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Members of the Canadian Nautical Research Society have much to anticipate and to celebrate this summer.

Once again the team of Chris Madsen and Michael Moir have put together a first class programme for our Society. This issue contains the Thunder Bay 2019 conference abstracts and is packed with exciting and relevant research summaries from across a wide range of maritime and naval history topics, including a few which focus upon Thunder Bay itself and the Great Lakes. The programme schedule includes two social receptions; the first on the icebreaker, CCGS *Alexander Henry* on 22 August and the second at HMCS *Griffon* on 23 August. We urge members to attend this conference and not to miss the Annual General Meeting on the last day of the conference, 24 August. As is evidenced by this vigorous conference schedule, the Society is thriving and we hope that new and long-time members will engage in the decision-making process and think about how they might contribute to the Society’s future.

This issue also contains two intriguing articles. The first, by member Alan Ruffman and his research colleague Brian Hill, draws upon their 2011 conference paper which they have edited and prepared for a general audience. Complete with simple explanations of complex scientific terms, they ask for community engagement in further studies. The second piece by Councillor Michael Moir entertains us with an explanation of the intersections of technology, finance, labour, and shipbuilding that builds upon a humorous poem found in the Nova Scotia Archives. David Suzuki, watch out! *Argonauta* authors are writing pieces that make the history of science and technology attractive and appealing.

We have a number of lovely articles awaiting publication over the next year or two and we anticipate a re-vitalization of the 2011-2013 debate about the “future of maritime history”. Lincoln Payne, Joshua Smith, and Kelly Chaves first addressed this vital matter in *Coriolis*, Volume 2, No. 2 (2011) and then agreed to continue their debate in the inaugural online version of *Argonauta* in the winter of 2013. Given the struggles faced by print journals such as *The Northern Mariner*, the success of both *Coriolis* and *Argonauta*, combined with the increasing role of various online blogs, H-net communications, and social media in developing and reaching new and different audiences since 2013, all three scholars have agreed to revisit this topic in
our pages next spring. We look forward to their reflections about these and other developments connected to the online world and the increasing importance of mastering new technologies for the communication of historical research. All three raised the issue of relevance and audience which remain key concerns for the future of humanities studies and not just our Society. We hope this debate will fuel healthy transformations for the Society as it grows and changes in the coming years.

We are also very pleased to offer in upcoming issues further articles by Derek Waller on captured German U-boats; we appreciate all the positive feedback about his article series which is based upon decades of exhaustive and detailed research. Readers can also look forward to an intriguing article by Jan Drent to be published in a future issue.

Finally we’d like to introduce our new editor, Professor Erika Behrisch Elce. Erika is the acting head of the Department of English, Culture, and Communication at Royal Military College. Our readers will be familiar with some of her work, based upon Philip Goldring’s review of Lady Franklin of Russell Square which appeared in our last issue. We hope to run a full biography of Erika in the autumn issue. In the meantime, she will be reading from her novel about Lady Franklin at a reception and presenting some of her scholarly research at the Thunder Bay Conference. So anyone attending the conference will have the opportunity to meet her in person. She has already stepped on board, taking an initial piece, and will take over the helm of Argonauta completely by the summer of 2020. We are also delighted that Kip Scoville, our outstanding production and distribution manager, has agreed to stay on to provide both continuity and his expertise.

Please keep sending us your wonderful submissions. We love reading them and so do all our members. Argonauta is your publication and your contributions and feedback are absolutely vital to its future.

Fair winds, Isabel and Colleen
I don’t have much news for this issue other than to report that there has been slow but measurable progress on the various fronts that have occupied this space over the past year. In particular, our plan for the continuation of the journal is coming together, even though a permanent editor remains to be identified; a slate of officers for election to succeed my interim presidency next year has been compiled; and for the first time in several years we will be awarding our full range of prizes. The Matthews Book and Article, the Panting student bursary, and the Cartier Master’s thesis prizes will be announced at the Annual General Meeting in conjunction with the conference in Thunder Bay in August, so I urge you to come out to it. If that is not enough to whet your appetite, Chris Madsen and Michael Moir have teamed up again to produce a wonderful programme of academic and social interest. Look for more details elsewhere in this issue, as well as on-line on our website.

On the subject of conferences, I had the pleasure to join with our colleagues from NASOH (the North American Society for Oceanic History) at their May conference in New Bedford, Massachusetts. It proved to be a marvelous opportunity to connect with longtime friends and to meet with their executive, which also is undergoing an overdue generational transition. Their meeting next year will be in Pensacola, Florida, and I hope to get to it. This decision would be a no-brainer if it were to be in January, but I’m willing to tough the May heat and humidity. Interestingly, CNRS had a substantial presence in New Bedford, with Councilors Jeff Noakes and David More presenting papers, Faye Kert joined me in the role of simple spectator, and our very own Christopher McKee was recognized with the Lyman Prize for Best Book in US Naval History for his *Ungentle Goodnights: Life in a Home for Elderly and Disabled Naval Sailors and Marines and the Perilous Seafaring Careers That Brought Them There*.
As an aside, I don’t normally give a shout-out to individual books or authors in this space, but I’m going to make the exception that proves the rule for *Ungentle Goodnights*. The accompanying photo above is of Christopher presenting me a copy, which I have since had a chance to read. Not to preempt any eventual review in our journal, I have to agree wholeheartedly with the Lyman judges that it is a superb piece of scholarship — and not just that as a retired former naval person, I found it easy to identify with many of the subjects he covers. Equally engrossing is Christopher’s discussion of sources, and how he drew so much from such limited material is a lesson in itself.

This reminds me to draw your attention to the “Members’ Books” page on our website. If you don’t see yours there yet, please send in a cover image and publishing details: [https://www.cnrs-scrn.org/books_and_awards/books_e.html](https://www.cnrs-scrn.org/books_and_awards/books_e.html)

Back to conferences, looking ahead, our own conference for 2020 will be in North Vancouver with Chris Madsen reprising his role as organizer. In 2021 we will remain on the west coast, moving to Victoria with Barry Gough organizing the event to mark the sesquicentennial of British Columbia joining Confederation. For any easterners finding that too far a reach, we don’t have plans yet for 2022 and beyond, so get your dibs in soon!

For now, I look forward to seeing many of you in Thunder Bay.

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The failure of CLIWOC\textsuperscript{1} in 2011 ignored by French - and Spanish - speaking seismologists in 2015 who just got on with the job 

by Alan Ruffman and Brian T. Hill

Some Canadian Nautical Research Society members may recall that the two co-authors, Alan Ruffman and Brian T. Hill, presented a paper at the May 18-21, 2011 annual gathering of the Society at HMCS Bytown in Ottawa. We bravely titled our talk “Vessels as “mobile seismometers” in the pre-instrumental era of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries”. In our 2011 oral CNRS presentation, we highlighted what we felt was the real potential of the 2000-2003 Climatological Database for the World’s Oceans (1750-1850) otherwise known as “CLIWOC”\textsuperscript{2}. It is probably not appropriate to repeat our full abstract of our talk in 2011. However some of that written record merits repetition as we begin this note:

To best defend against earthquakes society needs proper building codes rated against the probable danger. To estimate the probability of a destructive earthquake one needs as complete a record of historic earthquakes for the area as possible. The instrumental period of recorded seismic events is barely 100 years old. Prior to ca. 1900 the historic record of seismicity depends upon events felt by humans and recorded in newspapers, letters, diaries, or occasionally in folklore and oral histories.

For centuries the lives of mariners have depended on their skills on the bridge of their vessels; the vessel’s logbook is the written record of that survival. Sailing vessels of the 18\textsuperscript{th} & 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries rarely felt earthquakes but when they did, these events were entered into the logbook. In that sense, vessels and their crews became “mobile seismometers” and often the only recorders of a felt event, recording both its time and the position. The logbooks of what we call “mobile seismometers” from 1750 to 1900, including the French naval collection, lie virtually untouched for their seismic content.

Perhaps a brief few paragraphs are in order to elucidate the work of seismologists and of those who study historic seismicity. The concept of the outermost skin of the Earth comprising a series of tectonic plates was not the common vocabulary of geoscientists before the early 1960s when marine geophysicists used magnetic anomaly maps of the oceans to map the process of new ocean floor being intruded to the surface at the mid-ocean ridges, then to map its slow movement outward away from the mid-ocean ridge. The ocean crust cools and gets denser over time. The cooling ocean crust then sinks, or “subducts”, at the continental plate edges, and the ocean plate very slowly sinks beneath the “floating”, less dense, continental masses.

It is along the subduction zones that very large earthquakes can occur as faults give way and an oceanic “plate” may move a few metres at a time further below the thick continental “plate”. Earthquakes, or the release of seismic energy, occur when
such a rupture breaks. The earthquakes give rise to ‘pressure’ waves, or P waves, and to ‘shear’ waves, or S waves. In a P wave one rock particle bumps into the next particle and the P wave is passed from particle to particle at the P wave velocity. In a P wave the particles vibrate back and forth in the direction of travel of the P wave energy.

