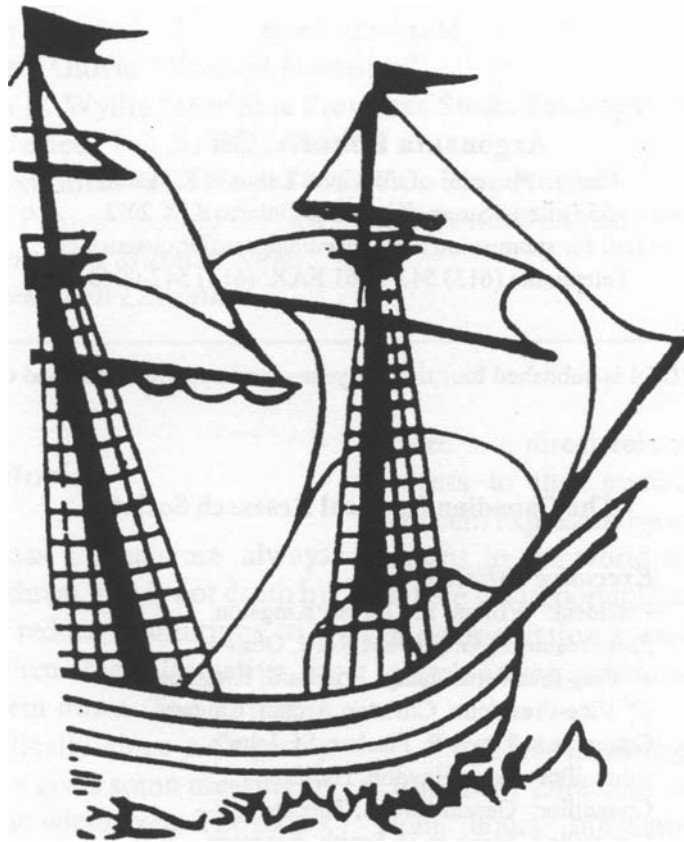


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Editorial

Museums across Canada are always under some degree of threat. If it is not death by a thousand cuts that reduce institutions to an emphysema status then the alternative is precipitous - close them down. The former is more acceptable politically since a lingering death spread over time gives some measure of protection to those who wield axes. The recent closure of The Pier [see the note under Museum News later in this issue] in Toronto has created a chill among those who value our heritage. The long term implications of denying citizen access to the markers of our culture, to the primary source material of history should cause concern, if for no other reason than self-interest. For those of you who have reached a ho-hum level already, just think about the kind of service we could expect only a few years ago compared to today. Every day something is saved that will help us understand our marine history but -

there is a direct relationship between getting access to that material and the degree of concern expressed by us. What 'use it or lose it' means in the world of policy making, that's where the important decisions are made, is that the preservation agenda can be influenced by people asking questions and demanding service.

There is some good news out of all this. Boards of Directors are still willing to serve long hours, museum staff work hard for generally low pay and thousands of individuals and corporations give money. What is so mysterious is that often, those who have most to gain from the preservation of documents and artifacts are often the last to realize how effective they can be in bringing their influence to bear. And by the way. Do not be put off by being accused of being part of a special interest group. Everyone is. It is called the democratic process.

MS

Council Corner

For those of you who will be missing the annual conference and general meeting in Kingston at the end of the month, let me offer here some thoughts that I will be discussing at the AGM in a little over two weeks. There are matters to report, concerns and problems to review, and future events to advertise.

This is being written on May 7, although the cover date of the newsletter is April. It should be mailed by the end of the month, a mailing which we had once hoped would include the first two issues of the journal. That unfortunately will not be. Problems with *The Northern Mariner* continue. It is my sincere hope that the January and April issues will be in your hands before the end of the summer, with the July issue to follow not too much later and we will work hard to that end. I expect that the Editorial Board will be able to report at the conference on successor to Skip Fischer as the articles editor of the journal at the AGM. This will be an important step in returning to a more regular publication schedule. However, change continues. I must report that Greg Kennedy, the book reviews editor, has announced that he is compelled to step aside. In his letter to me he offered three reasons for his decisions, any one of which was strong, any two compelling, and all three overpowering. In some respects it is more difficult to find a book review editor than an articles editor because of our past expectation of institutional support. Since Olaf Janzen first started book reviews for *Argonauta* even before we had established the journal, all mailing costs were covered by Memorial University. One of the reasons Greg Kennedy gave me for having to step down was that the auditors of his institution were questioning the

