Following these and other leads will probably show, as Jesse

Lemisch first suggested thirty years ago, that Jack Tar as a conceptual type is a simplistic and ineffective tool for exploring the social relations that structured maritime life in the early modern period.¹⁶ We can do better. Maritime affairs mattered vitally in the age when Europe established hegemony over the North Atlantic. Understanding them requires a coastal or transoceanic perspective, a sensitivity to the methodological problems of researching people and ideas on the move, and a greater willingness to learn from landward history than many maritime historians have previously displayed. Early American history will be the richer for it.

Notes

1. On the Canadian debate see David Alexander, "Literacy Amongst Canadian and Foreign Seamen, 1863-1869" in Rosemary Ommer and Gerald Panting, eds., *Working Men into Got Wet* (SL John's, Nfld., 1980), 3-33, Judith Fingard, *Jack in Port: Sailortowns of Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1982), and Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914* (Montreal and Kingston, ON, 1989). On the American debate see Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston, 1921), 105-118, and Jesse Lemisch, "Jack Tar in the Streets: Merchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolutionary America; *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XXV (1968), 371-380. On the British debate see Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry: In the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1962), and Simon Ville, *English Shipowning during the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, Eng., 1987).
2. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts*; Chappelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (New York, 1935); Wallace, *Wooden Ships and Iron Men* (London, 1924).
3. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, and *The European Discovery of America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1971-1974); Parry, *The Discovery of the Sea* (Berkeley, Calif., 1974), and *The Age of Reconnaissance* (London, 1963); Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* (London, 1969), and *The Dutch Seaborne Empire* (London, 1972); Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy*, rev. ed. (Toronto, 1954). Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge, 1987), 76. These ideas are taken further in Peter Linebaugh and Rediker, "The Many Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, and the Atlantic Working Class in the Eighteenth Century; in Colin Howell and Richard Twomey, eds., *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour* (Fredericton, N.B., 1991), 11-26.

4. Scott, "Afro-American Sailors and the International Communication Network: The Case of Newport Bowers," in Howell and Twomey, eds., *Jack Tar in History*, 52.
5. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War against the Pirates* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986).
6. Ommer, *From Outpost to Outport: A Structural Analysis of the Jersey-Gaspe Cod Fishery, 1767-1886* (Montreal and Kingston, Ont., 1991).
7. Price, *France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674-1791, and of Its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1973)
8. Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*; Sager, *Seafaring Labour*. See the discussion in the proceedings of two roundtable discussions on each of these books in *International Journal of Maritime History* I (1989), 311-357 and II (1990), 227-274.
9. Every age distribution in the literature on the age of sail with which I am familiar reports that between 75% and 90% of common seamen, banks fishermen, and deep-sea whalers were under age 30. See Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 299; Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 154; Daniel Frederick Vickers, "Maritime Labor in Colonial Massachusetts: A Case Study of the Essex County Cod Fishery and the Whaling Industry of Nantucket, 1630-1775" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1981), 281, 292; and my forthcoming *Fanners and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1830*. I have calculated from data kindly provided by Ira Dye that 73% of 1,953 Massachusetts seamen captured by the British during the War of 1812 were under 30. For a description of this source see Dye, "Physical and Social Profiles of Early Modern Seafarers, 1812-1825," in Howell and Twomey, eds., *Jack Tar in History*, 220-235.
10. Alexander, "Literacy Amongst Canadian and Foreign Seamen," 31.
11. Parry's two works, *Age of Reconnaissance* and *Discovery of the Sea*, argue for the importance of this period in maritime history and still represent the best discussion of these problems in English.
12. But on women at sea see Dianne Dugaw, "'Wild Beasts' and 'Excellent Friends': Gender, Class and the Female Warrior, 1750-1830," in Howell and Twomey, eds., *Jack Tar in History*, 132-142.
13. Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Fanner and Sketches of Eighteenth-Century America*, ed. Albert E. Stone (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1981), 157-160.
14. See Lisa Norling, "The Sentimentalization of American Seafaring: The Case of the New England Whalefishery," in Howell and Twomey, eds., *Jack Tar in History*, 164-178, and Marilyn Porter, "'She Was Skipper of the Shore-Crew': Notes on the Sexual Division of Labour in Newfoundland," *Labour/Le Travail*, XV (1985), 105-123. Two dissertations that deal with the role of women in maritime communities are Sean Cadigan, "Economic and Social Relations of Production on the Northeast-Coast of Newfoundland, with Special Reference to Conception Bay, 1785-1855" (Ph.D. diss., Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991), 133-228, and Peter Edward Pope, "The South Avalon Planters, 1630-1700: Residence, Labour, Demand, and Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Newfoundland" (Ph.D. diss., Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1992), 306-313.
15. Creighton, "American Mariners and the Rites of Manhood, 1830-1870," in Howell and Twomey, eds., *Jack Tar in History*, 143-163.
16. Lemisch, "Jack Tar in the Streets," 371-380.

*TWO MASTS AND SQUARE RIG: FRENCH AND
ENGLISH NOMENCLATURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH
AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES*

by Douglas Maginley

Admiral W.H. Smyth, author of *The Sailor's Word Book* of 1867, was an admirer of "the pithy conciseness of nautical language." Well, nautical language may be concise but it is not always consistent. The same word can have several different meanings: *sloop* and *cutter*, for instance, are each terms that can be applied to several widely different kinds of craft. Types of vessel gave their names to sails. Rigs gave their name to types of vessel, and terms were exchanged between languages, not always retaining the same meaning. In English the third mast of a three or four masted ship is the *mizzen*, derived from the Arabic *mazzaan* (and still used to describe the small after-mast of Egyptian *aiyassas*), but in French the *misaine* is the forward mast while the third mast is the *artemon*. To make everything thoroughly confusing, *artemon* was the name given by the Romans to a small forward mast or bowsprit.

When it comes to two-masted square-rigged vessels, it seems that the *brigantine* came first. Smyth says it is of Celtic origin, meaning "a passage boat." I Morris believes the origin is Low Latin *brigantinus* and is associated with "brigand;" in

early french usage it referred to the purpose of the vessel, not its design or use.² However, by the end of the seventeenth century it meant a small two-masted vessel completely square-rigged on both masts. Soon the square mainsail was replaced by a large fore-and-aft sail with boom and gaff and this became the chief characteristic of the rig, so much so that in French, where the word for the ship itself was the masculine *brigantin*, the sail took the feminine form *brigantine*.³ Later in the century, when boom and gaff sails replaced the lateen mizzen, this became the name for this type of sail on all ships, including three masted full-rigged ships, where the English term would be *spanker*.

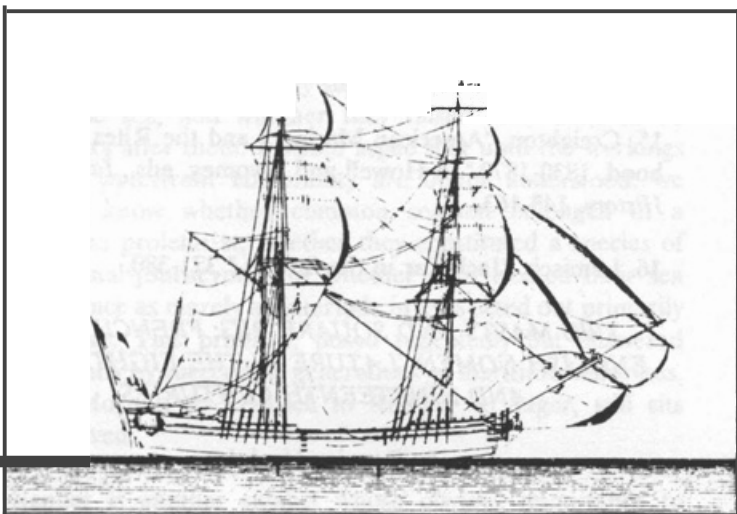


Fig. 1: Snow

Source: MacGregor, *Merchant Sailing Ships 1775-1815*, p. 83, from Chapman, *Architectura Navalis Mercatoria*; used with permission.

