

ARGONAUTA

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ARGONAUTA EDITORIALS

(I)

This issue of *ARGONAUTA* contains a wealth of news from the Annual General Meeting in Victoria. For the most part we think the material speaks for itself, but there are a few points we believe worthy of comment, especially regarding the elections.

First, CNRS members have elected a new President. Dr. W.A.B. Douglas will be well-known to most readers as the long-time Secretary of the society. In that post, as well as in his full-time position as Director of the Historical Directorate at National Defence Headquarters, Alec has done perhaps more than anyone in the country to promote interest in maritime history and membership in CNRS. Following in the footsteps of Keith Matthews, Gerry Panting and Barry Gough as our fourth President, we cannot think of anyone better able to guide CNRS at this time than Alec. We congratulate the membership on the wisdom of its selection.

So too do we welcome the selection of Garth Wilson as a Councillor. For the society to grow and prosper, it is essential to have new additions to the executive. Garth has already made important contributions to maritime studies in his posts with the Marine Museum of the Great Lakes at Kingston and now at the National Museum of Science and Technology. We look forward to the enthusiasm, energy and new ideas that Garth is certain to bring to his new position in CNRS.

The 1990s are sure to bring new problems and new opportunities to CNRS. We wish the new executive every success in overcoming the former and capitalizing on the latter. In its endeavours, we trust that it can count on a committed and helpful membership to ensure that the society continues in its unique role to promote interest in Canada's maritime heritage.

Lewis R. Fischer
Gerald E. Panting

(II)

In the minutes of the Annual General Meeting, readers will note that the current editors of *ARGONAUTA* have made a proposal for a drastic restructuring of CNRS publications. While we have provided officers of the society with complete details and members in Victoria heard a summary, we think it wise to tell all readers what we have in mind.

First of all, we should tell you that what we proposed was a

way of establishing the long-awaited CNRS journal. Our proposal was totally consistent with the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Publications (1987) and the decision of the Halifax Annual General Meeting in 1989. It would involve, beginning in January 1991, the appearance of a publication tentatively named the *Northern Mariner*. It would be produced (as is *ARGONAUTA*) at Memorial University of Newfoundland and would be edited by the current editors and the Book Review Editor of *ARGONAUTA*. The journal would be responsible to an editorial board appointed by the executive and would appear quarterly. In the first instance, we believe it feasible to produce a quarterly publication of about sixty pages per issue. We have raised the funds to cover the fixed expenses; the only cost to CNRS will be for printing.

Unfortunately, in life most silver linings tend to be surrounded by clouds. In this case, the "cloud" would be the cessation of *ARGONAUTA*. This is in our view advisable for two reasons. First of all, as desirable as it might be, we simply do not have the resources to publish *both* a journal and a newsletter. Second, we believe that a name change also has an important symbolic component. *ARGONAUTA* was established as a newsletter. When we assumed the editorship, we attempted as well to increase the publication of essays. But *ARGONAUTA* connotes the elevation of news over articles. Our proposal is to reverse the emphasis.

At the Victoria meetings, much concern was expressed that this proposal would somehow deprive readers of news. Yet our proposal guarantees that a minimum of twelve to fifteen pages of each issue will be devoted to this feature. On average, the current *ARGONAUTA* devotes only ten pages per issue to news. We are thus hardly suggesting diluting this service.

In presenting our proposal, we were hopeful that it would be welcomed by the membership. The issue of a journal is as old as our society, and successive general meetings have called for its establishment. While we are not wedded irrevocably to the precise details of our proposal, we believe it is logical, consistent and feasible. More to the point, we have invested considerable time and effort in working it out and obtaining the necessary commitments and resources. While we are disappointed that the membership did not give its approval, we are heartened by the news that sometime this summer the executive will decide how to proceed. At the risk of being accused of special pleading, we very much hope that it will decide to go ahead. To do otherwise, at least in the absence of *feasible* alternatives, would we believe postpone the establishment of a journal indefinitely. In framing this proposal we attempted to find a method of meeting the expressed needs of the membership, at least as

these have been communicated to us at general meetings and in correspondence. But we are neither masochists nor possessed of unlimited time. If others have alternative suggestions, or are willing to volunteer to raise the necessary funds and to edit such a publication, we would be happy to withdraw. But regardless, we believe that the time has come to make a decision. We look forward to the results of the executive's deliberations.

Lewis R. Fischer
Gerald E. Panting

(III)

The year 1992 is special for Canadian maritime historians, marking as it does the five hundredth anniversary of Columbus' voyage to the New World and the two hundredth anniversary of Captain Vancouver's voyage to the west coast. Lost in this plethora of birthdays, at least outside of Canada's heartland, is the two hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the province of Ontario.

We recently received a letter from CNRS member Bryan Kerman which contained a proposal for a maritime contribution to Ontario's bicentennial. What he and a group of friends would like to do is to obtain government funding to build a replica of the *Ontario*, a sloop constructed in Oswego at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, in the heart of Toronto's Harbourfront. The purpose would be to heighten public awareness of the magnificent marine heritage possessed both by the province and the city.

This type of project strikes us as having tremendous potential for focusing attention on the importance of maritime matters in Ontario's history. It also provides an opportunity to re-develop some wooden shipbuilding skills in danger of being lost forever. We wish Bryan and his group well in their efforts to convince the government of Ontario that ships deserve an important place in the province's two hundredth birthday celebrations.

Lewis R. Fischer
Gerald E. Panting

PRESIDENT'S CORNER

Ships, and everything to do with ships, are the concern of the Canadian Nautical Research Society. Our huge country, in so many respects the envy of the world and yet so often the despair of its own people, has a large stake in ships. From time to time that fact becomes vividly apparent to Canadians, but for the most part it does not occur to them that the way of life they take for granted, even in the space

age, would not be possible without a constant supply of goods and services by vessels plying the seas, rivers and lakes that border and criss-cross our land.

As I write, the First Ministers are in private conclave, discussing Meech Lake. If Stephen Leacock were alive he would no doubt make a rude remark about mentioning ships and Meech Lake in the same breath, but one of this Society's members, Commander L.B. "Yogi" Jenson of Queensland, Nova Scotia, writing to the editor of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* on 30 May, has given me the excuse to do so. "When HMCS *Ottawa* was torpedoed in 1942," wrote Commander Jenson, "nearly two-thirds of my shipmates died; many from Quebec. On D-Day, in HMCS *Algonquin*, we had the honour of supporting the Regiment de la Chaudiere, French Canadians, landing in Normandy in the greatest invasion in history: all Canadians prepared to give their utmost."

The sea is one, as they say, and it tends to obscure political differences. Closer to home, even though the people who live on the shores of the St. Lawrence have intimate links with the sea, and probably understand it better than most Canadians, the sight of vessels being torpedoed in the river in 1942 brought ships into the forefront of their consciousness in an unprecedented and frightening manner. "Qu'est ce qui passe en Gaspésie?" indignantly asked the Québec writer Edouard Laurent, and it took a large governmental apparatus in Ottawa to come up with the answer. The sailors and airmen who tried to protect ships in the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, and who ultimately succeeded in doing so, came from all across Canada. For many of them the great waterway that opens up Canada to the Atlantic world, and gives the provinces of Québec and New Brunswick a particularly important maritime role, was the first glimpse they ever had of the sea. And that was entirely appropriate, because the St. Lawrence has always been a factor in the prosperity of Canada's heartlands.

The sea is also, of course, a large component of our Arctic heritage. When the *Manhattan* stirred up Canadians by transiting the Northwest Passage some years ago (under the guidance of another Society member, Captain T.C. Pullen), our External Affairs Minister was moved to tell Parliament that Canada was a northern nation. All Canadians thought they already knew that, of course, but only a handful had any idea of what it meant.

That brings me to the point. Our outgoing President, Barry Gough, has set us on a safe course for the future with his outstanding efforts to bring together museums, historians, underwater archaeologists and many other individuals for mutual interest and benefit. He has made it possible for his

successors to focus interest on themes of mutual concern. I hope that in the coming year we can define the themes that demand our greatest attention. In preparing for our annual meeting in Ottawa next June this will be a foremost concern. If you have ideas, tell us. We want to hear from you.

W.A.B. Douglas
Ottawa, Ontario

ARGONAUTA MAILBAG

Sirs:

Back copies of *ARGONAUTA* are always a pleasure to browse through, even if I happen to find statements with which I cannot agree. Such a statement is included in Fraser M. McKee in his article on "The RCN's 105 Foot 'Llewellyn' Class Ships (*ARGONAUTA*, VI, No. 3 [July 1989]). In paragraph 3 he writes that "Others [namely shipyards], especially in the Maritimes, were accustomed to building large steel trawlers and lacked experience in wooden ship construction."

I would be most interested to learn of any shipyard in the Maritimes capable of building large steel trawlers during the 1920s and 1930s. As far as I know, none were ever built in Maritimes' yards, which only had experience in wooden ship construction.

I would hate to see the wrong kind of myth perpetuated in the pages of *ARGONAUTA* but, on the other hand, I would be pleased to stand corrected.

Niels W. Jannasch
Tantallon, N.S.

Sirs:

Not long ago I heard a nice tale of long service in the merchant navy, told to me by a Canadian Army officer.

During a busy moment in the "Husky" amphibious landings in Sicily in June 1943, my friend was standing on the bridge talking to the master of the *Circassia*, Captain David Bone (later Sir David). Captain Bone was a brother of the noted marine painter, Sir Muirhead Bone, and served most of his long career with the Anchor Line, although he had started in sail.

The Canadian allowed that this was a difficult operation for a merchant ship. Captain Bone commented that it was not as bad as one other landing with which he had been involved, in which he had to land several hundred horses by

dropping them into the sea to swim ashore. The Canadian could not recall any horses used in the current war, but then realised that Captain Bone was no young man (in fact, he was over seventy!) and that he had been involved in the Dardanelles (in the *Cameronia*) in the First War. "Was that at the Dardanelles, Sir?" he asked. "I don't remember horses landed there."

"No," said Captain Bone. "That was when I was in the *Australia* in the Boer War!" He had been involved in amphibious landings for forty-five years!

Fraser M. McKee
Markdale, Ontario

Sirs:

The reference to the *Lake Champlain* in J.E. Cowden's article ("Elder Dempster and the St. Lawrence River," *ARGONAUTA*, VII, No. 2 [April 1990], 4-9) brings to mind her connection with the early days of marine radio communication. According to George Musk in *Canadian Pacific* (1981), in May 1901 the *Lake Champlain* became the "first large merchant ship to be fitted with radio." Another reference in the same book makes a slightly different claim, that she had the "first radio apparatus on a merchant ship." In the 1979 edition of Bonsor's *North Atlantic Seaway*, the author notes that the *Lake Champlain* "made a lasting name for herself by being fitted with the first permanent wireless telegraphy installation in a merchant ship." In 1950 the Marconi International Marine Communication Company published *Wireless at Sea—The First Fifty Years*, which presumably could be taken as the definitive source on the subject. However, even here the two references are slightly at odds. The author first states that "the first British merchant vessel to be fitted with Marconi apparatus was the steamer *Lake Champlain*, of the Beaver Line, in 1901." The second mention, though, claims that she was "the first British ocean-going ship to be fitted with Marconi's apparatus." The same work gives credit to the North German Lloyd's *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* as the first merchant vessel "to be equipped commercially" with a Marconi installation, and also notes that the Belgian cross-Channel packet *Princesse Clementine* was fitted in November 1900.

Regardless of the many possible minor variations on the *Lake Champlain's* place in the history of "wireless at sea," she had an indirect relationship to a rather famous incident in this field. At the time of installation of her Marconi equipment, her Second Officer was H.G. Kendall, who by 1910 had risen to be Captain Kendall of the CPSS *Montrose* at the time of the "wireless-assisted" arrest of the notorious murderer, Dr. Crippen. Subsequently, Captain Kendall

became master of the *Empress of Ireland* and was serving in that capacity when the liner was rammed and sunk in the St. Lawrence in 1914.

As for the *Lake Champlain*, in 1913 she and her sistership, *Lake Erie*, were renamed *Ruthenia* and *Tyrolia* and transferred to a new Canadian Pacific service from Trieste to Montréal. This resulted in CP becoming involved in an international "incident" which was still unresolved at the time of the outbreak of the First World War (this point is described in more detail in "Ships Named Canada," which appears in the article section of this issue of *ARGONAUTA*. Interestingly, Captain Kendall, discussed above, was master of the *Ruthenia* while the ship was engaged in this service.). In October 1914, as the *Ruthenia* she was one of the thirty-two ships which transported the Canadian Expeditionary Force to the U.K. Subsequently, together with several other merchant ships (including the former *Lake Erie*), she was taken over by the Admiralty and converted into a dummy battleship, becoming a "stand-in" for HMS *King George V*. Later, she served as a stores ship and fleet oiler. By 1929, still as the *Ruthenia*, she was an oil hulk in Singapore. Captured by the Japanese in 1942, she was renamed *Choran Maru*, becoming *Ruthenia* once again when re-captured in 1945.

In 1949, she was towed to the Clyde to be broken-up at Dalmuir. Thus, she ended her life only a few miles from the site of the yard of Barclay, Curle at Glasgow from where she had been launched nearly fifty years earlier.

J.E. Roué
Ottawa, Ontario

Sirs:

I am preparing a union list that seeks to identify everything ever published by steamship and navigation companies operating on the Great Lakes. Generally speaking, these publications are brochures, such as tourist promotional literature and sailing schedules. By visiting mainly U.S. repositories, I have accounted for over two thousand items. I am not very familiar, however, with Canadian institutions that may have materials of this genre. I write to ask readers of *ARGONAUTA* aware of any public collections of shipping literature in repositories that would not ordinarily be thought to have such holdings to contact me. I thank you for your assistance.

Le Roy Barnett
State Archives of Michigan
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Lansing, Michigan 48918

Sirs:

My research concerns an event which is reported to have occurred in the Inside Passage of British Columbia, between the mainland and Vancouver Island. According to an informant of mine, in 1959 an unidentified submarine was sunk by vessels of the Royal Canadian Navy in the Inside Passage. It is also reported that following the sinking a single body surfaced. Because of a lack of uniform insignia or name tags, no nationality was able to be attributed either to the body or to its vessel of origin.

I am very interested in finding other former R.C.N. members who may have witnessed this incident or know of it. Those with information that they may wish to share with me regarding the names of the R.C.N. vessels taking part, the fate of the alleged body, or any other details of the incident are invited to write me at the address below.

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ARGONAUTA ARTICLES

"A PERFECT EDEN" AND THE EMPIRE OF THE SEAS

By Barry M. Gough
Waterloo, Ontario

(Editors' Note: This article was originally presented as the Presidential address to the annual meeting of the Canadian Nautical Research Society at the Maritime Museum of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C., 30 May 1990.)

Sir James Douglas, K.C.B., second governor of the colony of Vancouver Island and first governor of British Columbia, called Victoria "a perfect Eden." I quote from him on this seductive allusion to the origins of empire in this farthest west:

The place itself appears a perfect "Eden," in the midst of the dreary wilderness of the North west coast, and so different is its general aspect, from the wooded, rugged regions around, that one might be pardoned for supposing it had dropped from the clouds into its present position... The growth of indigenous vegetation is more luxuriant, than in any other place, I

have seen in America, indicating a rich productive soil. Though the survey I made was somewhat laborious, not being so light and active of foot as in my younger days, I was nevertheless delighted in ranging over fields knee deep in clover, tall grasses and ferns reaching above our heads, at these unequivocal proofs of fertility. Not a mosquito that plague of plagues did we feel, nor meet with molestation from the natives.

Thus did he write his friend James Hargrave, wintering at frozen York Factory in February 1843.

Eight months earlier Douglas had been assigned the task of re-examining a harbour known to exist at the southern tip of Vancouver Island by his immediate superior, Dr. John McLoughlin, who was headquartered at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River. Camosun or Camosack, as it was called by the Songees Indians in testament to the small onion (and flower) that grew profusely, had first been described by the rough-and-tumble (but sagacious) mariner, William Henry McNeill, while in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1837. But five years later some urgency existed to Douglas' enterprises, for American immigration was beginning to increase from a trickle to a steady flow over the Oregon Trail into the rich Willamette Valley. Equally important was the fact that the coastal trade of the HBC needed reorganizing, and Fort Vancouver was inadequate for the purpose, confined as it was upstream from the entrance to the notorious Columbia River where Astor had begun his enterprise in 1810 and the North West Company of Canada had succeeded in 1813. So the political needs of the company marched side by side with the commercial, and the Gentlemen Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay were as much attracted to Vancouver Island by commercial possibilities as they were driven out of the Columbia by undiminished fears of the rising tide of American settlement.

Douglas arrived from Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound in the brigantine *Cadboro* with a party of six men. He looked in at a number of potentially promising harbours on the southern coast of the island, making a careful survey as he went. Eventually he fixed upon the port of Camosack as the place best suited for a marine depot within the Straits of Juan de Fuca. "The site we intend to build on," he told Hargrave,

is well adapted to the purpose of settlement; it lies about half a mile off the main strait of De Fuca, in a snug sheltered cove from 5 to 10 fms deep, accessible at all

seasons to vessels, which may anchor within 50 feet of the bank on which the Fort will stand.

"As a harbour," he reported to his superior,

it is equally safe and accessible and an abundance of timber grows near it for home consumption and exportation. There being no fresh water stream of sufficient power, flour or saw mills may be erected on the canal of Camosack [Victoria Arm, so called], at a point where the channel is contracted to a breadth of 47 feet...

There, he said, tidal rushes would propel the most powerful machinery--something never developed, we should note.

Douglas was cautious about Camosack, and not overly praiseworthy. "In the several important points just stated," he continued,

the position of Camosack can claim no superiority over some other excellent harbours on the south coast of Vancouver Island, but the latter are, generally speaking, surrounded by rocks and forests, which it will require ages to level and adapt extensively for the purpose of agriculture, whereas at Camosack there is a range of plains nearly 6 miles square containing a great extent of valuable tillage and pasture land equally well adapted for the plough or for feeding stock. It was this advantage and distinguishing feature of Camosack, which no other part of the coast possesses, combined with the water privilege on the canal, which led me to chase [choose] a sight [site] for the establishment at that place, in preference to all others met with on the Island.

Douglas' recommendation was taken up by his superiors, who obviously liked his suggestion that agriculture was possible there, for the HBC subsidiary, The Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, busily employed in a sizeable seaborne trade in foodstuffs to Russian traders in Alaska, was also removing to Vancouver Island. Besides, as Douglas suggested, the place seemed to have enough water even in very dry seasons, and additional supplies could apparently be had nearby. This was always a problem in Victoria, and Douglas hit upon it at the outset with the mark of the true pioneer. Douglas was less certain as to where to place the fort. Again geography dictated his movements, and he

had to consider his bosses' wishes. He wrote to Sir George Simpson, the Governor of Rupert's Land, on March 10, 1843:

I am at a loss on what scale to build the new Establishment. I thought it was designed to serve as a general Depot for our Pacific trade, and to become a rendezvous for the shipping; but it seems I am mistaken, as the Doctor thinks that a quadrangle of 70 yards will answer every purpose of its erection. I am however of the opinion that it should be made much larger; as whatever may be our present views, I am confident that the place from its situation and accessibility, will eventually become a centre of operations, either to ourselves or to others who may be attracted thither, by the valuable timber and exhaustless fisheries of that inland sea.

His pocket diary recounts the decisions made during the first three days of building, beginning on March 15. Note the marine needs of the empire builders. In considering one site Douglas complained of the fact that vessels drawing fourteen feet could not come within 130 feet of the shore, thus requiring extensive use of lighters to ferry goods and persons back and forth from ship to shore. Alternatively, an extensive and expensive jetty would have to be built. As to the second site, the vessels could, as Douglas put it,

lie with their sides grazing the rocks, which form a natural wharf, whereupon cargo may be conveniently landed from the ships yard, and in that respect would be exceedingly advantageous but on the other hand, an intervening point intercepts the view so that the mouth of the port cannot be seen from it, an objection of much weight in the case of vessels entering and leaving Port...

Eventually the site was fixed upon, the second choice being preferred, again for merchant marine purposes. The site lay at the foot of Fort Street.

"In planning the Fort," Douglas recalled in November 1843 in a letter to Governor Simpson, "I had in view the probability of its being converted into a Depot for the coasting trade and consequently began on a respectable scale, as to size." He laid out a quadrangle of 330 by three hundred feet, containing in all eight buildings, surrounded by stockades eighteen feet high, a three-story bastion mounting cannon, and farm and implement buildings on the rear side

of the fort, adjacent to what were intended to be farms. By 1844 the fort had taken on a respectable state and gave an impression of permanence. It was first called Fort Albert, after the Prince Consort, but soon changed to Fort Victoria, the name of Victoria alone being decided upon in 1852, when the bastions had become anachronisms. The old fort was demolished in 1864, and a public auction was held. One of the lots where the old Fort House stood (at the spot where the prize heritage building owned by the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce now stands) fetched the highest price. The company let many of the old traders buy the prized lots, but took others off the market, thereby infuriating other legitimate bidders. The company always looked after its kind first and foremost, and even in that day Victoria was becoming a retirement haven for HBC traders who had braved Saskatchewan winters and lived long lonely years of exile in northern latitudes.

