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Readers will find a wealth of materials in this winter issue of Argonauta. Our contributors range from Brittany Dunn, a fourth year history student at University of Ottawa, to Stuart Jenness, an octogenarian and well known geologist, scientific editor, and prize-winning Arctic author. We begin this issue with an article by Norman Jolin on Hampton Gray. Gray, a Canadian naval Lieutenant won the Victoria Cross in the closing days of the Second World War. Jolin, a recently retired naval captain, commanded HMCS *Montreal*, and served as naval attaché in London and Brussels. Jolin does an outstanding job of providing us with a broad historical understanding of the context of the British Pacific Fleet in which Hampton served. Naval historians at the Directorate of History and Heritage owe a particular debt of gratitude to Jolin who welcomed us aboard HMCS *Montreal* some years ago. Many of us found our sea legs when *Montreal* carried out fishery patrols during a particularly stormy winter with high seas and gale force winds off the coast of Newfoundland. Next we have an article tracing the development of the Royal Canadian Navy’s badge by Brittany Dunn. She does an excellent job of summarizing a somewhat convoluted administrative path which began when the RCN was still coming to grips with a rapid expansion, a shortage of equipment, and training issues, while attempting to defeat the formidable German u-boat threat to North Atlantic convoys. A more detailed report is available at the Directorate of History and Heritage.

Our first Arctic article by Don MacNeil follows. Don introduces us to his forthcoming book about his father John MacNeil, a helicopter pilot who served aboard *Labrador*. His article provides context on the current importance of the Canadian Arctic and some of the formidable issues facing Canada with respect to its development as well as informing us about his project. Fitting in with an Arctic theme and the celebration of the centenary of the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-1916, Stuart Jenness writes about Diamond Jenness’ Arctic adventure. Stuart and his father, Diamond Jenness are iconic figures who have written much about the Arctic and so as far as possible, we have allowed their authentic voices to be heard. This issue also contains a select bibliography to allow our members and other readers to follow up with more in-depth research on this important and still neglected area of Canadian history. Finally, exactly one hundred years after Diamond Jenness travelled to the Western Arctic, Karla Weys took two expedition cruises from Churchill north through Hudson’s Bay and across to Greenland and then down Canada’s East Coast to Halifax. Karla provides us with a detailed description of that voyage which contrasts with the Jenness account and tells us how much the Arctic has changed. Nonetheless, the Arctic remains a harsh, unpredictable, 

1Neither claim to be mariners and thus refer to ships as "it" rather than "she".
and challenging environment with significant dangers. Karla’s spirit of adventure, willingness to endure some discomfort, and her excellent photographic skills allow her capture much of the experience for those of us who have not been. For our expert Arctic members – those who have sailed and experienced the Arctic Ocean first-hand, we hope that these three articles will trigger your memories and perhaps even motivate some of you to write about these experiences and send us further contributions. Colleen and I are looking forward to more articles by these current contributors and by our members as well.

All of these contributions and the many beautiful photographs that accompany them require careful formatting for optimal appearance and for transmission by e-mail. We are grateful to Winston “Kip” Scoville, our distribution and production manager, who has set up a system to deliver Argonauta to its members by e-mail and is also providing expertise and guidance on the production of Argonauta. Please ensure that you inform Winston if your e-mail address changes so he can update his files.

Our President, Maurice Smith, draws our attention to financial matters and the need for a sound financial plan to help the society cope with rising print costs. Please read his report carefully and send him feedback on this important matter. The Executive Council will soon hold a mid-winter meeting and your opinions are vital to the society’s decision-making. Membership fees have gone up from $65 to $70 dollars for Canadian members. We hope that all members will renew – they will find a membership form on the verso of the back cover of this issue as well as the Canadian Nautical Research Society website.

Thanks for staying with us on this journey,

With our Best wishes,
Isabel and Colleen.

Be sure to stop by and visit the CNRS/SCRN facebook page
President’s Corner
by Maurice D. Smith

The CNRS must develop a business plan to save The Northern Mariner. And it needs your understanding and help. We are fortunate to have a print run of nearly 500 between the CNRS and the North American Society for Oceanic Research. This print run is our salvation. But we do have a problem – a static revenue stream that has been eroded by increased expenses and the need for more help to get the NM to press. The editor, Roger Sarty, a volunteer accepts the articles, communicates with the peer review team, often having to chase them up, edits copy himself and then works closely with our production editor, Paul Adamthwaite, another volunteer, who composes the issue in order to meet the technical demands of the printer. Sarty is a senior academic in a university system that is making increased demands on his time; Adamthwaite is responsible for an active archive where survival strategies are day to day. That they can do this is a miracle. And articles continue to be submitted by scholars.

Why not increase the fees. There is a price point that every business and nonprofit has to face. Increase fees and lose members, reduce them and go broke. The classic ‘between the devil and the deep blue sea situation’.

Since the first issue in 1991, edited by Jerry Panting, Olaf Janzen, and Skip Fischer The Northern Mariner has been a success, with a strong base of support and high standards, admired internationally. The journal has given scholars an audience and a forum for others to make advances in our understanding of maritime history. The Northern Mariner is needed! The irony is that with globalization and more accessible research resources, maritime history is now largely multidisciplinary. The traditional history departments are no longer bastions of support. To a certain extent we have been caught in that transition. The old corporate culture no longer functions as well as it did, even fifteen years ago. And yes, we have been a bit slow in the uptake.

When Memorial University had to withdraw its subsidy support due to budget cutbacks in 1998 we were left our own. Skip Fischer stayed on as long as he could then Bill Glover took over as editor in 2001. He had time and energy but he won an election (now two of them) to become a Kingston city Councillor with heavy demands on his time. Roger Sarty took over in 2007 with Paul Adamthwaite later handling the demanding production work (and the CNRS web site). Due to pressures Roger will leave at the end of 2014. Part of the team includes our Membership chair, Faye Kert and with Argonauta, Isabel Campbell, Colleen Mckee and Winston Scoville.
We must keep *The Northern Mariner* in production in spite of obstacles. The oldest maritime journal in the English speaking world (since 1911) faced problems similar to our own a few years ago. There was internal debate and some internal strife but eventually they developed a new business plan. And it is working! *The International Journal of Maritime History* has followed suit. Both have entered into partnerships with private publishers; *Mariner’s Mirror* with the Taylor Francis Group, the *IJMH* with Sage Publications. Print copies are maintained for the Membership base at the usual rates.

So this is the plan we will proceed with – a rescue plan followed by others. We will need a strong team in place to negotiate with a private publisher. We need your support.

Maurice D Smith
The Admirals’ Medal Foundation
Fondation De La Médaille Des Amiraux

The Admirals’ Medal Foundation exists to provide public recognition to the significant personal contributions of individuals to Canadian maritime affairs. A rich maritime heritage representing the contributions and achievements of many pioneers over the years reflects the geographical fact that Canada has the longest coastline of any nation in the world and vast areas of maritime interest.

We Canadians are increasingly aware that a large portion of our prosperity stems from our ability to use the oceans to engage in international trade and to harvest our resources at sea, be they minerals, fish or other marine assets. For these reasons, Canadians have been prepared to protect national maritime interests both in times of peace and times of war.

Our maritime heritage now benefits from the contributions of a new generation of Canadians who display initiative and skill in advancing maritime affairs, operations and research. Their outstanding achievements whether through science, technology, academic studies or the application of practical maritime skills are worthy of special recognition.

The Admirals’ Medal (established in 1985 in conjunction with the 75th anniversary of the Naval Service of Canada) provides a means by which outstanding achievements in Canadian maritime activities can be publicly recognized. The name of the medal is associated with the diverse achievements of three distinguished men, now all deceased. Their outstanding personal performance illustrates how individuals can make a permanent and significant impact on the development of maritime affairs in Canada.

A group of prominent Canadians with back-
grounds in various maritime fields serve on the Awards Committee and make the award annually, except when no qualified recipient is nominated.

**Nominations**

The Foundation invites nominations for the award of the Admirals’ Medal. Individuals and organizations who are in a position to identify outstanding achievement in the wide range of maritime affairs are urged to submit nominations. Nominees need not be members of any organization or a member of the nominating organization.

Nominations close on the 01st of March annually, and should be made by letter with the attached nomination form fully completed. Please include relevant biographical information, a brief description of the work, achievement or display of practical skill that it is proposed to recognize, along with the name of the individual or organization submitting the recommendations.

Nominations and all correspondence related to the Admirals’ Medal should be addressed to:

Executive Secretary
The Admirals’ Medal Foundation
PO Box 505, Ottawa, ON K1P 5P6
Email / couriel: Richard.Gimblett@forces.gc.ca
Tel: (613) 971-7696
Fax: (613) 971-7677

L’œuvre méritoire de chacun d’eux prouve qu’il est possible, à titre individuel, de laisser une marque positive et durable dans l’histoire des affaires maritimes au Canada.


**Candidatures**

La Fondation lance un appel de candidatures en vue de l’attribution de la Médaille des amiraux. Quiconque, personne ou organisme, a l’occasion de remarquer des réalisations exceptionnelles dans le vaste domaine des affaires maritimes est prié de soumettre des candidatures. Les candidats ne doivent pas forcément appartenir à l’organisme qui les a recommandés, ni même faire partie d’un autre organisme.

Il faut soumettre les candidatures au plus tard le 01 mars de l’année en cours et il serait préférable de le faire par lettre accompagnée par la feuille de candidature qui est attaché.

Veuillez donner, dans toute lettre de mise en candidature, des notes biographiques, une brève description du travail, des exploits ou des connaissances pratiques qu’il est proposé de souligner, ainsi que le nom de l’auteur des recommandations.

Les lettres de mise en candidature et tout courrier ayant trait à la Médaille des amiraux doivent être adressées au:

Secrétaire exécutif
La Fondation de la Médaille des amiraux
CP 505, Ottawa, ON K1P 5P6
Email / couriel: Richard.Gimblett@forces.gc.ca
Tel: (613) 971-7696
Fax: (613) 971-7677
The Submariners Association produces calendar to mark Centenary

2014 is the 100th anniversary of the Submarine Service in Canada. To mark the occasion - as well as to raise funds - the Association has produced a wonderful full-colour 18 by 12 inch calendar.

Selling for the low price of just $12.00, this calendar is both attractive and informative. HST is included in the price, but the shipping costs* are extra.

The calendar highlights the evolution of the Canadian Submarine Service using over 50 photos that depict the different classes of submarines operated by the Royal Canadian Navy and the submariners who crewed the boats and their supporting shore establishments. The text briefly outlines the place that each submarine holds in the development of a sustained submarine capability in Canada, as well as the contribution of Allies to this development.

The calendars can be purchased through the Submariners Association of Canada (West, Central, and East branches).

However, if you are not able to connect with an SAOC branch, I can get you a copy if you contact me by email, phone or mail at the following co-ordinates:

Email: info@indepthinsights.com

Ph: 902-832-6268 (Larry Hickey)

Mail:
Larry Hickey
20 Walden Place
Bedford, NS B4A 1H6

*Postage: All destinations in Canada $3.50 for one calendar, $4.05 for two. Three calendars weigh in excess of 500g and letter rates no longer apply.

To mail one calendar to USA $8.75
Call for Papers

North American Society for Oceanic History,
Canadian Nautical Research Society,
National Maritime Historical Society

2014 Annual Conference

Hosted by the Erie Maritime Museum
Erie, Pennsylvania


Using the international connection of the Great Lakes as a backdrop, the 2014 Program Committee invites paper and session proposals that explore maritime connections, cultural landscapes, or an interweaving of both to examine the meaning and processes of our maritime heritage. Suggested topic areas include cultural connections, race, gender, archaeology, empire, military, indigenous, environmental, public history, and parks and protected areas. Additional topics and geographic focuses are welcome for submission and the Program Committee will consider papers and sessions exploring all aspects of history and archaeology related to saltwater or navigable freshwater environments. Papers from graduate students and junior scholars with fresh approaches to maritime history are greatly encouraged.

Students may apply for a Chad Smith Travel Grant to assist in travel to present a paper at the conference. Additionally, the Clark G. Reynolds Student Paper Award is provided each year to the author of the best paper by a graduate student delivered at the society’s annual conference. Please see the awards section of the NASOH website for details.

