

The Origins and Growth of the Canadian Customs Preventive Service Fleet in the Maritime Provinces and Eastern Quebec, 1892-1932

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In 1892 a small, 185-ton sea-going "cruiser" with a crew of about twenty became the first Customs vessel to patrol the nation's coasts against smugglers. A single Customs Preventive Service (CPS) cruiser continued in service until the fleet began to be enlarged in 1920. By the early 1930s it comprised thirteen cruisers, twenty-four smaller patrol boats and about 300 officers and men. Despite this growth the CPS has had little more than passing attention from nautical historians except for an inaccurate account of its origins and growth in a brief history of the Marine Section of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and a mention of its beginnings and vessels in a history of Canadian Customs and Excise, neither of which examine the post-1918 "prohibition" era.¹ Lists of CPS cruisers and patrol boats have appeared in some recent essays.² Similarly, vessels and officers are occasionally mentioned in books on Canadian rum-running published over the past two or three decades.³ Curiously, although almost all the vessels employed by the CPS before 1914 belonged to, or had been chartered by, the Department of Marine and Fisheries, there is no mention of this in the history of the Canadian Coast Guard or Marine Services, both of which descended from this ministry.⁴ Moreover, none of the published material has examined in any detail the events leading to the formation of the CPS and the employment of its vessels over the next four decades; the effect on its operations of Dominion or provincial liquor legislation, Customs and Excise rules and some aspects of maritime law; or the rapid growth of the fleet between 1919 and 1932. All are analyzed in this essay.

Customs Preventive Work Before 1892

In the early nineteenth century the collection of duties and the prevention of smuggling in British North America (BNA) was the responsibility of the British Board of Customs, which modeled its North American operations on those in Great Britain. At each the officer in charge was the "Collector," who supervised a staff consisting of a controller,

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surveyor, searchers, landing or tide waiters, and sundry other positions, sometimes including a preventive officer who watched for smugglers "on lonely coves and wilderness trails." Although the British coasts were patrolled by revenue cutters, in BNA before mid-century the nearest equivalents were Royal Navy (RN) vessels from the North American and West Indies Squadron, which enforced the fisheries clauses of the Convention of 1818 between Great Britain and the US and kept watch for cargoes of contraband which, in addition to liquor, included such goods as flour, tea, tobacco and gunpowder. At mid-century Britain eliminated the last vestiges of its old mercantile system in favour of free trade; at about the same time the British Board of Customs relinquished control over the collection of duties in British North America. Each province inherited responsibility for the collection of duties and excises until Confederation, when the provincial agencies were merged into two federal departments, Customs and Inland Revenue.⁵

Meanwhile, during reciprocity with the US between 1855 and 1866, fisheries protection and law enforcement off the east coast also became the responsibility of the provinces. During that decade two of the vessels patrolling the fisheries were the Province of Canada's *La Canadienne* and Nova Scotia's *Daring*. When the Reciprocity Treaty was abrogated, fisheries jurisdiction reverted to the Convention of 1818; as a compromise, American fishermen were charged a license fee until US fishing rights in the Gulf of St. Lawrence were reestablished by the 1871 Treaty of Washington. In 1870, the British government refused the continued use of the RN's Atlantic Squadron to patrol Canadian fisheries. To take its place the Department of Marine formed the Marine Police, comprising the steamer *Lady Head* and half a dozen chartered schooners. The fisheries clauses of the Treaty of Washington were abrogated in 1885 and the next year the Marine Police were replaced by the quasi-naval Fisheries Protection Service, which flew the "whip lash" pennant of a man-of-war and whose crews wore uniforms resembling the RN. In addition to supervising the fisheries, its duties included the prevention of smuggling.⁶

The Origins of the Canadian Customs Preventive Service

When responsibility for enforcing regulations and collecting duties was transferred across the ocean, preventive officers under the direction of a Collector continued to be employed at some Customs houses. In 1891, a year before the Department of Customs temporarily became part of the Department of Trade and Commerce, Philip John O'Keefe, a Special Officer with the Board of Customs, was appointed Chief Preventive Officer for the Maritimes. At the same time, the fifty-five-gross-ton (grt) patrol boat *Cruiser*, which had been owned jointly by the Departments of Marine and Fisheries and Customs since 1888, was sold to the Poison Iron Works of Toronto as part payment for the construction of the 185-grt steam screw cruiser *Constance* (see figure 1). When commissioned in June 1892 the new vessel was allocated to Customs with the recently appointed Customs Preventive Officer, Captain George Musgrave May, as her master.⁷

In the latter part of the century the source of much of the liquor and other dutiable goods smuggled into eastern Canada were the French islands of St. Pierre and

Miquelon. In the summer of 1892 two Fisheries cruisers - *Constance*, "employed in the River St. Lawrence and Upper Gulf doing Revenue work" and *Acadia*, flagship of the Fisheries Protection fleet — began intercepting schooners from "French St. Peter." For the next sixteen years during the ice-free season of May to November *Constance*, with a crew of about twenty officers and men, patrolled the estuary of the St. Lawrence River, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Baie des Chaleurs, Northumberland and Cabot Straits, and (after 1900) the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia (see figure 2), occasionally assisted by other Marine and Fisheries vessels. At sea *Constance* stopped and examined suspicious vessels which, if carrying contraband, were escorted to a nearby port. As an incentive to the officers and crew, proceeds from the sale of seized cargoes and vessels were distributed among them, with informants sometimes included in the lists of recipients.⁸