mailing expenses. In my preliminary discussions with a possible successor as book reviews editor, the mailing costs, estimated at about \$3000 by Olaf before the last two postal rate increases, were identified as a potential problem. I shall be recommending to the AGM that in the short term we must be prepared to cover at least some of those costs. I believe we can do this from the members' equity. If this suggestion is accepted, it will make it much easier to find a book review editor, and that search ought to be concluded quickly. The mailing subsidy will, I suspect, become a regular cost of our publications programme. I would hope that in, say three years, that the publications portion of the President's Appeal funds will be able to generate sufficient income to reduce the charges against the members' equity. Historically we have reviewed about 200 books a year, which has made our book review section one of the strongest, if not the strongest, in any English language journal. As the number of books to be mailed drives the costs, this is something we may have to examine in future years.

The expenses of the journal and how they are best covered leads properly to a discussion of membership. In every Council Corner column I have made an appeal for individual members to recruit friends. And let me repeat that now. If we do not constantly work to add new members, the society will ultimately disappear. We must however have a realistic idea of what the target membership might be. Work needs to be done on that, and I shall undertake it over the coming year. For example, if the Navy Records Society in Britain has membership of 8-900, and *The American Neptune* has a circulation of about 1100, is, say 350, a realistic target for our membership?

After all, both the UK and the US have significantly larger populations than Canada, with correspondingly larger maritime communities from which to draw members. That subscription base revenue must be an important factor in our planned activities. I am not aware since I joined the Council that there has been a serious examination of a target membership figure so this will be an important step ahead.

At the AGM I shall be bringing forward a proposed amendment by replacement to our by-laws. In my last column I spoke of the need to establish a Membership Secretary. As we move more actively into a publishing programme' with an editorial board, its constitution and representation on the Council must also be considered. Finally, the proposed by-law will present, as a form of house cleaning, **all** the previous amendments to the by-laws in a consolidated manner. After the proposed amendment has been tabled at the AGM with notice of motion for consideration in 2002, the proposal will be printed in a later issue of *Argonauta* for all to read and consider.

The other important point to discuss here are our future conferences. In 2002 we are planning to meet in Halifax. The organization of that conference will be shared with the Directorate of History and Heritage who are sponsoring a sessions to examine the Chiefs of Naval Staff of the RCN. A second day might include a panel discussions or a forum with former Commanders of Maritime Command and Chiefs of the Maritime Staff. Given this strong naval flavour of location and subject, it would also be an ideal time to look at the port of Halifax in peace and war. In 2003 we are planning to meet in Vancouver. That conference

will have a merchant marine and shipping theme. We are inviting the executive of the International Commission for Maritime History to meet with us. And then in 2004 there will be the centenary conference celebration of the Canadian Hydrographic Service. That conference will be held in Ottawa. An edited volume looking at the history of the CHS is being planned for publication in conjunction with that conference. McGill Queen's University Press have expressed a strong interest, and major scholars from Canada, the United States and England have agreed to write chapters.

In sum then, although the road has been both a bit rockier and longer than anticipated a year ago, I believe that we are close to putting our these difficulties behind us. On the bright side, our financial statements have now been sorted out, and reports not available for the past few years are now completed. As you can see from the planned conferences for the next few years, we have some important and exciting projects in hand.

Enjoy your summer, and look for a classic boat show near you!

Bill Glover
President, CNRS

Letters

**From Laurence Urdang,
Old Lyme, Connecticut**

When I started reading William Glover's "Nautical Nostalgia" in the January 2001 issue of *Argonauta* (p. 10), I thought he was going to mention, referring to "Everythin's up to date in Kansas City," from *Oklahoma!*, that the nautical

connection in the lyric is to skyscrapers, which had their origin as the nickname given to certain topsails set **on** full-rigged ships.