In England the abbreviation *brig.* (with a period) was often used in registers and port documents so that in the early eighteenth century, *brig* and *brigantine* were synonymous. Now came a reversal in the exchange of terms across the channel; in France a larger vessel of the type became a *briq*, *brie*, finally *brick*. At the same time appeared the *senau* or *senault* in France, *snauw* in Holland, and *snow* in England. This version had a square mainsail as well as a loose footed fore-and-aft sail mounted on a trysail mast fitted just aft of the mainmast, with its head at the maintop. Generally the snow's lower mainmast would be shorter and its main topmast and topgallant masts longer than those of a *brig* or *brigantine*. Just why this difference required a separate type name is a mystery: in the early 1800s similar trysail masts and sails called *spencers* were fitted to the fore and main

masts of ships and barques without making any difference to the nomenclature.

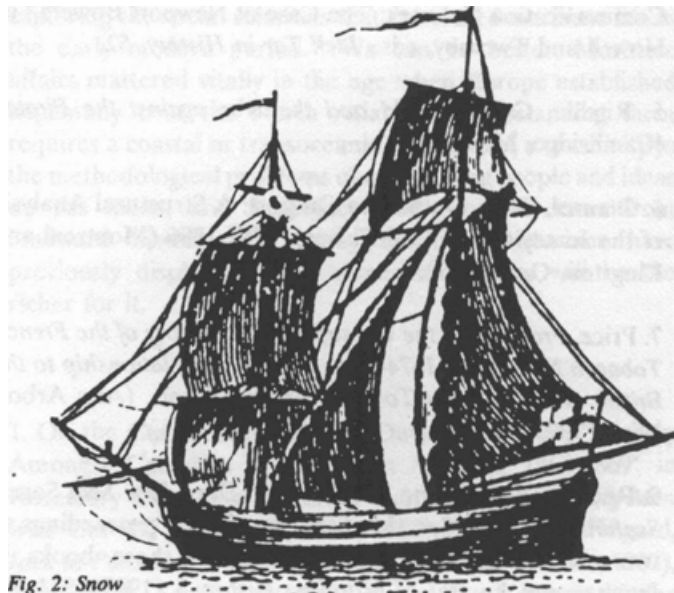


Fig. 2: Snow

Fig. 2: Early brigantine. Source: Boudriot, *Le Cygne*, p. 10, from Falconer's *Marine Dictionary*, plate XII, no.6; used with permission.

In France, yet another variation was recognized, the *langard* or *brigantin-langard*.⁴ In this version a square sail was set "flying," (not bent to the yard), in addition to the fore-and-aft mainsail. Now the name for the rig was derived from the name of the sail, which was also used in heavily sparred cutters, (French *côtres*). Another type was the *bilander*, of Dutch origin but also used in England. The mainsail was a lug, rather than a gaff sail or a lateen, but the real difference was the hull which had the rounded bow and stern of other Dutch coastal and fishing vessels.

In the eighteenth century the schooner (*goélette*) became very popular and, except for the smallest, often carried square topsails on both masts. Fast privateer schooners had a square foresail for running as well as a gaff foresail, while small brigantines might have the reverse: a gaff sail, perhaps boomless, in addition to the fore course. The difference was minimal and depended on the proportion of the masts or, more likely, on the captain or owner's opinion.

The *hermaphrodite* or *hermaphrodite brig*, a favourite with pirates, privateers and slavers, first appears in the registers in the 1790s. With a square-rigged foremast and a completely fore-and-aft main (no yards), the vessel was considered a cross between a brig and a schooner (French *brick-goélette*). Then, as time passed, the *brigantine* lost the upper yards on the main and became indistinguishable from the *hermaphrodite*, to which it gave its name. Underhill says that this was because *hermaphrodite* was a clumsy term.⁵ Morris says that

it might have been coined by a classically educated non-seaman owner, but as to its demise, I would not be surprised if Victorian sensibilities had something to do with it.⁶ Purists then insisted that the few remaining old type vessels were "true" *brigantines*! This survived until the end of the thirties (in the end pages of Nichol's *Seamanship*, for instance), even though the last known photo of a "true" *brigantine* had been taken at least fifty years earlier.

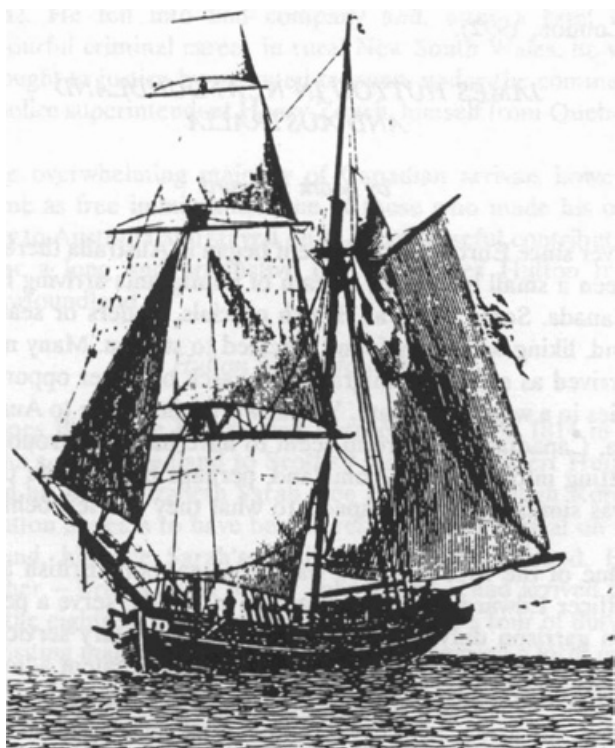


Fig. 3: *Hermaphrodite*

Source: MacGregor, *Merchant Sailing Ships 1775-1815*, p. 135, after Baugean; used with permission

Tradition hung on in some places, though. In the latter years of the century, a small English West Country vessel of the type would still be called a *muffrodite* or, affectionately, a *muffy*. In New England the colloquial term was *morfydite*.⁷ In the West Country *muffys* the upper squaresails were arranged to lower one on top of the other on a pole mast, for convenience in furling. This was called *polacre* or *polacca*. One would think that this was because a pole mast (all one piece) was needed to make the arrangement possible. Not so; this is another example of a change of meaning of a nautical term. In the south of France, *polacre* meant the lateen foremast of Mediterranean vessels like *xebecs* that had square-rigged pole mainmasts. Perhaps English mariners copied the practical upper yard arrangement while adopting what must have seemed a logical name from the "wrong" mast.

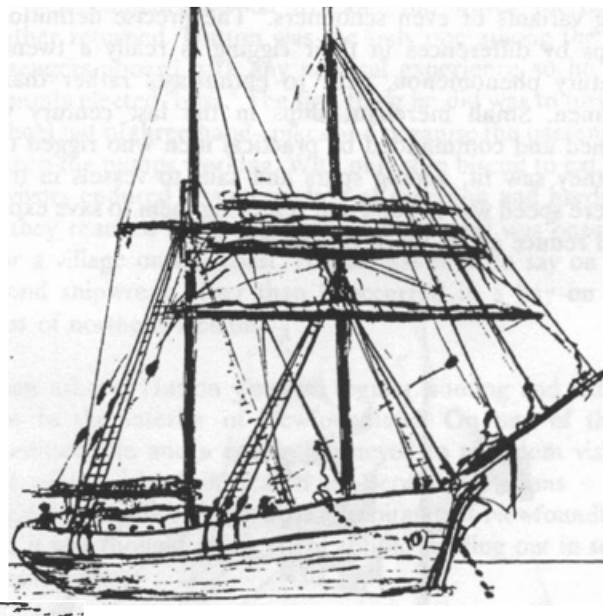


Fig. 4: *Polacca Rig*

Source: the author

Also in the early 1800s the difference between the *brig* and the *snow* began to disappear; the masts and yards took on the same proportions and the *snow* acquired a boom and often lost its square mainsail, leaving the trysail mast as the sole difference. By mid-century they were all called *brigs*, although there would probably be some old timer around to insist on the difference.

