ARGONAUTA

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Be sure to stop by and Like the CNRS/SCRN facebook page
This summer we have exciting news for our members. First, we would like to welcome our new President, Chris Madsen. Chris is well known to Canadian nautical researchers through wide publication and his service on the Canadian Nautical Research Society’s Executive for many years. Please read the President’s Corner to learn more about his plans for future development of the CNRS.

We also welcome Walter Lewis back to the executive – Walter is one of the founding members of the Society and we are delighted that he is able to participate as councillor on the Executive. Roger Sarty is now the First Vice President and Richard Mayne has stepped up to the post of Second Vice President. Maurice Smith will support the Executive as Past President, while Paul Adamthwaite has generously agreed to continue his work as Executive Editor of The Northern Mariner, as the CNRS web-site guru, and through participation in the new by-Law committee which will meet on 30 August in Kingston. See the by-laws and the detailed announcement elsewhere later in the newsletter. All members are urged to take a moment to read through the announcement and the by-laws and to participate if they wish. Barbara Winters has agreed to help out with by-laws, though leaving us as a councillor. Isabel Campbell also stepped down as councillor, but continues in her role as a co-editor of Argonauta. We thank Chris Bell for his service on the Executive and hope he will continue to contribute in other capacities as we seek to expand our membership on both coasts. We are grateful that Executive members, Rob, Faye, and Errolyn, are continuing to dedicate many volunteer hours to CNRS executive. Please read the minutes of the 7 June meeting for further details on CNRS developments.

We are delighted to publish two compelling articles which commemorate the preparations for the First World War. Ambjorn Adomeit, a graduate student with a rich inter-disciplinary background, has written on Canada’s first submarine service. His sophisticated analysis draws upon a paper given at the recent joint conference of the Canadian Nautical Research Society’s and the North American Society for Oceanic History’s Joint Conference in Erie, Pennsylvania. Members may also recall Brittany Dunn, a talented cooperative student at the University of Ottawa who returns to our pages with an elegant investigation and description of daily life of sailors in the early days of Royal Canadian Navy. These two pieces demonstrate contrasting approaches to maritime history, taking us from the realm of high policy to social micro-history.

We hope all our members will enjoy this wonderful selection of materials. There are also many announcements. Thanks to our faithful friends for sending them along. Remember this is your newsletter and we welcome submissions from all our members. Smooth sailing, Colleen McKee and Isabel Campbell
For those interested in maritime history and related matters, the CNRS represents a meeting place for ideas amongst disparate groups and individuals with different backgrounds and provides a venue for dissemination of the latest research and writing through flagship electronic and print publications. The Society has evolved from modest beginnings to be nationally recognized and internationally respected. Members and a dedicated team of volunteers have made this achievement possible. As in-coming president, I take this opportunity to thank all who have shown an active interest in the affairs of the Society and worked so diligently to make it so. The CNRS today stands at an important crossroads.

Many challenges face the Society and the list is long: changing demographics and generational interest, declining membership, financial uncertainty, smooth succession on the executive and bringing fresh faces into the inner circle, member engagement and communication, connections with academe, the future of the journal, recruiting and retaining the necessary talent to fill editorial and other positions essential to running the Society - on a strictly volunteer basis, maintaining relationships with peer organizations like NASOH, and meeting the legal and audit requirements of a non-profit charitable organization. The CNRS has survived and prospered so far largely because of the commitment and generosity of its members. But, there is no time for complacency. To this end, your executive in the coming months will be working on the fundamentals of a business plan to frame how the Society should go forward, to be discussed at a meeting the first week of November in Kingston. Concurrently, a committee is considering revision of by-laws to conform to government legislation governing non-profit corporations by a deadline of October 2014. Please take a moment to review the existing by-laws reproduced in this issue of Argonauta and consider any changes that might be made. The results of these endeavours will be presented to the general membership in due time.

In the meantime, I offer my own broad vision here. The CNRS must be more than just a club for the few. We must be represented nationally across Canada and cognizant of the particular concerns and viewpoints of the different regions. At the same time, no one sub-field or subject area must be allowed to predominate to the detriment of others. Keeping pace with the latest media and electronic means is also important and crucial to attracting younger people into the membership specifically. Some sound decisions need to be made about The Northern Mariner; the status quo is simply unsustainable if that publication and the resources it demands become a drag on the
whole. The CNRS, at times, acts like a Society serving a journal rather than an organization with a full range of activities and engagements beyond the annual conference attended by a limited number of members every year. The annual conferences and meetings again need to become events worthy of interest and participation, organized at the local level. To this end, members must be kept active and informed. Engaging with members should be top priority. Finally, the CNRS must remain financially sound and can only do so by maintaining and hopefully increasing membership levels. Building the CNRS brand and adding one member at a time is a worthwhile enterprise.

Life is about making positive changes and seizing opportunity, with a clear end goal in mind. The CNRS must reinvent itself.

Chris Madsen
North Vancouver
NOTICE OF SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING

Saturday, 30 August 2014
11 o’clock

Maritime Museum of the Great Lakes, Kingston, Ontario

A special general meeting of the Society has been called to consider new by-laws conforming to guidelines and requirements under new government legislation for non-profit corporations. All members are welcome to attend and vote on acceptance of the new by-laws.

A revisions committee is presently drafting and revising the new by-laws and solicits suggestions and recommendations from the general membership. Contact Maurice Smith barque2@cogeco.ca.

For the benefit of the general membership, the Society’s existing by-laws follow:

THE CANADIAN NAUTICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

By-Laws

1. The name of the corporation, hereinafter called the Society, shall be The Canadian Nautical Research Society.

Head Office and Branch Offices

2. The head office of the Society shall be at the City of Ottawa in the Province of Ontario. The Society may establish branches elsewhere in Canada as the Council may deem expedient by resolution.

Seal

3. The seal of the Society shall be kept in the form impressed hereon and shall be kept by the Secretary at the head office of the Society.

Objects

4. The purpose of the Society is to promote in Canada the study of ships, shipping affairs, the men and women associated with them, and their relationship with the development of societies and maritime environments.

5. To this end the Society shall:
a) sponsor interdisciplinary nautical research among members by organizing meetings, arranging for the exchange of information, co-operating with other groups, museums, universities, schools and interested persons;

b) publish a quarterly newsletter reporting developments in the field of nautical research and containing original articles, notes and transcripts of documents;

c) publish reports of proceedings at Society meetings;

d) publish a Canadian journal of nautical research.

**Limitations**

6. The Society is non-sectarian, non-racial and non-political, and shall not have any religious, racial or political affiliation.

**No Pecuniary Gain to Members**

7. The Society is a non-profit organization and shall be carried on without the purpose of pecuniary gain for its members, councillors or officers. Any profits or accretions to the Society shall be used solely for the support of the objectives of the Society. Officers and Councillors shall receive no remuneration for their services.

**Membership**

8. Every person and institution supporting the aims of the Society is eligible to become a Member.

9. Either institutional or individual membership may be obtained by application to the Society through the Secretary at the Head Office, and upon payment of the subscription hereinafter mentioned.

10. Each Institutional Member and each Individual Member shall pay a subscription due and payable on 31 March each year. The rates for subscription shall be prescribed by the Council subject to the approval of the Members at the Annual General Meeting.

11. Every Member shall abide by and be bound by these by-laws and by other rules of the Society. Acceptance of membership in the Society shall be deemed to be an undertaking to aide by and be bound by all such by-laws and other rules.

12. The right to vote in the affairs of the Society shall be limited to Members in good standing.
13. Membership may be terminated at any time either by:

a) the Member resigning in writing in which event all payments due to the Society shall accompany the resignation: or

b) the Member omitting to pay the annual subscription prescribed; or

c) the Council, where in its opinion a Member has acted contrary to the interests of the Society; provided that before terminating a membership under this clause, the Member shall first be given the opportunity to explain his or her position in writing. A Member may appeal the Council's ruling to a general meeting of the Society.

Meetings of Members

14. The Annual Meeting of the Members of the Society shall be held at a time and place to be determined by the Council, normally in the month of June. At every Annual Meeting, in addition to any other business that may be transacted, the financial statement and report of auditors shall be presented.

15. Special General Meetings may be called by the Council at any time.

16. At all General Meetings ten voting Members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but a lesser number may adjourn from day to day until such time as a quorum is obtained.

17. The Secretary shall give to all who are qualified to attend at least fourteen days notice of all annual and special general meetings and shall specifically state the hour and place of such meetings and the agenda for them.

Officers

18. Officers of the Society shall be an Honourary President, a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting.

19. The President shall be charged with the general supervision of the business and affairs of the Society; shall preside over all meetings of the Society and Council; shall do, perform and render such acts and services as the Council shall prescribe and require. He shall serve no more than three consecutive annual terms of office.

