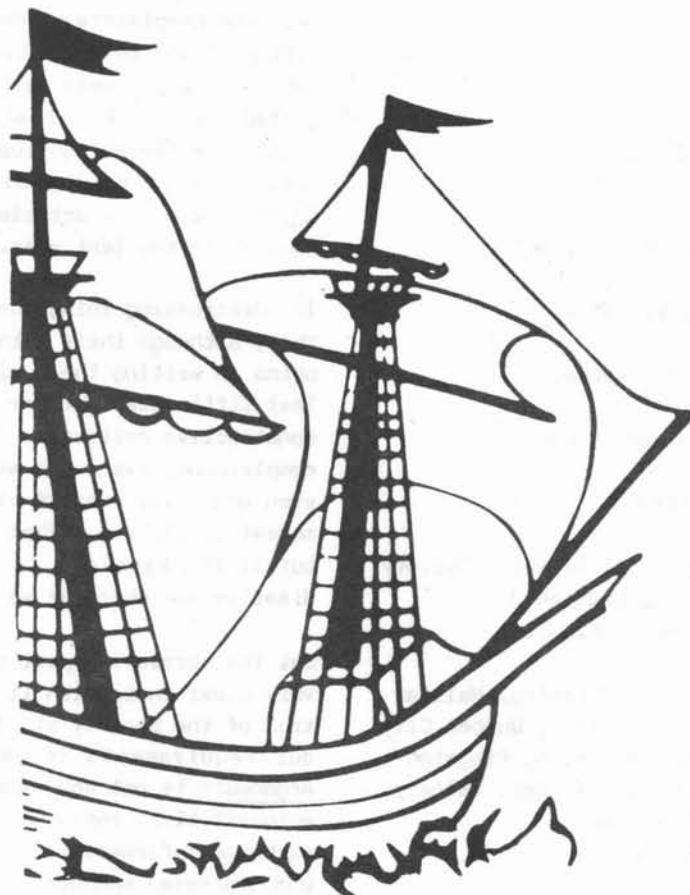


ARGONAUTA

The Newsletter of



**The
Canadian
Nautical
Research
Society**

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THE CANADIAN NAUTICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

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WE ARE IN TROUBLE (1)

We keep hearing complaints that the newsletter is too academically-oriented, so in one way that makes one of two long complaints we have received in our mail bag a little easier to digest. It suggested, in copious detail, that we were far too non-academic, and suggested, in the final analysis, that the sooner we became a refereed publication the better. The other letter was a lengthy diatribe attacking in minute detail one of the articles we have had the temerity to publish in the last year.

The distressing thing about both of these letters is that, although their authors obviously took immense pains in writing their missives, neither of them went that little step further to transpose destructive into constructive criticism. One, the academic-oriented complainant, even went as far as to say he would not, even under the best of circumstances, publish in our modest little rag. That attitude we can do without -- *but it is prevalent in such people, and it spells disaster for whatever we try if it should dominate.*

But the sorriest aspect of this for your editor is the very clear indication it gives that the entire spectrum of the Society still does not fully comprehend our requirements if we are to make a go of it. Argonauta is not and never has been argued as being an authoritative, refereed journal. It is a forum to exchange information, a method by which our disparate and dispersed membership can exchange information and news when they cannot get together to do it on a regular basis. Of course we make mistakes -- but those of you who pick them up, for goodness' sake send your response in a manner in which we can publish it! We are late once again with this issue, partly because we have not been getting anything publishable to include. If we do not get this sort of cooperation, then we are in trouble.

WE ARE IN TROUBLE (2)

We are told that renewals to subscriptions are coming in at a painfully slow rate -- so slow, in fact, that we are faced with curtailing publication of the Newsletter. This is probably our most crucial year: if we do not retain the members we already have, then

(cont'd on Page 14...

* * * *

Your newsletter is only as good as the contributions you send in -- so PLEASE CONTRIBUTE.

SHIPPING RECORDS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Early in 1987 when the Hudson's Bay Company sold the M.S. Kanguk along with its Northern Stores Department it brought to an end a corporate involvement with maritime shipping which had begun in 1668 with the voyage of the Nonsuch. The records of this long enterprise form part of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, where they are used by all manner of enthusiasts, amateur and academic alike. These include family historians and genealogists, local historians, especially from the West Coast (where they tend to be interested in wrecks) and the Mackenzie River area (where they're in love with the memory of the wood-burning stern wheelers, those grand ladies of the northern lakes and rivers), philatelists (who concentrate on R.M.S. Nascopie) and climatologists (who scan log books for descriptions of sea ice). Then there are the one-of-a-kind inquirers -- the botanist wanting to know how much time ashore a distinguished predecessor could have spent at several of the Nascopie's ports of call, the woman with a cherished oil lamp said to have come from a Company ship wrecked in the 1960s (the Fort Hearne) and the man tracing the story of the fate of the Russian Imperial Family. (See below for why the Company's shipping records might offer him some help.) Two full-scale studies of individual vessels -- the Discovery and the Nascopie -- are also under way.

The staff of the HBC Archives would naturally like to see the Company's shipping records used even more than they are and do not particularly care why people want to use them. Whether someone comes in to conduct an academic study of the debate waged in the modern Fur Trade Department over the merits of wooden versus steel ships or to gather data with which to test the validity of the old belief that it is unlucky to change a ship's name, the staff will be happy to help. This particular archivist, however, as a common reader and an armchair fan of polar exploration and navigation, is entitled to her dreams. One is of a book-length scholarly study of the Company's shipping history, possibly including a comparison of its shipping strategy over the years with those of other companies forced to rely on long-distance maritime transport in order to conduct their business. Another would be a book, lavishly illustrated, on the history of the Company's ships and seamen over the centuries. Full of the tang of salt and crunch of ice, this would be aimed at those many readers who have shown by their reception of Pierre Berton and Peter Newman what a hunger there is in Canada for entertaining and lively books on our country's history.

It is true that work has been done in both these directions. There is, for example, John Alwin's 1978 University of Manitoba doctoral thesis, Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670-1821, which is one of the few studies of the Company's transport which does not concentrate exclusively on inland transport. And The Beaver, probably the best secondary source available on the Company's transport history as a whole, is a treasure trove of enjoyable articles, such as Captain Edmund Mack's 1938 autobiographical series. Doctoral theses and back issues, however, good as they may be, are hardly a staple part of the common reader's fare. There is an audience out there, the records are waiting and all that is needed are researchers and writers to bring the two together.