From a purely economic perspective we would like to know more about the comings and goings of vessels out of Victoria harbour. What were their tonnages, and what were their cargoes? They would have shipped farm produce to Sitka, Fraser River salmon in barrels to Honolulu, spars to San Francisco, coal (trans-shipped from Fort Rupert and later Fort Nanaimo) to many Pacific ports, and shingles and deals. At least until the mid-1860s, and perhaps later, furs were a prime export cargo, and the business in pelts was kept up until at least the turn of the century. After the discoveries on the tributaries of the Fraser in 1858 and in the Cariboo in 1862, gold exports, trans-shipped at Victoria from the "mainland," remained the prized commodity of seaborne traders, although few details of this commerce are known. As far as incoming cargoes are concerned, for many years foodstuffs had to be imported before the place became self-sufficient, wheat being the principal need. Another priority for the settlement was whiskey; as a servant of the company, Robert Melrose, remarked in a frank but whimsical observation of the drinking habits of the colonists, a steady stream of sailing ships carrying whiskey from San Francisco would have been required to satisfy the local demand in Victoria and on Vancouver Island. As we know, the first governor, Richard Blanshard, attempted to control the imports of spirituous liquors, and Douglas as governor tightened the regulations, believing that he could thereby halt the flow of liquor to the local Indians, whose future was thought to be imperilled by drink and other vices and conditions. Such restrictions never worked, and though a local brewing industry developed, distilleries failed to flourish; spirits continued to be imported, principally from Fort Townsend in Washington Territory. Tastes in fashion were also changing; in the 1860s ships from China were beginning to make occasional appearances, and HBC ships returning from Honolulu and San Francisco carried luxury goods. Tea and silks began to arrive in volume, as did

opium. Chinese immigrants came by sea as early as 1858 (though Captain John Meares had brought Chinese artificers from Macao in 1788 to work at Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound). In consequence of the undertaking by the Dominion of Canada to add British Columbia to the union in 1871, marine navigation received a decided boost, for railroad construction required great numbers of Chinese labourers, and the Chinese population of British Columbia increased steadily until the turn of the century, when head taxes began to arrest the numbers reaching Victoria and other ports. Not far from Ogden Point, at the entrance to Victoria harbour, the Dominion government built a large quarantine station to house Chinese immigrants preparatory to their admission to Canada, presuming all health requirements were met. I remember it looking very much the detention centre, and it had no savoury value as an heritage site, falling beneath the breakers' ball in the 1960s. I thought that sad, for a little heritage *had* been lost; still, we never seem to keep the buildings that tell the other side of our national story. Nor are we alone: I am told that when the French tore down the Bastille in the nineteenth century, they thought it lacking in merit, at least architecturally.

To return to imports. One vital thing that ships carried to Victoria was iron wares. The pillars of the shop fronts on Wharf Street are largely iron, the observant passerby will note, and all the machinery of the town--rails for trams, engines for steamsawing, machines for threshing, and, in time, rails and locomotive engines and rolling stock--had to be imported. All ship chandlery was imported at first, but small industries in fishing tackle, supplies and safety gear enjoyed some growth. Shipbuilding of all sorts depended upon wedding needed imports with available stocks of timber and local labour. Gradually a small marine establishment grew into a sizeable maritime base, even leaving aside the substantial growth of nearby Esquimalt harbour as a base and headquarters for British men-of-war in the Pacific. By the time that the Canadian Pacific *Empresses* began their regular services from Vancouver to Yokohama and beyond in the 1890s, Victoria had become a substantial port. Its wharves were beehives of industry in certain seasons, and its harbour was crowded with fishing (and after 1868, sealing) ships. Briton C. Busch's *War against the Seals* contains a splendid account of Victoria-based sealers and their troubles with the Americans; histories of local schooners in the sealing business, as told by Peter Murray in *The Vagabond Fleet*, add many details to this lively story. There was also a sizeable whaling industry in British Columbia waters, based largely out of Victoria, and Robert Webb's classic *On the Northwest* and W.A. Hagelund's wonderfully personal *Whalers No More* recount the profits and perils of that maritime activity in deep waters. Not least, Victoria was a square-rigger's port of call--at least its outer wharf

was, as Ursula Jupp described in the delightful *Home Port Victoria*. It may seem like a bit of nostalgia when I write that I saw the *Pamir* pick up a tow off Victoria in the late 1940s, a few years before her tragic end. That was indeed the end of the age of commercial sail, as was the last visit of the New Zealand Shipping Company's *Aorangi*, which came to Ogden Point wharf about a decade later, bringing to an end British Columbia's special link by sea with that sister dominion. As the years passed, the P&O ships all presented themselves in splendid procession--the *Oronsay*, the *Orsova*, the *Oriana*, the *Canberra*, and, of course, the "Love Boat."

They pass through my mind's eye as a sweet and distant memory now. But a change has come over the waters, and nowadays only a mock-up of the Bay traders' *Beaver* courses through the inner harbour on her tourist beat. On May 24, as if in solemn celebration of the Queen Empress' birthday, the Songees still race against their rivals in proud cedar canoes that Douglas and others admired a century and a half ago. But the native paddles seldom dip into the waters except on that day, and an aboriginal seaborne life, which merits a much longer telling than this brief discussion of the European shipping industry, has undergone a profound transformation.

The sources for the study of all this history are readily available, and they offer numerous subjects for many a good book, article or thesis. The Royal Navy on the north-west coast was a natural subject for me, but for the willing and industrious student there are many others, as important and as useful. But a word to the wise: the sources of much of British Columbia's marine history are not to be found in B.C. alone but in distant waters and in distant lands--in London and Ottawa; in Washington, San Francisco and Portland; in Macao and Bombay; in Auckland and Sydney; in Madrid and Leningrad. The sea is one, and its ports share an international character and an international history.

The "perfect Eden," as James Douglas called his beloved port of call, turned out to be just that for him, and he lies buried beneath a couple of trees at Ross Bay Cemetery, a short walk from where we are now meeting, with a simple, modest memorial stone to mark the grave. An obelisk and street name commemorate him on the shores of Camosack harbour; otherwise, he is largely forgotten. Thus it is with most history, and it falls to us historians to raise the dust on the past, to recreate it, and more important, to make sense of it for our colleagues and for a wider readership. Let us start with the local, but let us build it into the international and give it the greater credibility that it so richly deserves in the eyes of those who care about such things.

SOME SHIPS NAMED CANADA

By John E. Roué
Ottawa, Ontario

A project to identify ships bearing our country's name had its origin in my mind nearly three years ago. It all started with an article on the *Polar 8* icebreaker by CNRS member Captain Tom Pullen in the April/May 1987 issue of *Canadian Geographic*. In this article Tom argued that "the name she bears must be worthy of what she will be and what she will represent. So let it be *Canada*." He then noted that only one Canadian government-registered vessel had previously borne that name—a Marine and Fisheries cruiser built in 1904. While this statement is quite true, the government very nearly had a somewhat larger vessel which would have shared the name. This was in 1952 when the Canadian government approved the purchase of the Majestic Class Light Fleet aircraft carrier *HMS Powerful* as a replacement for *HMCS Magnificent*. Observing that the two largest ships in the RCN at that time were the cruisers *Ontario* and *Quebec*, the suggestion that the *Powerful* be renamed *Canada* did not seem too illogical. However, as Allan Snowie noted in his excellent book, *The Bonnie—HMCS Bonaventure*, "the thought of possible melancholy wartime headlines proclaiming 'Canada sunk' precluded such a christening." Instead, it was as *HMCS Bonaventure* that the *Powerful* became part of the RCN fleet when she was commissioned on January 17, 1957.

However, while the statement that the *Canada* of 1904 is the only Canadian government-registered ship to have borne the name is quite correct, there have been many *Canadas*—some built or registered in Canada, some of British or French origin, still others flying the Danish, German, Italian, Swedish, or Japanese flags. There have been passenger liners, freighters, sailing vessels, yachts, a convict transport, and even a prison hulk. Surely one of the most interesting was the Russian icebreaker *Kanada*, some seventy years before the *Polar 8* was conceived. She was constructed in 1909 as the Canadian government ship *Earl Grey* in honour of the then incumbent Governor-General. Built as an icebreaker, her main task was to keep open a channel in the Northumberland Strait between Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, a task which she performed so admirably that the demand for a tunnel under the Strait was effectively quelled. In 1914 she was sold for \$493,000 to Russia, and the Russian government promptly renamed her *Kanada*.

Coincidentally, in the same issue of *Canadian Geographic* which carried Tom Pullen's article, there was an illustration showing the paddlewheel steamer *Canada*. Built at Sorel in 1866, she was probably the largest Canadian ship of her

type to bear the name. Together with the other two *Canadas* already noted she is worthy of more detailed treatment, which will be given later.

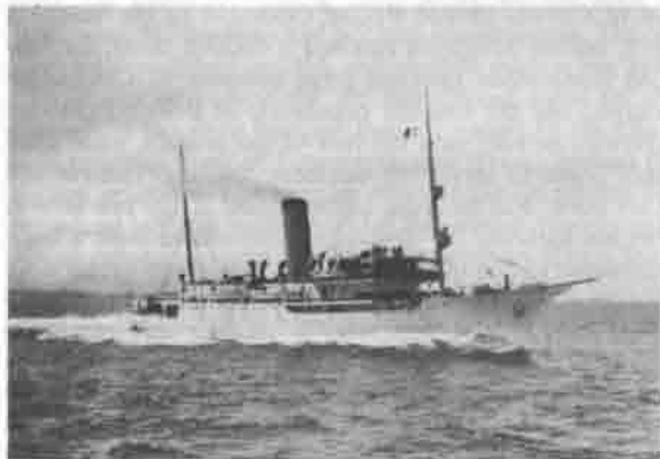


Figure 1: The *Earl Grey* on her trials on the Clyde in 1909.

Source: National Archives of Canada (NAC).

Having embarked on a search for as many *Canadas* as possible, the next decision was to limit the quest to that name alone without including "Canadian" either alone or as an adjective. Otherwise, *inter alia*, it would have been necessary to consider the sixty-six ships of the old Canadian Government Merchant Marine which had been built in the days immediately following the Great War. However, there is one exception to this exclusion and some ships with a compound name will be noted later with, it is hoped, a rational explanation for so doing.

I also hoped to be able to find ships which were famous, or at least well-known, in their own right—not merely because of the name they held. I did not want to end up with a mere listing of names, dates, owners, tonnages, etc. For example, *Lloyd's Registers* for 1914 and 1915 listed some half dozen or so vessels of under one thousand tons—of British, French and Canadian registry—which were all either trawlers or coasters, none of which managed to be enshrined in the annals of maritime history. As well, I excluded from consideration registrations from Spanish-speaking countries, since in these lands, the word "Canada" does not, of course, have the same national significance as in English-speaking countries.

In a brief review such as this, the question also arises of how to group specific ships—by type (warship, sailing ship, liner, freighter); by geographic area (North Atlantic, Great Lakes, coastal); by nationality (Canadian, British, French);

or even chronologically? What I have done is to present a rather eclectic mix of all the above with, it is hoped, a certain degree of coherence.

Having already identified three specific *Canadas* I will begin by briefly expanding on their careers. The *Canada* which, as Tom Pullen noted, was the only Canadian government vessel to bear that name, was built by Vickers at Barrow-in-Furness in 1904 as a fisheries protection cruiser for the Department of Marine and Fisheries. Of 557 tons (displacement) and 411 tons (gross register), she was 206 feet overall, had a twenty-five foot beam and a draft of thirteen feet. Her two triple-expansion engines gave her a respectable speed of twenty-two knots. As Tom Appleton writes in *Usque ad Mare*, she was "a remarkable little ship, similar to a fast sloop of the period." In the same volume, she is described as a "twin screw armed 3rd Class cruiser." This is a bit of an exaggeration, as in the Royal Navy of that day the designation "3rd Class cruiser" encompassed ships with as much as three to four times *Canada's* displacement, and with much heavier armament than her two twelve-pounders and two three-pounders. However, her speed was certainly equal to, or better than, many in that class.

Be that as it may, she was indeed a handy little ship. Prior to the advent of Canada's navy in 1910, she exercised with the ships of the Royal Navy's American and West Indies Squadron. In fact, from 1905 on, she served as a training ship and provided professional sea training for cadets, many of whom provided the nucleus of the officer corps for the Royal Canadian Navy when it came into being on May 4, 1910. The names of Beard, Bate, Brodeur, German and Nelles were included in her complement--two of whom reached Flag rank, with one, Percy Nelles, becoming the first Canadian-trained Chief of the Naval Service. By 1915 she was part of the navy, being commissioned as *HMCS Canada* on January 25 of that year. She served during the rest of the war on east coast patrol duties; in 1919 she reverted to her original status as the *CGS Canada*. Sold "for commercial purposes" in 1924, she was lost off Miami in 1926 (See Macpherson and Burgess, *Ships of Canada's Naval Forces, 1910-1981*).

The *Earl Grey*, which was to become the Russian *Kanada*, was built by Vickers at Barrow-in-Furness in 1909. Designed as a combination icebreaker and passenger ship, she measured 279 feet overall, had a beam of forty-seven feet, six inches and a mean loaded draft of eighteen feet. With a loaded displacement of 3300 tons, her two triple-expansion engines gave her a speed of eighteen knots while developing more than 7500 horsepower. In addition to her icebreaking duties she was also intended to serve as a vice-regal yacht, and was named for the nobleman who served

as Canada's Governor-General from 1904 to 1911. With a crew of seventy, she also had accommodation for fifty-two first class passengers and twenty second class, as well as a Vice-Regal suite consisting of a large sleeping cabin, day cabin, three state-rooms, saloon and entrance hall. As the 1910 *Annual Report* of the Department of Marine and Fisheries stated, she was "fitted up in a superior manner as a passenger and freight boat, the accommodation for first class passengers being superior to the best passenger boats in the British Isles."



Figure 2: Dominion Government Cruiser *Canada* off Shelburne, N.S. prior to 1914.

Source: NAC.

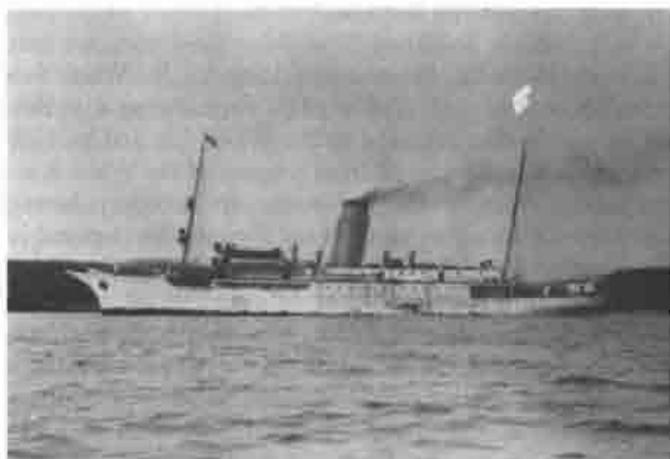


Figure 3: *Earl Grey* off Port Burwell, N.W.T.

Source: NAC.

Without going into a myriad of details it is possible to summarize briefly the method by which the *Earl Grey* was formally transferred to Russia. On September 4, 1914 the Secretary of State for the Colonies requested the Governor-General to "inform your ministers that the Government of Russia are desirous of purchasing [an] ice-breaker to use this autumn at Archangel," noting that "His Majesty's Government hopes that your Ministers may be able to accede to this request." On October 7 Sir Joseph Pope, the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, informed the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries that a cheque for \$493,000 (£100,000) had been handed to the Deputy Minister of Finance. The CGS *Earl Grey*, which had been commissioned in the Royal Canadian Navy as *HMCS Earl Grey* on October 3, sailed from Halifax on October 7 under the command of Cdr. C.W. Trousdale, RN, with a naval crew, arriving at Archangel on October 22. On October 29 she was transferred to the Russian government and renamed *Kanada*. As for her new name--by a letter (dated October 26) to Sir Edward Grey, the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Count Benckendorff, the Russian Ambassador in London, indicated that "the Minister of Commerce and Navigation has christened this ice-breaker the *Kanada* in recognition of the service rendered Russia by Canada at this historic moment, when communication by sea between Russia and Western Europe can only be made from Archangel."

The subsequent career of the former *Earl Grey* under three names and two governments--Imperial Russia and finally the USSR--has been well-documented by William Barr of the University of Saskatchewan [*Newfoundland Quarterly*, LXXIII, Nos. 2 and 3 (1977)] and by Harry Bruce in *Life-line*, so I will merely give a very brief outline of her more than forty years in the Russian Arctic.

Still as the *Kanada*, she was operating in the White Sea under RN control in the fall of 1918, when she went to Britain for a refit. She returned to the White Sea and by 1920 her allegiance had switched from support of the White Russian cause to that of the Bolsheviks. In February--having been armed with a pair of three-inch guns--she engaged in a running battle with the icebreaker *Kozma Minin*, which was carrying a number of White officers and officials. The two ships became separated in a snow storm, but later met and re-commenced the action. It finally ended when, with one of her guns damaged, the *Kanada* was forced to abandon pursuit.

On May 15, 1920 *Kanada* was renamed the *III International*, a name which she only bore for a year, since in June, 1921 she received her fourth, and final name, *Fedor Litke*, in honour of a nineteenth century Russian Arctic explorer.

It was as the *Fedor Litke* that, in 1955, she reached eighty-three degrees eleven minutes north latitude--only four hundred miles from the North Pole. Broken-up in 1959, her wheelhouse and radio room were installed in the Maritime Museum in Moscow. She had been breaking ice for fifty years.

The third *Canada* previously noted was built at Sorel in 1866 for the St. Lawrence Steam Navigation Company. Of 1800 tons and 248 feet overall, she was a sidewheeler powered by a single-cylinder vertical beam engine. In 1886 she became part of the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Co. fleet when that company took over the assets of her original owners. On June 12, 1904 she was sunk in a collision with the Black Diamond collier *Cape Breton* near Sorel. Rebuilt at Sorel, she was enlarged, ending up with a tonnage of 2100 and an overall length of 268 feet. But her days as the *Canada* were over, since coincident with her rebuilding, she was renamed *St. Irenée*. In 1913 Canada Steamship Lines took over the R&O but left the *St. Irenée* with her name until 1920, when she became the *Cape St. Francis*. She was laid-up in 1921, having spent most of her long life running between Montréal, Québec and the Saguenay River ports.

In his description of this *Canada* in *Stemwheelers and Sidewheelers*, Dr. Peter Charlebois notes that "fourteen boats were registered in Canada under the country's name," but he gives no further details. However, he does include a note on the subject of ship registration in Canada in which he states that "in the early 1800s in Canada, there were few official registries for ships: thus, information can only be obtained from old insurance company records, or records that may have been kept at large harbours." He goes on to claim that "most of the records we find today pertain only to the lower St. Lawrence River area. Very few harbour or port records remain between the Great Lakes and Montréal." In an article which first appeared in *ARGONAUTA* (1, No. 1; later reprinted in *FreshWater*, Summer 1988), John M. Mills, author of *Canadian Coastal and Inland Steam Vessels, 1809-1930*, expands on this situation.

To find what would appear to be the first ship named *Canada*, it is necessary to go back to the days of New France during the reign of King Louis XV. Encouraged by the success of a shipbuilding programme which, due to the initiative of the Intendant (Gilles Hocquart) had produced some twenty merchant ships, the King decreed that the yard established by Hocquart on the St. Charles River at Québec should undertake the task of building warships. During the period 1739-1759, fifteen vessels, ranging from a small sloop to a seventy-two gun ship--the equivalent of a British "third-rate" of the time--were successfully constructed under the direction of René-Nicholas Levasseur. Levasseur, who

arrived in Québec in 1738 at the age of thirty-three, had already designed and built the forty-gun *Aquilon*, which had been launched at Toulon. The first ship of the Québec programme was the *Canada*, which has been described as either a *corvette* or a *flûte*. The last was the *Québec*, a thirty-gun frigate: laid down in 1756, she had not yet been launched when Québec fell to Wolfe in 1759.

The *Canada* was laid down on September 22, 1739, launched on June 4, 1742, and sailed for Rochefort in August of that year under the command of the Sieur de Beauvais with a crew of men from St. Malo. Built to plans drawn in France, she was of five hundred tons, 119 feet in length and carried forty guns. As a *flûte* she was designed to carry either troops or cargo, being in effect a naval transport. In the French terminology of the time she was "un navire mixte." She appears to be the first recorded ship named *Canada*. Details of the Hocquart/Levasseur programme are contained in *La construction navale royale à Québec 1739-1759* by Jacques Mathieu, published by La Société Québec Historique in 1971.

In 1897 Narcisse Rosa, a prominent nineteenth century Québec shipbuilder, published a list of wooden vessels built in the Québec area from 1797 to 1896 (*La construction des navires à Québec et ses environs*). Included in this list were eight *Canadas*. The first was a 260-ton ship from the yard of John Blackwood in 1797. Carrying three square-rigged masts on an eighty-six foot hull she was certainly not large, even by the standards of her day. The last *Canada* on Rosa's list was a 129-foot barque of 384 tons built by P.V. Valin in 1866. Between the end of the French régime and the beginning of the period covered by Rosa, there are records of two other early *Canadas*--a sixty-five ton schooner from 1763 and an eighty-eight ton sloop of 1796--both registered at Québec.