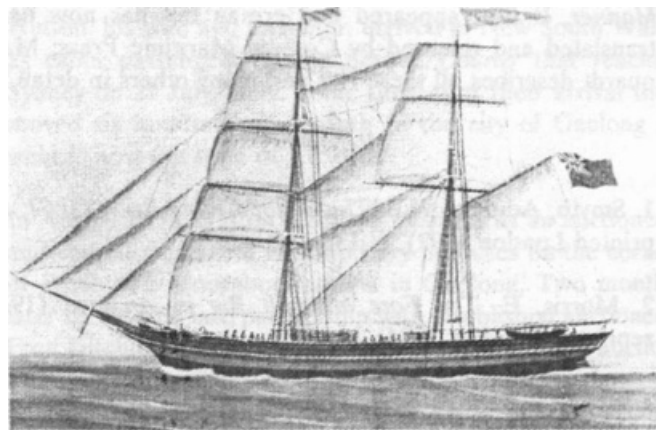


Fig. 5: *Atlanta*, a true brigantine

Source: Harry Roberts, *The Newfoundland Fish Boxes: A Chronicle of the Fishery* (Fredericton, 1982), p. 25; used with permission.

In the eighteenth century the hull gave the name to the ship and terms like *flute*, *hagboat*, *bark*, *cat* and even *frigate* might be used for vessels rigged as full-rigged ships, the various brig variants or even schooners.⁸ The precise definition of ships by differences in their rigging is really a twentieth century phenomenon, dear to enthusiasts rather than to seamen. Small merchant ships in the last century were owned and commanded by practical men who rigged them as they saw fit, adding spars and sails to vessels in trades where speed was needed and removing them to save expense and reduce crews when times were hard.

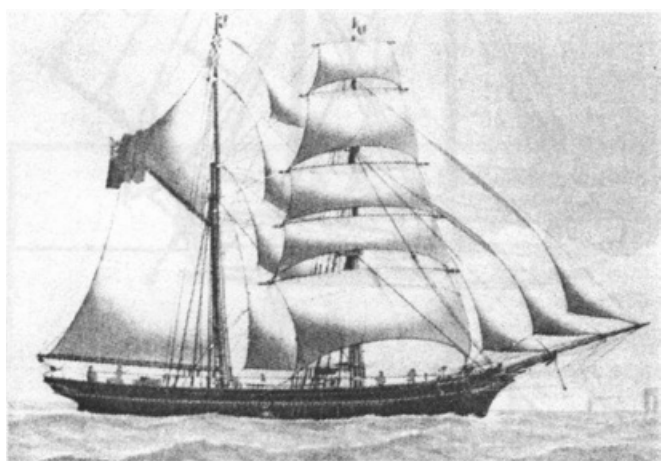


Fig. 6: Brigantine *Clío*, final type

Source: Harry Roberts, *The Newfoundland Fish Boxes: A Chronicle of the Fishery* (Fredericton, 1982), p. 47; used with permission.

For anyone interested in the specifics of rigging in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a lot of accurate information is now available. The latest is a book by Karl Marquardt, which I have reviewed in the current issue of *The Northern Mariner*. It first appeared in German but has now been translated and released by Conway Maritime Press; Marquardt describes all these rigs and many others in detail.⁹

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1. Smyth, Admiral W.B. *The Sailor's Word-Book* (1867; reprinted London 1991), p. 135
2. Morris, E. *The Fore and Aft Rig in America* (1927; reprinted London, 1974), p. 158.
3. Boudriot, Jean & Berti, Hubert. *Le Brick de 24 Le Cygne (1806-8)* (Collection archéologie navale française), p. 7.
4. Boudriot & Berti, p. 7.
5. Underhill, Harold, *Deep Water Sail* (Glasgow, 1952), p. 53
6. Morris, p. 157.
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8. MacGregor, David R. *Merchant Sailing Ships 1775-1815* (London, 1980), chapter 2.
9. Karl Heinz Marquardt. *Eighteenth Century Rigs & Rigging* (London, 1992).

JAMES HUTTON IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND AUSTRALIA

by Mark Howard

Ever since European settlement began in Australia there has been a small but steady stream of immigrants arriving from Canada. Some came as British officials, traders or seamen and, liking what they found, decided to stay on. Many more arrived as economic migrants in search of better opportunities in a warmer climate. Yet, however they came to Australia, Canadians as a group seem to have had little trouble in fitting into their new homeland, perhaps because life there was similar in many respects to what they had left behind.

One of the first to arrive was Montreal-born British army officer Edward Abbot who landed in 1790 to serve a period on Garrison duty.¹ After completing his military service he decided to stay on, becoming a senior government administrator and a successful pastoralist. Among the other Canadians to arrive in the years to follow were at least three governors, four politicians and many successful merchants, pastoralists and professional people.² New Brunswick alone sent the celebrated architect John Horbury Hunt, actress Ethel Knight Kelly and Zebina Lane the mining engineer. Botanist Abercrombie Lawson was a native of Hamilton, Ontario; clergymen Richard Harris and John Seymour came from Nova Scotia and Ontario respectively. Two of the best-known Canadians in Australia were brothers George and William Chaffey whose large-scale irrigation projects in Victoria and South Australia transformed thousands of acres of arid wasteland into valuable orchards and vineyards. Other prominent Canadians included journalist Charles Smith and railway commissioner Sir Thomas Tait who later returned to Canada where in 1916 he became director-general of national service.

Canadians also appeared among convict ranks in Australia. The best remembered is probably British naval surgeon William Redfern who was transported for a minor role in the mutiny of the fleet at the Nore in 1797. In Sydney he

became a successful doctor in private practice as well as serving as the assistant government surgeon in which capacity he recommended improvements in health care on convict transports that undoubtedly saved hundreds of lives. The largest single group of Canadian convicts were those among the 120 or so men transported for their part in the 1837-1838 civil disturbances. There was even a Canadian bushranger. "Bold Johnny Gilbert" was born in Hamilton, Ontario, and came to Australia as a lad with his parents in 1852. He fell into bad company and, after a brief but colourful criminal career in rural New South Wales, he was brought to justice by mounted troopers under the command of a police superintendent Henry Zouch, himself from Quebec.

The overwhelming majority of Canadian arrivals however came as free immigrants. One of those who made his own way to Australia and stayed on to make a useful contribution over a long and productive life was James Hutton from Newfoundland.

Hutton in Newfoundland

James Buchanan Hutton was born on 6 March, 1814 in St. John's, Newfoundland to Scottish merchant Robert Hutton and his wife Elizabeth Sarah, née Bland³ Although Robert Hutton appears to have been a relatively new arrival on the island, his wife Sarah's family was well established. Her father - British naval officer John Bland - had arrived late in the eighteenth century, probably to serve a tour of duty as a visiting magistrate. Bland stayed on, becoming a local merchant, magistrate and eventually high sheriff of Newfoundland.⁴

The Hutton family returned to Scotland shortly after James was born. However, they maintained their links with the colony and when young Jim was old enough he was apprenticed for five years to an uncle who was a merchant and shipowner at St. John's. James served out his apprenticeship and continued to work as a supercargo on some of his uncle's vessels trading between Newfoundland and Britain. During this period at sea he was twice shipwrecked, both times on the coast of Ireland.