The quotations in the *Oxford English Dictionary* might lead one to understand that other applications, as to horses, etc., were contemporary. But it must be remembered that the quotations reflect what has been found in print, and that, in all likelihood, colloquial terms like skyscraper **were** probably not used in writing till long after they were common in oral tradition.

From John Cross,
Vancouver, British Columbia

With reference to the enquiry regarding the United States committee Minutes for the International Fisherman's Trophy races [*Argonauta*, January 2001, p. 5]. In 1975 and 76 I researched the whole history of these races, from their original inception right up until the last series in 1938. This included compiling an album of all newspaper clippings I could possibly lay my hand on, both Canadian and American. These were mostly from Halifax, Toronto, Gloucester and Boston but there were some others. I also checked fishing periodicals. Because of the excitement of the races, and for lack of other news, local newspapers with only small circulations, often carried very extensive coverage, which might well have included reports on the committee meetings.

It is important to realize that, although raced by bona fide professional fisherman, the rules we draw up in a very amateur fashion. They were not yachtsmen. I forget offhand in which year the Elizabeth Howard participated, but almost all the rules would have originated from the early 1920s, and been strictly adhered

to after that.

Your have probably already tried the Gloucester Lyceum & Free library, the Peabody Museum at Salem, the Boston library system. But the conduct of the races, especially the United States series, was chiefly in the hands of the larger Gloucester fishing companies. Thus after the races, the minutes could possibly have found their way into company archives.

Your should be able to find out the names of committee members via my Index, which is now in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Family descendants of these members may possibly be able to help.

I had been going to write a book on the series, but the Canada council thought it of no interest, and I was unable to find work in Halifax. Years later, when it became clear that I would never achieve my objective, I sent my Index to P.A. N. S. In Halifax. From this anyone should certainly be able to locate every American account. My album had earlier been destroyed.

From Norman H. G. Hurst,
Coulsdon, Surrey, England.

In view of the remarks in your report on the reunion of Canadian veterans who served on motor torpedo boats during the Second World War [*Argonauta*, January 2001, p. 7], I thought readers would be interested to know that a detailed account of clandestine small boat operations is in fact available.

Published in 1996 by Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), *Secret Flotillas* by Brooks Richards (ISBN 0-11-630960-1) is an

account of under cover sea lines to France and French north Africa from 1940 to 1944. In the course of compiling this 726 page book the author was given unrestricted access to hitherto secret official archives. Recently received a catalogue indicating that a second revised edition expanded to three volumes is scheduled to be published in 2002 by Frand Cass Publisher, whose email address is marketing@isbs.com. The new edition will include operations in the Western Mediterranean and the Adriatic.

Although the index to the first edition contains no specific reference to Canadian forces it is never the less an enthralling and detailed account of this hitherto little known aspect of naval operations in WW2 and is highly recommended.

From Eric Lawson,
Bowan Island, British Columbia

Regarding William Glover's article, "Nautical Nostalgia", [*Argonauta*, January 2001, p. 10] I should like to make some corrections regarding the last eleven lines.

Dr. Glover states that the chalupe on display at Red Bay was a CCI project. This is not so, it was entirely a Parks Canada project, the CCI looked after the archaeology on land. The excavation and treatment of artifacts from the *Machault* was also entirely a Parks Canada project. I worked on some of the artifacts which included cannon, some 5000 cannon balls, several hundred pairs of shoes and countless artifacts from the ship, something like 30,000 in all.

Parks Canada's conservation lab, at that

time the largest in North America, if not the world, treated artifacts raised by the Parks Canada Underwater Archeology team. The work on the *Machault* started in 1969, before the CCI had started looking for staff or even had a building. Parks Wet Sites Lab was regarded as a world leader in the treatment of underwater finds, even receiving visits from the Swedish team who were treating the *Vasa*.

I am sure Dr. Glover will not mind my correcting him and I would like to see credit given to Parks Canada for the very extensive work they performed, not only on the vessels mentioned but on many others as well, including land archaeological sites.

Research Queries

Newfoundlanders and the RN, WWII

Brad Anthony (g54bga@mun.ca), a student of Dr. David Facey-Crowther, is working on the recruitment of Newfoundlanders into the Royal Navy during the Second World War, and would appreciate any leads to sources dealing with recruitment and practices during the inter-war and early war period.