Several causes lie behind the comparative lack of emphasis on the Company's shipping history in general and its twentieth-century shipping history in particular. One is the assumption that the HBC Archives are the province of fur trade historians alone. (This might be termed the Shaganappi Syndrome.) Another is the assumption that the modern history of the Company is the story of the growth of a chain of department stores. (The "Bay Day" Syndrome?) In fact, until 1987, the Company continued to sell furs and to provide merchandise to the people of northern and Arctic Canada much as it had for centuries past. And it does have to be admitted that the Company's twentieth-century records were simply not available to the public until comparatively recently. Now, however, the Company employs a standard thirty-year restriction, the exceptions being a fifty-year restriction on personnel files and a fifteen-year one on minute books.

In addition to the records which concern the supplying of the Company's posts in northern Canada and (during the early 1920s) in Siberia, there are two bodies of modern records in the HBC Archives which should be of interest to Canadian and indeed to international maritime historians. These are the records of the Development, and Fish and Fish Products Departments (HBCA, PAM, Series A.94 - A.98) and the records of the French Government business and The Bay Steamship Company (HBCA, PAM, AFG and RG4). These enterprises and their records are described in some detail in the two articles noted at the end. What follows are only the briefest of introductions.

The Development Department (1925-1931) was what we would call today a research and development department. Its purpose was to find new and better ways of handling, processing and marketing fur trade products.

SHIPPING RECORDS continued...

Ever since the early 1700s when ships sailing to the Bay had traded with the Inuit en route the Company's idea of fur trade products had included the oil, hides and tusks of marine mammals. In the 1800s it had exported Labrador fish, both pickled and frozen, to Britain. The Development Department did not concentrate exclusively on fish and marine mammals but it did devote a lot of time and energy to them. The Department was wound up at the beginning of a period of retrenchment but was reborn in 1934 as the Fish and Fish Products Department. This was to last until 1940 when it was closed down because of the difficulties of carrying on the international trade in fish during the war. As its name implies, the Fish and Fish Products Department did concentrate almost entirely on matters marine, its main business being the export of brine-frozen Labrador salmon. This keen interest in salmon may seem rather surprising on the Company's part but it probably stemmed from its financial involvement in the Newfoundland firm of Job Brothers which began in 1928. From 1938 to 1943 the Company owned Job Brothers outright. While I do not want to exaggerate the importance of these records they deserve to have attention drawn to them. For one thing, who would think to look in Winnipeg for source material on Newfoundland and Labrador?

The presence of "the French Government records", as they are usually called, is perhaps even more surprising. And even when one knows the story behind them the whole business seems somewhat improbable. Some years before the First World War a young French brandy merchant called Jean Monnet, now famous as the father of the European Economic Community, travelled for a time in England and Canada. He was quite impressed by the Hudson's Bay Company, with which his family firm had done business for many years. Just why he should have been so impressed is not clear but when war broke out and France soon found herself unable to provide the goods and products she desperately needed Monnet approached the French Premier, Viviani, with a plan for inter-allied co-operation. This plan involved the engagement of the Hudson's Bay Company as the French Government's purchasing and shipping agent. Now, even seventy years ago the Company could have claimed to be Britain's oldest shipping company but she was a long way from being one of its largest. Moreover, her little fleets had existed to serve the Company, rarely any other organization. How could Monnet have known that the Company would have either the desire or the ability to operate a merchant fleet

of several hundred vessels in time of war (110 ships were to be lost, largely to U-boats), an enterprise which was to involve 146 agencies around the world and to ship over 13 million tons of goods and large numbers of passengers? As it turned out the "Old Lady of Lime Street" leapt at the patriotic and profitable opportunity with a vigour which belied her years. The Governor, Robert Kindersley, (later Lord Kindersley) invited a friend of his called Charles Sale on to the Board in order to run the French Government business. Sale had returned to England a few years previously after years of residence in Japan where he had run the family shipping business, and he now set to work with a will. The Company eventually signed about 6,600 contracts with various agencies of the French Government. It also entered into agreements with the governments of Belgium, Rumania and Russia. (That is why some clues to the fate of the Romanoffs may be lurking in the HBC Archives, although it has to be admitted that none seem to have turned up.)

The combined extent of the French Government records and the records of The Bay Steamship Company (a subsidiary set up in 1916 to operate the vessels owned and chartered on behalf of the French Government) is over 500 feet. These records have been very little used, and never for purposes directly concerned with the French Government business itself. Until they are, a chapter in maritime history and in the history of the Great War will remain unwritten.

Note: For an account of the Development and Fish and Fish Products Department, with a brief bibliographical note, see Anne Morton, "We are Still Adventurers: The Records of the Hudson's Bay Company's Development Department and Fish and Fish Products Department, 1925-1940," Archivaria 21 (Winter 1985-86), pp. 158-165. For an account of the history and records of the French Government business, and of the Company's shipping records generally, see Alex Ross and Anne Morton, "The Hudson's Bay Company And Its Archives," Business Archives, No. 51 (November 1985), pp. 17-39. (Alex Ross is the former HBC Archives staff-member who arranged and described the records of the French Government business and of The Bay Steamship Company.) Anyone who has trouble obtaining copies of these articles, or who wants more information about the Company's shipping records, should write to: The Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 200 Vaughan Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3C 1T5.

Anne Morton
Winnipeg, Manitoba

SS/RMS NASCOPIE, 1912 - 1947

A Biography of a Ship

Signifying many things to many people and, on occasion, everything to a very few, Nascopie acquired a unique personality endowed with almost human characteristics. An account of her voyages becomes, therefore, a biography rather than a history. The voyages fall naturally into four parts, which are not sequential either in time or in space. "Trading into the Bay..." was the continuum: northern waters were, for the most part, her habitat. Her life was directly affected by the two world wars, the Russian Revolution, and the Great Depression.

The Newfoundland seal fishery in the years 1912-1930, the Murmansk/Archangel run for the Bay Steamships in the years 1916-1919 (during which time she despatched an enemy submarine), and carrying the Eastern Arctic Patrol from 1933 on, as well as her involvement with Greenland and the cryolite mine there in the Second World War, form the other main and discrete parts of the whole. Commercial charter parties at different periods sent her to wherever she was needed. Her functions throughout were as many and as varied as her cargoes and her ports of call.