The first occasion was on a vessel that left St. John's for England in December 1835. According to Hutton, the vessel was half-way across the Atlantic when it was overtaken by a storm. As the wind blew stronger the captain decided to take in some sail. Just as all the crew were called up on deck for this purpose, an unusually large wave washed over the vessel and carried away five of the crewmen and severely injured the three that remained, including the captain. The ship itself was badly damaged with part of the gangway and the wheel washed overboard. Those left would probably not have

survived but for some oil casks among the cargo that had broken open during the storm and as the hold was pumped out their contents helped to calm the waves till better weather returned. Hutton was the only one among the five passengers aboard with any nautical experience so he was promptly elected "boss." The first thing he did was to jury-rig a wheel out of three hand-spikes and organise the passengers to keep the pumps working. With only ship biscuit to eat, the survivors endured seventeen days of privation and hardship till they reached the Ireland where the vessel was beached near a village on the coast. Hutton has little to say on the second shipwreck other than it occurred in a bay on the coast of northern Ireland.

When ashore, Hutton went on regular hunting and fishing trips to the interior of Newfoundland. On one of these expeditions he and a cousin journeyed to a seldom visited part of the island in search of Beothuck Indians - the original and now extinct native inhabitants of Newfoundland - as it was thought a few might still be holding out in some remote valley.

Hutton's work in his uncle's trading house was eventually rewarded with a partnership in the firm. All things being equal he probably would have stayed on in Newfoundland. Unfortunately a major fire in 1846 destroyed much of old St. John's including his firm's warehouses, stores and ships in port.⁶ Hutton was unsure what to do after this setback. His father wanted him to return to Scotland. However he decided that a new start also called for a new place in which to make it. He chose Australia where he hoped to find the same sort of open spaces and freedom he enjoyed in Newfoundland.

Hutton in Australia

Hutton, his wife and daughter, arrived in New South Wales as cabin passengers on the barque *Courier* that reached Sydney on 21 July, 1849. Some time after their arrival they moved six hundred miles south to the city of Geelong in what is now the state of Victoria.

In August 1850, Hutton set up in business as an auctioneer and commission agent in temporary premises on the corner of Ryrie and Moorabool streets in Geelong. Two months later he entered into partnership with established auctioneer Fred Hitchins who had an office in the Yarra Street auction mart. Hitchins & Hutton sold a wide variety of goods ranging from bags of flour to the hulls of shipwrecked vessels. Generally, though, they seem to have concentrated on the sale of rural land and town allotments. Successful pastoralists about to retire to **England** often called on the firm to handle the sale of their properties which Hutton

would sometimes sub-divide into smaller allotments to satisfy the strong demand for land that emerged after the gold rushes in the 1850s. One such project was for a small community built around a lumber mill on the coast at St. Leonard's. The development included a jetty that was named after Hutton and although it was rebuilt several times in the years that followed, "Hulton's Wharf" was still in existence a century later. Hutton also sometimes acted for the Victorian Lands Department as a government auctioneer and in this capacity he claimed to have sold most of the Crown Land offered for sale in the western district during the 1850s. As well as selling land for others he also invested heavily in property himself.⁷

Hutton also found the time to take part in Geelong's busy civic life. He was elected to the Geelong City Council in 1854 and later helped to establish the breakaway municipality of Newtown and Chilwell of which he became a foundation councillor. He was a trustee of St. Paul's church, a director of the Geelong & Western District Fire & Marine Insurance Company and served on the committee that established the first local Chamber of Commerce. He also took part in the formation of the Geelong and Melbourne Railroad Company and the Geelong Water Company.

Booms are short lived events and are invariably followed by busts, and the Australian gold rush period was no different. Late in the 1850s there was a severe recession that affected most of the Geelong business community, including James Hutton. The collapse of property values at the end of the decade meant the eighty or so blocks of mainly residential land he owned in and around Geelong were worth less than the money he still owed on them. In an attempt to raise funds he closed his office, disposed of his home and took rooms for his family in the Chamber of Commerce building. But with outstanding debts of £6,185 he was declared insolvent and his estate sequestered. He tried hard to re-establish himself in business and an account of one of these attempts survives.

In 1862, the Tasmanian government made some of the islands in Bass Strait available for pastoral settlement. Hutton wrote to the Tasmanian Department of Lands and Survey seeking more information on the land concerned. The reply was unsatisfactory and so he decided to journey to the islands to view the leases for himself. In March 1862, he and another Geelong businessman named Charles Nantes set out by regular steamer for northern Tasmania.⁸ From there they set sail for the islands on a small cutter of about nine tons with a crew of two. Their first destination was Flinders Island, the largest island in the strait, which they reached after two days sailing.

On arrival they set out to see a large sailing ship that had run aground on the coast two months earlier. The vessel, the *George Marshall* (1,208 tons), had sailed from London in October 1861 with sixty passengers and a cargo of general goods valued at £70,000.⁹ On the evening of 13 January, 1862 she was passing through Bass Strait when a sea mist descended that reduced visibility to three or four ship lengths and completely hid the straits lighthouses. The vessel was carried off-course by the strong currents and at 2 am that night struck a projecting rock near the Kent Group of islands and began to take on water. She was freed from the rock but was taking in water faster than the crew and passengers could pump it out. For the safety of the passengers it was decided to beach the vessel on Flinders Island.

As Hutton and Nantes walked along the coast they found the beach for about four miles to be strewn with items of cargo including drapery, candles, carpeting, cheese, boots and shoes. The vessel itself lay securely bedded in sand at an angle to the beach and forming a sort of dock in the shelter of which a small craft lay at anchor busy taking on board the cargo brought up from the hold by two divers. As they watched the work proceed the visitors were impressed by the skill of the divers, especially given the great weight of their diving suits. The vessel itself could not be saved and was later broken up by the action of the waves.

Over the next two weeks, Hutton and Nantes sailed around the islands at the eastern end of the strait trying to access their pastoral potential. They found pockets of promising land on some of the larger islands but on the whole they were disappointed with what they saw. On their return to Geelong they took the matter no further.

Unsuccessful at re-starting his commercial career, Hutton decided to begin a new career in the civil service. In August 1862 he joined the Victorian Railways Department as a clerk. Before long his skills were recognised and he was made a land valuer, in which capacity he worked for the next thirty years. As he grew old in the service of the state he must have thought the adventurers of his early years were finally over. However fate had one more surprise in store.

About 1879 he was travelling through northern Victoria in a horse drawn dray with another railways department official when they stopped at a bush inn. As they spoke to the publican he gestured to two nearby horses steaming with sweat and said, "D'ye see them horses? Well they're Kelly's; Ned and his cousin are inside 'avin' a drink." The travellers continued their journey. Soon after dusk they were passed on the road by two men riding hard in the same direction and who, unusually for the time, offered no acknowledgement as they passed. On arrival at their destination, Hutton went to

see the son of an old friend who had recently opened a new bank in the town and told him that Kelly and his gang were in the area. The sixty-five year old Hutton then took a brace of loaded duelling pistols that he always carried when travelling from his saddlebags and with the similarly armed son of his friend spent the night sitting up in the bank, ready for trouble. None came, and Hutton was later to record that he for one was "almost disappointed."

Hutton must have been considered a valued employee as he was allowed to remain in full-time employment with the railways till he was seventy-eight years of age. He eventually retired in July 1892 with a pension of £319 per year.

Although he eventually became one of the oldest colonists in Victoria, to the end of his long life he retained an abiding affection for his native land. After sixty years in Australia his fondest memories were of his place of birth.