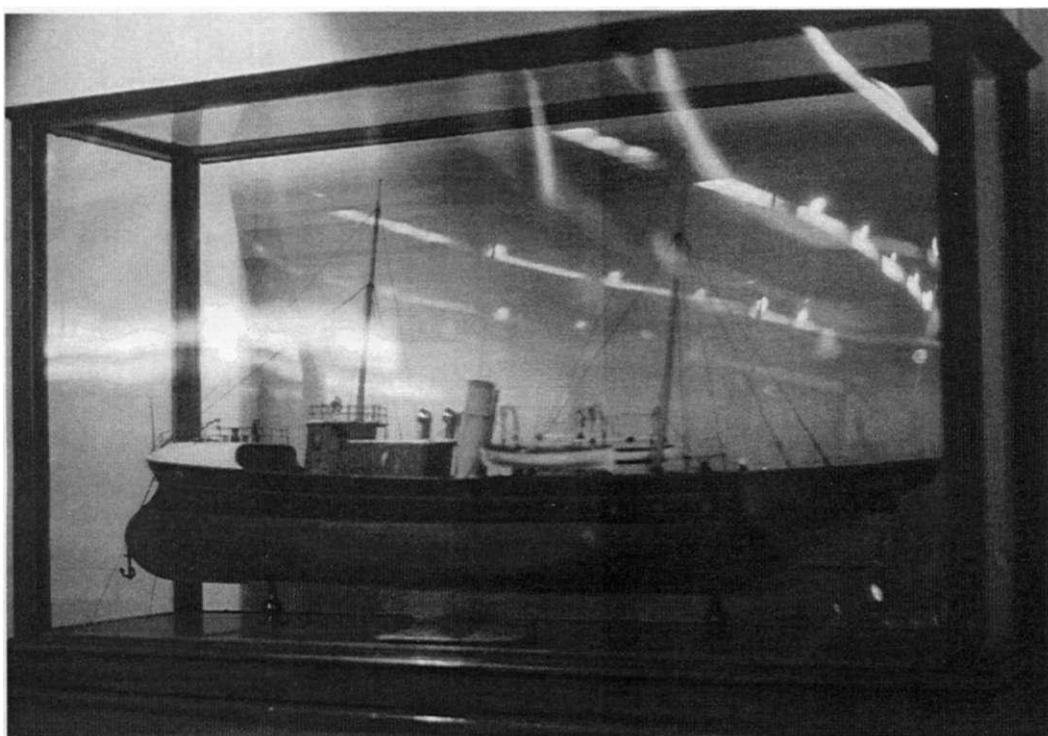


Figure 1: CGS *Constance*, built Owen Sound, ON, 1891; 125' x 19'6" x 11'3", coal-burning, 185 grt. Allocated to the Department of Customs by the Department of Fisheries, armed with three machine guns, 1892-1908, then chartered (1926-1929) armed with two rifles. Sister ship of Fisheries Protection cruiser *Curlew*.

Source: Author's photograph of model of *Constance/Curlew* in collection of models at the Port of Montreal.

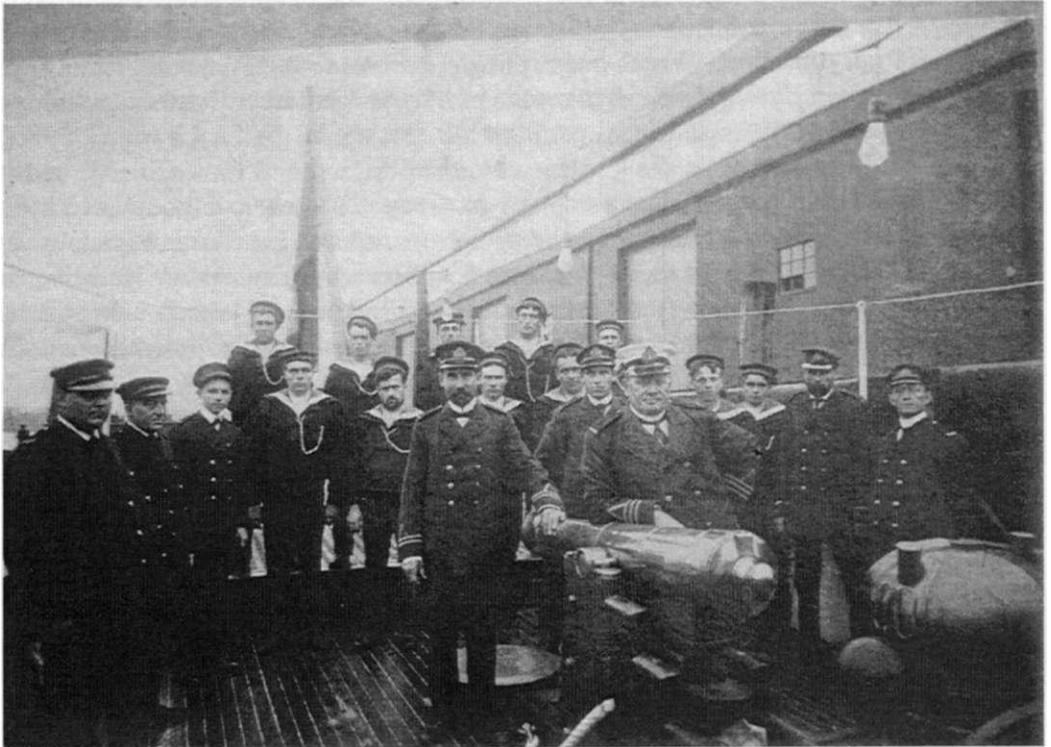


Figure 2: Crew of *Constance*, circa 1906. Captain George M. May at right of brass signal gun; First Mate Alfred LaCouvée (with beard) at left; Second Mate Edwin Miller behind Captain May. Probably taken at stem of Fisheries Protection cruiser *Acadia*.

Source: Barry LaCouvée collection.

Early in 1896 Philip O'Keefe, the "Chief Preventive Officer for the Maritimes," was demoted to the post of Chief Landing Waiter at the Port of Saint John. When Customs was reinstated as a Dominion department in 1897, Frederic Ladd Jones, a member of the Parliamentary Press Gallery and a nephew of the Hon. A.G. Jones, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, became the "Chief Preventive Officer" in charge of five land officers and seven vessels. When he died in May 1909 at the age of sixty he was succeeded by his assistant, W.F. Wilson, who held the position until 1927.⁹

Vessels of the Preventive Service, 1897-1918

Until 1913 almost all cruisers and harbour craft employed by Customs were either owned or chartered by Marine and Fisheries. For several years after 1897 the department's annual reports usually noted that *Constance*, with Captain George May as master, had been "placed at the disposal of Mr. F. Jones, Chief Preventive Officer." Two other vessels,

Victoria and *Gladiator*, were chartered for Customs patrol work at Cape Breton for a few months in 1897. From 1903 to 1911 the upper end of Baie des Chaleurs was patrolled by the sloop *Puritan*. Although used exclusively by Customs, *Constance* was a Fisheries vessel; as commander of the Fisheries Protection Fleet, Captain A.G.V. Spain was responsible for its discipline and maintenance. But in 1908, at about the time of a scandal in the Department of Marine and Fisheries which resulted in the removal of nine officials including Captain Spain, *Constance* was returned to Fisheries. From mid-1908 to 1910 its replacement was the 140-grt *Christine*, and from 1911 to 1913 the 355-grt *Laurentian*, both commanded by Captain May and acquired by Marine and Fisheries for the CPS.¹⁰