The Program Committee welcomes the submission of individual papers and full sessions, preferring panels with three papers. Session and Individual paper proposals should include: A) An abstract, not to exceed 250 words; B) A 200-word bio for the presenter; C) Contact information including phone number, address, affiliation, and email. Accommodations for PowerPoint presentations will be provided; however, any other requirements, including audio-visual equipment, special outlets, or accommodations for disabilities should be included in the proposal. Please note that all participants must register for the conference.

The deadline for proposal submission is February 28, 2014. Please submit proposal packets electronically to the Program Committee. These should be sent to: Pro-
gram Co-Chair Vic Mastone at victor.mastone@state.ma.us. NASOH members interested in serving as panel chairs, please send an email to the Program Committee at the same address.

Program Committee:
Walter Rypka, Erie Maritime Museum, Co-Chair
Maurice D Smith, President: CNRS, Co-Chair
John O. Jenseen, Sea Education Association, Co-Chair
Victor T. Mastone, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Co-Chair

www.nasoh.org
New Book

Unlikely Diplomats
The Canadian Brigade in Germany, 1951-1964
By Isabel Campbell

Publisher: UBC Press
www.ubcpress.ca

ISBN-10: 0774825634

Review

"Unlikely Diplomats is the best book published on postwar Canadian defence since Jon B. McLin's classic of 1967. It advances very considerably what we know about Canada's European garrison from 1951 to 1964. Campbell covers such items as the nuclear arming of Canada's NATO troops and assesses where, exactly, the brigade fit into NATO's strategy. I am amazed at what she has covered in Canada, the UK, and the US."
-- Robert Bothwell, author of Alliance and Illusion: Canada and the World, 1945-84

Where to order

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Email: utpbooks@utpress.utoronto.ca
www.ubcpress.ca
Happy New Year to Argonauta readers. I hope you all enjoyed the holiday season. The winter months are a great opportunity to catch up on recently published literature. First I’d like to draw your attention to Brock Reumken’s “Aerial Warfare and Maritime Expeditionary Operations: Naval Aviation Versus Land-Based Air Power in the 1982 Falklands War.” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 15, Iss. 1 (2013). Reumkens, a Masters student at the University of Calgary argues that while the Argentinians enjoyed numerical, geographical and logistical advantages with their land-based air power, the British effectively countered this with very limited maritime air assets. In order to ascertain why, the author examines several key factors underlying his analysis including: doctrine, training, aerial tactics, military technology, aerial intelligence, serviceability, military operability geography and logistics. Ultimately, as Reumkens contends British early warning capabilities, intelligence and use of the Harrier platform enabled them to effectively counter the Argentine Air Force.

Next is Alecia Simmonds’ “Trading Sentiments: Friendship and Commerce in John Turnbull’s Voyages (1800-1813)” *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 48, No.4 (2013): 369-385. Simmonds, a Lecturer in the Faculty of Law at the University of Technology in Sydney Australia examines the substantial differences in the accounts of salt pork trader John Turnbull through Tahiti between 1805 and 1813, arguing that there was an intricate relationship between commerce, cross-cultural friendships and empire within the texts. The variations between the two sources and the reception each met are major analytical tools with the result that “commercially oriented critiques of cross-cultural friendship transformed into unbridled enthusiasm in the second reprint.” This was both a result in a shift of genre from a commercial to scientific focus and a shift of views concerning the relationship between friendship and commerce.

Alan McPherson’s “Lid Sitters and Prestige Seekers: The US Navy versus the State Department and the End of U.S Occupations.” *Journal of Military History* No. 78 (January 2014): 73-99, addresses the American occupation of the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Haiti during the first third of the twentieth century. McPherson is a Professor of International and Area Studies and the Director of the Center for the Americans at the University of Oklahoma with an extensive background in US-Latin American relations. This paper contends that the ongoing occupation was the result of political considerations focused mostly on a disagreement between the State Department and military planners and lack of policy guidance and interdepartmental coordination. McPherson points out that the State Department became increasingly aware of public opinion while armed forces were less sensitive to rationales for ending the occupation in the face of changing values.

In “Naval Power and the Province of Senegambia, 1758-1779” *Journal for Maritime Research*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2013): 129-147., Joshua D. Newton examines the Province of Senegambia, Britain’s first formal colony in West Africa. Newton, the Cura-
tor of World and Maritime History and Britain’s National Maritime Museum has a wealth of experience both teaching and writing maritime history. His recent work examines Britain’s early foray into African colonization with its emphasis on administering French Colonies conquered during the Seven Year’s War and maintaining a monopoly on the gum Arabic trade. While Senegambia never succeeded as a settlement, it proved immensely profitable and served as a focal point for ongoing Franco-British rivalry. Naval power became central to colonial protection efforts, though Newton contends they were ultimately undermined by “dysfunctional local government…insufficient resources [and] problems compounded by inattention from London.

Lastly, I draw your attention to Dominic Fontana’s “Charting the Development of Portsmouth Harbor, Dockyard and the Town in the Tudor Period” Journal of Maritime Archaeology, Vol. 8, No. 2 (December 2013): 263-282. Fontana in a senior lecturer in the department of history at the University of Portsmouth with experience as a maritime archeologist working on the Mary Rose. Fontana’s article examines the critical Portsmouth harbour and the role it played in defending England during the Tudor period. The article examines a series of military maps from the period and notes the opportunities they provide to better understand the harbour and town’s development from a period lasting from 1545 to 1620.
LIEUTENANT ROBERT HAMPTON GRAY, VC, DSC, RCNVR
By Norman Jolin

“I have in mind firstly the brilliant fighting spirit and inspired leadership; an unforgettable example of selfless and sustained devotion to duty without regard to safety and limb. The award of this highly regarded recognition of valour may fittingly be conferred on a native of Canada, which Dominion has played so great a part in the training of our airmen”

With these words, Vice Admiral Sir Philip Vian recommended the award of the Victoria Cross to Canadian naval aviator, Lieutenant Robert Hampton Gray. During the closing days of the Second World War, Gray took part in an action in the Pacific Campaign, where the British Pacific Fleet was working under a complicated and highly political American command structure. It was the only Victoria Cross awarded to a member of the British Pacific Fleet. To do justice to the story of Lieutenant Robert Hampton Gray RCNVR one must examine the history of the British Pacific Fleet (BPF), often referred to as the “Forgotten Fleet”, and the torturous circumstances that determined the manner in which British naval aviation was forced to operate. Moreover, because the war in the Pacific ended immediately after the action, the award of the Victoria Cross to Lieutenant Gray became a relatively unknown footnote to a huge operation that, regrettably, few are aware of.

Robert Hampton Gray was an unassuming young man, from Nelson British Columbia, who typified Canadian participation during the Second World War. How does a slightly plump, easygoing officer who possessed a warm and delightful personality, and joined the Navy with no predetermined desire to fly, transform into one of the most “aggressive and skilful pilots in the British Pacific fleet” during the war? I believe that it was because being a Canadian naval aviator in a British carrier task force, fighting a devastatingly determined foe, in an American dominated theatre of war, using a mismatched collection of equipment, was extraordinarily difficult and required incredible skill and determination to succeed. It is in this ‘school of adversity’, that the seeds were sown for a cool leader who was determined to inflict maximum damage on the enemy

1 Stuart E. Soward, A Formidable Hero, (Toronto, 1987) p.155. Vice Admiral Sir Philip Vian in his recommendation for the award of the VC to Lt Robert Hampton Gray.
4 Ibid p.338
5 Ibid, pp.336-337
and the well meaning guidance to ‘take it easy’ and ‘not take undesirable risks’ at the close of the war, made no absolutely sense to him\(^6\). To put the situation surrounding Lieutenant Gray’s heroism into context, I will briefly describe his experiences in the Navy, the situation faced by the British Pacific Fleet in the spring of 1945, compare the American approach to carrier based aviation at the time and discuss his final attack the morning of 9 August 1945 – ironically a few hours before the second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki.

In July 1940, the twenty two year old Robert Hampton Gray, along with some friends, joined the Royal Canadian Navy Volunteer Reserve (RCNVR), at HMCS Tecumseh in Calgary, as they had heard that the Royal Navy was accepting Canadian officer candidates from the RCNVR and they were “getting a little mad at Hitler\(^7\). They entered the scheme called the “Canadian Raleighites”, as they did their initial training at HMS Raleigh\(^8\), however, they subsequently transferred to the Fleet Air Arm while at HMS Raleigh as it was the quickest way out of their training into operations. After further basic naval training at HMS St Vincent in Gosport, they returned to Kingston, Ontario for flying training. On completion of flying training, Gray flew Skuas from HMS Kestrel near Winchester, England and was then posted to Africa where he flew Hurricanes from *HMS Arikaner* in Simonstown and then to Kenya where he led a rather dull life flying Fulmars and Hurricanes, only interrupted by a brief, but exciting, stint in the aircraft carrier *HMS Illustrious* in the Mediterranean in December 1942. However, by the end of December 1943 it was clear that fighters were no longer required in East Africa and he happily transferred back to England where he conducted conversion training to the Corsair and then, as part of 1841 Squadron in June 1944, he embarked in the aircraft carrier *HMS Formidable* \(^9\). In July and August, *HMS Formidable* conducted strikes on the German battleship Tirpitz, during Operation GOODWOOD, and Gray was Mentioned in Dispatches for his low level strafing against three German Narvik-class destroyers – the gun camera films clearly showing his trademark aggressiveness and disregard for enemy fire\(^10\).

During the four years between Gray’s first days in the navy to his joining his first, full time, operational aircraft carrier, the Second World War had seen much change and it was clear that the United States was now the senior partner, particularly in the Pacific. Notwithstanding their change in strategic circumstances, the British understood the absolute need to be actively involved in the Pacific theatre. More than simply being there at the defeat of Japan, rather they laid the ground for post-war Anglo-American financial negotiations by impressing US public opinion. The impetus for the formation and participation of the British Pacific Fleet (hereafter BPF) was purely political\(^11\).

\(^8\) Ibid, p 16
Moreover, certain Americans, most notably the Anglophobic US Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Ernie King, were not overjoyed at the prospect of having to incorporate a British Fleet operating at extended length from their supporting bases with equipment of questionable incompatibility. While King’s extreme reticence was eventually overruled by the other members of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, he appreciated the impact of logistics in the Pacific carrier war, called the ‘Fleet Train’ and knew that British Prime Minister Churchill was being less than forthright when he stated the British fleet train of ‘ample proportions’ would render it independent of shore based support for a considerable period of time’ – hence his desire to neither employ nor support the BFP with American resources\textsuperscript{12}.

American President Roosevelt\textsuperscript{13} overruled Admiral King’s objections and accepted the British offer of assistance, and raised another issue, that of command and control, which was exacerbated by differences between US Douglas General MacArthur in the South Pacific and US Admiral Chester Nimitz in the Central Pacific, as MacArthur initially openly courted the British - he saw it as a squadron under his command - until ‘warned’ by Admiral King about his interpretation of British strategic intent. In King’s opinion SEAC stood for ‘Save England’s Asian Colonies’, not South East Asia Command, which caused MacArthur to become suspicious of British motives. At the 1944 OCTAGON conference in Quebec City, it became clear that Britain no longer had the ability to play a global military role without US support and had to defer to Washington\textsuperscript{14}. But in a very American practical approach to strategic direction, the mechanics of command and control and day-to-day operations of the BPF was eventually worked out; whereby British shortcomings in logistics and training were overcome with US assistance so long as they did not openly violate the ‘letter of the law’\textsuperscript{15} and impact American operations. All of that said, in the end the BFP won the admiration and respect of the USN\textsuperscript{16}, causing the Americans to learn of the positive benefits of working with another nation in a major theatre of operations, a lesson that underpins coalition operations today.

Gray and his ilk were oblivious to the strategic setting however, as a result of the decision to deploy an independent BFP to the Pacific, the British faced three major challenges that their US counterparts were not affected by: logistics, equipment compatibility and expertise in fast carrier warfare operations. All of these would eventually be overcome with varying degrees of success, due mainly to sheer hard work and determination, but it is fair to say that that the British Pacific Fleet had to work much harder to keep pace with their American counterparts. As these factors had an enormous impact on British carrier operations, and, in turn Lieutenant Gray; let us briefly look at the relevant issues.