The other sort of energy that is produced by an earthquake is a ‘shear’ wave wherein the particles vibrate perpendicular to the direction of travel of the S wave energy. As one particle moves sideways, the next-door particle is then moved sideways by frictional forces. Think of waving a skipping rope back and forth and watching the ‘shear’ wave travel snake-like down the rope. This transfer of energy by a ‘shear’ wave is not as efficient, and the velocity of the S wave is always slower than the P wave in the same material. There is an even slower wave created by shallow earthquakes that can only propagate along the surface of the earth and it is aptly called a ‘surface’ wave.

When the energy from an earthquake arrives from deep in the crust of the earth at the ocean floor, the P waves will quite seamlessly pass into the overlying water layer with some losses as energy may be reflected at the water/rock interface back down into the earth. However, S waves and the ‘surface’ waves that arrive at the ocean floor cannot be transmitted in a liquid since there is virtually no frictional connection of a molecule of water to a next-door molecule. Thus when a vessel feels an earthquake it is generally feeling the P wave that has passed from the crust of the earth into the overlying ocean.

Earthquakes that are felt and sensed by onshore populations in urban areas feel the P wave first, then depending on the distance from the epicentre (the location of the initial fracture), there can be a short pause then the back and forth vibrations of the slower S wave arrive followed closely by the 'surface' waves. It is often the arrival of the large amplitude S wave and surface waves that shakes buildings to pieces and can cause huge losses of life.

In the past 120 years seismologists who study earthquakes have set up a large network of ‘seismographs’ that now record seismic events digitally and can transmit the arrival times of the various waves via satellites and direct radio, or telephone and internet links to allow automatic and less than five-minute calculation of the exact location of, depth of, and energy ‘magnitude’ of all earthquakes that are large enough to do damage to human infrastructure, delicate machinery operations, high speed trains, and electrical production and transmission systems. But the instrumental period is only 120 years long, and many of the early instrument recordings were not sensitive enough to allow records to be made over the full range of P and S wave frequencies. It was only as the world evolved the nuclear test ban treaties that a worldwide net of the very best seismographs were installed to record possible illegal bomb tests.

The return period of the large damaging earthquakes is in the order of 300 to 700 years, and one cannot at all predict when, or where, or the magnitude of the next
This CLIWOC map was drafted by the late Frits Koek of the Royal Netherlands Meteorological Institute (KNMI). He compiled it in 2000-2003, using only 10,000 of the known archival collection of 120,000 official naval logbooks of Britain, Spain and The Netherlands. The French naval logbooks were not accessed for this compilation. The yellow data points represent 280,195 noontime daily reports from 13,474 logbook page images, from 4,952 voyages. The CLIWOC researchers estimate that all the available naval logbooks known at this point contain observations from about 3.1 million days in the 17th and 18th centuries and in the words of the study team these generally unexamined volumes represent "...a vast fund of information." Source: Wheeler et. al. The CLIWOC Climatological Database for the World's Oceans 1750 – 1850, 2006. Public Domain of the EU, Final European Commission Report of 23 November 2006.
large earthquake. While one can generate a probability of an earthquake and the probable magnitude of the shaking, one needs historical earthquake occurrence data ideally for several hundred years. Thus it is quite essential to have as many years of historical seismic data as can possibly be compiled. As well, it is essential to locate reports of earthquakes in the marine areas of the globe since over 70% of ‘Earth’ is covered by the oceans. Humans as onshore observers of earthquakes perforce live onshore. Vessels and their crews transiting the oceans become possible mobile seismographs if their course places them in the right place at the time of an earthquake.

The upshot of our analysis in 2011 was that for all the effort in preparing the CLIWOC weather-related database from 10,000 of the available 120,000 official naval vessel logbooks (English, Dutch, French and Spanish), only four (4), or 0.04 %, yielded comments on a felt “earthquake”. Brian Hill and I were absolutely underwhelmed and completely deflated – disappointed that the CLIWOC compilers and logbook readers had apparently not made any effort whatsoever to capture logbook reports of felt earthquakes. It appears that the CLIWOC organizers decided that such reports were, after all, not weather related and hence not worth recording. CLIWOC also only used the open-ocean portions of their vessel logs to avoid any “land effect” on the weather data recorded. By doing so, the CLIWOC vessel logbooks were from areas more remote from the “plate boundaries” where “seaquakes” are often felt. To a seismologist an earthquake recorded by a vessel’s log in port, close to shore, or out in the open ocean, are all useful historic seismicity data. The landward ends of the 10,000 CLIWOC vessel tracks that were used still exist in their logbooks waiting to be examined for possible felt earthquakes.

As 2011 presenters we had obtained copies of Emil Rudolph’s (1887a) “Inaugural – Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde” – his Ph.D. thesis. Dr. Rudolph subsequently produced voluminous compilations of “Seebeban” (“seaquakes”). He assessed a large number of newspaper accounts and vessel logbook accounts, of felt marine earthquakes (1887b, 1888, 1895 and 1898). Rudolph as a German researcher in Strassbourg, Germany, had gone to considerable lengths to compile over 550 pages of examples of felt reports of marine earthquakes. He demonstrated that felt earthquakes by vessels offshore were not unusual and that when felt they were often and regularly recorded in the sailing vessels’ bridge logs. Further, Rudolph demonstrated that at times marine earthquakes killed fish. In a very general sense, Rudolph demonstrated that the reasonable estimate of the magnitude of a marine felt earthquake could be judged from the logbook records made by the sailors on an affected vessel.

Our main criticism of Rudolph’s work is that he chose to translate every report of a felt earthquake into German rather than retaining the language of the original report. Thus if one wishes to recover the original report, one cannot just de-translate; one is forced to re-translate or, better, find the original report, and this is a long, rather frustrating and often unsuccessful exercise.
Emil Rudolph developed a rudimentary scale of the observation of ‘seaquakes’ to allow one to estimate an approximate magnitude of the offshore felt seismic event. Onshore Giuseppe Mercalli had in 1902 developed a scale from I to XII to classify earthquakes from barely felt to catastrophic respectively. Rudolph correctly observed that many marine felt seismic events were accompanied by audible acoustic energy like explosions, cannon fire, or distant meteorologic thunder. “Other witnesses reported that, for example, ‘the sea was thrown up to a great height, possibly 80 feet [24.4 m] or more, in a column’ and that ‘the[ir] ship was violently shocked from stem to stern ...’.” Rudolph indicated “that submarine volcanic eruptions at sea-bottom cause Erdbebenflutwellen, or earthquake-induced tidal waves” – what we have called ‘tsunamis’ in all languages since 1961; it is a Japanese word meaning ‘harbour wave’.

Rudolph compiled reports of felt earthquakes at sea as a seismologist. In the past twenty years “The Deaf Whale Society” which seeks to protect whales from harmful human-made noise in the oceans has compiled reports of both natural seismic and anthropogenic energy waves in the oceans such as the use of military sonars and various commercial air-gun seismic surveys in the oceans employed during hydrocarbon exploration. Captain David Williams of The Deaf Whale Society indicates that, “I have over 15,000 seakeep reports on my hard drives.” We do not believe this collection of felt earthquakes at sea has been systematically analyzed. These numbers are not surprising. Most subduction zones are found where oceanic tectonic plates collide with continental plates, and are found in marine locations worldwide. Subduction zones are the seismic source zones of some of the largest magnitude earthquakes, and if a sailing vessel is present in anything but very stormy weather conditions it is very apt to feel an earthquake if one occurs. Regardless of who has compiled felt marine earthquake reports, Rudolph in the late 19th century, or The Deaf Whale Society in the past twenty years or so, there are a large number of felt marine earthquakes, or “seaquakes”, reported, and to find the CLIWOC database only has a 0.04 % report rate for felt earthquakes in the 10,000 logs used by no means reflects the actual number of felt earthquakes that could have appeared in the CLIWOC database. Clearly the CLIWOC logbook readers just did not record any of the reports of felt earthquakes as they recorded weather-related data – except for the four reports found – all noted by readers of the Dutch-language logbooks. Despite our disappointment in the CLIWOC database in 2011, the authors of this paper responded by preparing a review manuscript on the potential use of vessel logbooks to document marine earthquakes, including two Appendices of data and the promise of a third of seismic events recorded on board motorized vessels from 1910 to 1941 recorded in the newly-recognized and still generally unknown Hydrographic Bulletin produced in Washington, D.C. We called vessels “mobile seismographs” in this manuscript – a more correct term – A logbook entry is to some degree a ‘seismograph record’. If a vessel felt an earthquake and if the bridge officer made a logbook entry, then a seismograph record has been created so to speak.

The title of our June 15, 2012 manuscript was “Vessels as mobile seismographs in the pre-instrumental era of the 18th and 19th centuries”. It ran over 27 pages and, unfortunately after a lengthy wait, it did not proceed to publication in The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du nord. We parked our 2012 manuscript in our computers and went on to other interests.
As it turns out, in our exploration of the use of vessel logbooks as “mobile seismographs” in 2011-2012, we were not the only group of modern-day scientists considering the innovative use of 18th and 19th century vessel logbooks. Readers of Argonauta may share our delight in our very recent discovery of a 2015 published paper entitled: “Historical seismicity in oceans from sailors’ testimonies.” in a commercially-produced journal. The six co-authors are French and Spanish speakers and only one is based in America. Their 2015 paper suffers ever so slightly from English not being the first language of most of the co-authors – thus vessel logbook entries are referred to as “sailors’ testimonies”.

