ARGONAUTA

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Editorial

Perspective is everything. Context is important. Life is politics. Ideologies are inescapable and bias is impossible to escape. These are a few of my favourite things. And lest we forget, money drives the mainstream. But all of this begs the question. Whose perspective is chosen and can we ever escape bias? So there I am, riding a dune buggy with a bunch of extremely well heeled Americans on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. The day before we were were drawn, yes, by horses around Mackinaw Island at the top end of Lake Huron. What connects these two events is a weak attempt on the part of the tour operators to combine commercial tourism with a newfound enforced sensitivity for the environment. (there are no horse balls on Mackinaw Island). It was more than a stretch and it was for me and most of the party, just dog gamed, plain insulting. But it was America. It was like making fortunes at sea, all about sustaining volume. A few days earlier we walked about the recently paved streets of Greenfield Village near Detroit. Why this anachronism? In order to accommodate, what my friend on Garden Island says, “tousands and tousands” of people.

Two weeks later I was in Nova Scotia. For my telling of it, the Atlantic and Pacific coastlines of Canada are imminently civilized and spectacular places to be. Notice I have left out the beautiful Great Lakes as a kind of reverse bias and I have yet to visit our northern Arctic coast. I spent the better part of the day in Eric Ruff’s Yarmouth County Museum with their magnificent collection of ships portraits. Later there was the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic and another CNRS member, Dan Conlin, as rushed and busy as a museum curator should be. I sat out Peggy’s Cove this time but the rest of the family arrived back late in the evening after hanging around the place as long as they could. It is an iconic hot spot but alway compelling. And compared to the place to the south we really do live in a gentler and I think - more truthful place - but as you know, relativity has something to do with it.

Now if you are expecting a diatribe against historians then you will be disappointed. Maybe a lament for a nation that has lost its connections with the sea – no. I detected a fair amount of guilt in the telling of tales, the ersatz bits and pieces of history selected by tourism operators – they need us! Hovering on the sidelines were professionals,
historians, curators and a grand mix of concerned citizens who were there to constantly remind 'commerce' they had to pay attention to history and ecology to tell their stories. Often, around the corner you could find the more responsible narratives. But it is also very fragile with some victories. At Greenfield Village the anachronistic streets are compensated for by a new and very large archive and study centre. And the dune buggy people. They are just going out of business in America as the public votes with it feet to do something more responsible than tearing up the countryside.

Now for the message. We are a part of a ships company of historians, academic, avocational and public who by doing what we do, saving the written and material culture and scribbling away in the hours of the night contribute to this place called Canada. We, the CNRS help make the place better. This a belated July 1st Dominion Day greeting.

MDS

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**NO HIGHER PURPOSE**

The Official Operational History of the Royal Canadian Navy in the Second World War, 1939-1943 Volume II, Part I

Douglas • Sarty • Whitby
Caldwell • Johnston • Rawling

$80.00 HC 684pp 7 x 9.5" b/w & colour photographs, fold-out maps ISBN 1-55125-081-8

"This impressive volume...will be of interest not only to those who study Second World War events and who wish to bring their knowledge up-to-date, but also to the general public searching for an informed introduction to the influence Canadian naval affairs have had on both the Canadian and world scene. It is extremely readable; indeed, it is difficult to put down, once the impact of the excellent photos, reproductions and maps have whetted the appetite for closer reading." -Starshell

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President’s Corner

Congratulations to WS, one of our Argonauta editors, who reminded us in the last issue how to prepare for a research trip to the PRO at Kew, the British Library or the National Maritime Museum in England by searching the web for material before leaving Canada and thereby saving valuable research time overseas. By using the Internet before you leave you can have your documents waiting for you on your arrival.

WS’s excellent reminder set me to thinking that we should know that similar services are available through the Internet concerning the materials related to maritime history deposited at the National Archives of Canada. CNRS members can start their search for materials with an on-line search tool called “Archivia Net” (www.archives.ca).* I tried it a few months ago and it worked wonderfully. I had a free day in Ottawa coming up, so in order to use it to the full, I spent a few hours two weeks earlier and went to the Internet at the above address. There I was able to search the Canadian government’s files for the appropriate department in order to obtain a Record Group number. After typing in a few words, a subject, a person’s name or a company name, I began to get the requisite series letters, volume (actually a box) numbers, and file numbers. I have spent my entire research career in documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I was taught that along came the French Revolution in 1789 and history ended. I am slowly learning otherwise. This spring, I learned that Canadian government records for the period after history ended, are cited in the NAC by record group, series, volume number, and file number. The later number is sometimes quite long. Any way, after I located ten file numbers that might be interesting, I wrote to the NAC asking that the files be made available on a specified date. I could have used e-mail but I don’t trust it like I do snail-mail. The NAC want five to seven working days advance notice. I gave them lots of time and a day or two before I left for Ottawa I received an e-mail confirming that the ten boxes were waiting for me in the NAC reading room. The e-mail rebuked my want of trust. On my arrival at the archives on the specified date, I found that the files I had ordered were indeed awaiting me. Ten minutes after entering the reading room I was hard at work. The real lesson is that had I not done this preliminary work I would have wasted the entire day for these records are not kept on site and could not have been made available to me that day had I walked in to the archives and asked to see them. So, by making more use of the Internet we gain scarce, valuable research time.

On 1 May, I was privileged to attend the launching of No Higher Purpose: The Official Operational History of the Royal Canadian Navy in the Second World War, 1939-1945, published by Vanwell Publishing Ltd., at National Defence Headquarters. The major authors, W.A.B. “Alec” Douglas, Roger Sarty and Michael Whitby who were present and received the accolades that are their due are all members of CNRS. I was proud to represent the Society on the occasion. You will read more about this volume (actually Volume II, part I) elsewhere, but know that it was written and published first primarily for the surviving veterans of that long ago war. It is my sincerest wish that the book meets their every expectation.

I am looking forward to meeting new members and greeting old friends at the annual meeting at Vancouver in August.

James Pritchard
President, CNRS

*Editor’s Note: the National Archives have recently placed the army War Diaries from the First World War online. There is a nautical connection! A quick look at the October 1914 diary for the 13th
Battalion, CEF shows that it was carried on board the SS *Alaunia* as part of the First Canadian Troop Convoy. See:

www.archives.ca/02/0201202_e.html

**Research Queries**

**Warren Brimblecom** of South Yarmouth, Massachusetts (e-mail address mwbrim@capecod.net) writes:

Hello, I am a model shipwright and have recently been asked to clean and repair an old ship model of the 4-masted barquentine *Ottawa*. The model was probably built in the 1920-30 period. The model was built by Eug. Leclerc of St.Jean Port-Joli, Que. I am trying to find out anything I can about the actual ship. I would appreciate any information your society may have.

**Ed Butts** (edpbutts@yahoo.com) is doing research for a book about the history of smuggling on the Great Lakes, from colonial times up to Prohibition and would appreciate any pointers to sources or any related information.

**Notes of Interest**

**No Higher Purpose**

In May, just in time for Battle of the Atlantic Sunday, came the release of the first volume of the long-awaited Official History of the RCN: *No Higher Purpose – The Official Operational History of the Royal Canadian Navy in the Second World War, 1939-1945* (Vanwell Publishing, ISBN 1-55125-061-6). It describes events between September 1939 and the Spring of 1943, when the Canadian Northwest Atlantic Command was created. Part II *(A Blue Water Navy)* is scheduled for late 2003/early 2004. Volume I, describing the early years of the Navy, and Volume III, which will carry the tale to the demise of the RCN with unification, are both expected to appear within the next few years.

The authors are well known to the Society – W. A. B. (Alec) Douglas, Roger Sarty, Michael Whitby, with Robert H. Caldwell, William Johnston, and William Rawling. Expect to see detailed reviews of the series in future editions of *The Northern Mariner*. This is an important addition to Canadian naval historiography, based on the very latest research. It is also a wonderfully readable book. It appeared simultaneously in French:


**Arctic Blue Books Online**

The University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections would like to announce the establishment of the Arctic Blue Books Online. Dating from 1818-1878, the Arctic Blue Books are volumes consisting of the British Parliamentary Papers relating to arctic exploration. With the support of the Winnipeg Foundation, the 6000 plus pages of the Arctic Blue Books were scanned and mounted on the web early this year. As well as documenting the exploration of the Canadian Arctic, they contain material relating to topics such as native communities, living conditions on ships, expeditions, meteorological observations, the status of commercial whaling, botanical discoveries, and many other subjects. The wealth of information they contain is accessible via Andrew Taylor’s extensive index, to which the online Arctic Blue Books are linked. Search the index and/or look at the Arctic Blue Books Online at:

www.umanitoba.ca/libraries/units/archives/arcticbb/index.shtml
Atlantic of Canada Online

Natural Resources Canada has placed a number of digital images from the Atlas of Canada on their website, extracted from various editions: 1906, 1915, 1957, 1974, and 1978-95. Take a look at:

atlas.gc.ca/site/english/featureditems/map_archives

Great Lakes Shipwreck Museum

The Great Lakes Shipwreck Museum complex located at Whitefish Point Light Station (co-located with the Whitefish Point Bird Observatory) on Lake Superior is open from 1st May until the end of October. It showcases Great Lakes Maritime heritage and interprets the stories of shipwrecks along the infamous Lake Superior Shipwreck Coast. The Edmund Fitzgerald exhibit featuring the Ship’s Bell can be viewed in the museum.

The Shipwreck Museum is located about an hour north of the Mackinac Bridge in the Eastern Upper Peninsula near Tahquamenon Falls State Park.

Winner of two Michigan Emmy’s for underwater video production and assisting productions of several successful PBS, National Geographic and Discovery Channel programmes over the years, The Great Lakes Shipwreck Historical Society is scheduled to finish another History Channel production, resuming filming on May 8th that will air later this summer. This History Channel production is one in a new series focussed on world famous shipwrecks and telling the story of how technology was used to help find the wrecks and what caused them to go down. The show will feature new uses and applications of advanced sonar, robotics and use of High Definition video.

Websites:

www.shipwreckmuseum.com
www.wpbo.org

Maritime Britain Heritage Network

Alex Naughton and Chris Brindle have formed the MBHN to promote the maritime heritage movement and the maritime history of the United Kingdom. Their website is still under construction, but is still worth visiting:

www.maritimebritain.org.uk

Maritime History and Underwater Archaeology Jobs

A small website has been built that promotes job openings in the underwater archaeology and maritime history fields:

www.geocities.com/underwaterarchaeologyjobs

Navigating the Lower Saint Lawrence in the 19th Century

Gilbert Bossé has produced a CD Rom reproducing more than 4,200 pages of original text from newspapers, notarial records, Vice Admiralty Court Cases concerning shipping on the lower St Lawrence River during the first sixty years of the 19th Century. The cost is $59.95. More information can be found at:

www.geocities.com/grbosse.geo/CIP/review1.html

or by contacting Gilbert –

Gilbert Bossé
46 Leggatt,
Metis Beach,
QC, Canada G0J 1W0

“Red Duster” Website “For Sale”

Running a website is more akin to magazine publishing than writing a book: the work is never really finished, and someone always needs to be involved in keeping it running (and paying the bills). A sad example is the current plight of the excellent “Red Duster” website, which is devoted to the history of Britain’s Merchant Navy. It is now
Nearly 50,000 men of the Allied merchant services lost their lives. 22,490 British; 6,093 Indian Lascars; 2,023 Chinese; 5,662 USA; 4,795 Norwegians; about 2,000 Greeks; 4,693 from Netherlands, Belgium & Denmark; 1,437 Canadian; 363 from S. Africa, Australia & N.Z. As well about 4,000 DEMS [Defensively Equipped Merchant Ships] and RA [Royal Artillery] Maritime Regt. gunners were lost, although this is very approximate as they are hard to identify in lists because they were military casualties and not identified by ship. Also the main figure is doubtless low because usually tallies don't necessarily include small fishing boats sunk by enemy gunfire, particularly in the Far East. The problem of accurate figures is exemplified by the report in G.H. & R. Bennett's Survivors!, (Hambleton Press, London, 1999), who state there were 30,189 merchant seamen deaths.