20. The First Vice-President shall, in the absence of the President, have all the powers and duties of the President. He shall serve no more than three consecutive annual terms of office.
21. The Second Vice-President shall, in the absence of the President and the First Vice-President, have all the powers and duties of the President. He shall serve no more than three consecutive annual terms of office.

22. The Secretary shall conduct and act as custodian of correspondence relating to the affairs of the Society; shall retain custody of the corporate seal; record the meetings of the Council and of the Society; and perform such other duties as may from time to time be prescribed by the Council.

23. The Treasurer shall keep full and accurate books of account in which all receipts and disbursements of the Society, and, under the direction of the Council, shall control the deposit of money, the safekeeping of securities, and the disbursement of the funds of the Society. He shall render an account of all his transactions as Treasurer and of the financial position of the Society at Council meetings or whenever required of him. He shall perform such other duties as may from time to time be prescribed by the Council.

24. The management of the Society shall be vested in a Council consisting of the President, the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Past President and two Councilors elected at the Annual General meeting; and ex officio with voice but no vote, members in good standing of the Canadian Nautical Research Society who also hold office in other national and international maritime organizations.

25. The Council shall meet together for the despatch of business, adjourn and otherwise regulate its meetings as it deems fit. The quorum necessary for the transaction of business shall be four members.

26. The Council shall fill any vacancies among the Officers or in Council. Persons selected under this clause shall hold office until the first General meeting thereafter, at which time vacant offices will be filled by election.

27. Any officer or member of the Council may be removed from office by a two-thirds vote of the members at any Special General Meeting called for the purpose.

28. There shall be a Liaison Committee appointed by the Council, comprising a Chairman, who shall be a member of the Council, and Directors for each of the following regions: ATLANTIC (the Atlantic provinces), QUEBEC, ONTARIO, WESTERN (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta), PACIFIC (British Columbia), and ARCTIC.
29. There shall be a Nominating Committee appointed at a meeting of the Council to be held not later than the 31st day of March each year, and comprising three members under the chairmanship of a member of council. The nominating Committee shall nominate one candidate for each position to be filled at the next Annual Meeting. Members may propose the names of candidates, in writing and with the signatures of three members. All proposals must include a written undertaking signed by the nominee to accept the position if elected. The Chairman shall close the Nominating Lists, which shall include the proposals of the nominating committee and the proposals by members, on the 20th day of April, after which no more nominations will be accepted. The list shall be forwarded to the Secretary and promulgated to members with the notice of the meeting. Voting shall take place at the Annual General Meeting.

30. Other committees may be appointed by the Council to act as advisory bodies to the Council, and to further the objectives of the Society.

31. The President shall be an ex-officio member of all Committees.

Fiscal Year and Audit

32. The fiscal year and the business year of the Society shall commence on the first day of April in each year and terminate on the last day of March.

33. At each Annual Meeting the members shall appoint one or more auditors for the ensuing year and shall fix their remuneration, and the Council may fill any casual vacancy in the office of auditor, but no member of the Council shall be appointed as an auditor of the Society's accounts.

34. It shall be the duty of the auditors to examine all books, vouchers and accounts of the Society, and all documents having reference to the business thereof, once in each year, and to prepare a balance sheet and abstract of the affairs of the Society, and submit it to the Council as soon after the close of the financial year as possible, and such balance sheet and abstract shall be laid before the members at the Annual Meeting.

35. Contracts, documents or any instruments in writing requiring the signature of the Society shall be signed by the President or the First Vice-President or the Second Vice-President and the Secretary or in the case of cheques drawn on a bank account of the Society the Treasurer, and all contracts, documents and instruments in writing so signed shall be binding upon the Society without any further authorization or formality. The Seal of the Society when required may be affixed to contracts, documents and instruments in writing as aforesaid.
Miscellaneous Clauses

36. *Roberts Rules of Order* shall govern proceedings at all members' and Council meetings unless otherwise provided for in these by-laws.

37. In all by-laws of the organization where the context so requires or permits, the singular shall include the plural and the plural the singular; and the masculine shall include the feminine.

38. No amendments in the by-laws or repeal of the by-laws shall be made except by vote of at least two thirds in number of the members present at an Annual or Special General Meeting, the notice of which has specified the proposed amendment or repeal. Any amendments or repeals of by-laws not embodied in letters patent shall not be enforced or acted upon until the Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs has been obtained.

By: Ambjörn L. Adomeit

“The essence of all beautiful art, all great art, is gratitude.”
Friedrich Nietzsche

As any professional philosopher worth their salt can tell you, the true egoist recognises that he is not an island in and of himself: the sea floor, the volcano or earthquake which produced it, and even the ocean define the island in its seeming solitude. It is its metaphysical, and ontological significance that defines the island as an island with a capital “I”. The egotist, the narcissist, ignores the shoulders of those upon whom he has trodden, and so is weaker for his efforts in the long term; Without gratitude, the egotist, the narcissist, or even the military service flounders, for he, she, or it wears out those very same people who serve to support their efforts, receiving not their due recognition; and as we all know, any tool or relationship wears away to nothing without appropriate care.

It was with this positive spirit of gratitude foremost in mind that the Canadian submarine service was created in mid-summer 1914. In the face of the British Ultimatum to Germany, which was to run out on 5 August 1914, Premier Sir Richard McBride took it upon himself, after hearing and taking to heart the cares and concerns of the people of British Columbia, to acquire on Canada’s behalf two submarines and become the father of Canada’s Great, Little Fleet. With his duty to his people and to the young na-


2 The author would like to gratefully acknowledge the support and aid of the following individuals in the development of this essay: Commodore Larry Hickey, PhD (Royal Canadian Navy, Ret’d); Chris Madsen, PhD (Canadian Forces College / Royal Military College of Canada); Bob Litke, PhD (Professor Emeritus, Wilfrid Laurier University); Isabel Campbell, PhD (Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage, Canada); D.H. “Buster” Brown (RCN, Ret’d); Warren Sinclair (Chief Archivist, DND-DHH); Richard Goette, PhD (CFC); Jeremy Garrett (PhD Candidate, History, University of Western Ontario); Jonathan Vance, PhD (Professor, UWO). Apologies to anyone inadvertently left out!

3 To coin a phrase.
tion of Canada, on the brink of her first major war, clear in his mind, McBride risked conflict with the United States to protect British Columbia’s coastline from the possible predations of Graff von Spee’s Pacific Squadron.

July and August of 1914 were rife with strife, fright, and international conflict. Between 25 and 26 July, the Chilean Navy rejected two submarines they had commissioned to be designed and built by the Electric Boat Company and the Seattle Dry Dock and Construction Company in the United States. Archduke Ferdinand was assassinated on 28 July, and Britain pulled her “good-will fleet” from Kiel’s harbour. By 5 August, Britain had declared war against Germany, drawing an enthusiastic Canada with her.

Germany had shown an interest in the west coast of North America as early as 1904. The S.M.S. Panther sought safe harbours for German vessels: it sought safe refuelling ports and harbours where dry-dock facilities could be installed, and the west coast provided these bays in abundance.

Their strategic value lay in that they provided any naval force attacking Canada’s west coast secure locations in which to hide. This was an overt danger to Canada: the entire Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) fleet on the west coast (Esquimalt, BC) consisted of the H.M.C.S Rainbow, the H.M.S. Algerine, and the H.M.S. Shearwater.

Shearwater would later become a depot ship for the submarines C.C.1 and C.C.2. The Germans were familiar with the weaknesses of the Rainbow and Algerine, for they had exercised together in Mexican waters earlier in 1914, sharing service areas with the S.M.S. Nürnberg, S.M.S. Emden, and the S.M.S. Leipzig (albeit un-
(top left) H.M.S. Algerine, (top right) H.M.S. Shearwater, (bottom) H.M.C.S. Rainbow {with Commander Walter Hose in inset}
nder American command) during the Mexican civil war. Graff von Spee’s Pacific Squadron outgunned the Canadian fleet by nearly three times, and could wipe out a coastal city almost as easily as it could destroy a merchant vessel.8

Premier McBride was faced with a populace slowly growing frantic with fright. He followed advice to send British Columbia’s reserves of gold and silver to Winnipeg by train, so that the Germans could not seize it. He was urged to somehow build up the fleet operating out of Esquimalt and to increase protection along the coastline, particularly around areas with a significant population base, even though the British Royal Navy had three full squadrons in the Pacific Theatre. In the former instance, James Venn Paterson (of Seattle Dry Dock and Construction Company) and Captain William Henry Logan (of Lloyds Underwriters of Canada, Victoria) came to his rescue.9 James Paterson met with a select group of public figures in Victoria on 29 July, each of whom held a close connection with the Premier. He hoped to impress upon them the “‘… war possibilities and probabilities, and [he] suggested that they could obtain [the boats Chile had recently rejected].’” He held little hope for this enterprise, however, commenting that those to whom he spoke at the Union Club in Victoria were “‘… stupefied … with reference to the defense of the coast.’”10 Somehow, however, McBride learned of the availability of the boats within hours of the conclusion of the meeting, and began immediate inquiries into how they might be obtained.