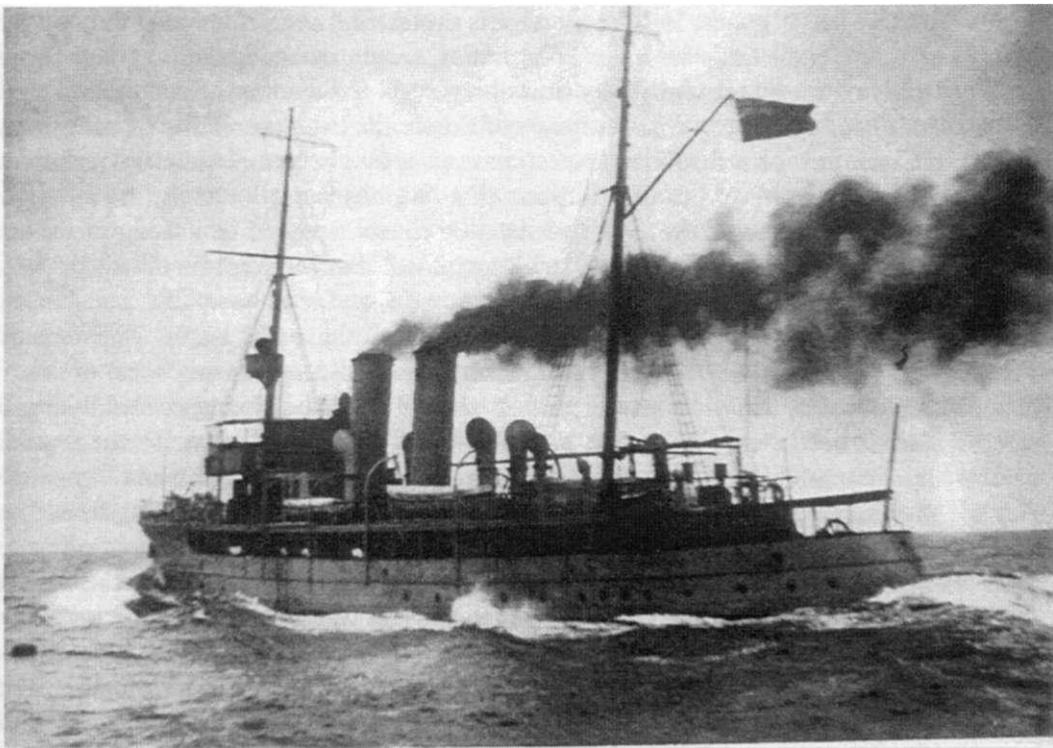


Figure 3: CGS *Margaret*, built Southampton, England, 1914; 182.4' x 32.3' x 15', coal-burning, converted to oil-burning, winter 1924-1925; 756 gross tons, in use until sold in 1932. Armed with two six-pounder guns until 1927, then one six-pounder and seventeen rifles.

Source: Lennox Coffin collection.

In April 1914 the 756-grt *Margaret*, built by the John Thornycroft Company of Southampton, England, was delivered to the Department of Customs at Halifax (see figure 3). Because of the war, it was transferred early in 1915 to the Department of Naval Services as an auxiliary patrol ship for the duration. It had probably been built in

anticipation of the coming war with Germany and its description and cost were similar to those of a naval cruiser proposed for the west coast in 1907 but never built. While on war service it was replaced as a CPS cruiser by a succession of chartered vessels: the 145-grt *Westport III* (1915); the 761-grt *Dollard* (1916); the 156-grt *Restless* and 224-grt *Canso* (1917); and the 210-grt *Lisgar* (1918). All but one of these was under the command of Captain Alfred La Couvée, previously Captain May's first mate."

The Preventive Service, Liquor Laws, Rum-Runners and the Three-Mile Limit

When the Dominion Customs Act of 1867 set the average tariff at fifteen percent on a relatively short list of goods, Halifax merchants protested that the increased duty on rum, besides affecting their trade with the West Indies, would encourage smuggling. Despite such pessimism, there apparently was little increase in the amount of rum-running over the next half century. By the first few years of this century the possibility of being seized by either *Constance* or a Fisheries Protection cruiser had become enough of a deterrent that in 1904 Captain May was able to report that "we boarded all vessels of a suspicious nature but smuggling about the Gulf and Atlantic coasts seems to be a thing of the past, or if carried on at all, is done in such small quantities that it cannot be detected."¹²

Yet except to avoid customs and excise duties there were few incentives to smuggle alcoholic beverages into eastern Canada until the early 1920s. The Canadian Temperance Act of 1878 (Scott Act) had given cities and counties the "local option" of banning liquor sales, and most provinces passed laws either restricting or prohibiting the sale of spirits, beer and wine within all or parts of their jurisdiction. In the resulting patchwork of communities and provinces with prohibition, neither the Canada Temperance Act nor provincial laws could prevent legally-purchased liquor from moving from "wet" to "dry" areas until the middle of the war, when federal legislation made it an offense to send intoxicating liquor into any province with prohibition laws. When the wartime legislation expired in 1919, the Canada Temperance Act was amended to allow provinces to prohibit both the sale and import of alcoholic beverages. By 1921 almost all had adopted complete prohibition. The exceptions were Québec and British Columbia where liquor, beer and wine could be purchased at government-authorized outlets and importing was reserved for provincial agencies. Over the next decade most provinces abandoned prohibitions against alcohol and adopted similar systems of sales through provincial liquor stores and control of import, including New Brunswick in 1927 and Nova Scotia in 1930. The only exception was Prince Edward Island which retained prohibition until 1948.¹³

Smuggling tends to increase when there are prohibitions against the import and sale of a commodity. Not surprisingly, when the American National Prohibition Act (Volstead Act) became law in 1920, rum-running began to increase to the US from Canada, St. Pierre and Miquelon, the Caribbean and Europe. A year later smuggling along Canada's east coast from St. Pierre and Miquelon and the Caribbean began. But unlike the US, Canadian laws on the sale, import, export and manufacture of alcohol were neither uniform nor constant across the country. For a few years after 1921 some

provinces continued to ban both the importation and sale of alcohol (except for medicinal and scientific purposes) while in others, where liquor could be bought at government outlets, there were "lacunae" where its sale was prohibited under "local option." Alcoholic beverages were manufactured by distilleries and breweries under both Dominion and provincial license (including those provinces with prohibition laws) and was sold either through provincial liquor commissions and control boards for domestic consumption or exported duty-free through Dominion and provincially-licensed warehouses.¹⁴

In this confusion of Dominion and provincial liquor legislation, the mandate of the CPS was to prevent smuggling not only of alcohol but also of automobiles, textiles and cigarettes. Liquor which had entered Canada without payment of the \$10 customs duty and \$9 excise fee per gallon was subject to seizure as contraband whether it was destined for domestic bootleggers or passing through for the northeastern US. The CPS thus had no direct responsibility for the enforcement of federal and provincial prohibition and liquor laws; this task was divided between the RCMP, provincial police, provincial temperance inspectors and municipal police.¹⁵

For generations smuggling from both St. Pierre and Miquelon and New England had been a secondary occupation for Canadian fishing and coasting schooners. Indeed, many of the liquor-laden vessels that appeared off the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico coasts of the US in 1920, and off Canada's east coast the following year, were fishing schooners from the Maritimes. In the guise of coasting vessels they could obtain cargoes of liquor from either licensed warehouses in Canadian ports or at foreign ports as far apart as St. Pierre and Georgetown, British Guiana. Under Canadian laws duty-free liquor from Canadian licensed warehouses could be legally "exported" to the US by sea or land. Although part of this source was lost to rum-runners when east coast provincial warehouses were closed in the early 1920s, some of the vessels landing liquor on the eastern seaboard of both the US and Canada continued to be supplied from Dominion-licensed warehouses until 1930, when an embargo was placed on exports to countries with prohibition laws.¹⁶