Russo-Japanese War Wreck Found

The hull of a sunken ship presumed to be the Dmitry Donskoi, a Russian cruiser that went down in 1905 during the Russo-Japanese War, has been found on the sea bottom near Ulleungdo Island this past June.

Dong-Ah Construction Industrial Co. and the Korean Ocean Research and Development Institute said that they had discovered the remains of the ship buried in a 400-metre-deep sea valley 2 kilometres from Ulleungdo's port of Jeodong.

Wartime Convoys - Convoys & Ships

by Fraser McKee

The “Battle of the Atlantic” lasted for 2,072 days, 69 months, from the sinking of the Anchor Donaldson liner Athenia to the loss of the Canadian Avondale Park.

1. Nearly 50,000 men of the Allied merchant services lost their lives.
   22,490 British; 6,093 Indian Lascars; 2,023 Chinese; 5,662 USA; 4,795 Norwegians; about 2,000 Greeks; 4,693 from Netherlands, Belgium & Denmark; 1,437 Canadian; 363 from S. Africa, Australia & N.Z. As well about 4,000 DEMS [Defensively Equipped Merchant Ships] and RA [Royal Artillery] Maritime Regt. gunners were lost, although this is very approximate as they are hard to identify in lists because they were military casualties and not identified by ship. Also the main figure is doubtless low because usually tallies don't necessarily include small fishing boats sunk by enemy gunfire, particularly in the Far East. The problem of accurate figures is exemplified by the report in G.H. & R. Bennett's Survivors!, (Hambleton Press, London, 1999), who state there were 30,189 merchant seamen deaths.
in British or British chartered or foreign ships under British ministry control, including those in ships damaged but not sunk, but excluding the small Far East ships, above.

2. Britain and the British Commonwealth had about 6,700 vessels at war's outbreak.

3. 1,162 U-boats had been built by war's end; 784 were destroyed. 40,900 men had been recruited into the Kriegsmarine's U-boat arm, 27,491 (67.2%) were killed and 5,000 made prisoner. These figures vary somewhat from report to report, depending on whether men killed in U-boat accidents, boats not on operational patrols, and end-of-the-war prisoners are counted or not.

(Source: From Convoy - Merchant Sailors At War, Philip Kaplan & Jack Currie, USNI Press, Annapolis, 1998)

4. 19 MAC ships (Merchant Aircraft Carriers) made 217 convoy escorting trips, starting in Aug.'43. They employed 90 Swordfish aircraft in total (i.e. capacity) losing 100 a/c in the war.

They flew 4,177 sorties, made 12 attacks on known U-boats and actually sank none. But only 2 convoys lost any ships while a MAC ship was in company. Six were converted from grain carriers, 13 were tankers. In addition to their aircraft, they still carried their cargoes.

5. The Battle of the Atlantic reversed roles in the last week of May, 1943, when, with the passage of Convoy SC-130 four U-boats were sunk for not a single convoyed ship lost. No ships were sunk in convoy actions after May 17th in that month.

(Source: From Convoy - The Defence of Sea Trade 1890-1990, John Winton, Michael Joseph, 1983)

6. In the opening 4 months of war in 1939, 4 ships were sunk by U-boats when in convoy, against 102 unescorted “independents” sunk. Same ratio apply to ships sunk by aircraft.

(Source: From The Battle of the Atlantic, CDR Donald Macintyre, B.T. Batsford, London, 1961)

7. 83.9% of all Allied and Neutral merchant shipping losses occurred in the Atlantic theatre. All other losses were marginal to that: 366,852 grt in the Atlantic of a total of 437,018 grt.

8. Of all ship losses world-wide, 64.5% were to u-boats; 10% to aircraft, 21.4% to mines and 2.3% to surface warships. But 30% of lost British merchant seamen were in ships lost to u-boats.

(Source: From The Battle of the Atlantic, Terry Hughes & John Costello. The Dial Press, NY, 1977; [Contains a large section of useful analytical tables])

9. From the period Sept.'39 to Dec.'42, Coastal Command and Naval air made 767 attacks on U-boats. They sank or seriously damaged 59 boats, or in 7.7% of attacks.

10. While the ratio of losses of ships in convoy to independents varies widely with time, place and circumstances, typically it was at least about 10 to 1, but as high as 100 to 1 that an independently sailed ship, or a straggler or romper would be sunk...
compared to a ship in convoy. (A straggler was one that dropped back or wandered away from a convoy due to inability to keep up or fog or weather; a romper was a ship that elected to steam faster than convoy speed and moved away ahead.)

11. Convoy (and ship) speed was also a factor. If speed dropped below 13 knots the loss rate rose sharply down to 10 knots, then less so below that. This was assessed as a function of ship vs u-boat speeds.

12. The number of ships sunk per attacking U-boat was independent of convoy size. And doubling the size of convoys did not require a doubling in number of escorts, as the circumference of the larger convoy only increased by slightly more than 41%. At first 40-ship convoys were the rule. By the later stages 200-ship convoys were not unknown.

13. Weapons' success rates: % of attacks resulting in sinking a u-boat, July '43 to May '45:
   Depth charges: 5.7% (almost constant over time)
   Hedgehog: 19.8% (very variable over time)
   Squid: 36.2% (late in the war only)

14. Halifax to Liverpool: 2,485 nautical miles direct. With zig-zag, diversions, slowed by gales, etc., say 3,310 miles. A slow convoy (e.g. SC) would make rarely over 6.5 knots x 24 hours = 156 nm. and thus take 21.2 days minimum.

15. 23% of all supplies to Russia went via Murmansk convoys. 75% via the Persian Gulf, mostly from US and much as bulk fuel. 2% entered via Russian west coast.

16. There were 98 convoys or independent ship movements (including passage of warships and trade and political groups) to and from Russia; of these 75 were true trade convoys.

17. 581 ships made the passage, on an average of just under 3 trips each ship, but some only once, others as many as 12 times (2ships). There were thus about 1,640 ship-voyages in total. With a loss of 104 ships, this meant a 6.3% loss rate on these convoys.

18. Casualties: In a study of 27,000 merchant seamen, Sept. 1939 to Dec. 1944, it was found that if a ship was sunk there was a 32% chance of loss of life, of which 6% was death after reaching a lifeboat or raft. For the RCN, when a warship was sunk, the chance of loss was 55%.

19. There were, in the North Atlantic area (excluding convoys to Gibraltar and Freetown and beyond): 381 HX eastbound convoys, with 17,744 ships of which 206 were lost while in


(Source: From *Convoys To Russia, 1941-1945*, Bob Ruegg & Arnold Hague, World Ship Society, Kendal, UK, 1992)

convoy = 1.2% loss rate. This excludes losses of stragglers and rompers. 38 of the convoys had losses, ie 10% (or 90% of HX convoys reached the U.K with no losses). 177 SC eastbound convoys, 6,806 ships, 211 lost = 3.1% loss rate. 29 convoys had losses, ie 16%. 934 OA, OB and ON westbound convoys with 30,809 ships; 429 were lost, ie 1.4% rate. In 1939 - 1941 most of these convoys were dispersed at between 15° and 26° West, and losses thereafter are not included, as the ships were then technically “independents.”

Of these 1,492 convoys, 131 had one or more ships sunk, thus 91% of convoys crossed with no losses, although about as many had ships damaged but survived.

20. The “worst” convoy of the trans-North Atlantic series was SC-7, which sailed from Sydney, Cape Breton on 5 Oct. 1940 and lost 15 of 34 ships or 44%, with 94 seamen killed. The worst HX convoy was the famous (infamous?) HX-229 in March of 1943, with 12 of 38 ships lost, or 32%, but with 249 seamen killed.


Of the Mont-Blanc, accents, hyphens and the size of the bomb which it carried to Halifax’s 1917 ‘Ground Zero’
by Alan Ruffman

John Armstrong appears to have two small errors in his December 5, 2002 article, “Canada’s Ground Zero” in The Globe and Mail, at least as it was reprinted in Argonauta in the January 2003 issue. Neither was actually Armstrong’s error, since he has the spelling quite correct in his recent book The Halifax Explosion and the Royal Canadian Navy. The correct spelling of the name of the Captain of the Mont-Blanc is Aimé Le Médec as written in his own hand on the December 2, 1917 vessel manifest in Gravesend, South Brooklyn, New York, as he loaded his deadly 2,924.6 short ton cargo of munitions. It was The Globe and Mail newspaper which made ‘Le’ into the lowercase “le,” and it was the editors of Argonauta that sheared the two French accents from Captain Aimé Le Médec’s name.

Honouring the French life of the Mont-Blanc

Armstrong, and every other author on the 1917 Explosion in Halifax Harbour, including myself, have always spelled the French vessel’s name as Mont Blanc without a hyphen. It is interesting to note that the French sources re La Compagnie Générale Transatlantique spell the name of the vessel as MONT-BLANC with a hyphen. The company’s own history of the firm prepared in 1955 uses MONT-BLANC except in the index in lower case where there is no hyphen. Besides the above French sources, the Bureau Veritas, Repertoire Générale 1916-1917, also uses MONT-BLANC with the hyphen, as does Paul Bois in his brief 1988 history of the vessel and in labelling a starboard profile of the MONT-BLANC.

Notes:

British merchant seamen had the right to decline the first 2 ships offered when in the manning pool, but then must take the third. Otherwise they were out of the pool or Union register and subject to conscription.
The 1917 Manifest de fret does not use a hyphen. The photograph of the stern of the Mont-Blanc, shown in Janet Kitz's 1989 book *Shattered City*, the original of which is held by the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic in a scrapbook, clearly shows the hyphen. This is a pre-January 7, 1907 photo taken while the vessel was still in the Marseille registry and still under the ownership of La Société Générale de Transports Maritimes. On that date it passed into the Rouen registry, owned first by E. Anquetil, then by Gaston Petit (l’ancien armement Anquetil de Rouen) until December 28, 1915 when it was purchased by La Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, and henceforth was in the Saint-Nazaire registry through to the voyage to Halifax in December 1917. The author has located another photo of the vessel of the same pre-1907 era, taken from the port quarter, that also nicely catches the hyphen in the vessel’s name as it is painted on the stern above the port of registry, ‘Marseille’.

*Lloyd’s Register of British and Foreign Shipping* uses MONT BLANC with no hyphen, and it is the policy of the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic in Halifax, when the original port register cannot be consulted, to go with the *Lloyd’s Register* spellings, given the vagaries of ships’ painters. Thus in the Museum’s permanent display on the 1917 Explosion in Halifax Harbour, it uses MONT BLANC throughout without the hyphen, even though it displays the above view of the stern. However, it is the author’s view that, in the face of the above evidence, and given that the vessel was French-owned and in a French registry all of its life, we should defer to the French spelling, and I am prepared to recommend the use of Mont-Blanc with a hyphen to all future writers on the 1917 Explosion, and to the editors of Argonauta.

**Changing the Mantra**

We have inherited the mantra from Michael J. Bird who in 1962 became the first writer since Hugh MacLennan in 1941 to address the 1917 Explosion. In his title he made the comparison to the atomic bomb, *The Town That Died The true story of the greatest man-made explosion before Hiroshima.* In describing the final loading of the Mont-Blanc, Bird noted that, “All the hideous ingredients were now assembled for the most disastrous explosion in the history of mankind prior to the atomic bomb...” (p. 16).

Armstrong’s own slight error in *The Globe and Mail* article occurs when he repeats the mantra, “The explosion, some minutes later, was the largest man-made eruption until Hiroshima” (paragraph 4). It was not! The Mont-Blanc cargo of 2,924.6 tons of munitions was the equivalent of 2,989.0 short tons of TNT. There were three “atomic bombs” exploded in 1945, not two. The first was the ‘Trinity’ test on U.S. soil in the area of Almagordo, New Mexico, to see if the bomb worked as expected. While the ability of the Los Alamos scientists to calculate the TNT equivalence of the first atomic bomb was limited, the Trinity blast on July 16, 1945 is now believed to have been the equivalent of about 19 kilotons of TNT (19,000 short tons), while the Hiroshima bomb on August 6th was about 13,000 tons, and the Nagasaki bomb three days later was 23,000 tons. Thus the mantra, if repeated again, should be, “The December 6, 1917 explosion of the Mont-Blanc in Halifax Harbour was the largest human-made explosion until the ‘Trinity’ test of the atomic bomb on July 16, 1945 at Almagordo, New Mexico, U.S.A.” — in fact we should probably say, “... one of the largest non-natural explosions until the three atomic bombs of 1945.”