"The great charm of Newfoundland lies in her superb loneliness, her lakes and rivers are full of trout, grilse and salmon, and the caribou shooting is grand. The natives are simple, healthy and honestly happy and contented, but that, I notice, is characteristic of most dwellers in cold countries. I was sorry to leave the land of my birth and even now my happiest recollections are of dear old Terra Nova."lo

James Buchanan Hutton was in his ninety-ninth year when he died at his home in Melbourne on 14 October 1912. He was survived by three of his four daughters and he left an estate valued for probate at £2,706.

Sources

1. Abbott and the other prominent Canadians in Australia mentioned here (with the exception of Hutton) are all to be found in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne University Press, 1966-1990), volumes 1-13.
2. The governors were Sir Dudley de Chair (NSW), Sir Frederick Broome (WA) and Sir Charles Darling (VIC); the politicians were Robert Burrowes, John Crewes, Sir Simon Fraser and Thomas Molloy.
3. Entry for James Hutton in the *Geelong Biographical Register*, a regular supplement in *The Investigator*, the journal of the Geelong Historical Society.
4. Entry for John Bland, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. VI: 1821-1835 (University of Toronto Press, 1987), 70-1.
5. His uncle may have been one of the Garland family.

6. The fum is supposed to have lost assets worth between £80,000 and £100,000.

7. Some of the sub-division allotments he owned were probably given in payment for his services as auctioneer.

8. Hutton and Nantes may have also been acting as agents for a group of Geelong businessmen.

9. The *Geelong Advertiser*, 28 January 1862, 2; and the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 March 1862, 3.

10. *The Leader*, 3 July 1909, 30.

THE CANADIAN "PARK" SHIPS

By R.F. Latimer

At the onset of World War II in September 1939, only about forty Canadian registered deep-sea merchant ships plied the oceans of the world - indeed a small token on the great stage of maritime commerce - and only a few men, skilled in the art of shipbuilding, were available in the limited number of yards that were scattered across Canada. However, by 1940, due to the urgent need of both naval and merchant ships to defend the North Atlantic lifeline, a mammoth shipbuilding programme had commenced which, by the war's end, had so extensively developed, that more than four hundred and fifty merchant ships and some three hundred naval vessels had been built. During the height of the building programme, yards in Halifax, Pictou, Saint John, Sorel, Lauzon, Montreal, Kingston, Collingwood, Midland, Port Arthur, Esquimalt, Vancouver, Prince Rupert and Victoria were employing approximately 84,000 men and women in the production of more than six million dead-weight tons of merchant shipping, in addition to naval craft.

In 1942 Park Steamship Company Limited was founded for the purpose of operating a fleet of essentially dry-cargo ships for the transport of war supplies and equipment overseas. Each ship was named for a well-known park in Canada - hence, the name "Park Ships." The Park fleet consisted of approximately 180 merchant ships of which forty-three were known as forty-seven hundred ton dry-cargo freighters, six were thirty six hundred ton trunk-deck tankers, thirteen were ten thousand ton tankers and one, the *Riding Mountain Park*, built in 1905, was a conversion from a dredger to a two thousand ton tanker. The balance of the fleet, some 117 ships, were of the ten thousand ton dry-cargo type.

The ten thousand tonners were of the North Sands British design with an overall length of 441 feet and a beam of 57 feet, powered by a single 2500 horsepower triple-expansion

steam engine, with a speed of eleven knots at 76 rpm and a loaded draft of twenty seven feet. The forty seven hundred tonners were the standard "three-island" configuration, of Scandinavian design, with an overall length of 328 feet and a beam of 46 feet, powered by steam with a speed of ten knots. The thirty six hundred ton trunk-deck tankers were Canadian designed with an overall length of 259 feet and a beam of 44 feet, powered by twin diesel engines which were located aft.

These ships performed very well and voyaged over most of the world's oceans and sea-lanes during World War II and participated as part of the inordinate fleet of allied merchant and naval craft which took part in one of the most protracted battles ever, the Battle of the Atlantic, in which almost 26,000 ocean crossings were made in transporting some 180 million tons of vitally needed military equipment and supplies.

War losses among the Park ships through enemy V-boat action accounted for only four of their number: two 4700 tonners, SS *Taber Park* near Yarmouth, England in March 1945 and SS *Avondale Park* near the Firth of Forth, Scotland in May 1945; and two 10,000 tonners, SS *Jasper Park* near Durban, South Africa in July 1943 and SS *Point Pleasant Park* near Cape Town, South Africa in February 1945. Damaged but not destroyed was the 3600 ton tanker *MIV Nipiwan Park* by submarine torpedo off Halifax in January 1945. She was later fitted with new engines and for about the next ten years sailed as the *MIV Irving Lake*. While the first ship sunk by enemy V-boat action at the outbreak of World War II was the westbound Cunard liner *Athenia*, the last allied merchantman sunk by torpedoing, one day before the cessation of hostilities, was the SS *Avondale Park*.

By 1947, following the war's end, the entire fleet of "Park" ships had been sold to commercial interests and the ships renamed. A few months later Park Steamship Company Limited was dissolved, thus ending Canada's generous wartime contribution as a maritime nation.

Many ships of the ex-Park fleet continued to sail under foreign flags, some well into the 1960s. Thus, the 10,000 tonners SS *Arlington Beach Park*, under the name *Milstrader* and the SS *Rondeau Park*, renamed *Sycamore Hill*, were still commissioned in 1966 while the 4700 tonner SS *Victoria Park*, built at Pictou and named for a well-known park in Truro, was still in service in 1966 under the name *Rio Atrata*. In the early 1960s the 4700 tonner SS *Kelowna Park*, also built at Pictou, was serving with the Royal Indian Navy under the name *Dharini* after being converted to a naval supply ship.

ARGONAUTA COLUMNS

SWING THE LAMPS: REMINISCENCES OF A CANADIAN MIDSHIPMAN IN THE ROYAL NAVY

By C.B. Koester
Kingston, Ontario

Beware of Greeks

The early spring of 1946 found me in HMS *Excellent*, the Royal Naval Gunnery School at Whale Island in Portsmouth, undergoing a sub-lieutenant's gunnery course to qualify for the rank of lieutenant. Besides my lot - "O" Group Sub-Lieutenants as we were known - there was an officers' long course underway for lieutenants who wished to become gunnery specialists, and a variety of foreign officers doing I know not what. Amongst these was a group of officers from the Royal Hellenic Navy.

I was in bed one night after a long, hard day when the Hall Porter awoke me to say that there was a telephone call for me from Paris. Would I come down to the lobby and take the call? I didn't know anyone in Paris. Was he certain of the name? Oh, yes, the call was definitely for me. So, supposing that it might just be one of my army pals calling me in the middle of the night as a lark, I put on a dressing gown, and went down to the lobby where the Hall Porter directed me to the telephone.

Taking the instrument, I heard the call being transferred through the exchanges from Portsmouth to London to Dover to Calais and finally to Paris.

"Allo!"

"Hello! This is Sub-Lieutenant Koester speaking," said I.

The reply I received was almost frightening. A woman's voice, obviously very angry, came over the line in a torrent of, to me, incomprehensible words.

"I'm sorry, ma'm, but I don't speak French," I broke in, thinking that a caller from Paris would probably be speaking that language.

The reply came immediately, and this time in heavily accented English.

"This is not French; this is Greek!"

"Well, I'm still sorry, but I don't speak Greek either," I

replied.

"What? You are a Greek, and you don't speak Greek?"

At last the penny dropped. I realized that she was calling one of the Greek officers whose name might have sounded like mine to the poor Hall Porter, Kostopoulou or even Alcibiades for that matter, so I suggested that she might call back the next day. Whether she did or not, I don't know, but I did manage to identify the officer who should have received the call, and although he gave no indication of what it was all about, I had the distinct impression that he was just as glad that I was the one who had beep rustled out of bed on that occasion.