Originally formed and financed by Job Brothers of St. John's (49%) and the Hudson's Bay Company (51%), The Nascopie Steamship Company was dissolved after the HBC bought Jobs' shares in 1916. Nascopie's registration was then changed from St. John's to London. Built in the summer and fall of 1911 in the yard of Swan, Hunter and Wigham Richardson of Newcastle, she was launched on December 7 of that year. Her sea trials were conducted early in 1912. According to Lloyd's Register of Shipping for 1918, Nascopie, official number 129922, was 285'5" in length, 43'8" in width, and 20'2" in depth. Her gross tonnage was 2475, net 1541, and she was equipped with electric light and wireless. From then until 1947 she remained in almost continuous service.

At the end of the 1930 season the ship was laid up at Ardrossan, Scotland, for financial reasons. Upon consideration, and on similar grounds, a report concerning alternate uses for her was not acted upon. [1] In the spring of 1933, having undergone a refit which saw some cargo space converted into passenger accommodation, she set sail for Montreal, which was to be her home port for the rest of her existence. Thenceforth her operation was based entirely in Canada.

Part of the new-found space was chartered by the Canadian government for the Eastern Arctic Patrol, or

the 'Government Party' as it appeared in the passenger lists. The EAP signified a Canadian presence in the North, dispensing justice and medical care; it also included a Postmaster. Thus the vessel gained the right to the title Royal Mail Steamer, and became RMS Nascopie. Both container and carrier, Nascopie took north new and replacement personnel, and inspectors of the HBC and the RCMP, as well as Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries and their respective bishops, who were doing their rounds. Cabins were allotted to tourists, among them Americans, in response to advertisements. Latterly, prospective brides were permitted to go up for their weddings, which sometimes took place on board. The 'ship's cold' was, unfortunately, eminently transportable.

The vessel brought the annual mail and provisions to the Missions and to the RCMP and HBC posts -- some of which were her own creation, having brought up the necessities wherewith to build and equip them. Importantly, radio was much developed in the North with the arrival of sets, antennae and wind-operated chargers. Eskimo families and whole dog teams were moved from post to post. Gasoline, oil and coal were cached in case of need. The ship's pig had an uncertain life-span, which varied from year to year!

To southern Canada went bales of furs, en route to the various auctions at Hudson Bay House in London, and personnel 'in the country' who were coming 'out to civilization'. Not until the following year would the order for supplies be filled, the developed films received, the letters answered.

With an average trip of 10,500 miles [2], she went about her business in waters where there were no navigational aids, guided only in some places by Eskimo pilots. At this time Captain Smellie, whose career as master was an extended one from the first war to the end of the second, was reported to have said that were he to follow the Admiralty chart at his disposal the ship's position would be found to be 150 miles inland. Many too are the tales of the redoubtable Captain Mack and his magnificent seamanship. He was later to become head of the HBC Marine Department.

Port facilities were just as lacking, except for Charlton Island in the early years and, later, Churchill. Nascopie would have to drop anchor, sometimes as much as fifteen miles off the coast, and swing her barges over the side for the journey ashore. A sense of urgency was always present, since she had to get under weigh again to obey the exigencies of tide, ice and commerce.

SS/RMS NASCOPIE continued...

Her crews, until 1930, were taken on by and large in Britain. After 1933 they came from Newfoundland, except during the Second World War when they were gathered up wherever they could be found. They were given the additional duties of loading and unloading the ship in the North; union labour was never used. The average length of the voyage was 75 days, and the crew was not allowed ashore. Although hers was a modern saga, those who journeyed in Nascopie, while possessed of a sense of pioneering and adventure, perceived themselves, quite simply, to be doing a job — and, for much of the time, glad they were to have one.

The Nascopie touched the people of the Arctic, Labrador and Newfoundland coasts, and the shores of Hudson and James Bays, as well as those of the east coast of southern Canada. Even in Britain and the United States there were people affected by her activities.

First and foremost the Eskimos knew when 'ship time' was about to occur, converging gradually on the posts in order to participate in unloading and loading, in the trading of furs for new supplies and in the fun and excitement of the big event of the year. The ship affected the lives and work of scientists and doctors of all specialties, nurses, film-makers, artists and photographers, radio operators, missionaries, traders, explorers, armed forces personnel, and of course the families of all these people. She touched the issues of the well-being of the native peoples, strategic supplies, northern resource development and Canadian sovereignty, to list only a few. She entered the national consciousness in those years, and is now a part of the memory of the race in the north and south and west and east of Canada.

The ship was a twentieth-century creation, caught up in the major political and economic events of the first half of the century. During her thirty-five year career she was overtaken by technology of which she had been a fine example in 1911. Then she had been fitted with the latest Marconi equipment, the first transatlantic message having been received at her home port of St. John's only ten years before. Nine years later she went to the 'front' with a small bi-plane on her afterdeck, for spotting the seal herds.

Nascopie was sailed by skippers and ice captains, officers and crew, many of whom had trained under

sail. Indeed in the early years there was a suit of sails on board, in case she ran short of coal. Never having been converted to oil, and due to be scrapped, she nearly reached Cape Dorset in Hudson Strait, still almost fully loaded, on her last voyage in July 1947. She hit a reef and sank. There was a stunned silence as the shock waves went out into a world that could not imagine an ordered life without her.

In collecting material for this study one is reminded of setting out to put the pieces into a round jigsaw puzzle of a Jackson Pollock painting. Conceived on a grand scale, with a subtle underlying geometry, several main clusters are depicted, with seemingly random and scattered dots, connected by trails, on a plain background. The texture of the picture is inordinately complicated. At the time of writing the circumference is incomplete, three clusters are reasonably well formed, and the fourth is yet to be defined.

Examination of written records has yet to be finished. In order to warm them up the somewhat conflicting priority has been to collect taped interviews from people associated with the ship, in both North and South, some of whose memory lapses can be checked at a later date. Personal papers of the period are rare. If CNRS members can help, I would be delighted to hear from them, at 809 - 150 MacLaren Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K2P 0L2. Specifically, I am looking for:

A photograph of Nascopie carrying sail;

Any sketches?

Information on structural alterations, camouflage, maintenance, refits, etc.?

Endnotes

[1] Information obtained from Captain Cornwell regarding the western Arctic and comments on SS. Nascopie "Suitability for the voyage", PAM/HBCA, London, unclassified: Mr. Mar. file, 1926.

[2] PAM/HBCA Unclassified FTD. "RMS. Nascopie, Bay Voyage Records, Season 1933.

Henny Nixon
Ottawa, Ontario

(Editor's Note: See Eric Lawson's offer on Page 14.)