To this end, it is worth noting that Jay White in the 1994 volume *Ground Zero* provides evidence that the November 27, 1944 accidental explosion at an underground munitions depot near Hanbury, England (the so-called Fauld or Barton Upon Trent Explosion), may well have exceeded the Mont-Blanc blast in the equivalent TNT size — certainly the size of the crater that
still exists today and the felt experience at the West Bromwich observatory 50 km away (which is not believed to be infrasound), strongly suggests this; however we will not ever know for sure in this case, since none of the workers and none of the records on-site survived.

White also presents evidence that two other very large munitions ship explosions, just prior to the Mont-Blanc event, occurred near the northwest Russian city of Arkhangelsk (Archangel), and both may have been larger than that of the Mont-Blanc. The first of these was the November 8, 1916 explosion of the Baron Driesen at Bakharitza, which was a somewhat larger vessel than the Mont-Blanc (see the table below), and which was apparently loaded in New York City. The second of these was the January 26, 1917 explosion of the 2,568 gross tonnage Semen Chelyuskin (ex Iceland) at Ekonomia, which is cited as having had a cargo of 3,000 tons of picric acid which suggests a TNT equivalence of about 3,300 tons — slightly larger than the explosive power of the Mont-Blanc. The relative specifications of the three munitions vessels are compared in the table below.

The top two vessels in the table were built in England, while the Iceland was built in Scotland, however all three were sold directly to a foreign owner, and thus were not ever issued a British ‘Official Number.’ The table indicates that the Baron Driesen was the largest vessel, and thus possibly carried the largest cargo of munitions.

White never found the loading manifests of the two Russian vessels, and my efforts a decade ago were not fruitful. While we can never know what blew up at the RAF Fauld Station in 1944, it may be possible to find the manifests of the Baron Driesen from the New York area, and that of the Semen Chelyuskin (ex Iceland), to allow us to estimate the TNT equivalence of the two cargoes. Let me throw out the challenge to the readers of Argonauta to have a go at this search. If anyone is successful, then David Simpson and I will gladly volunteer to work out the TNT equivalence of the cargoes.

Jay White begins his 1994 comparison of explosions by noting that the largest human-caused explosion depends upon how one defines ‘largest.’ Generally the size of an explosion is described in terms of the amount, or weight, of the explosive, and in its TNT equivalence by weight — usually in short tons since the non-metric Americans have dominated the military use of munitions since WW II. White asks the question using five criteria: “Is ‘largest’ defined by the quantity of explosive material involved, the radius of major damage, the total value of property destroyed, the number of people killed and injured, the force or ‘size’ of the blast, or by some other measurable effect?”

Several explosions prior to the atomic bombs appear to have been ‘larger’ than the Halifax Harbour event in 1917 in terms of their TNT equivalence, or energy release, some may well have killed more persons than the current estimate for the Halifax Harbour blast in 1917 of just over 1,950, and some may have even inflicted a greater monetary loss. However, Jay White ends his 1994 review by noting, "Depending on how one interprets size, there are several possible candidates for the largest non-natural explosion prior to the atomic bomb. Halifax Harbour remains unchallenged in overall magnitude as long as [my initial] five criteria are considered together: number of casualties, force of the blast, radius of devastation, quantity of explosive material, and total value of property destroyed. But there is cold
comfort in making such an unenviable claim. When placed in historical context, the explosion in Halifax Harbour must be seen not so much as a unique tragedy visited on an unsuspecting city, but as one particularly violent occurrence in a long continuum of catastrophic explosion accidents. All were predictable; nearly all were preventable.”(16)

**Epilogue**

Let me finish this note with David Simpson’s and my final words from the 1992 conference paper on the 1917 Explosion in Halifax Harbour — words that now have an even more ominous ring in this world of warlike tensions unheard of since the Cuban missile crisis:

“Perhaps it is more fitting to end with the sobering realization of how small the 1917 explosion was in comparison with the destructive capability of the weapons that have been developed in the atomic age. The two nuclear bombs used in warfare on Japan were approximately twenty kilotons each, more than five times the explosive power of the 1917 explosion [in addition to their lethal long-lasting radiation]. The largest atomic weapon detonated was an atmospheric test by the Soviet Union at the island of Novaya Zemlya in 1968[sic = 1961] of fifty[-eight] megatons, or almost 17,000 [actually 19,800] times the size of the 1917 Halifax Harbour explosion. The U.S. and the Soviet Union, between 1945 and 1991, detonated more than two thousand tests of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere and underground, each of which greatly exceeded the size of the 1917 Halifax Harbour explosion.”(17)

**Acknowledgements**

Thanks are due to Dan Conlin of the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic for reviewing an early draft, to Carmen Moir of the Dartmouth Heritage Society for needed information, to Jay White for an update on his 1992 work, and to Patrick Boulanger, Le Chef du Département de Patrimoine Culturel, Marseille, France, for a copy of the table of Paul Bois (1988).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Name</th>
<th>Official No.</th>
<th>Cargo Tonnages</th>
<th>Dimensions (ft)</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Port of Registry</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mont-Blanc</td>
<td>3121</td>
<td>2691 2252</td>
<td>320.0 44.8 15.3</td>
<td>La Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, Saint-Nazaire, France</td>
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<td>4036</td>
<td>3766 2610</td>
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<td>Semen</td>
<td>2568</td>
<td>2099 1354</td>
<td>340.6 50.8 18.0</td>
<td>Imperial Russian Ministry of Trade &amp; Industry (Commercial Port Department) Archangel, Russia</td>
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<td>Chelyuskin</td>
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<tr>
<td>(October)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
References


(3) Appendix of Simpson and Ruffman (1994), pp. 293-299, wherein the author has located the original Manifest de fret. Capitaine Le Médec also had on board 350 shells for his fore and aft 90 and 95 mm French guns, 500 shells for 2 rifles, 3.09 tons of engine oil, 0.025 tons of tar, and he loaded 530 tons of coal in Brooklyn to add to the 361 tons still on board, thus began his trip north to Halifax with 891 short tons of coal on board. The guns have been variously reported as two 4-inch or 10 pounders etc. Their metric diameters of 90 and 95 mm when converted to non-metric measurements become 3.54 and 3.80 in respectively.


(5) Barbance, Marthe. 1955. Histoire De La Compagnie Générale Transatlantique Un Siècle D'exploitation Maritime. Editions Arts et Métiers Graphiques, La Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, Paris, October 15, 430 pp. This volume has only two references to the Mont-Blanc; both use the hyphen. On p. 215 (bottom) a partial sentence notes,"... et MONT-BLANC déjà en réquisition et qui fut perdu le 6 décembre 1917 en rade d'Halifax où, chargé d'explosifs, il sauta à la suite d'une collision." On p. [400] an entry in the 'Table Flotte de la Compagnie Générale Transatlantique Dupuis Son Origine' (pp. [385]-[408]) lists the specifications of the Mont-Blanc Cargo Acier, noting that it entered service with the firm in 1915 and under 'Observations' notes only "Perdu par fait de guerre en 1917." The index uses 'Mont Blanc' without the hyphen.

Table 1 of Simpson and Ruffman (1994), p. 276.

Table 2 of Simpson and Ruffman (1994), p. 288.


Aimé Le Médec

First off, I am glad to report that the editors of _The Globe and Mail_ ensured that Mr. Le Médec’s name was reported accurately in their 5 December 2002 edition, p. A17. I hope this will not lead to the dismissal of _Argonauta_’s editors, however, for we will never find anyone else willing to do all that hard work for what we pay them!

**Changing the Mantra**

This is no contest; the oversight was mine alone. UBC Press had attempted to interest the paper in printing an extract from _The Halifax Explosion and the Royal Canadian Navy: Inquiry and Intrigue_, to mark the explosion anniversary and they responded at short notice with the challenge to do an opinion piece. It was an unexpected opportunity to contest the developing notion that an admittedly serious 6 December crime committed in Montreal has attained national significance and observance while memories of Halifax have waned. I was pretty nervous; I’ve never done a piece in a national paper. So I pulled an overnighter and gave it my best shot. Not quite good enough: the explosion is only _reputed_ the largest before Hiroshima and
Alan is right to keep me honest. But the happy outcome is that Alan was also spurred to provide us with some interesting information.

Ironically perhaps, in the RCN book (p. 41-2), I cited Howard Bronson's first comparative analysis of the explosion for the Royal Society of Canada (May 1918) in which he offered the opinion that it "undoubtedly far surpassed all previous explosions both in its destructive effects and in the quantities of explosives involved." I thought this sat fairly well by keeping it contemporary in terms of the people who were there. Of course I had a well-thumbed copy of Ground Zero at my elbow - a most valuable secondary source, which Alan edited, and of course I cited as an Endnote (p. 218) the piece within co-authored with David Simpson, "Explosions, Bombs and Bumps: Scientific Aspects of the Explosion," as a "source of more recent and detailed scientific analysis." But how to make an impression on the fickle public of 2002? Sorry about that but I am not giving back the money!

Alan's intervention also underscores lessons for all of us. Certain notions become embedded once published (even if the source is not identified) and then cheerfully repeated as fact by others who have not checked either. A particular frustration from my own standpoint is an insistence in some quarters and even very prominent historians to misidentify members of the RCN's first volunteer reserve as the Royal Canadian Navy Volunteer Reserve (RCNVR). They were not. They were members of the Royal Naval Canadian Volunteer Reserve (RNCVR). The two services existed at different points in time and the RCNVR only came into existence some time after the RNCVR had been disbanded. I've got a little piece in the works on how that one came to pass and it is the usual typically Canadian comedy of errors.

That French Ship

I also have the Marthe Barbance history of the shipping line and was aware of the hyphens in certain specific cases of French ships. I also checked other sources and found different hyphens on different ships and the same ship names without hyphens (For example on "The Shipping List" at www.theshipslist.com/ships/lines/french.html Mont Blanc, Puerto Rico and General Chanzy are not hyphenated but others are. I don't doubt that the prefix "SS" may also be open to question for a French ship - or perhaps not as the term is so pervasive internationally. Notwithstanding, to be consistent I felt compelled early on to rely upon the 1917 Lloyds Registry of Shipping as the international authority it is for the verification of all civilian ship names of the time used in my book and from all countries. Lloyd's is of course a bilingual French/English publication thus I am still comfortable with the decision. If Alan is right and Lloyd's is not, however, surely this is a question of more than just one ship. Is some rule of thumb already in place that has been missed? What is the French Grammatik convention by which one ship is named with a hyphen and another is not? Is it contemporary to earlier times or is it current practice? How does this relate to International practices or conventions in nomenclature and to scholarly marine writing in French or in English? Why did Lloyd's ignore the hyphens? Policy? All most interesting of course but beyond this bear of limited brain. Perhaps members of the Society may be willing to help resolve it. I was tempted to put a note on the MARHST e-mail list but I suppose that should better come from Alan, who has raised the matter.

Editors' Note: congratulations to John Armstrong for winning the John Lyman Book Award 2002 for Canadian Naval and Maritime History (see page 37).
Since 1847, the Nova Scotia Government had subsidized the ferry running between Barrington and North East Point on Cape Sable Island. Barrington Passage, as it was known, was a treacherous stretch of

Within ten years, Burrell and Johnson's engines had revolutionized the lobster fishery. The men still spent the season in their island camps, but now their transportation and communication was maintained by a class of small, reliable, steam vessels, most of them little larger than today's Cape Islanders, which were still referred to locally as lobster smacks, or, more in keeping with their function of towing the dories to and from the grounds, lobster tugs.

Soon these little sea-going workhorses were being used for everything from light towing, to the delivery of coal and supplies to isolated light stations and light ships. As a result, it was only a matter of time before some of them found their way into the coastal passenger-freight business.