Nearly 150 years after the first *Canada*, what was probably the largest sailing ship to bear the name was launched at Kingsport, N.S. in 1891. This was the two thousand ton, three-skysail yarder *Canada* from the yard of C.R. Burgess. She was 257 feet overall and could carry 3600 tons of cargo. Rated A-1 for fourteen years at Lloyd's, she was one of the last big "down-easters." By 1922 she had been reduced to a barge carrying plaster rock from Minas Basin to New York and was broken up at Portland, Maine in 1926. She is one of the four *Canadas* listed in Frederick William Wallace's *Record of Canadian Shipping*. Published in 1929, this was a list of square-rigged vessels of over five hundred tons built "...in the Eastern Provinces of British North America" from 1786 to 1920. The others--all ship-rigged--were built by Hypolite Dubord of Québec in 1849 (916 tons); by Jean Gingras, also of Québec, in 1860 (718 tons); and by

William Smith of Saint John, N.B. in 1841 (808 tons). The two Québec-built vessels are also included in the Rosa list, the *Canada* of 1849 being the largest of the name.



Figure 4: Ship *Canada*, 2137 tons, built at Kingsport, N.S., in 1891.

Source: NAC.

In a slight non-sequitur as far as Canadian-built ships are concerned, *Lloyd's Register* for 1864 lists only two *Canadas*: a 415 ton barque built at Sunderland in 1849, and a barque of 253 tons built at Maryport, on the Solway Firth, in 1838. In 1899, a two-volume *History of the Great Lakes* was published in Chicago by J.H. Bean & Co. Reprinted by Freshwater Press of Cleveland in 1972, it contains a seventeen page list of lake vessels, past and present. In acknowledging the difficulties inherent in compiling a *complete* listing it goes on to claim that "the list is by far the most complete that has ever been published." Including American as well as Canadian-built vessels, there are thirteen *Canadas* noted, although none seems to have achieved any particular distinction.

However, by far the most complete record of Canadian-registered shipping is held in the Government Archives Division (GAD) of the National Archives. To aid researchers there is an index of approximately seventy thousand cards arranged alphabetically by the name of ship, containing "several elements of basic ships' information. These records cover the years 1787-1966 although the GAD does not have custody of all the shipping registers...relevant to both pre- and post-confederation ships." As a secondary feature there is a card index numbering approximately sixteen thousand ship losses. This index is arranged alphabetically and chronologically by name of ship lost (or wrecked) and year. (This most comprehensive source is

described in detail by Richard Brown and Glenn Wright in their article, "In Search of Shipwrecks," *FreshWater*, IV [1989]).

A check of the main index showed fifty-three cards bearing the name *Canada*. This, however, does not necessarily mean that there were fifty-three ships of that name, as a card exists for every registration "record entry" in the collection, which includes multiple entries if vessels were registered *de novo*. So far there has not been time to check the various private and unofficial lists, including those noted above, against the National Archives master card index although, as a long term policy, this is a definite "must."

In Manning and Walker's *British Warship Names* the first *Canada* on the list is a third-rate ship-of-the-line built in 1765; further details on her are contained in Volume 1 of Brian Lavery's *The Ship of the Line*. Designed by Bately in 1759, and launched at Woolwich Dockyard in 1765, she was a seventy-four gun "two-decker" and, at 170 feet on the gun deck, was not only the first but also the largest British "74" built to a native design. While she gave her name to a class, her three sisterships did not follow until 1781-82. Like many warships of her time she ended her days as a prison ship from 1810 until she was sold for breaking-up in 1834. The *Canada's* time as a prison hulk was served at Chatham, first to accommodate prisoners of war and latterly as a hospital ship. One of her early "guests" was a French officer named Colonel Lebertre who arrived on board at Chatham in 1811 to find there was no space available for him. He was forced to pay 120 francs to a fellow captive who "was more anxious for money than for his comparative comfort." In 1812 six Americans seized a ration boat alongside *Canada* while she was at Chatham. While it is not specifically noted, it is presumed that they were from her "complement" of prisoners of war at that time. By 1829 she had become a hospital ship serving the civil prison hulks--still at Chatham--as some 380 convicts, rescued from the scuttled hulk *Dolphin*, were "taken from the vessel and were marched along the beach by the military to a place about a quarter of a mile distant from the ship and contiguous to the hospital ship *Canada*." *Canada's* service after her RN days were over is noted in *The English Prison Hulks* by W. Branch-Johnson, from which the above extracts have been taken.

The next *Canada* noted in *British Warship Names* was built in 1881. She was a *Comus* Class corvette of composite construction displacing 2380 tons on a 225 foot hull. Built at Portsmouth Dockyard, she was ship-rigged with her 2350 ihp steam engine giving her a maximum speed of thirteen knots. She and her eight sisterships were soon to be rendered obsolete by new construction authorized by the National Defence Act of 1888, and she went to the breakers

in 1897. However, her main claim as part of Canada's naval history was that on September 20, 1889, she was the first ship to enter the Halifax Graving Dock, which had that day been officially opened by Vice-Admiral G.W. Watson, Commander-in-Chief, North America and West Indies. The dock, by the way, was a private venture which, according to Marilyn Gurney Smith in *The King's Yard*, was leased to the Royal Navy for the next twenty years for \$10,000. During her time on this station, the *Canada* lost two of her complement, who were buried in the RN Cemetery in Bermuda, which is now cared for by the Bermuda National Trust.



Figure 5: HMS *Canada* entering the Halifax Graving Dock, 1889.

Source: NAC.

During the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the First World War, a certain amount of political friction erupted between the South American republics of Argentina, Brazil and Chile. In order to gain naval ascendancy over her neighbours, Chile ordered two battleships from Britain in 1911. Built by Armstrong, the *Almirante Latorre* and *Almirante Cochrane*, of twenty-six thousand tons and mounting ten fourteen-inch guns, were certainly larger and more powerful than the recently acquired ships of her rivals.

The *Almirante Latorre* was launched in November 1913 and thus was afloat and well-advanced at the outbreak of war in August 1914. Conway's *All the World's Fighting Ships 1916-1921* states that "as Chile was a friendly neutral and supplier of nitrate vital to the munitions industry there could be no question of seizure." Thus on September 9, 1914, the *Almirante Latorre* was formally purchased and became *HMS Canada*. There is no reason noted why the name was chosen, nor is there any evidence of whether the Canadian gov-

ernment was consulted. In any case, at thirty-two thousand tons loaded displacement and with her thirty-seven thousand shaft horsepower split among four turbines—which gave her a speed of nearly twenty-three knots—the *Canada* was undoubtedly the largest ship to have borne the name.

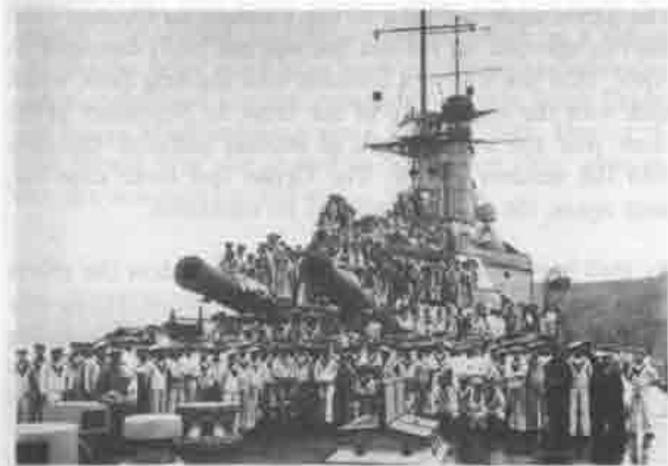


Figure 6: Crew of HMS Canada during World War I.

Source: NAC.

Completed in September 1915, she joined the Grand Fleet and was inspected by Admiral Sir John Jellicoe on October 16 of that year. In 1916 she fought at Jutland, which was the only occasion on which her guns were fired in anger. In 1918 she was present at the surrender of the German High Seas Fleet and, on November 25th, taking station ahead of SMS *Friedrich Der Grosse*, the German flagship, she led the German ships to anchor east of the "Barrel of Butter" in Scapa Flow. The only incident to mar her moment of glory was the loss of her aircraft on take-off from the "platform" on X turret.

In 1919 *Canada* went to Constantinople to clear the way for HMS *Iron Duke*, which was bearing the British members of the Anglo-Turkish Armistice Peace Commission. After a brief stop in Greece, where she was visited by the King of the Hellenes, she went on to Mudros where, on June 30, 1919, she celebrated the signing of the Versailles Peace Treaty. Finally, back in Devonport Dockyard, she was placed in the Reserve Fleet and, on July 1, 1920, was sold back to Chile. There is no indication that the date was anything but a coincidence.

In Chile, once again as the *Almirante Latorre*, she became the flagship of the Chilean fleet. In 1957, still with her original engines and ten fourteen-inch guns, she was decommissioned and sold as scrap to Mitsubishi of Japan. For the

eleven thousand mile tow (the longest and largest Pacific deep-sea tow ever attempted) which took ninety-one days, her tug was the Costa Rican-registered *Cambrian Salvor*, which had been built in the U.S. to a British Admiralty design and, at the time, was on charter to the B.C.-owned Canadian Island Tug and Barge Company.

According to an article by J.W. Duckworth in *Ships Monthly* [October 1986], from which much of the above has been taken, she was "reduced to scrap, leaving a few items for inclusion in the Japanese pre-dreadnought battleship *Mikasa* which was preserved as a memorial to Admiral Togo." The *Mikasa*, which was Togo's flagship at Tsushima in 1905, had been dedicated as a national memorial at Yokosuka by the then Prince Hirohito and Admiral Tojo in 1926. Restored in 1960, it is still preserved.

There was another *HMS Canada*, although as she was never launched—let alone commissioned—it could be argued that she never really existed as a ship. She was one of two "1st-rates" laid down at Kingston after the famous *St. Lawrence* was launched in 1814. Originally designated as HM *Ships No. 1* and *2*, they were to be named *Wolfe* and *Canada*, names that are noted on a "Draught and Profile" drawing prepared by the Kingston Naval Yard dated May 1815, the original of which is in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich. These three-deckers were of 2152 tons (builder's measurement), measured 191 feet over the main deck, and were designed to carry 112 guns—thirty-six thirty-two pounders and seventy-six twenty-four pounders.

Canada and *Wolfe* were part of Commodore Sir James Yeo's plan to achieve British dominance on Lake Ontario. By the time the War of 1812 ended, however, and with the acceptance of the Rush-Bagot Agreement in 1817, the need for such great ships had disappeared—if, indeed, it had ever existed. According to Gordon Donaldson in his article, "When Kingston Built World's Mightiest Ships" [*Canadian Geographic* (Oct./Nov. 1983)], both ships were broken-up in 1832, their unfinished hulls still on the stocks. This Kingston-built *Canada* is not listed in *British Warship Names*, possibly because she was not commissioned, but does appear in J.J. Colledge's *Ships of the Royal Navy—An Historical Index*, so her existence has not gone unrecorded.

Colledge also lists *Canada II*, a 231-ton trawler hired as a boom defence vessel by the RN during the First World War. Another source, *British Warships 1914-1919* by Dittmar and Colledge, states she was named *Canada* when taken over by the RN in 1916, subsequently being renamed *Canada II* in February 1917. Possibly this was to avoid confusion with the battleship *Canada*. She would appear to have been the smallest warship to bear the name while her

contemporary namesake, as previously noted, was undoubtedly the largest.

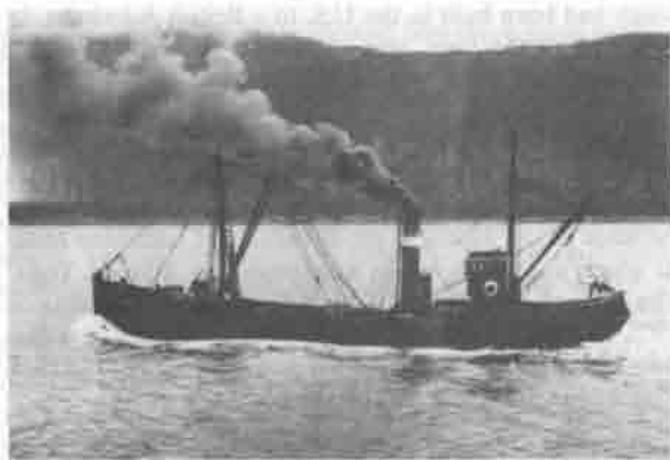


Figure 7: HMS *Canada*: Boom Defence Vessel, c. 1916.

Source: NAC.

It is difficult to think of the North Atlantic passenger service without the name of that eminent Halifaxian, Samuel Cunard, coming immediately to mind. Sure enough, there was a Cunarder named *Canada*. She was one of four wooden paddlewheelers launched on the Clyde in 1847-48. They were three-masted, barque-rigged vessels of about 1825 tons and 251 feet between perpendiculars, with accommodation for 140 passengers and capacity for 450 tons of cargo. They had been built so that Cunard could fulfil his trans-Atlantic contract with the Admiralty. Signed in June 1847, this, his second contract, called for a weekly service for which Cunard would receive £156,000 per year. The weekly service was for eight months of the year, with the frequency for the other four months reduced to fortnightly sailings.

The *Canada* was less than a year on the Atlantic when she made a record passage from Halifax to Liverpool. In July 1849 she made this trip of 2534 nautical miles in eight days, twelve hours and forty-four minutes, at an average speed of a bit over twelve knots, thus becoming the holder of the "Blue Riband of the Atlantic" for that particular run. She apparently also held the record for a westbound passage from Liverpool to New York as, in *The Blue Riband of the Atlantic* by Tom Hughes, it is noted that in 1850 the Collins Line *Atlantic* on her maiden westbound crossing from Liverpool to New York made the run in ten days and sixteen hours, "beating by 12 hours the record previously held by the Cunarder *Canada*--and all America rejoiced."

Canada's other claim to fame was that in 1859 she made the first Cunard crossing from Liverpool to New York via Queenstown. This is hardly the stuff of which legends are made but it did earn her a place in the records of "firsts" for the north Atlantic.

The 1850s were not kind to the *Canada*. In October 1850 she ran aground off Halifax but was not badly damaged. In April, 1854 she was in a collision with the brig *Belle*, which sank with the loss of two of her crew. In November of the same year she was involved in another collision--this time with the steamer *Ocean*. The *Ocean* lost three men but, once again, the *Canada* suffered no casualties.

By 1867 her wooden hull was beginning to show the effects of nearly twenty years on the north Atlantic so, in this year of Confederation, she was sold. Converted to a sailing vessel and renamed *Mississippi*, she served in the Indian Ocean, where in 1876 she struck a rock off Mauritius and was condemned. After repairs she was sold to native ship-owners and ended her days in 1883 when she was finally broken-up.

The first French steamship company to enter north Atlantic passenger service was the "Compagnie Generale des Paquebots Transatlantique," which began service with the paddle-steamer *Union* from Cherbourg on June 27, 1847. The *Union* was one of four wooden paddle frigates launched by the French Navy during the period 1842-43 which had been put at the disposal of the company by the French government. The *Union* had been launched in 1842 as the *Canada* and had been employed as a transport between France and Algeria.

The company's life on the north Atlantic was short, as the frigates--which had been converted to carry eighty-five first and up to two hundred second and third class passengers--were quite unsuitable for their role. On January 7, 1848, the *New York Daily Tribune* commented that "after the repeated disappointments of the public by these steamers it is not to be supposed that any person in England will patronise this line in any shape." All four vessels were returned to the French Navy in 1848 and the *Union* reverted to her original name of *Canada*. She was laid-up in 1869, struck off strength in 1871, and scrapped at Toulon in 1878.

Another French *Canada* on the north Atlantic flew the house-flag of the Compagnie Generale Transatlantique (French Line). She was a four thousand ton vessel built in 1866 as the iron paddle steamer *Panama*. In 1876 she was rebuilt and re-engined on the Tyne as a single-screw barque-rigged vessel. At the same time she was renamed *Canada*. She was one of several CGT "paddlers" which were

converted to single-screw at the time, another being the *Nouveau Monde*, which became the *Labrador*. The *Canada* was scrapped at St. Nazaire in 1908.

In 1911 a 9700-ton liner was launched for the Fabre Line of Marseilles. Laid down as the *Santa Lucia*, she was launched as the *Canada*. She could accommodate 120 first class passengers, 196 second, and 1850 third--although in a ship of this size the latter must have been no better than steerage--and was destined for the company's service from French and Italian Mediterranean ports to New York. During the First World War she served as a hospital ship; after the war, she resumed her old run.



Figure 8: Fabre Line's SS *Canada*.

Source: Author's Collection.

In 1920 the Fabre Line leased a pier in Providence, Rhode Island to offer better facilities for the large number of Fabre passengers for Canada carried by the *Canada* and her running mates. By 1930 she was re-assigned to the Marseilles-West Africa service, but with the advent of World War Two she was once again converted to a hospital ship, reverting to her West African run in 1947. She was sold to be scrapped at Newport, Wales in 1952.

And now back to the British registry: in 1864 the National Steam Navigation Company Limited (National Line) started a Liverpool-New York service with three iron screw steamers acquired from different sources. One of these was the 2800-ton *Carolina*, which her new owners promptly renamed *Pennsylvania*. In 1866, the *Pennsylvania* made a "trooping" voyage between Liverpool, Malta, Québec and Liverpool, but what troops were involved is unknown. However, in 1872 she was taken in hand for re-engining and lengthening, emerging with a gross tonnage of 4300, an additional

seventy feet in length, and a new name--*Canada*. She ran with no great distinction for twenty years and went to the breakers in 1894.

In 1870 the Liverpool and Mississippi Steamship Company was formed to provide a service between Liverpool and New Orleans to take advantage of the great increase in trade between Europe and the southern states which had developed after the end of the American Civil War. By 1872, it had become the Dominion Steamship Co. Ltd. and had inaugurated a Canadian service to Québec and Montréal. Through the above--and other--name changes the company was popularly known as the "Dominion Line," and eventually joined with White Star to form the White Star-Dominion Line Joint Service in 1909.



Figure 9: SS *Canada* of the Dominion Line off Québec.

Source: NAC.

In 1896, the nine thousand ton *Canada* was launched for the Dominion Line from Harland & Wolff's Belfast yard. With accommodation for two hundred first, two hundred second, and eight hundred third class passengers, she was described as "by far the largest and most elaborately appointed steamer in the Canadian trade." She was also the first twin-screw liner on the Canadian service. She left Liverpool on her maiden voyage on October 1, 1896, and on her second voyage made a record passage of six days, eleven hours and forty minutes from Liverpool to Rimouski, for an average speed of sixteen knots. Later that year Boston was added to her North American ports of call. From 1899 to 1902 she was used as a troop transport for the Boer War and made thirteen roundtrips from the U.K. to South Africa. In 1903 she resumed her regular north Atlantic run until October 1914 when she became one of the troopships carrying the Canadian Expeditionary Force

to Britain. For a short time thereafter she served as an accommodation ship for German prisoners of war in the U.K., and from 1915 to 1918 was on Admiralty charter as a transport. From 1918 to 1926 she was again on the Canada-U.S. run until her last voyage from Liverpool to Québec and Montréal in August of that latter year--after which she was sold for scrap. She had served well for thirty years, including time in two wars, and was probably the best-known ship to bear the name *Canada* on the Atlantic.

In 1913 the Unione Austriaca--whose official and much longer name translated to the "Austrian Shipping Union"--based in Trieste (it had been founded by the Italian Cosulich Brothers) acquired two 11,500-ton vessels from the German Hamburg Amerika Line (HAPAG). These liners, which had been built by Blohm and Voss in Hamburg, were the *Batavia* and *Bulgaria*; since they could accommodate two hundred second class and twenty-four hundred third class passengers they were ideally suited for their proposed use: to provide a service from Trieste to the New World for the ever-increasing number of emigrants from Austria and Hungary who would otherwise have gone via the north German ports. The ships were renamed *Polonia* and *Canada*, respectively.

As a result of previous dealings with Austrian State Railways involving the manufacture of Austrian observation cars to Canadian Pacific Railway specifications, CP was able to come to an agreement with Unione Austriaca to operate an alternate service from Trieste to Québec and Montréal. As the Austrian government was concerned that unlimited emigration would result in a marked decline in men of military age, CP argued that this agreement, which funnelled passengers through Trieste, would effectively enable the government to keep tabs on the number of emigrants. In a move analogous to that made by Unione Austriaca, CP renamed the two ships it assigned to the route; thus the *Lake Champlain* and the *Lake Erie* became the *Ruthenia* and the *Tyrolia*.

There was strong opposition from the German steamship lines to this agreement, as they stood to lose a considerable amount of business. They mounted a campaign against the CPR in the Austrian press, accusing it of "enticing" half a million Austrians of military age from their motherland. And they even went to the extreme of starting up new papers to propagate the theme that Canadian Pacific was trying "to capture and enslave Austrian peasants!" The result was an action in the Austrian High Court which alleged that the CPR had played a major part in the emigration of 600,000 Austrians. The CPR office in Vienna was closed and the staff taken into custody, but later released. The matter was still under litigation when the First World War

broke out. In George Musk's *Canadian Pacific* this affair is noted as "the Austrian Adventure."