BOOK REVIEWS

Clyde Sanger. Ordering the Oceans: The Making of the Law of the Sea. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987. 225 pp.

In 1982 after over a decade of preparation and negotiation, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea was completed. This Treaty is breath-taking in its scope, complexity and length as is evidenced by the over 300 articles and nine annexes designed to establish a constitution for almost all aspects of ocean uses. Not surprisingly, the LOS Convention is one of the most important products to emanate from the United Nations system. This book is about this Treaty -- what it says, what it means and most importantly, how agreement on the Treaty wording was reached.

The literature in the numerous professional journals and the books on the international law of the sea is immense. There is not an academic or professional person with even a remote interest in oceans that has not contributed something to the law of the sea literature -- or so it seems. What makes this book an interesting contribution to the massive ocean law literature is that it is written by a Canadian journalist with the result that it is more readable than many other accounts of the new ocean régime.

While more accessible to the uninitiated than the specialist literature, the book is comprehensive and at times reflects the complexity of the Treaty itself. It is not surprising, therefore, that the single largest chapter is about deep seabed mining. Under the LOS Convention, when it comes into legal effect following the deposit of 60 ratifications (currently only 32 have been received), the International Seabed Authority will be established to manage and protect the mineral resources found on the deep ocean floor beyond a state's national ocean jurisdiction. The negotiations on the powers and role of this new international agency was at the centre of the debate between developed and developing countries during the Law of the Sea Conference. Developed states with the technology to harvest the mineral resources of the deep ocean floor sought to ensure a minimalist role for the International Seabed Authority. The developing states desired a strong agency that would regulate mineral exploitation and ensure that some economic benefit would accrue to developing states. Despite wide-ranging acceptance of the final compromises reached on this issue, three states, the United States, United Kingdom, and Federal Republic of Germany, have found the Treaty compromises unacceptable. In particular, the United States have rejected any participation in the International Seabed Authority.

Sanger devotes some discussion to the U.S. action but less commentary to its implications. Admittedly, the full implications of the U.S. action have yet to make themselves manifest. Sanger is interested more in describing the Treaty and how it was negotiated rather than the niceties of the future of only a small part of the new oceans régime.

As a descriptive book of the treaty negotiations the book is excellent. The competing interests are well articulated, as are the compromises that were forged. An interesting feature of the book is that Sanger deals with the personalities of the players involved in the negotiations and stresses, quite correctly, that it was a small cadre of ocean experts that shaped the final Treaty.

While Canada has some interest in deep seabed mining, the issues of most concern for Canada in the law of the sea are: the 200-nautical mile fishing zone; protection of the coastal marine environment from tanker pollution; jurisdiction and environmental management in the waters of the Canadian Arctic; management and conservation of the salmon fishery; protection of land-based producers of minerals that are located on the deep ocean floor from competition from those sources; jurisdiction over potential oil and gas resources located on the continental shelf beyond 200-nautical miles; and maritime boundary problems with its neighbours. All of these issues are touched upon to a greater or lesser degree in the book. This is one of the valuable aspects of the text for the general reader -- when ocean issues arise in the public eye such as the dispute over the Northwest Passage, Spanish fishing illegally in East Coast waters, or the dispute over boundaries and fish with St. Pierre and Miquelon, reference to this book will provide a valuable background and context to understand better the issue.

On almost all of the above-mentioned particular Canadian interests in ocean law, the relevant provisions in the LOS Convention reflect the Canadian viewpoint. Canada was outstandingly successful in achieving its goals and protecting its interests during the Law of the Sea Conference. Canada has yet to formally legally accept the LOS Convention by ratifying the Treaty. It is clearly Sanger's view, as it is with most ocean specialists who were involved in the Law of the Sea Conference process, that Canada should ratify as soon as possible. Not to ratify the Treaty after Canada gained so much would cast severe doubt on Canadian negotiating credibility and would expose Canada to the criticism of being two-faced and untrustworthy.

For the specialist this book is lively and entertaining, almost gossipy, in its reliving of the drama of

BOOK REVIEWS continued...

the negotiations. Heroes are singled out. The importance of the decade or more of passionate commitment by many individuals recognized. The cleverness of the nuances of compromises are applauded.

For someone desiring to commence the study of the law of the sea Sanger has written a lucid exposé of the Treaty. Undoubtedly in many courses on ocean law and politics this book will be assigned reading because of its comprehensive overview of the topic.

Where the book may fail is its usefulness for the general public or even those with an interest in ocean matters but who are unfamiliar with the detail of current ocean law. Despite being well written it would take a dedicated reader to march through the text from cover to cover. The book at times mirrors the complexity of the subject matter itself and the flow is frequently cluttered with commentary on minor issues. While the book is recommended to the uninitiated in the detail of ocean law issues, a caution is given that parts of the book are heavy going. To persevere is worthwhile.

The new law of the sea has had and will continue to have an enormous impact on all of Canada. Despite the fact that Canada borders three oceans and has one of the longest coastlines in the world, too few Canadians pay much attention to ocean issues. Ocean concerns are too often seen as regional matters, not national matters. A better understanding of the LOS Convention can assist in changing this and Sanger provides a vehicle to accomplish this understanding. Sanger quotes an anonymous Canadian government official to the effect that when ocean issues are to be dealt with on the cabinet or public agenda, a two-week course on the law of the sea must be given. Reading this book will help reduce the education time necessary.

Ted L. McDorman
Victoria, B.C.

Peter Thomas. Strangers From a Secret Land: The Voyages of the Brig 'Albion' and the Founding of the First Welsh Settlements in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986. 319 pp., reference notes, index, illustrations.

This book is a captivating work which fits into the general theme of the peopling of America. In this case the author traces the origin and early establishment of two Welsh settlements which were founded in

early 19th century Canada -- New Cambria, Nova Scotia and Cardigan, New Brunswick.

Part of the fascination with the study is the way in which the author became involved in the research process. Indeed, Thomas seems somewhat embarrassed, guilty and apologetic that he was drawn into this affair. Thus for a while rather than pursuing his legitimate research -- studying Anglo-Welsh writers -- Thomas confesses he was "inspired by coincidence and fuelled by temperament", to seek out and relate the tale of a community of Welsh buried in a small cemetery he chanced upon in North Cardigan, New Brunswick in July, 1977. Then followed a seven-year quest of following leads that found him reconstructing the "Voyages of the Brig 'Albion' and the Founding of the First Welsh Settlements in Canada" -- the book's subtitle.