The identities of most rum-running vessels were known to the CPS. Land-based Customs officers usually kept it informed of hovering and landing activities. In the mid-1920s frequent memoranda from the Chief Preventive Officer in Ottawa advised the officer at North Sydney and the masters of the cruisers on the positions of schooners off Nova Scotia coast and the activities of known and suspected rum-runners as far away as Europe and the Caribbean. Yet because vessels with cargoes of liquor could enter Canada's territorial limit for repairs and supplies if they reported to Customs and had their hatches sealed, the CPS did not enforce articles in the Customs Act prohibiting hovering outside the three-mile territorial limit or "breaking bulk" within nine nautical miles of the coast. As a result, when rum-runners arrived off the coast from foreign ports or gave a spurious foreign destination when leaving a Canadian harbour, they could remain outside the three-mile limit until there was an opportunity to smuggle their cargo.¹⁷

Canada's three-mile limit had been established in Article I of the Convention of 1818; by 1906, with somewhat different wording, it was also part of both the Customs

and Fisheries Protection Act and the Customs Act. Until the early 1920s the Gulf of St. Lawrence was considered to be territorial waters where the CPS could stop suspected smugglers. Although a number of rum-running schooners had been seized inside the limit between 1921 and 1923, all but one of the seizures made by *Margaret* in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Northumberland Strait were disallowed by the Department of Customs and Excise, which in one case substituted statute (land) miles for nautical miles. None of these seizures were disallowed by the courts. In 1923, without consulting with the Department of Justice, a Customs and Excise memorandum interpreted Canada's territorial limit to be restricted to three nautical miles, thereby placing most of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Northumberland Strait, the Baie des Chaleurs and the estuary of the St. Lawrence River beyond the jurisdiction of the CPS."

Although a vessel three nautical miles off the coast could be easily seen from shore on a clear day, most rum-runners hovered at about eight miles, where their hulls merged with the horizon and they could transfer their liquor to smaller boats or wait for darkness, fog or inattentive patrol boat crews to land their cargoes. Because CPS vessels could neither prevent rum-runners from hovering nor entering Canadian waters for repairs and supplies, the only tactics that could be used against them during 1924, 1925 and most of 1926 were to remain alongside hovering vessels or wait near potential landing sites. Even when a vessel was caught discharging contraband inside the limit, if an order to heave-to was ignored, delays in getting authorization to use force sometimes allowed the vessel to escape to the "high seas."¹⁹

The Preventive Service Fleet in the First Years of "Prohibition," 1921-1926

In December 1918 the Department of Naval Services returned *Margaret* to the CPS and it began to patrol the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the east coast in the spring of 1919 under the command of Captain La Couvée (see figure 4). As rum-running increased, the number of CPS vessels on the east coast was increased to eight by 1924. The first was the 140-grt cruiser *Grib*, which was purchased from the Department of Naval Services in 1919 and began patrolling the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia in 1921 under the command of Russell Coffin, previously Captain La Couvée's first mate. At Cape Breton there was a small flotilla of four patrol boats based at North Sydney. The first was the 156-grt *Restless*, chartered in 1921 until replaced by the chartered 351-grt *Sagamore* in 1922; *Patrol Boat No. 2* and *Patrol Boat No. 3* (the auxiliary schooners *Vagrant* and *Edna H*, seized in 1921 and 1922); and the motor launch *Patrol Boat No. 6*, purchased in 1924.²⁰

From 1922 to 1924 almost all rum-running activity was between Halifax and Canso on the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia; at Cape Breton Island; or along the Northumberland Strait. During those years the Atlantic coast was patrolled by *Grib*; the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Northumberland Strait by *Margaret*; and Cape Breton by patrol boats from North Sydney. By 1922 the Baie des Chaleurs and the northern coast of New Brunswick were patrolled by *Patrol Boat No. 1* (the auxiliary schooner *Marona*, seized in 1921), and in 1924 the ex-RCN motor launch *G* was stationed at Yarmouth. While the

motor launch *Moto* was rented for 1923 to patrol off Charlottetown, PEI, no other small patrol boats appear to have been used in Northumberland Strait until 1925.²¹

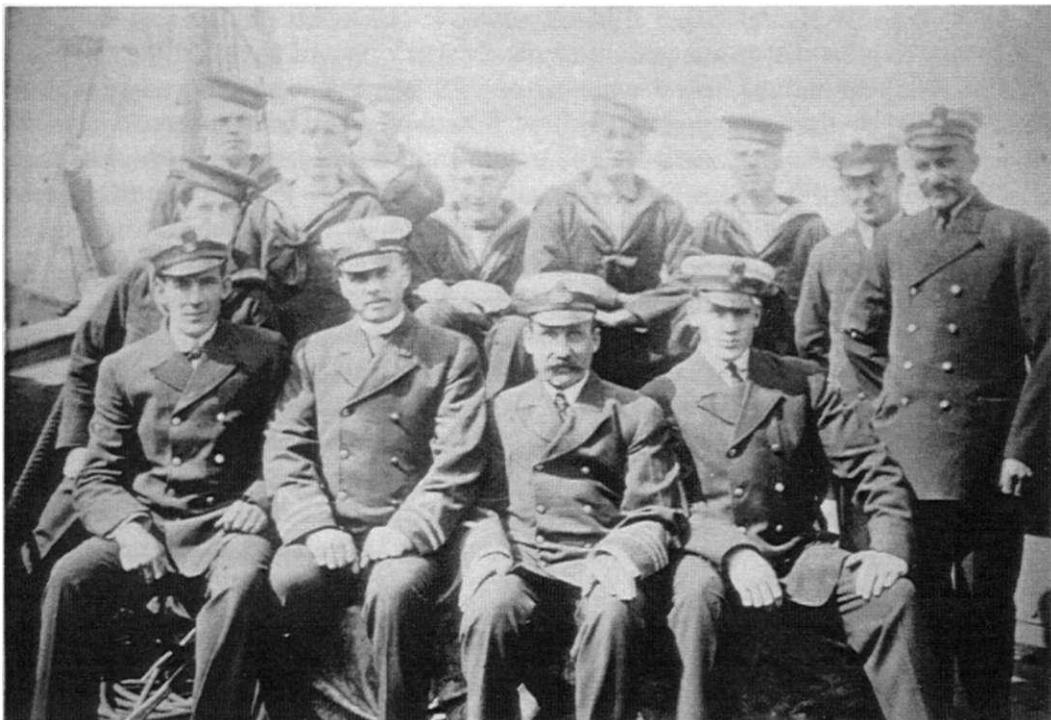


Figure 4: Crew of *Margaret*, circa 1919. Captain Alfred LaCouvée seated at centre, with First Mate Russell Coffin seated at his left.