Between 29 July and 1 August, Sir Robert Borden (Prime Minister of Canada), the British Admiralty, and Admiral Kingsmill (the Director of the Naval Service) all heard of Paterson’s news and advice to McBride. 1 August, 1914 saw McBride write cheques for the exact purchase price of the two boats. McBride did not permit his agents (Captain William Logan and Able Seaman Thomas A. Brown) to take possession of the boats until 4 August, 1914, a delay seemingly calculated to permit Ottawa time to deliberate, not only based on its own intelligence, but also on the advice of the


10 It is not clear whether the British Columbian notables with whom Paterson spoke were stunned at the outbreak of war, to the threat posed by German vessels in Canadian waters, or to the dangers posed to an unready nation by the realities of naval and maritime warfare. A combination of all three seems reasonable, although it is likely that the revelation they faced, that of Canada’s vulnerability, is most likely what sent them back on their heels.
British Admiralty. The Dominion authorized the reimbursement of the funds drawn from the British Columbian treasury on 7 August, 1914. This seems to illustrate in and of itself that McBride held the wishes of the Canadian government – the Dominion – in highest priority, while still acting swift enough to respond to potential threats, given the known timeline.\footnote{The argument could be made that the Admiralty heavily considered McBride’s timeline, and the Admiralty’s staff honoured it. This could have resulted in a slightly delayed declaration of war, timed so that Canada could legally acquire its west coast defences. It is uncertain if this can be at all verified, but the possibility exists. Lightfoot, 210; Ferguson, 20. Captain Logan’s testimony indicates that he had been informed before Paterson and Logan left Seattle on 4 August that war had been declared between Britain and Germany. This indicates that he knowingly committed an act of war on behalf of the Canadian government (more rightly, the government of British Columbia) against the United States of America. However, the actual timeline indicates that a state of war was declared at 1500 hours (PST) 5 August 1914. One must assume, therefore, that Logan’s assertion that he knew war had been declared before leaving Seattle on 4 August may be a steganographic misprint, a misspoken number, or perhaps even a faulty memory on Logan’s part, or something similar. At face value, however, it does speak to Captain Logan’s character; Paterson, \textit{The Davidson Commission}, 118-119. McBride’s initial contribution to the Commission took place 25 June 1915 in Ottawa: he had heard that the Commission was convening, and offered to give his side of the story. He was called before the Commission to offer further testimony in October 1915, and gave details pertaining to the process of deliberation he undertook in considering the purchase of the submarines. McBride, \textit{Ibid.}, 185-218.}

McBride’s own deliberations saw him consult with the Federal Minister of Agriculture and Member of Parliament for Yale-Cariboo Martin Burrell, Member of Parliament Harry Barnard, and the Senior Naval Officer Present at Esquimalt, Lieutenant Pilcher. Together, this small party concurred that the need for further naval reinforcement was pressing; accordingly, McBride sent Captain Logan to negotiate for the purchase of the submarines. Time was of manifest importance: as soon as the time-change was factored in for 5 August on the west coast, the United States Neutrality Act would come into force, rendering McBride’s attempts to obtain the boats acts of war against the United States. Logan and Burrell confirmed with Paterson, who had returned to Seattle on 29 July, the ”… price and delivery potential …” of the boats. Paterson worked on McBride’s behalf, concealing his enterprise from American authorities, Germans, and even the Chileans. He managed to have the boats fuelled by 3 August, 1914, and he was ready to move his charges by the time he received a cable from Captain Logan informing Paterson to hold off on final departure until a later time. While the situation was superficially under control, McBride still had not heard from Ottawa; but in the early morning of 4 August he determined to complete the transfer, regardless of orders from the Dominion government.\footnote{Lightfoot, 209-211; McBride, \textit{The Davidson Commission}, 13; Paterson, \textit{Ibid.}, 86-87.}

Logan and Paterson immediately began discussing the minutiae of the transaction as soon as Logan, in mufti, made landfall in the morning of 4 August. The cheque was to be drawn on the British Columbian treasury the next morning, and would be handed to Paterson ” … on the international boundary in the Strait of Juan de Fuca.” The continued presence of Chilean nationals aboard the boats were of great consternation for Paterson, who was saddled with the task of shifting the Canadian contingent...
onto the submarines without drawing undue attention. He managed, however, and informed the Chileans that the new faces were for that evening’s travel to the trial grounds. He carried in his pocket a telegram, dated 1805 hours 4 August, 1914, which stated, “Have got money,” and was signed by Pilcher and McBride. That evening, the Seattle Star revealed that German forces based off of the North American west coast had captured the steamer Queen Maude of Britain in the Gulf of California. This was useful intelligence, for it showed where Leipzig was operating, but Nürnberg was operating below the proverbial radar: regardless, the chances were good that the newly-Canadian submarines could make harbour in Victoria before the Leipzig could intercept them, but the absentee Nürnberg was an unaccounted-for variable which threatened to sink the entire endeavour.  

C.C.1 Underway—Library and Archives Canada – PA113254

— Lightfoot, 211; Paterson, The Davidson Commission, 86; Tucker, 300-303.
Cloaked in silence, the two submarines left harbour at 2000 hours on 4 August, and made their way through Puget Sound.

No one had been informed that the *Iquique* or the *Antofagasta* were being relocated. They steamed on with their running lights were off, and none of the multitude of listening posts located along the banks of the Sound ever heard the two boats pass. For vessels whose purpose was intended to be silent and covert to begin with, it is nevertheless disturbing that their passage went unnoticed by listening and watch posts on a coast that should have been poised with trigger finger at the ready for any hint of covert passage. Each boat was operated by a small crew of nine men: *Antofagasta* bore Captain Logan and Paterson to their destination, a space of neutral water north of the International Boundary, but outside the Canadian three-mile limit, at a point some five miles due south of Trial Island. *Iquique* followed on her heels, within hailing range, carrying trial captain Smith and Able Seaman Thomas A. Brown. They met the Canadian salvage steamer *Salvor* at Trial Island, where Lt. Bertam Jones again inspected the two submarines. Jones, a Canadian officer on the Royal Navy Emergency List, had been charged with the initial inspection of the boats in the Seattle dockyard where they were built prior to purchase. In the waxing light of dawn, 5 August 1914, a cheque written against the Provincial Government of British Columbia in the amount of $1, 150, 000.00 (USD) passed hands, and Captain Logan and Lt. Jones officially took possession of the boats on behalf of the British Columbian government.

Captain Logan was a man of detail, and, concerned about the legality of the transaction, requested that Paterson tender a bill of sale time-stamped at 1430 hours Pacific Time 4 August, 1914, a half-hour before the British Ultimatum ran out and war was officially declared. President Wilson invoked the Neutrality Act on 4 August, 1914, and declared the next day America’s stance in relation to the conflict between Germany and Britain, denouncing it, and affirming the hold of the Neutrality Act on any potential acts of war in American territory, sometime soon after 0500 hours Pacific Time. By the time Captain Logan and Paterson reached Canadian waters in the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the White Ensign raised over the two boats, around 0700 hours 5 August, 1914, American neutrality had rendered the delivery of the submarines illegal.

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14 Lightfoot, 212; Ferguson, 10; Jones, *The Davidson Commission*, 56.
15 Lightfoot, 212-213; McBride, *The Davidson Commission*, 11-13; Lt. Cmdr. Jones' testimony gives a considerable amount of detail pertaining to the actual hand-off of the submarines to the custody of Captain Logan from Paterson. Jones, *Ibid.*, 56-69; Paterson indicated that he had great concerns over Jones’ examination of the submarines, though he did not argue against it. His testimony indicates that he found Logan’s reluctance to hand over the cheque until Jones was satisfied that the submarines were in good condition quite vexing. Paterson, *Ibid.*, 89-90. Wood’s testimony shows that he was a particularly sharp individual: Thompson attempted to force Esquimalt’s Chief Engineer to finger Paterson as an unsavoury and dishonest individual, but Wood picked up on the core of Thompson’s line of questioning and stated Thompson’s object for the record. Wood, *Ibid.*, 179.
16 It must be mentioned here that this is *not* solid proof that the exchange did not in fact take place after midnight, after the British Ultimatum had taken place. All this means is that the cheque was time-stamped during the "legal" period. Further research is required to verify the actual date and time of the exchange of cheque for the boats, rather than the legally-stated time remarked upon here.
and, as they had traversed American territory after the invocation of the Neutrality Act, Canada had very nearly avoided committing an act of war against the United States, and Paterson had barely skated beneath a charge of treason.  