\textsuperscript{12} I Michael Coles, “Ernest King and the British Pacific Fleet: The Conference at Quebec, 1944 (OCTAGON)”, p. 110
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid, p.118
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, pp.113-119.
\textsuperscript{15} Winton, p. 315
\textsuperscript{16} Winton, p.348
Firstly logistics, or the fleet train. Notwithstanding Prime Minister Churchill’s assurances to President Roosevelt in 1944, the fact was that the British were woefully ill prepared for the type of logistics support, or fleet train, that was required to support intense carrier operations at strategic distances from their supporting bases, notably Australia. In comparison to the huge purpose-built fleet train of the US Navy, the British fleet train was described as a “maritime version of the motley procession of hired carts, sutlers’ wagons and camp followers that trailed behind eighteenth century armies” 17. Moreover, as the ships themselves were designed for northern climes, the living conditions onboard the British ships were described as appalling 18 and the equipment was improvised and inadequate 19. To meet the demands of operations, tough innovations and decisions had to be taken to keep up, such as the use of the escort carriers as ferries for spare aircraft 20. But perhaps the biggest limiting factor was the difficulty in replenishing the entire strike force in a very narrow time window to meet programmed strikes 21. The American ability to rapidly replenish at sea (RAS) all manner of materiel was new to the British who were not anywhere near as efficient, because the British used astern fueling methods which were slow and cumbersome, whereas the American ships were fitted out to conduct the more efficient abeam fuelling method 22. To the British leadership, keeping their fleet supplied was more of a problem than the Japanese and their ability to work around this huge issue was a testament of the spirit of determination that was pervasive throughout the British Pacific Fleet 23. But would the British fleet train have been able to continue until the expected Japanese surrender date of Spring 1946 and supported landings of Japan? The answer, of course, will never be known, however, given their track record of quick learning and making do in the face of adversity, there is every reason to believe they would have muddled through and done ‘more with less’ than their American cousins.

Secondly the equipment shortcomings and incompatibilities were quite profound and these issues would have affected Gray personally. Unlike the British, the Americans had maintained a separate naval aviation capability throughout the interwar years which resulted in all their equipment being designed for use onboard purposely designed American aircraft carriers in a harsh maritime environment encompassing huge overwater distances. The British carriers on the other hand were equipped with a “ragbag of British and American” aircraft, which complicated flying operations, as different aircraft needed different take off requirements and certain aircraft, like the Supermarine Seafire, a naval version of the Spitfire, were designed for Royal Air Force (RAF) requirements and were found to be unsuitable for carrier operations. The latter was the legacy of the RAF’s continued management of aircraft design and procurement of aircraft for the Fleet Air Arm 24. Again, through hard work and innovation – and the fitting

17 Barnett, p.888
18 Ibid, pp. 121-122, John Winton, Forgotten Fleet, pp.286-287
19 Barnett. P.888
20 John Winton, p.293
21 Winton, p 310, 319
22 Barnett, pp 888-889; Winton, p.310
23 Winton, pp.319-320
25 Winton, p.333; Gray, p. 233
of drop tanks - the British managed to overcome some of the limitations of the Seafire to dramatically raise its effectiveness as naval fighter-bomber, but all of this was done ‘on the job’, so to speak, as they were fighting the Japanese. Furthermore, the superlative American aircraft such as the Voight Corsair fighter, Grumman Avenger torpedo bomber and Grumman Hellcat fighter required extensive modification in order to fit into the hangars on the British aircraft carriers, causing a delay in frontline availability, but more importantly restrictions in interoperability with the Americans. Ironically, while the British carriers carried fewer aircraft than their American counterparts, it was the ability of their armoured flight decks to repel Kamikaze attacks that greatly impressed the Americans and resulted in quick British turnarounds to what would have been crippling battle damage to an American aircraft carrier.

Finally the American fast carrier warfare was a completely different style of carrier operations than used in the other theatres. The Americans, like the Japanese, saw the aircraft carrier as a vehicle for getting the maximum amount of aircraft airborne, whereas, the British saw the aircraft carrier’s role as air defence of the fleet and thus placed more emphasis on self protection with armoured decks and hangars. British naval leadership fully understood what the fundamental change in philosophy operating with the Americans would mean and quickly determined the only way to learn was to “fight alongside the exponents of this new naval warfare” to learn the lessons. Overcoming Admiralty opposition to adopting American procedures and manuals, American liaison teams embarked on the BPF warships to help them improve their flight deck efficiency, as American take-offs and landings were considered to be much quicker and air groups took less time to rendezvous. The latter is a significant point in managing strikes when you realize that the British decks were much smaller than their American counterparts. At the same time the BPF had to overcome American opposition to their level of training that some considered would be a hindrance rather than an asset in fighting the Japanese, as unlike the Americans, the British had few aviators at senior levels in the Royal Navy and none of the British aircraft carriers were commanded by an aviator.

All of this is useful to set the stage for the world that Lieutenant Gray was operating in and will go along way to explain the tenacity and sense of purpose that he and his colleagues had, as everything was hard work and nothing was free. With that in mind, let us return to *HMS Formidable* and 1814 Squadron, which by April 1945 had joined the Task Force 57, under British Vice-Admiral Vian, as part of Operation ICE-
BERG. On July 28 1945, Lieutenant Gray directed a low-level strike against the Japanese naval base at Maisura, north of Kyoto where he successfully bombed a Japanese destroyer, which subsequently sunk. For his actions he was awarded, the Distinguished Service Cross (DSC). On the morning of 9 August 1945, supposedly to be the last day of flying operations, Lieutenant Robert Hampton Gray took off from HMS Formidable as the leader of two flights of four Corsairs, each loaded with two 500-pound bombs. Their mission was to attack shipping in Onagawa Bay in Northern Honshu where the Japanese had a number of vessels in the bay that morning, which in addition to HIJMS Amakusa, there was Minesweeper, the destroyer HIJMS Ohama, who was offloading her armament to the shore installations, and ten other ships. HIJMS Amakusa was an Etorofu-class escort, which was 255 feet long and displaced 870 tons, with a maximum speed of 19.5 knots - roughly similar in size and to a Canadian Algerine-class ocean going minesweeper.

Gray decided to attack the ships in the bay by making his approach from inland at 10,000 feet, diving low over the valley leading to the bay and then escape to seaward. While this was the best course of action for the attackers, it was also clear to the defenders that attackers would follow this route and, by anticipating the direction of attack, the Japanese could concentrate their anti-aircraft firepower on the incoming aircraft. As the leader, Gray opened the attack run and as he leveled out in the clear he flew straight into concentrated anti-aircraft fire and was hit almost immediately, causing the aircraft to catch fire and one bomb to be shot away. Notwithstanding, he pressed home the attack at a height of approximately 50 feet and released his remaining bomb on the escort vessel HIJMS Amakusa, which struck the ship on the port side penetrating the engine room before exploding and counter-detonating an ammunition magazine that blew out a large section of the starboard side causing the ship to capsize and sink immediately. As Gray overflew the ship, his aircraft was enveloped in flame and smoke and crashed inverted into the sea, vanishing in an explosion of spray and debris. Lieutenant Gray did not survive the crash and his body was never recovered.

A popular officer, Gray's death had a profound impact on his Squadron and the ship, so when an awards meeting was convened by Vice-Admiral Vian on 12 August 1945, the question became what is a suitable award for the outstanding accomplishments of Lieutenant Robert Hampton Gray? It was unanimously agreed he should be recommended for the Victoria Cross, not only for his selfless actions in the face of the enemy, but also because many Canadians had died in combat whose individual achievements were sometimes unrecorded. It was agreed to add an additional, but secondary, justification for the award, of a symbolic nature, recognizing the accomplishments of the Canadians who had been killed while serving onboard HMS Formidable and the other British aircraft carriers of the BPF. On 13 November 1945, Lieutenant

33 Soward, pp.129-134, Hansen
34 Soward, pp. 139-140.
Robert Hampton Gray DSC RCNVR was awarded the Victoria Cross, posthumously, for: great valour in leading an attack on a Japanese destroyer in Onagawa Wan on the 9th of August 1945. In the face of fire from shore batteries, and a heavy concentration of fire from five warships, Lieutenant Gray pressed home his attack, flying very low in order to ensure success, and although he was hit and his aircraft was in flames, he obtained at least one direct hit, sinking the destroyer. Lieutenant Gray has consistently shown a brilliant flying spirit and most inspiring leadership.

So in summation, Robert Hampton Gray typifies the Canadian volunteer who persevered through challenging circumstances to, in his unique case, perform extraordinary heroism. As the recipient of the only Canadian naval Victoria Cross in the Second World War, the last naval Victoria Cross to be awarded in the Commonwealth - to date - and one of only two Victoria Crosses awarded to the Fleet Air Arm in the Second World War, his story deserves to be told. But to take a chapter from Vice-Admiral Sir Philip Vian, like the recommendation of the award being linked to fallen Canadian naval aviators in the Pacific, so his story must reflect the story of the British Pacific Fleet and the challenges they overcame to defeat a fanatically determined enemy with less than optimal materiel support.

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Discussions regarding an official badge for the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) began in late 1942 when the Naval Staff received multiple designs for a proposed RCN badge, incorrectly labelled as a crest, from the Director of Personnel. On 8 September 1942, the Naval Staff delayed its decision on creating an official RCN badge until a report could be written by the Insignia Committee. Then on 1 October, the Naval Staff recommended to the Naval Board that Lieutenant (Lt.) R.E. Bolton’s design “A 1” be accepted as the official emblem of the RCN and sent to the College of Heralds. This emblem displayed three maple leaves over a foul anchor, with the cable knotted on the right of the ring and looping once around the shank, right side of stock bent upward and left side of stock bent downward, in a shield surmounted by the Imperial Crown (see Image B). Image A will serve as a reference for anchor terms.

The artist, Lt. Bolton, described the symbolism of the design: the Imperial Crown represented royalty and His Majesty’s Armed Forces, the maple leaves represented Canada and the anchor represented the navy. On 8 October 1942, the Naval Board approved the design with a correction to the anchor and submitted it to the College of Heralds for approval. The corrected design depicted three gold maple leaves in a blue band over a black foul anchor, with the cable knotted on the right of the ring and looping once in front of and beyond the crown and right side of stock bent downward, on a
light grey or white background in a shield surmounted by the Imperial Crown (see Image C).

On 16 November 1943, the Clarenceux King of Arms, Sir Arthur Cochrane, responded that the proposed design was actually a Coat of Arms and was therefore unsuitable. He suggested that a badge would better meet the Department’s wishes and he provided two designs. Design “A” used the same symbolism as Lt. Bolton’s design and Sir Arthur suggested that the number of maple leaves reflect the Canadian provinces. However, in the re-submitted design, eleven maple leaves were incorporated; presumably Sir Arthur included the two territories. This design also included an anchor with a straight stock and a cable that was knotted on the right of the ring, looped once around the shank and ended in front of the left arm (see Image D). The second design proposed, “B”, was very similar to “A” except included a trident, indicating a striking force (see Image E).

The Naval Staff discussed Sir Arthur’s reply and designs on 28 February 1944. The Naval Staff favoured design “A”; however, a plain blue background was favoured rather than a background mimicking the Naval Board Flag. This issue was sent to the Naval Board to be decided upon, where it was considered the same day. The Minister of National Defence for Naval Services, The Honourable Angus L. Macdonald, suggested that nine maple leaves, representing the provinces, rather than eleven but otherwise the Naval Board arrived at the same conclusions as the Naval Staff, delaying its decision for further deliberation.
On 31 March 1944, the Naval Board approved Design “A” with minor revisions; it was described as “a fouled anchor on a plain blue field, surmounted by a Royal [Imperial] Crown and wreathed by nine Maple Leaves.” This design was sent to the Senior Canadian Naval Officer (London) by the Naval Board Secretary to be submitted to Clarenceux King of Arms on 17 April 1944.

On 21 April 1945, Naval Service Headquarters (NSHQ) received a naval message from the Canadian Naval Mission Overseas (CNMO) which stated the approval of His Majesty King George VI of the RCN badge (see Image F).