While all this was transpiring, the *Ruthenia* and *Tyrolia* each made six return voyages from Trieste to Québec, Montréal and Saint John, N.B. before the service was terminated in the winter of 1914 after less than a year of operation. The Unione Austriaca also withdrew its service in 1913 after each of its ships had made only two voyages. Reverting to HAPAG ownership, the *Canada* once again became the *Bulgaria*.

Having started this brief summary of ships named *Canada* on the north Atlantic with the Cunard Line, it only seems fitting to close it by a reference to the famous Allan Line with all its Canadian connections. Although there never was a steamship named *Canada* in the Allan fleet, there were three "*Canadians*"--the first one to bear the name being the Clyde-built *Canadian* of 1854, which was also the first steamer of the line.

There was, however, a *Canada* which preceded the *Canadian*--this was a 329-ton wooden ship which was the first full-rigged vessel owned by Alexander Allan. Built by Steele of Greenock, she made her maiden voyage in 1831, arriving at Montréal on May 4. Her master was Captain Alexander Allan and one of her passengers was his son, Hugh (later to become Sir Hugh Allan), who was returning to his adopted country. According to Tom Appleton in *Ravenscrag*--his definitive book on the Allan Line--the *Canada*, as well as sailing the north Atlantic, was also employed in the Québec-West Indies trade as "opportunities offered." No reference to her ultimate fate has been found.

So far it would appear that the greatest number of *Canadas* have sailed on the Atlantic, the St. Lawrence, or the Great Lakes. However, there was a *Canada* on the Pacific as early as 1801. This was a 403-ton, "two decker" ship built at Shields on Tyneside, in 1800. Owned by F & T Hurry, she was registered at London. On what is believed to have been her maiden voyage, she carried convicts to the colony of New South Wales. For the next few years, however, she appears to have been taken off this run, returning to it in 1810, by which time her owners were Reeve & Company. Prior to 1819 she made four more voyages as a convict ship, her total of five giving her the record for this service.

According to Charles Bateson in *The Convict Ships*, "she was a popular ship, if any convict ship can be said to have been popular, and being well managed and run she had an enviable health record." On her five voyages she carried over six hundred convicts--three passages with males and two with women--of whom only five died on passage.

In 1815 she brought to New South Wales the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba. She had sailed from Cork on December 5, 1814, and after stops at Tenerife, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Capetown arrived at Port Jackson 243 days later. While still three weeks sail from port she spoke to a merchantman--the *Hebe*--which passed the news that the *Canada* brought to the colony on August 5, six days ahead of *Hebe's* arrival. The *Canada's* last voyage as a convict ship was in 1819. She departed London on April 23 and, with only one stop--at Rio--arrived on September 1 for a passage of 131 days.

In the London-published *New Register-Book of Shipping* (the "Red" book) for 1802 there are, in addition to the Shields-built convict transport, three other *Canadas* listed. All of these were ship-rigged, including a 336-ton vessel built at Québec in 1797. This may have been the one from the yard of John Blackwood which appeared in Narcisse Rosa's list, although the tonnage is different and she was registered at Bristol. There was also a *Canada* of 211 tons at Chester in 1789 and another of 299 tons from a Whitby yard.

Jumping ahead more than a century, there was a somewhat larger *Canada* on the Pacific by 1935. This was an eleven thousand ton Danish motorship owned by the East Asiatic Company of Copenhagen. She followed two semi-sisterships (the *Amerika* and the *Europa*) which had been completed a few years earlier. She was an eighteen knot, single-screw, twin-funnelled vessel with a typical clean-looking Scandinavian motorship outboard profile, with accommodation for fifty-five passengers in one class. Unfortunately, all three of these modern vessels were war losses: the *Canada* was the first to go, striking a mine off Spurn Head at the mouth of the Humber on November 3, 1939, and sinking the following day.

At the risk of departing from a geographic sequence this might be an appropriate time to return to a national basis and briefly mention another Scandinavian country--Sweden. There have been at least two Swedish-registered *Canadas*: one, a twin-screw, three-masted motor vessel of some 5200 tons built at Gothenburg in 1921; the other, the Stockholm-registered *Canada* of 1953 noted in the "place names" section of a book titled *Ship Names*, published for the Mariners Museum of Newport News, Virginia, in 1974. Written by Don Kennedy, this definitive work is sub-titled *Origins and Usages during 45 Centuries*.

Mention of *Ship Names* gives me the opportunity both to revert to the Pacific and also to rationalize the exception to the use of compound names which I noted earlier. There have been, for example, two Japanese ships which bore the

name *Canada*--with the customary Japanese suffix of "maru." The first was one of three six thousand ton twin-screw passenger/cargo liners built by the Mitsubishi Dockyard Company at Nagasaki in 1910-11. She and her two sisters, the *Mexico Maru* and the *Panama Maru* ran between Japan and Tacoma for their owners, the Osaka Shosen Kaisha (Osaka Mercantile Steamship Co.). The *Canada Maru* is noted specifically in Donald MacKay's book, *The Asian Dream*, as one of the ships involved in the great expansion of trade between Canada and the Orient in the early years of the century. It would appear, however, that this route did not live up to the owners' expectations, as by 1920 all three ships had been transferred to the OSK South American service. The *Canada Maru* was scrapped in 1935.

The second *Canada Maru* was built as the *Fort Bell* by the Burrard Dry Dock Company at North Vancouver. She was one of the many "North Sands" type of "Victory" ships built to a British design in Canadian yards during the Second World War. Of ten thousand tons deadweight (7100 grt), she was completed in 1943. By 1950 she was the *North Cambria*, and in the following year became the *Canada Maru*. Remaining with Japanese owners, she was renamed the *Tenyo Maru* in 1965 and later the same year the *Asahi Maru*.

According to Kennedy in *Ship Names*, the word *maru* has many meanings in Japanese and its use has broadened considerably through the years to include its application to ships. Its first known use with a ship was probably the warship *Nippon Maru* in 1591, but by the middle of the nineteenth century its naval use seems to have ceased. Since the 1960s even its application to merchant ship names seems to have declined, possibly due in part to the increasing use of foreign registry for Japanese ships, as well as the trend toward the gradual westernization of Japan. In view of the particular status of *maru* in connection with Japanese ship names, however, I do not feel that the reference to the two *Canada Marus* violates the decision to exclude compound names from consideration.

This survey has been only a summary--many vessels which have borne the name of *Canada* have gone unmentioned. As previously noted, a comparison between the registration records of the Government Archives Division of the NAC and other available sources would undoubtedly provide information on many more Canadian-built *Canadas*--although how many of these achieved any degree of fame in their own right is problematic. However, it would be an interesting exercise.

One class of vessel mentioned in the opening paragraphs, but not included in the survey, was yachts. This exclusion

In 1815 she brought to New South Wales the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba. She had sailed from Cork on December 5, 1814, and after stops at Tenerife, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Capetown arrived at Port Jackson 243 days later. While still three weeks sail from port she spoke to a merchantman--the *Hebe*--which passed the news that the *Canada* brought to the colony on August 5, six days ahead of *Hebe*'s arrival. The *Canada*'s last voyage as a convict ship was in 1819. She departed London on April 23 and, with only one stop--at Rio--arrived on September 1 for a passage of 131 days.

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was for no other reason than lack of time to pursue this avenue in any detail. Once again, a future study is indicated which would, of course, lead up to Canada's America's Cup challengers of the 1980s.

To conclude, we can return to the *Polar 8*--since she has fallen victim to recent Federal budget cuts, the choice of her name, unfortunately, becomes an academic issue. However, if the project had survived I feel that Tom Pullen's recommendation (which instigated this review) had a great deal of merit. If nothing else, it would have brought attention to that period from the first *Canada* of 1742 to the largest *Canada* of the 1990s, covering some 250 years of Canadian shipbuilding--a rather fascinating thought!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In addition to the sources referred to in the text, the following have provided much valuable information: Frederick Emmons, *The Atlantic Liners 1925-70*; Emmons, *Pacific Liners 1927-72*; Conway's *All the World's Fighting Ships 1860-1905*; Arnold Kludas, *Great Passenger Ships of the World, Vols. 1-6*; Alice Jean Lunn, "Economic Development in New France 1713-1760" (Unpublished PhD thesis, McGill University, 1942); Tom Hartman, *The Guinness Book of Ships and Shipping Facts and Feats*; George Gale, *Historic Tales of Old Québec*; N.R.P. Bonsor, *North Atlantic Seaway, Vols. 1-5*; W.H. Mitchell and L.A. Sawyer, *The Oceans, the Forts and the Parks (Wartime Standard Ships, Vol. 2)*; *The Ship, Vols. 1-10* (published for the National Maritime Museum by HMSO, London). I am also indebted to the facilities and staffs of the National Archives of Canada, the National Library, and the Transport Canada Library--all in Ottawa--and the Marine Museum of the Great Lakes at Kingston.

THE BIG ONE: SANTISIMA TRINIDAD

By W.P. Avery
Bethel Island, California

From the *tesserakonter* of Ptolemy IV to today's giant American aircraft carriers, many vessels have been touted as the biggest and most powerful warships in the world. In the twentieth century, the accolade has gone to *Dreadnought*, *Hood*, *Bismarck* and *Yamato* among others. During the age of fighting sail, the title undoubtedly was held by the Spanish *Santisima Trinidad*, the only four-decker ship-of-the-line and the most heavily armed vessel of her period.

She very much looked the role. A British midshipman at Trafalgar described how her "four distinct lines of red, with white ribbons between them, made her seem a superb man-

of-war, which indeed she was. Her appearance was imposing; her head splendidly ornamented with a colossal group of figures, painted white, representing the Holy Trinity, from which she took her name." [1]

Her four decks and colourful paint job made her a highly visible and well-defined target throughout her career. Engaging her in combat, or even the possibility of such a magnificent vessel striking to a particular ship, was an honour that would ensure fame for her opponent. It is easy to understand why so many who fought *Santisima Trinidad* referred to her in logs and reminiscences. [2]

Santisima Trinidad began life as a three-decker, laid down in 1766 at Havana as the first of a series of first-rates that were to be the backbone of the Spanish navy during the wars of the French Revolution and Empire. During the next twenty years, six more were laid down at Havana (although one was never completed) and five were built at Ferrol, the last completed in 1791.

Although by the late eighteenth century nearly all navies were building ships in classes, few were as successful as the Spanish and no class was as nearly homogeneous. The dimensions of the near-sisters varied only slightly, with a difference of three to four feet in overall length and two to three feet in length of keel. Their tonnages ranged from a high of 2163 for *Santisima Trinidad* to a low of 2108 for *Principe de Asturias*. The greatest difference was in armament, *Santisima Trinidad* being rated at 120 guns and the others at 112 guns. All eleven were available for service when Spain declared war on Britain in 1796. [3]

Spanish ship design of this period was rated highly by both friend and foe. Nelson praised Spanish first-rates and used one of them, the *San Josef*, a prize from St. Vincent, as his flagship in 1801. Lord Collingwood referred to *Santa Ana* as "that Spanish perfection," and Villeneuve, commander of the allied fleet at Trafalgar, called his allies' ships "strong and beautiful."

In the case of *Santisima Trinidad*, that strength was powerfully augmented shortly before the war. During her first twenty-five years she carried an armament of thirty thirty-six pounders; thirty-two twenty-four pounders; thirty-two eighteen pounders; and twenty-six eight pounders. Modifications, which amounted to considerable reconstruction, raised her total of guns--depending upon which authority is believed--to 136, 140 or even 144. This was accomplished by flooring over the waist between forecabin and quarterdeck to create a new battery deck. She thus gained her distinction as the only four-decker and largest ship-of-the-line in service. [4]

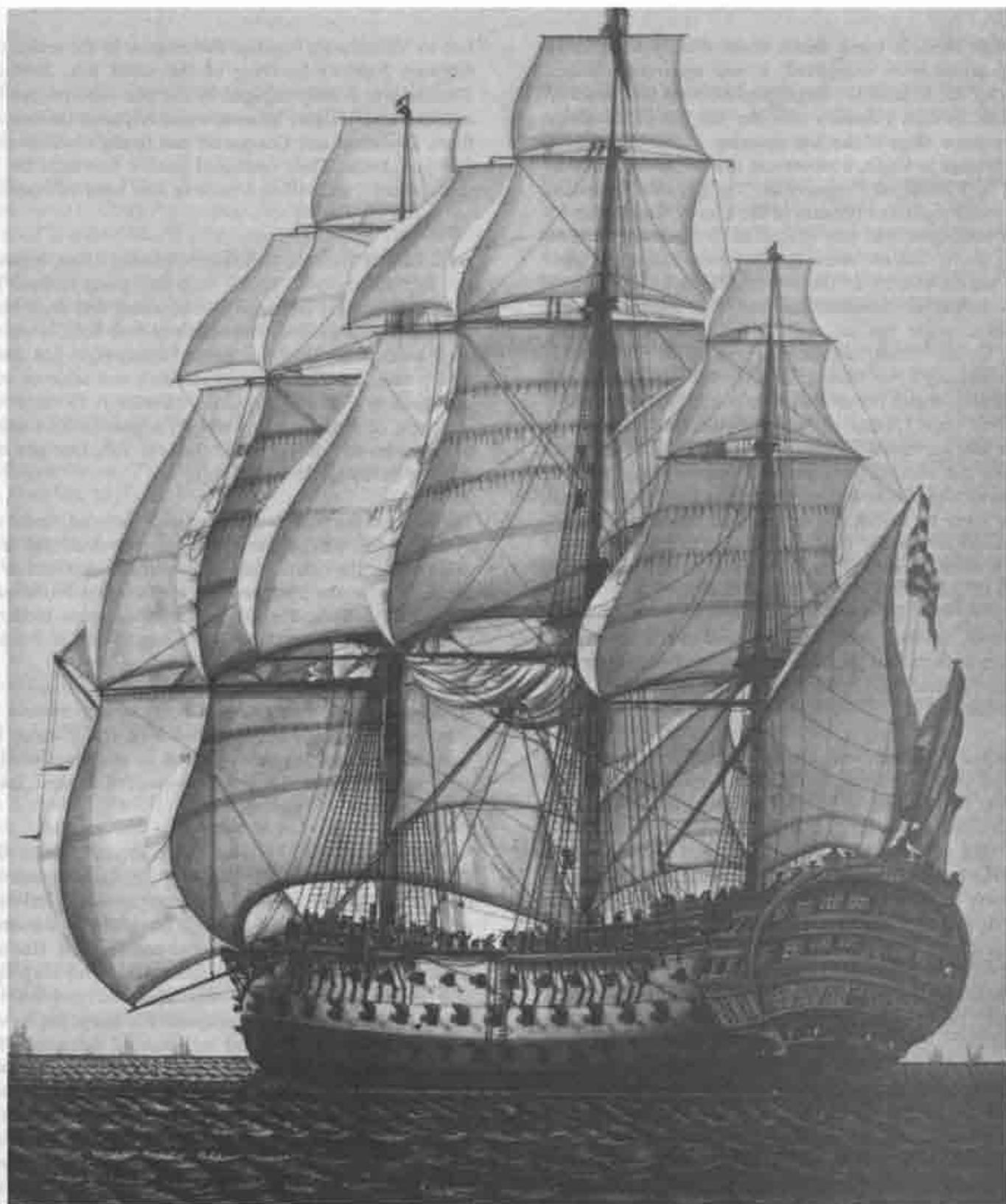


Figure 1: *Santísima Trinidad*

Source: John D. Harbron, "The Spanish Ship of the Line," *Scientific American*, CCLI, No. 6 (1984), 117.

Although there is some doubt about exactly when these modifications were completed, it was apparently in late 1796 that she became the flagship of Admiral Don Josef de Cordova. In early February 1797 she was one of Cordova's twenty-seven ships-of-the-line covering a convoy of *urcas* from Malaga to Cadiz, a movement that led to the Battle of Cape St. Vincent on February 14. The Spanish battleships were partly separated because of the convoy, and Cordova's larger contingent had only seventeen in company when he fought Jervis' fifteen. Actually, the close action was confined almost entirely to the five leading Spanish ships, of which *Santisima Trinidad* was one. Her four decks and huge size made her an easily identifiable and tempting target for the British, and she was engaged in succession or simultaneously by no fewer than seven enemies--the ninety-gun *Blenheim* and the seventy-four-gun *Captain*, *Culloden*, *Excellent*, *Orion*, *Irresistible* and *Egmont*. Her damage was severe and her casualties high, but unlike three of her compatriots she escaped capture and beat her way back to Algeciras. She was towed part way by a frigate, but it was forced away by British frigates, and she continued on her own under jury masts. That she was able to make port after such a severe mauling testifies to her durability and her crew's diligence.[5]

Moreover, she had given almost as well as she had received. Five of the seven ships she had engaged bore most of the damage sustained by the British fleet as well as most of the casualties.

Nevertheless, it had been a near thing. Two British ships believed that *Santisima Trinidad* had struck her colours. Admiral de Cordova, in a letter to Admiral Don Juan de Langara that appeared in the *Madrid Gazette* of 10 March 1797, told of summoning his officers and receiving from them the unanimous opinion that *Santisima Trinidad* could not carry on the action any longer. This decision, made after six hours of incessant engagement, would have led to her surrender "had not," according to de Cordova, "two ships, formerly detached rejoined along with others and the van, which till that moment had made no movement, began to tack; being seen by the enemy, they commenced a retreat." [6]

Santisima Trinidad was repaired at Cadiz. Her hull was apparently intact, but the upper works were heavily damaged and further modifications may have been made to her fourth deck. It is unlikely that she was operational during the preliminary moves before the massing of the allied fleets at Cadiz that led to the Battle of Trafalgar.

On that fateful day, *Santisima Trinidad*, as the flagship of Rear Admiral Hidalgo de Cisneros, was stationed next in

line to Villeneuve's flagship, *Bucentaure*. In the melee that followed Nelson's breaking of the allied line, *Santisima Trinidad* was heavily engaged by the one hundred-gun *Victory*; the ninety-eight *Temeraire* and *Neptune*; the seventy-fours, *Leviathan* and *Conqueror*; and finally the little sixty-four-gun *Africa*. Their combined gunfire dismantled the big vessel entirely and inflicted three to four hundred casualties on a crew of 1050.[7]

As *Santisima Trinidad* wallowed helplessly, *Africa*, believing she had surrendered, sent a boarding party to her. The Spaniards politely informed the boarders that their belief was untrue and escorted them back to their boat. It was not until much later that the British ninety-eight-gun *Prince* took possession. The capture apparently was achieved without gunfire, for by this time *Santisima Trinidad* was incapable of resistance; her officers appear to have waited to surrender to a larger vessel than the sixty-four-gun *Africa*, thus satisfying their honour.[8]

For the next thirty-six hours *Santisima Trinidad*, under tow by her captor, was buffeted by the strong winds that arose shortly after the battle. *Prince* lost the tow on October 22, regained it on the 23rd, only to lose it again in the early hours of the 24th. The winds becoming more moderate later that morning the tow was resumed, but at 9 a.m. a signal was made to destroy the prizes.

At noon *Neptune* and *Ajax* sent boats to help remove the crew from the captive giant, *Prince* receiving about five hundred surviving Spaniards as well as many wounded. A scuttling party from *Prince* then proceeded to send *Santisima Trinidad* to the bottom.

So ended the career of this very resilient and effective ship. Offensively, she had performed well; defensively, she had been almost indestructible, her thick sides of tropical hardwood to counter shot and her high freeboard to discourage boarders having proved an effective combination. Her only defect may have been her gunners' inability to keep up a rate of fire comparable to the British--a problem that afflicted the Spanish navy throughout the war years. As with most ships however, she had her share of detractors. Several Spanish historians have stated she was a heavy sailer and Admiral Don Jose de Mazarredo was reported to have recommended that she be used for harbour defense at Cadiz rather than sent to sea.

Nevertheless, from her resting place on the ocean floor she has welcomed the company of *Hood*, *Bismarck* and *Yamato*, perhaps with a nod of condescension appropriate only from one who was in her own day "the big one."

Notes

1. Midshipman [William Stanhope] Badcock of H.M.S. *Nep-tune*, quoted in Geoffrey Bennett, *Battle of Trafalgar* (Annapolis, 1977), 160.
2. Oliver Warner, "The Character of Collingwood," United States Naval Institute *Proceedings*, XCV (June 1969), 63-71. On p. 68 is a particularly revealing quote about the Battle of St. Vincent (14 February 1797) from Collingwood: "We fought our way through their line until we got up to the *Santisima Trinidad* of 130 guns....I had an envious longing for the *S.T.* which is the largest ship in the world, a four decker, and at one time had no doubt of her."
3. William P. Avery, "Imposing Array: Fact or Fiction?" *Mariner's Mirror*, LXX (February 1984), 31-44.
4. William James, *The Naval History of Great Britain* (6 vols., London, 1837), II, 45.
5. Christopher Lloyd, *St. Vincent & Camperdown* (London, 1963). See also T.S. Jackson (ed.), *Great Sea Fights* (London, 1981), I.
6. Lloyd, *St. Vincent & Camperdown*, 83.
7. Jackson (ed.) *Great Sea Fights*, II.