These authors have collected and analyzed 396 reports of seaquakes mainly in the Atlantic Ocean “reflecting its intense maritime traffic during the period of interest” (mostly from the 18th and 19th centuries). The authors’ results “when compared to historical catalogs [of known felt earthquakes], reveal many previously undetected large events.” It is the expansion of our existing earthquake catalogues with unknown large events that will give seismologists the data they need to better define seismic risk in areas adjacent to the presently generally defined marine seismic source zones. The 2015 authors state, “The good locations [i.e. the accurate positions of the recorded positions in the vessel logbooks] of most of the events allow us to relate them to [tectonic] plate boundaries. ... This study particularly illustrates that historic seismicity may be applied to [the] oceans. The collected testimonies also show how impressive and dangerous these large earthquakes at sea are, despite the absence of S-waves.” They recognize that the P wave, or pressure wave, shocks that shake a vessel can have an immense amount of energy at sea. As noted above, in the ocean only P waves (i.e. ‘pressure’ waves) are experienced by vessels in water.

The objective of Rouland et al. in publishing their conclusions about the use of “sailors testimonies”, at least in the Atlantic Ocean was to not only develop a first compilation of the historical seismology of poorly documented marine areas, but also in part to alert us, as marine researchers, that these “new data open the door for [studies of] historical seismicity in the oceans in [light of the] modern-day theory of plate tectonics.” They also conclude that “The interpretation of testimonies [mainly logbooks] relating the observed [vessel] effects [as] to a [seismic] source type as well as [to] the definition of an intensity scale are other challenges to overcome.”

We recommend that CNRS members, that the burgeoning ranks of Britain’s “citizen scientists” who are signing on to transcribe just the weather from British naval logs, and that scholars of historic seismology, read the Rouland et al. publication, then obtain a copy of Tables S1 and S2 from the paper’s Electronic Supplement and thoroughly browse the 396 accounts of documented ‘seaquakes’ and let the detail inform them on how to engage and to use the over 120,000 official naval logs available in English, Dutch, French and Spanish languages. CLIWOC used just 10,000 logbooks from British, Dutch and Spanish vessels. How might Canadian nautical researchers use this treasure trove of “sailors’ testimonies”?
Endnotes

1. CLIWOC stands for Climatological Database for the World’s Oceans (1750-1850)


4. Ibid. p. 251

5. Ibid.

References


Rudolph, E[mil]. Ueber [Über] submarine Erdbeben und Eruptionen. Inaugural - Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde eingereicht bei der philosophischen Facultät der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität Strassburg. E. Schweizerbart’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart, Germany: 1887a, 76 pp.; note pp. 76-233 are believed to exist but were not seen. Pages 1-233 of this book (1887a) are believed to be exactly the same, word-for-word and page-for-page, as pp. [133]-365 of Rudolph (1887b).


Ruffman, Alan and Brian T. Hill. “Vessels as mobile seismographs in the pre-instrumental era of the 18th and 19th centuries" Unpublished manuscript, June 2012, 27 pp. including Appendix 1, “An English translation of a Danish-language account of the sinking of an unidentified vessel ..." (pp. 23 & 24); Appendix 2, “An extraction of 1730 to 1861 felt, or probable, marine earthquakes in the South Atlantic Ocean, ..." (pp. 25-27); but not yet including Appendix 3 (in preparation), “Record of felt seismic events recorded on board motorized vessels in the June 20, 1910 to April 15, 1941 period as noted in the Hydrographic Bulletin (HB) ...".


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Alan Ruffman has been active in marine research for half a century, writing on early hurricanes, the 1929 earthquake and tsunami off the Burin peninsula of southern Newfoundland, attempts at iceberg towing in the northwest Atlantic, and the Lisbon Earthquake ("terremoto") of 1755. His considerable work on the 1917 Halifax Harbour Explosion includes having co-edited Ground Zero (1994) and searching out Arthur Lismer’s drawings of the event. Alan’s interest in historic seismicity has led him to projects from documenting the pre-Confederation historic seismicity of Nova Scotia, to digging-out the far-field effects of the November 1, 1755 tsunami ("maremoto") in the Americas as generated by the Lisbon Earthquake including the first documentation of the tsunami in Brazil along 2000 km of the Atlantic coast. In his last presentation to the CNRS annual conference in 2018 he asked the question: "Can An Earthquake’s Concussive Force Kill a Whale?" Alan will candidly tell you today that he does not yet know the final answer but he has become acutely aware that it is a question that few have thought about.

Brian Hill has over 50 years of experience in snow, ice and iceberg research. Born in Scotland, his first experience with serious snow and ice came as a Field Technician with the British Antarctic Survey. Brian takes some pride that in over two years of driving dog teams he covered about 2,500 miles of the continent’s ice sheets in support of glaciological, geological, and geophysics field programs. He emigrated to Canada in April 1973 and spent seven years with three private consulting firms in Calgary with work in the Arctic Islands, off Labrador, in the Davis Strait and Beaufort Sea. In 1984 he joined the National Research Council of Canada (NRC) in St. John’s at its new ice test basin and wave tank facility. Brian was the Supervisor of the Ice Tank physical model test facility from 1984 to 2009. Brian was responsible for the daily Ice Tank activities of over one thousand physical modeling experiments of ships, submersibles and offshore structures in ice.

During his 25 years with the National Research Council (and in the decade since his retirement), using almost exclusively his own time in the evenings and on weekends, Brian Hill pursued additional self-initiated research in establishing four significant databases of ice conditions in the North Atlantic: a) sea ice extent off the northeast coast of Newfoundland and over the Grand Banks since the early 1800s; b) sea ice extent in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Scotian Shelf since the early 1800s; c) iceberg populations on the Grand Banks since the mid-1800s comprising ice reports in the tens of thousands largely based on forgotten U.S. Hydrographic Office records in the U.S. National Archives; and d) ship collisions with icebergs in the North Atlantic and the northern hemisphere amounting to over 680 incidents (650 of these are in the North Atlantic); this database also records deaths from collisions with icebergs. He is now documenting Second World War Atlantic convoy interaction with ice and icebergs. It was while pursuing these various researches that he met Alan Ruffman and sharing many interests they have now collaborated on several projects.
Technology has been both a blessing and a curse to our daily lives. Mobile devices instantly connect us with family, friends, and digital content around the globe, yet this connectivity can become an intrusion. The workplace extends to our homes and holidays as managers expect timely responses to email, and mobile apps chew up personal time on work-related projects. A document discovered among the papers of James Fraser Paige at the Nova Scotia Archives suggests that this is not a new phenomenon, as an earlier generation of a personal digital assistant attracted the derision of Paige’s shipyard colleague a century ago.

Paige was a marine engineer with an unusually diverse background. He was born in 1873 in Pictou, Nova Scotia, and began his apprenticeship as a machinist with the Truro Foundry & Machine Company in 1892. He joined a New Jersey shipbuilding company in 1896 but soon went to sea as an engineer on steamships based out of Yarmouth and New York. Paige abandoned shipboard employment in 1904, and took on increasingly responsible positions with the Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation of Quincy, Massachusetts. He was sent to Japan from 1908 to 1911 to supervise installation of Curtis turbine propelling machinery in warships of the Imperial Japanese Navy and spent the next two years doing similar work on board cruisers of the Royal Italian Navy. His success in managing these projects caught the notice of competitors. Paige was approached by Paul Chace, vice-president of the Port Arthur Shipbuilding Company (PASCO), to take charge of design, engineering, and the plant’s general works in December 1916.1 His appointment was confirmed the following month, and he arrived in Port Arthur with his wife and children on 2 February 1917.

Paige took up his duties as PASCO’s general manager at an auspicious time. The company began to build steel freighters for ocean service in 1916, taking orders from Canadian interests (later transferred to Norwegian ship brokers) in response to the heavy losses of Allied and neutral merchant ships to German U-boats. Demands upon the shipyard significantly increased in 1917, when orders for 14 Castle-class trawlers were placed by the Department of Naval Service on behalf of the Admiralty for coastal submarine patrol at the same time that the Imperial Munitions Board, Britain’s purchasing agent in Canada, ordered seven freighters with a total capacity of 16,173 gross tons.2 Time was of the essence, as attacks upon the supply chain from North America threatened to starve Britain into submission.
Paige led PASCO’s response to the shipping crisis, a task made more difficult by shortages of steel and skilled labour. Recruitment in the United States helped to increase the number of employees from 400 to almost 1,500. It was an extremely diverse workforce made up of almost 30 nationalities who shared the brunt of long hours, harsh working conditions, and an escalating cost of living. Strikes were an annual occurrence, but Paige minimized the impact of labour disruptions upon productivity through tact and a reputation for offering the workers “a square deal.” His technical expertise as a marine engineer also played an important role in the shipyard’s success as his knowledge and experience solved serious problems with two of the Imperial Munitions Board freighters in 1918.

By early 1919, PASCO had good reason to bask in its accomplishments. The Imperial Munitions Board’s orders were finished, and the last four steel trawlers would be delivered once navigation opened on the upper lakes. The company’s financial situation improved from persistent losses prior to 1916 to a net profit of over $517,000 in June 1919. The war was over, but the future looked bright with contracts in hand for seven freighters to be built for the Canadian Government Merchant Marine. PASCO’s officers, department heads, superintendents, and
foremen gathered to celebrate at its annual banquet at the Prince Arthur Hotel on 8 March 1919 in the company of colleagues from the Bank of Nova Scotia, Lloyd’s Register, the Department of Naval Service, the Dominion Registrar of Shipping, and the American Consul. It was an evening of excellent food interspersed with speeches, music, and the work of creative minds who cooked up messages and verses.