The Naval Board Secretary outlined the conditions under which the badge could be used on 15 March 1945. The badge could only be used with approval of the Department of National Defence for Naval Services and could be reproduced on items such as silverware, trophies, stationary, certificates and war grave headstones. On 28 September 1945, Privy Council Order (PC) 6264 approved the RCN official badge and its conditions for commercial reproduction. The badge was heraldically described as: “A fouled anchor or, upon an oval-shaped shield of deep azure from which issue eight maple leaves or, four from the dexter side and four from the sinister, and a ninth in base below the shield erect; the shield ensigned with the Royal [Imperial] Crown properly coloured.”

A draft of Naval General Order (NGO) 1.22/1 -- Naval Service of Canada Badge was created on 12 January 1946, stating that His Majesty the King approved the RCN badge, to be known as the “Naval Service of Canada Badge”. Also, use of the badge required approval from NSHQ unless on previously outlined items, and copies of the badge could be obtained from NSHQ (see Image G).

The first NGO 1.22/1 -- Naval Service of Canada Badge and its accompanying diagram was issued on 13 February 1946. Although no order between the draft of 12 January and order
of 13 February could be found, these two documents were not the same. The NGO of 13 February stated that the RCN badge could not be used for commercial purposes such as blazers and chinaware but only for official purposes within the RCN with approval from NSHQ. Two months later on 12 April, the Naval Board agreed that the badge, as it was approved by His Majesty the King, should only be used for official purposes with NSHQ’s approval and NGO 1.22/1 should be amended as such. A naval message was sent from NSHQ on 26 April stating that the clauses of the order regarding the commercial reproduction of the RCN badge were cancelled and an amendment would be issued.

NGO 1.22/1 and its accompanying diagram were reprinted and its number changed to 2.06/1; the only other change was that the term ‘Naval Headquarters’ replaced ‘Naval Service Headquarters’ (see Image H). This order was superseded on 31 December 1951. The text of the order did not change but the diagram did; ten maple leaves, rather than nine, surrounded the badge. The addition of a maple leaf represented the entry of Newfoundland into Confederation. Once again, written discussion of the change appeared after the fact. The Deputy Minister of National Defence C.M. Drury sent a letter to the Governor General Charles V. Massey on 17 July 1952, requesting that Massey seek Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II’s approval of a revised RCN badge which included ten maple leaves to represent the provinces. A reply was received on 1 August 1952 indicating Her Majesty’s approval of the modified design (see Image I).

NGO 2.06/1 and GO (General Order) Diagram No. 2.06/1 were issued on 23 October 1952. This order changed its title to Badge of the Royal Canadian Navy and al-
tered references of His Majesty the King to Her Majesty the Queen. The diagram did not change, retaining the Imperial Crown and ten maple leaves of the preceding order. NGO 2.06/1 and its diagram were issued on 19 July 1954. This order marked the change of the Crown from the Imperial Crown used by King George VI to the St. Edward’s Crown employed by Queen Elizabeth II and included some alteration in wording to represent this change (see Image J).

On 30 March 1955, W.T. Osborne, Secretary of the Ships’ Badges Committee, sent a memorandum to the Naval Secretary regarding the RCN badge. Osborne stated “that not only does the Crown change when a new monarch comes to the throne but the Anchor Cable is wrapped around in the opposite direction.” Osborne discovered this information in a letter sent in 1953 from the HMCS *Niobe* to Naval Headquarters. In his memorandum, Osborne referred to this letter and recommended that the RCN badge be amended to represent this new information. GO Diagram 2.06/1 was issued, displaying the amended badge; as the text of the order did not change, it was not re-issued. The revised design illustrated an anchor with a thicker stock and the cable knotted on the left of the ring, looping once around the shank and ending behind the left arm; the other elements of the badge remained the same (see Image K).

The final NGO 2.06/1 -- Badge of the Royal Canadian Navy was issued on 19 January 1962. This order, of which only the text was issued, had alterations in the wording. As well, with approval of Naval Headquarters, memorials could employ the official badge. NGO 2.06/1 was superseded by the Canadian Forces Emblem and cancelled on 13 December 1968 due to unification of the three services on 1 February of that year.

Abbreviations Used

CNMO – Canadian Naval Mission Overseas
DHH – Directorate of History and Heritage
DND – Department of National Defence
GO – General Order
HMCS – His/Her Majesty’s Canadian Ship
LAC – Library and Archives Canada
Lt. – Lieutenant
n.d. – no date
NGO – Naval General Order
NSHQ – Naval Service Headquarters
PC – Privy Council Order
RCN – Royal Canadian Navy
RCNVR – Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve
SB – Special Branch
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Library and Archives Canada (LAC)
In recent years, the Canadian Arctic has taken on a national focus in the areas of Arctic sovereignty, security and seaborne access. This focus has been fuelled by growing commercial activity in the oil, gas and mineral sectors. With the Northwest Passage now navigable in summer months by commercial shipping, there are an increasing number of unescorted and largely uncontrolled foreign ships, commercial aircraft and submarines transiting Canadian Arctic waters and skyways driving the need for sovereignty controls, environmental protection as well as search and rescue services.

Land claims disputes such as the one with Denmark also create the need for year round Canadian surveillance and a physical presence in the north.

With these strategic issues under national scrutiny, what lessons from the past can we learn from and how can these be applied to current needs?

HMCS Labrador, the only Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) icebreaker to date, was the first major vessel to transit the Northwest Passage when commissioned in 1954 and the first warship to circumnavigate North America. While on this and later voyages, she helped protect Canadian Arctic sovereignty,
pioneer Arctic navigation, maintain security and conduct extensive scientific work. **Labrador**'s RCN crew and embarked civilian scientists also pioneered new areas such as cold water diving, operation of helicopters from ships underway and modern electronic means of hydrographic surveying among others. The accomplishments by this ship, during a four year RCN career were nothing short of astounding and are largely unknown to the Canadian public. They garnered deep respect and appreciation from our allied neighbours to the south and the scientific community in North America and abroad.

A new project to document the achievements of her helicopter detachments during the ship's RCN operations was undertaken last year by Don MacNeil, son of Labrador's the helicopter detachment officer in charge for the 1956 Arctic cruise, Lt. (P) John A. MacNeil.

Don is writing a narrative style record of Labrador's use of her air detachment using military and personal records and photographs. These sources include the helicopter detachment log books, detachment diaries, the personal log books of the pilots who flew off Labrador, 35mm colour slides shot by his father as well as his father-in-law to be (Commander P.E.G. Savage, RN Fleet Air Arm, DSO, DSC, MID a military advisor and Arctic Warfare expert on the staff of the British High Commission to Canada) and records from the Naval Archives, naval historians and personal interviews.

During her voyages Labrador single handedly ensured the safe navigation
of major Canadian and American transport ship convoys of through treacherous, uncharted and ice choked waters. These convoys carried material and supplies for the construction of the Distant Early Warning chain of radar stations (i.e. DEW Line) designed to protect North America from surprise nuclear attack by the airforce of the USSR.

With the Canadian government now planning to re-equip the RCN with a new polar icebreaker and other ice capable ships, these lessons and pioneering efforts of the past and knowledge gained now take on greater interest for what they can offer on the past operation of naval vessels and aircraft in the Arctic environment.

Don plans to publish this account of Labrador’s air detachments in book form sometime in late 2014. Anyone with personal connections to Labrador or material related to this period are invited to contact the author by phone (613-592-4388) or email at: macneil4eva@hotmail.com.

Don MacNeil is the son of Lt. (P) John A. MacNeil, HMCS Labrador’s helicopter detachment officer in charge for the 1956 Arctic voyage. Don also served in the RCN from 1963 to 1966 onboard HMCS Columbia, Yukon and Ottawa and later worked for Pratt & Whitney Canada. In 1972 Don joined Bell Canada where he worked as an Associate Director of Business Development, involved with the creation of new high speed data, email and internet services. Taking early retirement from Bell in 2004, he was hired by Cognos (Now IBM/Cognos), where he was as a Senior Product Marketing manager and from where he finally retired in 2007. Don has a life long interest in aviation and is currently a volunteer with the Canada Aviation & Space Museum where he researches and writes the histories of specific aircraft in their collection. He is also an active member of the Canadian Aviation Historical Society's (CAHS) Ottawa Chapter and past member of the CAHS National executive where he served as National Membership Secretary. Don also spent four years helping Vintage Wings of Canada research the history of the aircraft in their collection, train tour guides and develop educational packages for high school students visiting the Vintage Wings aircraft collection.
INTRODUCTION

My father, Diamond Jenness, noticed nearly half an inch of ice on the water can when he arose on August 17, 1914 on board the white schooner, North Star, his home for the next two weeks. As the 12-metre, 10-ton vessel rolled gently at anchor in the harbour of Herschel Island, the westernmost island in the Canadian Arctic, he may have wondered if this indication of cold weather in August was an ill omen for the 1200-kilometre voyage he was about to make east to Coronation Gulf. He and his two companions were members of the Southern Party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-1916, and were going to spend the next two years living and studying the region and people in or about Coronation Gulf. Others in the Southern Party, including its leader, Dr. Rudolph M. Anderson, had just departed on the Alaska, a larger schooner.

Jenness had been born in Wellington, New Zealand in 1886, and obtained a Master of Arts degree from Victoria University College of Wellington in the classics – Latin and Greek – in 1908. From there, he proceeded to Oxford University on a scholarship to continue his classical studies for the next three years. During that period he was persuaded to take courses in anthropology, a decision that changed the direction of the rest of his life.

At this point one might well ask: “What on earth was someone from as far away as New Zealand with such a scholarly background doing at Herschel Island in August 1914?” A series of unusual events had brought him there exactly 100 years ago.

Following his graduation from Oxford University in 1911, my father had gone to Papua, New Guinea, to carry out anthropological studies on a small tribe of aboriginal people there. Sometime during the following year he contacted malaria and was forced to leave the country. He returned to Wellington, and in 1913, with some colleagues, he established the New Zealand Institute of Anthropology. Then, in the midst of this work, the opportunity to join the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-1916 was offered to him, and he could not resist such an exciting adventure. He accepted the offer and set sail from Vancouver B.C. on July 5, 1913, on the Alaska.

1 Dr. Edward Sapir was Canada’s first Chief of Anthropology: He served at the Victoria Memorial Museum in Ottawa from 1910 to 1925. Jenness met Dr. Sapir’s secretary, Frances Eileen Bleakney after his Arctic adventure and he married her, after returning from service in First World War. Stuart Edward Jenness was named Edward after Dr. Sapir.
to return to his parent’s home in New Zealand late in 1912 to recuperate.

Two months later, a cable unexpectedly reached him from the Geological Survey of Canada in Ottawa, Canada, with the following brief message: “Will you join Stefansson Arctic Expedition and study Eskimos for three years? Reply collect.” It was signed “E. Sapir,” a name he did not know¹. Through a local library he quickly undertook to learn as much as he could about the expedition and the sender of the cable before responding to it, but found little information. Nevertheless, he accepted the offer, and sailed from Auckland for Vancouver late in April.

THE CANADIAN ARCTIC EXPEDITION

The hastily planned and assembled Canadian Arctic Expedition he joined in Victoria endured many unexpected problems during the next few months, both before and after it sailed north from Esquimalt, British Columbia, on June 17, 1913. Conflict over leadership arose almost immediately as a result of the Canadian government’s decision to divide the expedition into a Northern Party led by Vilhjalmur Stefansson and a Southern Party led by Dr. Rudolph M. Anderson. Stefansson’s Northern Party was to explore the Beaufort Sea west of all known Arctic islands, and report to the Canadian Department of the Naval Services in Ottawa. Stefansson was also put in command of the entire expedition, and the Department of the Naval Services was made responsible for almost all of its expenses.

Dr. Anderson, a zoologist, was put in charge of the Southern Party, which was to conduct scientific studies east of the Mackenzie River Delta to Coronation Gulf, and report to the Geological Survey of Canada, also in Ottawa. Dr. Anderson and most of the other men on the Southern Party were staff members of the Geological Survey of Canada. Jenness and fellow anthropologist Henri Beuchat, of Paris, France, were attached to this Southern Party, their role being to study the little-known Coronation Gulf Inuit.