Though Thomas appears a little uncomfortable with this topic and reserves it primarily for 'general readers' rather than 'professional or specialist historians', his work is very thorough in the basics of studying migration. Indeed with a literary flair and penetrating insights not normally linked with such studies he unfolds the background of the settlers, their movements, and their early destiny in North America. He probes the whole spectrum of this migration wave, its contributing factors and circumstances, and the main agents (merchant mariners, immigration officers and leaders) involved in the process. The chief building blocks of the reconstruction are the individuals associated with the events which between 1818 and 1822 linked Wales and North America. For the most part the narrative is pieced together from the usual sources -- newspapers, state papers, local history and oral traditions, parish and town records, and personal manuscript collections on both sides of the Atlantic. The author also has fair success with genealogical data and provides "A Naming of Names" of both settlements in the appendix which direct descendants of these migrants will appreciate.

With respect to documents, two of the rather notable sources uncovered by Thomas were a 52 page prose narrative, a partially idealized account of an emigrant voyage by the Albion to New Jersey in 1818, and a 'lost' ballad written about the 1819 voyage that brought the Cardigan cemetery immigrants to New Brunswick. These provide the insights for some of the special highlights of the book, especially the meticulous accounts of the Atlantic crossings, the onboard ship routine, and the hopes and fears of the Welsh migrants, who were being led to a promised land, but with doubts.

BOOK REVIEWS continued...

On balance the narrative is more an in-depth analysis of the origins of the settlers in Wales than on their subsequent destinies in Canada. Indeed once disembarked the band begins to dissipate, and the Cardigan-New Cambria communities represent the residuals of the Albion voyages. Nevertheless, the settlements and the ship are central enough themes to hang a much larger story such as in Chapter Two where the reader is taken into "The Secret Land", Cardiganshire, the linguistic refuge, the little known, little visited county of western Wales. Here we are given a thorough exposé of the rural culture out of which the Albion passengers came.

Along with the descriptive exposition of the migration drama, Thomas blends in a series of career-line narratives of key actors. In fact it is here the author perhaps relates more than we need to know since much of the detail is unrelated to the migration. In any event the reader is drawn into intimate acquaintance with the captain of the Albion, Llewelyn Davies, mentioned in the main documents and possibly the author of the 'lost ballad'; Thomas Davies, banker and patriarch of a Welsh shipping dynasty; Anthony Lockwood, surveyor-general of New Brunswick and erstwhile friend to hapless immigrants; and Dafydd Phillips, a Baptist minister who followed the migrants to New Brunswick returned to Wales and suffered much from the ordeal.

Thomas, himself a recent emigrant from Wales to New Brunswick and a Welsh scholar, has all the right instincts and qualifications to be the memorialist of Welsh emigrants. As he states in the preface there is no attempt "to divorce the teller from the tale -- to do so would have risked psychic damage."

When all is said and done, it must be admitted that this is an enjoyable book, elegantly written -- most fascinating and satisfying. Strangers from a Secret Land will appeal to the Welsh anywhere as well as anyone interested in the settlement of Canada and migration generally.

W.G. Handcock
St. John's, Newfoundland

Godfrey Hodgson. Lloyd's of London: A Reputation at Risk. Second Edition. Toronto: Penguin Books, 1986. 414 pp., index.

It is no small achievement to produce a layman's guide to the workings of Lloyd's: such is the achievement

of Godfrey Hodgson in this book. Hodgson, a journalist by training, focuses on the concrete. He takes the reader through a day's business at Lloyd's introducing him to the underwriters and brokers and to the Names which form the Lloyd's syndicates. He provides just enough information on the economics of the insurance market for the reader to perceive the risks involved and to appreciate the considerable gains which are to be made if the risks pay off. But he is less concerned with the economics of the market than with the social nexus of class which underpins the transaction of business. Lloyd's reputation depends upon the personal integrity of underwriters and brokers and upon their accountability to the Lloyd's committee. During the past two decades -- the period surveyed in this book -- Lloyd's reputation has indeed been 'at risk'.

In recent years Lloyd's share of the world's insurance business has declined. Nevertheless Lloyd's remains at the centre of international insurance, its position strengthened by the ability of Lloyd's underwriters to pay out huge claims such as those resulting from the Three Mile Island nuclear power station accident and the Amoco Cadiz disaster. But Lloyd's has had its troubles -- some of its own making. Brokers and underwriters have made mistakes when diversifying into new areas of insurance whilst insufficiently aware of the risks involved. The classic case was that of computer leasing insurance which resulted in considerable losses for the underwriters who did not bargain for the obsolescence of successive IBM computers. The fault, in Hodgson's opinion, was the failure of Lloyd's underwriters and brokers to appreciate the ruthlessness of American business methods. But surely this amounts to a failure of entrepreneurial judgement on the part of the Lloyd's men?

Lloyd's has resisted outside control and has made much in public of its self-regulatory mechanisms. In 1978 the Lloyd's committee, fearing a threat to its disciplinary sanctions over Lloyd's members in the increase of American interests at Lloyd's, restricted overseas companies to a maximum of 20% share in Lloyd's brokers. The ruling was never properly enforced out of sensitivity to the damage it had already done to Lloyd's public image. It reflected discreditably upon Lloyd's but during the unfolding of the Savonita affair the Lloyd's committee itself was to come in for more serious criticism. In this case a Lloyd's broker who had reason to suspect a fraudulent claim by his client (a subsidiary of Fiat) was pilloried by Lloyd's. In the backlash of criticism Lloyd's was accused of high-handedness and biased judgement. Hodgson reviews the facts of the case and redresses

BOOK REVIEWS continued...

some of the bias of the Lloyd's report but he has no new revelations concerning either the Savonita affair or other incidents which Lloyd's has preferred to hide from the public gaze. Hodgson is a shade too uncritical of the institution: a little too much in admiration of its English public school values. He is not the man to rock the 'good ship Lloyd's'.

V.C. Burton
Liverpool, England

Michael Moss and John Hume. Shipbuilders to the World: 125 Years of Harland & Wolff, Belfast, 1861-1986. Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1986. xviii + 602 pp., photographs (including 16 in colour), endnotes, bibliography, yard list, ship and general index.