As the local newspaper reported the following week, “All were out for a good time and apparently wanted to have it at the other fellow’s expense.” Paige was credited on the banquet’s “Shipbuilding Menu” as being the “Decisive Factor” and served as toast master for the evening, but his lofty position did not make him immune from the evening’s wit. Walter Arnold, PASCO’s storekeeper, wrote the untitled doggerel reproduced below that sang Paige’s praises while suggesting an influence on his work that was less than divine. Paige kept two copies of the poem as mementoes of the evening’s festivities at the Prince Arthur Hotel when his career took him to Halifax in November 1919, and then back to the United States. They provide an enduring commentary on the relationship between a marine engineer and his reliance on hand-held technology.

Down at the Shipyard,
Where the sad seas rage,
Lives a Master of Shipcraft.
His name’s Jimmy Paige.

He builds the Iron Monsters
The huge waves to rule,
But just how he does it
Is nobody’s bizz,
But they think that he works it
On that slide rule of his.

It’s with him while eating,
Or drinking or sleeping,
He takes it to church
To attend the big meeting.

It wines with him,
Dines with him,
Laughs with him,
Cries with him;
And finally dies with him –
The Little Slide Rule.
The last call, it comes
With a terrible sound.
Both Jimmie and “Rulie”
Are right on the ground,
Arranging with Peter to let them both in
In order that Heaven will run without sin.

James’ reasons are many,
Too many to tell.
Our “Old Man” gets in,
But the Rule goes to Hell.

(Composed by Walter Arnold)
Store-Keeper.

Port Arthur,
March 8, 1919.


Acknowledgements
The author wishes to thank Jesse Roberts of the Thunder Bay Public Library, Michael deJong of the Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, and Julia Holland of York University Libraries for assistance in preparing this note, as well as the generous support of the Nova Scotia Museum and York University Libraries in funding this research.

Endnotes
Conference Update for all CNRS Members

Plans are well in hand for the 2019 CNRS Conference in Thunder Bay, Ontario, August 22 to 24. A preliminary programme is now available featuring presentations that range from the Thunder Bay waterfront in film to perceptions of yellow fever in Mexico, from the lighthouses of Lake Superior to Halifax’s Point Pleasant battery, and from finding archival sources in Ottawa to publishing a maritime book. The conference will also feature a reception on board the icebreaker and museum ship Alexander Henry and the Society’s annual meeting. Please read the conference abstracts and the schedule in this issue of Argonauta.

You may also find updated programme announcements and online conference registration on the CNRS website: https://www.cnrs-scrn.org/admin/conferences_e.html.

You may download a copy of the registration form from the CNRS website which you may print and fill out and mail it to: Michael Moir, Scott Library, Room 305, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Toronto, Ontario M3J 1P3. It can be found here: https://www.cnrs-scrn.org/admin/conferences_e.html

We are all grateful Paul Adamthwaite, CNRS webmaster, for creating the webpage for the conference and the online registration.

The Prince Arthur Waterfront Hotel, which serves as the conference venue, has set aside a limited number of rooms at a reduced rate of $99 per night plus taxes. The booking number is 256303. Contact information for the hotel can be found at: https://princearthurwaterfront.com/. Bookings should be made by July 31 in order to get the reduced rate.

Thunder Bay is the gateway to Northwestern Ontario, and is known for its natural and built heritage as well as fine dining. For those interested in exploring the many attractions Thunder Bay has to offer visitors, please visit: https://www.visithunderbay.com/en/see-and-do/see-and-do.aspx

We look forward to seeing in Thunder Bay on August 22 to 24.

Chris Madsen
Michael Moir
Ambjörn Adomeit, The RCN Submarine Squadron: Historical Trends and Advocating a Direction for Canadian Submarine Procurement in the 21st Century

Abstract: This presentation offers a sketch of Canada’s mercurial attitude to defence spending, with emphasis on the Royal Canadian Navy’s submarine squadron. The presenter argues that an air-independent propulsion capable diesel-electric (SSK) acquisition programme must be developed in time to replace the aging Victoria-class submarines.

Historically, Canadian governments have preferred the SSK platform, originating with the decision to acquire new British-built Oberon-class boats in March 1962. In each instance that modernization efforts have arisen full modernization has been marginalized in favour of fiscal compromise. The resulting submarine squadrons are equipped with “just enough” capability to meet Canadian commitments to its allies with increasingly limited operational life spans.

The Oberon-class submarines were an exceptional addition to the RCN and remained so for the duration of their service through two mid-life extension refits. The Victoria-class boats have proven to be a massive drain on RCN resources and only recently become operational. Since then, however, the Victoria-class boats have proven their utility several times. Examples of post-2015 Canadian submarine participation in allied operations show that if the RCN is to be limited to conventional submarines in the short term (e.g., from 2035 to 2090), RCN procurement programmes must be designed with the goal to modernize its SSKs. Modernization in this context includes the incorporation of comprehensive AIP capabilities in the RCN’s new boats and the government needs to seriously consider building its boats, or parts thereof, on-shore. These issues must be incorporated in a procurement programme in order to “future proof” the RCN submarine fleet, and maintain supply lines in the future, as easy access to fossil fuels diminishes, and as the global security environment becomes increasingly hostile.


Ambjörn has reviewed many books for The Northern Mariner and his book reviews may also be found on H-Net/H-War. His research interests beyond submarines extend to naval theory from 1880 to the present, naval gunnery practices in the Anglo-American “Big Ship Fleets” around the turn of the 20th century, and the
philosophy of history and historiography. He is also active in Inflammatory Bowel Disease and ostomate support programmes in the London, Ontario region.

Michel Beaulieu, “Port Arthur and Fort William: Keys to the Great Lakes:” Early Films, Economic Vision, and the Promotion of the Canadian Lakehead

Abstract: The title of this presentation takes its name from the earliest extant film produced about Fort William and Port Arthur, Ontario (today Thunder Bay). This film, and others produced between 1911 and 1925 by individuals and the Government of Ontario, captures the important relationship between the Great Lakes and a vision many had of the economic future of the region. It was a vision, as will be demonstrated through footage from the period that revolved around the importance of the Great Lakes to Canada’s national development.

Biographical note: Michel S. Beaulieu is a Professor of History and Chair of the Department of History at Lakehead University. He is also an Associate of the Wilson Institute for Canadian History at McMaster University and an Adjunct Professor in the School of Environment, Resources & Sustainability at the University of Waterloo. He holds a PhD in History from Queen’s University and is a practicing heritage specialist holding a Professional Membership with the Canadian Association of Heritage Professionals (CAHP).

Ira Breskin, Four Years Before the Book: The Perils, Pitfalls, and (infrequent) Joys of Producing and Publishing A Maritime Book

Abstract: This presentation explains the personal and professional challenges of researching, writing, promoting, and marketing a commercial book aimed at maritime industry readers. It draws upon experience gained from almost four years connected with the substantially revised The Business of Shipping, published by Schiffer and now in its ninth edition. The latest edition, published in March 2018, is used for instruction at all US maritime academies in classes addressing maritime economics, operations, policy, and regulations. Underpinning the book’s contemporary focus on current concerns is a maritime history overlay to provide context. Among specific topics addressed are North American shipping operations including those on both sides of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Seaway, and marine terminal operations in both the US and Canada.

Biographical note: Ira Breskin is a senior lecturer at State University of New York Maritime College in the Bronx, NY. Breskin was a business journalist for 25 years before joining academia in 2003. He worked for daily newspapers, was a Canadian correspondent based in Toronto and a writer/editor for The Journal of Commerce, then the leading daily newspaper covering international trade and transportation. Breskin teaches maritime economics, policy and regulation, American commercial maritime history, and expository writing. He has worked as an adjunct instructor at
Breskin holds a BA from Columbia University, an MBA from Dowling College and an MS in International Trade and Transportation from SUNY Maritime. He has won a number of academic fellowships, including the Knight-Bagehot at Columbia University and a National Endowment for the Humanities award to study maritime history at Mystic Seaport in Mystic, CT.

Erika Behrisch Elce, Private Inventions, Public Purse: Innovation in the Victorian Navy

Abstract: When Mr. Oddy Taylor presented his “shipping and unshipping apparatus” for screw propellers to the British Admiralty in 1838, he claimed, quite rightly, that his invention would save both effort and lives in the British Navy and the merchant marine. Taylor’s idea allowed for the safe and convenient stowing of the new screw propellers then being fitted to steam ships, enabling those new ships to enter ports in safety. Though Taylor admits that his idea was slow to catch on, it eventually became, much to his satisfaction, “of general use in Her Majesty’s service.” For the benefit of his innovation, he asked a mere 5s. per horse power per Navy ship, amounting to £1,338: a trifling amount when considered against the potential loss of life and materiel incurred by even a single shipwreck. What Taylor got, however, was nothing, or worse than nothing: a 14-year-long argument with the Board of Admiralty for compensation which never came, and a legal conflict that would eventually take him to the threshold of Parliament, as he threatened to go public with his complaint.