Logan and his charges very nearly came to disaster as they pulled into Canadian waters. Such was the secrecy of his enterprise that the men of the defence batteries at Black Rock, Duntze Head, and Rodd Hill had not been informed of the arrival of the new submarines: the 5th (British Columbia) Regiment, Canadian Artillery was manning their posts that morning in August, and from a distance the militiamen mistook the American-built submarines for German craft, hot in pursuit of the examination vessel M.V. Malaspina. Twelve twelve-pounder guns, loaded, primed, and designed for coastal defence were prepared to rain the fires of hell upon the boats quietly slipping into the harbour, but were calmed at the last minute by Chief Yeoman Redding, who had the presence of mind to confirm the targets visually from his signal tower. Lt. Jones, Captain Logan, and Able Seaman Brown escaped death-by-friendly-fire by an uncomfortably close margin that morning. For his participation, Brown was promoted to Sub-Lieutenant, and the party of men who had brought Canada’s first two submarines home safely were met at the dock by Premier McBride himself, in the company of the army’s District Officer Commanding, Colonel A. Roy Longstaff.  

On the advice of the British Colonial Secretary, British Columbia began announcing that Canada now had submarine capabilities: German vessels were sailing along the coast, and the cruiser Leipzig, which had been sighted off San Francisco 6-7 August, 1914, breathed a sigh of relief that she had not encountered the “… powerful, modern submarines.” Little did the skipper of the Leipzig know, however, that neither boat was armed. It took some two weeks for the boats, renamed C.C.1 (formerly Iquique) and C.C.2 (formerly Antofagasta) to become fully operational. Because Esquimalt only stocked fourteen-inch torpedoes, Naval Service Headquarters was notified that the dockyard “[r]equire[d] all gear in connection with 18-inch submerged

17 Lightfoot is inconsistent in his demonstration of the nationalities of the crews aboard the submarines: they vary from being Chilean to Canadian, to American. It would make sense that American workers would remain aboard until the transfer of the vessels to Canadian hands was official. Lightfoot, 210, 212; Logan addresses this briefly in his testimony, but it is far from conclusive. Logan, The Davidson Commission, 117-118; Julie Ferguson lists the arrival of the boats in Canadian waters at 0445 hours. Ferguson, 3; Captain Logan’s testimony states that the Canadian contingent met Paterson at 0330 hours on 4 August 1914 (although this needs further verification). Logan, Ibid., 130; McBride, Ibid., 17; Prior, Ibid., 161-165.  

18 If 12-pounders can be said to rain the fires of hell on anything … as fragile as early submarines were, 12-pounders would have been more than sufficient to breach a boat’s hull, but would have been mere annoyances to nearly any other vessel.  

19 Lightfoot, 213; Ferguson, 3-4; Captain Logan’s testimony contradicts the observations of Lightfoot and Ferguson that McBride was present upon the boat’s arrival at Esquimalt. Logan, The Davidson Commission, 119; McBride’s testimony, 4-5 October 1915, however, indicates that he was at the dock when the Iquique and Antofagasta were moored. McBride, Ibid., 193, 196-197; Paterson, Ibid., 119; Prior, Ibid., 156-157.
tubes firing torpedoes; including gyroscopes, spare tools and torpedo manuals, torpedo artificers, torpedo ratings. [They had] nothing."  

McBride sent Captain Logan back to Seattle that day (5 August, 1914) to "… obtain if possible, torpedoes for the submarines Antofagasta and Iquique." His attempt was unsuccessful: all stockrooms were guarded, and the Chileans were guarding alertly the two Whitehead practice torpedoes that had been used in trials. Logan was in a sticky position: he had managed to convince Capitán Charles Plaza of the Chilean navy to stand down his men, and the Canadian Deputy Minister of Naval Affairs had formally requested that the Seattle Construction and Dry Dock Company via an open telegram provide torpedoes. Local authorities had been made aware of the contents of the telegrams, and if Logan managed to obtain torpedoes at all, he would "… be stealing ammunition [sic.] of war from a neutral country." Logan’s quandary was resolved, however, as Premier McBride and Lt. Jones were informed that Halifax had dispatched torpedoes via train for Victoria, saving Logan from having to commit further illegalities. He was tasked further with the acquisition of ninety-eight cases of spare parts for the torpedoes and the boats proper, any single item of which was technically considered contraband. Nevertheless, Logan delivered.

During the winter of 1914, as the submarines sat in dry dock being prepped for service, Premier McBride came under intense fire from detractors who argued that he had overstepped his bounds in acquiring the Antofagasta and Iquique.

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20 Lightfoot, 214; Ferguson, 5
21 Lightfoot, 215; Perkins, Canada’s Submariners, 31. As interesting as the minutiae of this enterprise are, it has little bearing on the content of this essay, and so will be passed over.
The Honourable William Pugsley, Member of Parliament from St. John, New Brunswick stood in the House of Commons on 11 February 1915 and argued that “[t]he whole transaction [purchasing the submarines] was one which had been engineered by Sir Richard with the idea of securing for some of his friends a commission, and to unload upon the Naval Department two vessels were practically valueless.” He continued, stating that McBride overpaid for the two boats on the one hand, and simply lacked the authority to make such a purchase at all on the other.22

Ottawa responded to Pugsley’s charges by forming an inquiry under the auspices of a former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Quebec, Sir Charles Davidson: This was the Davidson Commission, and much of the commission was concerned with the performance of Canada’s new boats. According to Julie Ferguson, Paterson did not disclose to the small party with whom he met 29 July 1914 that the Chileans had rejected the two boats he was attempting to sell to the Canadians for failing to meet performance specifications.23 Between date-of-receipt and the start of the commission, the boats spent nearly two-fifths of their time at dock being repaired: C.C.2, for instance, spent eighty-four days at sea, and thirty-seven days under repair, usually because her engines were malfunctioning; C.C.1, apparently, spent nearly twice as long under repair.24

Pugsley accused McBride of working contrary to the wishes of the Canadian government, and that he moved too swiftly for his superiors to consult experts (such as the Admiralty). As Lightfoot wryly comments, government bureaucracy moves at only one pace – too slow. This is supported, somewhat, by a comment from Ferguson, who states that the intelligence that Germany had placed the Leipzig and Nürnberg in Canadian waters was not revealed to McBride until after Great Britain had formally declared war against Germany.25 Pugsley, attempting to draw a crucifying statement from Mr. Hazen (Federal Minister of the Fisheries and Marine), asked, “So, Sir Richard McBride purchased these submarines before their purchase was recommended by the Admiralty?” His reward was Hazen’s glowing review of McBride’s actions: “Not a doubt about it,” he said, “– and before war was declared.”

22 Lightfoot, 220; Ferguson, 40-41; McBride, The Davidson Commission, 197.
23 Ferguson, 7, 8; Taylor, with the Electric Boat Company, testified, “The loss on the boats might not have been so large had the Chileans not been so exacting in their demands as to the efficient building of the boats; they demanded all kinds of additional details to be added, but these were technical matters referring to the construction.” This is significant, as it speaks to the dual claims that the Chileans refused the boats because the American company was apparently unable to meet its customer’s technical demands, and that the Chileans were unable to pay for the submarines. Extra labour and extra technical details increase costs dramatically. While not definitive, it shows that EBCo was aware of both factors when consulting with Paterson in developing the schedule of purchase to be presented to McBride and his agents. Taylor, The Davidson Commission, 265; Sir Charles chose an alternate interpretation of the facts, repeating Paterson’s assertion that the Chileans had over-packed the boats during trials, causing them to fail Chilean standards. Sir Charles P. Davidson, Royal Commission: Report of the Commission Concerning Purchase of Submarines. (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1917), 7.
24 Ferguson, 43.
25 Ferguson, 8.
Ultimately, the Davidson Commission decided that McBride’s actions were above reproach, given both the threat of war and public opinion: Barney Johnson later remarked that the British Columbian public “... wanted [the submarines] at any price.”

McBride’s actions were swift enough that he was technically able to avoid declaring war on the United States by purchasing the submarines before the British Ultimatum ran out. Thus he was able to respond to the potential crisis caused by the presence of German forces in Canadian waters and establish a maritime deterrent: he responded appropriately to the dual emotional and military crises with which he – and Canada – were faced. McBride publically announced in his February 1915 address to the British Columbian Legislative Assembly that he had been, and was, prepared to fully fund the purchase of the submarines out of provincial coffers, had his request for federal reimbursement been denied (it had been approved 7 August 1914 by the Privy Council. This accountability is rare today, and it seemed to have been surprising to the Commission, and it went to show that Sir Richard’s willingness to be held responsible for his decisions worked to his benefit. Even though the Davidson Commission subpoenaed mountains of telegrams, memoranda, and additional testimony, it would not, or could not, and did not find any fault in McBride’s actions.