Those who attended the baptism of the son of James E. Pirrie and Eliza Montgomery at Saint Andrew's Church, Quebec, on the 17th June 1847, were far from imagining that the eighteen day old infant would one day be at the head of the most powerful shipbuilding group in the world. They may have realized, however, that he would probably enter a career that had something to do with ships, for almost all his relatives were involved in one way or another with shipping. Woven inevitably into Shipbuilders to the World is the story of William Pirrie, who returned to Ireland when his father died in 1849, and entered the firm of Harland & Wolff as an apprentice in 1862. After joining the draughting office and rising to the position of senior draughtsman, he became one of three new partners in 1874. His association with the company, for the greater part of which he stood alone at the helm, ended at his death in 1924, fifty years later. But though Pirrie is undoubtedly the dominant figure of the early chapters in which he and the company are almost indivisible, the authors have succeeded in keeping the shipyard itself uppermost from the start.

An account of the development and history of the port of Belfast forms the background against which the growth of the firm is carefully chronicled from the days of building wooden sailing ships and steamboats to those when aircraft carriers and giant tankers were sent down the ways. Alongside is presented an outline of the firm's fight for survival, and those who are familiar with shipbuilding or its history will recognize the problems of every shipbuilding operation reproduced here on a grand scale. The slumps that

inevitably followed the shipbuilding peaks were survived through imaginative financing, membership in shipping combines -- ensuring orders for refits and repairs, as well as new ships -- and profitable use of the time to expand facilities. The firm was fortunate, too, in receiving government support. As Harland and Wolff's operations were not limited to the Port of Belfast, its shipyards on the Clyde and repair yards at London, Southampton and Liverpool come into the story as well.

Lord Rochdale, a former chairman, writes in his foreword that on reading the narrative he learned much of the past of the firm of which he was unaware. This is hardly surprising in view of the number of complicated deals made by Pirrie, whose details were kept even from his managing directors. He undoubtedly had a silver tongue backed by an iron will, which enabled him to maintain dictatorial control as he led the firm from a partnership with an owners' capital of £2,416 and loan capital of £12,000 to a limited company with fixed assets of a book value of almost £10,000,000 in 1924. Although he lived to the age of seventy-seven, he did not properly prepare for the continuity of the company, and so the hard times then confronting the trade were made more difficult. The last part of the book is concerned with the efforts of his successors to establish a soundly based industry in the face of rising competition from abroad, efforts that were bolstered by a considerable number of government orders for vessels, aircraft and munitions during the Second World War.

The story is handsomely presented. There are many photographs of ships and shipyard scenes, some of company officials, and others of construction details of particular interest to the reader with an engineering bent. Throughout there are diagrams illustrating the lay-outs and changes in lay-out of the various yards. Financial statements and balance sheets cover the life of the firm, while the appendix lists the name and type of seventeen hundred and fifty vessels built by Harland and Wolff at their Belfast or other yards, with their launch date, delivery date, tonnage and owners.

For those who are generally interested in shipbuilding, and particularly those who are interested in company histories, this is a history worthy of a great firm.

Eileen Marcil
Charlesbourg, Quebec

BOOK REVIEWS continued...

Paolo E. Coletta. An Annotated Bibliography of US Marine Corps History. New York: University Press of America, 1986. 417 pp.

Paolo Coletta has produced a useful and very useable bibliography with informative annotations, all of which should make it a welcome addition to libraries specializing in military and naval history. In addition to the usual book and article entries, Coletta also lists dissertations and theses, documents, films, works of fiction and the papers and typescript interviews of Marine Corps vets held by the Historical Division of USMC Headquarters. The book comes complete with author and title indexes and, as a final touch, the book entries include their Library of Congress call numbers.

Despite the excellent organization and ease of use, Coletta's bibliography is by no means definitive and this he makes clear in the opening pages. In making his choices Coletta sought to avoid portraying the Marine Corps experience "in a vacuum", hence the works of fiction and a rather broad canvas of related material. It was also necessary to whittle down the 6,000 titles amassed for the book to a publishable 4,000. Unfortunately, much of what fell on the cutting room floor was solid stuff. For example, the tenth volume of S.E. Morison's multi-volume The History of US Naval Operations in the Second World War, which deals with the Atlantic after May 1943, has been included, presumably for completeness, but Patrick Abbazia's Mr. Roosevelt's Navy which covers the earlier years (when the Marines were in occupation of Iceland) is conspicuously absent. So too are at least two standard works on the Vietnam experience, Caputo's A Rumor of War and Webb's Fields of Fire.

It is inevitable that specialists will find fault with any selective bibliography, and this one is no exception. Nonetheless, it is a vast improvement, both quantitatively and qualitatively, over Moran's earlier Creating a Legend (1973), its only commercial competitor. Those who want or need more will still have to rely on the specialized bibliography series produced by the USMC historians and on the excellent essay at the end of Millett's Semper Fidelis.

Marc Milner
Fredericton, New Brunswick

Honore Forster. The South Sea Whaler. Sharon, Mass: The Kendall Whaling Museum, 1985. xi + 157 pp., maps, index.

The author, who is a member of the Department of History at the Australian National University, Canberra, has performed a most valuable service in assembling this bibliography. Her field of expertise and interest is the history of the Pacific and South East Asia, and the book focusses on reference material, and literature relevant to the whaling industry in the Pacific between 1800 and 1900. The body of the book comprises almost 900 entries, divided into six sections:

- I. Contemporary personal accounts of whaling voyages, and modern works based on such contemporary material.
- II. General works and bibliographies dealing with whaling, particularly in the Pacific, together with books on scrimshaw, books for younger readers, and a section on books dealing with Herman Melville.
- III. Works of fiction, including items intended for children.
- IV. Academic dissertations.
- V. Articles and book chapters, again subdivided into categories, scrimshaw, literary material, etc. There are about 50 further items of personal reminiscence here, to back up the 100 or so listed in Section I.
- VI. Newspapers and periodicals. New Zealand and Australian sources are particularly well covered.

Appendix 1. Gives the Pacific place names familiar to the whalers of the 19th century and their modern equivalents...for instance, the Sandwich Islands, Hawaiian Islands; Gilbert Islands, Kiribati; Friendly Islands, Tonga Islands; and so on. One or two cannot be positively identified.

Appendix 2. The various whaling grounds and the species mostly hunted there in the 19th century.

Appendix 4. The scope of the so-called New England Microfilm Project is described. A group of universities in Australia, New Zealand, and Hawaii sponsored a massive effort to microfilm a huge collection of whaling logbooks, and manuscripts, for the purpose of making this material available to scholars elsewhere, and particularly in the Pacific.

Those interested in the story of whaling in the Pacific will find this book of particular value.

BOOK REVIEWS continued...