The Yuba, no doubt named for the Yuba River, which was made famous in reports of the 1849 California gold rush, was one such vessel. She had been built in 1878, by J. N. Johnston of Yarmouth for Freeman Payzant of Lockeport, who used her to carry his Cape Sable Island lobsters to Barrington, a regular port of call for the big paddle steamers on the Yarmouth-Halifax run.

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Very often, it is not in the major collections of central libraries and archives that one finds information on local shipping, but among family histories and notes gathered by the volunteers at local museums. In this instance, two such sources were identified. The first, was a paper entitled "Cape Sable Island Ferries" written by the late Harold Banks. The second, a typescript containing material on the same subject, compiled by Evelyn Richardson, the late author of We Keep a Light and other works. The generosity shown by both the Banks family of Barrington and the Cape Sable Historical Society in sharing this material is very much appreciated.

History:

In the mid-1860s, the establishment of regular steamer connections made it possible to ship fresh fish from Yarmouth to market in Boston. It also facilitated the shipment of live lobsters, with which the shallow coastal waters of South-western Nova Scotia abounded. Such was the growth of this fishery that, before long, the areas accessible to shore-based fishermen had become overcrowded and many individuals and companies, in search of better catches, established camps on the myriad of off-shore islands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specifications:</th>
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<tr>
<td>Official Number:</td>
<td>75723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built:</td>
<td>J. N. Johnston, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Built:</td>
<td>1878</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gross Tonnage:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall Length:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Engines:</td>
<td>12 h.p.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Propulsion:</td>
<td>single screw</td>
</tr>
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</table>

It has been supplied as follows:

- **Official Number:** 75723
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- **Date Built:** 1878
- **Gross Tonnage:** 12.04
- **Overall Length:** 40.2 feet
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- **Draught:** 3 feet
- **Engines:** 12 h.p.
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Since 1847, the Nova Scotia Government had subsidized the ferry running between Barrington and North East Point on Cape Sable Island. Barrington Passage, as it was known, was a treacherous stretch of
water, subject to dangerous tidal currents and, as a result, the heavy oar-propelled scows used as ferries could only be used at slack tide.

Although there had been two fatalities on the run in 1855, it was not until 1876 that demands for a steam ferry appeared in local newspapers, and it was not until 1883, that the Barrington and Cape Island Steam Ferry Company was organized with capital stock of $2,500. Thomas Robertson, the local Member of the Provincial Legislature was elected president and, not surprisingly, a government subsidy was obtained.

At the same meeting, a number of propositions from vessel owners were considered and a decision was reached to purchase Yuba from Freeman Payzant and authorization was given "to obtain or erect such wharves and landings as may be necessary for the landing of foot passengers and teams from a scow at suitable points on the Island and on the Mainland." This was done and again, not surprisingly, the mainland site chosen was President Robertson's wharf.

A well was dug near the wharf to provide a supply of fresh water for Yuba's boilers and she was sent off to pick up wharf timbers and undergo some alterations, before being placed in service. What the alterations might have been remains a mystery, but it may well have involved the installation of suitable bollards, to permit warping the scow alongside, and the addition of a small passenger cabin, which Evelyn Richardson describes as being able to seat a dozen in a tight squeeze.

While Yuba must have made some slow uneasy crossings through swirling currents and piling ice cakes, the vessel was an instant success and, at a directors' meeting in 1883, it was recorded that, by December 1st, she had already carried 4,500 passengers and 250 teams that year.

So it was to be for the next twenty-three years, hopping back and forward every hour on the hour, from 7.00 am to 8.00 pm which earned her the affectionate nickname "Sandflea." She also made one daily trip each morning and afternoon to the Orion Wharf at Newellton.

In 1900, the opening of The Coast Railway from Yarmouth to Barrington resulted in a considerable increase in traffic and, although it had been discussed in 1903, it was not until 1905 that the company proceeded to borrow $5,000 toward the cost of a new ferry. The Oyama, named for a British Columbia mining town, went into service in 1905. Yuba was purchased by Captain Ephraim Larkin of Emerald Isle for $478 and once again became a lobster tug. She remained in Captain Larkin's service until 1912, when she was broken up.

As so often happens with coastal boats, Yuba had found a place in the hearts of the local people and her departure was looked upon with great sadness. Eleanor Cunningham of North East Point put their feelings into words with this sad little poem:

Farewell to the Yuba

We bid goodbye to the Yuba
With a feeling akin to pain.
Good faithful servant tho she has been
She will never serve us again.

The demand has been for a larger boat
A boat more up to date,
A boat that along with the passengers
Will carry the teams and freight.

For this is the age of progress,
And this is the way of the world.
What we consider so fine today
Tomorrow aside will be hurled.

We bid goodbye to the old boat
To the old friend faithful and true,
For tis best to off with the old love
From a photograph in the Cape Sable Historical Society Collection and written descriptions found in other sources.
before we are on with the new.
We list to the well-known whistle,
Very soon we shall hear it no more.
Nor stand by the window and watch her
As she crosses from shore to shore.

Sometimes among her passengers
A bridal party was seen
And many and many a coffin
Upon her deck has lain.

Sometimes bitter, sometimes sweet
Are the memories we recall
As we bid adieu to the old boat
And welcome the new one this fall.

After all she is just a boat,
An inanimate piece of wood,
But may the same be said of us all.
She hath certainly done what she could.

Oyama was replaced by the Colonel Ralston in 1920 and, in 1930, the service was taken over by the Provincial Government, who placed the double-ender Strait du Canseau on the run, followed by the Edgar N. Rhodes. The latter was replaced in 1933 by the Joseph Howe and ferry service came to an end with the construction of a causeway between Barrington Passage and North East Point in 1949.

Sources:


Banks, Herbert R. Cape Sable Island Ferries, unpublished manuscript, Barrington Passage, c, 1985.

Richardson, Evelyn. Early Barrington and Cape Island Ferries, unpublished manuscript, Cape Sable Historical Society Collection.

Shipping registers in the Collection of the author.

Contemporary timetables, newspapers and almanacs.

**Canadian Whaling in the Pacific Ocean 1834-1850**
by Rhys Richards

**Part I: Identifying an Unrecorded Canadian Whaling Journal:**

A search to identify part of a whaling journal has led to a discovery of a previously unrecorded early Canadian whaling voyage to the Pacific, and that Pacific sources throw new light on Canada's modest but interesting whaling history.

In the Houghton Library at Harvard University, a scrap of a previously unidentified whaling journal can now be shown to be for the voyage of a whaleship from Saint John which is not recorded in the slim literature on Canadian whaling in the Pacific. The journal which begins on 17 February 1835 in mid Pacific well west of the Galapagos Islands, includes extensive cruising in the central Pacific, and ends 18 months later between Japan and Hawaii. The surviving text, which was microfilmed in 1976 by Dr John Cumpston (part of PMB film 737) in the New England Microfilming Project of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau in Canberra, covers this cruise in only 14 pages, and may well be an abstract of some other original.

It is not a well written or particularly informative journal, but what is of interest is the evidence of the exploratory nature of Pacific whaling at this time as the whaleships spread leisurely westward from the Galapagos.
and “Off Shore” grounds, along the equatorial “Line” and beyond into the many, small, inhabited island groups of Polynesia. The journal records that on 13 March 1835 they raised “the island of Hoouhora, one of the Washington group,” now known as the northern Marquesas. The cruise then moved south passed the Disappointment Islands, to Tahiti, arriving on 20 March at “Eimeo” (Moorea) where they anchored for recruitments (water, firewood and foods, not crewmen). Regrettably there are no entries in the journal during the period spent at anchor.

After leaving Tahiti on 7 April and passing “Flint Island” in the Line Islands, they sighted an island not on their charts which they named “Leavitts Island.” It was probably Vostok Island, also in the Line Islands. (Boston Courier 24 April 1837; Ward 1966, vol. 7, p.477.) Near the Equator they experienced calms but met four other whaleships and caught several whales. Nevertheless the unknown journal keeper, possibly the captain, was dissatisfied and expressed “an idea of going to Japan to try that part of the world.” Soon after sighting Wake Island, they met two more whaleships “Vineyard of Edgartown, Tobey, 33 months out, with 1800 barrels of oil,” and on 8 July “ship Ceres of Wilmington, Captain Weeden, 13 months out and 40 barrels.”

Fortunately at the Mariners Museum in Newport News in Virginia, there survives an excellent journal for the Ceres (PMB microfilm 776.) This detailed journal records that on 8 June 1835, at 30 degrees North and 157 degrees East, the Ceres met and spoke three ships, Beaver of New York, Capt Gardner, 20 months, 1000 barrels, Rose of Nantucket, Captain Davis, 1200 barrels, and Peruvian of St. John’s, New Brunswick, Captain James Wood, out 10 months, 600 barrels.” The journal at the Houghton Library has to be for one of these three whaleships.

The Houghton journal resumes at Oahu where they anchored from November to 27 December 1835. Some 43 whaleships have been identified there during that period. (Richards 200 pp.230-235.) These include Beaver of Hudson, N.Y. now with 2000 barrels, Rose of Nantucket now with 1350 barrels, the Peruvian of St John with 1350, the Mentor of New London with 1700 barrels, and the Ceres with 450 barrels.

Then begins a voyage south, sighting Christmas Island on 6 January 1836, cruising “on the Line,” where whales were “scarce,” so they set sail “for the Navigators Islands.”(Samoa.) On 3 February off Tutuila a canoe brought out a few coconuts and later “some small trade with them for pigs, giving them beads, hatchets and pipes in return.” Samoan waters had had less than twenty visits from whaleships before 1835, but had gained in popularity with nearly thirty during 1835 and thirty during 1836. (Richards 1992 pp.14-15.) Those mentioned in the Houghton journal are the whaleship Mentor of New London, Captain Rice, and “Sir James Cockburn of London, Captain Allen,” for which unfortunately no journals survive, and “the ship Phenix, Allen, of New London, 23 months, 2300 barrels.”

Also at the Mariners Museum in Newport News is a journal of the voyage of the Phoenix of New London, Captain Allen, for 1834-1837. (PMB film 776.) The Phoenix was off Samoa during the first week of February 1836 and spoke four whaleships: Mentor of New London, Superior of New London and Sir James Cockburn of London. Then on 2 February the Phoenix spoke “ship Peruvian of St Johns, 19 months, 1200 barrels.” This is the vital confirmation that the Houghton journal is that of the Peruvian of St Johns, New Brunswick.

The Peruvian continued on to sight Penrhyn Island and reached Emio again on 25 March, where she “remained 19 days. Obtained a good recruit. Two men deserted. Shipt two others in their place.” A logbook in the International Marine Archive at New
Bedford records that the *Elbe* of Poughkeepsie, New York, spoke the *Peruvian* on 1 May 1835 at latitude 1.50 degrees South, longitude 165 degrees West. After sailing northwest passed Jarvis Island, still near the equator, the *Peruvian* spoke on 10 May “ship *St George* of New Bedford, Fisher, 70 barrels, last from Tahiti.” (Log at New Bedford Whaling Museum.)

The *Peruvian* then went far to the west between the Solomon and Vanuatu Islands, seeing only one coral atoll, then south west of New Caledonia. On 25 August 1836, not far from Norfolk Island, they spoke the whaleship “*Newark* of Poughkeepsie, N.Y., Captain Whitford, 13 months, 300 barrels, and the ship *Phoenix* of New London, Captain Allen, 29 months, 2800 barrels.” The journal of the latter records meeting on 21 August 1836, the *Newark* of Poughkeepsie, 10 months, 250 barrels,” and “*Peruvian* of St John’s, New Brunswick, 2400 barrels.” The identity of the *Peruvian* is thus re-confirmed.

Thereafter the journal of the *Peruvian* states “made sail for Oahu to recruit for Home...so ends whaling for this voyage.” That is the last of the navigational entries though there are three subsequent short comments noting a newly located lucrative whaling ground towards Japan, and three recent discoveries by other whaling captains of De Wolf’s Island (Fakaofo in the Tokelau Islands), Barstow’s Island (Morane in the Tuamotu archipelago), and R. Coggeshall’s Island “near the Ladrone Islands, at 20 degrees 27 degrees North and 144.40 degrees East, not West as stated in the papers.” (This latter was probably Uracas in the northern Marianas.)