**CNRS ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
REPORT**

The Canadian Nautical Research Society held its annual general meeting and conference at the Maritime Museum of British Columbia in Victoria, B.C., 30 May 1990. The following section of *ARGONAUTA* contains complete details for members unable to attend. It includes minutes, a financial statement, and news on the Matthews Awards.

*MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
HELD AT THE MARITIME MUSEUM OF BRITISH
COLUMBIA, VICTORIA, B.C., 30 MAY 1990*

Present: Barry M. Gough, President; Eric W. Sager, Councillor; W.A.B. Douglas, Secretary; Allan Cabot, Frank Culbard, Keith Cameron, William Glover, Michael Hadley, Olaf Janzen, Jack Kendrick, Eric Lawson, Dorothy Lawson, John Macfarlane, Ken Mackenzie, Marc Milner, Ben Sivertz, R.E. Wells, B.R. Wilson, C.C. Wilson, Garth Wilson, Hill Wilson.

The meeting came to order at 1400 and the agenda was approved.

1. President's Report.

Barry Gough expressed satisfaction with the state of the society after three years as President, and brought forward five other points.

First, he advanced the proposal of the Canadian Maritime Museum Curators' Group to affiliate with CNRS. This group, comprising curators from all parts of the country under the chairmanship of Niels Jannasch, would in effect become the Museums Committee of the society. The President welcomed this very encouraging development.

Second, he explained his decision to roll back the dues increase in 1990. When it became clear that our journal, the *Northern Mariner*, would not appear in 1991, he thought in all conscience that members should not pay for services they would not receive. The Secretary had accordingly mailed out a revised billing of \$15 rather than \$25 a year to the membership.

Third, he emphasized the lean budget upon which the society operates. He and others on the executive had to rely largely on their own bank accounts and institutional travel grants to cover the cost of travel to society functions.

Fourth, volunteers are vital. Their services and their ideas are of great value. He thanked members for their contributions over the years, and he invited members to bring forward new ideas.

Finally, he thanked the executive, with special mention of the Treasurer, Ed Reed, who though unable to attend the annual meeting kept the society's books in such good order.

2. Secretary and Treasurer's Report.

In the absence of the Treasurer, the Secretary combined these two reports. Paid-up membership was about 240 and holding, or perhaps increasing a little. Some libraries in the U.S. had joined in order to receive the bibliography, which shows the value of that publication. The Library of Congress has invited us to donate a copy of the bibliography under its exchange and gift programme. The Secretary recommended that we do this as a matter of "casting bread upon the waters."

The financial statement (printed at the end of these minutes) was read. The Treasurer has noted the expected impact of the GST on our future operations. Since our revenues are under \$30,000, we would not be obliged to register, but only by registering can we claim a rebate on GST charged by others.

In accordance with the Treasurer's request, moved by Eric Sager, seconded by Ben Sivertz, that the Treasurer be authorised to transfer the proceeds of the 1989 annual conference and the chapter development fund to the Keith Matthews Award fund. Approved.

The Treasurer conveyed his appreciation for the help of Jane Samson, who had served as Secretary in 1989, before her departure for doctoral studies in England, and to David Flemming, for the financial contribution of proceeds from the 1989 conference to the society.

3. Report of the Newsletter, Bibliography and Journal Editors.

Lewis Fischer could not be present because of a conflicting engagement, so Olaf Janzen reported on his behalf.

ARGONAUTA was now appearing more or less on time, thanks to the availability, finally, of adequate office space. The editors would like to update the Research Directory, better called on "interest" directory, since we know that many members do not themselves engage in research.

The *Northern Mariner*, for which Memorial University had approved in principle the necessary financial support, still had no actual funding. About \$25,000 was needed for the first year to purchase equipment and to get the project started, and about \$13,000 annually would be necessary for ongoing maintenance. University administrators who had supported the concept were mostly on the verge of retiring or moving to other positions, and we could not therefore rely on financial support from the university.

Lewis Fischer had proposed a solution. Basically, ARGONAUTA would cease production and be incorporated into the new journal, which would adopt a format similar to the Australian maritime history journal, *The Great Circle*. This would simplify editing, because it would have a single rather than a double column layout. It would reduce costs because Memorial was already assisting with the publication of the scholarly *International Journal of Maritime History*, and our journal would be able to benefit from standardisation with that publication.

The proposal stimulated vigorous discussion. The consensus was that ARGONAUTA's highly successful features must be retained and that the journal must not become too "academic." Dorothy Lawson observed that the name *Northern Mariner* suggested the far north rather than Canadian content. Why not call it *Canadian Mariner*? Barry Gough, who sympathised strongly with the editor's need for simplifying procedures, pointed out that we must ultimately consider what was best for the society, not the editor. Bill Glover

asked whether we had not been through this debate before, and whether we had not left it without making a decision each time. The Secretary reported that in 1989 the annual meeting had arrived at a decision, but that we had not been able to implement it. Garth Wilson asked if Lewis Fischer would say "no" to editing a journal in the present format of ARGONAUTA, but Olaf Janzen stated that he could not speak for his colleague.

Moved by Eric Sager, seconded by Ken Mackenzie, that the recommendation for a journal be referred to the Executive for decision, and for a progress report at the next Annual General meeting. Approved.

4. Report of the Nominations Committee.

In presenting the report, Eric Sager observed that the position of First Vice-President was being left open for the time being. There having been no other nominations from the membership, he moved, seconded by Ken Mackenzie, acceptance of the following slate:

Past President:	Barry M. Gough, Waterloo
President:	W.A.B. Douglas, Ottawa
Second Vice-President:	Eric W. Sager, Victoria
Councillors:	Eileen R. Marcil, Charlesbourg M. Stephen Salmon, Ottawa Thomas Beasley, Vancouver Garth S. Wilson, Ottawa
Secretary:	Lewis R. Fischer, St. John's
Treasurer:	G. Edward Reed, Ottawa

Approved.

Alec Douglas thanked the nominating committee of Eric Sager, Lewis Fischer and Stephen Salmon for their work, and announced that he would fill the vacancy by appointment under by-law 26, until the next general meeting of the society.

He also thanked Barry Gough for the outstanding service he had performed for the society. There was no question that he left the CNRS in better condition than he found it.

Eric Sager moved, seconded by Michael Hadley, that Barry Gough be thanked for his services as President of the society. Approved with enthusiasm.

5. New Business.

Alec Douglas announced that next year's annual meeting will be held in Ottawa. Garth Wilson, Stephen Salmon, Ed Reed and Bill Glover will form the programme committee.

6. *Adjournment.*

Moved by Marc Milner, seconded by Keith Cameron, that the meeting be adjourned. Approved at 3 PM.

*CNRS STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS
FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1990*

REVENUE

Membership Fees (including some prior year fees)	\$4523
Conference 1989/90 (Net, after expenses of \$1161)	904
Interest	160
Exchange	27
Canadian Maritime Bibliography	15
	\$5629

EXPENDITURES

<i>ARGONAUTA</i>	\$1734
<i>Canadian Maritime Bibliography</i>	712
Administrative Expenses	341
Audit	100
Bank Charges	56

\$2943

Excess of Revenue over Expenditures for the year \$2686

1989 KEITH MATTHEWS AWARDS

The 1989 Keith Matthews Awards, presented for the best book and best article in Canadian maritime history (or in non-Canadian history if written by a Canadian) have been awarded to Brian Loring Villa and Marc Milner. The awards were announced by committee member Olaf Janzen during the CNRS meetings in Victoria in late May.

Brian Villa was honoured for his book *Unauthorised Action: Mountbatten and the Dieppe Raid*, published by Oxford University Press. Honourable mention in the book category went to Eric W. Sager for *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914*, published by McGill-Queen's University Press. In the article category, Marc Milner received the Matthews Award for his essay "The Implications of Technological Backwardness: The Royal Canadian Navy 1939-1945", which appeared in the *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, IX, No. 3 (Winter 1989). Honourable mention went to Garth S. Wilson for "The Great Lakes Historical Ships Research Project: An Innovative Approach

to the Documentation and Analysis of Historic Hull Design", *International Journal of Maritime History*, I, No. 2 (December 1989).

The 1989 Awards Committee was comprised of Lewis R. Fischer (Chair), Olaf U. Janzen and M. Stephen Salmon.

ARGONAUTA NEWS

1989 JOHN LYMAN AWARDS

At the recent meetings of the North American Society for Oceanic History held at the Mariner's Museum in Newport News, Virginia, the Awards Committee, under the chairmanship of Professor Briton C. Busch, announced the winners of this year's John Lyman Book Awards in North American maritime history.

In the category "American Maritime History," the Lyman Award went to William N. Peterson for his book *"Mystic Built: Ships and Shipbuilding of the Mystic River, Connecticut, 1784-1919"* published by Mystic Seaport Museum. In the category "North American Memoirs, Autobiographies, and Biographies" the prize went to John C. Dann (ed.), *The Nagle Journal: A Diary of the Life of Jacob Nagle, Sailor, from the Year 1775 to 1841* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson). In "Canadian Maritime History," the Lyman Award went to Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914* (McGill-Queen's University Press). There was a tie in the category "Marine Science and Technology" between Edwin L. Dunbaugh and William duBarry Thomas, *William H. Webb, Shipbuilder* (Webb Institute of Naval Architecture) and Spencer Tucker, *Arming the Fleet: U.S. Navy Ordnance in the Muzzle-Loading Era* (Naval Institute Press). Honourable mention in this category went to Paul Ditzel, *Fireboats: A Complete History of the Development of Fireboats in America* (Fire Buff House). Finally, the K. Jack Bauer Special Award was presented to James C. Bradford for, among others, *Command under Sail, Captains of the Old Steam Navy*, and *Admirals of the New Steel Navy* (all published by the Naval Institute Press).

MAHONE BAY WOODEN BOAT FESTIVAL

Mahone Bay, N.S. will play host this summer to the only wooden boat festival along the eastern seaboard. The festival, which will run from 1-5 August, will feature a number of events and displays, including examples of fine classic vessels anchored along the waterfront. There will also be an exhibit on local boatbuilding at the Settlers' Museum and Cultural Centre and scale models of boats and boat yards. Further information on the festival may be obtained from C.J. Feeny, Chairman, Mahone Bay Wooden Boat Festival,

Box 609, Mahone Bay, N.S. B0J 2E0 (telephone: [902] 624-8133).

VICTORIA CLASSIC BOAT FESTIVAL

If you love classic wooden vessels, the place to be this September is Victoria, British Columbia. Between September 1 and 4, more than 150 traditionally-built vessels will be in Victoria's Inner Harbour for the Twelfth Annual Classic Boat Festival. These meticulously maintained heritage craft range from small steamboats through large tug boats and sail training vessels. To qualify for participation, all vessels must have been built—or in the case of replicas, designed—before 1955. The weekend includes sailpasts, chanty sing-alongs, races and a variety of other activities. If you are going to be in Victoria, this is something that you do not want to miss.

LAKE LOG CHIPS

Harbour House Publishers, which also publishes *Seaway Review*, has purchased the eighteen year old Great Lakes newsletter, *Lake Log Chips*. The newsletter is published twice each month and includes a wide variety of news and information about Lakes shipping. Subscriptions are available for US\$ 25 per year. Inquiries about subscriptions may be made to Mitchell Cortright, Executive Vice-President, Harbour House, 221 Water Street, Boyne City, Michigan 49712, U.S.A.

SNIDER AND CUTHBERTSON PROJECTS

CNRS member Bryan Kerman has passed along news about two projects with which he is associated involving the Canadian maritime authors, C.H.J. Snider and G.A. Cuthbertson. Both are being conducted under the aegis of the Marine Heritage Society of Ontario.

The first project, which is being supported by Ontario's Ministry of Culture, is designed to index the approximately 1300 newspaper articles published in the old Toronto *Telegram* between 1930 and 1955 by Snider under the by-line "Schooner Days." These were enormously popular in their day and did much to engender a pride in Ontario's maritime legacy, as well as to document the memories of people for whom the sight of sailing ships on the Great Lakes was still a personal experience. At present, the material has no detailed index and exists as relatively inaccessible archival material. A team of Torontonians, led by CNRS member Don Withrow, has been organizing volunteers to assist with the indexing. References to topics such as people, places and ships will be entered onto a computer to generate a detailed index. Plans are underway to attempt to publish

both the indices and the articles themselves.

The second project in which Bryan has an interest is to republish several books written by Snider and Cuthbertson. He hopes to be able to republish the former's *In the Wake of the 1812er's* and *Tarry Brecks and Velvet Garters* and Cuthbertson's *Freshwater*. The procedure is to scan the text onto a computer, pass it through a word processor and desk-top publishing package, incorporate some colourful historical pictures, and then have the results printed. The first two are currently on the computer and Bryan will begin entering *Freshwater* shortly.

We will try to provide readers with updated reports on these exciting endeavours as they proceed.

INSTITUTE FOR GREAT LAKES RESEARCH RECEIVES NEH GRANT

The Institute for Great Lakes Research, a Division of Libraries and Learning Resources at Bowling Green State University and an institutional member of CNRS, has recently been awarded a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to assist it in processing and making available to scholars, students, and the public significant manuscript and archival collections documenting various aspects of Great Lakes maritime history. Total project costs exceed \$103,000, with over \$50,000 of that amount coming from the NEH. The grant will allow the Institute to hire additional staff for a period of one year to process manuscript and archival materials. Paul Yon, Director of the Center for Archival Collections at Bowling Green, is the Project Director. Bob Graham, Institute Archivist, is the Assistant Project Director. For additional information, readers should contact Bob Graham at the Institute for Great Lakes Research, Bowling Green State University, 12764 Levis Parkway, Perrysburg, Ohio 43551.

BARQUE FROM CANADA IN MELBOURNE WATERS

CNRS member Mark Howard sends us news from Melbourne, Australia, about efforts to preserve the wreck of the 350-ton barque *William Salthouse*. Melbourne's oldest shipwreck, the Liverpool-built *William Salthouse* was lost on 27 November 1841 while on a voyage from Québec with a general cargo valued at £12,000. Attempting to enter the harbour in heavy seas, the barque grounded on the reefs at Point Nepean. After about an hour's work, the master managed to get her off the reefs but was forced to run her aground on a nearby beach in order to prevent her from sinking. A few days later she was refloated, but in trying to move her to a safe berth, the craft sank in three and one-half fathoms of water. She has been there ever since.

What makes the efforts to preserve her of such interest is that the Queensland Archaeological Survey is using some innovative techniques to create what will be in effect a submerged museum. They are laying specially-designed plastic seagrass mats around the vessel's base. These will help to buffer the ship from the tides and will gather sand around the base to stabilize her.

The *William Salthouse* was on the first trading voyage from Canada to Australia when she was lost.

LOG OF LOGS AVAILABLE

After twenty years of compilation, one of our Australian colleagues, Ian Nicolson, has completed an exhaustive catalogue of logs, journals, shipboard diaries and all other forms of voyage narratives relating to Australia, New Zealand and the surrounding oceans and seas, 1788-1988. Ian is publishing this in association with the Australian Association for Maritime History and the Roebuck Society. The log runs 640 pages, covers six thousand ship names in alphabetical order and has references to sixty thousand voyage narratives. There is also a separate index to authors of private journals and diaries. The volume contains 105 illustrations, from shipboard diaries, journals and private collections, many of which have not been reproduced before. The first edition will primarily be softback, but a few hardbound volumes have also been printed. The cost is AU\$ 40 for the former and AU\$ 50 for the latter. Postage to Canada (or the United States) will cost an additional AU\$ 12. The book may be ordered from several sources, but for *ARGONAUTA* readers it will probably be easiest to purchase it from the Roebuck Society, 42 Araba Street, Aranda, A.C.T. 2614. This mammoth work will be of great interest to ship-lovers, maritime historians and genealogists and is certain to become an indispensable reference book for librarians, museum staff and researchers in many fields.

COLUMNS

MARITIME PROVINCES STEAM PASSENGER VESSELS

By Robin H. Wyllie
East LaHave, N.S.

S.S. Chedabucto [1]

Specifications

Official Number: 127785
Builder: Dundee Shipbuilding Company,
Dundee, Scotland

Date Built: 1910
Gross Tonnage: 509
Overall Length: 145 feet
Breadth: 24.5 feet
Draught: 9.1 feet
Engine Builder: J. Abernethy, Aberdeen, Scotland
Engine Description: Steam, 2 cylinder, 18" - 40", developing 69 N.H.P. at 130 lb. pressure

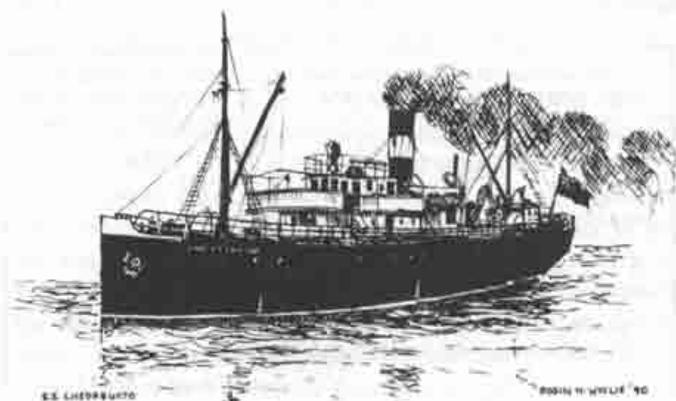


Figure 1: *S.S. Chedabucto* (Drawing by Author)

History

It was only in recent years that half-decent roads made the Eastern Shore of mainland Nova Scotia readily accessible. Until 1963, the area was served by coastal vessels operating under contract to the Canadian Maritime Commission. The *S.S. Chedabucto* was one of them. She was built as the *Fogota* in 1910 for John Chalker Crosbie's Newfoundland coastal service and like her sister, the *Saguna*, was constructed to withstand heavy ice conditions. She was sold to Greek owners during the First World War and renamed *Ellinis*.

In August 1921 the Halifax and Canso Steamship Co. lost its steamer *Scotia*, which burned to the waterhead at Drum Head. Service was maintained with chartered vessels until January 1922, when the company was able to acquire the *Ellinis* in London, possibly on some form of long-term lease, as indicated by the fact that her port of registry remained Liverpool. Her name was again changed, this time to *Chedabucto*, and she began her long eighteen year association with the Eastern Shore route.

The vessel was admirably suited to the run, having accommodation for forty first class and thirty third class passengers, in addition to a generous cargo capacity. She left Halifax on Wednesday nights, calling at as many as twelve inter-

mediate ports along the way, and departed Canso on the following Monday morning. Apart from the time taken up by annual refit, she never missed a trip and never had an accident. There can be little doubt that this unblemished record was due mainly to the skill of her almost legendary skipper, Captain Paul Cooper, R.N.R., and his knowledge of Eastern Shore waters. It was said that he was able to navigate on the darkest nights and in the thickest fogs, identifying the various reefs and shoals by the sound of the breakers.

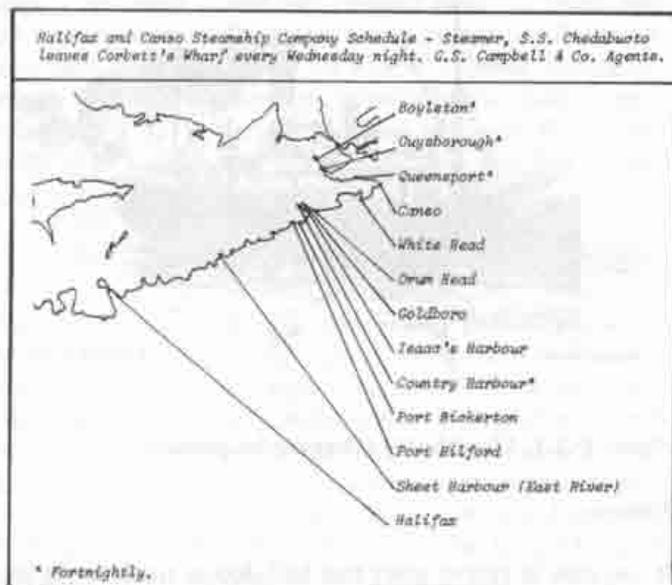


Figure 2: S.S. Chedabucto Schedule.

With the coming of World War II, it was but a matter of time before the submarine menace, among other considerations, forced the withdrawal of most of our coastal services. The *Chedabucto* made her last run on March 30, 1940, two years after Captain Cooper retired at age sixty-five. The ship was sold to Cuban owners and was subsequently converted to an ocean-going salvage tug. She remained on the registry until 1955.

Notes

[1] I would like to thank Graham McBride of the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic for help in filling in some last minute details.

Sources

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Halifax Herald, 16 March 1930.

Mills, John M. *Canadian Coastal and Inland Steam Passenger Vessels, 1809-1930*. Providence, R.I., 1979.