McBride sought to settle the fears of those for whom he worked, the people of British Columbia, and ultimately for Canada. He sought to deter German military advances into Canadian waters and endeavoured to secure the vital funds of his province and those under his oversight. He understood his role as administrator and as a representative of the people better than many in Canadian history, whether civil or military. Premier Sir Richard McBride worked with a sense of gratitude to those who had elected him to his position, and with a sense of duty to those he reported to, and maintained accountability throughout the duration of the Davidson Commission, although it would have been easy to ignore his role or push the responsibility for his actions onto someone else, such as Captain Logan. This beneficent and responsible behaviour is an outstanding example for a Canadian politician, and an attitude only possible for someone who was grateful to those above and below him, for his station and his responsibilities.

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26 Lightfoot, 222; Part of the concern shown around McBride’s involvement came from the resistance of his office’s secretary to relinquish a receipt of purchase to the Auditor General, Mr. Fraser. Fraser commented to the Commission that he had to threaten to not proffer the federal reimbursement McBride sought before the secretary would hand it over. McBride, The Davidson Commission, 2; Fraser, Ibidem, 19, 22; Curiously, McBride attested at several points – retroactively of course – that had he been present at the time of Fraser’s visit to Victoria, perhaps many of the events leading up to the initiation of the Commission could have been avoided. This is possible: however, it does leave one feeling that McBride was merely seeking to protect himself. Given the value of his actions to the Dominion of Canada at the time – namely the accidental creation of the RCN Submarine Service – whatever concerns motivated his later apparent posturing, I argue, should be considered of lesser importance. McBride, Ibid., 21, 33-34; Testimony taken from Goepel indicates that the practice of the Ministry of Finance to advance payment to the provincial government and subsequently submit the documents – the advance cheque – to the Lieutenant Governor’s office for validation at a later date. Goepel, Ibid., 47-48.
It was with gratitude that McBride founded the Royal Canadian Navy’s Submarine Service, and it is with gratitude, no doubt, that our sailors continue to serve it, us, and our government. It is our responsibility to support our submariners and our fleet, for they support us: gratitude – in its purest form – is reciprocal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Documents (Partially annotated; listed alphabetically)

**NB: For the sake of brevity pertaining to archival resources, only full volumes and files are listed in this bibliography. Individual files, and pages are listed specifically in the substantive footnotes included in this essay. Some sources listed have not been used specifically in this article, but have been used in the larger essay, and are thus listed for readers’ interest.


DHIST, J. David Perkins Fonds, 80/522, REF# CA ON00093 2011/19 (The Davidson Commission, or The Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Purchase by and on Behalf of the Government of the Dominion of Canada, of Arms, Munitions, Implements, Materials, Horses, Supplies and Other Things for the Purposes of the Present War, and as to the Expenditures and Payments Made or Agreed to be Made).

_____ J. David Perkins Fonds, 2011/19 Box 8, File 151 (Various Newspaper Articles Regarding the Transfer of Naval Vessels to Chile – Series IV File 24). Used to verify certain components of testimony presented to the Davidson Commission. Not cited in the text of this essay.


_____ J. David Perkins Fonds, Series VI: Various Photographs of Submarines (specifically Drawing 26522, H-11 - H–12 (CC-1, CC-2) 602-E: General Arrangement) This is a technical drawing, sort of a blue-print, of the general layout of CC1 and CC2. Used to confirm technical prose descriptions of the submarines. Not cited in the text of this essay.


Secondary Sources


**Biographical Note:**

*Ambjörn Adomeit is primarily interested in the utilisation of submarine services in the modern security environment. He holds a keen interest in Theodore Roosevelt’s impact on the United States Navy. Ambjörn also works in the field of intellectual history, the philosophy of history, time, self-actualisation/governance (with an emphasis on the thought of Friedrich Nietzsche), and historical method.*

**Note to Readers:**

**Notate Bene:** This article was presented at the Canadian Nautical Research Society’s and the North American Society for Oceanic History’s Joint Conference in Erie, Pennsylvania, 15-17 May 2014. The original essay, entitled *At War Under the Sea! The Dawn of the Canadian Submarine Service* consists largely of a detailed examination of a selection of extant literature pertaining to how Canada’s submarine service came into being.

The author invites comment and critique, and particularly invites readers to emphasise areas of specific interest and/or curiosity for greater examination in the final work. He can be reached care of The Canadian Nautical Research Society.
The Daily Lives of Sailors in the Early Years
of the Royal Canadian Navy in Halifax
by Brittany Dunn

This article will explore features of sailors’ everyday lives on HMCS Niobe and in Halifax during the early years of the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN). The RCN was created on 4 May 1910 as the Naval Service of Canada, receiving Royal Assent on 29 August 1911 to become the Royal Canadian Navy. In particular, it will touch on enlisting in the RCN, daily routine, discipline and entertainment. As will be seen, the RCN replaced the Royal Navy (RN) in Canada but displayed many similarities. As well, there was a sense that the RCN was an unwanted service. The new service quickly became a “political football,” fostering resentment from both citizens and sailors and especially affecting the sailors of the new service. However, the RCN still survived and life carried on as usual for many sailors.

Joining the Service

Although the Naval Service Act was not passed until 1910, recruiting had already begun in 1909. One of these first recruits was Victor G. Brodeur, son of the Honourable Louis Philippe Brodeur, the first Minister of the Naval Service. Also among these initial cadets were John Barron, Trennick Bate, Charles Beard, Barry German and Percy Nelles. These men started their training on CGS (Canadian Government Ship) Canada, which was part of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, living in No. 1 House in Halifax. Training continued on CGS Canada for a year until HMCS Niobe arrived in Halifax on 21 October 1910, Trafalgar Day.  

1 The author thanks Isabelle Jeaurond of the University of Ottawa for her contribution to this article.
3 As cited in Marc Milner, Canada’s Navy: The First Century, 1st ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 23.
4 Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH), BIOG COSIER, James Cosier, interviewed by Bill Herbert, transcript of tape recording, “Edited Transcript of an interview with James Cosier by Bill Herbert re service in the RCN”, Halifax, 1950s, 6.
5 DHH, 84/293, “The Navy Looks Back”, interviews by Bill Herbert, transcript of radio broadcast, 3, 4; and DHH, BIOG BRODEUR, Victor G. Brodeur, interviewed by Bill Herbert, transcript of tape recording, “Edited Transcript of an Interview with Rear Admiral Victor G. Brodeur by Bill Herbert re Service in the RCN”, Halifax, 1950s, 2, 3. Technically, the Niobe was still under the RN, and therefore HMS, when she arrived in Halifax. The ship was not formally transferred to Canadian control until November (Nigel D. Brodeur, “L.P. Brodeur and the Origins of the Royal Canadian Navy”, in RCN in Retrospect, 1910-1968, James A. Boutilier ed. (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 1982), 28).
Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH), Permanent Reference File (PRF) NIOBE, HMCS, 0-4429. On the back of the photograph – Gun room officers (sub-lieutenants and midshipmen) of HMCS Niobe in 1910. The sub-lieutenants were RN officers, the midshipmen were the cadets that had been entered aboard CGS Canada the year before.

DHH, PRF NIOBE, HMCS. On the back of the photograph – HMCS Niobe arriving in Halifax for the first time 21 Oct. 1910. This marks the establishment of the Atlantic command of the RCN.
However, not all sailors in the new Naval Service were Canadian. Some sailors and officers transferred from the RN to the RCN while others were on loan to the fledgling service. Jim Cosier, for example, joined the RN in 1909 as a boy seaman and after serving for only six months, he volunteered to transfer to the RCN after seeing a poster in his barracks. F.A. (Bert) German also joined the Niobe in England but as a civilian, sailing on the ship from Devonport to Halifax; Frank H. Jefferson did the same. In fact, as noted by German, a majority of Niobe’s men were British or RN men when she arrived in Halifax; however, her officers all had a Canadian connection of some kind, such as by birth or marriage.

DHH, 86/59. The crew of HMCS Niobe in Devonport, England before she set sail for Halifax.

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7 DHH, 84/293, “The Navy Looks Back”, interviews by Herbert, transcript, 5, 6.
8 DHH, BIOG GERMAN, F.A. German, interviewed by Bill Herbert, edited transcript of tape recording, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German by Bill Herbert re service in the RCN”, Halifax, 1950s, 5, 6.
10 DHH, 84/293, “The Navy Looks Back”, interviews by Herbert, transcript, 6; and DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 5, 6.
11 DHH, BIOG JEFFERSON, Jefferson, interviewed by Duncan Fraser, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with Captain Frank H. Jefferson”, 4; and DHH, BIOG BRODEUR, Brodeur, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an Interview with Rear Admiral Victor G. Brodeur”, 4.
Daily routine

The life of seamen in Halifax was generally either that of a sailor on the *Niobe* or of a cadet. Cadets spent their time either training on the *Niobe* or studying at the Royal Naval College of Canada (RNCC). The RNCC opened in January 1911 in Halifax and was housed in a red brick building which used to be the naval hospital.\(^{12}\) The College was mandated to provide “a complete education in all branches of naval science, tactics, and strategy.”\(^{13}\) The first class of the college consisted of about twenty students.\(^{14}\) These boys, aged fourteen to sixteen years old, were registered in a two year course which was finished by a year serving in the RN.\(^{15}\)

\(^{12}\) DHH, BIOG BRODEUR, Brodeur, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an Interview with Rear Admiral Victor G. Brodeur”, 3, 4.