The *Peruvian* of St John, New Brunswick, Captain Wood, was at Honolulu from 10 to 27 October 1836 with a fine cargo of 2700 barrels. (Jones 1986 p.114.) The *Peruvian* arrived home at St John on 13 April 1837. (New Bedford Daily Mercury 5 May 1837; Ward 1966 Vol.7, p.478.)

The main historian of Canadian whaling, Frederick William Wallace, does not mention this voyage at all, stating only that there was a “*Peruvian*, ship, 373 tons, built in 183-, owned by the Mechanics Whalefishing Company of St John.” (Wallace 1929 p.296.) Earlier Wallace had written “St John sent forth its first whaler to the South Seas when Charles Coles Stewart fitted out the ship *James Stewart*, 386 tons, in 1833.” and that the first New Brunswick whaler to touch at the Hawaiian Islands was in 1835. (Wallace 1927 p.4) As can be established by the journal entries of the whaleships who spoke her, the *Peruvian* had left home in April or May 1834. (The “*Peruvian*, Wood, of St John’s, N.B.” had been reported on 25 August 1834 at “14 x 25,” in the south Atlantic, probably en route for Cape Horn. Jones 1986 p.81.) The *Peruvian* had first visited Honolulu from 18 November to 27 December 1835, and seems to have been the first Canadian whaleship to call there. (Richards 2000 p.232.) The *Peruvian* reached home in about May 1837, and continued whaling until 1848.

**Part Two : Using Pacific Sources to Identify More Canadian Voyages**

Several writers have regretted that Canadian whaling is not well known because the great fire that devastated most of Saint John in 1877 destroyed most of the basic records. (Levesque 1989 p.224.) The absence of information on the voyage of the *Peruvian*, prompted a general review of the list of the twelve whaleships that Wallace listed from St John, and two from Halifax, to see whether there were better records of them in the Pacific. A total of 28 Canadian whaling voyages were established using various records in the antipodes, often with more...
detail than the slim Canadian sources. A brief summary of each of the 28 voyages can indicate more clearly the route taken through the Pacific, the whaling grounds on which whales were taken, and whether they were right whales or sperm whales. In order to show more clearly the routes taken, and the grounds cruised, in the following chronological list, the places visited in the Pacific have been underlined.

First however a note to emphasise that this survey is limited to voyages that included periods cruising in the Pacific. Canadian whaling began in the Atlantic, but again few details survive. Contrary to often repeated statements that Canadian whaling began from St John in 1834, is the survival at Nantucket of journal for an earlier voyage to the South Atlantic and the Brazil Banks by the whaleship Susan and Sarah of Halifax, Captain Alexander Coffin, from 12 June 1828 to 8 June 1829. There may well have been other voyages at that time, or possibly even earlier, that did not go however as far afield as the Pacific Ocean.

In the following notes, the previously known information is shown in bold, while that established from Pacific sources is not. All vessels are ships, and all are from Saint John, unless shown otherwise.

1. JAMES STEWART, 368 tons, Capt. [Edward] Gardner. [Sailed 13 September 1835]. Home June 1837 from New Zealand with 2740 barrels of black oil, 300 sperm, 31,000 lbs. bone. (Wallace 1929 p.6.) She was at Hobart from 3 to 11 March 1836 under Captain D. Dougherty. (Nicholson 1985 p.56.) Another report has her under Captain Gardner lying await for the seasonal migration of the black whales into Cloudy Bay, New Zealand, from 5 May to 3 October 1836. (McNab 1913 p.189, 200, 439,459.) The James Stewart remained on the coast, until she went to cruise off the Chatham Islands from 13 December to 5 January 1836. (Richards 1982 p.9.) Captain Gardner was listed as her master again when she called at the Bay of Islands with 3500 barrels of black, or right whale, oil in March 1837. (Richards and Chisholm 1992) Apparently Gardner died on the voyage as the ship was brought home by her former third mate, Daniel Dougherty. The William Stewart arrived home at St John on 25 June 1837 “after an absence of one year 9 months and 11 days with 2740 barrels of right whale oil, 300 ditto sperm oil and 30,000 lbs of bone to Charles C Stewart Esq.” This latter quotation is the conclusion of a xerox copy of a journal of the voyage, “to New Zealand and elsewhere,” kept by Daniel Dougherty, 1835-1837, which is now in Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand. (The original remains privately owned by a descendant who has written a novel about Dougherty. Manson 1974.)

2. PERUVIAN, 373 tons. This first voyage under Captain James Wood from April or May 1834 to April or May 1837, is described above from the fourteen pages of a journal at the Houghton Library, Harvard. It is not mentioned by Wallace or by Dennis Wood. The additional information located from Pacific sources so far is that she had also called at Lahaina in the “Sandwich Islands”:

11 November 1835. Peruvian, Wood, of Saint John, New Brunswick, 16 months out, 1350 barrels.” (Sydney Morning Herald 17 March 1836.) “Last from the Navigator Islands,” or Samoa, the Peruvian of St John, N.B., Captain Wood, was at Honolulu from 10 to 27 October, where she was reported as “Peruvian, Wood, from Japan, 26 months out, 2700 barrels. Sailed for London.” (Richards 2000 p.245; Sydney Gazette 1 August 1837.)

2 A. MARY, Captain Haws. Though Wallace records that she was fitted out from Campobello, N.B. and sailed in 1834 on a two year voyage, there is no evidence her whaling extended beyond the South Atlantic. Kenny left her at the Cape of Good Hope. (Wallace 1929 p.10.)
3. ROSE of Halifax. A barque of 421 tons. Departure date unknown. This voyage is not mentioned by Wallace. During 1834 the Rose of Halifax, 300 barrels, “had been on shore and repaired at the Sandwich Islands.” (Jones 1986 p.106.) She was reported cruising off the Kermadec Islands on 13 January 1835 with 600 barrels of oil. (Sydney Gazette 21 April 1835.) The Rose, Captain Hall, was first at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, from 1 May to 9 June 1835 already over half full with 1300 barrels of oil. She was at Tonga on 9 October 1835, all well, with 2000 barrels. (Sydney Gazette 7 January 1836.) She returned to the Bay of Islands from 22 December, when it seems some of her oil was sold, and remained into January 1836, having had “a near mutiny, after which most of her crew deserted. Captain Fitzroy on HMS Beagle intervened but his solution was short-lived as the troubles flared up again as soon as Fitzroy (and Charles Darwin) left the Bay of Islands.” (Richards and Chisholm 1992; Sydney Gazette 26 June 1836.) The Sydney Gazette noted the Rose of Halifax, Captain Hall, as “at” or “off” New Zealand on 27 April, 11 July and 17 September 1836, and at Sydney from 15 July to 4 August 1837, having “put in for stores, refreshment and refit.” (Nicholson 1985 p.171.)

4. MECHANIC, 400 tons, Captain Fisher. New built. Home from New Zealand in July 1838 with 2,860 barrels of black oil, 260 barrels of sperm and 27,500 lbs of bone. (Wallace 1929 p.6.) She was reported in June 1837 at Akaroa, and at Cloudy Bay on 13 October under Captain Cudlip. (McNab 1913 p.159, 200.) [N.B.This is distinct from the Mechanic of Newport R.I., Captain Doggett, which was also then bay whaling on the same southeastern coasts of New Zealand.] When the Mechanic of St John was at the Bay of Islands on 28 February 1837, she had only 750 barrels of oil, and was under Captain Pease. (Richards and Chisholm 1992.) She was at Cloudy Bay in October 1837: “Mechanic, Captain Pease, 13 ½ months out, with 2500 barrels of black oil.” (Sydney Morning Herald 20 November 1837.) It would seem likely that her black oil had been taken on the coast of New Zealand in the southern winter of 1837. She is also recorded as having arrived home, under Cudlip, with 2800 barrels, in July 1838. (Jones 1986 p.121.)

5. MARGARET RAIT, 308 tons. The Margaret Rait returned home via Cape Horn, arriving safely in May 1838 with a full cargo after a voyage of 22 months. (Wallace 1929 p.10-11.) A journal of this first voyage, from August 1836 to May 1838, under Captain James D Coffin, is in the Killum Memorial Library at Dalhousie University, but has not been seen for the preparation of this list. The Margaret Rait went first to the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans before visiting Sydney from 27 February to 9 March 1837, where she was noted as 17 months from home, with 600 barrels of oil from the sperm fishery. (Nicholson 1985 p.163.) She was next reported at Stewart Island, New Zealand, in May 1837, 8 months out with 800 barrels of oil, and remained there till 6 October. (McNab 1913 pp.180,200.) Wallace notes this voyage only in passing in that Joseph Kenny, a boatsteerer on the Margaret Rait graduated to mate while at New River, in southern New Zealand.

6. ROYAL WILLIAM, barque of 276 tons. Captain Jenny. Sent out in 1836. At the Chatham Islands, New Zealand, in June 1840 but later lost at sea. (Wallace 1927 p.4,5,6.) This latter is in error as on her first voyage she returned home to Saint John safely, “from the South Seas” on 6 October 1838 under “Captain Adams.” (Jones 1986 p.122.) Her cargo is unknown.

7. ROSE of Halifax. This voyage, her second, is not mentioned by Wallace but evidently began in March 1837. An “American whaleship” named Rose assisted Captain Cecille of the French warship Heroine to exact retribution from the Maoris for the loss
of the French whaleship Jean Bart at the Chatham Islands, east of New Zealand. The Rose had been cruising off the Chathams in June 1838 and upon calling at Waitangi was appalled to find the Maori had captured and burnt the Jean Bart. (Richards 1982 p.10; New Bedford Mercury 11 May 1838.) No other “American” vessel named the Rose was reported near New Zealand in 1838, except the Rose of Halifax, Captain Hall, which had been at the Bay of Islands on 3 April 1838, “out 11 months with 1700 barrels of sperm oil.” (Richards and Chisholm 1992.) The Rose was “at New Zealand” a month later still with 1700 barrels. (Jones 1986 p.122) Late in 1840 she was at Mauritius, and near Madagascar on 7 May 1842. She reached home at Halifax on 10 June 1842. (Jones 1986 p.159,165.)

8. PERUVIAN 1837 to 1841. Despite the absence of any specific mention of such a second voyage, nevertheless it seems very likely one was made by the Peruvian between its return home in mid 1837, and its departure under Captains Brooks and Cudlip in October 1841. At that time, a voyage of up to 48 months would have included much of the time cruising in the Pacific.

9. PACIFIC, 346 tons. New built 1837. Captain Rounds .... Robt. Carr was master in 1837. (Wallace 1929 p.6.) They rounded Cape Horn and cruised off Chile for some time before visiting Tahiti in August 1838 with 750 barrels. She is next reported at the Bay of Islands in April 1839 with 1250 barrels. (Richards and Chisholm 1992.) She had left St John in August 1837 as she was 19 months from home, with 1250 barrels of oil, at the Bay of Islands, under Captain Miller, on 2 March 1839. (Sydney Gazette 4 May 1839; Jones 1986 p.127,128.) She was at Honolulu on 29 September 1839 under “Captain Miller, 26 months from home, with 1700 barrels of oil.” (Richards 2000 p.293.) The Pacific arrived home on 17 November 1840 with 2200 barrels of sperm oil taken during a voyage of 39 months. (Wood abstracts p.606.)

10. JAMES STEWART. Her second voyage is not mentioned by Wallace. She left St John on 13 September 1835, and sailed via the Indian Ocean to reach Sydney on 6 March 1838, under Captain Dougherty, with 600 barrels of oil. (Nicholson 1977 p.186.) She then took potatoes at Doubtless Bay, New Zealand, en route to the site of her earlier success in Cloudy Bay. There the James Stewart lay taking right whales from 5 May to 4 August when she began cruising off-shore, until returning to Cloudy Bay from 18 to 26 December. (McNab 1913 p.303, 305.) She was at the Bay of Islands under Captain Gardner [sic] from 10 to 26 March 1839, already a “full” ship. (Jones 1986 p.127.) In her novel, Celia Manson wrote that Mrs Sally Dougherty was aboard but left at the Bay of Islands where a daughter was born on 21 May 1838. (Manson 1974.) The James Stewart arrived home in May 1839, under Capt. Dougherty “from New Zealand 13 June with 2200 barrels of [black] oil.” (Jones 1986 p.128.) A xerox copy of Dougherty’s second journal, 1837-39, is in the Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand. It concludes “June 13, 1839 came into the harbour of St John, New Brunswick, after an absence of [only] 21 months with 2600 barrels of oil to Charles C. Stewart Esq.”