Source: Curzon Patterson collection.

When the US effectively increased its territorial limit to twelve nautical miles in 1925 and its Coast Guard began using destroyers to patrol the northeast coast, some rum-runners moved from the American "Rum Row" to the Maritimes and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. That year an estimated 225 vessels, most Canadian schooners, were off Canada's coasts, many on the "Halifax Transfer Ground" (inaccurately called "Rum Row North") where liquor was transferred at sea to small vessels for smuggling to either the US or southern Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. There were smaller but equally active "Rum Rows" at Cape Breton and in the Northumberland Strait from which liquor was smuggled into eastern Canada, and most eventually by motor vehicles into the northeastern US.²²

Early in 1925, with only the cruiser *Grib* off Halifax, patrol boat *G* at Yarmouth and two Customs harbour crafts, the *Violetta G* at Halifax and the *Ephie L* at Saint John, the CPS was ill-prepared for a sudden increase in smuggling in southern Nova Scotia and

New Brunswick. Newspapers reported that ten seizures of contraband liquor had been made between June and August at Cape Breton, while between Yarmouth and Halifax from April to November there had been only two seizures and the "revenue cruisers" were unable to cope. A Halifax paper reported tongue-in-cheek that the flood of contraband liquor was so great that it was putting illegal distilleries out of business.²³

That year and the next the number of CPS patrol vessels was nearly doubled to fifteen. In 1925 the seventy-six-grt *Patrol Boat No. 4* (ex-rum-runner *Stumble Inn*) replaced the chartered *Sagamore* at Cape Breton and a motor launch, *Patrol Boat No. 5*, was purchased for Northumberland Strait. Two auxiliary schooners, *Bernice* and *Cheticamp*, were rented for eight months and *Patrol Boat No. 7* for three (their stations are unknown). In 1926 *Grib* was transferred to the Bay of Fundy; the 185-grt ex-Fisheries cruiser *Constance* was chartered for Cape Breton; the 556-grt Department of Marine hydrographic survey vessel *Carder* (an auxiliary patrol ship during World War I) was chartered to patrol between Lunenburg and Shelburne; and the 112-grt yacht *Mayita* was chartered to replace *Patrol Boat No. 1* on the Baie des Chaleurs and the northern coast of New Brunswick. Three smaller vessels were acquired: *Patrol Boat No. 8* joined *Patrol Boat No. 5* in Northumberland Strait; the rented auxiliary schooner *Madeline A* was stationed at Shelburne; and *Patrol Boat No. 9* was sent to Miramichi. One other small vessel, *Patrol Boat No. 10*, appears to have been near Lunenburg but was not in use.²⁴

The Customs Scandal

The administration of Customs and Excise had become increasingly lax in the early 1920s and some of its officials had become involved in questionable activities. Among the more serious was collusion in allowing large quantities of American manufactures to enter the country without paying duty. Although Canadian manufacturing organizations protested, they were ignored by the Liberal government until allegations of poor administration and malpractice were raised in Parliament in February 1926. In part as a result of the ensuing "Customs Scandal," the federal government changed from Liberal to Conservative and back to Liberal between June and September. In June a Special Commons Committee recommended the discharge, retirement or prosecution of a number of Customs officers. In August a Royal Commission began investigating the administration of Customs and Excise and in the fall plans were begun to reorganize the Preventive Service.²⁵

Restrictions on seizures by the CPS during the early 1920s often aided rum-runners and did not begin to be relaxed until late 1926. The confiscation of cargoes of hovering Canadian vessels that failed to leave the coast within twenty-four hours of being warned by a Customs officer was permitted in October, and within about ten days cargoes had been seized from two schooners at Yarmouth, three at Halifax, three at Guysborough, two at North Sydney, and one each at Georgetown and Charlottetown, PEI. While this change reduced hovering, some Canadian schooners were re-registered "foreign" to evade the rules and schooners from Canada, Newfoundland, St. Pierre and Miquelon and Honduras continued to appear off Nova Scotia.²⁶

The committee concerned with the reorganization of the CPS included among its observations that technological changes in transport had created new problems in the prevention of smuggling on both sea and land. By the mid-1920s rum-running schooners were being replaced by motor vessels, some of which were small diesel-powered wooden freighters built in Nova Scotian shipyards. Capable of ten to twelve knots, these craft were as fast or faster than more than half of the cruisers and patrol boats. The report noted that "many of the present boats, quite apart from their lack of speed, are unsuitable because of their small size and are therefore useless for efficient work in the open sea either around Cape Breton or the east coast of Nova Scotia or even in the Bay of Fundy."²⁷

Once the highway systems had been improved to handle the increasing numbers of motor vehicles, roads in eastern Canada were used by smugglers to move contraband to destinations in the Maritimes, Quebec and the northeastern US. Taxis were reported to carry liquor landed within sixty miles of Halifax to the New Brunswick-Maine border, and liquor from St. Pierre, which had been smuggled into eastern Quebec, was transported by car from Rimouski, Temiscouata and Beauce to the American border. The CPS, equipped with only five automobiles in all of Canada, was powerless to prevent this traffic.²⁸

Reorganization of the Preventive Service, 1927-1929

While the "Customs Scandal" was the catalyst for the reorganization of the CPS in 1927, almost all the changes were recommended by the "Advisory and Consultative Committee" to the new Liberal Minister of Customs and Excise. Based in part on discussions with Preventive officers on the east coast, the committee urged increased capital expenditures for vessels and automobiles; appointment of "District Directors" (later called "District Chief Preventive Officers"); appointment of more land-based Preventive officers; revised procedures for prosecutions; amendments to existing legislation; and international treaties to expand Canada's territorial limits. In March 1927 the Department of Customs and Excise was renamed the Department of National Revenue with an executive comprising the Minister, W.D. Euler, his executive assistant, David Sim, and three commissioners, one each for Customs, Excise and Income Tax. The reorganization of the CPS began at the end of the month with the superannuation of W.F. Wilson and the appointment of F.W. Cowan, previously head of the Narcotics Division of the Department of Health, as Chief Preventive Officer.²⁹

Over the next eight months the strength of the CPS fleet was nearly doubled from fourteen cruisers and patrol boats and one hundred and seventy-seven men to twenty-seven vessels and two hundred and thirty-four men. The first new vessels were three motor launches purchased in April, each about thirty feet long and capable of about twenty-two knots: 0-27, probably stationed at Saint John; 0-28, based at Souris, PEI; and 0-29, posted at La Have, NS. At about the same time three larger vessels were chartered for short periods: the 628-grt *Hochelaga* (an auxiliary patrol ship in the First World War) for the Nova Scotia coast between Cape Sable and Canso until early May; the 112-grt

Mayita for Baie des Chaleurs and northern New Brunswick until June; and the 1051-grt *Lady Laurier* for Northumberland Strait until the end of August.³⁰