Mourners

Sometime during the war an old admiral, a veteran of the Boxer Rebellion, died.¹ His descendants requested a naval funeral, and HMS *Excellent* was ordered to provide the funeral party. Consequently, after Divisions the next day, certain classes were ordered to stand fast and were detailed off their duties at the funeral by the Chief Gunner's Mate.

"From here to the right," he said, "Gun's Crew! From here to the left, Firing Party! Remainder, Mourners!"

Then, addressing himself to the Mourners, he went on:

"I know that none of you lads knew the deceased, but he will be missed by his children, his grand-children and his great-grand-children. They will be mournful, they will be sorry and they will be sad. It's your job to make sure that everyone knows that he will be missed by the officers and men of the Royal Navy, too. And I'll tell you here and now that if I see in that Church tomorrow that you ain't mournful, you ain't sorry and you ain't sad, you can bet your flippin' seaboots that when I meet you back on this here parade ground, I'll make you mournful, I'll make you sorry and I'll make you sad every day for the next three weeks of your bloody lives!"

'T Was Ever Thus

It was some years after I had left Royal Roads proudly entitled to the white patches of a midshipman in the Royal Canadian Navy that I came back as a naval reserve officer to teach navigation to the cadets of the University Naval Training Divisions. I was Officer of the Day one morning when the Duty Petty Officer came to me to ask if, since the cadets were writing examinations that day, I would see fit to cancel their early morning physical training. I remembered that when I had been a cadet no one had ever thought of cancelling the early-morning routine, but that on the day of

an important examination we had all been grateful to be sent on a short run rather than the usual route out the Belmont Gate, around the eastern and northern perimeter and back through the Sooke Gate. So I said:

"No, Petty Officer, we'll not cancel PT. Just take the lads on a short run instead. They can go down past the Chaplain's house, along the lagoon road and back up past the parade ground and playing fields."

"You call that a short run?" asked the Duty Petty Officer. "That's what they do every morning!"

I didn't say it, but I recalled a Chief Gunnery Instructor on the parade ground at Whale Island addressing a group of sub-lieutenants who were rather the worse for wear after half-an-hour's rifle drill at the double.

"Well now, young gentlemen," he had roared, "it used to be said that the Royal Navy consisted of wooden ships and iron men, but from the looks o' you sorry lot o' mothers' sons, it seems we now have a navy of iron ships and wooden men!"

'T was ever thus!

Notes

1. The Boxers were volunteer militiamen, organized and encouraged by the government of China to block the designs of foreigners in that country. On 13 June, 1900 they laid siege to the European legations in Peking which were finally relieved by an international force on 14 August, 1900.

MARITIME PROVINCES STEAM PASSENGER VESSELS

*By Robin H. Wyllie
East LaHave, Nova Scotia*

S.S. Sen/ac

Specifications:

Official Number:	112239
Builder:	Thompson Steamship Co., Saint John, N.B.
Date Built:	1904
Gross Tonnage:	1011.74
Overall Length:	182.4 Feet
Breadth:	33.0 Feet
Draught:	16.1 Feet
Engine:	66 hp
Propulsion:	Screw

History

Senlac was a large wooden steamer specially designed for the Saint John to Halifax route, which had not seen a regular passenger and freight service since the paddle steamer *City of Monticello* sank in 1900. She was owned by the Steamship "Senlac" Company and owned in Saint John, New Brunswick.

Among the late Harold Banks' papers is a copy of an undated letter from a former crew member, M.C. Earle. He remembers that the vessel carried a crew of around thirty in her three departments, Deck, Engineering and Steward's, there being ten in the last. Licensed to carry sixty passengers, *Senlac* was scheduled to leave Saint John on alternate Mondays, stopping *en route* at Yarmouth and the Nova Scotia South Shore ports of Shelburne, Lockeport, Liverpool and Lunenburg. She returned the following Monday from Halifax. The vessel remained on the route until 1 July, 1907, when she had to be run ashore after being damaged in a collision with the SS *City of Sydney*. She was replaced by the old American steamer *Mohawk*, which did not last long and subsequently ended her days ferrying steel workers across the harbour between North Sydney and the surviving B.E.S.A. complex at Sydney.

After the opening of the Halifax and South Western Railway from Halifax to Yarmouth in 1901, it is hard to see how any steamship company could have made money on the South Shore. *Senlac's* owners were no exception and, unable to repair her after the collision, she was laid up until 1911, when ownership passed to a Halifax ship-broker. He in turn disposed of the vessel to K.N. MacDonald, of Sydney, in 1914. The MacDonalds owned the Sydney shipyard. Their business included the import and wholesale of liquor from

St. Pierre, suggesting that *Senlac* might have been purchased for use in that trade.

The vessel was sold to French interests in 1916 and was engaged in carrying freight and passengers between Halifax, Sydney and St. Pierre. On December 6, 1917, she was due in Halifax at 12 noon with a general cargo when her crew witnessed the **Halifax Explosion** cloud from fifteen miles out. Captain Campbell was able to estimate, by sextant, that the **fireball** reached a height of "about 12,000 feet." *Senlac* only lasted in the St. Pierre trade until February 1918, when she ran aground and was wrecked at Placentia, Newfoundland.

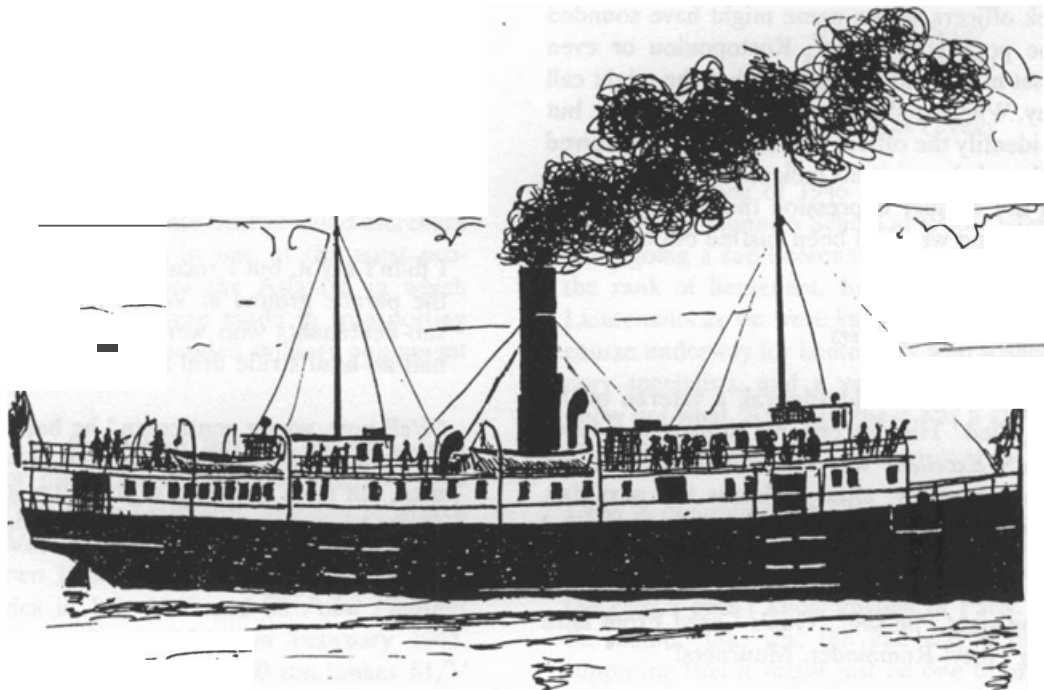


Fig. 1: SS *Senlac* from a POSI card in the author's collection.