Stefansson had taken courses in anthropology at Harvard University and so was keenly interested in the Coronation Gulf Inuit, whom he had encountered in 1910 and later named the “Copper Eskimos” because of their use of that metal. However, being leader of the Northern Party, he was now required to devote most of his efforts to exploring the Beaufort Sea for new land. He had, in consequence, purposely arranged to have both Jenness and Beuchat on the Karluk on its voyage from Nome to Herschel Island in order to help prepare them for their study of the “Copper Eskimos”. At Herschel Island they would join the Southern Party of scientists and sail east with them to Coronation Gulf to pursue their studies.

In Victoria even before the expedition got underway, many of the scientists objected to the restrictions Stefansson had persuaded the government to impose on them regarding what and when they could publish about the expedition and even what information they could include in the letters they wrote. Others expressed concern over the condition of the old former whaling ship, Karluk, which the Northern Party was to
use for the next three years, even though it had just undergone considerable renova-
tions. And then, many of the men complained about the kinds of equipment and provi-
sions with (or without) which they had been provided.

In response to the men’s complaints, Stefans-
son purchased more provisions in Seattle and had
them shipped to Nome, Alaska. At Nome he took
possession, as prearranged, of the schooner Alaska,
which was for the use of the Southern Party. Then
he realized that the two vessels were inadequate to
carry all of the equipment and supplies piled up at
Nome waiting for transport to Herschel Island where
they would be apportioned to the two parties before
they commenced their separate activities. He there-
fore purchased a third schooner, the Mary Sachs,
but the extra schooner required more men to oper-
ate it and then, of course, more provisions to feed
them. And the Alaska required a new propeller,
which had to be ordered from the south, delaying
further progress.

Perhaps foremost among the many problems
encountered by the expedition that summer, how-
ever, was the virtually impassable condition of the ice in
the Beaufort Sea north of Alaska. It was so bad that it
prevented the entire expedition from reaching Herschel
Island that summer. The two smaller schooners, the
Alaska and the Mary Sachs, found shelter for the winter
in Camden Bay, some 480 kilometres east of Point Bar-
row, the most northern point on the North American continent. The expedition’s flag-
ship Karluk was less successful, however, becoming trapped in the ice north of Alaska early in August and drifting aimlessly back and forth for the next several weeks.

By September 18, 1913, the ice enclosing the Karluk had joined the coastal ice
along the north shore of Alaska and had temporarily ceased drifting. Stefansson sud-
denly announced that the next day he would lead a party of men 30 kilometres to the
coast to hunt caribou and bring fresh meat back to the ship. With him he took Jenness in case they met any Inuit; Wilkins, who was the expedition’s photographer and a com-
petent hunter; his “secretary” McConnell; two young Alaskan native hunters with two
sleds and dogs, and enough provisions for two weeks.

Two nights later, before they had even reached the coast, a fierce gale struck the
region and opened a large body of water between them and the Karluk, preventing
their return to the ship. During that gale, the ice enclosing the Karluk broke off from the
shore ice and drifted rapidly away from the coast to the northwest, taking the Karluk
with it. It was not seen again.
Early the next January, some 150 kilometres from Wrangel Island, the Karluk was crushed by the ice and sank. Fortunately, most of its personnel were ultimately rescued, largely through the heroic and successful actions of the ship’s captain, Bob Bartlett, who led the survivors to Wrangel Island, got them safely established there, then set off with a young Inuk assistant on a sled journey of more than a thousand kilometres to Siberia and Nome to seek help for the survivors on Wrangel Island. Tragically, eleven of them died, including the anthropologist Beuchat, before the rescuers arrived the following September. The Karluk personnel formed virtually all of Stefansson’s Northern Party, however, and their removal with the Karluk terminated their intended important role on the expedition.

The disappearance of the Karluk stranded Stefansson and his companions. After several days hunting caribou unsuccessfully, Stefansson resignedly led his men west along the coast to Barrow (then called Cape Smyth), the nearest settlement. They reached it on October 12, and remained there for several weeks, recovering from their ailments. Jenness had experienced repeated attacks of malaria-related fever and chills since leaving the Karluk. Wilkins and McConnell had injured their feet and Stefansson had injured his back.

Stefansson had now lost the Karluk and the personnel for his Northern Party. He also had to report his expedition’s appallingly bad luck to the government in Ottawa. This he and his secretary immediately set about doing over the following weeks with a borrowed typewriter, leaving Jenness and Wilkins to fill their days with anything they could find to do. Their two young Inuit companions found accommodation in the local community; one of them quit the expedition a short while later.

After a fortnight Stefansson instructed Jenness and Wilkins to take a sled of provisions and two Inuit men east to encamp with the Inuit family they had stayed with briefly on their way to Barrow. Once there they were to catch and store fish from a nearby lake for their dogs and themselves for the winter, and Jenness was to commence his anthropological studies. Stefansson would join them briefly within days, bringing additional provisions for Jenness, on his way east to join the men of the Southern Party at Camden Bay. He would then take Wilkins and one of the two Inuit with him at that time, leaving Jenness and an Inuk assistant for the winter with the two local Inuit families. Someone, he promised Jenness, would come west for him later in the winter to bring him east to Camden Bay.

By the time Stefansson and McConnell arrived from Barrow on November 21, Jenness and Wilkins were almost out of food. Stefansson stayed three days then continued east with Wilkins and McConnell and one of the two Inuit who had accompanied Jenness from Barrow (the other Inuk quit the expedition to hunt and trap on his own.) Stefansson had brought about 300 pounds of food (mainly rice, sugar, and oatmeal) for Jenness for the winter, but had inconveniently cached most of it with an Inuit family 33 kilometres away. Before leaving to continue east, Stefansson assured Jenness that he would arrange to have additional provisions sent to him from Camden Bay, but none arrived. Jenness was then left near the mouth of the Colville River with the two
Inuit families and a sixteen-year-old boy, Alfred (Brick) Hopson, whom Stefansson had brought from Barrow to serve as Jenness’ translator although the boy’s knowledge of English was limited. Somehow they all coped for a few weeks, with Jenness learning much about their way of life and their language and making copious notes on all that they did each day.

By the end of January Jenness’ supply of food was almost exhausted and he decided to return west to Barrow. He and Brick made the cold winter journey in eight days. In Barrow, Jenness stayed with the storekeeper, Charles Brower, until the arrival a few weeks later of McConnell and Fred, his Inuk assistant with a sled team from Camden Bay. While in Barrow Jenness worked over his notes on the grammar of the Inuktitut language and the increasingly large Inuit vocabulary he was compiling. He also spent time studying and making notes on a collection of Inuit artifacts Stefansson had purchased earlier from Charles Brower in Barrow.

On February 28 Jenness, McConnell, and Fred started east along the Alaskan coast with two sleds and dogs. After a difficult journey, they finally reached the log cabin housing the men of the Southern Party at Collinson Point in Camden Bay on March 20. There they learned that Stefansson had just headed north over the Beaufort Sea, with two companions and a three month’s supply of provisions, to commence the task his Northern Party was supposed to undertake: searching for new lands and the location of the continental slope, and making assorted biological observations on seals, polar bears, and birds. He was accompanied briefly by several Southern party men bringing additional provisions. Some days later, the support party arrived back at Collinson Point, bringing new instructions from Stefansson individually for Dr. Anderson, Wilkins, Chipman, O’Neill, and Jenness regarding projects they were to undertake in the spring and summer before the two schooners could sail east to Coronation Gulf.

Stefansson’s instructions to Jenness were that he was, first of all, to make an inventory of the supplies Stefansson had recently purchased from a trader named Duffy O’Connor at Demarcation Point, a few kilometres west of the international boundary between Canada and the United States. Later, after warmer weather had arrived, he was to go to Barter Island and excavate the ruins of many old Inuit dwellings there. He was also to make anthropological observations on Inuit he encountered, including head measurements, tattoos, and colours of eyes.

Between April 26 and May 6 Jenness made the journey east to Demarcation Point, took the inventory of stock Stefansson had purchased from O’Connor, and returned to Collinson Point. For the next few weeks, he worked quietly on his anthropological notes.

Thereafter, Jenness hastily gathered what he needed and with two Inuit families moved east to Barter Island to commence the archaeological work as per Stefansson’s instructions. This undertaking over the next seven weeks yielded ground plans for, and artifacts from, more than seventy-six ancient dwellings, inhabited from 400 to 550 years ago (as was determined years later by carbon-14 dating), and a collection of
about 3300 artifacts for the museum in Ottawa. Each day, with the assistance of an Inuk man and his step-son, Jenness diligently scraped and dug systematically among the several sites on the island, having to rely on the sun and temperature to soften the earth around the assorted artifacts.

This little-known study and collection proved to be the first major archaeological investigation in the North American Arctic, and later earned my father the unofficial title of “Father of North American Arctic Archeology.” The importance of his collection increased appreciably after bulldozers destroyed the Barter Island sites in the mid 1950’s during the construction of one of the many radar stations erected across Alaska and northern Canada to form the North American Distant-Early-Warning (DEW) Line defence system.

On July 24 my father arrived back at the Southern Party’s headquarters at Collinson Point with his archaeological specimens, just in time to board the nearly loaded Mary Sachs before it sailed for Herschel Island. It sailed the next day, reaching that destination on August 6, by which date the Alaska and the North Star were already there.

The North Star was a trim little schooner Stefansson had bought during the winter, along with some provisions, from trader Matt Andreasen near Demarcation Point. In his instructions to Wilkins in April, Stefansson had told him to get the schooner and its engine into condition, to stock it with provisions and a crew, and to sail to Banks Island to meet Stefansson and his two men in the summer.

And that is how, in August 1914, Jenness happened to be at Herschel Island.

TURMOIL AT HERSCHEL ISLAND

Fortuitously, the Southern Party’s geographers Chipman and Cox, geologist O’Neill, and their two boatmen, reached Herschel Island from the east the same day as the Mary Sachs, after mapping the delta of the Mackenzie River for the previous several weeks in accordance with Stefansson’s instructions. Chipman brought with him the expedition’s mail from Fort MacPherson, the nearest post office to Herschel Island and the Arctic coast at that time.

Official letters to Dr. Anderson from the two government departments in Ottawa contained conflicting instructions. The Deputy Minister of the Department of the Naval Services instructed him to dispatch immediately a well-provisioned ship and search party, preferably commanded by Chipman, to look for Stefansson and his two companions. The Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, on the other hand, instructed Dr. Anderson to pursue the work of the Southern Party and not under any circumstances to allow Chipman to go in search of Stefansson. As for Chipman, he expressed neither desire nor intention of leading the search party.
The apparent dilemma was resolved when Wilkins volunteered to take charge of the search party, though it meant breaking his contract with his employer, British Gaumont, a major film company in London. It also cost him his job with them he learned later for he was on a one-year loan to the expedition and his employer wrote, asking him to return to England as quickly as he could.

Wilkins already had on board the **North Star** all the provisions and personnel he deemed necessary to search for and bring back Stefansson’s party, and was ready to start for Banks Island. However, a hasty discussion between Dr. Anderson and his scientists concluded that the search ship must carry more than one year’s supplies with it to Banks Island in case ice conditions prevented its return the next summer, and that the **North Star** was too small to carry that amount of provisions. Wilkins would therefore have to take the larger **Mary Sachs** instead of the **North Star**. That change in schooners was quickly agreed upon, in spite of the explicit instructions Dr. Anderson had received from Stefansson the previous April to send the **North Star** north for him.

On August 9 the SS **Herman** suddenly arrived at Herschel Island with supplies for the expedition and news of the sinking of the **Karluk** and of Captain Bartlett’s remarkable journey to Wrangel Island, Siberia, and Nome to seek help in rescuing the **Karluk**’s survivors from Wrangel Island. This news also meant that Dr. Anderson need no longer contemplate that the ship sent to Banks Island might have to bring back possible survivors of the **Karluk**.

Somehow the expedition members now quickly managed to remove from the **Mary Sachs** the supplies and equipment that were supposed to go east to Coronation Gulf. He had successfully transferred the supplies on the **North Star** to the **Mary Sachs**. On August 11, the **Mary Sachs** was loaded and ready to sail, and Wilkins steered it out of the harbour at Herschel Island en route to Banks Island in what turned out to be a successful search for Stefansson and his two companions.