Early that summer two more cruisers were chartered for longer periods; the 276-grt Department of Marine hydrographie survey vessel *Bayfield*, initially stationed in Northumberland Strait and later in the Bay of Fundy, and the 396-grt ex-Fisheries cruiser *Vigilant*, the first modern warship built in Canada, on the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia. Three additional cruisers were purchased, two of which, the 135-grt *Bayhound* (ex-yacht *Tillicum*) and the seventy-six grt *Bar Off* (ex-American submarine chaser *Bo Peep*) were refitted with diesel engines and began to patrol in August, the former in the Bay of Fundy and the latter in the Baie des Chaleurs. The third, the 168-grt *Conestoga* (ex-yacht *Pathfinder*) did not enter service in Northumberland Strait until the following May.³¹

Delivery of six new motor launches from a boat yard in Ontario began in September. Each was thirty-eight feet long with a mounted machine gun and a top speed of thirty-five knots. Three were stationed in Nova Scotia: *Beebe* at Ingramport on St. Margaret's Bay; *Behave* at Chester on Mahone Bay; and *Whirl* at Canso. Another two were in New Brunswick: *Bristle* at Saint John and *Whippet* at Port Elgin. The sixth, *Vigil*, was later at Riverport, NS, but where it was first stationed is not known.³²

The 1923 Department of Customs and Excise memorandum which had made most of the Gulf, as well as its estuaries, straits and bays, international waters was revoked early in 1927 by a directive to the CPS to make seizures in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Captain La Couvée, master of *Margaret*, all but one of whose seizures had been disallowed, reportedly said with some satisfaction that "it would not be difficult to make seizures stick now that the government has ruled that the waters of the Gulf are Canadian." By October, *Margaret* and *Bayfield* had seized seven rum-runners in Northumberland Strait, two in the Baie des Chaleurs, one each in the estuary of the St. Lawrence and at the Magdalene Islands. But because Northumberland Strait was not part of the Gulf, and was still considered to be international waters, some of the liquor cargoes taken there were ordered by the courts to be returned to their owners.³³

In 1928 another four motor launches were delivered from yards in Nova Scotia and Québec. The sixty-foot *Ellsworth* was at Yarmouth; *Bayman*, with about the same dimensions as *Ellsworth*, at Saint John; and *Stalwart* and *Tenacity* at North Sydney. A small motor launch, *Tillicum*, apparently the launch of the cruiser *Bayhound* (ex-yacht *Tillicum*) was at Yarmouth. The forty-one-grt, high-speed ex-rum-runner *174* was purchased, renamed *Scaterie*, and joined *Conestoga* in Northumberland Strait. A number of vessels were disposed of during 1928: *Grib* was sold in April; by the end of the year *Bayfield* and *Madeline A* had been returned to their owners; and *Patrol Boat G*, *Patrol Boat No. 5*, *Patrol Boat No. 6* were decommissioned.³⁴

In June 1928 an amendment to the Customs Act increased the territorial limit to twelve nautical miles for Canadian-registered vessels but left it at three nautical miles for all others. A second amendment allowed the CPS to fire "at or into" vessels that refused to stop after a warning shot. Until then, although all the cruisers and most of the patrol boats carried some rifles, machine guns or three- or six-pounder deck guns, their use

against rum-runners had required permission from the Chief Preventive Officer in Ottawa. *Margaret* had used its six-pounder deck guns during the 1920s to warn rum-runners to stop but only fired blank shells. The first instance of the use of live ammunition to force a fleeing rum-runner to heave-to appears to have been in 1925, when the wireless-equipped *Patrol Boat No. 4 (ex-Stumble Inn)* fired twelve rounds from its deck gun.³⁵

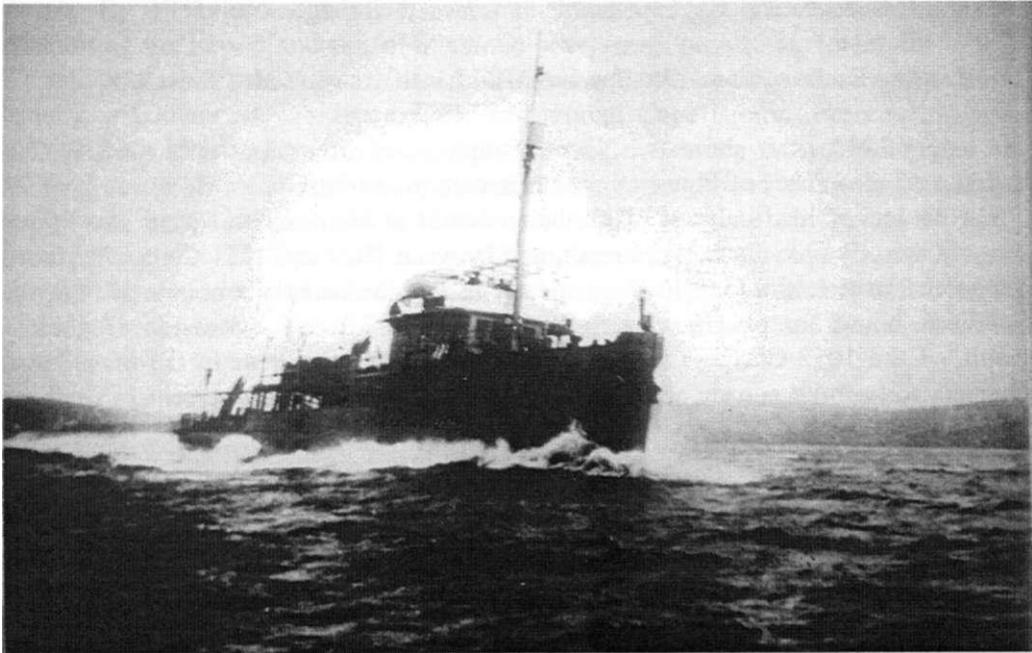


Figure 5: CGS *Preventor*, built by Vickers, Montreal, 1929; 164.8' x 21.1' x 11.7', diesel engines, 317 grt, armed with one six-pounder gun. Transferred to RCMP Marine Section in 1932 and no longer in use in 1937. Sister ship of CGS *Fleurdelis*, built at Vickers in 1931, transferred to RCMP Marine Section, 1932, and to RCN in 1939.

Source: RCMP Archives, photo 163.