\(^{14}\) DHH, BIOG BRODEUR, Brodeur, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an Interview with Rear Admiral Victor G. Brodeur”, 3, 4.

\(^{15}\) Willet Brock, “Commander E.A.E. Nixon and the Royal Naval College of Canada, 1910-1922”, in *RCN in Retrospect, 1910-1968*, James A. Boutilier ed. (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 1982), 33-34. The course at the RNCC was initially two years but was later extended to three (pg. 34).
A cadet’s day on the *Niobe* began at 6:00 a.m. when he woke up. He had physical drill then washed up before breakfast at 8:00 a.m.\(^{16}\) “After breakfast,” described Brodeur, “we used to have about half an hour play time or spare time. Then there was [sic] divisions. Each one of the cadets was allocated to a separate division and in the morning after that, we’d start instructions. One day would be instructions on navigation, another day instructions on seamanship and in the afternoon it used to be instructions on gunnery or torpedo.”\(^{17}\)

German described a similar routine for those sailors not training: “Well, the hands would be piped at, let’s see, six in the morning. We’d have breakfast at 8, we’d turn to, you’d have lunch or dinner at twelve, turn to again and you’d have a stand-easy at

\[\text{Image of sailors in uniform.}\]

\(^{16}\) DHH, BIOG BRODEUR, Brodeur, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an Interview with Rear Admiral Victor G. Brodeur”, 5, 6.

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 6-7.
four, dinner again at approximately six, and then coffee – not coffee – cocoa later on in the evening.”

“There was never no [sic] lack of work aboard a naval ship,” German recalled, “that’s for the man on watch and the duty men during the day. No lack of work, they always got something important to do. Never used to get idle.”

After spending the first few months training her new recruits in Halifax, the Niobe cruised around the Canadian coast, although not allowed to go past its three mile restriction. She sailed to ports such as Québec, Charlottetown, Digby, Yarmouth and St. John.

Officers, other ranks and cadets of the RCN adopted many elements similar to those of their counterparts in the RN, maintaining a degree of British-ness in the service. For example, nearly all training for cadets was done by RN officers and then they were sent to England to complete their training. RCN sailors also wore the same uniform as their RN counterparts; the only differences were HMCS Niobe on the cap ribbon and eventually having CANADA on the buttons.

The RCN remained tied to its British roots in its use of English as the only working language, refusing to allow entrance exams to be taken in French.

**Discipline**

Canada adopted British regulations, such as the British Naval Discipline Act and the King’s Regulations and Admiralty Instructions, for its fledgling service. As stated bluntly by German, “discipline was strict.” Cosier repeated this sentiment: “There’s no ‘don’t let me see you do that again.’ That’s not in their [officers’] vocabulary. There’s no caution. There’s no reprimand. It’s all straight what it calls for in the book.”

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18 DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 10.
19 Ibid., 12.
20 DHH, BIOG JEFFERSON, Jefferson, interviewed by Duncan Fraser, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with Captain Frank H. Jefferson”, 5.
22 DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 13.
24 DHH, BIOG BRODEUR, Brodeur, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an Interview with Rear Admiral Victor G. Brodeur”, 9; and DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 4.
26 German, *The Sea is at Our Gate*, 26.
27 DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 38.
28 DHH, BIOG COSIER, Cosier, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with James Cosier”, 19.
called one experience in particular he had: “Walking along quarterdeck whistling, I thought the officers were all ashore. I listened, and the first thing you know a voice – the master at arms – said to me, ‘First Lieutenant, report!’ Apparently one of the officers who was in his cabin and heard me, looked out and sent for the master at arms. What do you think I got? I had to spend fourteen days up on the fo’c’s’le with my hammock over my shoulder whistling.”

Tidiness and cleanliness was of an important part of keeping discipline on the *Niobe*. Messes had to be kept clean or one would be reported. Even the brass tag on a sailor’s kit bag had to be kept clean as it was inspected every week by the captain. Punishments included “facing the paint work”, scrubbing the decks, cleaning the spittoons or heads, or confinement to the ship. There was also the military prison on Melville Island in the Halifax Harbour where punishment differed depending on the length of the sentence.

Entertainment

When sailors were off duty, they had to find entertainment for themselves both on the ship and in port. On the *Niobe*, men played cards, found a quiet place to read or participated in sports in the evening. Brodeur recalled that “we used to play an awful lot of games,” both on and off the ship, such as soccer, baseball, hockey, football as

29 DHH, 84/293, “The Navy Looks Back”, interviews by Herbert, transcript, 7.
30 DHH, BIOG COSIER, Cosier, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with James Cosier”, 12.
31 DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 2-4.
33 DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 12, 15; and DHH, BIOG BRODEUR, Brodeur, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an Interview with Rear Admiral Victor G. Brodeur”, 11.
34 DHH, BIOG BRODEUR, Brodeur, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an Interview with Rear Admiral Victor G. Brodeur”, 10.
well as rowing and sailing. While games were popular, a sailor’s free time could be spent on a variety of diversions, from skating parties to concert parties. Brodeur remembered venturing into Halifax often to visit friends while Cosier recalled spending time drinking in the men’s canteen and rarely leaving the dockyard. Trevor Kensington described the limitations money had on a sailor’s leisure time: “We walked downtown. We couldn’t afford a nickel for a street car, that was too much, so we walked downtown and back and very often we’d just have a chocolate bar or a drink, a soft drink, but not both and then back to the ship again after our walk. And once – I think it was once a month – we paid to go into a local theatre. I think that was twenty-five cents for a seat.”

The Unwanted Service

Although the RN had a long history in Halifax, the city was less welcoming to its replacement, the RCN. Both German and Cosier recalled the lacklustre greeting the Niobe received in Halifax. “There was no large fanfare at all,” German complained while Cosier’s expectations for the ship’s arrival in port went unmet: “Now we expected – oh, thousands of people to welcome us – but the only thing we found was two laundrymen Globe and Argylls of Halifax. They even had to take our lines before we could get moored.” German also remembered the RCN being called a tin-pot navy and the unwelcoming feeling many sailors felt ashore. Many sailors resented these sentiments and so returned to England after their service was complete. Alongside men leaving the RCN, relatively few were eager to join it. The RCN had peaked in 1911 with over 800 officers and other ranks on strength but it shrank to less than half of that in 1913. In 1912 and 1913, there were only 126 new recruits but 149 desertions. By 1913, just 350 Canadians had enlisted in the RCN. As Cosier stated frankly, “we wasn’t wanted.”

35 DHH, BIOG BRODEUR, Brodeur, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an Interview with Rear Admiral Victor G. Brodeur”, 10, 7; and DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 35-36.
36 DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 15, 35-36.
37 DHH, BIOG BRODEUR, Brodeur, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an Interview with Rear Admiral Victor G. Brodeur”, 10; and DHH, BIOG COSIER, Cosier, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with James Cosier”, 10.
38 DHH, 84/293, “The Navy Looks Back”, interviews by Herbert, transcript, 8.
39 DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 1; and DHH, 84/293, “The Navy Looks Back”, interviews by Herbert, transcript, 5.
40 DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 23-24.
41 DHH, BIOG COSIER, Cosier, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with James Cosier”, 6; and DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 23-24.
42 Milner, Canada’s Navy, 1st ed., 28.
43 German, The Sea is at Our Gates, 30.
45 DHH, BIOG COSIER, Cosier, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with James Cosier”, 10.
However, not only was the navy unwelcome, but it had a bad reputation with many Haligonians. Cosier recalled a mother asking a magistrate to send her son, who had been arrested for stealing a car, to the navy rather than prison. As well, a father accused the RCN of “crooked work”, believing his young son had been framed for stealing. This “black eye” caused headlines, showing how easily damage could be done to the fledgling service’s reputation. Situations such as these furthered the idea that the navy “was a home for deadbeats” and criminals.\textsuperscript{46} German remembered how the people of Halifax “didn’t exactly elbow us [sailors] off the street but at the same time they were not very friendly at all in lots of ways.”\textsuperscript{47} Even when the men of the \textit{Niobe} helped put out a fire at the North Street Hotel and invited the city’s citizens to their sports games, Halifax remained distant from what many saw as simply a continuation of the imperial presence in Canada.\textsuperscript{48} Despite this unwelcoming atmosphere, the officers and men of the RCN continued to work diligently, providing the young service with sailors who would distinguish themselves in both world wars.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 3, 8-9.
\textsuperscript{47} DHH, BIOG GERMAN, German, interviewed by Herbert, transcript, “Edited Transcript of an interview with F.A. German”, 24.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 25.