With the **North Star** now available for use by the Southern Party, John Cox (the assistant geographer with engineering training) assumed the duties of manning its gasoline engine during its voyage east to Coronation Gulf, as he had run a launch on the Mackenzie Delta during the previous two months and he had also received some hasty instructions on the operations and peculiarities of the **North Star**’s engine from Wilkins before his departure.
An experienced Dutch sailor named Aarnout Castel took charge of selecting the North Star’s course, directing the helmsman away from loose ice in its path, and other ship’s duties. As there were only three men on the North Star when it left Herschel Island, Jenness by default became its helmsman. For this task, he had received a practical lesson in steering and anchoring of the schooner on August 12, perhaps the only training he had for the job. Cox slept in the engine room, Jenness and Castel in the galley cabin.

On the afternoon of August 14, a strong wind arose, increasing overnight to a gale, and blew the North Star aground on the beach. The Alaska attempted to pull it off the next day, but lacked sufficient power. A larger vessel, the newly arrived Belvedere, then came to the North Star’s rescue on the 16th and soon had it afloat. The following morning the Alaska headed east for Coronation Gulf. The North Star was expected to follow, but Cox was unable to get its engine started, and that vessel remained behind while he worked on it.

**VOYAGE EAST**

The North Star finally left the harbour at Herschel Island around 5 p.m. on August 18, well loaded down with about seventeen tons of freight. This included supplies, a canoe, a kayak, a heavy ship’s dinghy with engine, nine dogs, and the three men. With Castel at the wheel and Cox in the engine room, Jenness ceremoniously dipped the schooner’s flag three times in salute as they passed the barracks of the Royal North-
west Mounted Police on their departure. He then took over the wheel, and Castel “went aloft” up the mainmast to shout instructions on the course Jenness should steer through the loose kegs of ice that floated everywhere. Engine noise sometimes drowned out his instructions, resulting in the schooner occasionally bumping and scraping the drifting ice, but the North Star suffered no serious damage. After progressing along the coast for more than 40 kilometres, they came upon the Alaska anchored for the night, and pulled up alongside.

Both ships got underway about 4:30 a.m. on the next day, the North Star following in the wake of the Alaska until the Alaska developed engine trouble and stopped. By 6:30 a.m., the North Star had reached open water, and Jenness set the schooner on a direct course and retired to get some sleep. He thus missed seeing King Point, where the Norwegian explorer Amundsen and his companions wintered en route to completing the first crossing of the Northwest Passage in 1906. Later that morning, the North Star reached Shingle Point, where it anchored while Cox and Jenness paddled the canoe to shore to purchase some fish from the Inuit living in a dozen tents on the site. The arrival of the Alaska resulted in Dr. Anderson and Cox bartering for both fresh and dried fish, while Jenness took photographs and made observations on the mixed origin of various native children living there.

Both ships departed about 5 p.m., and kept going all night. Jenness handled the steering from 8 to 11 p.m., then from 3:15 to 6 a.m., and continuously from 8 a.m. to 3 p.m. on the 20\textsuperscript{th}. Twice during the night the engine gave them trouble, and Jenness was called upon to help hoist the sails. By 2:30 p.m. on the 20\textsuperscript{th} the Alaska had gotten so far ahead of them, it was out of sight. Jenness managed to get some sleep after that, but took the helm again at 11 p.m. to steer the North Star towards Point Atkinson.

Dr. Anderson had instructed Jenness and Cox to collect a cache originally belonging to Matt Andreasen at Point Atkinson so Jenness steered the schooner near to the shore and Castel dropped the anchor. Then Cox and Castel paddled ashore in the canoe, returning a little while later with several fox traps and towing a sled. As this sled was in much better condition than the one they already had on board, they decided to keep it and take their old one back to the cache. Jenness and Castel thereupon towed the old sled back to shore, allowing Cox to get some much-needed sleep, for he had spent many hours in the smoke-filled engine room keeping the engine running ever since they had left Herschel Island.

The North Star got under way east from Point Atkinson about 3 a.m., with Jenness at the helm, following the coast to Cape Dalhousie, then it crossed the 70-kilometre width of Liverpool Bay, heading for Cape Bathurst. During the day the men used the mainsail and staysail to increase their speed to about 6 knots. That evening they came in sight of Baillie Islands, by which time all three were close to exhaustion because of lack of sleep.

Thinking to save time, they chose to enter the western entrance of the channel between the two Baillie Islands and Cape Bathurst on the mainland. They expected no
trouble, because Matt Andreasen had said that he always used that channel entrance
in preference to the eastern one. However, on this occasion, loose ice choked the
channel, their heavy load weighed the schooner well down in the water, and none of
the men knew just where the deepest part of the channel was. With the engine turning
over slowly, and Castel up front sounding the bottom depth frequently, Jenness
steered carefully along what he believed was the deepest part of the channel. Su-
ddenly the *North Star* came to a halt, stuck fast on the bottom. No amount of pushing
with long poles or power from the engine would budge her.

After a brief discussion, they lowered the dinghy and put twenty-two cases of dis-
tillate in it in an attempt to lighten the schooner’s load. Then they discovered that the
tide was dropping. Cox and Castel attached a motor to the dinghy, and headed for the
shore, leaving Jenness to take care of the schooner. Their endeavour failed, however,
when they discovered that the water under their dinghy had become so shallow they
could not get within 30 metres of the shore. After searching for a time to find a deeper
place of entry, they chanced to look back at the *North Star* and were amazed to see it
was now floating freely, trying to drag its anchor. The tide had turned, assisted by the
wind. They hastily returned to the schooner, hoisted the distillate and dinghy aboard,
and headed around the north side of the two Baillie Islands, anchoring close to the
*Alaska* on the eastern side. It was then about 8 a.m. on August 22. Another schooner,
the *Teddy Bear*, also lay alongside the *Alaska*.

The unexpected meeting with the *Teddy Bear* proved extremely timely. Its cap-
tain, Joseph Bernard, a nephew of the captain of the *Mary Sachs*, had spent a winter
in what he described as “the best harbour he has seen in the Arctic”.² It was between
Stapylton Bay and Cape Krusenstern, with plenty of wood, fish, and caribou. Captain
Bernard hastily drew a sketch map for Dr. Anderson, who decided it would be a suit-
able site to locate his Southern Party’s base camp. Captain Bernard also informed
them that there was loose ice all the way to Coronation Gulf, that the *Mary Sachs* had
broken one of its two propellers in the ice, and that Wilkins was having much trouble
with the weather and the drunken behaviour of some of his crew.

The *Alaska* left Baillie Islands shortly after noon on August 22, with Dr. Anderson
hoping to catch up to the *Mary Sachs* so that he could discuss Wilkins’ problems be-
fore Wilkins crossed Amundsen Gulf to Banks Island. Prior to his departure, however,
Jenness and Cox persuaded Dr. Anderson that they needed another man to help oper-
ate the *North Star* during the rest of its voyage east. As a result, a young Inuk named
Palaiyak transferred from the *Alaska* to the *North Star*. He had served with Stefansson
on his previous Arctic expedition. Palaiyak and Castel immediately proceeded to cut a
supply of whale meat for dog food from a dead whale washed up on the beach near
the schooners, while Cox slept and Jenness traded cloth material for artifacts with a
few local Inuit. When these tasks were completed the *North Star* struck out for its little-
known destination to the east.

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² Dr. Anderson originally gave the name Bernard Harbour to this safe little harbour in 1915, in appreciation of Captain Joe Bernard
telling him about it. A decade later, however, when the Canadian government published the geographical report on the region by
Chipman and Cox in 1924 that name was applied instead to the larger harbour into which the smaller one opened.
From the Baillie Islands, the *North Star* followed the coast southeast almost to the mouth of the Horton River. Then it headed east across the nearly 80 kilometres of open water reaching the rocky cliffs at Cape Parry on the eastern side of Franklin Bay on the morning of August 23. Nearby Jenness noticed the remains of the *Alexander*, a large whaling ship that had been wrecked on the cape in 1906. Two Inuit men suddenly appeared, paddling a canoe from a camp at the cape to visit the men on the *North Star*. They brought news that Wilkins and the *Mary Sachs* had passed there some hours earlier, heading east.

The *North Star* continued on its way, heading across the 80-kilometre-wide mouth of Darnley Bay for Cape Lyon. This journey, although about the same distance as the one they had just completed across Franklin Bay, took them much longer, because the tide was against them during their crossing. They needed to stop somewhere around Cape Lyon to leave a cache of food for Chipman and a small party of men who would survey the coast from Darnley Bay to the Coppermine River and beyond a few months later.

A light towards midnight, the first they had seen since leaving Collinson Point, helped guide Jenness as he slowly navigated the *North Star* between the drifting kegs of ice and some perpendicular rocky cliffs towards a beach upon which they could see a sod house and a tent. Jenness had been told there might be an Inuit family living in one of the small bays at the cape, and it was their lantern that helped bring the *North Star* safely into the correct bay. He was so struck by the beauty of the setting around the small gravel beach that he wrote in his diary “The gorgeous glow of the sunset and sunrise behind the cliffs of Pierce [sic Pearce] Point, the gleaming white and bluish ice kegs, the dark blue sea stirred by light ripples, and the brown tundra behind made a wonderfully striking picture, the beauty of which equalled anything that I have seen”.

Castel dropped the *North Star’s* anchor near the beach, and a small skin boat soon brought a teen-aged boy and girl alongside the ship. They identified themselves as Patsy and Etna Klengenberg; Etna was Patsy’s older sister. They were alone in the camp, they told Jenness and Palaiyak, as their father (a Danish-born trapper, Captain Charles Klengenberg) and the rest of his family were camped somewhere down Darnley Bay. They had seen a ship (which proved to be the *Alaska*) heading east the previous evening. The two youngsters recognized Palaiyak and stayed on board chatting with him while Cox and Castel made the cache and Jenness gathered firewood from the beach. By 3 a.m., Patsy and Etna had returned to shore, and the *North Star* was on its way east again, with Castel at the helm and Palaiyak on watch, while Jen-
ness and Cox caught some sleep.

At 9 a.m. on August 24, Castel let Palaiyak take the helm while he prepared breakfast, and wakened Jenness and Cox. The sea was calm and sparkling in the sunshine and a light east wind prevailed as they slowly progressed along the shore. An ignition spring broke on the engine just as they reached the mouth of the Roscoe River, and the schooner drifted into shallow water, almost going aground half a kilometre off shore while Cox was replacing the broken part. The engine broke down again a short while later, and this time, while Cox was repairing it, Jenness shot a seal that in its inquisitiveness had approached too closely to the schooner. Palaiyak skinned the seal, and hung the meat on the rigging to dry. Castel and Palaiyak then took turns steering the North Star overnight while Jenness and Cox slept.

Jenness took the helm again at 5 a.m. on August 25, as they approached Dolphin and Union Strait along its southern coast. The somewhat featureless terrain to their south made it difficult to determine their location on the old British Admiralty chart they were using as their guide. A slight fog now enveloped them, further hindering their recognition of where they were. Around noon the wind shifted to the north and cleared the fog and they saw they were near a cape, which after much discussion and examination of the chart, they concluded was Young Point. Worn bearings now created engine trouble, but they lacked a replacement set, so Castel hoisted the foresail and staysail. Fog again closed in on them, forcing Jenness to steer by compass. However, that instrument was not of much help owing to the proximity of Stapylton Bay to the magnetic pole which affected the compass readings. Jenness maintained the North Star's course cautiously through the fog for about two hours believing he was crossing the mouth of Stapylton Bay but, because he did not see land when he expected, he changed his course to slightly more southward. After what seemed an unusually long time they recognized Cape Bexley, which forms the northeast side of Stapylton Bay, prompting Jenness to understated in his diary “Evidently the chart here, as in so many places along the coast, is not quite accurate”. Chipman and Cox later mapped this part of the north coast of the mainland.

After passing Cape Bexley, the North Star was forced to slow down to half speed owing to a thickening of the fog that enveloped the ship and the rocky nature of the coastline. With Castel at the wheel, Jenness cooked supper. When the fog refused to diminish, the men decided it was advisable to stop for the night, and steered into water about 4 metres deep and dropped the anchor. That evening they enjoyed supper together, followed by more than an hour of relaxed chatting and smoking. Then Castel was assigned to stand guard while the other three men turned in to sleep. At 11 p.m. Castel called Jenness to take the watch. During his watch Jenness noticed the absence of any fish in the shallow water, which he attributed to the presence in the area of many seals. (He later learned that they were anchored close to one of the main winter seal-hunting areas of the Copper Inuit.) At midnight, Jenness turned over the guard

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3 The magnetic pole was then located near King William Island, about 1000 kilometres to the east. Today, it is located many hundreds of kilometres north-northwest of its 1914 location.
duty to Palaiyak, but resumed the duty a couple of times more during the night, while
the thick fog continued now that they were in Dolphin and Union Strait.