We are indebted to Honore Forster for preparing it, and to the Kendall Whaling Museum for publishing it.

John H. Harland
Kelowna, British Columbia

David Starkey (ed.). Sources for a New Maritime History of Devon. Exeter: Devon County Council, 1987. vi + 111 pp.

I first opened this volume of eight essays with a good deal of trepidation. I was prepared for the worst for two reasons: first, because it is a collection of conference papers, which too often guarantees very uneven quality; and second, because it deals with sources, a topic which in the wrong hands can be one of the driest subjects imaginable. It is thus both a surprise and a considerable pleasure to report that Sources for a New Maritime History of Devon is not only an important contribution to maritime studies but also an exceedingly enjoyable read.

The volume collects the formal papers presented at the first conference of the Devon Maritime History Project, a four year research effort which has as its goal the production of a New Maritime History of Devon from earliest times to the present day. Directed by Dr. Stephen Fisher, Dr. Basil Greenhill and Professor Joyce Youngs, the project is funded by the Leverhulme Trust. As part of its agenda, it intends to bring together the contributors (there are more than thirty all told) each year to discuss progress and to present papers embodying their research.

The first conference, which convened in the spring of 1986, dealt with the question of sources. This is a topic to which maritime historians need to devote much more attention and about which they need to do more sharing. The strength of the majority of the papers in this volume is that they discuss sources which will be of interest to historians without the slightest interest in the particularities of the South West of England. This is especially true of perhaps the two strongest essays, Wendy Childs' examination of medieval sources, and the discussion of High Court of Admiralty records by John Appleby and David Starkey. But even those essays with a more local flavour add to our knowledge of materials which have utility far beyond the bounds of Devon. Margery Rowe's essay on sources in the Devon Record Office serves as a reminder that many official materials not held in the Public Record Office are now to be found in local repositories. This is true, for example, of many of the

customs house registry records, which since 1980 have been directed to local archives. Alan Pearsall provides a useful guide to local records at the National Maritime Museum; Alison Grant gives a systematic overview of port books as sources for maritime history; and Ian Maxted's examination of printed sources is also helpful.

The book also provides a context into which to place the discussion, which in this case is furnished by the first and last essays. The volume opens with a brief but thoughtful essay by Basil Greenhill on the meaning of maritime history, which distills many of the insights developed over a career at the centre of the discipline. And Robin Craig's concluding essay discusses a wide range of potential sources, including some Canadian ones. These two essays frame the intervening pieces, and provide the intellectual underpinnings for a satisfying book.

The Devon Maritime History Project is an ambitious undertaking, and one can only wish it well. This sentiment will doubtless be echoed by Canadians, especially those aware of the role that Devon played in the maritime history of our own nation, especially on the east coast. Perhaps my only disappointment with the Project thus far is that among its contributors there are not some Canadian maritime historians, who could add an important dimension to the story that the contributors wish to tell. It is to be hoped that this deficiency will be rectified.

But this concern in no way detracts from the overall judgement of this book. It is a splendid volume which belongs on the shelves of every maritime historian who takes a serious interest in the building blocks from which we seek to reconstruct the past. Sources for a New Maritime History of Devon can be ordered for £3.50 (plus £1.75 postage outside the U.K.) from the Devon County Archives, Castle Street, Exeter EX4 3PU. I guarantee that it will be money well spent.

Lewis R. Fischer
St. John's, Newfoundland

J.F. Clarke. A Century of Service to Engineering and Shipbuilding: A Centenary History of the North East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders, 1884-1984. Newcastle upon Tyne: The North East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders, 1984. 155 pp., photographs, illustrations, footnotes, charts, index.

Unfamiliarity with the activities of the North East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders should

BOOK REVIEWS continued...

not deter anyone who is interested in the British shipbuilding industry from reading this centenary history.

By 1884 there were several engineering organizations in Great Britain including the Institution of Civil Engineers, Institution of Mechanical Engineers and the Institution of Naval Architects. However, these were all located in London, so there was little opportunity for members on the north east coast to attend meetings and participate in discussions. Thus, at the instigation of a young engineer who used the nom-de-plume "T. Square", the North East Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders was founded.

Despite a reluctance to be considered a strictly regional society, the fate of this Institution has been bound to the fortunes of the Tyne and Wear shipbuilding industry. Throughout its first century the number of members (which has never exceeded 2400) has slavishly followed the boom and bust cycles of shipping orders. At the same time, the activities of the Institution have mirrored the technical and industrial progress of British shipbuilding.

Clarke's book is almost entirely based on the Transactions of the Institution. The first two chapters follow the history of the institution from founding, including its unenviable financial record. The remaining chapters look at the papers presented to the Institution throughout the first hundred years, under general categories such as production techniques, education, propulsion and ship design. If the North East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders was strictly a professional engineering society this sort of presentation could be pretty dull stuff. But the Institution is unique, in that from its inception it has drawn members from all areas of the shipbuilding industry. Thus, a 1911 list of members includes such varied occupations as Agent & Accountant, Boiler Builder, Shipowner and Merchant.

This heterogeneous membership has been both the strength and the weakness of the North East Coast Institution. Although the Institution has maintained that it functions as a learned society, while serving the interests of members with widely varying backgrounds, it is apparent from Clarke's book that at times technical sophistication was lacking. As late as 1959 a Member commented on a paper:

"Nowadays, when so many of the technical papers...tend to become mathematical treatises, it is refreshing and interesting to read one which deals with the 'bread and butter' side of marine engineering."

Yet it is the disparate points of view of the Institution's members that makes this book such interesting reading. In the discussion of the papers presented in the last century, battles have been fought over shipyard labour practices, engineering education, the triple expansion engine, the use of imported steel, and ship safety. In almost every case we see the conflict between the hard economic reality of the shipping business, which demands financial conservatism, and the need for engineering progress, which demands a little bit of faith and a lot of money. The result of this conflict is neatly summed up in the foreword by Derek Kimber (President of the Institution in 1984), where he speaks of the:

"...unrelieved parsimony on the part of the industries' employers toward anything smacking of R&D, which the shipowners compounded by failing to identify their own interests with those of the shipbuilders and enginebuilders on whom they were entirely dependent..."

Clarke has unfortunately limited himself to reviewing the papers presented and the discussions that followed them rather than attempting to analyze, or at least provide more background to, the various aspects of this ongoing conflict. The book includes many photographs and illustrations, most apparently taken from original papers; these would be more useful if more detailed captions and labels had been added. Extensive footnotes are included although the index is limited only to proper names appearing in the text.