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The International Maritime Economic History Association (IMEHA) is now launching a newsletter on maritime history with the aim of promoting maritime history globally and strengthening collaboration between maritime researchers. Edited by the Executive Board of IMEHA, the newsletter will feature brief news on upcoming conferences, book releases, scholarships, job-announcements etc. within the field of maritime history. The Newsletter will appear a couple of times per year.

IMEHA members who wish to make announcements to colleagues about maritime history issues are encouraged to do so through the Newsletter. Please provide announcements by e-mail to IMEHA Secretary René Taudal Poulsen at rtp.ino@cbs.dk

The newsletter is also available on LinkedIn, where the IMEHA hosts a group under the name of the International Maritime Economic History Association. Researchers with an interest in the maritime world are also encouraged to sign-up for free for the LinkedIn group.

Other news related to editorial changes in the *International Journal of Military History* is available in this newsletter.

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7th International Congress of Maritime History

The International Maritime Economic History Association’s 7th International Congress of Maritime History will be held in Perth, Western Australia from Monday, 27 June to Friday, 1 July 2016. The theme for the conference is “Old Worlds, New Worlds? Emerging themes in maritime history”. As with previous congresses, ICMH7 has adopted a broad concept of maritime history, treating it as an interdisciplinary discipline that covers all historical periods and areas and all aspects of humankind’s relationship with the sea from ancient times to the present. If you would like to be added to the mailing list for future conference information please send an email to: ICMH7@murdoch.edu.au
Ten Books to Contextualize Canadian Fisheries
By Andrew Watson, Stacy Nation-Knapper, and Sean Kheraj

Last year, Nature’s Past, the Canadian environmental history podcast, published a special series called, “Histories of Canadian Environmental Issues”. Each episode focused on a different contemporary environmental issue and featured interviews and discussions with historians whose research explains the context and background. Following up on that project, we are publishing six articles with the permission of Active-History.ca which originally posted the annotated lists of ten books and articles from one of the environmental episodes of the podcast series.

The fifth episode in the series looked at the state of Canada’s freshwater and ocean fisheries. Natures Path spoke with Dean Bavington, Stephen Bocking, Douglas Harris, Will Knight, and Liza Piper about the history of Canada’s fisheries. They had a particularly interesting conversation that covered a wide spectrum of fisheries history and included a description of the major transformations of fisheries since Confederation.


Here are ten books that contextualize Canadian fisheries:


Using the context of the North Atlantic cod fishery collapse in 1992 as the basis for raising questions about government regulation and scientific management of resources, Bavington tackles the tension between environmental decline and human control of the natural world. Scientific expertise and authority, along with neoliberalism and special interest policies, replaced local knowledge with market imperatives. Unable to reconcile those imperatives with ecological realities, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans tried repeatedly to devise regulations that would generate maximum sustainable yields. By placing emphasis on rationality, however, attempts at making dynamic ecosystems predictable rested on flawed logic, and did nothing to avert the collapse of the cod fishery.


While this book deals exclusively with the Great Lakes, Bogue touches on many of the themes that studies on saltwater fisheries deal with as well, including commodification, science, and policy. Bogue argues that an absence of regulation during the
nineteenth century, at the same time as new technologies made it easier to harvest fish, resulted in a pattern of exploitation that ultimately undermined the fisheries economy by destroying the stocks. By taking a transborder approach, this book reveals that efforts to address declining fish stocks were dealt with very differently by the two countries, eight states, and one province that bordered the Great Lakes.


Gough examines changes to Canada’s fisheries primarily from the perspective of government and politics. This approach provides insight into the ways successive regulatory regimes and state management have facilitated increasingly intensive exploitation while at the same time appealing to science and best practices. Although social and cultural aspects are given less attention, the organization of the book reveals that government influence of fisheries became more nuanced and bureaucratic over time. Informed mainly by work done by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, this book focuses much more on Atlantic commercial fisheries than it does on the Pacific, freshwater, recreational, or indigenous fisheries.


In this comprehensive study of the legal history of Aboriginal fishing in British Columbia, Douglas Harris explores how colonial laws displaced Aboriginal laws during the early twentieth century. By demonstrating how colonizers (the canning industry, for example) benefitted from restrictive laws and licensing, Harris argues that the management and regulation of fisheries did not allocate access neutrally. Although regulation impeded First Nation fishing, Aboriginal fishermen resisted the state through the market economy, wage labour and politics. Harris makes it clear that colonial laws could be, and were, contested. Colonization was not a straightforward process.


This book provides the context for the 1993 Fairgrieve court decision (R. v. Jones and Nadjiwon) to award the Saugeen and Ojibway First Nations priority over all other groups to fisheries off the coast of the Bruce Peninsula, as well as the on-going negotiations regarding rights, jurisdiction and management. Exploring the social, economic and ecological changes wrought by colonization and the imposition of the state, Koenig reveals how white interests in governance, conservation and commercial exploitation combined to reshape the way indigenous peoples related to Great Lakes fisheries. By taking an anthropological approach, Koenig provides the indigenous perspective in addition to archaeological and documentary evidence.

Unlike many other studies on fisheries in Canada, this collection of papers focuses on changes that have occurred to localized fisheries and the communities of people who depended on them. The role of the state, commercial enterprise and system-wide ecological change provide the broader context within which case studies from across Canada unfold. By acknowledging the ways these larger forces influenced shared histories at the local level, these papers reveal how particular communities experienced those forces differently. Fishing culture is given as much attention in this collection as fishing economy, and particular emphasis is placed on the debate around private versus common rights.


Coming on the heels of the collapse of the Newfoundland cod fishery in 1992, this study commissioned by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans represents the first scholarly attempt to explain why the fishery went from underdeveloped to overcapacity in twenty-five years. While acknowledging that government attempts to manage and regulate the fishery had failed, Parsons lists a variety of social, economic, political, and environmental variables that combined to frustrate attempts at preventing the collapse. In identifying the failures of both government and industry to prevent the collapse, this report informed much subsequent research on the need to balance commercial enterprise with ecological systems.

Rose, Alex. *Who Killed the Grand Banks?: The untold story behind the decimation of one of the world’s greatest natural resources*. Mississauga: John Wiley and Sons, 2008.

A fairly standard narrative about the worst effects of humanity’s rapacious appetite for natural resources, Rose takes the long view of the exploitation of the cod fishery of the Grand Banks off the coast of Newfoundland. Starting with the earliest fishermen during the sixteenth century, the book proceeds to outline subsequent decisions made by the Canadian government and commercial fishing industry that led to the collapse of the cod fishery in 1992. Rose provides an analysis that characterizes the collapse as the product of a myopic tragedy of the commons, and a catalyst for renewed attention to fisheries management research and activism.


By examining the history of fishing in the Salish Sea, Wadewitz brings together an analysis of the effect of colonialism on indigenous people, the politicization of
coastal waters, the influence of new technology, and the commodification of nature. By juxtaposing the way indigenous peoples managed their coastal fisheries with the way the U.S. and Canada regulated and managed distinct commercial spheres, this book reveals that nature does not always conform to state-mandated political, economic, and social abstractions of space. The effect was not complete, however, as Wadewitz shows that many examples of fish banditry contested these official jurisdictions.


Young and Matthews trace the rise to prominence of aquaculture in Canada (shellfish, fresh water, and particularly salmon), and explore the impacts this industry has had on the environment, human health, resource rights, and rural development over the past twenty-five years. Situating the controversy in both a larger global context as well as the local, this book takes a sociological analysis of the role of relatively new science in shaping practice, policy and public opinion, while at the same time revealing the ways citizen activism has been mobilized to counter and defend the dominant narratives provided by experts.

To listen to the complete podcast series, visit the [Nature's Past website](http://www.naturespast.org).
Minutes of the Extraordinary Meeting of the CNRS/SCRN at the Crow’s Next, Naval Officer’s Mess, Ottawa, Ontario, Saturday, 7 June 2014.

Present:
Members of Council
President: Maurice D. Smith
Past President: Paul Adamthwaite
1st Vice President: Chris Madsen
Treasurer: Errolyn Humphreys
Membership Secretary: Faye Kert
Chair of the Editorial Board: Richard Gimblett
Editor Argonauta: Isabel Campbell
Former President: Alec Douglas
Members: John Armstrong, Chris Willmes, Betty Ann Anderson, Walter Lewis

1. Opening Remarks by the President

Following a brief delay, the meeting began about 11:20. The President welcomed those present and offered his thanks to the membership of CNRS for their help during his three years as President of the Society. He reviewed challenges and changes that had occurred during that time including Council’s recognition of its critical financial situation in 2012 and the emergency meeting of Council which followed in 2013 with the decisions to suspend funding for bursaries and awards, publish Argonauta on line, enable members to pay dues on-line, ask NASOH to increase its support for The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord and appeal to members for donations. He thanks those members who had contributed to this effort, in particular Isabel Campbell and her Argo team for making the transition from print to electronic format so professionally and successfully. The journal will continue in print format until a later review.