11. MARGARET RAIT. Wallace refers only in passing to this voyage. “They made the usual cruise to the South Atlantic, thence to the Indian Ocean and eastward to Australia.” (Wallace 1929 p.11.) A journal survives at Dalhousie University from July 1838 to July 1840 under Captain James D. Coffin, but has not been seen in the preparation of this list. When they visited Sydney on 19 February 1839, they already had on board 850 barrels of oil and 3 tons of whalebone. (Nicholson 1977 p.209.) The Margaret Rait went bay whaling at southern New Zealand, “and while lying partly dismantled at Wyacava, [Waikawa] a sudden increase in the tidal current parted the bow anchor chain, and the after mooring chains tore the whole starboard quarter out and the
ship went ashore. The vessel was eventually repaired and got off, but the anchors and mooring chains were buried under seven feet of sand and the crew had to dig them out.” (Wallace 1929 p.11.) They shifted to Bluff Harbour, but sailed for the whaling grounds in July, with 700 barrels, probably after judging that the bays there had become too crowded with more whaleships than whales. (McNab 1913 p.279-80, 308-310.) The Royal William met her whaling off the Kermadecs on 17 October 1839. (Journal.) On her arrival home at St Johns on 7 July 1840 she had 2320 barrels of oil. (Jones 1986 p.135.)

12. ROYAL WILLIAM. Barque 276 tons. Sent out to the South Seas in 1836 under Captain Jenny. Reported at the Chatham Islands in June 1840, later lost at sea. (Wallace 1929 p.5-6.) A journal for this second voyage, kept by Captain Jephthah Jenny Jnr, out from 23 November 1838 till home on 29 November 1840, has been examined at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Mass. From the outset her prime destination was New Zealand, where she took potatoes in Hicks Bay on 12 July 1839. From 18 July to 10 August the Royal William was at “Koradica” in the Bay of Islands under Captain Jenny with only 30 barrels of oil. (Jones 1986 p.131; Richards and Chisholm 1992.)

The journal shows that after a period cruising between North Cape and the Kermadec Islands, on 22 November she “set sail for the Chatham Islands.” She cruised there and off southern New Zealand until returning to the Chatham Islands in February for “wood, water pigs and potatoes” obtained from “Amowry.” She was still there, taking both right and sperm whales, before anchoring on 8 May at “Wytucka, or Skirmish Bay.” [Waitangi]. Next day the Erie of Newport, Rhode Island, drifted ashore, and though it is not mentioned in the journal, other sources show that Captain Jenny purchased over half the black oil saved, about 1100 barrels, at one dollar per barrel, while the Erie’s whalebone sold at 25 cents a bunch. (McNab 1913 p.317, Richards 1982 p.26; New Bedford Mercury 16 October 1840.)

On 18 June the Royal William left for home, via Rio de Janeiro, carrying five of the crew of the wrecked Erie. She arrived home safely at St John on 29 November after a short voyage of only 24 months and 5 days. Since right whale oil sold for 30 cents a gallon in 1840, the oil bought from the Erie probably made a net profit of over $80,000. Her journal shows that in addition to the oil purchased, the crew of the Royal William had “killed and saved” at least 25 right whales and seven sperm whales whilst in New Zealand waters. Apparently these catches totalled 1050 barrels of right whale oil and 350 barrels of sperm oil. (Wood Abstract p.607.)

12 A. SAMUEL CUNARD of Halifax, barque 206 tons. Built in Halifax in 1829. Sailled from Halifax in 1837. In 1838 while she was whaling in Cook Strait, New Zealand, her master, Captain Finlay, after losing a greater part of his crew through desertion, and while in a state of intoxication, jumped overboard and drowned himself.” (Wallace 1929 p.4.)

The record from the Antipodes is quite different. The Samuel Cunard, “300 ton ship,” left London in October 1835 taking wheat and flour to Sydney, where on 12 May 1836 she was purchased for £1475 and put in the coastal freight trade. She must have been in very poor shape as after “being considered for a floating chapel, she was fitted out instead as a whaler, with Captain Finlay of the Denmark Hill to take command. She left Sydney for the sperm whale fishery on 6 January 1837.” (Nicholson 1977 p 144, 155.) She was seen at Port Cooper (Lyttelton Harbour) in May 1837. After only ten months out, Finlay brought the Samuel Cunard back to Sydney on 8 November 1837, with a big cargo of 1700 barrels of [right whale] oil, and 10 tons of bone. “Her sole proprietor [had been]
purchased by Mr A. Polack while on [her] voyage.” (Sydney Gazette 3 February 1838.)

On her next voyage, the Samuel Cunard was reported at Kapiti Island on 14 October, and she returned to Sydney to refit, leaving again on 8 January 1838. She was at Kapiti on 2 June 1838, “clean,” and again in September, which was when “Captain Findlay” drowned himself. (McNab 1913 pp.159, 162, 223, 229; Nicholson 1977 p.252.) She returned to Hobart, then Sydney in October 1838. By the end of 1840 the Samuel Cunard was a hulk at Hobart, and by 1845 she had fallen apart. (Nicholson 1985 p.26.)

There seems no explanation why McNab, and then Wallace, assumed that a vessel named after the prominent Halifax merchant and shipowner, Samuel Cunard, was still owned by him in 1838. She was not. Consequently unless some better linkage with Halifax is established, it would seem as well to consider that none of these voyages by the Samuel Cunard was by a Canadian owned vessel.

13. MECHANIC. Though there is no mention of it in Wallace (1929 p.6), a voyage, from 1838 to 1841, can be assumed between the arrival home of the Mechanic in July 1838 and her departure on another whaling voyage in January 1842. There is no mention of her however in the official records for Hobart, Sydney and the Bay of Islands, or in the arrivals and departures lists compiled so far for Tonga, Samoa, Tahiti and Honolulu. (Richards ms.) If there was a whaling voyage at this time, it was most likely to have been to take right whales in the North Pacific on the North West Coast of America, which was the mecca for many whalerships in the 1840s. (Webb 1988 p.63.) In the Peabody Museum in Salem, Mass. there are several sketches believed to have been made aboard the Mechanic at Pohnpei (previously called Ascension Island or Ponape) in 1840. (Levesque 1989 p.226.)

14. JAVA. 1839-1842. Not mentioned in Wallace, nevertheless the Java had left St John on 4 November 1839 under Captain Benjamin Price. They went round Cape Horn and were cruising off Chile by February 1840. The log of the Coral of New Bedford spoke the “Java of St John, Price, 5½ months out,” with 70 barrels of sperm oil, near the Galapagos Islands on 28 March 1840. The Java was next reported at Tahiti on “17 and 26 January 1841, with 800 barrels sperm oil, getting ready to heave out the ship which was leaking badly at a rate requiring 150 pumping strokes per hour.” She was still at Tahiti in March. (Wood abstract p.609.) She was at Ponape on 22 June, at Nauru in July 1841 (“Java, Prince, 21 months out, 1000 barrels,”) and at Ponape again in August 1841. (Levesque 1989 p.226.) After visiting Oahu on 12 April 1842, the Java was on the North West Coast in July, with 1400 sperm and 1200 whale. She left Oahu again on 24 October and called at Tahiti on 8 January 1843, once again “heaving out to repair her leaks.” She seems to have had a rendezvous there with the Peruvian, which was also “full and homeward bound” at Tahiti in February 1843. (Hobart Town Courier 26 May 1843.) The Java arrived home at St John on 19 June 1843 with 1400 barrels of sperm oil and 1500 barrels of whale oil taken in 43 months and 15 days. (Wood abstracts p.609.)

15. JAMES STEWART 1839 to 1842. Third Voyage, date of departure unknown. Captain Dougherty, master. Left Cloudy Bay, New Zealand, on 3 March 1840, and was at Sydney from 14 March to 14 April, with 800 barrels of black oil and 50 barrels of sperm, taken since she had left Saint John on 21 August 1839. (Nicholson 1977 p.237.) On 25 August 1840, the James Stewart was at “the Bay of St Peter and St Paul, Kamchatka, with 1300 barrels of black oil and 70 barrels of sperm oil, exclusive of 800 barrels black and 50 sperm shipped to London last March.” She sailed from bay whaling there “on 5 October with 2000 barrels of black oil and 120 of sperm
oil." (Manson 1974 p.99.) En route home, on 29 May 1841, while about two thirds of the way between New Zealand and Cape Horn, Captain Dougherty sighted an unknown island that he named "Dougherty Island." This was seen subsequently by many captains, and often described as without snow or vegetation. Dougherty Island remained on many charts until 1904 when soundings taken by Captain Robert Scott and others proved conclusively it must have been only an iceberg! (Manson 1974 pp.106-107.) The James Stewart arrived home in early 1842. (Jones 1986 p.168.)

16. MARGARET RAIT. "On this cruise, Kenney, newly married, was mate. The ship went westward this time, rounded Cape Horn, and did some whaling around the Galapagos Islands—a favourite ground." (Wallace 1929 p.11-14.) A journal which survives at Dalhousie University of this voyage, her third to the "S. Pacific," from October 1840 to June 1844 under Captain James D. Coffin, has been published. (Robertson 1984.) On 30 April 1841 the Margaret Rait was at Callao, Peru; by 4 February 1843 she had taken 1500 barrels, and she was at Hawaii in November 1843. Later that month, the log of the Coral records her south of the Galapagos Islands as "Margaret Rait, Coffin, 37 months out, with 2100 barrels of sperm oil." Her crew traded at Easter Island on 26 December 1843. (Robertson 1984 pp.69-72.) On 23 January 1844 the Margaret Rait was reported at Massafuera with 2200 barrels. She arrived home at St John on 9 June 1844, after a long voyage of 44 months. (Jones 1986 pp.166, 169, 171.) She was then sold in London and ceased whaling. (Wallace 1929 p.6.)

17. ROYAL WILLIAM. Out 1841. Lost at sea, place and date unknown.

18. PACIFIC, 347 tons. Captain Aemilius Cudlip,[ sic] Ship was finally condemned and sold at Valparaiso in 1846 after failing to complete a cruise which [had already ] lasted 4 years and 9 months. Part of cargo transhipped and sent home to St John. (Wallace 1929 p.6.) She left home on this, her second voyage to the Pacific, on 3 March 1841. Her captain was Joseph Rounds. The logbook of the Coral records that the Pacific was at Tahiti on 8 May 1842 with 350 barrels of sperm oil. The Pacific then recruited at Kosrae in the eastern Caroline Islands from January to April 1843, and was probably at Ponape too. (Levesque 1989 p.227: Ward 1966 vol.3., pp.558,565,568.) The Pacific visited Payta in Peru in August 1843 with 2400 barrels of oil, which she apparently sent on as freight as she was at Oahu in November 1843 with only 900 barrels. At Talcahuano in November 1844 with 1000 sperm oil and 200 barrels humpback oil, the Pacific was expected to leave soon for home. Instead however she went north to San Francisco and Monterey in California where she was reported in October 1845 with 1100 barrels of sperm oil and 150 barrels of right whale oil. Her last report was at Valparaiso in January 1846, but her oil was not stated. (Wood Abstracts. p.606.) Generally whaleships only sent oil home as freight on other vessels if their own voyages had to be extended because had not yet made a profit. It is likely that even this strategy was unsuccessful here as apparently the Pacific did not go home or go whaling again.