What remains remarkable about Taylor’s case, lost to history, is what it had in common with so many others. From automated bread-makers to balloons, anchors to blasting caps, nineteenth-century inventions and innovations were paraded – sometimes at great personal expense – before the Admiralty in hopes of obtaining a lucrative contract; what too many of them received was merely the satisfaction of having their devices adopted with little or no financial recompense. Examining archival resources from the mid-nineteenth century British Admiralty, this paper argues against the Victorian Navy’s self-image as innovators who encouraged public engagement with its far-reaching projects, and reveals its uncomfortable history with private innovators unable to access the Royal Navy’s substantial coffers even while the Navy benefitted from their work. The research cites Taylor’s 1853 statement of claim on the Admiralty in file ADM 1/5642 at the National Archives, Kew.

Biographical note: Erika Behrisch Elce is an Associate Professor in the English, Culture, and Communication Department at the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston. Her scholarly research focuses on nineteenth-century naval exploration and the practical as well as cultural tensions between the men who wrote the orders and those who carried them out. Her work has been funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Royal Military College’s Academic Research Programme. She is currently completing a scholarly monograph on the
nineteenth-century Admiralty, science, and networks of influence. Her novel, *Lady Franklin of Russell Square*, which imagines Lady Franklin’s decade in London as she waited for her polar hero husband to return, was published by Stonehouse Publishing in October 2018.

**Reception Reading**


Oh my love, how can I be the one to tell you that you are finally, really, irrevocably dead?

**Abstract:** Spring, 1847, and Lady Franklin is back in London after her own international travels, awaiting the imminent return from the Northwest Passage of her hero husband, polar explorer Sir John Franklin. But as weeks turn to months and he remains missing, she takes matters into her own hands. Writing letters, meeting politicians, and generally making a nuisance of herself in all the right places, Lady Franklin chronicles her efforts to find Sir John through letters she writes to him—a record, as she calls it, “of my life in anticipation of your triumphant return.” At turns charming, angry, flirtatious, and despondent, her private letters to Sir John reveal a rare personality blessed with vivacity and a connubial sense of purpose, but also one vulnerable to the frailties of ego and fear of her own insignificance. At the same time, they are also suggestive of the husband behind the hero: quietly intense, loving, and noble.

Though the novel remains faithful to the facts of the public search for Sir John Franklin—thereby satisfying even the most rigorous Franklinite readers—it also offers personal twists and intimate turns in Lady Franklin’s private life that make her much more than the public spectacle of a loyal Victorian wife. Her unconventional friendship with Mr Rowe, the enigmatic gardener of Russell Square, her favourite London park, complicates her feelings about Sir John’s absence even while it provides comfort as she deals with his death. True to the Franklin Expedition’s fate, the novel has its tragic aspect, but the inexorability of history is lightened by Lady Franklin’s own irreverent delight in hot pink flowers in the middle of grey old London, extemporized poetry, and irrepressible vitality in the face of Victorian propriety.

*Lady Franklin of Russell Square* is framed as a recently discovered scrapbook, with the letters interspersed between historical articles from the Times. The two voices—the first deeply personal, the other official—effect a powerful narrative counterpoint; the public impact of the Franklin Expedition’s tragedy is revealed through the imagined private life of its most celebrated representative, the “Penelope of England.” Historian Alison Alexander, whose biography of Lady Franklin won the Australian National Biography Award in 2014, calls the novel “Gripping—the reader is one with this devoted wife searching for her husband.” In the words of award-winning Canadian author Helen Humphreys, it is “An original and provocative exploration of
John Franklin’s doomed Arctic odyssey from the perspective of Lady Franklin, who, though she remained at home in England, underwent an equally compelling journey. *Lady Franklin of Russell Square* is a captivating tale of transformation, beautifully told."

**Richard Gimblett, *The Mainguy Report and the Postwar Incidents in the Royal Canadian Navy***

**Abstract:** The year 1949 is remembered as one of crisis and reform in the Royal Canadian Navy. Mutinous incidents that year in His Majesty’s Canadian Ships *Athabaskan*, *Crescent* and *Magnificent* seized the attention of a government and a nation growing sensitive to the spread of communist subversion. The findings of the Commission of Inquiry were published as *The Mainguy Report*, and it has remained for 70 years one of the most incisive examinations of a military institution to be undertaken in Canada. It exposed the hardship of general service conditions, described a number of factors critical to achieving good officer-man relations, and outlined a blueprint for reform. Its impact was immediate, and its findings, recommendations and conclusions remain a potent legacy. This paper examines that legacy and shows much of it to be mistaken. Contrary to the impression conveyed in *The Mainguy Report*, the incidents of 1949 were far from unique in the Canadian experience. Many of the identified reforms already were in progress at the time of the incidents. Preoccupied with uncovering problems in the relations between officers and ratings, the Commission ignored testimony pointing to other more immediate causes. These indicate that the Canadian “mutineers” remained fundamentally loyal to the status quo, consistent with the British naval social tradition of mutiny. Finally, the spontaneous nature of the incidents and the lack of coordination suggest that dissension was not as widespread as the Commission implied.

**Biographical note:** Dr. Richard Gimblett, MSC, CD, RCN, holds history degrees from the Royal Military College of Canada (BA 1979), Trent (MA 1981) and Laval (PhD 2000). As a surface warfare officer in the Canadian Navy (1975-2001) he served in ships of various classes on both coasts, notably as Combat Officer in HMCS *Protecteur* for the Gulf War of 1990-91, and held staff appointments ashore including co-authoring *The official history of the Canadian Forces in the Persian Gulf War* (Dundurn 1997) and responsibility for developing the Navy’s strategic plan *Leadmark 2020* (DND 2001). He recently retired as Command Historian for the Royal Canadian Navy (2006-2018), remains an Adjunct Professor of History at Queen’s University Kingston, and is President of the Canadian Nautical Research Society. His published works have revised interpretations of the origins of the RCN, the naval mutinies of 1949, the nature of command in the RCN, and Canadian naval operations in the Gulf region. He is a principal author of *The Seabound Coast: The Official History of the RCN, Volume I, 1867-1939* (Dundurn 2010) and contributing editor of a trio of volumes for the *Navy’s Centennial: The Naval Service of Canada; Citizen Sailors* (with Michael Hadley); and *From Empire to In(ter)dependence: The Canadian Navy and the Commonwealth Experience, 1910-2010* as well as *The Northern Mariner* XXIV: 3 & 4, Summer & Fall 2014.
William Glover, Late Victorian British Shipping Legislation Reform and the Advocacy of Sir John Glover

Abstract: Were ship owners the villains opposing shipping reform in Victorian Britain as they are frequently cast? Given grudging admissions that Samuel Plimsoll, whose name is associated with load lines marked on a ship’s side, in fact achieved little beyond popularizing issues already recognized in shipping circles, what were the obstacles to legislation enhancing safety at sea and in the sailors’ work place?

John Glover, (1829 - 1920, and a brother of my great grandfather), rose to prominence as tramp ship owner and manager in the 1870s. He was a member of the committee of Lloyd’s Register of Shipping (and the chair 1899 - 1907), president of several ship owner organizations, and a frequent commentator and speaker on shipping issues. His writings included an 1873 pamphlet, The Plimsoll Sensation: A Reply (which was sufficiently popular that it ran to at least three editions), and Fairplay, a shipping trade newspaper, credited him with the 1884 defeat of Joseph Chamberlain’s amendments to the Merchant Shipping Act. Yet his contributions to shipping were recognized with a knighthood in 1900. Through the lens of his work and advocacy, this paper examines the issues of shipping legislation reform within the context of the prevailing laissez-faire political philosophy of the period, administrative structures particularly within the Board of Trade and the absence of international maritime bodies and technical concerns that may have contributed to a slow pace of reform. Great Lakes maritime historians may find the issues and/or processes of comparative interest and use.

Biographical note: Bill Glover, a retired naval officer now living in Winnipeg, has been a CNRS member since 1986, when he presented his first paper at the Galiano Island conference. His research topics have included officer training in the RCN and navigation history. He is now beginning to examine built form (harbour improvements) and institutional (Lloyd's Register of Shipping, the Baltic Exchange) infrastructure support of merchant shipping through the careers of family members who were active in the late 1800s.

Richard Goette, Differing Canadian and American Approaches to Maritime Air Power in the Northwest Atlantic, 1941-1943

Abstract: Canada’s sustainment of Allied forces overseas by means of shipping was a vital contribution to the Second World War. Several vessels came from the Great Lakes, transited the St. Lawrence River and Gulf to re-supply spots along the way, or culminated at convoy gathering ports such as Sydney or Halifax for the North Atlantic voyage. By 1941, responsibility for the aerial protection of shipping in the Northwest Atlantic from German U-boats was divided among the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) and the air services of the United States Navy (USN) and United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) operating from bases in Newfoundland. Based on elements of a chapter from my recent book, Sovereignty and Command in Canada-US Continental
Air Defence, 1940-57 (University of British Columbia Press, 2018), my presentation will show how operational, organizational, doctrinal, and cultural differences between these organizations hampered effective coordination of maritime air power.