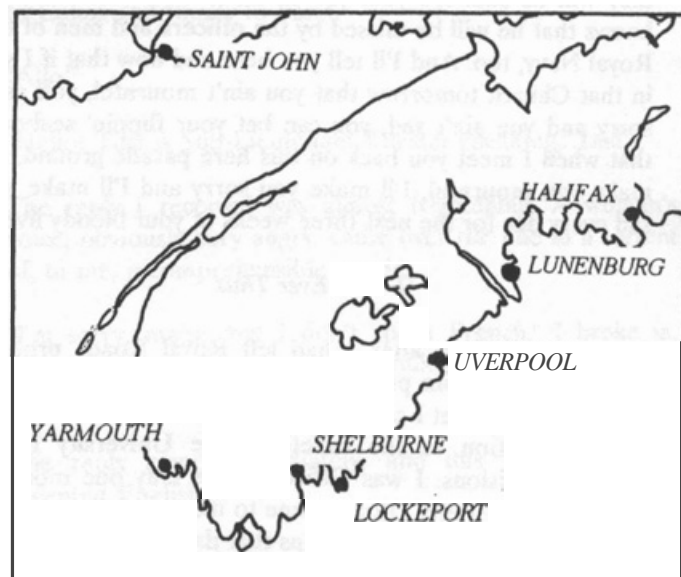


Fig. 2: Route of the SS *Senlac* (not to scale).

Sources

- Banks, Harold. Research papers including copy of letter from M.e. Earle*.
- Mills, John M. *Canadian Inland and Coastal Steam Vessels 1809-1930*. Providence, R.I., 1979.
- PANS MG1, vol. 2124, #178. "Flame Height of the Mount (sic) Blanc Explosion." Undated deposition by Captain Campbell, SS *Acadien*.
- Department of Marine and Fisheries. *Steamboat Inspection Report Supplement to the Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries for the fiscal year of 1913-14 (Marine)*, Ottawa, 1914.
- Selected Gazetteers and Almanacs to 1914.
- Selected Shipping Registers to 1915
- Timetable - Intercolonial Railway, Montreal, 1904.

*Anyone using this source should do so with caution. Mr. Earle appears to have confused *Senlac* with the *Empress* when he states that "*Senlac* burned at her dock in Saint John."

ARGONAUTA COMMENTARY

ANOTHER WORLD WAR II VESSEL

By Kenneth S. Mackenzie

[Ed. note: An earlier version of this commentary first appeared in the April/June issue of *From the Bridge, the Journal of the Company of Master Mariners of Canada*; this version appears here with permission.]

While much honour and recognition has been bestowed upon the World War II veterans of the Royal Canadian Navy through restoration of HMCS *Haida* and HMCS *Sackville*, there is, I believe, an equally worthy historical topic for Canadians to turn their attention to, should they decide to take cognizance of those who went before. I refer of course to HMCS *Cape Breton*, now languishing in Esquimalt Harbour and in dire jeopardy. According to S.e. Heal, whose fine book, *Conceived in War, Bom in Peace, a History of Canada's Deep Sea Merchant Marine*, was published in Vancouver late last year, *Cape Breton* was built at the Burrard Dry Dock Company in 1945 as the Escort Maintenance Ship *Flamborough Head*. She was then acquired by the Royal Canadian Navy and renamed HMCS *Cape Breton*. Heal notes that *Cape Breton* is believed to be "the only survivor of the entire Canadian war-built fleet of 10,000 ton freighters." (p.116) Heal also notes that "*Cape Breton*...is laid up in reserve at Esquimalt, and is now in her forty-fifth year [now forty-eighth]. She never sailed as a merchant ship having been completed as a naval auxiliary for the British Navy...but her hull and machinery and overall basic design was just like the *Green Hill Park* and *Fort Stikine* and their

sisters". (p.99)

In this day and age, when we are only just starting to acknowledge the debt owed to our merchant mariners as well as those who sailed with the RCN, it seems to me that a much more worthwhile project would be to keep her from the wreckers' ball and to turn her into a memorial for those who built these ships and as the seamen who took them to sea. Now, generally, I am not in favour of "museum ships," knowing the inordinate amount of time and cost that goes into their preservation. But in this case the ship is so solidly built that these objections might not apply so readily as with other ships. Besides, it would be one way to redress the balance, where we have paid far too little attention to the accomplishments in the merchant marine - and none whatsoever to those who built them, for in the words of one of Canada's most important wartime serving officers, "Not All the Work was Done at Sea."

ARGONAUTA NEWS

PENETANG AREA TO HOST TALL SHIPS
AND ATLANTIC CHALLENGE RACE IN 1994

The August issue of *The Great Lakes Fishennan* reported on plans for a summer-long marine festival next year in the Penetan area which will feature two major highlights - a visit by the Tall Ships and the Atlantic Challenge Race. 1994 is a Tall Ships rendezvous year and some of the most beautiful sailing ships in the world will make the Great Lakes their destination. The exact schedule for the rendezvous is not yet known but the ships are expected to be in the Penetang area in August in time for the Atlantic Challenge race at the Penetang Naval Establishment. The Atlantic Challenge was last held at Le Chasse Marée, Brest, France, an event that attracted nine hundred and fifty thousand people in three days and four million over a one-month period. The Atlantic Challenge was started several years ago after a French gig of some thirty-two feet in length was discovered in Ireland. Replicas were built and a number of nations began racing these gigs, using young crew members, many of them from disadvantaged homes. Canada entered the 1992 competition at Brest with a boat built in Penetang-Midland. A second gig has since been constructed and launched this past summer. There will be more than a dozen of these gigs being rowed in the 1994 competitions in August. Together the two events are expected to draw more than a million visitors to Penetanguishene and Midland next summer.

The Atlantic Challenge boats and the Tall Ships will join a fleet of vessels already stationed at the Penetang Naval Establishment, including the *Bee*, the *Tecumseh*, and the brigantines *Playfair* and *Pathfinder*, along with a small fleet

of bateaux and other replicas. The Penetang Naval Establishment is built on the site of a complex erected by the British for defence during and after the War of 1812. Some of the buildings, such as the Officer's Quarters, are original. The complex covers several acres and contains a number of interpretative displays. Guided tours by costumed attendants and re-enactments of historical scenes augment the atmosphere.

In addition to the Tall Ships and the Atlantic Challenge, the area will feature festivals all summer, including music of the sea and local fairs with a nautical flavour. Many ports on the Great Lakes stand to gain from a visit by the Tall Ships, but it looks as if you will have to go to Penetang to catch all of the excitement in 1994. (Source: *The Great Lakes Fishennan*, August 1993, pp. 21-22.)

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS PROJECT

For over one hundred and twenty years an important and representative part of New Brunswick history has rested quietly in the waters of Port Stanley Harbour, Falkland Islands, an isolated landfall in the South Atlantic Ocean. The 1000-ton sailing ship *Egeria* was built in 1859 at the Kennebecasis River shipyard of Thomas Edward Millidge by either the well-known shipwright Joseph K. Dunlop or his predecessor, John White. On her thirteenth voyage, while carrying a cargo of coal and cement for Callao, the *Egeria* encountered severe storms during her attempt to round Cape Horn and was heavily damaged. Faced with a mutinous crew, the thirty-five year old captain, Matthew Henry Foster, turned the ship around and headed for the Falklands where it limped into the wind-swept harbour at Port Stanley in September 1872. The *Egeria* was surveyed and found to be damaged beyond the repair capabilities of the port. Her sailing days over, she was condemned and then passed into other hands for use as a storage hulk. It appeared that the *Egeria* was destined to end her days in obscu-

rity.

During the nineteenth century, New Brunswick was part of an international shipbuilding phenomenon. In New Brunswick alone, over 4,000 individual sailing ships were launched from provincial yards between 1820 and 1890. Even though New Brunswick's economy depended to a significant degree upon maritime enterprise, very few physical remains have survived to underscore that industry's former importance. The *Egeria*, however, is one of two New Brunswick-built sailing vessels in the Falklands which have survived into the present era, and is the most complete. The other vessel is the 561-ton *Actaeon* which was constructed on the Miramichi in 1838 by John Harley.