Loss of HMAS *Sydney*, 1941

Dr. Kirsner is part of a team looking into the sinking of *Sydney* after her action with the German raider *Kormoran* 19 November 1941. Specifically, they are trying to find data that would allow them to estimate the amount of light and sound emitted by:

the firing of a naval 6-inch (or 5.9-inch) gun
the bursting of a 6-inch round
the explosion of a magazine

containing about 200 rounds of
6-inch propellant
the explosion of a stock of 400
mines (each with about 400 lb
of TNT)
the explosion of a stock of 40
German G7 torpedo warheads

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Nautical Nostalgia *by William Glover*

Our maritime heritage may be found in many different places. It is important to remember that Manitoba has a seaport and ships have been built on Lake Superior. Therefore maritime activity has influenced communities we would normally think of as inland and unconnected with the sea. But building ships or harbour facilities and handling cargo provided employment for men and exciting activity to watch for children of all ages. And so wherever records of human endeavour and activity are found, there may well be items of maritime heritage. Libraries, archives and museums are obvious places to find collections, but too frequently we do not think to ask different questions or bother just "to go and look." And sometimes the question need not even be that different or even unusual.

Charts are essential to all shipping activity but as navigation is a technical subject it is not one of the first maritime subjects to be studied. **The** research I am doing on early

navigation in Hudson's Bay has led me to discover the National Map Collection (NMC) in the National Archives of Canada. I got the distinct impression that this wonderful collection is not used as frequently as its treasures warrant. Handling and studying early charts is an exciting experience. As an example, let me describe the first chart of Hudson's Bay.

Henry Hudson did not, of course, return to England. The mutineers in the *Discovery* had set him, his son, and several others adrift in a small boat, and they vanished without trace. However, Hudson's notes and records were used by the mutineers to help get them home. Within a year of their return the notes came into the possession of the Amsterdam map maker, Hessel Gerritsz. He published a chart that includes the first depiction of Hudson's Bay. A copy is in the NMC. The first thing that strikes one is the size and shape of the map. It is 21 ½ inches long on the horizontal east/west axis and only 9 ½ inches wide on the north/south axis. Hudson's Bay is squashed up over in the southwest corner of the map. At first glance this treatment of Hudson's great discovery might seem rather cavalier. However, Hudson was not looking for a bay; he was searching for a northwest passage to the riches of China. Gerritsz's map shows that route from Europe to China as determined by Hudson. The map seems to say, "as the sailor travels west through Hudson's Strait, he will find a very large inland sea to the south; ignore it for that is not the way."

On close examination of the map, you realize that in detail there are a number of serious errors. For example, James Bay is divided into east and west halves by a large peninsula. Cape Henrietta Maria and the north

west entrance to the southern bay is placed at approximately 60°N, or five degrees farther north than it actually is. Both these errors were copied by others and remained in circulation for close to one hundred years. The copying of someone else's work emphasizes the derivative nature of a 17th or 18th century mapmaker's work. He collected and compiled accounts of voyages, maps by other men, and then tried to reconcile the discrepancies as he thought best. This allowed room for theoretical geography. Henry Briggs, a famous mathematician prominent in the early 1600s and highly respected in navigation circles drew a map of North America that had two interesting features. California was shown as an island and an incomplete coastline on the west side of Hudson's Bay left room for a northwest passage, sometimes called the Straits of Anian.

When a modern navigator looks at these early maps it is important to shed the concepts and practices of navigation that were drilled into one during training. For example, if longitude information is included on one of these maps, it is very limited. It took me a while to realize that if the navigator at sea cannot determine his longitude with any accuracy, such information on a chart is of not great use to him. When I was comparing two copies of the 1709 Thornton hand painted chart in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives I was struck by the number of differences in minor coastal detail. Then I realized that a sailing vessel would stay in mid channel. (Admiral Wharton, Hydrographer of the Navy 1884 - 1904, "deprecated" the practice of steamers cutting corners in the interests of time.) From the middle of a large strait, such as Hudson's Strait, the exact number of islands in a bay is not important. For the pilot determining his coastal

position, it is "the bay with islands" rather than "the bay with a prominent headland."