The American desire to implement unity of command over all maritime air forces clashed with the Canadian preference for simple cooperation. The RCAF leadership continuously stressed to their American allies that the operational situation did not require greater centralization. Canada’s air force leaders also feared that the convoluted organization of maritime air power in the United States and the USAAF’s subsequent inefficient doctrinal approach to anti-submarine warfare would have a negative effect on any RCAF forces placed under an American commander. Canadian airmen resisted several American attempts to impose unity of command until the operational situation in the Battle of the Atlantic revealed inefficiencies in coordination which necessitated all maritime air power in the Northwest Atlantic be centralized under Canadian operational control in the spring of 1943.

Biographical note: Dr. Richard Goette is an air power academic and Canadian air force historian. He is an associate professor in the Department of Defence Studies at the Canadian Forces College in Toronto, where he holds the position of Deputy Chair of the Department of Military Planning and Operations. He lectures on air power, command, targeting, and joint operations, and teaches on the Joint Command and Staff Programme and the National Security Programme in addition to being a Masters of Defence Studies supervisor. Richard is a member of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) Association and is an Associate Editor-in-Chief of the association’s flagship publication, Airforce magazine. He is also a member of the CNRS and a Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies (LCMSDS) Research Associate. He is currently conducting research on air power issues related to the RCAF as a professional military institution, command and control, targeting, maritime air power, air mobility (airlift and Search-and-Rescue), “soft” air power, and the Arctic.

Kelly-Anne Griffin, Library and Archives Canada – Here to Help With All Your Nautical and Naval Research

Abstract: This presentation provides an introduction to the naval and nautical archival resources available at Library and Archives Canada (LAC). Part tour of the collection, part introduction to reference and accessibility, I will highlight the many treasures within the LAC collection that document the rich history of Canadian waterways and Canadians’ affinity towards water and water travel. The LAC collection includes textual records, maps, digitized records, photographs and documentary art.

LAC holds both government and private records. Government records include the Service Files from the Royal Canadian Navy, guides to Canadian Naval vessels, and the central registry of seamen. Many of these records are digitized and readily available online to researchers.
Private records include the personal records of Naval Officers like Robert McCormick and John Franklin, marine artist and researcher George Adrian Cuthbertson, and the vast photographic collection of George Ayoub, among many others. The collection documents the St Lawrence Seaway, extensive canal systems, the Great Lakes, and many important naval expeditions.

The presentation will provide the audience with a firm understanding of the holdings at LAC and our services as well as how LAC can benefit researchers all across the country.

Biographical note: Kelly Anne Griffin in an Archival Assistant with the Science, Environment and Economy branch at Library and Archives Canada working primarily with industrial and labour fonds. She holds a B.A in History from Western University and a diploma in Museum Studies from Algonquin College. She recently wrote a piece for the Discovery Blog on naval enthusiast and historian George Ayoub, whose fonds is now accessible to researchers.

Nicholas Kaizer, How the Royal Navy and the British World Understood the Forgotten Single Ship Actions of the American War, 1813-1815

Abstract: The War of 1812 opened with a reversal of expectations. The American army was driven from British Canada by land, but over the first year of the war the Royal Navy was humbled by six single ship losses, especially by the loss of three fifth-rate frigates to the heavy frigates of the United States. This sparked a crisis of reputation and honour in the Royal Navy, and drove calls for vengeance. With the victory of HMS Shannon over USS Chesapeake, many in the navy, as well as the British and Nova Scotia presses, accepted this as vindication and hoped further victories would follow. Instead, over the rest of 1813 and 1814, five British sloops were defeated by their American counterparts, with only two British victories between ships of a similar class. In the final months of combat in 1815, Britain’s capture of USS President was contrasted by the defeat at New Orleans and yet another victory of USS Constitution.

As the impact of the 1812 losses were examined in a 2018 MA thesis, this work explores how the Royal Navy, namely its serving officers and administration, grappled with and responded to the actions of 1813-1815. How did it differ from their reactions to the more notable losses in 1812, and their victory against the Chesapeake? How did the naval-following press of Britain and Nova Scotia react to these further losses, and how did those reactions differ from those of the Royal Navy? Did these actions, set against emerging news of victories against Napoleonic France, have less of an impact on the commentators who had called for vengeance at all costs in 1812-1813? Most accounts of the War of 1812 do not discuss the naval actions following Shannon-Chesapeake, and this work seeks to examine their impact upon the psyche of the British Royal Navy.
Biographical note: Nicholas Kaizer is a Halifax-based educator, academic, and writer. He was born and raised in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia, and completed a degree at Acadia University, making the intellectually interesting but logistically ill-advised decision of majoring in history and minoring in biology. After completing an Honour’s thesis at Acadia, Nicholas completed a Master of Arts degree at Halifax’s Dalhousie University, under the supervision of Dr. Jerry Bannister. In both degrees he focused on the culture of the British Royal Navy during the Napoleonic era, concentrating on the victories and then on the losses of the War of 1812. He presented his Master’s research at the annual Canadian Nautical Research Society Conference, and was a co-recipient of the Society’s Panting Award for young academics. Nick is currently working on a volume on the single ship actions of the War of 1812 for Helion & Company’s *From Reason to Revolution, 1721-1815* series. In addition to writing, Nicholas is pursuing a career in education, aspiring to teach history and science in a world that sorely needs an understanding of both. Nicholas is an avid sailor and enjoys hiking the trails of his native Nova Scotia and travelling to see the sights of historical and natural significance around the world.

Marti Klein, Nineteenth Century Perceptions of Yellow Fever in Veracruz, Mexico

Abstract: In the first half of the nineteenth century, it was generally agreed that yellow fever (*el vomito*) and the north wind (*el norte*), afforded the city of Veracruz, Mexico, more protection than did the Mexican military, including the well-defended, relatively impenetrable Castle San Juan Ulloa. This opinion was based on several factors, ranging from derogatory assessments of the Mexican Navy to credible historical accounts of the havoc that the wind and disease could wreak. The wind could cause significant damage to ships in the harbour, and hold them at sea for days or weeks, and the disease could quickly debilitate a ship’s crew. Together, they were effective military deterrents.

This paper focuses on the power of perceptions of yellow fever, compared to the risk the disease actually posed. Its mortality was comparable to other diseases such as malaria. Most cases were relatively mild, and of short duration. Only a small percentage converted to the virulent, deadly form. Unlike malaria, it is not a remitting fever, and permanent immunity is conferred to those who recover. Despite this, fear of yellow fever was disproportionate to that of malaria, and to the danger it presented to most people stricken with it. This fear was palpable in the journals, correspondence, and travel narratives of military, government, and scientific visitors as they approached Veracruz harbor, spent time there, and travelled through the surrounding hot, humid lowlands. These sources provide intimate accounts of personal apprehensions, as well as predictions and assessments of military impacts.

Biographical note: Marti Klein is a lecturer in the Liberal Studies department at California State University Fullerton, where she teaches social science and California Studies. Research interests include topics related to the history of Alta California during the first half of the nineteenth century, such as the early history of the Mexican
Navy, and the influences of the fur trade and slavery on foreign imperialism. She is also interested in topics that focus on the intersection of the social sciences and the humanities, such as the sea songs memorializing nineteenth century Mexican President and General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. As a historical geographer with graduate work in Epidemiology, she also focuses on situations in which alternative truths regarding infectious disease changed the course of maritime history, such as the case of Richard Henry Dana Jr., author of the iconic travel narrative, Two Years Before the Mast.

Chris Madsen, Federal Policing in Canadian Seaports 1974-79

Abstract: In response to growing levels of cargo theft and pilferage in the major seaports of Halifax, Montreal, and Vancouver, the National Harbours Board (NHB) Police was created in 1968. Better reporting of losses by marine insurers, law enforcement measures by this specialized federal police force, and adoption of standardized steel shipping containers in place of previous labour-intensive loading methods greatly managed the problem. The smuggling of prohibited drugs and narcotics through Canadian seaports overtook stealing as the principal criminal activity by the mid-1970s, though both remained closely connected to organized crime. A task force into port policing established by the federal government recommended that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) take over responsibility from the NHB Police as part of its mandates for national drug enforcement and border security. This paper revisits the work of the task force, its conclusions, and why the Royal Canadian Mounted Police ultimately decided not to police Canadian seaports. The NHB Police - subsequently renamed the Ports Canada Police - continued to provide federal policing in Halifax, Montreal, and Vancouver until disbanded in 1997 for budgetary reasons in favour of coverage by municipal police forces in conjunction with the RCMP and Revenue Canada Customs and Excise on joint forces operations. This paper is based on files reviewed and released through access to information and privacy from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RG 18), National Harbours Board (RG 66), and Solicitor General (RG 73) at the Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa.

Biographical note: Chris Madsen is a Professor in the Department of Defence Studies at the Canadian Forces College and Royal Military College of Canada in Toronto, where he teaches senior public servants and military officers on the Joint Command and Staff Program and the National Security Program in the area of military planning and operations. His research interests include shipbuilding, naval procurement, waterfront trade unions, labour racketeering, military law, and Department of National Defence support to federal law enforcement.
Thomas Malcomson, The Penetanguishene Decision: To Be a Naval Yard or Not to Be

Abstract: After defeat on Lake Erie in September 1813, the British were without a naval yard that could service ships on the Upper Lakes. The location of a replacement, not only for the war but in the aftermath of the conflict, on the Upper Lakes proved to be a difficult decision. Penetanguishene was quickly suggested as the site, but its favour rose and fell more than once before it was finally selected and real efforts to construct the establishment undertaken. This paper tells the story of the early selection, the challenges to the location, and the final decision to build the yard. It will examine the difference in the scope of the yard, from when first planned by Sir James Yeo, to what later developed under his replacements, Sir Edward Owen and Sir Robert Barrie.