At breakfast on the 26th, which they enjoyed together, Jenness ate seal meat for
the first time, later commenting in his diary that it was “excellent”. “I could not have dis-
tinguished it from calves’ liver”, he wrote, but added “... seal meat can be tough and
‘sealy’ in taste”.

Around 11 a.m. the weather cleared, and the men could make out a point a mile
to the east and two or three islands off shore a distance away, which they correctly
identified as the Liston Islands. They could also just make out the hills of Victoria Is-
land to the north. They concluded the point east of them was probably Cockburn Point,
in which case they were just a few miles from the harbour recommended by Captain
Joe Bernard at Baillie Islands. With Castel “aloft” and Jenness again steering, they
headed the North Star for their intended destination on August 26, steering between
the Liston Islands and the mainland. Suddenly the fog settled around them again and
reduced their visibility to about 30 metres. Jenness turned the ship southward and they
slowly moved ahead, ultimately coming within view of the shore, but being forced to
dodge the numerous kegs of floating ice that seemed to have accumulated near it. Fi-
nally they tied their ship to a grounded ice floe and had lunch. Afterwards, Castel and
Palaiyak took the canoe and paddled off to investigate the shore in an attempt to iden-
tify just where they were. They returned about 7 p.m. after exploring the coast for
about 5 kilometres, but were unable to say whether they were alongside the mainland
or an island.

During their absence Jenness thought he heard dogs barking, so Cox fired sev-
eral shots, but they received no answer. Presently ice forced them to shift the North Star a little distance out from the shore, where they tied up to a larger grounded ice
floe.

THE VOYAGE ENDS

That night, when my father replaced Castel on watch at 3 a.m., Castel mentioned
that he had heard dogs barking to the southeast during his watch, on the far side of
some gravel ridges. Later in the morning Jenness shot a small seal. Almost immedi-
ately, he heard an answering shot from beyond the nearby ridge. Cox started the en-
gine and the men cast off, edging the North Star slowly along the shore in the contin-
uing fog. Just as they rounded a small point, they spotted a canoe approaching them,
paddled by Dr. Anderson and Chipman. After initial greetings, Dr. Anderson explained
that the North Star would run aground if it continued into the channel from which he and
Chipman had just emerged, for it was barely deep enough to carry their canoe. Instead, they should take the North Star around the gravel island and come through the deeper channel on its east side in order to enter the safe bay in which they could see the Alaska about a half a kilometre away.

When they got the North Star to the east side of the gravel island (later named
Teddy Bear Island after Captain Joe Bernard’s schooner), they discovered some ice blocking their way into the inner harbour. As a result, they were forced to wait until the next morning (Friday, August 28) before proceeding into the small but safe inner harbour and anchoring beside the Alaska. Here the Southern Party built its base camp in September 1914.  

Two years later, with its expedition assignments completed, the Southern Party members loaded the Alaska and sailed back to Nome, from where they proceeded to Ottawa.

During the unusual twelve-day sea voyage described above, Jenness slept erratically, but never once complained of the cold or removed his clothes and served alternatively as helmsman, cook, and anthropologist. He never returned to the western Canadian Arctic, did not likely ever steer another vessel on the ocean, and he rarely cooked anything other than breakfasts thereafter. However, he did devote much of the rest of his life to the study and welfare of Canada’s Inuit and First Nations people, serving his newly adopted country faithfully as its Chief Anthropologist in Ottawa for twenty-one years. Diamond Jenness died in November 1969 at the age of 83.

Principal Reference:

The above account of Jenness’ unusual Arctic sea voyage is based mainly on information in Chapter 17, Arctic Odyssey – The Diary of Diamond Jenness, Ethnologist with the Canadian Arctic Expedition in Northern Alaska and Canada, 1913-1918, Stuart E. Jenness (editor) Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991, pp. 268-281.

In 1935, a new schooner with the same name, North Star, was built in 1935 in San Francisco for Fred Carpenter, a trapper resident of Banks Island in the 1920s and 1930s. It saw much use in northern service, transporting furs. Today it is owned by R. Bruce Macdonald, a resident of Victoria, B.C., who is a descendant of Captain Peter Bernard. Captain Peter Bernard in 1913 sold the Mary Sachs to Stefansson, then continued as its captain while working for Stefansson’s Northern party, and lost his life attempting to take provisions and mail to Stefansson’s Melville Island camp late in 1916. In the summer of 2013, Captain Macdonald endeavoured to take his North Star to Banks Island to team up with the Arctic scientist and Arctic Expedition expert, Dr. David Gray, at Sachs Harbour, to explore the west and north coasts of Banks Island for evidence of sites used by Stefansson’s Northern Party, and if possible for information on the location of where Captain Peter Bernard lost his life. Adverse ice conditions in the Beaufort Sea somewhat like those of 1913 prevented Captain Macdonald from reaching Banks Island during the summer of 2013.

4The North Star remained anchored at Bernard Harbour until the next May when Wilkins suddenly arrived by dog-team from Banks Island bearing authorization from Stefansson to take it from the Southern Party and bring it to Banks Island for service with Stefansson’s Northern Party. Wilkins reached the northwest coast of Banks Island in September 1915, but ice conditions forced him to find winter shelter for the schooner in a bay near Bernard Island. By then, Stefansson was exploring north of Melville Island and had no further use for it. In 1917 Stefansson turned the North Star over to his Inuk assistant, Billy Naktusiak Banksland, in lieu of part of the wages owed him. The latter used the schooner for many years in connection with the rewarding trapping and transport of Arctic foxes before it was badly damaged and lost at Baillie Islands during a storm in 1932 or 1933.

5In 1935, a new schooner with the same name, North Star, was built in 1935 in San Francisco for Fred Carpenter, a trapper resident of Banks Island in the 1920s and 1930s. It saw much use in northern service, transporting furs. Today it is owned by R. Bruce Macdonald, a resident of Victoria, B.C., who is a descendant of Captain Peter Bernard. Captain Peter Bernard in 1913 sold the Mary Sachs to Stefansson, then continued as its captain while working for Stefansson’s Northern party, and lost his life attempting to take provisions and mail to Stefansson’s Melville Island camp late in 1916. In the summer of 2013, Captain Macdonald endeavoured to take his North Star to Banks Island to team up with the Arctic scientist and Arctic Expedition expert, Dr. David Gray, at Sachs Harbour, to explore the west and north coasts of Banks Island for evidence of sites used by Stefansson’s Northern Party, and if possible for information on the location of where Captain Peter Bernard lost his life. Adverse ice conditions in the Beaufort Sea somewhat like those of 1913 prevented Captain Macdonald from reaching Banks Island during the summer of 2013.


Significant publications by Diamond Jenness

Copper Eskimos, Part A, 277 p.


Additional Recommended Reading:


Stuart E. Jenness was born on August 22, 1925 in Ottawa, Canada, the second son of anthropologist Diamond Jenness (M.A., Oxford) and Frances Eileen Bleakney. He received his early education at the Ottawa Normal Model School and Glebe Collegiate Institute in Ottawa (1931-1943), then majored in geology at Queens University (B.Sc.1948), the University of Minnesota (M.S., 1950) and Yale University (Ph.D., 1955). For several summers he undertook geological mapping at Great Bear Lake (1948), in western Quebec (1948, 1951), eastern Newfoundland (1952, 1953, 1955-1957), working respectively for the Geological Survey of Canada, the Quebec Department of Mines, and the Geological Survey of Newfoundland. For two years (1949-1951) he was an instructor in geology at Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pennsylvania.

After completing his graduate studies he joined the Geological Survey of Canada (1954 - 1960) as a field geologist. From 1960 to 1967 he served as an assistant editor at that organization. In 1967 he was appointed as a scientific editor at the National Research Council of Canada, responsible for the publication of several scientific journals, including the Canadian Journal of Earth Sciences.

Following his retirement in 1985, he researched and edited his father’s 1913-1916 Arctic diary (Arctic Odyssey – The Diary of Diamond Jenness 1913-1916, published by the Canadian Museum of Civilization in 1991), then continued his Arctic research and writing, publishing several other scholarly books related to the activities of the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-1918. In 2005 he was awarded the John Lyman Book award for that year by the North American Society for Oceanic History for his account of Sir Hubert Wilkins’ experiences on the Canadian Arctic Expedition (The Making of an Explorer, published 2004 by McGill-Queens University Press).

Twice married and twice widowed, Stuart has a son in Vancouver, and a daughter in Iowa, two grandchildren, and two step-sons with several step-grandchildren, all of whom live in the United States. Stuart lives in Ottawa.
In August 2013, a friend and I set off on a month long adventure to explore parts of the Canadian Arctic, Greenland and Eastern Canada aboard the Silversea expedition cruise ship Silver Explorer. Over the next 32 days, we covered over 5300 nautical miles, experienced just about every sea condition imaginable and outran more than one storm. On our expedition, we visited numerous communities, parks, islands, learning about the plants, animals, people, and history of these places. On the outside, Silver Explorer is a 108 m long, 6130 tonne ship with a class 1A reinforced hull that allows it to easily travel in the polar regions; inside, Explorer is a luxury cruise ship. Yet, she takes no more than 132 passengers with a fluid, active itinerary dependent on weather and sea conditions. A team of experts, including an ornithologist, an archaeologist, a climatologist, a geologist, a biologist and a naturalist was on board to enrich our adventure.

The first part of the trip was a 14 day cruise called “Exploring Nunavut and Greenland” that started with a charter flight from Winnipeg to Churchill. The first of many things I learned was that Churchill was much smaller than I expected. Churchill has a population of around 900 augmented by tourists during the two peak tourist seasons – the polar bear season and the beluga season. On our way from the airport to the ship, we got a tour, including a walk on the beach – with instructions not to go past the 'beware of polar bear' signs. Even when it’s not polar bear season, errant polar bears can wander past the perimeter warning system. Those that do, end up in the Polar Bear Holding Facility, known by the locals as the Polar Bear jail and there were, at the time we were there, four 'inmates' awaiting transport out onto the ice once it formed for the winter.

We were fortunate to be in Churchill during beluga season and our second day there, we were treated to a zodiac cruise out with the belugas. With a fairly large swell, it was difficult to photograph the belugas, but I enjoyed getting out from behind the lens of the camera. With countless belugas swimming near us, around us and under us, it was the first of many unique experiences we would have.
From Churchill we headed north through some fairly bumpy seas towards the Nunavut community of Arviat, a town of approximately 2000 people. Given the weather and sea conditions that we were to experience later in our cruise, these would be tame, but as it was our first night out and we didn't yet have our sea legs, it was a bit uncomfortable. It was my first visit to Nunavut and what a wonderful, welcoming experience! We visited the local cultural centre, took a walking tour of the town, experienced a traditional camp, and were welcomed into the home of a couple who had met the Queen and then treated to stories, bannock and tea. And on the 4 km zodiac ride back to the ship, our group was lucky enough to see a polar bear that our zodiac driver had earlier been driving away from the town. As the bear climbed out of the water, he kept looking at us as he walked along the shore. While he didn't look particularly happy, probably because he was headed away from all the possible food sources in Arviat, it was a good decision on his part to allow himself to be driven away from town – had he come ashore there, they would have had to shoot him.

Just before turning in for the night, an announcement was made throughout the ship that there was an impressive display of northern lights occurring and so we headed up on deck to observe them.

Our next two stops, Walrus Island and Bencas Island in northern Hudson Bay, were supposed to be wildlife sighting stops, but the sea had other ideas and a large swell prevented a safe transfer of passengers into the zodiacs so we had to make do with looking at walrus from about half a kilometer away. At that distance, even with binoculars, they strongly resemble large brown sausages lying on a beach. Our next scheduled stop was Cape Dorset so we had our fingers crossed that we would be able to go ashore since we wanted to take advantage of this opportunity to buy soapstone sculptures from the artists who create them. Over 25% of the population of Cape Dorset is involved in creating art and we were treated to both carving and printmaking demonstrations on our walking tour of the community. Cape Dorset was the second community we visited in Nunavut and in both places the people were so welcoming and eager to share their art, culture, and history with us.