19. MECHANIC. "Captain [ Seth D.] Fisher. Arrived home in February 1846 after a voyage of 49 months with 1250 barrels black oil, and 450 barrels sperm. She was then sold out of whaling." (Wallace 1929 p.5-6.) She had left home on 19 January 1842. On 14 March 1843 she was whaling at the Marquesas Islands (not "off Madagascar") with 220 barrels of sperm oil. (Wood abstract p.608; Jones 1986 p.170.) The Mechanic was at Maui in April, and at Tumbez and Payta in November with 500 barrels of sperm and 700 barrels of right whale oil. March and April were spent further southwest as far as the island of Juan Fernandez before going into Talcahuana.
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Apparently she then cruised to Tahiti and back, leaving Talcahuana in January 1845 with the same cargo "to try the N. West Coast." The Mechanic was at Honolulu for recruitments in February 1845 and returned in September with 1900 barrels and ready for home. (Wood abstracts p.608.) She is also recorded in the London shipping newspaper, Lloyd's List, as having arrived home at St John on 24 February 1846 under Captain Gardner after a voyage of 45 months. (Jones 1986 p.174.) Her estimated and actual cargoes were listed as "1250 barrels (right) whale oil and 450 barrels of sperm, taken in 49 months and 5 days. Turned out 412 barrels sperm and 1132 barrels whale oil and 9542 lbs whale bone." (Wood abstract p.608.) This cargo was disappointing so the Mechanic was sold out of whaling.

20. JAMES STEWART. 1842 to 1845. This, her fourth voyage to the Pacific, began from "New Brunswick," in April 1842. The James Stewart of Saint John arrived in Hobart on 24 January 1843, eight months from home, with 500 barrels of oil. (Jones 1986 p.168.) In April 1843, after the Parker of New Bedford was lost on Ocean Island, the James Stewart assisted her crew. (Starbuck 1878 p.365; Whalemen's Shipping List 7 November 1843; Ward 1966, vol. 3, pp.509-526.) On 20 January 1844 near Nauru, the "ship James Stewart of St John, N.B., Jackson, master; 2 years out, 500 barrels of sperm and 1200 of whale oil," delivered "new" mail from home to the Rose of Halifax. (Journal of the Rose.) The James Stewart was at Kosrae in February 1844, Ponape in March 1844 and Hawaii in November 1844. (Levesque 1989 p.227.)

Wallace notes only that during her cruise, she sold 200 barrels of sperm oil, 200 barrels of whale oil and 2 tons of bone, yet when she arrived home in Saint John in April 1845, under Captain Shannon, she still had 2000 barrels of black oil, 400 of sperm and ten tons of whalebone. (Wallace 1926 p.5.)

21. ROSE of Halifax. On her third voyage. "In December 1842 the whaling barque Rose, Captain Wood, sailed from Halifax on a Pacific cruise and arrived home on 9 March 1846 with 1100 barrels of sperm oil and 800 barrels of whale oil. At Sydney, N.S.W., March 3rd 1845, the Rose had reported losing two boats while taking a whale a few days previously." (Wallace 1929 p.4.) The typescript of the journal, 1843 to 1846, by Captain Thomas F. Wood, is held by the Killam Memorial Library in the Dalhousie University Archives. Notes on her time spent cruising in Micronesian waters are in Levesque 1989 p.230-234.

The Rose went out via the Indian Ocean and Australia, but spent "most of the voyage" cruising around Kiribati, with visits to Ponape in November 1843 and then to Apia, Western Samoa, to recruit. Later they went to Sydney, where "Creighton, the journal keeper, was listed as her master because Captain Wood was a New Englander." They reached Lahaina and Honolulu in November 1845 where they were joined by the Java. The Rose was reported as a "full ship," with "1400 sperm, 1200 black," when she left Oahu on 9 October 1845. (Sydney Morning Herald 9 February 1846.) En route home they were nearly wrecked on Christmas Island. The log of the Coral recorded her on 12 November 1845 off Cape Horn and 35 months out from home. The Rose reached home in Halifax on 8 March 1846 carrying 1400 barrels of sperm and 900 of whale oil, and about 500 lbs of bone. (Levesque 1986 pp.230-234.)

22. PERUVIAN. Captain [John] Cudlip. Home April 1845, 141 days from Oahu, with 2200 barrels black oil, 350 barrels sperm and 22,000 lbs of whalebone. (Wallace 1929 p.6.) This was her third cruise to the Pacific. Dennis Wood listed the record of this voyage concisely as follows: "Ship Peruvian of St John, N.B., N.S., M.W.F.C. Brooks master. Cudlip English [master.] Sailed Oct 17 1841 for the Pacific. At Callao March 29 1842 to discharge sick mate Mr."
Starbuck. At Payta April 24, 20 barrels sperm. Reported On The Line [Equator] 8 July at long 118.30 West, with 100 barrels. At Tahiti, Feb 20 1843, 300 barrels. At Maui April 5, 300 sperm, bound for N.W.Coast. Touched at Lahaina since Oct 15, 24 months out, 300 sperm, 800 whale oil. At Honolulu Nov.24, 300 sperm, 850 whale. At Honolulu April 7, 1844, 400 sperm, 800 whale. At Oahu Nov.12, 300 sperm, 2200 barrels whale.... Arrived home April 27, 1845 with 2200 barrels whale and 350 barrels sperm oil and 22000 lbs whale bone in 42 months and ten days.” (Wood abstracts p.610.) While at Tahiti from 11 to 25 February 1843, the Peruvian had been reported mistakenly to be “full and homeward bound.” (Jones 1986 p.170; Hobart Town Courier 26 May 1843.) She continued whaling, being at Honolulu on 22 November 1843, “24 months from home, with 300 sperm and 300 whale.” (The Friend Honolulu) 2 December 1843.) The Peruvian was a Christian ship, and while at Lahaina in April 1844 and Honolulu in March 1845, the missionaries there noted approvingly that her crew were “enjoying a revival of religion.” (Wallace 1929 p.9.)

23. JAVA. 418 tons. Captain [James] Allen. Arrived St John, April 1847, 150 days from Oahu, with 1050 barrels black oil and 550 barrels sperm. About four years on the cruise. Vessel sold out of whaling. (Wallace 1929 p.6) This was her second Pacific voyage and began on 29 August 1843. The Java of St John was at Huahine, near Tahiti, on 24 April 1844. (Wood abstract p.609.) She was reported off “Ocean Highland” [Ocean Island] on 1 July, and “Simpson Island” on 9 November 1844 [perhaps “Sydenham Island, now Nonouti in Kiribati.”]. She had been at Nikunau in Kiribati shortly before 16 July 1844, when the crew of the Rose was seeking her for mail from home, which the Java had left on 15 January 1843. (Levesque 1986 p.226.) The Java was “at Honolulu in February 1845 with 300 barrels of sperm oil and sailed on a cruise on 5 March.” (Wood abstracts p.609.) She was on the North West Coast on 1 July 1846 with (only) 800 barrels of (right) whale oil. She “touched at the Sandwich Islands, and left Oahu 27 October 1845,” before she arrived at Sydney on 8 February 1846, “30 months out, with 400 barrels of sperm oil, 350 barrels of right whale oil and 4000 lbs of bone.” (Sydney Morning Herald 9 February 1846.) The Java next left Oahu on 1 December for home, where she arrived at St John on 26 April, cargo unspecified, after a voyage of 43 months and 28 days. (Wood abstract p.609.)

24. ATHOL. 400 tons. Captain Coffin. Sailed July 1845 for South Seas. In October 1845 was at Honolulu with 1950 barrels of oil after having shipped home 950 barrels of sperm oil and 30 barrels of whale oil from Sydney, N.S.W. (Wallace 1929 p.7.) A journal for this maiden voyage, 22 July 1845 to 23 September 1847, is in the Kellam Memorial Library in the Dalhousie University Archives, and has been published (Doane 1987 pp.48-165; Levesque 1989 pp.228-229.) She went round Cape Horn to Chile, Peru and the Galapagos, then to Honolulu from 18 March 1847 to 9 April. Her next cruise was to Japan and Okhotsk till October 1847, then on to Ponape, and Strong’s Island (Kusaie). The Athol arrived at Sydney for repairs shortly before the Cammore arrived on 20 January 1848 with news from home. From Sydney the Athol went back north to Ponape, Guam and the Japan Sea before calling at Hawaii. The voyage was long, and notable for the presence on board of Mrs Mary Doane Coffin. Their daughter died at Sydney, while a son was born off Juan Fernandez Island on 8 April 1846. (Doane 1984 p.12.)

25. JAMES STEWART. Sailed September 1845. Captain Joseph Kenney. Her fifth voyage was to Cape Horn, Chile, Juan Fernandez and Galapagos. During 1846 she lost her rudder and went ashore, but limped into Lee Bay [location unknown, possibly in the Galapagos Islands] for repairs. (Jones 1986 p.175-176.) After difficulties with
deserters at the Marquesas Islands, and a failed mutiny, Captain Kenney took the ringleaders to justice at Sydney. Then, though only "seventeen months from home," Kenney sent his oil to London, repaired and refitted the ship, along with a new crew, and sailed to the Sydenham Island in Kingsmill Islands (Nonouti, in Kiribati.) There while all his four boats were away taking two whales, he nearly lost his ship and his life to a renegade Spanish beachcomber from a French whaleship. Later he had to capture many of the local natives in order to ransom several of his crew. They escaped (but Kenney heard later the Spaniard had been killed while attacking another whaleship, the Triton of New Bedford, Captain Spencer.) The James Stewart then bore away to the Japan Sea for right whaling, and on to the Sea of Okhotsk by September 1848. Now full, she went to Honolulu to recruit, but all her officers deserted to go to the California goldfields. Her cargo at Honolulu on 14 October 1848 was 1300 barrels of sperm oil and 1500 barrels of black oil. (Jones 1986 p.177.) Finally Kenney got his ship away to Rarotonga, refitted, and went home via Cape Horn. (Wallace 1929 pp. 14-25). She called first at London, and reached St John late in 1849.

25 A. JAMES STEWART. Unconfirmed, and unlikely voyage. At the end of the copy of the two journals mentioned previously for the James Stewart are four loose pages, one of which is signed by (Mrs) "Sarah Dougherty." Two in the same handwriting are headed "Remarks in Cloudy Bay [N.Z.] in July 1845." In her novel, Celia Manson interpreted this as if the James Stewart, "Captain Shannon," had visited Cloudy Bay in 1845. (Manson 1974 p.220-222.) However it cannot be confirmed that these two pages refer to the James Stewart, and given its known movements around this time, that would seem unlikely. They do suggest however that perhaps there was once another journal, name and dates now unknown.

26. PERUVIAN. Sailed from St John [22] October 1845 for the South Seas. At Hobart in February 1847, Captain Taylor had to leave the ship on account of continual difficulties with the crew, and Mr Jackson [named as her "English master"] took command. Arrived home in July 1848, ninety days from Talcahuano, with 1000 barrels of whale oil, 250 barrels sperm, 9000 lbs. of bone. Ship sold out of whaling. (Wallace 1929 p.6.) This was her third voyage to the Pacific. She was at Honolulu on 28 April 1846, and again on 9 to 30 September with 700 barrels of (right) whale oil and 30 barrels of sperm. When at Hobart, her cargo was given as 120 barrels of sperm oil, and 500 barrels of black oil. (Hobart Town Advertiser 16 February and 12 March 1847: Hobart Town Courier 17, 24 February, 13 March 1847.) At Hobart Captain Jackson unloaded 340 barrels of black oil, 140 barrels of sperm oil and 35 bundles of whale bone. (Hobart Town Courier 24 February 1847.) They returned to Oahu on 31 October with 250 sperm, 950 whale. Her next cruise was south to the French Rock in the Kermadec Islands in January 1848, then across the south Pacific to arrive at Talcahuano in April. The Peruvian arrived home on 15 July 1848 with 250 barrels of sperm oil, 1000 barrels of whale oil and 9000 lbs of bone after a voyage of 32 months and 23 days. (Wood abstracts p.610.) She had been insured for $ 38,000 but at standard rates for 1848, her cargo would have grossed only $20,520, so her whaling voyages ceased.