Biographical note: Thomas Malcomson taught for 32 years as a professor in the School of Liberal Arts and Sciences, at George Brown College, Toronto. He earned a B.A. from Brock University, a M.A. in Experimental Psychology from Wilfrid Laurier University, and a PhD in History from York University. He has written numerous articles on naval and maritime subjects, with a primary focus on the final years of the long 18th century and the War of 1812. His latest book is Order and Disorder in the British Navy, 1793-1815: Control, Resistance, Flogging and Hanging (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2016). His current projects focus on the Black Refugees from the War of 1812 and their contact with the British Navy, the 1815 to 1834 naval establishment on the Great Lakes and its involvement in surveying the lakes, and mutiny and other forms of human disorder at sea.

Michael Moir, A Desperate Measure for Desperate Times: Wooden Shipbuilding in Fort William, 1917-1918

Abstract: Thunder Bay was a major centre for steel shipbuilding that produced trawlers for the British Admiralty and French government, and freighters for the Imperial Munitions Board (IMB - Britain’s purchasing agent in Canada) during the First World War. There is another aspect of the city’s wartime involvement in shipbuilding that is not nearly so well known. An acute shortage of steel and Britain’s desperate need for tonnage to replace ships sunk by German U-boats forced the IMB to expand its construction program by reviving an activity thought to be a lost skill in much of Canada: wooden shipbuilding. While the Pacific and Atlantic coasts were natural locations for this initiative, the urgency of the shipping shortfall led to the conversion of construction yards on the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River.

Situated more than 3,000 kilometres from the Atlantic Ocean and lacking suitable lumber and skilled labour, Thunder Bay was an unlikely location for wooden shipbuilding, yet it became one of only two locations on the Great Lakes to build wooden freighters largely due to the efforts of the mayor of Fort William. This presentation explores the convergence of urgent wartime requirements and local
aspirations for industrial development that led to the short-lived involvement of the Great Lakes Dredging Company in the construction of wooden ships for salt-water service.

**Biographical note:** Michael Moir is the Head of the Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections of York University Libraries in Toronto. His research focuses on Canadian shipbuilding during the First World War, and the management of the country's ports and harbours. He currently serves on the Council of the Canadian Nautical Research Society.

**Paul Morralee, Beacons of Prosperity?**

**Abstract:** As our country developed the movement of natural resources, commodities and people through maritime means, the lighthouse played a key role. Lighthouses helped securely move products to-and-from the Lakehead, making us the prosperous country we are today.

Through the operation and development of three (3) lighthouse sites, Canadian Lighthouse of Lake Superior (CLLS) preservation organization has been offering tours to reconnect the public to our maritime history. Sharing our history, our culture and commerce are important because 'if we don’t know where we came from, how will we know where we’re going?’ Over the past six-years the lighthouse organization has increased people’s understanding of the role that these beacons played, and still play. But preserving history is not easy.

Making built history accessible within waterfront community is difficult due to the lack of financial support, the lack of municipalities' understanding of the needs of small business, and the port authorities’ lack of interest in giving public access without oodles of red tape.

Considering the wealth that the lighthouses afforded our nation, our role to preserve the history is important as people’s lives were affected by the challenges of the past. Taking a First Nations wife, for example, provided Light Keepers’ added security to survive. Food was often short, and knowledge of the land provided a better opportunity to survive and prosper. The cultural importance being that our country would not have survived without working together with the First Nations people to maintain the light.

Making the story of the light keepers’ historical role accessible to the general public is an overarching theme of the CLLS. This presentation will offer details of the vital role that lighthouses and their keepers played in the development and prosperity of our country.

**Biographical note:** Paul Morralee is Managing Director of Canadian Lighthouses of Lake Superior in Thunder Bay.
Jeff Noakes, Wonham’s War: From Lakehead to Lurcher Lightship

Abstract: Like many of his young male contemporaries between 1914 and 1918, Walter Richard Wonham joined up and went to war. Unlike most of them, however, he served in the Royal Canadian Navy, and his wartime and early postwar service brought him into direct contact with many of the central aspects of the RCN’s experiences during this time. Wonham trained as a wireless operator, and was posted to a variety of ships, both purpose-built military vessels and converted civilian counterparts, along the Atlantic coast and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Berthed in HMCS Niobe in December 1917, Wonham survived the Halifax Explosion, and ended his career as a wireless operator aboard the Lurcher Lightship off Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.

In addition to exemplifying many aspects of Canada’s “tin-pot navy”, Wonham’s experiences also brought him into contact with some of the themes of the 2019 CNRS conference, most notably shipbuilding on the Upper Great Lakes. Wonham appears to have been among the commissioning crew for the armed trawler TR.3, one of fourteen TR series trawlers built by Port Arthur Shipbuilding in Port Arthur, Ontario.

While Wonham does not seem to have kept a diary – at least none has survived – he did assemble an extensive and diverse photo album that helped record his experiences, at sea and ashore; it is now part of the collections of the Canadian War Museum. Coupled with his naval service file and supporting archival records, they permit a reconstruction not only of one Canadian’s experiences of the First World War at sea, but also of the daily activities of the RCN during this conflict, as well as some of the ways in which water linked Great Lakes communities such as Port Arthur to naval and maritime aspects of the Great War.

Biographical note: Jeff Noakes, Ph.D., has been the Second World War historian at the Canadian War Museum since mid-2006. He is responsible for historical content in the museum’s Second World War gallery, and until 2016 was one of two historians jointly responsible for historical content in the War Museum’s LeBreton Gallery, which displays the museum’s collection of large military artifacts. He has also been the historian on museum teams responsible for creating or adapting a number of temporary and online exhibitions.

He has worked as a researcher on subjects related to Canada’s military and diplomatic history during the twentieth century, and is also the author or joint author of books, book chapters, exhibition catalogues, and articles on subjects related to the First World War, the Second World War, the Cold War, and the Arctic, including Forged in Fire: Canada and the Second World War (2016), and, with Andrew Burtch, The LeBreton Gallery: The Military Technology Collection of the Canadian War Museum (2015). Along with Tim Cook and Nic Clarke, he is co-author of Canada in
Roger Sarty, A Historic Shoreline Reclaimed by the Sea: Point Pleasant Battery, 1762-2013

Abstract: Point Pleasant Battery was first constructed on Halifax's shoreline to meet the danger of French attack during the Seven Years War. The battery’s smooth-bore gun positions were modernized in the 1790s and again in the 1850s. From the 1880s to early 1900s, the old works were built over with modern concrete installations that were refitted again during the Second World War. Since the Second World War, parts of the eighteenth-nineteenth century works have been gradually exposed by erosion of the shoreline, and now these have been all but destroyed while the modern concrete works are being undermined. The presentation will feature photographs taken by the author since the 1960s showing how the old works were uncovered, and a narrative of the role the battery played in the defence of Halifax by the British and then Canadian armies for nearly two centuries.

Biographical note: Roger Sarty is a Professor in the Department of History at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo.

Bill Skrepichuk, Sligo: Work History of a 3-Mast Schooner on Lake Superior in the 1880s

Abstract: This image-rich presentation provides a fascinating look at one historic Canadian ship, the schooner Sligo that sailed out of Port Arthur and Fort William in the 1880s. During its working life, Sligo serviced the construction efforts of the Canadian Pacific Railroad (C.P.R.) in 1876 and 1883-84, hauling machinery, engines, rails and iron, dynamite, timber, coal, and food supplies. The schooner transported sandstone from Vert Island in Nipigon Bay to Chicago, in the 1883 and 1884 era, to be used in masonry work on many buildings including the original skyscrapers of the Windy City, such as the Home Insurance Building. In May 1885, the schooner carried the first load of bulk grain out of Fort William from the first C.P.R. Elevator located near the mouth of the Kaministiquia River. The ship’s history provides a glimpse into early nautical sailing activity in and around Thunder Bay.

Biographical note: Bill Skrepichuk shares a passion and excitement for local and regional historical work on the Thunder Bay area. He is a retired engineer after thirty years working in the Nipigon Bay area and is now doing research on the history of construction and industry along the north shore of Lake Superior. His research has been published in Papers & Records, the journal of the Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society.
Canadian Nautical Research Society
Annual Conference Thunder Bay 2019
Prince Arthur Waterfront Hotel
17 North Cumberland Street, Thunder Bay

Schedule (subject to change)

Thursday, 22 August 2019

0830-0900
Registration

0900-1015
- Bill Skrepichuk (Independent Researcher), Sligo: Work History of a 3-Mast Schooner on Lake Superior in the 1880’s

1015-1045
Break sponsored by Lakehead University’s Department of History

1045-1200
- Kelly-Anne Griffin (Library and Archives Canada), Library and Archives Canada – Here to Help With All Your Nautical and Naval Research
- Paul Morralee (Canadian Lighthouses of Lake Superior), Beacons of Prosperity?