That afternoon and the next two days were spent on hikes of various lengths. Across the bay from Cape Dorset is Mallikjuaq Territorial Park which is home to Inuit archaeological sites and we hiked to some Thule ruins. The circular foundations of these dwellings were made of rock and when they were inhabited, whale bones were
arged across the foundation and skins were stretched across to form the roof. I found myself thinking that it was a remarkable people who settled this stark landscape without any of the comforts of modern society – it was not the last time that I would be amazed by the both the people and the history of the places we would visit. Douglas Harbour in Northern Quebec and Akpatok Island rounded out our hiking experiences over the next couple of days.

Akpatok Island is a large island with steep limestone cliffs rising 150 to 250 metres out of the waters of Ungava Bay. It's home to thousands of Murres that nest on the ledges of the cliffs and to some polar bears who get stranded on the island when the ice melts. The shore of one area of Akpatok Island is also home to countless fossils. We were extremely fortunate that there were no polar bears in the area of the fossils so we were able to make Silver Explorer history and go ashore and examine them. It was the first time that Explorer was able to land guests on the island. The six polar bear guards with high powered rifles stationed around us allowed us to safely hunt for unusual fossils on the slabs of rock along the shoreline. We then spent that afternoon aboard the Silver Explorer while she cruised to the northern end of the island in the hopes of sighting polar bears. We were in luck -- below the cliffs where the Murres nest, was a mother with two cubs. When the baby Murres leave their nests, they cannot fly and they launch themselves off the cliffs to land in the water where they spend several weeks building strength in their wings. Unfortunately for those that don't make it, they become food for the polar bears waiting below.

We had two more destinations to visit in Canada. The first of those was the Lower Savage Islands which are located just off the southeast tip of Baffin Island. Here we did a zodiac cruise and admired the ruggedly beautiful islands and were treated to the sight of a large male polar bear walking on the rocks above the shore. Our last stop in Canada was a place called Keterten Island which is a small island just off the coast of Baffin Island in Cumberland Sound. On this island is a Nunavut Territorial park steeped in history, both Native and European. It's an outdoor museum of an old whaling station and is absolutely beautiful. There are no roads, no airstrip, no dock - the only way to get there is by small boats like our zodiacs. I felt extremely privileged to be one of what I'm sure is a very small percentage of Canadians who will ever get to this
place. We had several local guides from Pangnirtung that came over to guide us through the outdoor exhibits from the whaling industry that existed here from the 1840s through the late 1800s. Whaling in Cumberland Sound started to decline when it was discovered that whales were plentiful in Hudson Bay and by the early 1900s the price of whalebone dropped signaling the end of the whaling industry. Inuit continued to hunt whale at Keterten until they too abandoned it in the 1920s. At this outdoor museum, we were able to explore the foundations of Inuit and European buildings and examine the artifacts from whaling ships, including the cast iron pots used to render whale blubber. Barrels and parts of barrels used to store oil still litter the landscape.

We said goodbye to Canada and began a two day crossing of the Davis Strait to Greenland. As we headed east, we were going full speed as our Captain had advised us that Explorer was trying to outrun a storm. The first day we made relatively good time but by the second the winds and the swell had increased and by the second night we were being tossed around quite a bit. Sleep eluded us as our cabin was quite far forward in the ship and between the water banging on the hull and the fear of being rolled out of bed, it was difficult to fall asleep. We were to learn later that at one point we were going at a speed of 4 knots into a 100 km/hour winds with a 7-9 metre swell. No wonder we were so glad to arrive, albeit 7 hours late, into the calm waters of the harbour of Nuuk, the capital of Greenland. We had an informative, guided tour of Nuuk including visits inside Parliament and the City Hall chambers.

After another couple of days of rough seas, one missed stop at Manitsoq and
a visit to Sissimiut, Greenland’s second largest town, we entered a 180 km long fjord, at the end of which was Kangerlussuaq. At this place, all but 21 of the passengers would disembark and fly home. The rest of us were treated to a trip to and walk on the ice cap of Greenland before going back on board to meet the new travellers joining us for the next 17 day cruise, our “North Atlantic Adventure” that would take us from Kangerlussuaq in Greenland to Halifax, Canada. Where the first 14 days were more focused on nature, this cruise was more focused on history and would see us travel in the footsteps of the Norse, the first Europeans to reach North America.

But the Arctic wildlife and natural wonders had not completely left us behind. On the way to Saqqaq, the northernmost point of our journey at just over 70 degrees latitude, we were treated to sightings of icebergs and three different species of whales, Humback, Finn and Minke. Of the three, the Humpbacks were definitely the most cooperative, staying close to the ship for quite a while and breaching frequently. The small town of Saqqaq, population 188, like all of the other communities we visited, welcomed us with open arms, baked goods, coffee and tea, and stories. The most spectacular thing about this small fishing community is that icebergs from the Jacobshavn glacier get caught up near the harbour. The icebergs, combined with the dramatic mountains surrounding the harbour and picturesque coloured houses made for one of the most memorable landscapes of the entire trip.

For the next two days nature took over. Our visit to Illulissat and the Jacobshavn glacier was abandoned due to a 13 kilometre field of icebergs between our ship and the shore. A 3 metre swell prevented us from touring the ice field in the local boats that were able to navigate the ice to come out to meet us. As the day progressed, the swell increased to almost 7 metres at the same time as the wind increased. These combined to prevent Plan B, a visit to Disko Island. After another bumpy day at sea, we came alongside in Nuuk for the second time in our trip. Amidst lightly swirling snowflakes, we witnessed the colourful procession that preceded the official opening of Greenland’s Parliament. The members of Parliament dress in traditional Greenlandic dress and walk from a house in the historical section of Nuuk to the Church where they attend a service before walking over to the Parliament to open the session.
After another day at sea, we reached the small community of Brattahlid in southern Greenland. This community is believed to be the site of Erik the Red's estate in Greenland and was established at the end of a 100 km fjord around the end of the 10th century. It is also believed to be the site of the first Christian church in the New World; we were able to see the foundations of the original church and a replica built nearby. I mentioned earlier that we had a team of experts on board, one these was an archaeologist specializing in Norse and Viking archeology. As we looked at mounds of grass that were the footings of buildings that once stood there, she made the place come alive as she described what the buildings would have looked like, what they were used for and how the people lived there. We repeated this experience in the afternoon in the small community of Igaliku which we reached after a 4.5 km hike across to a neighbouring fjord. Our on-board archaeologist once again made the ruins come to life as local children played among them.

Having crossed from Europe to Greenland 4 years ago on a different ship, I had some appreciation of the feat that the Norse achieved by taking ships across from Norway to establish settlements on this land. I was to become more impressed with the achievements of the early European explorers as our journey continued on to Newfoundland. Before getting to Canada, we had to travel through a storm that was wrapped around the southern tip of Greenland. We learned the next day (after another very bumpy night of being tossed around in our beds) that the storm we went through was classed as a 10 on the Beaufort scale\(^2\). And, for the second time on our trip we were outrunning a storm. This one was brewing in the Davis Strait and was even nastier than the one we didn't quite manage to outrun between Canada and Greenland. Thankfully, this time the captain was successful in outrunning the storm and as we made our way to Newfoundland, the waters actually
calmed and as we approached Newfoundland and Labrador, we were greeted by the most amazing whale sightings that I could have imagined. There must have been hundreds of whales in the area because in any direction that we looked, both close to the ship and off towards the horizon, we could see whales and spray from their blows. Our expedition leader referred to it as 'whale soup' because there were so many of them. In a trip already filled with spectacular sights and places, this was another item on the list of amazing experiences.

Arriving in St. Anthony to spend the day there and at L'Anse aux Meadows, we stayed on the trail of the Vikings. While we looked at the remains of Norse settlement buildings at the archaeological site at L'Anse aux Meadows, our on-board archaeologist explained that it's believed that the settlement was a staging point for trips further into the St. Lawrence and also that repairs to ships were carried out here. There has been evidence found at the site that the Norse did travel at least as far as New Brunswick and, although no other settlements have been found in North America, our archaeologist believes that it's only a matter of time that additional evidence to support their presence here is found. In addition to visiting the archaeological site at L'Anse aux Meadows, we visited a place called Norstead which was built in 2000 for the millennium celebrations and is a replica Viking settlement. For the year 2000 celebrations, a number of replica Viking ships sailed into the harbour and one of these ships is housed in a building at the site. While large, I cannot imagine crossing from Europe to North America in it. Having experienced some pretty rough sea conditions on our trip, the thought of experiencing those same conditions in an open wooden ship like the one at Norstead made me even more amazed that the Norse arrived here in sufficient numbers to build a settlement.

Our itinerary included Gros Morne in Newfoundland, Havre St. Pierre, Gaspé and les Isles de la Madeleine in Quebec and the Fortress of Louisbourg in Nova Scotia. We had some great opportunities to hike in Gros Morne and experience its unique landscape. Both Gaspé and les Isles de la Madeleine were lovely places to visit and despite the downpour we experienced while we were Gaspé, it was possible to see the charm and appeal of the area. The town of Havre St. Pierre deserves a special mention. Havre St. Pierre is situated on the north shore of the St. Lawrence near Canada’s only titanium mine and also near the Mingan Archipelago, Canada’s only national park composed entirely of islands. After a day spent visiting some of unique geological features, we attended a reception with live music hosted by the town before it was time to
sail away. And what a sail-away it was! As the ship was preparing to leave, our ex-
pedition leader announced that the people from Havre St Pierre were going to do a bit of
a sendoff for the ship so we went up on deck to see what this was all about. There
were cars streaming towards the dock and they all lined up facing the ship with their
headlights on. There were some musicians and more people on shore and as the
ropes from our ship were being cast off, the people on shore started to sing and wave
small lights in the air. When Explorer began to pull away from the dock, car horns
started to sound and headlights flashed. The ship added its very loud horn to the mix
and we were off - it was the most memorable sail away that I have ever experienced in
many years of cruising. Many of our fellow passengers, knowing we were Canadians,
asked if we were all so welcoming and friendly. While I like to think so, there was
something truly unique about what we experienced in this particular town.

The last stop of our cruise was the Fortress of Louisbourg. We were fortunate to
be in the park for a while be-
fore it officially opened which
was a treat. While we would
have needed much more time
than we had to properly ex-
plore Louisbourg, we did have
a guided tour of the high-
lights and attended three mini
workshops to learn how
women of different classes
dressed, how hot chocolate
was made in the 1700s
(complete with a sample to
taste) and a workshop on
fishing and boat building.
Learning about the labour in-
volved in these two tasks when absolutely everything was done by hand added to my
growing awe and appreciation for the people who settled our country.

So, after a month, we had reached our last night aboard the Explorer and our 32
day, 5300+ nautical mile adventure was coming to an end. We had witnessed wonder-
ful landscapes, observed a lot of wildlife and met many wonderful people, both in the
places we visited and among our fellow passengers. It really was a once in a lifetime
experience and I cannot say enough good things about it. I have come to love expedi-
tion cruising as it is more intimate than large ship cruising and with the team of experts
on-board, it is a very full and enriching experience. I feel truly privileged to have visited
all the places that we did and to have experienced the warmth and hospitality of the
people we met in the small communities in both Canada and Greenland. I wish more
Canadians could visit some of the more remote areas of our country and experience
them first hand like we did – it really gives you an appreciation for the first people, both
Inuit and European who settled our country. Would I recommend it – without reserva-
tion or hesitation; Would I do it again? Absolutely – in a heartbeat!
1. The Common Murre is a large auk

3. Winds of 88-101 Kilometers per hour and waves of between 9 and 12.5 meters in height

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**Karla Weys**, BA Hon., MLS

By day, Karla is a librarian who works in the field of Information Management for the Federal Government in order to feed her travel habit. She has visited 38 countries, including Kenya, Tanzania, Madagascar, numerous Caribbean islands, Peru, Argentina, the Falkland Islands and the Antarctic and loves to photograph her travel experiences. Her travel plans for next year include the British Isles and the Galapagos.
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