These examples may suggest a "primitive" quality to navigation of three centuries ago. Regardless of that, ships did depart and arrive on a fairly regular basis. Transatlantic voyages for the cod and whale fisheries became routine in the 16th century. The more crude we hold the early navigation techniques to be, the more we must esteem the masters and captains for their accomplishments. I arrived at this point on the basis of my own research using major collections of national prominence. But my experience would also suggest that we can all make equally interesting discoveries of our own regions at our local libraries, archives, and museums. I say that because I have had the opportunity to see some of the excellent material covering a diverse range of sources and subjects that is being acquired by the Marine Museum of the Great Lakes in Kingston.

Perhaps the best departure for advertising our maritime heritage is at the community level with community resources. They can tell the story of building the dock or the marina or of the men that loaded and unloaded cargoes. Although you might start your inquiry with an idea of what you expect to find, that is certain to be modified as you dig deeper. That is part of the pleasure and contributes to the sense of discovery. Support and use your local library, archive, or museum, and share the fascination of our maritime heritage with your friends and family, or even the readers of *Argonauta!* I am confident you will have fun.

Maritime Provinces Steam Passenger Vessels

By *Robin H. Wyllie*

P. S. East Riding

Specifications:

Official Number:	59743
Builder:	MacKenzie and Carmichael, New Glasgow, N. S.
Date Built:	1865
Gross Tonnage:	86
Overall Length:	111.3 feet
Breadth:	18.3 feet
Draught:	6.4 feet
Engine:	unknown
Engine Builder:	unknown
Propulsion:	side paddle

When steam-powered vessels were introduced to Nova Scotia waters in 1827, they offered, for the first time, a relatively fast, reliable means of transportation and communication between major centres in Nova Scotia and ports in neighbouring provinces. Another major advantage was that they were ideally suited for towing. As a result, the availability of a steamer was a tremendous boon to any port during the age of sail and, although the surviving documentary evidence is sketchy, it now seems certain that the first steamship actually built in Nova Scotia was not the Halifax Harbour ferry *Sir Charles Ogle*, which was launched on New Year's Day, 1830, but the *Richard Smith*, which was launched from George Foster's yard at Fisher's Grant, now Pictou Landing, on the 19th of August of 1829.

The story behind the introduction of steam propulsion to Pictou Harbour is quite fascinating. In 1825, the British Government,

concerned by the huge personal debts amassed by the heir to the throne, Frederick, Duke of York, assigned to him all of the available mineral reserves in Nova Scotia, for a period of sixty years.

His Royal Highness immediately transferred the said leases to his jewellers, Rundell, Bridges and Rundell, in lieu of his not inconsiderable obligations. The jewellers, who appear to have been most astute businessmen, then acquired a controlling interest in the General Mining Association (G.M.A.), a small English company with interests in South Africa, and, their leases being of limited duration, wasted no time in bringing both iron and coal mines into production on the upper reaches of the East River in Pictou County, Nova Scotia.

Both iron and coal were mined, but, while the iron was processed by the company for use in its foundry at Albion Mines, the bulk of the coal production was transported by horse tramway to a point on the East River, a little below the town of New Glasgow. From there it was lightered with the tide down the shallow lower reaches of East River to the Loading Ground, where it was manually loaded into deep draught vessels bound, in the main, for Quebec and Gulf Coast ports. It was an inefficient operation and, in 1829, in order to hasten the movement of the lighters and facilitate transportation of the large work force from Albion Mines to the Loading Ground, a small steam paddle tug was ordered from George Foster at nearby Fishers Grant.

The *Richard Smith*, named after the General Manager of the G.M.A., was launched on the 19th August, 1829 and then towed upriver to await the delivery of her 30 hp. engine from

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the United Kingdom. The engine arrived safely and on July 17th 1830, it was reported in the Pictou *Patriot* that the steamer *Richard Smith* had just appeared in the harbour. Quite naturally, it being the first time a steam-driven vessel had been seen on these waters, the whole town turned out to see the marvellous spectacle.