1200-1330
Lunch

1330-1530
- Michael Moir (York University), A Desperate Measure for Desperate Times: Wooden Shipbuilding in Fort William, 1917-1918
- Jeff Noakes (Canadian War Museum), Wonham’s War: From Lakehead to Lurcher Lightship
- Ambjorn Adomeit (CNRS), The RCN Submarine Squadron: Historical Trends and Advocating a Direction for Canadian Submarine Procurement in the 21st Century

1700-1900
Reception sponsored by the City of Thunder Bay, Office of the City Clerk
Icebreaker CCGS Alexander Henry, Sleeping Giant Parkway

Dinner on own
Friday, 23 August 2019

0830-0900
Registration

0900-1015  Panel
• Nicholas Kaizer (Mount Saint Vincent University), How the Royal Navy and the British World Understood the Forgotten Single Ship Actions of the American War, 1813-1815
• Thomas Malcomson (CNRS), The Penetanguishene Decision: To Be a Naval Yard or Not to Be

1015-1045
Break sponsored by Lakehead University’s Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities

1045-1200
• Marti Klein (California State University Fullerton), Nineteenth Century Perceptions of Yellow Fever in Veracruz, Mexico
• Roger Sarty (Wilfrid Laurier University), A Historic Shoreline Reclaimed by the Sea: Point Pleasant Battery, 1762-2013

1200-1330
Lunch

1330-1445
• William Glover (CNRS), Late Victorian British Shipping Legislation Reform and the Advocacy of Sir John Glover
• Erika Behrisch Elce (Royal Military College of Canada), Private Inventions, Public Purse: Innovation in the Victorian Navy

1445-1515
Break

1515-1630
• Ira Breskin (SUNY Maritime College), Four Years Before the Book: The Perils, Pitfalls, and (Infrequent) Joys of Producing and Publishing A Maritime Book
• Chris Madsen (Canadian Forces College), Federal Policing in Canadian Seaports 1974-79

1700-1900
Reception – CNRS Awards
HMCS Griffon, 125 Algoma Street North
Saturday, 24 August 2019

0900-1015 Panel
- Richard Goette (Canadian Forces College), Differing Canadian and American Approaches to Maritime Air Power in the Northwest Atlantic, 1941-1943
- Richard Gimblett (CNRS), The Mainguy Report and the Postwar Incidents in the Royal Canadian Navy

1015-1030
Break

1030-1200
Annual General Meeting
The John A. Adams ’71 Center for Military History & Strategic Analysis at the Virginia Military Institute will award a $3,000 grant to a graduate student in history or related field working on a dissertation in the area of Cold War history. The award promotes innovative scholarship on Cold War topics. The Adams Center invites proposals in all subject areas—including international security affairs, military strategy, leadership, and operations. All periods of Cold War history are welcome. This year, having recently celebrated the 70th anniversary of the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO, 1949-2019), the Adams Center is especially interested in dissertations concerning Cold War alliances. The prize is made possible through the generous support of John A. Adams and George J. Collins Jr.

To be considered, graduate students must submit a brief proposal (prospectus) describing their doctoral research, a project timeline, and curriculum vitae with a list of references. Applications should be delivered, electronically, to the Adams Center at adamscenter@vmi.edu by 4:00 p.m. Eastern, Friday, April 3, 2020. Direct questions to Adams Center director Bradley Lynn Coleman.

Deadline for submissions: April 3, 2020

Submissions to:

adamscenter@vmi.edu

Questions to:

Bradley Lynn Coleman, Ph.D.
Director, John A. Adams ’71 Center for Military History & Strategic Analysis
Department of History
Virginia Military Institute
Lexington, VA 24450
colemanbl@vmi.edu
540-464-7447

Ms. Deneise Shafer
Administrative Assistant
shaferdp@vmi.edu
540-464-7338
Fax: 540-464-7246

Online at:
www.vmi.edu/adamscenter
Previous Recipients:


Kate Tietzen, “Iraq in the Cold War and Beyond the Fall of the Soviet Union, 1968–2003,” Kansas State University.


Kuan-jen Chen, “U.S. Maritime Policy in East Asia During the Cold War era, 1945–1979,” University of Cambridge, UK.


Contact Info:
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The Indo-Pacific is a flashpoint for many pressing coastal and marine environmental problems – overfishing and resource depletion, habitat degradation, pollution and biodiversity conservation, with consequences for food security and the sustainability of coastal and maritime communities. Climate change, population growth, and the rising middle class in China and elsewhere suggests the urgency of these challenges will endure deep into the twenty-first century.

Globally, marine environmental problems are increasingly informed by longer-term or historical understanding of the drivers and extent of change across time. Such understanding reflects the progress of the inter-related fields of Marine Environmental History and Historical Marine Ecology since the early 2000s. For the Indo-Pacific, however, the potential for developing baselines to inform management and conservation and better understand the drivers and patterns of resource exploitation and trade remains substantially unrealised, despite several important studies and past research collaborations. At the heart of this problem lies the fundamental methodological challenges confronting historians working in this culturally and socially diverse region, highlighting the need for innovative, interdisciplinary solutions to investigating human-environment interaction in Indo-Pacific seas.

Ten years after the HMAP Asia project first addressed these challenges, and five years after the publication of this project’s case studies, a new opportunity has arisen to consider the problems, sources and opportunities for marine environmental history in the Indo-Pacific, broadly defined. The workshop will focus on recent and current research that addresses the following questions:

- What are the historical ‘turning points’ in relation to marine resource exploitation, marine conservation, and coastal or maritime community development in Indo-Pacific seas?

- What can the data sources, methodologies and research outcomes of historians and social scientists contribute to the real-world challenges faced by fisheries managers, conservationists, and community development experts?

- What are the challenges associated with historical research on human-environment interaction across Indo-Pacific seas, and how have they been overcome?
The workshop is jointly convened by Dr Joseph Christensen, A/Prof. Pedro Machado, and Dr Kathleen Schwerdtter-Manez.

**Workshop details**

**Venue:** Murdoch University  
**Date:** 16 December 2019 [TBC]

Submissions are invited for 20- minute presentations address the key workshop questions, as outlined in this notice. Abstracts of c.250 words (including title) should be sent to j.christensen@murdoch.edu.au by 1 August 2019.

This workshop is supported by the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University. For more information contact Joseph Christensen at j.christensen@murdoch.edu.au.
Guidelines for Authors

Argonauta follows The Chicago Manual of Style available at this link: http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/home.html.

However, we utilize Canadian spelling rules, in lieu of American rules, unless referring to proper American names. Thus, the Canadian Department of Defence and the American Department of Defense are both correct.

For ship names, only the first letter of the names of Royal Canadian Navy ships and submarines is capitalized, and the name appears in italics. For example:

Her Majesty’s Canadian Ship (HMCS) Queenston
Her Majesty’s Canadian Ship (HMCS) Châteauguay

Class of ship/submarine: Victoria-class submarines (not VICTORIA Class submarines)

Former HMCS Fraser rather than Ex-Fraser

Foreign ships and submarines:
USS Enterprise
HMS Victory
HMAS Canberra 3

Because Argonauta aims to publish articles that may be easily understood by senior high school students and other non-experts, we encourage authors to include general introductory context, suggestions for additional reading, and links to relevant websites. We publish memoirs, humour, reviews of exhibits, descriptions of new archival acquisitions, and outstanding student papers. We also publish debates and discussions about changes in maritime history and its future. We encourage submissions in French and assure our authors that all French submissions will be edited for style by a well-qualified Francophone.

Although Argonauta is not formally peer-reviewed, we have two editors who carefully review and edit each and every article. For those producing specialized, original academic work, we direct your attention to The Northern Mariner which is peer-reviewed and appropriate for longer, in-depth analytical works.

All submissions should be in Word format, utilizing Arial 12 pt. All endnotes should be numbered from 1 consecutively to the highest or last number, without any repeating of numbers, in the usual North American Academic manner described in the Chicago Manual which also provides guidance on using the Word insert function at this link: https://www.ivcc.edu/stylebooks/stylebook5.aspx?id=14646. For technical reasons, we prefer that authors use endnotes rather than footnotes. Typically an article in Argonauta will be 4 to 6 pages long, though we do accommodate longer,
informal pieces. We strongly encourage the use of online links to relevant websites and the inclusion of bibliographies to assist the younger generation of emerging scholars. The Chicago Manual provides detailed instructions on the styles used.

All photos should be sent separately and accompanied by captions, describing the image, crediting the source, and letting us know where the original image is held. Authors are responsible to ensure that they have copyright permission for any images, art work, or other protected materials they utilize. We ask that every author submit a written statement to that effect. The images should be named to reflect the order in which they are to appear in the text (Authornameimage1, Authornameimage2, Authornameimage3) and the text should be marked to show where the images are to be added (add Authornameimage 1 here, add Authornameimage2 here, etc.)

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All authors are asked to supply a short biography unless the text already contains these biographical details or the author is already well known to our readers.
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- The Northern Mariner / Le Marin du nord, a quarterly refereed open access journal dedicated to publishing research and writing about all aspects of maritime history of the northern hemisphere. It publishes book reviews, articles and research notes on merchant shipping, navies, maritime labour, marine archaeology, maritime societies and the like.

- Argonauta, a quarterly on-line newsletter, which publishes articles, opinions, news and information about maritime history and fellow members.

- An Annual General Meeting and Conference located in maritime-minded locations, where possible with our U.S. colleagues in the North American Society for Oceanic History (NASOH).

- Affiliation with the International Commission of Maritime History (ICMH).

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