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AROUND THE MARITIME JOURNALS

AMERICAN NEPTUNE

(L, NO. 2, SPRING 1990)

Mark Roman Schultz, "Acting Master Samuel B. Gregory: The Trials of an Unexperienced Captain on the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron"

Robert G. Hancock, Jr., "Pestilence from the Sea and American Maritime Quarantine Policy"

Howard C. Westwood, "Reform in the United States Navy: The 'Plucking' of Officers in the Latter 1850s"

Randall R. Reeves and Edward Mitchell, "Right Whales, Not Humpbacks, Taken in Cintra Bay"

Tom H. Inkster, "Orkney Disasters Changed the Course of History"

Victor A. Lewinson, "Duhamel du Monceau: Savant and Naval Architect"

GREAT CIRCLE

(XII, NO. 1, 1990)

Rhys Richards, "Indigenous Beachcombers: The Case of Tapeooe, A Tahitian Traveller from 1798 to 1812"

P.T. Oppenheim, "The Paper Fleet or the Ships That Never Were. Part Two: 1870 to 1900"

Vaughan Evans, "Classification of Nineteenth Century Naval Vessels and Captain Coles's Cupola Ships"

John Mayo, "Rich in Hope: The Chilean Grain Trade and the Australian Gold Rushes"

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY

(II, NO. 1, JUNE 1990)

John C. Appleby, "A Nursery of Pirates: The English Pirate Community in Ireland in the Early Seventeenth Century"

Farley Grubb, "The Reliability of U.S. Immigration Statistics: The Case of Philadelphia, 1815-1830"

James R. Coull, "The Scottish Herring Fishery in the Inter-War Years, 1919-1939: Ordeal and Retrenchment"

Anthony Dickinson and Chesley Sanger, "Modern Shore-based Whaling in Newfoundland and Labrador:

Expansion and Consolidation, 1898-1902"

Walter Minchinton, "Corporate Ship Operations from the Late Sixteenth to the Late Eighteenth Century"

Donald Willett, "The 1939 Tanker Strike"

Jan Parmentier, "The Ostend-Guinea Trade, 1718-1720"

J. Thomas Lindblad, "Computer Applications in Expansion History"

Basil Greenhill and Ewan Corlett, "The Iron Screw Steamship *Bangor II*"

Eric W. Sager, "Seafaring Labour in Maritime History and Working-Class History"

MARINER'S MIRROR

(LXXVI, NO. 2, MAY 1990)

John H. Pryor and Sergio Bellabarba, "The Medieval Muslim Ships of the Pisan Bacini"

Jane H. Ohlmeyer, "Irish Privateers during the Civil War 1642-50"

Janet West and R.H. Barnes, "Scrimshaw by William Lewis Roderick"

Francis I.W. Jones, "The German Challenge to British Shipping 1885-1914"

STEAMBOAT BILL

(XLVII, NO. 1, SPRING 1990)

William H. Bray, Jr., "Rate War on the Rappahannock"

William Saphire, "The Ineffective Cartel"

David F. Massie, "A Nautical Tour of Ohio"

Robert W. Parkinson, "Treasure Island and Its Fair"

PERSONAL NEWS

LOUIS AUDETTE, at the tender age of eighty-three, has just returned from four days at sea on one of the HMC ships.....GEORGE AYOUB is continuing research on the Park, Fort and CGMM fleets, with the objectives of compiling complete records of each ship and preserving a collection of photographs. He is also interested in working on the Sin-Mac and Sag-Term histories.....RONALD E. ELLIOTT is the President of the Cornwallis Naval Memorial Committee, which last month unveiled a memorial at CFB Cornwallis to mariners lost at sea. He tells us that the white ensign used for the unveiling was flown on the stern of the well-remembered HMCS *Magnificent* during the early 1950s. Ron is still looking for stories from survivors or witnesses to the disastrous sinkings of WWII for an upcoming book (RCN ships only, please).....LEWIS R. FISCHER is the author of "The Sea as Highway: Maritime Service as a Means of International Migration, 1863-1913," in Klaus Friedland (ed.), *Maritime Aspects of Migration* (Köln, 1990), 293-307.....WILLIAM GLOVER has been named the Pro-

gramme Chair of the 1990 and 1991 Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies (CASIS). This summer he will be leaving his post at Royal Roads Military College to take up a new position in the Directorate of History at the Department of National Defence in Ottawa. He is continuing his long-term project on threat analysis and defence policy decision-making.....JOAN GODDARD is preparing a social history of British Columbia's first modern shore-based whaling station on Vancouver Island. She is also studying the role of Norwegians in the B.C. whaling industry. Joan would appreciate hearing from anyone with information on Ludwig Rismuller, whose patents were utilized in the processing of whales, or Isak Kobro, who was an agent in Norway for whaling companies from 1901 until the early 1920s.....FRED GREGORY will be presenting a paper on "Great Lakes Heritage" to the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Association for Great Lakes Maritime History in Milwaukee in September.....KIMBERLEY HANCOCK is the Archivist at the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, responsible for the archives, library and museum programmes for the club.....DANIEL L. HANINGTON, who has recently moved from Halifax to Victoria, is currently working on a study of maritime history and trade as shown by stamps of the world.....DANIEL G. HARRIS is preparing a paper on F.H. Chapman and H. Gerner, which will be presented to a meeting of Kungliga Örlogsmarina Sällskapet this fall. He is also preparing a booklet about Gerner, a Danish naval architect who was a contemporary of Chapman.....PETER HOPWOOD has been studying the disappearance of the S.S. *Nereus* and the S.S. *Proteus* in the Caribbean during the Second World War.....TOM IRVINE is the author of "The Canadian Coast Guard," which will appear in the 1990 edition of *Canada's Navy*. Tom has recently joined a prominent Ottawa consulting firm as a marine consultant after forty-eight years as a mariner, including thirty-five years in Arctic operations.....JAMES C. KELLY is researching nautical syntax and terminology for additional ANGLOSEA modules on cargo-handling operations, oil transport and MARPOL, and off-shore oil production.....NICHOLAS LANDRY is presently working on a research guide for lighthouses in Canada. He would appreciate hearing from readers who could assist with bibliographic notes or any other information (Government Archives Division, Historical Resources Branch, National Archives of Canada).....DOUG MAGINLEY reminds us that the anchor from Parry's ship HMS *Fury* has been erected on an impressive plinth at the Coast Guard College in Sydney.....DAN MAINGUY is organizing a series of seminars for October and November for the Defence Associations Network.....EILEEN R. MARCIL is the author of biographies of William H. Baldwin, Henry Fry and Pierre Valen in Volume XII of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.....BRUCE A. MCFARLANE has received an Outstanding

Contribution Award from the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association. His recent publications include "Sociologists and Anthropologists in the CSAA/SCSA: Some Contributions to Social Policy in Canada," in Raymond Currie (ed.), *The Role of the CSAA in the Development of Sociology and Anthropology in Canada* (1990, forthcoming); "Khayyam Zev Paltiel: Friend, Teacher and Scholar," in Alain Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay (eds.), *Democracy with Justice: Essays in Honour of Khayyam Zev Paltiel* (Ottawa, 1990, forthcoming); and "Demystifying the Research Process: A Commentary," in Steven Lewis (ed.), *Aging and Public Policy* (Chelsea, 1989). His current research involves a regional examination of the role of universities in fostering regional development; one of his foci may be the impact of changing technology in the fishing industry....FRASER M. MCKEE is working on a history of HMCS *Swansea* and is writing an essay for *ARGONAUTA* on mine warfare and its potential risks....CHRIS MILLS is the author of an article on Seal Island, Nova Scotia, which will appear in the July issue of the *Northern Lighthouse Board Journal*. He is continuing his research on Nova Scotia lights and is organizing a photo collection and working on a series of short video documentaries about various lightsROSEMARY E. OMMER has been appointed Director of Research for the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Memorial University of Newfoundland....GERALD E. PANTING presented a paper entitled "The Historiography of Canadian Merchant Shipping: 19th Century" to a conference of the International Commission of Maritime History in Naples in November 1989. He also spoke on "The Italians as Technical Innovators in the North Atlantic, 1400-1600" at a Italian-Canadian conference on maritime history in the age of John Cabot in Venice in May 1990. Both papers will be published later this year....JOHN E. ROUÉ is writing an article on the *Chicora* for *Sea Breezes*. He is especially interested in the vessel's career as a blockade-runner during the U.S. Civil War and has also begun a study of vessels built or owned in Canada which pursued the same occupation....ALAN RUFFMAN is the author of "Tsunamis of Eastern Canada, 1775-Present," *Annales Geophysicae*, Special Issue (1990), 334-335; and *Historic Seismicity of Western Newfoundland: Search of the Western Star of Corner Brook, Newfoundland, April 4, 1900-June 15, 1964* (Halifax, 1990, with Katherine Hattie, Daniel Boyce, Bruce Stevenson, Andrew Smith, Dionne Snow and Gavin Buchan). The latter report includes data on all coastal flooding events caused by factors such as very high tides and storms....ERIC W. SAGER is co-author (with Gerry Panting) of *Maritime Capital: The Shipping Industry of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914*, which will be published this autumn by McGill-Queen's University Press. His last book, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914* has recently been honoured with a plethora of

awards, including the Canadian Historical Association Certificate of Merit for Regional History and the John Lyman Award in Canadian Maritime History from the North American Society for Oceanic History. The book has also garnered Honourable Mentions for the Sir John A. Macdonald Prize, the J.W. Dafoe Award and CNRS' own Keith Matthews Award. We offer Eric our sincerest congratulations on all these well-deserved honours. He is currently working on a study of sailors in Canadian steamships in the twentieth century and would be interested in hearing from readers who know of photographs of seafarers actually at work on vessels. He is interested only in saltwater steam or motorships between the early 1900s and the 1950s....M. STEPHEN SALMON will be presenting a paper on "The Grain Trade" to the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Association for Great Lakes Maritime History in Milwaukee in September....CHESLEY W. SANGER is the author of "Modern Shore-Based Whaling in Newfoundland and Labrador: Expansion and Consolidation, 1898-1902," *International Journal of Maritime History*, II, No. 1 (June 1990), 83-116 (with A.B. Dickinson). He is currently in the midst of a three-year, \$31,738 SSHRCC grant (with A.B. Dickinson) to study "The Historical Geography of Modern Shore Station Whaling in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1898-1972"....RICK SCHNARR has recently spent several weeks in Seoul, South Korea, attending meetings of an archival group which is preparing guidelines on computer standards. Of interest to members who may be planning a trip to that part of the world, Rick informs us that the South Koreans make a good version of Löwenbrau under licence!. He is also co-editor of *ISO/IEC CD2 10032 Reference Model of Data Management*, which will be published shortly....GEORGE SCHUTHE has written an essay on the disaster of the S.S. *Lisieux* to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of its sinking. It is scheduled to appear in the August issue of *The Resolution*, the newsletter of the Maritime Museum of British Columbia. George is also collecting information on the Vancouver Radio Communications Centre for an historical account....ROBERT L. SHOOP is studying RCN aircraft carriers and submarines. He would like to hear from readers interested in HMCS *Warrior*, HMCS *Magnificent* or HMCS *Bonaventure* (1704 Lorraine, #A3, Colorado Springs, Colorado 80906)....BENT GESTUR SIVERTZ is planning to begin work in the near future on his autobiography....MAURICE D. SMITH plans to attend the VII International Congress of Maritime Museums to be held in August in Copenhagen, Stockholm, Leningrad, Tallinn, and Helsinki....FREEMAN M. TOVELL is the author of "How Friendly Cove and Nootka Sound Got their Names," *Resolution*, No. 18 (Winter 1990); "Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver," *Columbia*, IV, No. 1 (Spring 1990); and "Manuel Quimper's Exploration of the Strait of Juan de Fuca," *Resolution*, No. 19 (May 1990). He recently gave a

paper entitled "Revilla Gagedo, Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver: Politics, Personalities and North Pacific Diplomacy," at the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association in Victoria. Freeman will also be speaking on "The Career of Bodega y Quadra: A Summation of the Spanish Contribution to the Heritage of the Northwest Coast" at the Malaspina seminar in Vancouver next spring (see information in the "ARGONAUTA DIARY" Section). He is continuing his translation and editorial work on the official papers of Captain Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra.....SYLVIE C.R. TREMBLAY is working on a thèse de maîtrise at the Université d'Ottawa on "La Marine Royale Canadienne, 1919-36".....ANNETTE R. WOLFF is revising a paper on John Young, who designed the modern port of Montréal, for publication in *Seaports and the Shipping World*.

AROUND CANADA'S MARITIME MUSEUMS

CARTIER BRÉBEUF NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE (QUÉBEC CITY)

The museum announces that a permanent exhibition in the interpretation centre concerning "The Voyages of Jacques Cartier and the Jesuits" is now open from February to November. It also reminds readers of the availability of Réal Boissonnault, *Jacques Cartier, Explorer and Navigator* (Cartier Brébeuf National Historic Parks Series, Booklet No. 1, 1987).

DAVID M. STEWART MUSEUM (MONTRÉAL)

The museum is the organizer of the exhibition "Welcome Aboard! The First Steamboats on the St. Lawrence River." This travelling exhibit will be on view at the Marine Museum of Upper Canada in Toronto from November 1990 through March 1991.

KENDALL WHALING MUSEUM (SHARON, MASS.)

Dr. Janet West of the Scott Polar Research Institute at Cambridge University has been appointed Advisory Curator and Klaus Barthelmess of the University of Köln in West Germany has been appointed as Waterman Fellow and Scholar-in-Residence. Both appointments are for the autumn of 1990. New publications include Stuart M. Frank, *Biographical Dictionary of Scrimshaw Artists in the Kendall Whaling Museum* (Kendall Whaling Museum Monograph Series No. 4); Mary Malloy, *African Americans in the Maritime Trades: A Guide to Resources in New England* (Kendall Whaling Museum Monograph Series No. 6); and Mary Malloy and Stuart M. Frank, *"Heroes in the Ships": African*

Americans in the Whaling Industry. Joshua T. Basseches and Stuart M. Frank, *Edward Burdett 1805-1833, Scrimshaw Artist: His Life and Work* (Kendall Whaling Museum Monograph Series No. 5) is currently in press. New exhibitions include the permanent display, "Heroes in the Ships': African Americans in the Whaling Industry." The exhibition "Herman Melville's Picture Gallery," co-curated with the Mystic Seaport Museum, is currently on tour through 1992. One of its stops will be the Vancouver Maritime Museum.

MAINE MARITIME MUSEUM (BATH, MAINE)

An exhibition on "Edward O'Brien, Shipbuilder of Thomaston," opened at the museum on 25 May and will run until 19 May 1991. To accompany the exhibit, the museum has published an exhibition essay-catalogue of the same name written by Curator Robert Lloyd Webb. It includes a brief history of O'Brien's career along with the most complete list available of vessels built and/or owned by O'Brien. The catalogue is available from the museum for US\$ 5 (243 Washington Street, Bath, Maine).

MARINE MUSEUM OF THE GREAT LAKES (KINGSTON)

Zurich Canada is providing generous sponsorship for an exhibition entitled "Corinthian Yachts," which is on display until 30 September. With support from major yacht clubs and the boating industry, this exhibition brings together for the first time in Ontario important collections that celebrate the craftsmanship of yacht building and the art of making boats go faster. From October through December, the museum will be mounting an exhibition of the naval drawings of the late war artist, Grant Macdonald.

The appeal for funds to save the Grant Macdonald Collection of naval drawings resulted in over four hundred donations from Canadians from coast to coast. The Ministry of Culture and Communications awarded the museum \$30,000, while the balance came from private sources, including one \$10,000 donation. As a result, the museum exceeded the campaign objective of \$80,000 by \$6,000. All of the excess funds will be used solely for the conservation, matting, framing, documentation and maintenance of the collection.

Another important recent acquisition is the German and Milne Collection, called "exceptionally significant" by the National Archival Appraisal Board. The papers, which comprise one hundred cubic feet of material, are from a twentieth century naval architectural firm and are especially strong on the 1940s and 1950s. Finding aids have been compiled by museum registrar Earl Morehead and a group of volunteers.

- Yrjö Kaukiainen, President, AHNS, Department of Social and Economic History, University of Helsinki, Aleksanterinkatu 7, 00100 Helsinki, Finland), Madrid, Spain
- August 1990 Annual Display of Ship and Boat Models, National Historic Site "The Port of Québec in the Nineteenth Century," Québec City (Information: Mr. Alain Maltais, Canadian Parks Service, 100 Saint-André Street, Québec, P.Q. G1K 7R3 (telephone: [418] 648-3300)
- Sept. 2-4 1990 Twelfth Annual Classic Boat Festival, Victoria, B.C.
- Sept. 10-14 1990 Sixth Conference of the International Maritime Lecturers Association, Department of Nautical Studies, Bremen Polytechnic, Bremen, F.R. Germany
- Sept. 13-15 1990 Seventh Annual Meeting of the Association for Great Lakes Maritime History Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Information: Virginia Schwartz, Milwaukee Public Library, 814 West Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233 [tel.: 414-278-3216])
- Sept. 15-16 1990 Canadian Canal Society Fall Tour to Port Severn and Big Chute (Information: Robert Voaden, Secretary, Canadian Canal Society, P.O. Box 1652, St. Catharines, Ontario L2R 7K1)
- September 29 1990 Steamship Historical Society of America, Fall Meeting, Bath, Maine
- September 30 1990 Annual World Ship Society Model Competition, Vancouver Maritime Museum, Vancouver, B.C.
- October 1-4 1990 "Mapping America," Eighth International Symposium of the International Map Collectors Society, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Information: Eric W. Wolf, 6300 Waterway Drive, Falls Church, Virginia 22044)
- October 5-7 1990 "Rowing Craft for Work and Pleasure," Museum Small Craft Association Annual Conference, Lunenburg, N.S. (Information: David B. Flemming, Director, Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, 1675 Lower Water Street, Halifax, N.S. B3J 1S3)
- October 10 1990 Reunion of Former Students of "Room 19" of the Vancouver Radio Communications Centre, Richmond Inn, Richmond, B.C.
- October 12-14 1990 Fifteenth Annual Whaling Symposium of the Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Massachusetts (Information: Dr. Stuart M. Frank, Director, Kendall Whaling Museum, 27 Everett Street, P.O. Box 297, Sharon, Massachusetts 02067)
- October 25-28 1990 Towards a Complete History: Canadian National Railways 1918-1984," Montréal, P.Q. (Organizer: Dr. Kenneth S. MacKenzie, CN Archives, P.O. Box 8100, Montréal, P.Q. H3C 3N4)
- October 25-28 1990 "Jack Tar in History: Seamen, Pirates, and Workers of the North Atlantic World," St. Mary's University, Halifax, N.S. (Organizer: Dr. Colin D. Howell, Department of History, St. Mary's University, Halifax, N.S. B3H 3C3)
- Oct.-Dec. 1990 Grant Macdonald Exhibition, Marine Museum of the Great Lakes at Kingston, Kingston, Ont.
- November 2-4 1990 Save Ontario Shipwrecks Fall Forum, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (Organizer: Barry Lyons, 14 Muriel Drive, R.R. 4, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario P6A 5K9)
- Fall 1990 Seafarers in Canadian Ports, Vancouver, B.C. (Organizer: Colin Smith, Apt. 312, 1033 St. Georges Avenue, North Vancouver, B.C. V7L 3H5)
- January-April 1991 "The Enlightened Voyages: Malaspina and Galiano," Vancouver Maritime Museum, Vancouver, B.C.
- March 22-24 1991 Canadian-American Business History Conference, Toronto, Ontario (Information: Professor H.V. Nelles, Department of History, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Downsview, Ontario)
- April 18-20 1991 Malaspina Symposium, Vancouver Maritime Museum, Vancouver, B.C. (Information: Dr. Richard W. Unger, Department of History, University of British

Columbia, 1297--1873 East Mall,
Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1W5)

- April 26-28 1991 Annual Scrimshaw Collectors' Weekend, Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Massachusetts (Information: Dr. Stuart M. Frank, Director, Kendall Whaling Museum, 27 Everett Street, P.O. Box 297, Sharon, Massachusetts 02067)
- May 31-June 1 1991 Annual Conference of the Canadian Nautical Research Society, Ottawa, Ontario (Information: Dr. W.A.B. Douglas, President, CNRS, P.O. Box 7008, Station J, Ottawa, Ontario K2A 3Z6; Paper Proposals: Garth S. Wilson, Curator, Marine Transportation, National Museum of Science and Technology, P.O. Box 9724, "Ottawa Terminal," Ottawa, Ontario K1G 5A3)
- April 17-19 1992 Vancouver Conference on Exploration and Discovery, Vancouver, B.C. (Information: Dr. Hugh Johnston, Department of History, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6)
- April-Sept. 1992 "Captain George Vancouver--Navigator and Surveyor," Vancouver Maritime Museum, Vancouver, B.C.
- August 11-15 1992 First International Congress of Maritime History, Liverpool, England (Organizer: Lewis R. Fischer, Maritime Studies Research Unit, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Nfld. A1C 5S7)

BOOK REVIEWS

Eric W. Sager. *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989. xviii + 321 pp., notes, tables, figures, maps, photographs, index. \$34.95 cloth. ISBN 0-7735-0670-5.