The following month, under the command of Captain George MacKenzie, *Richard Smith* completed a voyage from Pictou to Charlottetown in eight hours and became the first steamer to call at that port. Oddly enough, the vessel's registration lists her owners as Messrs. Rundell, not the G.M.A., a further indication that the jewellers had retained a major interest in the mining operation.

In 1832, serious consideration had actually been given to running the *Richard Smith*, as near year-round as possible, between Wood Island and Charlottetown. The idea was shelved when, later that same year, the Liverpool, U.K.-built paddle steamer *St. George* was placed on the Pictou-Charlottetown-Miramichi mail run by the Prince Edward Island Navigation Company. There was, however, a market for coal in eastern Prince Edward Island and, in 1832, the G.M.A. placed the Dartmouth-built paddler *Pocohontas* on a **twice-weekly** run between New Glasgow, Pictou and Georgetown.

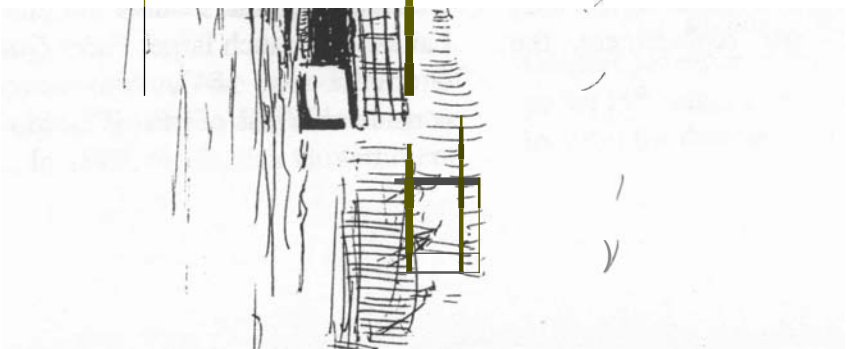
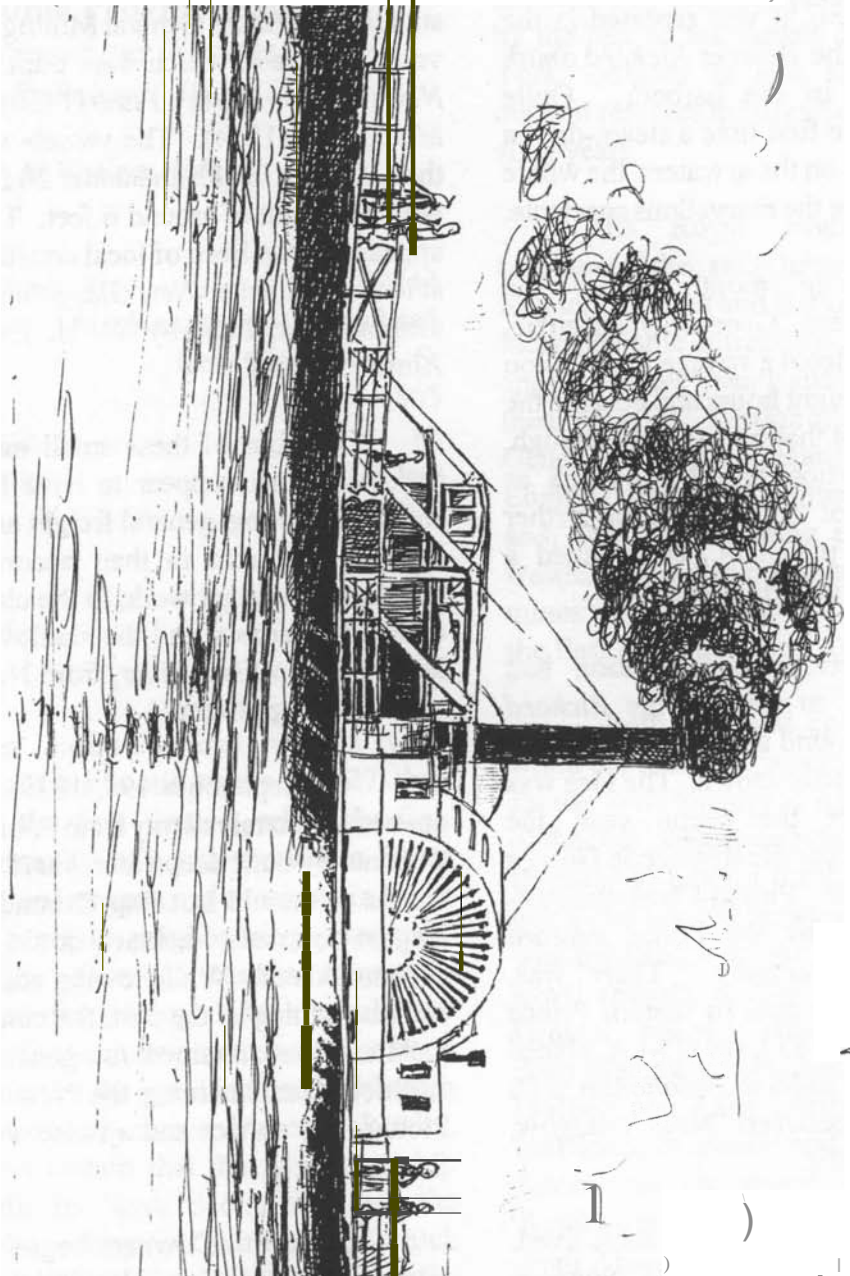
The *Richard Smith* was short-lived, perhaps on account of hogging, a common complaint with early shallow draught steamers, but, as was so often the case, her engine survived and, when she was broken up in 1835, it was transferred to her replacement, the slightly larger *Albion*.