These days any mention of the British shipbuilding industry elicits the standard response that ultimately the unions have been responsible for its decline. Mr. Clarke's book, perhaps unwittingly, shows how shallow that assessment really is. For Canadians, whose own shipbuilding industry is deeply troubled, this book should be interesting reading.

R.J. Summers,
Victoria, British Columbia

Nancy Erhard. First in Its Class. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 1986. Foreword + 156 pp., appendices, illustrations, bibliography.

In First in Its Class Nancy Erhard provides the reader with a fascinating and detailed look into the founding and history of the oldest yachting organization in North America, The Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron.

Among the aristocracy of the Old World, yachting became an organized competitive activity early in the 18th century and eventually spread to the New World where it continues to prosper. At Halifax, Nova

BOOK REVIEWS continued...

Scotia, the first of a long series of organized regattas was held in 1826. The popularity of these annual events resulted in the establishment of the "Halifax Yacht Club" in 1837 under the auspices of a group of Halifax notables and representatives of the military community.

This was only the beginning of a yarn that continues to unfold to this day. The organization certainly had its ups and downs including re-organizations and a move to emphasize the "club" aspect and eliminate the "yachts". Steady hands and cool heads prevailed and the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron was created out of the controversy to cater to yachtsmen province wide. Today the Squadron is the Canadian East Coast's pre-eminent yachting organization and was selected as the Club of Record for one of Canada's two entries into international twelve-meter yacht racing, the 1986 America's Cup challenge.

Erhard presents this chronological history in a straightforward easily read style that carries the reader through exciting sailing races and club-house intrigues at a brisk pace while the development of the rules of yachting, rigs and hulls are covered without going deeply into technical details. The author is obviously comfortable with her knowledge of the history of the Squadron, appears to have a good grasp of the technicalities of her subject and has provided an entertaining as well as informative narrative.

As a bonus a series of separate "profiles" have been strategically scattered throughout the book in which are described both the personalities and the yachts that have made the squadron the world-class organization it is today. These vignettes satisfy the needs of the story and, for local historians, may whet the appetite for further study, particularly of some of the famous individuals involved.

This volume is well illustrated with photographs, portions of charts and reproductions of paintings and sketches, all in black and white. Considering the age of some of the original material the quality of the reproductions is quite good.

This is a good read but the publishers could have used a little more imagination in laying out the "Profiles" as it is all too easy to leave the main text and find oneself deep into a profile without realizing what has gone wrong. These are marked with heavy top and bottom borders but the column arrangement, type style and

size are identical with the main text, a trap for the unwary reader.

J. David Perkins
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

Peasant Seafaring on the Baltic. Kotka: Provincial Museum of Kymenlaakso, No. 6, 1986. ii + 138 pp., 17 photographs, 2 maps, 4 tables.

In 1983 the Finnish town of Kotka instituted an annual International Baltic Seminar with the aim of building on local interest in the town's maritime history and drawing on international expertise to fit it into a Baltic setting. This volume of nine papers is the product of the second Seminar held in 1984.

Although the individual contributions present a wide geographical spread (Friedland on Norway and Denmark, Kaukiainen on Finland, Sammet and Pao on Estonia, Papp and Hackman on the Aland Islands, G:son Berg on Sweden, Rudolph on Pommerania and Smolarek on the Gdansk basin), their findings clearly illustrate certain optimum conditions for peasant seafaring from the Middle Ages onwards. Peasant shipping flourished in periods of population growth but its natural development was constantly hampered by state intervention which created monopolies for certain privileged groups such as the aristocracy or the newly-emerged coastal urban areas. Regulation usually took the form of limiting the size and construction of vessels to inhibit long-distance journeys or restricting the markets open to peasant producers. Despite these obstacles peasants continued to sail throughout the Baltic until the early years of the present century.

Kaukiainen identifies three stages in the development of Finnish peasant seafaring and the studies of other regions reinforce his arguments. The first stage was as a part-time activity which could be incorporated into the agricultural year and involved short-hauls on both an intra- and international basis. The impetus for these journeys came from the need to obtain basic foodstuffs and other goods which were lacking locally. Fish and wood from the northern Baltic were traded for grain and dairy products from the southern Baltic or the Aland Islands and less prosaic goods like Pommeranian ceramics found favour in peasant houses all round the Baltic littoral. In the second stage, longer voyages were encouraged by the demands of city markets like Stockholm and St. Petersburg and this gave access to the products of extra-Baltic trade carried by the Dutch and British to these centres. The final

BOOK REVIEWS continued...

development was the move into full-time seafaring and long distance voyages. This is more difficult to reconcile with the 'peasant' theme, for any link these mariners had with the land was somewhat tenuous. Hackman shows that the skippers of the Aland Islands kept legal title to land but left the cultivation to their wives and hired hands even after they retired from the sea.

Throughout these studies the theme of ship design and construction naturally runs strongly and the final paper by Smolarek develops this topic by reporting on the excavation of the Tolmicko wrecks and the implications which this has for earlier finds.

The Kotka Seminars should now be reaching their fifth year and it will be interesting to see whether they are able to continue a policy of encouraging relatively new areas of maritime history as they have done in the present volume. The organizers deserve congratulations on their initiative and originality.

Jennifer Newman
Colchester, England

EDITORIAL continued from Page 1...

we are indeed in trouble. EVERYBODY, get out your cheque books, and renew your subscriptions for 1988. Then you will be sure of receiving your copy of the first Research Directory of the CNRS.

NEWSLETTER OF THE MARITIME ECONOMIC HISTORY GROUP,
Vol. 1, No. 2

We cannot fail to notice this superlative publication. It arrived recently in only three days from Norway. In keeping with the well-known modesty of its co-editor and our Book Review Editor, Skip Fischer, it is unlikely he will have it reviewed, but to anyone with a modicum of interest in anything other than the parochial, it is a gem that is an absolute necessity to serious researchers. Its 82 pages are filled with data of paramount importance to most if not all of us. Its entries go a very long way to proving the 'internationality' of our discipline. We are sure that many of you will want to get copies (if there are any left!).

* * * *

ANYONE RESEARCHING HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY VESSELS?

Eric Lawson has an account of the Hudson's Bay Company steam vessel Labouchere's voyage from Port Stanley, Falkland Islands to Vancouver's Island, under the command of Commander J.F. Trivett in 1858.

Eric will send a photocopy of the article to anyone interested if they will supply him with a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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