In the Maritimes, enforcement in the first half of 1929 of the hovering regulation and the twelve-mile-limit for Canadian vessels led to 336 seizures and the confiscation of 12,367 gallons of liquor. As a result many rum-runners moved to the coasts of northern New Brunswick and the river and estuary of the St. Lawrence in eastern Quebec. To combat them, *Margaret* was in the Gulf, *Baroff* in the Baie des Chaleurs and the new 316-grt diesel-powered cruiser *Fleurdelis* in the estuary of the St. Lawrence. Elsewhere in Quebec the thirty-eight-foot machine gun-equipped motor launch *FernandRinfret*, with a speed of about twenty miles per hour, patrolled between Montreal and Trois Rivieres, while the roads along the river were patrolled by six CPS automobiles, each carrying two men. At Miramichi Bay in northern New Brunswick, *Patrol Boat No. 9* had been replaced by the motor launch *Nequac* and in Nova Scotia the harbour boat *Customs A* had been

supplanted by the motor launch *Guardian*, which patrolled off Halifax. Late in the year the new 317-grt cruiser *Preventor* was delivered to Halifax to begin patrolling the Atlantic coast the following spring (see figure 5). Patrol boats *0-29* and *Whippet* were lost when they collided and sank in Northumberland Strait in August. By the end of the year *Patrol Boat No. 8* and *Patrol Boat No. 9* were no longer in use and the last two coal-burning cruisers, *Constance* and *Vigilant*, had been returned to their owners.³⁶

The Liquor Embargo and the Twelve-Mile Limit Rescinded, 1930-1931

On 1 July 1930, after about two years of diplomatic discussions with the US, Canada embargoed clearances of liquor to countries with prohibition laws. Because rum-runners could no longer load cargoes of Canadian liquor at Halifax, St. Pierre and Miquelon became the principle northern entrepôt, and between 1929 and 1931 Canada's exports of duty-free liquor to the French islands nearly tripled. Substantial amounts of liquor from St. Pierre bound for the US were first landed in Nova Scotia and eastern Québec. As a result, of the 1052 Customs seizures of all kinds made that year in the Maritimes and Québec, forty-three percent were made in Nova Scotia and forty percent in Québec.³⁷

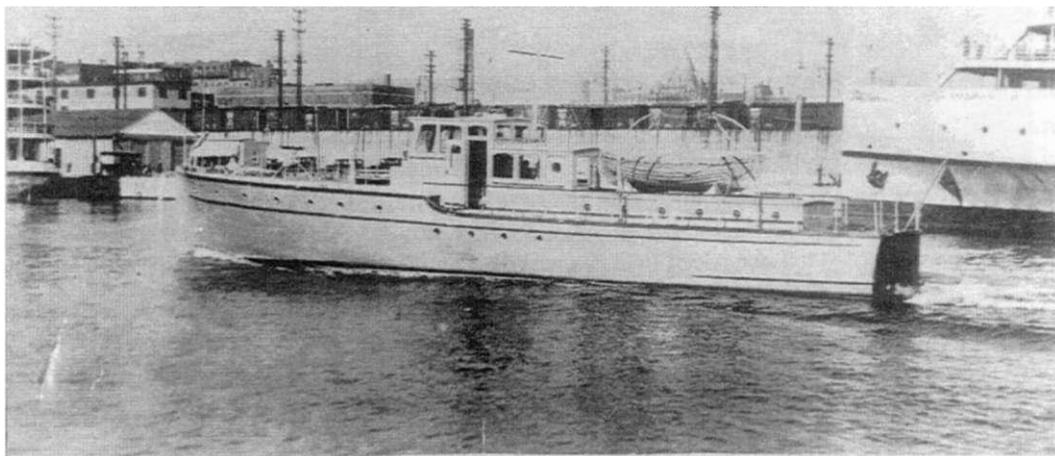


Figure 6: CGS *Chaleur*, built Orillia, ON, 1930; 73.3' x 13.7' x 7.2', two gasoline engines, sixty grt. Armed, probably with a machine gun. Transferred to RCMP, 1932, and RCN, 1939. Sister ship of CGS *Madawaska*, built at Orillia, ON, 1930, transferred to the RCMP in 1932 and RCN in 1939.

Source: Author's collection.

That year there were thirty CPS vessels on the east coast, ranging in size from 300-ton cruisers to an outboard motor boat, with total operating costs of \$1,000,000, (approximately 2.5% of the estimated budget for the US Coast Guard). New vessels added to the fleet were the sixty-grt gasoline-powered cruiser *Madawaska* on the estuary of the

St. Lawrence; a sister ship, the sixty-grt *Chaleur* at Prince Edward Island (see figure 6); and an outboard motor boat stationed at Grand Manan Island on the New Brunswick-Maine border. Another new cruiser, the ninety-foot *Louisburg*, was returned to the builders after a six-month trial at Cape Breton, while *Patrol Boat No. 3 (ex-Edna H)* sank in Glace Bay harbour and *Whirl* was destroyed by fire at Big Bras d'Or.³⁸

By 1931, although all Canadian provinces except PEI had abandoned laws prohibiting the import and sale of alcoholic beverages, "prohibition" was still in force in the US, and a substantial part of the rum-running for that market continued to be in the estuary and lower St. Lawrence River and around Cape Breton. *Fernand Rinfret* was moved from Montreal to Quebec to patrol the St. Lawrence from Montmagny on the south shore to Malbaie on the north; *Madawaska* was stationed at Riviere du Loup and the new 157-grt *Alachasse* was at Matane, replacing *Fleurdelis* which, late in 1930, had been transferred to Halifax. At Cape Breton, the new 157-grt *Adversus* (figure 7; the sister ship of *Madawaska*) and the chartered 167-grt yacht *Ulna* were added to the North Sydney flotilla, while *Patrol Boat No. 2 (ex-Vagrant)* was sold and *Patrol Boat No. 10* (equipped with a new motor) was at Big Bras d'Or.³⁹