Albion (1835) appears to have set the standard for future General Mining Association vessels, three of which were built. They **were** *New Glasgow* (1841), *Pluto* (1850) and *George MacKenzie* (1854). The vessels were all less than 100 ft in length and under 20 feet in width, with a draught of around 6 feet. Their engines appear to have been of local construction from at least 1842, when *New Glasgow's* engine was designed and built by W. H. Davies of the Albion Factory.

All four of these small manoeuvrable paddle steamers appear to have been ideally suited for towing, general freight and, although somewhat spartan in their accommodations, managed passenger work, in the close confines of Pictou Harbour and the shallow eight mile long stretch of East River, from New Glasgow to the loading ground.

On September 19th, 1839, the G.M.A. opened a mineral railway from Albion Mines to their newly-built deepwater wharf and loading chutes at the old Loading Ground, where the largest vessels afloat could now be accommodated. While towing coal scows had become a thing of the past, the company's two paddlers were retained for general work, in addition to maintaining the New Glasgow to Pictou ferry service and a twice weekly run to Eastern P.E.!

Soon, other owners began to show an interest in the P.E.! run. *New Glasgow*, built in 1841, was not a financial success and was sent up round the east coast of Cape Breton Island to become the first steamer on the Bras d'Or Lakes. The much larger *Fairy Queen*, built in Granville in 1847, was wrecked with considerable loss of life off Pictou Harbour in



P. S EAST R101N4

ROB N H WYLLIE 200

October 1853.

In 1850, *Albion* was replaced by *Pluto*, another New Glasgow-built vessel, which was joined in 1854 by the *George MacKenzie*, built to replace the *Pocohontas*, which had been destroyed by fire the previous year. By the early 1860's, apart from coastal schooners, most of the vessels calling at Pictou were steamers. As a result, apart from their ferry duties, there was little work for either the *George MacKenzie* or *Pluto*. By 1868, both vessels had been retired. *George MacKenzie* was subsequently broken up in 1871 and *Pluto* in 1872.

In 1865, the *East Riding*, a slightly larger vessel than the *George MacKenzie*, had been built for J. R. Carmichael, who placed her in competition with the *Pluto* on the New Glasgow-Pictou run. She was the last of what might be described as the classic Pictou County paddle steamers and retained virtually all of the features which had made them so practical. These included a long shallow hull, spartan passenger accommodations and lots of space for deck cargo.