27. CANMORE. Barque 292 tons. Captain John Cudlip. Out [4] October 1845; ten months later was on the Japan ground with 250 barrels sperm, and 70 barrels whale oil. In May 1848 she put into Sydney N.S.W. on account of sickness of Captain Cudlip. At Sydney again in March 1849 with Captain Courtney in command. Oil was evidently sold at Sydney to cover expenses, as the barque eventually arrived in St John on October 1st, [1850] under Captain Jackson with 680 barrels of sperm
oil and 40 barrels coconut oil, being exactly five years from home. (Wallace 1829 p.6-7.) The Canmore was at Sydney in February 1846, off Japan in August 1846, and back at Sydney, for repairs, from March to July 1849. (Sydney Morning Herald 14 February 1846 and Sydney Gazette 20 July 1849.) She had been near Nauru on 4 March 1850, but “the doings of this last Canadian whaling ship in Micronesian waters remain somewhat a mystery.” (Levesque 1989 pp.229,234-237.) A large oil painting of the Canmore and the Margaret Rait is in the New Brunswick museum in St John. Since the latter left whaling in June 1844, and the Canmore began its whaling career in October 1845, it is hard to establish where the two ships met unless near St John.

28. ATHOL. [1848-1850] Second voyage to the South Seas, under Captain Coffin. In October 1848 she was at Honolulu with 1950 barrels whale oil, after having shipped home 950 barrels of sperm oil, and 30 of sperm oil from Sydney, N.S.W. in March 1848. In March 1849 she was at Sydney with 1900 barrels of whale oil and 100 barrels of sperm oil taken since her last visit there. Sailed to London where sold to local whaling merchants. (Wallace 1929 p.7.) The Athol had been reported at the Cape of Good Hope under Coffin during 1849, with 3200 barrels of right whale oil and 110 barrels of sperm. When she arrived at London on 29 July 1850 “Dumsden” was her captain. (Jones 1986 p.177.) The memoirs of Benjamin Doane, who was on board until February 1848, gives the captain of the Athol as James Doane Coffin, and provides full details of the islands visited (Doane 1987), while a short summary of her route is also available. (Forster 1991 p.6.) Comments on her time in Micronesian waters are in Levesque 1989 p.229.

Part Three: Conclusion

The maritime history of Canadian whaling in the Pacific has been overshadowed by the much larger whale fleets dispatched by the United States, but nevertheless Canadian whaleships totalled 28 voyages. This short preliminary survey would seem to have confirmed that despite the disastrous loss of records in the fire that devastated St John in 1877, considerable detail about Canadian whaling in the Pacific from 1835 to 1850 can be recreated by amalgamating various scattered historical sources in the Pacific itself. Sometimes these Pacific sources reveal details of cruises and catches that are not clear even in the few cases where logbooks or journals survive.

As a preliminary comment from the tabulation of these 28 voyages, it would seem that from 1835 Canadian whaling in the Pacific was predominantly for right whales in New Zealand waters, and after 1845 switched to right whaling in the North Pacific. Sperm oil was worth three times as much as “black” oil from right whales. The prime advantage of taking right whale oil rather than sperm whale oil was that if it could be taken much more quickly, then voyages and wear and tear on ships and men could be reduced accordingly. Short voyages were the case initially at New Zealand, and briefly in the North Pacific right whale fishery, but as the right whale stocks were nearly exterminated, Canadian voyages became longer and longer. By 1850 they were no longer reliable, or lucrative, so Canada’s whaling vessels were switched to other trades.

End Note:

Often an attempt is made to try to locate an historical “first” rather earlier than those previously known. My contribution to questioning whether in fact Canadian whaling in the Pacific may have begun earlier than 1834, is to bequeath to enthusiastic searchers one unresolved query. According to the comprehensive records left by Charles F.
Batchelder, somewhere there is typescript by David Dodge of a voyage in the Russell [possibly not the Russell of Newburgh, New York] which records that between 13 and 28 April 1834, they met at Talcahuana, Chile, "the whaleship Pacific of Halifax, 37 months out, with 1800 barrels." If this is correct, then this otherwise unrecorded voyage began in March 1831, and is thus by far the earliest Canadian whaling voyage to the Pacific. Perhaps someone else will have more success than me at finding this typescript and in establishing its veracity.

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Tea Drinking is a ritual in many a society. In China guests must be greeted with a bowl of tea. Tea is synonymous with Buddhism in the Far East and to the Zen faith in Japan. Russians’ love of tea is depicted through the Samovar, in Morocco we have the famous mint tea and in Europe’s Tea Houses history and culture lives on deep and faithful as part of life itself. And in Japan one can gain a Diploma in Tea Mastery from one of three schools dedicated to the teachings in the “Way of Tea” (cha-do). So Tea Culture is very strong all over the world but why is this so?

Why do we drink tea? Why do we insist on drinking tea every day of every week? What is it that makes us sit down and slowly consume a cup when there are things to do, shopping to get and kids to feed? Why do we suddenly give up all that is necessary and sit back with a cup of tea and smile as if we have not a care in the world?

The answer is in itself. People love tea for its calming essence and the culture that goes with it. Tea is used in times of trouble and to escape from life, not because of any association but because tea does have many a body altering ingredient, even if we know nothing about them. We in the Western World drink cups of black tea and do not associate such with any medical or body altering feature, but little do we know. Even those thousands of years ago when China alone drank tea, they drank it to cure many an ailment or problem that they might suffer from. It is known today that certain teas can cure headaches, reduce cholesterol or improve one’s sight amongst many hundreds of other cures and results. These are specialty teas and not the ones we associate with morning or afternoon tea-time but they are readily available should one look into it. Our Western culture is sparked from the calming essence associated with the black tea, more from a cultural point of view than from its physical properties. For your information though, the average tea contains vitamins A, B and E. A cup of tea is rich with minerals of iron, copper, zinc, sodium and contains fluoride to fight the cavities. So much, all in a cup? Yes, it is true that so much can be in so little! So whilst you are sitting back and relaxing, you can now think about what it is doing for you!

Two points that tea drinkers often struggle with is the question of milk. The first is the question of “with or without milk?” First of all green teas and mint teas do not go with milk. They are kept well away from that sort of thing. Milk goes with black tea to dilute it’s often bitter and harsh taste and has grown from there into an everyday requirement. The second is that of “milk before or after pouring the tea into the cup?” Does one pour the milk in first and then the tea, or the tea first and then top up with milk? Each to his/her own way, I say, but there is a rather more rooted reason for milk first. Milk was originally placed in the cup first to prevent the gentle porcelain from cracking when the hot tea was poured into it. What becomes more important is whether or not the tea is brewed in a teapot or it is being infused in the Cup itself. I say this with regard to people who place a tea bag in the cup, then pour milk onto the tea bag and then add the boiling water. This is not allowed! This way destroys all the culture associated with tea and needless to say the tea itself does not infuse correctly. In this case the milk must be added after the water and infusion has taken place.

Whilst writing all the above a certain picture kept coming into my mind, a piece of “Tea Culture” that is depicted in the famous “Asterix and Obelix” cartoon series. It is in the one where the Romans come to Britain to expand their Empire and are very upset because the British always stop fighting at ‘Tea Time.” The picture in my mind is of the Romans hanging around impatiently, wanting to attack and conquer the British, but they are all sitting back and sipping tea – not fighting until they have finished their brews!
Beware though, folks, of the tea today! Tea bags are produced and made for the simple reasons of economy and ease of transportation to your supermarket shelves. Tea bags are easy to use but do be suspicious of a tea that as soon as it is in contact with water turns black! I am sure that it cannot be tea. Stick to the real stuff that has taste. If you have any further questions please do go to the Tea Council Web Site to dialogue with the experts or to gain extra information to what has been given above. Failing that an excellent book on tea is available and called The Little Book of Tea and published by Flammarion. A French Publisher — good excuse to go to France and taste some wine!

"I'll put the kettle on and we can talk all about it"

http://www.teacouncil.co.uk/

John Carter Brown Library
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The deadline for applying for a John Carter Brown Library Research Fellowship is 15 January 2004. The application consists of a face sheet to be filled out by the candidate; a curriculum vitae including a list of publications; a brief but persuasive narrative description of the project (not to exceed 1,200 words), preceded by a 100-word abstract of the proposal; and three letters of recommendation to be completed by scholars acquainted with the candidate's research. The forms and more information may be found on the JCBL website:

http://www.JCBL.org

John Lyman Book Awards 2002

At its annual meeting held in Bath, Maine, the North American Society for Oceanic History (NASOH) announced the recipients of its John Lyman Book Awards which recognize outstanding books dealing with the maritime and naval history of North America. The following books published during 2002 received prizes.

Science and Technology
Honourable Mention: William H. Roberts, Civil War Ironclads (Johns Hopkins University Press).

Canadian Naval and Maritime History
John Griffith Armstrong, The Halifax Explosion and the Royal Canadian Navy (University of British Columbia Press).

US Naval History
Mitchell B. Lerner, The Pueblo Incident: A Spy Ship and the Failure of American Foreign Policy (University Press of Kansas)
Honourable Mention: Robert M. Browning, Jr. Success Is All That Was Expected: The South Atlantic Blockading Squadron During the Civil War (Brassey's).

US Maritime History
Wade G. Dudley, Splintering the Wooden Wall (Naval Institute Press).

Primary Source Materials
Conferences and Calls for Papers

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Preliminary Programme

Wednesday, 13 August

Afternoon
Registration desk open at conference hotel

Evening
Reception at the Vancouver Maritime Museum

Thursday, 14 August

John Crosse
“His Majesty’s Armed Tender Chatham on the Columbia River, 1792”

John Beeler
“Maritime Policing and the Pax Britannica: HMS Snake on the North America and West Indies Station, 1837-1841”

John Harland
“The History of the Capstan”

William Glover
“Show Me the Way to Hudson Bay: 18th Century Charts and Navigation Manuals”

Stephan Vanfraechem

Ingo Heidbrink
“German Trawlers in Canadian Waters: Lost Chances for Canada’s East Coast Economy”

Afternoon
Tours of Vancouver Vessel Traffic Management System and the Container Port Cargo Handling Facility

Friday, 15 August

Myra Glenn

Christopher McKee
“The Eighth Symphony of John Sibelius: Reflections on the Writing of Lower-Deck History from the Age of Sail (and some Steam)”

Richard Gimblett

Ken Mackenzie

Doug Maginley,
Chris Madsen
“Continuous Production in British Columbia Shipyards during the Second World War”

H. Murphy & A. Slaven
“Crossing the Bar: The Shipbuilders Speak”

John Harbron
“Santisima Trinidad”

Maurice D. Smith
“A Great Lakes Barque at Sea”

Saturday, 16 August

Ken Reynolds
“HMCS Niobe”

Richard Mayne
“HMCS Bras D’Or I”

CNRS Annual General Meeting
A Canadian Celebration of Hydrography

The Canadian Nautical Research Society is working with the Canadian Hydrographic Service (CHS) to plan a special conference to mark the centenary of the establishment of the CHS. The conference will be held in Ottawa in May, 2004.

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- port development and transportation infrastructure
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- administrative history relating to the CHS establishment
- comparative national studies of arctic hydrography
- biographical work on prominent figures
- the politics of hydrography and national development

Simultaneous translation services will be available. The CNRS will award the Gerald Panting New Scholars Award to assist with travel expenses for travel to Ottawa to present a paper. All papers presented will be reviewed for publication in The Northern Mariner / Le marin du nord.

For further information, contact Dr. William Glover, conference programme chair: williamglover@sympatico.ca

Un Siècle D’hydrographie au Canada

La Société canadienne pour la recherche nautique travaille de concert avec le Service hydrographique du Canada à l’organisation d’une conférence spéciale visant à souligner le centenaire du SHC. La conférence se tiendra à Ottawa, au mois de mai 2004. Les communications traitant des sujets suivants seront bienvenus:

- La construction des ports et de l’infrastructure des transports
- La science et la technologie des techniques en hydrographie
- Les données historiques sur l’établissement du SHC
- Études comparatives nationales sur l’hydrographie dans l’Arctique
- Biographies de personnages marquants
- L’aspect politiques de l’hydrographie et du développement national

Des services de traduction simultanée seront disponibles. La Société canadienne pour la recherche nautique décernera la bourse Gerald Panting New Scholar’s Award, afin de payer ses frais de voyage à un conférencier et de lui permettre ainsi de venir présenter sa communication à Ottawa. Toutes les communications feront l’objet d’un examen aux fins de publications dans The Northern Mariner / Le marin du nord.

Pour de plus amples renseignements, n’hésitez pas à communiquer avec Dr. William Glover, président du programme de la conférence, à l’adresse: williamglover@sympatico.ca
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