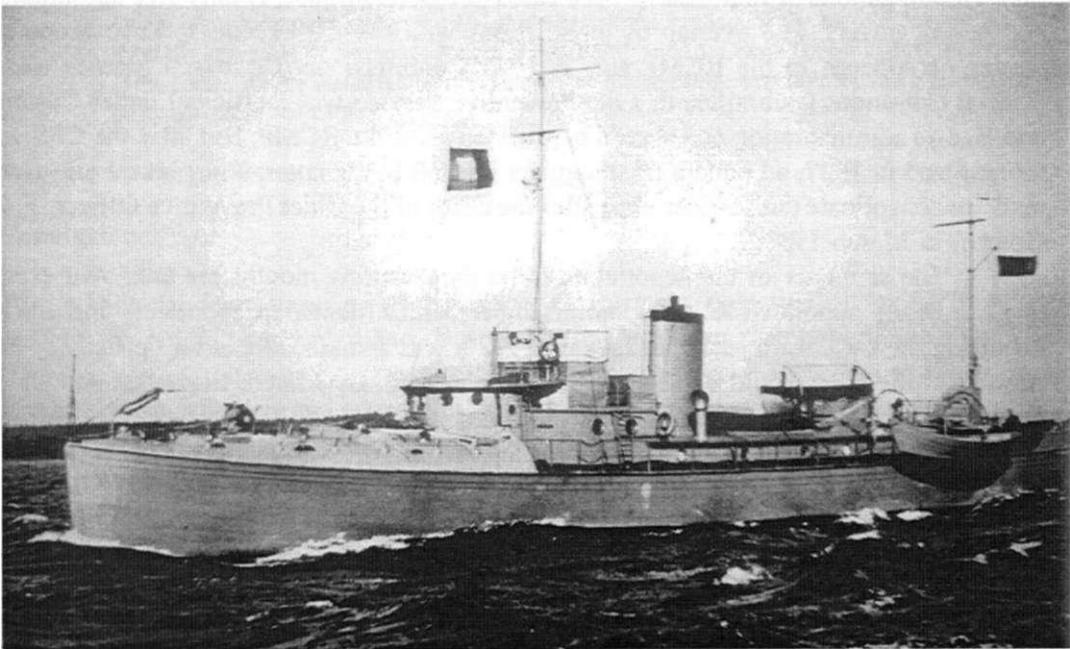


Figure 7: CGS *Adversus*, built Orillia, ON, 1931; 112.3' x 19' x 11', diesel engines, 157 grt, armed with one .303 machine gun. Transferred to RCMP Marine Section, 1932; stationed at Vancouver, 1933; returned to east coast, 1937; and transferred to RCN in 1939. Lost in blizzard near Shelburne, NS, November 1945. Sister ship of CGS *Alachasse*, built at Sorel, Quebec in 1931; transferred to RCMP Marine Section in 1932 and RCN in 1939.

Source: RCMP Archives, photo 1180.

Although the increase in territorial limits to twelve nautical miles for Canadian vessels in 1928 had provided the CPS with one of its most effective weapons against smuggling, in the early summer of 1931 the Supreme Court of Canada ruled the legislation *ultra vires* and the limit was returned to three nautical miles. Later that year the twelve-mile limit for Canadian vessels was reinstated in the Customs Act with the added phrase "or any other vessel which is owned by any person domiciled in Canada." But the law could not take effect until proclaimed in the *Canada Gazette*. In 1932 the Department of National Revenue appealed the Supreme Court's ruling to the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council. Although the ruling was overturned, Canada's territorial limit remained unchanged until 6 August 1938 when it was increased to twelve nautical miles for all British vessels.⁴⁰

Transfer to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 1932

Between 1922 and 1927, while enforcing the federal prohibition law banning the importation of alcoholic beverages into provinces with prohibition, the RCMP seized more than 10,000 gallons of rum, nearly 4000 cases of assorted liquor, twenty-five automobiles and seven vessels. The overlap of jurisdictions with the CPS seems to have become a matter of concern to the RCMP and in 1926 Commissioner Courtland Starnes told a Special Commons Committee that the Preventive Service was inefficient under Customs and Excise administration and should be transferred to the RCMP. But after the CPS was reorganized in 1927, all pursuit of smugglers was left to the latter. No renewed effort was made to consolidate the services until after the death of the Chief Preventive Officer, F. W. Cowan, in March 1931.⁴¹

The character of the negotiations over the next few months are unknown except that the newly appointed RCMP Commissioner, James MacBrien, reportedly insisted on acquiring the CPS. As a result, in January 1932 it was announced that for "efficiency and economy" the CPS would be absorbed into the RCMP. By March, MacBrien and David Sim, Deputy Minister of National Revenue, completed the arrangements for the transfer, and before the end of the month the Department of National Revenue retired or superannuated fifty-seven CPS personnel. On 1 April thirty-two patrol boats and 246 officers and men were transferred to the RCMP Marine Section (see figure 8). Later that year the headquarters of the Marine Section was moved from Ottawa to Moncton, NB, the number of officers and men reduced to 200, and the oil-fired cruisers *Margaret* and *Conestoga* and the patrol boats *0-28* and *Fort Francis* were sold.⁴²

The RCMP Marine Section added new cruisers and patrol boats to its fleet and continued anti-smuggling patrols until the start of World War II when most vessels and their crews were transferred to either the RCN or the RCAF. The Marine Section was reorganized in 1945 as the RCMP Marine Division and most of its coastal duties were assumed by the Canadian Coast Guard in 1970.⁴³



Figure 8: Group photo taken at Halifax in 1934 of about half the strength of the Marine Section, RCMP. With the exception of A/Comm. Junget of the RCMP and Lt. Comm Hibbard of the RCN seated at the centre, all the seated officers and almost all the standing petty officers and men had previously served in the CPS.

Source: Author's collection.

Conclusion

Throughout the forty years of its existence, the primary objective of the CPS was to prevent the landing of contraband. But unlike its American counterpart, the US Coast Guard, it was only indirectly concerned with the enforcement of Canadian and provincial laws prohibiting the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages. For all but the final five years of its history financial support appears to have been meagre but the political reasons for its formation and later administrative and operational changes, including the transfer to the RCMP, are beyond the scope of this paper.

Rum-running on Canada's east coast appears to have been both intermittent and small-scale from the 1890s to 1919. A single cruiser, occasionally assisted by a few other vessels, was all that was needed to fulfil the CPS's mandate. For the first twenty years its vessels were provided by Marine and Fisheries; although Customs acquired its own cruiser just before World War I, it was transferred to the Department of Naval Services and other vessels were chartered for the duration.

In 1921 most Canadian provinces adopted laws prohibiting both the import and sale of alcoholic beverages, and landings of contraband liquor on the east coast began to increase rapidly. But the effectiveness of the CPS was reduced in 1923 when the Department of Customs and Excise changed its interpretation of jurisdiction over the Gulf

of St. Lawrence and its adjacent bays and straits from Canadian to international and began disallowing seizures outside the three-mile territorial limit. Some of these directives appear to have been instigated by corrupt employees of Customs and Excise to allow more freedom to rum-running vessels. In 1925 smuggling was further increased when more stringent enforcement of American prohibition laws by the US Coast Guard began to divert rum-runners to the Maritimes. To cope with these increases the CPS began acquiring additional vessels and by 1926 had fifteen, almost all of which were "second hand" and often too slow and small to be effective in the pursuit of rum-runners.

The "laissez faire" attitude towards rum-running began to change late in 1926 when restrictions on search and seizure outside the three-mile limit were partially relaxed and the CPS fleet began to be enlarged and modernized the following year. By 1928 the fleet had nearly doubled in size, seizures were allowed in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the territorial limit was increased to twelve nautical miles for Canadian vessels.

Between 1929 and 1931 additional modern cruisers and smaller patrol boats were added to the fleet; increased surveillance off the coasts had forced rum runners to transfer their activities to northern New Brunswick and eastern Quebec; and an embargo on liquor shipments from Canada made St. Pierre and Miquelon rather than Halifax the rum runners principal northern entrepot. Yet although the twelve-mile limit for Canadian vessels had been key to the improved ability of the CPS to control rum running, the limit reverted to three nautical miles in 1931 and was not reinstated until 1938.

NOTES

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