This long awaited volume is an important addition to the history of merchant seamen. Sager has not written a romance of the sea but rather an examination of the sailors who served on the sailing ships of Atlantic Canada from 1820 to 1914. (Atlantic Canada is defined as New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. Québec is excluded from this analysis.) The author does this squarely from a Marxist perspective. In the author's own words,

In the nineteenth century the process of production at sea was changing as never before. The sailor was part of the transition to industrial capitalism, as capital transformed work and production on land and at sea. Many "Maritime historians" will be reluctant to accept this thesis and its implications. "Maritime history," I would argue, is not a discrete thalassic realm of human experience. It is the study of historical conjunctures in which landward society interacts with the sea and its resources. [p 10]

Frederick William Wallace would not approve. But surely Sager is right in his contention that the nineteenth century revolution in seafaring was not driven by technology but by the demands of what Marx called industrial capitalism. The changes were in fact "industrialization at sea" [p 10]. And where do the sailors fit into these changes in the means of production? Were they the "degenerates whom no master or mate would take for ballast," as Wallace put it, or were they "working men who wet?" Sager makes a convincing argument not merely for this second proposition but also for the uniqueness of seamen as a community of workers. Such particularism will not endear him to the more fundamentalist believers in economic determinism.

The book opens with a description of the ubiquitous small craft of Atlantic Canada. The importance of these small schooners and brigs under 250 tons is rightly emphasized. The figure of 250 tons is an arbitrary but useful delimitation to denote the dividing line between coastal and ocean going vessels. These small craft were the "pick-up trucks" of the local economy and the fact that some of these vessels made trans-Atlantic voyages does not invalidate Sager's analysis. The number and total tonnage of these vessels continued to increase over time even if their relative importance (in terms of tonnage) declined. Such vessels were maids of all work from fishing to coasting. The author also uses this opening chapter to explain the differences between the various rigs.

In chapter two Sager characterizes the early small craft of Atlantic Canada as a pre-industrial workplace noted for its "fraternalism." Such fraternalism was the product of an economic system which allowed masters and their crews control over the social relations within their workplace. This is in direct contrast to a capitalist industrial workplace where the social relations between managers and workers (and between the workers themselves) is dictated solely by capital. This may be a rather heavy dose of Marxist theory for most old salts on the poop but it is fundamental to the

author's whole inquiry. *Seafaring Labour* is primarily the story of the breakdown of this fraternalistic system of work. Such a system was distinguished by local recruitment and paternalistic authority. Thus most of the crew in the early days were known to (and often related to) the master. The master and his mates do not appear as the hard driving ferocious Bluenose officers glorified by Wallace. Sager realizes, of course, that life on board could still be very difficult. Masters were driven to turn a profit for their owners (which in many cases included themselves for at least a sixty-fourth share) and on occasion took dangerous risks with men's lives.

By the 1850s this workplace was changing. Merchants no longer built ships merely to move their own staple commodities to market. They began to act more and more as common carriers of other people's freight. This brought Atlantic Canadians (or, more properly, Atlantic British North Americans) into a more competitive market. The ocean-going shipping market of the last half of the nineteenth century was fraught with uncertainty: technological change on a grand scale, increases in capacity, new and more competitors, and from the mid-1870s falling freight rates. Outdated forms of business organization could not survive in this new world. Fraternalism died a lingering death.

The evolving shipowning capitalists of Atlantic Canada continued to hire their own sons and nephews as officers. But these masters and mates were now professional seamen with "tickets" (certificates of competency) to testify to their knowledge of ships and the sea. In one of the best passages in the book, the author describes how the Merchant Marine Act of 1850 and the demands of the competitive shipping market forced the professionalization of ship's officers and fractured the fraternal working relations of an earlier generation. The captain ceased to be the crusty old salt and became instead the prototype of the modern business manager whose main job was to turn a profit for the vessel's owners. This is the real genesis of Wallace's hard driving Bluenose officers.

A question needs to be raised here about this metamorphosis from a pre-industrial to an industrial model. Did it occur merely because Atlantic Canadian shipping moved into the big time or was this change taking place on a worldwide scale? The answer to this question is of course beyond the scope of this book but a summary description of the state of the international (or perhaps the British Imperial) shipping market would have helped.

The author discusses the work of sailing a deep-sea vessel in chapter four, "Working the Deep Sea Ship." What is

important for Sager is not merely the specific tasks involved but rather the knowledge required to perform the job of an able seaman and the amount of discretion exercised in carrying out the various tasks. The man who was not up to muster was soon demoted to ordinary seaman where he not only suffered a cut in pay but also the scorn and derision of his mates.

Who were these seamen whom the author likens to skilled mechanics? Where did they come from? And were they as some historians have claimed trapped in a culture of poverty and moral debility? Recruitment of this workforce is discussed in chapter five. Drawing upon the work of the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project (of which he was a member) Sager offers a number of conclusions about just who these people were. Not surprisingly almost all were young males. Old timers, that is men over forty, made up only 6.6% of the seafaring workforce between 1863-1878 and had only increased to 14.4% for 1891-1914. This was hardly an ancient workforce. The old salts were the masters and mates; twelve percent were over forty during the early period, and by the later years 40.7% were over forty. Readers should note that these figures are for sailing ships only. Shipowners evidently preferred local officers since the largest number were born in British North America, followed by Great Britain; those born in the United States were a distant third. For deckhands the story is more complicated. Most came from Great Britain, though in a slightly declining percentage over time. There was a tie for second place with approximately the same percentage coming from British North America and Scandinavia. The percentage of seamen from British North America decreased over time while the percentage from Scandinavia increased over the same period, as did the percentage from other European countries. Thus as time passed Atlantic Canadian officers commanded vessels crewed by fewer British Americans and more by "foreigners." No statistical measures exist to describe the social background or education of these deckhands, though simple literacy tests enable Sager to compare sailors with the general population ashore. The differences are never enough to categorize the crews of Atlantic Canadian vessels as an illiterate sub-proletariat.

The conflict that accompanied the transformation of the sailing vessel to an industrial workplace is discussed in chapters six and seven. Most of this friction was caused by falling freight rates during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which led to undermanning and the legendary hard driving of Bluenose masters and mates. Sager describes labour relations on board with a judicious mixture of statistical and anecdotal evidence. Desertion rates increased as freight rates and wages fell. Man-ton ratios declined as captains sought to squeeze the last drop of profit out of an increasingly obsolete technology.

Why did sailors continue to return to these floating hells? The author attempts to answer that question in Chapter eight, "Home to the Sea." Here statistical evidence is not enough to explain actions that to rational economic man appear illogical. In fact, by drawing upon a variety of memoirs and literary sources Sager is able to argue that the sailor was a victim of exploitation but not necessarily alienation. Such a conclusion will no doubt set off howls of rage from orthodox Marxists and a knowing nod from the few remaining men who earned a living sailing before the mast in the twentieth century remnants of these fleets. For sailors were not fools. They knew they made money for owners who only risked their capital and not their lives. For the sailor his compensation was not just in his wages but more importantly the pride in being an accepted member of his own community.

The fraternal workplace was slow to die in Atlantic Canada but die it finally did. For Sager this death is symbolized by the triumph of industrial capitalism in the guise of the iron-hulled steamship which brought with it the workplace relations of the factory shop floor. A stoker in a steamer had the same working conditions (if he didn't get seasick) as a stoker in a boiler room on land. The steamship became a moveable factory transporting people and goods from place to place while ceasing to be a floating community of pre-industrial workers. Sager's symbol for this transition is the Canadian Pacific liner *Empress of Japan* of 1890. It is an unfortunate choice because the process had begun earlier as the success of the Allen Line testifies. But perhaps a better symbol of the maid-of-all-work Canadian steamship, representing both industrial capitalism and Central Canadian imperialism would be the St. Lawrence River canaller. These humble and profitable vessels began to appear in Atlantic Canadian waters in ever increasing numbers from the early 1900s.

Seafaring Labour is liberally provided with graphs, tables, and maps which help illustrate the author's argument. The only complaint on this score is that some of them are too small. However, the publisher must be condemned out of hand for not providing a bibliography to complement the author's full set of notes. Unless the reader takes the time to record the author's references a great deal of the real scholarship behind this volume will be lost.

In conclusion it must be said that *Seafaring Labour* has already created more than its fair share of controversy. Orthodox Marxists will find much that is heresy. Old salts who never sailed before the mast will also condemn it. Perhaps because of these objections *Seafaring Labour* is worth reading. The author may have provided a straitjacket or he may be too romantic, depending on his critics' point

of view, but they will all need to do a great deal of work to refute his arguments. This reviewer cannot find fault with *Seafaring Labour's* premise that nineteenth century sailors were "special" working men who got wet.

M. Stephen Salmon
Orleans, Ontario

Historical Department of the Naval Staff (eds.). *The Dutch Navy 1488-1988*. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1988. 64 pp., illustrations, maps, charts and photographs. Paper.

This little book commemorates the five hundredth anniversary of the enactment of the Admiralty Ordinance. As the book says: "1488 would seem to be the most appropriate date" since "the navy had no real birthday because like many government organizations it was created piecemeal."

The authors have admirably performed their task of squeezing five hundred years into sixty-two pages. Some knowledge of Low Countries' history improves understanding of the book: the Seven Provinces that became The Netherlands; the two that became Belgium; the period under the Hapsburg Emperors, which lasted until independence was won in 1648 at the end of the Thirty Years War; conquest by Napoleon in 1795; independence restored in 1814; secession of Belgium in 1830; neutrality until German occupation in 1940; the firm place of The Netherlands in NATO that we have seen over the last forty years.

Each of the five chapters covers one century. We are led through the evolution of the navy: measures taken by individual traders to protect their vessels; then convoys, with a master designated "admiral" (the first Dutch one is recorded in 1356); then progress towards a permanent maritime organization, unsteady due to the running conflict between the fiercely independent-minded citizens of the provinces and the Emperors. In 1485 Emperor Maximilian appointed Philip of Cleves, who had sided with him in a conflict with the Provinces, as the first Admiral of the Low Countries. When Philip rebelled in 1488, Maximilian enacted the Admiralty Ordinance to define the powers of the Admiral more clearly!

The fierce independence of the Provinces had a profound effect on naval organization. Although powers of admiralty gravitated from officials towards the overall ruler, whether Emperor or *Stadtholder*, the Provinces retained enough power to insist on their own admiralty boards. The tussle between the centre and the regions continued until an organization comprising five admiralty boards was formalized in 1597 and lasted until Napoleon changed it in 1795. In troubled times the boards made shift to work together in

the common interest, but peace brought instant regionalism. A lesson for today?

The Dutch Navy's golden age began with the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588) in which the Dutch played a major part. The Duke of Parma's landing ships were blocked in Dunkirk and Nieuport by squadrons from Holland and Zealand; the anchored Armada was thrown into panic by Dutch fireships and then harried up the channel by Dutch ships, as well as by the English Fleet of Lord Howard and Sir Francis Drake.

The Armada taught the need for a national navy. Yet except for notable achievements in the seventeenth century Anglo-Dutch Wars and in the period of William III's successful resistance to Louis XIV in alliance with England, the five admiralty boards effectively prevented its institution. Supremacy in naval engineering, which the Dutch had achieved in the seventeenth century, was lost to Britain and France. The navy never recovered its position. Napoleon abolished the five admiralties and discharged all officers from the service. Those who wished could reapply for jobs in the restructured force. Most did not, a disaster for the navy but a blessing for those fighting Napoleon.

Thereafter the navy's function became one of colonial protection. For most of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth (including during the First World War), the Netherlands was effectively neutral. Not until the Occupation of 1940 was neutrality abandoned. Thirty-seven ships and three thousand men of the Royal Netherlands Navy escaped and fought with the Allies through the Second World War. They have been staunch allies ever since. I once served under command of a Dutch officer who had received all his initial naval training in a prison camp in Poland. When he was released, he was able to go straight to sea and enjoyed a most distinguished career, becoming Chief of the Naval Staff. I have nothing but happy memories of the Dutch ships in which I served. Their fine navy contains many lessons for us Canadians: their consistency in naval planning gets them a lot more naval equipment for a lot less money than we do.

Dan Mainguy
Ottawa, Ontario

Douglas How. *Night of the Caribou*. Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press, 1988. 153 pp., photographs, one sketch, one diagram. \$8.95, paper. ISBN 0-88999-410-2.

This is a good read. From start to finish I was caught up in the drama of Douglas How's account of the sinking of the Newfoundland car ferry *Caribou* by the *U-69* off Port-aux-

Basques on the night of 13-14 October 1942. The author has a crisp, clean style that presents the story in a straightforward manner without wasting words. He takes the reader on an hour-by-hour review of the tragedy by combining the accounts of the survivors within a framework of documented evidence taken from Canadian, Newfoundland and German sources. Over the years many myths and misconceptions have developed around this tragedy; How explores these in an interesting and entertaining manner.

The author, however, is not a seaman, and therein lies the weakness of this otherwise useful account. His principal characters faithfully describe many of the technical elements that contributed toward the making of the tragedy, but the author fails to provide answers to the many questions raised. Why were the plugs left out of the lifeboats at night? Why were two of the six lifeboats secured in their chocks? Why was no abandon-ship exercise carried out for the passengers and why was the lifeboat lowering drill so ineffective? Where were the ship's officers and why did they not take charge? Why did the captain, when surrounded by chaos, retire to his bridge to go down with his ship? As described by the witnesses, the organization aboard the *Caribou* was seriously lacking. Beyond the provision of liferafts, the swinging-out of four of the six boats, and the enforcement of a blackout, little attention was apparently given to the needs of a passenger-carrying ship in dangerous waters. And dangerous they were, a freighter having been sunk near Port-aux-Basques but four days earlier. Almost unintentionally How provides an indictment of the way the unfortunate *Caribou* was operated.

He also reveals the less than professional manner in which the escort, the minesweeper HMCS *Grandmere*, performed her duties, though the author fails to develop many vital points and leaves the reader as uninformed as ever. The fundamental question of why she failed to sight or detect the U-boat which, according to the German's logs, was surfaced and charging batteries in conditions of excellent visibility, is given scant attention. Was *Grandmere* carrying out a listening watch on her hydrophones? What lookouts were posted on the two ships? We are not told.

In contrast the U-boat's lookouts spotted both ships in the dark when they were at least three-miles distant, but How ignores the contradictions. Remaining surfaced, *U-69* fired a single torpedo from an ideal firing position at a range of under half a mile with devastating results. Prudently, the U-boat captain dived his ship and escaped detection by lying low in the vicinity of the doomed *Caribou*. To anyone familiar with U-boat tactics this would be accepted as good operational procedure. The disturbances caused by the sinking ship provided an ideal noise background in which to

escape detection by passive or active ASDIC (sonar) search procedures. This common-sense behaviour by the U-boat is portrayed by the author as the "killer Nazis" hiding beneath their still living victims. While technically correct, the U-boat too was trying to ensure her survival. This sort of anti-Nazi rhetoric, in which the author indulges more than once, may have been fine for the propaganda of the day but that day, like the Nazis, is long past and a serious history is better without it.

The lack of professionalism on the part of the captain of the *Grandmere* is excused on the grounds of humanitarianism when, at first light, he broke off his search for the U-boat to rescue survivors before the assistance he knew was coming had arrived. Although we are not told one can only presume that the *U-69* was well clear of the area for otherwise she would surely have claimed another victim. According to this account it would seem that the only seaman to act with full professionalism was the U-boat captain; that, at least, is this reviewer's conclusion.

In summary, *Night of the Caribou* is a good read, a well-written account from the survivors' point of view and full of human drama to be sure. However, it is not the accurate historical portrayal of a Canadian wartime tragedy at sea that the back cover claims.

J. David Perkins
Dartmouth, N.S.

Clive N. Ponsford (ed.). *Shipbuilding on the Exe: The Memoranda Book of Daniel Bishop Davy (1799-1874) of Topsham, Devon*. Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, Vol. 31, 1988. xxix + 105 pp., plates, tables, plans, appendices, glossary and index. £12, paper. Available from Devon and Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter EX1 1EZ, England. ISBN 0-901853-31-3.

About seven kilometres southeast of the cathedral city of Exeter stands the town of Topsham, at the head of the wide estuary of the river Exe. In the mid-1800s the community housed a thriving shipbuilding industry with one company employing upwards of two hundred and eighty men and apprentices while elsewhere in the locality blacksmiths, ropemakers and ancillary craftsmen provided the supporting skills needed in the production of vessels ranging from lighters to an East Indiaman of six hundred tons. One such builder was Robert Davy (1762-1862) who constructed, among other vessels, HMS *Terror*, which together with HMS *Erebus* was lost on the Franklin expedition of 1845. Davy was assisted in his business by his son Daniel Bishop Davy. From this era there survives in the Topsham Museum a substantial parchment-bound manuscript Mem-

oranda Book, the contents of which have been transcribed to create the volume under review.

Compiled originally by Daniel from the age of eighteen years it contains a fascinating insight into the world of the nineteenth century wooden shipbuilder. His observations on the lines of vessels and improvements that might be made give some idea of the way in which designed evolved. In 1818-1819 Daniel sailed up the east coast visiting shipbuilders in King's Lynn, Hull, Newcastle, Sunderland and Greenock with a view to selling timber. However, apart from a coach builder who placed an order, the trips met with little commercial success. His comments on what he saw and what he thought of some of the people with whom he was dealing showed that he had a shrewd business head. Add to this itemised accounts of materials and costs in the construction of a variety of vessels as well as detailed dimensions relating to designs for sloops and schooners (from which the editor suggests it should be possible to recreate the plans) and one will begin to get an idea of the scope of this modest volume. The Devon and Cornwall Record Society and its editor, Clive Ponsford, are to be congratulated for making the text available to a wider public. One hopes that Davy's Letter Book, currently housed in the Devon Records Office, will also be published to add to our knowledge of this man and his business.

Although modest in size Ponsford's book is a mine of interesting detail and should please a whole range of enthusiasts.

Norman Hurst
Coulson, England

Glynn Barratt. *Southern and Eastern Polynesia. Volume 2 of Russia and the South Pacific, 1696-1840*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988. xx + 302 pp., bibliography, illustrations, maps. \$35.95, cloth.

The author of a prodigious bibliography of works treating the Russian presence in the Pacific Ocean world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Barratt plans four volumes on their activities in the South Pacific. Following volume one on Australia published in 1988, the present study examines Russian contacts with Easter Island, New Zealand, and the Austral Islands. In each section, the example of James Cook left an indelible imprint upon almost all Russian activities from exploration to scientific observation and artistic pursuits. Russian explorers read previous journals and attempted to record changes that had occurred since the days of Cook and J.F. La Pérouse. Barratt's searches of Russian archives and museum collections have turned up significant new material and insights into the history and ethnography of southern and eastern Poly-

nesia. For each section, the author examined the history of Russian contacts, reproduced the narratives of participants, and evaluated the ethnographic record.

It is important to note that Barratt is more interested in the Russian visits to the three Pacific destinations than in presenting chronological studies of the expeditions. For Easter Island, he examines the 1804 visit of I.F. Kruzenshtern and Iurii F. Lisianskii on the *Nadezhda* and *Neva* and the 1816 visit of O.E. Kotzebue on the *Riurik*. While sea conditions, lack of an adequate port, and the open hostility of islanders prevented detailed scientific studies ashore, the Russians were able to collect artifacts from natives who went out to trade, to comment at length about the Easter Islanders, and even to undertake a little botanizing during a very brief visit to the shore. Unfortunately, Barratt's method of examining the events, reproducing the texts written by Russian officers, and then commenting on the scientific impact, produces some unnecessary repetition.

For the 1820 visit to New Zealand of F.G. Bellingshausen and M.P. Lazarev on *Vostok* and *Mimyi*, readers will wish to consult volume one for background information about the Russian stay in Australia. In twelve days at Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand, Bellingshausen's scientists and officers studied Maori culture and conducted detailed ethnological research. While some changes had occurred since Cook's visit, such as the cultivation of potatoes, the use of iron, and the adoption of European clothing, the native culture still remained intact. Again, the Russian journals and the drawings of Pavel N. Mikhailov offer an outstanding source of new materials. Similar comparative ethnological observations took place at Rapa Island in the Austral group as Bellingshausen passed offshore, examining the land by telescope and contacting the natives who paddled out some distance in outrigger canoes.

Barratt may have committed overkill in his effort to right what he describes as "inexcusable" neglect by scholars who have missed significant ethnological and material culture information collected by the Russian explorers. The project to publish four volumes on Russian activities in the South Pacific might have been accomplished better in one or two volumes. Often the Russians viewed native culture from offshore and even at New Zealand, they stopped for a very short time. By dividing up the South Pacific, Barratt encountered the problem of repetition within the present study and between volumes one and two. Occasionally, the same material is quoted in both volumes and there is considerable duplication of illustrations. The editors should have noted that the quality of reproduction of plates is rather uneven and that one plate showing an inventory book is badly blurred. Despite these minor reservations,

Barratt has made available fresh material on the Russian expeditions that will be of considerable interest to historians of maritime exploration.

Christon I. Archer
Calgary, Alberta

E.C. O'Neill. *The Canadian Raleighites*. Waterloo, Ont.: The Canadian Raleighite Publishing Project, 1988. xv + 267 pp., numerous photographs.

In 1940 the British government agreed to train a limited number of Canadian recruits as officers for the Royal Canadian Navy to augment those being trained in Canada. One hundred and fifty potential RCNVR officers, in six groups of twenty-five, were sent to England to receive their initial training at HMS *Raleigh*, a shore establishment at Torpoint, Cornwall.

Since this was early in the war, they served through five years of conflict, and a special bond was thus formed which was further cemented by post-war reunions. This book is the story of their experiences in their own words, illustrated by their own photographs. However, not all were able to tell their tales; eighteen were lost in action or on active service, some have died since the war, and a few are unaccounted for. Nevertheless the experiences of no less than seventy-seven have been included in this unique volume.