Despite the survival of written records, photographs and a few plans documenting New Brunswick's shipbuilding era, little has been preserved which details specific construction techniques. The chance survival of two nineteenth-century sailing ships offers New Brunswick and Canada a unique opportunity. Detailed professional surveys, including a complete photographic record, analysis of wood samples and detailed architectural drawings would greatly expand our present knowledge of New Brunswick shipbuilding. Completed surveys of the "real thing" would provide construction data which was either never recorded or did not translate well into the written word.

Recognizing the importance of the *Egeria*, the New Brunswick Museum (with generous financial support from the provincial government and with technical and professional support from Parks Canada) will mount an expedition to the Falkland Islands in January 1994 for the purpose of recording the vessel's structural details and the construction methods employed to produce this massive artifact. Plans include the use of stereo photography (photogrammetry) combined with the use of a computer. This will provide both lines

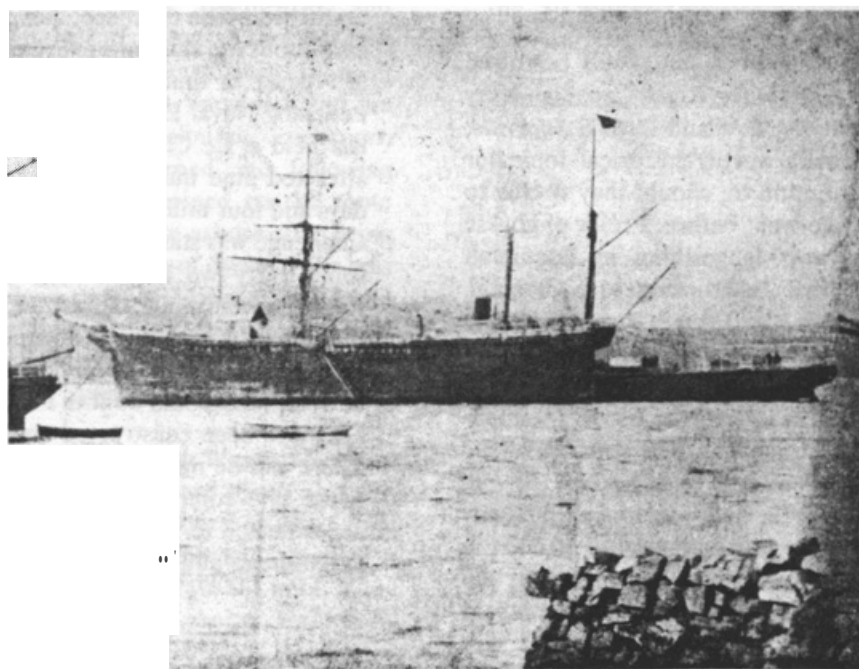


Fig. 1. Bales of hay are being loaded for transport to Europe on the Gennan liner Luxor, which is moored behind *Egeria*. Derail from an original photograph taken May 1883 by William Biggs,

and construction plans for the vessel, as well as accurate measurements. The acquired data and information will then be featured in a section of the New Brunswick Museum's permanent marine exhibition presently being developed to reflect a broad picture of the history of shipping and shipbuilding in the province. The project is being co-ordinated by the New Brunswick Museum: Robert S. Elliot, Curator, History of Technology (Marine), and Eric Lawson, Marine Research Associate.

Some Facts about the Egeria:

Rig: Ship; three square-rigged masts of pitch pine
 Registered tonnage: 1066 17/100 (Lloyd's Survey)
 Built at: Kennebecasis River (Millidge shipyard),
 Millidgeville, Saint John, New Brunswick
 Launched: 2 June 1859
 Builder: Thomas Edward Millidge (as registered)
 Designer & Shipwright: Joseph K. Dunlop or John White
 Vessel's build: Carvel built
 Shape of stern: Square
 Length aloft: 176.9 feet (Survey Report)
 Length of keel: 168 feet
 Extreme breadth: 36.3 feet (outside)
 Depth of hold: 22.9 feet
 Number of decks: Main deck and poop deck;
 beams installed for 'tween deck
 Vessel's draft: Loaded, 21 feet; Liglit, 14 feet
 Figurehead: Woman's figure
 Cabins: Five for ship's officers
 Water tank capacity: Iron tanks held 4,000 gals.
 of fresh water
 Boats: One longboat and two pinnaces;
 one lifeboat added later
 Special equipment: Cunningham's self-reefing topsails
 Pumps: Two iron pumps
 Anchors: One bower anchor with wood stock, 36 cwt.,
 1 quarter, 14 pounds (4074lbs.);
 one bower anchor with wood stock,
 33 cwt., 2 quarters (3752 lbs.)
 Carrying capacity: 1452 tons (approx. deadweight
 cargo capacity)
 Sheathing: Felted and yellow metalled
 Registered at Saint John: 28 June 1859 - Port #25
 Official number: 41872
 Signal letters: TGLK (vessel's call sign)
 Initial owner: Thomas Edward Millidge (64 shares)

The *Egeria* had a succession of owners during her thirteen-year sailing career, travelling to such far-flung destinations as India, Burma, Australia, New York, Ethiopia and the west coast of South America. Following the *Egeria's* first voyage from Saint John to Liverpool with a cargo of white pine,

deals, lathwood and other wood products, the vessel was sold and re-registered at the latter port. Her later cargoes included both consumer and industrial goods; everything from beer to locomotives, butter to guano, manufactured textiles to raw cotton, and baled hay for the military. In retirement as a hulk from 1872 to the present day the *Egeria* spent many years afloat at Stanley as a storage vessel for the islands' wool industry, and as temporary accommodation for the cargoes of vessels calling at the islands in distress. About 1907 the *Egeria* was moved next to a jetty to form part of the dock complex; she remains there today, still in use, 134 years after she slipped into the water at Millidgeville.

SEARCH FOR PLANS TO A GREAT LAKES FISH TUG

The Marine Museum of the Great Lakes at Kingston wants a model of a typical Great Lakes fish tug for display purposes. According to a story carried in the August 1993 issue of *The Great Lakes Fishennan*, Doug Badgley, of Port Stanley, who is both a boat builder and a model maker, was in Kingston recently when Maurice Smith, the Museum curator, prevailed upon him to supply them with a model. Mr. Badgley believes that he can work up a representative model of a tug from the 1940s or 1950s from existing vessels and photographic evidence, but he would like something better than a generic representation of Lake Erie-style tug. If he could obtain the plans for a specific tug from this period, Mr. Badgley would like to make a scale model to those plans. The model could then be displayed along with a history of the vessel. Unfortunately, many of the fish tugs built in the 1940s and 1950s were either built without detailed plans or the plans have since been lost. Mr. Badgley hopes that a set of plans can be found somewhere to allow him to complete his project. Anyone who can help with this project is asked to contact the editor and publisher of *The Great Lakes Fishennan*, Mr. Frank Prothero (542 George Street, Port Stanley, Ontario N5L 1H3; tel. or FAX: 519-782-3412) or telephone Doug Badgley directly at 519-782-4186.

UNDERWATER PARK PROPOSED ON LAKE ERIE

Leamington, Ontario hopes to become as popular a mecca for scuba divers as Tobermory, if plans for a second provincial underwater park materialize. According to an item that appeared in the July 1993 issue of *The Great Lakes Fisherman*, the Windsor chapter of SOS (Save Ontario Shipwrecks) has been instrumental in bringing the potential of twenty-six wrecks that have been identified in the Pelee Passage area to the attention of the town of Leamington and the provincial government. A \$50,000 study is now underway to recommend the best way to utilize the underwater resources of the eastern basin of the lake. The province and the town of Leamington are reportedly **sharing** the cost of the study.

Note: pages 19 to 40 not included in this (later) scan.

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