In reference to the recent CNRS joint meeting with NASOH in Erie, Pennsylvania, Maurice congratulated the organizers for an excellent conference and expressed gratitude for the continuing participation of NASOH and their renewal of their contract for another three years with an increased payment of $1,000 per year.

In terms of TNM/LMN, he suggested that, based on the examples of the Mariner’s Mirror and the International Journal of Maritime History, the CNRS should explore new ways of making the journal more accessible with a broader publication mandate in order to attract new members. The static state of membership needs to be improved.
Thanks to the efforts of its Executive and its members, the Society was once more financially stable and he was pleased to be able to turn the floor over to Chris Madsen, new President of the Society. In closing, Maurice emphasized the continuing need for philanthropy, membership and endowment.

A brief discussion followed in which issues such as continued peer review for TNM/LMN, increasing the market for the journal, engaging the Editorial Board more fully and increasing NASOH’s participation in the journal were recommended.

2. Conflict of Interest

The President requested any members having a conflict of interest to please indicate it, but there was no issue.

3. Agenda

Members approved the agenda.

4. President’s Report

Chris Madsen assumed the chair as incoming President of CNRS, thanked all the volunteers within the Society who keep things running and stated that his priority as president will be to connect and engage with members and ensure that the Society stays flush. Among the directions he intends to pursue over the next three years are revising the Society’s by-laws to meet the demands of Revenue Canada by October 2014 which will involve summer meetings of a working group set up to address these issues; creating an Advisory Panel of Past Presidents with Maurice as the Chair; setting up branches around the country to expand the southern Ontario base of the Society; and launch a President’s Appeal in the spring to coincide with the announcement of the idea of regional branches.

It is hoped that future branches can be tied to upcoming conferences such as a BC branch in 2016 with the New Westminster conference and a maritime branch in 2017 when CNRS meets in Halifax. In terms of financial priorities, Chris suggested the Society determine what the minimum break-even number of members should be. Right now, 208 members, including some NASOH members, are carrying the costs for the publication of the journal. If the Society fails to sustain this minimum level of institutional and individual members, can it continue?

Following a discussion of the new government requirements for organizations like CNRS, Paul Adamthwaite suggested that the two main by-law areas involved the directors and nominating committee issues. Due to the short time line, there is no time to raise the changes at the next AGM. Members will have to be advised of proposed changes by e-mail or mail since they require a minimum of 14 days notice of any change in the by-laws. Isabel agreed to publish the information in the next Argo.
5. Treasurer’s Report

Errolyn Humphreys presented the Treasurer’s Report which included the welcome news that this year the Society is in a much better financial situation, in fact, in a profit situation for the first time in a couple of years, thanks largely to the publication of *Argonauta* on-line which reduced printing and mailing costs. The generosity of member donations in the last year also helped. Memberships are continuing to support the Society but members have to be encouraged to renew in a more timely fashion.

Paul Adamthwaite reminded members that although production costs for the journal were lower than most other journals and had been kept so, the worldwide rise in postage costs was likely to have some effect. As it was, *The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord* still enjoyed a 50% profit margin, i.e. bringing in $20 profit for every $10 expense. The $5 dues increase per member for 2014 has covered any additional costs so far. The increase in NASOH’s contribution will also help since they receive 225 copies of the journal at cost.

Encouraging members to pay subscriptions a year or more in advance was suggested, but this requires additional bookkeeping and does not make the extra funds available until the year for which they are designated.

**Motion** to accept the Treasurer’s Report: Paul Adamthwaite  
Seconded: Isabel Campbell

6. Membership Report

Faye Kert gave an account of state of the membership.
-1 new institutional member since Jan 2014 and 12 institutions removed or cancelled between March 2013 and March 2014 for non-payment of dues beyond 2 years.
-1 new individual member plus several new NASOH co-members and 21 cancelled, died or deleted during the year. Thanks to NASOH joint members the number of individual American members has increased but UK and European membership remains relatively stable.

**Motion** to accept Membership report: Walter Lewis  
Seconded: Betty Ann Anderson

Following the report, both Faye and Isabel thanked member Kip Scoville for his efforts in ensuring that members received notification of *Argo* and dues renewal. Paul also noted recruiting Kip originally to get the Society’s Facebook page up, which he also continues to monitor.

**Motion** to thank Kip for his contribution to the Society: Paul Adamthwaite  
Seconded: Isabel Campbell

7. Publication Report

Statistics on the quality and quantity of the journal indicate that the total number of pages per year has remained high from 442 (2011) to 474 (2012) to 466 (2013). In 2013 there were total of 14 research articles and research notes, 3 review essays, and over 100 individual book reviews. Article authors comprised 8 Canadians, 5 Americans and 1 from the UK while reviewers were even more widely distributed. Articles were of an extremely high standard making the Panting Award for Best Article a difficult choice.

The 2014 volume will be the last under the editorship of Roger Sarty. Issue 1 is fully edited and 2 will be shortly. The two will be published together as a combined issue in early July. Issues 3 and 4 will also be combined and include the multinational papers from the RCN centennial conference in 2010 with the editorial assistance of Rich Gimblett. It will also be distributed as part of the Canadian Military History Journal with the financial assistance of Laurier Centre for Military, Strategic and Disarmament Studies.

There was some discussion afterwards of the truly wonderful work done by the volunteers who produce the journal with little or no institutional support or recognition. Chris Madsen wondered what shape such support would take and how we could go about requesting it.

Isabel Campbell reported on the publication of Argonauta. It has been useful in promoting new books, including one in French which just came in from a Quebec member. Alec Douglas mentioned the usefulness of a future article on the Arctic by Jansen’s daughter. Isabel thanked Colleen McKee and Kip Scoville for their help.

**Motion** to approve the Publication Report: Betty Ann Anderson
Seconded: Chris Willmes

8. Nominating Committee Report and Elections

Paul Adamthwaite presented his last report as chair of the committee. Three councillors have stepped down: Isabel Campbell, Dan Conlin and Barbara Winters and he suggested that the President prepare a letter thanking them for their service on Council. Because of the new federal statutory requirements, a new Council has to be in place by 17 October 2014 and he suggested that the revised by-laws recommend a minimum and maximum number of councilors (e.g. 3-15) to cover any delays in the nomination process between now and them. The proposed slate of Nominees is:

President: Chris Madsen    Past President: Maurice Smith
Council:   Roger Sarty—1st Vice-President
           Richard Mayne—2nd Vice-President
           Walter Lewis

**Motion** to accept nominations: Isabel Campbell
Seconded: Rich Gimblett
Opposed: Chris Madsen
Passed.
The question of whether the Society is a charity or a foundation according to Revenue Canada or Industry Canada is going to have to be decided in order to meet the transition deadline. The brief time available means the Transition Committee will have to meet at least the minimum requirements for their submission. Chris requested volunteers for a 3-person committee with Paul to contribute advice based on his knowledge of the process. Barbara Winters has offered her services as well.

9. Annual Meetings and Conferences

Chris Madsen suggested that the 2015 conference be held in Ottawa or Trenton where there is a reservoir of members. The 2016 conference is slated for New Westminster where he will be in 2016 while plans are already under way for a 2017 conference in Halifax on the centenary of the Halifax Explosion.

Chris is also involved with NASOH’s conference committee for 2015 in Monterey. The combined NASOH/CNRS conference in Erie, PA was very successful. NASOH managed to obtain sponsorship for various events and attract a large number of students, especially nautical archaeologists.

10. New Business

No new business was raised.

11. Adjournment

Having delayed lunch in order to finish the meeting early, the President requested a motion to adjourn.

Motion to adjourn: Walter Lewis
Seconded: Faye Kert
Members receive:

- **The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du nord**, a quarterly refereed journal dedicated to publishing research and writing about all aspects of maritime history of the North Atlantic, Arctic and North Pacific Oceans. It publishes book reviews, articles and research notes on merchant shipping, navies, maritime labour, nautical archaeology and maritime societies.
- **Argonauta**, a quarterly newsletter publishing articles, opinions, news and information about maritime history and fellow members.
- An Annual General Meeting and Conference located in maritime minded locations across Canada such as Halifax, Vancouver, Hamilton, Churchill and Quebec City.
- Affiliation with the International Commission of Maritime History (ICMH).

Membership is by calendar year and is an exceptional value at $70 for individuals, $25 for students, or $95 for institutions. Please add $10 for international postage and handling. Individuals or groups interested in furthering the work of the CNRS may wish to subscribe to one of several other levels of membership, each of which includes all the benefits of belonging to the Society. CNRS is a registered charity and any donation above the cost of basic membership to the Society is automatically acknowledged with a tax-receipt.

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**Benefactor** $250  
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