After six weeks at *Raleigh*, the candidates spent six months at sea as ordinary seamen. This sea-time was served in a wide variety of RN ships—everything from trawlers to battleships. They were sent to ships in groups. In one ship they were all assigned to man the gunnery communications net since, among all the sailors speaking the various dialects and accents of the British Isles, they were the group that could most readily understand each other!

Six Raleighites were lost at sea during this initial period. Most of the rest went on to the officer training establishment, HMS *King Alfred*, located in a pre-war holiday camp. Here they received a generalised officer-training course, followed by special training in a variety of subjects: ASDIC (sonar), navigation, gunnery, fighter-direction and so on. They were then posted to RN ships as officers and later to Canadian ships, although some continued to serve with the RN until the end of the war.

Instead of *King Alfred* and surface ships, some volunteered as aircrew. They received their initial flying training in Britain, their advanced training in Canada, and then went on to various Fleet Air Arm appointments. Among these was Lieutenant Robert Hampton Gray, DSC, VC (posthumous).

This book is one that you can pick up, open anywhere, and immediately become involved. The writers are modest about their achievements and the editor's introduction to each story is necessary to put them into perspective. The Raleighites served in every type of ship and in every theatre. Many distinguished themselves and were decorated or mentioned in despatches. These tales are the raw material of the history of the war, and the photographs are evocative of the time.

The post-war careers of the Raleighites are a testimony to their calibre. Their numbers include a Premier of Ontario, (John Robarts), presidents and vice-presidents of companies, judges and diplomats. Their regular reunions have led to the compilation of this book which will surely be cherished by all the Raleighites and their families. The numerous typographical errors are forgivable in the circumstance, and the editor and his assistants are to be congratulated for giving us such an important contribution to the history of Canadians in World War II.

C. Douglas Maginley
Sydney, N.S.

Archibald MacMechan. *At The Harbour Mouth*. Porter's Lake, N.S.: Pottersfield Press, 1988. (Atlantic Classics Series). 140 pp., notes and summaries. \$10.95, paper.

This collection of MacMechan's sea stories was published with the support of the Canada Council as one of their Atlantic Classics Series and the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture in conjunction with the Nova Scotia Trade Publishers Support Policy.

Editor John Bell has selected stories from three collections by MacMechan, *Sagas of the Sea* (Toronto: Dent, 1923); *Old Province Tales* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1924); and *There Go the Ships* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1928). His obvious enthusiasm for both MacMechan and his works is evidenced in the four-page foreword. Here, Bell not only summarizes MacMechan's educational and literary attributes but also attempts to justify the author's tendency to enhance his subject matter to the point of melodrama. In this he appears to contradict himself. First, he states that "in his [MacMechan's] hands, a sea captain's memoir or a newspaper report was transformed into something far more resonant. Such reshaping also imbued those accounts of disasters, mutinies and other gripping events with a thematic unity that is, again, more literary than historical." Then, in the following paragraph, he claims that "when it comes to the authentic depiction of the human drama inherent in our Maritime history, no one can surpass Archibald MacMechan."

That MacMechan did in fact reshape his stories can easily be determined by comparing them with the original sources. To cite one example, Mather Byles Desbrisay's *History of the County of Lunenburg* contains an unabridged report from R.B. Currie and Captain Lewes which details the incident described by MacMechan in "Via London." The report, a terse, practical recital of facts, shows a strong contrast to MacMechan's literary extravagances, by which means he attempts not only to dramatise the sequence of events but also to educate the uninitiated reader in the ways of the sea about which, at times, MacMechan is not too clear himself.

Another story entitled "The Lunenburg Way" concerns a rescue by Captain Andy Publicover (who, for some reason, is referred to as "Jimmy Leander Publicover" by MacMechan). When the tale originally appeared in the family-originated "autobiography," *The Sea in My Blood*, it was described in language that was quite matter-of-fact; Publicover was more concerned that his dory mate for the rescue, Fred Richard, had no family to hold the Captain responsible in the event of an accident. Publicover emphasized not only that the dory was saved but that the only piece of gear lost out of her was one thole pin. By comparison MacMechan's version is, to say the least, imaginative, indicating that the stories have indeed been altered to suit the author's somewhat grandiose literary style and to imbue his "heroes" with the ideals so dear to their author's Victorian heart.

MacMechan's stories, although extolled in their day, are just that--stories. Should the serious historian find anything in them of interest to follow up, it is recommended that the listed "notes on Sources" or the MacMechan Collections at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and Dalhousie University Archives be consulted, rather than the text of this particular edition. On the other hand, for those who enjoy literary exercises or seek to live vicariously upon the trials and tribulations of those who wrest their living from the sea, MacMechan might not be too hard to take. In that case, not only *At the Harbour Mouth* but also the three books from which its contents were culled may be of interest.

Robin H. Wyllie
East LaHave, N.S.

Clive Archer (ed.). *The Soviet Union and Northern Waters*. London: Routledge for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1988. 261 pp., maps and diagrams. US\$35.00, cloth.

Chapter one of this book contains the editor's summary of the other ten contributions. All of the contributions pertain to some aspects of northern resources, fisheries, jurisdic-

tional disputes and military strategy in northern waters.

The emergence of the Soviet Union as a maritime power rivalling the United States has focused much attention on northern waters and territories, where a large proportion of this Soviet power is based in order to gain access to the open seas. This access is primarily through the waters to the north of Norway. The increasing levels of activity in northern waters has been accompanied by more emphasis on jurisdictional disputes. The Soviet Union and Norway disagree over the location of their boundaries on the continental shelf, and there are also differences of opinion on the exploitation of Svalbard's resources.

In military-strategic terms the importance of the Kola and White Sea coasts is clearly established by the fact that sixty percent of the Soviet SSBN forces are stationed there. This force is complemented by a large Soviet air defence sector in the area. Both Western and Soviet forces view the Norwegian Sea as a vital strategic area. It is important for Soviet defensive forces and for Western attack forces. Detailed maps showing submarine routes, launch areas and attack contours are contained in a chapter on military strategy.

Another chapter comparing naval forces in northern and Atlantic waters contains a detailed set of tables describing ballistic missile submarines, attack submarines, combat aircraft, open ocean warships, assault ships, mine countermeasures vessels, marines and coastal defence troops. The nature of the balance between the Soviet Northern Fleet and NATO's northern naval forces in the event of a conflict would depend upon their disposition at the start of the conflict.

The Soviet military presence in the north has increased public support in Norway, Denmark and Iceland for NATO but it has not been practical for the Nordic countries to increase their defence expenditures to a vast extent. NATO has encountered some difficulty in devising plans to reinforce the Nordic states in time of crisis or war. More needs to be done to ensure the timely arrival of NATO forces.

The formulation of a U.S. maritime strategy is a vital aspect of the NATO posture. A chapter on maritime strategy and geopolitics provides a clear discussion of the formulation and nature of maritime strategy in the United States. In brief, American strategy has several purposes: to provide support for allies, to defend NATO's sea lines of communications, to project naval power against Soviet targets ashore, and to thwart the Soviet strategy for war. European reaction to U.S. maritime strategy is varied. As U.S. interests worldwide increase, so too would the time required to apply the full extent of its forces for Europe. European

maritime forces would undoubtedly be involved in coastal defences before and during the arrival of U.S. forces as well as in some aspects of the Greenland, Iceland and United Kingdom gap.

Although much of this book is devoted to the military and strategic aspects of northern waters, there are discussions of maritime policies, fisheries and jurisdictional disputes. While this book is highly recommended for those who are engaged in research and studies of northern lands and waters, everyone should find it a very interesting read.

Donald A. Grant
Nepean, Ontario

Donald Shomette and Robert Haslach. *Raid on America: The Dutch Naval Campaign of 1672-1674*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988. xiii + 386 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. US\$32.95, cloth. ISBN 0-87249-565-5.

Another in the "Studies in Maritime History Series," this very interesting volume, skilfully authored by two experienced writers, reveals a Dutch ability to use the sea and project presence far more successfully than supposed possible during this period of history. The odyssey is woven together from the threads of two Dutch naval squadrons, from different Admiralties, neither aware of the other, meeting in an area thousands of miles from their homeland and joining forces to terrorize their adversaries during the third Anglo-Dutch War of 1672-1674. The chance meeting was a fortune of war that occurs very rarely. While either squadron by itself would probably have been able to fulfil its original function, the meeting that doubled the destructive force made this one of the most successful raiding expeditions of the sailing-warship period. Not only did the squadrons accomplish most of the missions they were given but they were also able to invade and retake the British colony of New York, which had been captured from the Dutch during the previous Anglo-Dutch War of 1665-1667. Possibly the strangest result was the complete failure of the United Provinces to gain any great advantage from this part of the successful campaign. Faulty intelligence-gathering and the uncertainty of sending messages home led to delays in dispatching reinforcements or further aid. However, it must be pointed out that in any case the economic position of the home government was such that it was not feasible to furnish either supplies or armed forces to aid the colonies.

On the other hand, it is more than likely that this raiding party did aid the Dutch in negotiations which brought the war to an end. The Dutch had clearly demonstrated the

There is an introduction covering in six pages the history of the area and its shipping and a general map of the coast which, happily, allows the reader to locate all of the sites without needing an atlas. Throughout, the nautical terminology is pleasingly correct, without the jarring errors so common in shipwreck accounts.

It is difficult to know for whom such compendia of shipwrecks are written. This one will be of little value to SCUBA divers, since some of the wrecks discussed were salvaged long ago and most of the rest are in the surf zone, where few divers can go. Casual readers may be disappointed too, since the text is too brief for dramatic tales of wreck and rescue. Moreover, the sites are arranged in geographic sequence down the coast, which is logical but leaves the reader flicking to and fro to find how one ship relates in date or cause of loss with others previously encountered. Thus, this book seems primarily intended for coastal travelers who wish to gaze out to sea and know something of the drama that once occurred under their view. For them, the work is admirably designed, though the selection of wrecks is such that there are no physical remains to be seen.

The main joy of the book lies in its illustrations, executed in pen-and-ink with charcoal shading and evidently based on sketches taken on site. Most show a wrecking event as seen from a point on the shore (marked on the maps). At their best, these show a mastery of the author's chosen medium and a rare eye for wind and wave. Many of them "feel" right and are highly evocative of old shipwreck photographs. Nevertheless, they are in reality superimpositions of imagined ships onto modern scenes and, in a few cases, this gives disturbing results: for example, wave trains should respond to the presence of a large hull but here do not. Also, some of the ships are drawn with great precision but from the wrong model: the *St. Nicholas* almost certainly did not have double topsails or the other late nineteenth century features with which she is illustrated. Three thousand ton French bounty ships of the turn of the century were almost certainly four-masters, not the three-masters shown as the *Alice* and *Ernest Reyer*. Nevertheless, this will be a useful volume for its intended readership.

Trevor Kenchington
Musquodoboit Harbour, N.S.

Wesley George Pierce. *Going Fishing: The Story of the Deep Sea Fishermen of New England*. Foreword by Roger F. Duncan. Camden, Maine: International Marine Publishing, 1989 (Reprint of 1934 edition). xii + 323 pp., appendices, index. US\$22.95, cloth.

Wesley George Pierce, born in 1869, was a rare fisher-

man/cook who, after a lifetime on fishing ships, produced a combination autobiography/history of the New England fisheries. This book was first published by the Marine Research Society, predecessor of the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts and it is one of the few written by fishermen.

Pierce began with two chapters on the early history of the New England fisheries—especially of the cod and mackerel. The next chapters weave together major early developments during his lifetime, more modern developments, and his own experiences. For example, Chapter III discusses the Western Bank hand-line dory fishery, 1858-1880; Chapter V, the mackerel purse-seine fishery, 1864-1881. Later, Chapters IX, X and XI deal with the development of halibut trawling on the Grand Banks, the cod and mackerel gill-net fisheries, and haddock trawling on George's Bank. Various other chapters are more specific and/or more personal: "Pursing the Mackerel Seine," "Our Largest Haul of Mackerel," "The First Fishermen's Race," and "Three Skippers who were Great Sail Carriers" are good examples. The twenty-one chapters are a rich mixture of technical information, historical facts, and personal experience.

Parts of this book stand out to this Newfoundland reviewer. For example, "The King of the Mackerel Fleet" (Chapter XV) is about Solomon B. Jacobs who, the author casually tells us, "was born in Twillingate, Newfoundland, and when a young man, came to Gloucester, where he lived for more than fifty years." This is a strong reminder that Newfoundland fishermen—invisible immigrants—played a large role in the development of the New England fisheries. References to trips to Newfoundland for frozen herring introduce us to another important connection between that British colony and New England. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Newfoundland herring was sold to New England fishermen for bait. The introduction of steam trawling was a fatal blow to this once-promising Newfoundland fishery.

As well, Pierce confirms the standard Newfoundland belief that food and living conditions on American ships were far superior to comparable conditions on Newfoundland and even Canadian ships. The quality and variety of food prepared and served by Mr. Pierce while employed as a cook stands out as excellent when compared to the much maligned—and rightly so—hard tack and scouse, and pork and duff that was still served on Newfoundland sealing ships right up to the 1940s.

Finally, Appendix I is an excellent glossary of "Nautical Terms used on Fishing Ships;" Appendix II is a fascinating account of "Fishermen's Lore and Superstition;" and Appen-

dix III, a partial reprint of Henry Hall's informative *Report on the Ship-building Industry of the United States* (1884).

Mr. Pierce's book is a treasure trove of fishing/ historical information. Its rich content of local material including names, dates, and measurements, while too detailed for the general fisheries historian, will appeal to the many New England families whose predecessors are the subject of this book. The technical information, including fishing and curing practices, will be indispensable to the professional historian and researcher. Mr. Pierce was an excellent and exceptional writer; after a lifetime at sea, and with only a high school education, he stayed ashore beginning in about 1930 and became a successful writer and lecturer. This excellent book is the result of these activities during the last years of his life.

Shannon Ryan
St. John's, Nfld.

Norman Hurst (comp.). *Naval Chronicle 1799-1818: Index to Births, Marriages and Deaths*. Published privately by Norman Hurst, 25 Byron Avenue, Coulsdon, Surrey, United Kingdom CR3 2JS, 1989. iv + 158 pp., appendices. Paperback and loose leaf.

Printed primary and archival sources of original marine records, especially those containing information related to personnel engaged in naval and mercantile seafaring, have long been grist for historians and genealogists. As anyone familiar with these sources will attest, it is easy enough to identify the various strains of grist which are commonly available; it is in the process of their "grinding" that the true nature of the labour is to be found. Fortunately, there are yet a few individuals for whom the thankless task of cataloguing and indexing (grinding) remains a virtue. In this field of endeavour we may now add the recent index to the *Naval Chronicle* compiled by Norman Hurst.

As indicated by the title, this is not an index to the chronicle itself but rather to instalments of three of the appendices (Births, Marriages, Obituaries) published within each issue and to the deaths recorded in the "Letters on Service" copied from the *London Gazette* and the inclusive biographical memoirs. In effect, the scope and intention of the index is relatively modest. It offers a "short cut" to the tedium of consulting the indices found at the end of each volume of the original text, allowing researchers to focus rapidly on "tombstone data" pertinent to any individual recorded within its forty-odd tomes. It does not attempt to cover the military exploits and activities of naval personnel recalled through the miscellany of correspondence, *Gazette* letters, "literature" and "events," monthly registers, medical "facts,"

commercial "hints," nautical "anecdotes," bulletins, "history," reports, poetry, notices of courts martial and woundings, etc., which fill out the *Chronicle's* thousands of pages. This does not in any way diminish the value of Mr. Hurst's efforts, but merely reflects his primary interest in genealogy and a perfectly understandable reluctance to undertake what would amount to years of work. Even "grinders" apparently have their limits.

The index is presented in three parts corresponding to the original indices ("Births," "Marriages," and "Obituaries") with an appendix dedicated to the "Biographical Memoirs." Also included is a short excerpt from volume IX, the "Longevity of Pensioners" (circa 1807), and for further reference there is appended a list of specialist booksellers (U.K.) and relevant publications related to naval genealogical history. Internal information retrieval is provided alphabetically by family name, with volume and page references placed in side-bar chronologically. The system works admirably.

Nevertheless, one cannot but feel that Mr. Hurst has sold his publication a little short. After taking the trouble to extract and input from the twenty thousand-odd pages of the *Chronicle* the relevant genealogical tables and references, it comes as something of a disappointment to find that the final sort is not placed in any kind of historical context. Whether or not the volume was addressed to a specialized audience, the introduction ought to have included a more fulsome explanation of the rationale behind its compilation. Why, for example, was the *Naval Chronicle* singled out for this kind of treatment? Presumably, the answer is rooted in the fabulous wealth of information contained within the text. The *Chronicle* is an altogether remarkable document, replete with nautical lore, full of episodic dash and vigour, sometimes even whimsical in its selection and distribution of content. Of its type, it represents the zenith of traditional historical writing in a genre whose origins date back to the fifteenth century. Quite simply, the text is irresistible.

Admittedly, Mr. Hurst's intention was purposely limited, but who could not fail to be absorbed by the obituary dedicated to Mr. Bartlett, a superannuated carpenter of the Royal Navy, who "for some unaccountable reason, confined himself to his room for the last twenty-three years of his life...wore nothing but a morning gown, never made use of fire or candle, nor read any books...would suffer no person to intrude upon his privacy...never cut his hair, or nails; nor shaved himself during the whole period of his retirement" (III, 156), or to Captain J. Payne of Cornwallis Street, Liverpool, who "was in the act of bringing his writing-desk from the cabin when his ship went down; strange to tell, it was the only article saved from the wreck" (XXX, 264). In

so many genealogical searches, family historians are obliged to rummage fruitlessly through official and quasi-official records hoping for fragments of intimate detail regarding their forebears, for some form of historical remembrance which extends beyond the ordinary facelessness of "tombstone data." Not necessarily so in this case. Indeed, given the *Chronicle's* extraordinary range of information, given its capacity of contextual insight and its predilection for biographical curiosity, some attention to the content of the entries catalogued within the index would surely have made a significant contribution to an otherwise useful reference tool. Both the *Chronicle* and its new index merit advertisement.

Richard Brown
Carleton Place, Ont.

Evelyn Pinkerton (ed.). *Co-operative Management of Local Fisheries: New Directions for Improved Management and Community Development*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989. 320 pp., index, illustrations. \$36.95 cloth; \$21.95 paper.

This volume of sixteen essays is possibly the most important contribution to the literature of fisheries resource management theory and practice since H.S. Gordon published his seminal essay, "The Economic Theory of a Common Property Resource: The Fishery," in 1954. The editor acknowledges that development of co-management theory is still incomplete and based more on inductive predictions than on deductive generalizations, but the field may be too dynamic to capture in a single model. Certainly conflicts and failures are pushing the boundaries of resource management theory into areas which require multidisciplinary analysis.

Pinkerton categorizes management functions under seven headings: data gathering and analysis, logistical harvesting decisions, harvest allocation decisions, habitat protection and enhancement, enforcement, long-term planning and broad policy decision-making. The book is organized into five sections. Part One contains accounts of co-management activities in the U.S. Pacific Northwest with contributions by Cohen, Dale, and Jordon. Part Two focuses on non-indigenous commercial fishermen and efforts to create co-management frameworks at local and regional levels with essays by Kearney, McCay and Amend. Part Three, with chapters written by Freeman, Langdon and Busiahn, highlights innovative responses by aboriginal groups and state regulatory agencies. In Part Four, Berkes and Doubleday assess Canadian experience resulting from comprehensive native land claim settlements in James Bay and the Western Arctic. Part Five contains three case studies of co-management

initiatives in British Columbia by Morrell, Richardson and Green, and MacLeod; a concluding essay by Retting, Berkes and Pinkerton looks prospectively towards "local-level management working in a complementary relationship with government rules."

Individually, the essays document specific local or regional experiences. Collectively, these experiences indicate that workable co-management frameworks are created through a process of negotiating mutually acceptable goals. Although the process in each case will be shaped by socio-cultural and political exigencies, the outcome will be similar, i.e., alterations in the structure of relations between actors in the decision system will be effected.

Decisions to negotiate revisions to management frameworks and participate in consensual goal-setting usually requires a catalytic event or a crisis. Under such conditions, existing frameworks prove to be inadequate and new approaches are actively sought. According to Pinkerton, mechanisms and conditions supporting co-management include formalized, legal and multi-year agreements. Mechanisms which focus on conserving resources and also enhance the operation of cultural systems are more likely to be accepted (and workable) than approaches based solely on classical ecological or economic theory.

The contributors to this volume advocate co-management for different reasons albeit three themes are discernable: to promote or facilitate community development, to realign or decentralize management authority, and to develop management based on consent or participatory democracy. Despite differences in emphasis, the authors recognize that responsible, equitable and efficient resource management requires cooperation from fishermen and managers in both rule-making and enforcement.

Although Pinkerton *et al.* do not see co-management as a panacea for resolving all fishery conflicts, it may be appropriate and viable under certain circumstances. The essays are provocative and should be required reading for current and would-be fishery managers, policy makers and members of fishermen's organizations.

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