When *George MacKenzie* was retired in 1868, Pictou Town interest had attempted to replace her with the brand new *May Flower*, a vessel with greatly improved passenger accommodations, with which they hoped to recover at least a portion of the local Eastern P.E.! traffic, lost when the big P.E.! S.N.Co. Royal Mail steamers *Princess of Wales* and *Heather Belle* were placed on the Pictou-Charlottetown route in 1864. Unfortunately, her deck saloon greatly reduced the amount of deck space and deck cargo, including carts, carriages and

machinery built by New Glasgow manufacturers, had always been the bread and butter of the run. As a result, renamed *May Queen*, she followed her predecessor *New Glasgow* to the Bras d'Or Lakes, where, after a long career, she was destroyed by fire at Baddeck in May 1898.

With the completion of the Eastern Extension Railway from Pictou, via New Glasgow and Antigonish, to the Strait of Canso in 1883, the East River-Pictou service might well have come to an end. However *East Riding* remained in service until 1874, when she was replaced by a small screw ferry. Carmichael then leased the vessel to New Brunswick interests, for use as a ferry on the Restigouche between Campbelltown and Dalhousie. There, the little steamer remained in service until around 1899, when she was condemned and subsequently broken up.

Maple Leaf was the last of the Pictou County-built paddlers. However, being purpose-built solely for service between Pictou Town and Pictou Landing, she bore little resemblance to the East River vessels. Built in Pictou in 1891, she was never a success and was replaced by a screw-driven vessel in 1896 and broken up in 1903.

Although the era of the quaint little multi-purpose paddle steamers had come to an end, the demand for vehicular transportation between Northern Nova Scotia and Eastern Prince Edward Island had continued to grow. Over the years, various operators, attracted by lucrative government subsidies, placed a variety of ever-larger vessels on the route. Of particular note among them was J. P. Morgan's former yacht *Walurus*. Renamed

Hochelaga, the spacious decks of this "floating palace" provided "special accommodation for cars." She was replaced by the former Nantucket Line steamer *Sankaty*, which, after extensive modifications in 1940, was renamed *Charles E Dunning* and became the first vessel to be operated by Northumberland Ferries Ltd. on the Wood Island-Caribou run. The company's present flagship is the 224 car, 600 passenger-capacity M. V. *Confederation*. Built in 1993, the vessel is a far cry from the old East River paddle steamers which inaugurated the Pictou-P.E.I. service almost 170 years ago.

Sources:

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Assorted shipping registers.

Illustration:

P.S. *East Riding*, -from an uncredited photograph reproduced in the Town of New Glasgow "Centennial" booklet.

Pictou County-Built Paddle Steamers

Date	Name	Built	Off. No.	Dimen. (ft)	G.T.	Notes
1830	<i>Richard Smith</i>	Pictou		73 x 19	unk.	b/u 1835
1835	<i>Albion</i>	Pictou		80 x 17	unk.	b/u 1850
1841	<i>New Glasgow</i>	New Glasgow		81 x 13	unk.	to Bras d'Or Lake 1845
1850	<i>Pluto</i>	New Glasgow		93 x 18	unk.	<i>blu</i> 1872
1854	<i>George MacKenzie</i>	New Glasgow	37792	99 x 17	77	retired 1868; b/u 1871
1865	<i>East Riding</i>	New Glasgow	59743	111 x 18	86	to N.B. '74; b/u 1899
1868	<i>May Flower/ May Queen</i>	Pictou	57712	100 x 19	142	burned Baddeck 5/98
1891	<i>Maple Leaf</i>	Pictou	92687	88 x 22	129	retired '96; b/u 1903

Tug Salvage Chief

by Rick James

Official Number: 91255
Signal Letters: KCNM
Registry: Victoria, B.C.

Construction

The *Salvage Chief* was built as the iron screw steamer *William Jolliffe* in 1885 by J. Readhead & Company, South Shields, Durham, England. The *William Jolliffe* was a large tug for its day; measuring out at 149 feet in length, 26½ feet in breadth, and with a depth of 14 feet. The 1897-8 Lloyd's entry for the tug notes that she displaced 382 gross tons and 321 registered tons at that time. Upon steamboat inspection June 1907 in Victoria, B.C., the tug's displacement had been changed to 332.16 gross tons and 57.86 tons. The *William Jolliffe's* framework was iron, with five watertight compartments and she was constructed with one deck and schooner rigged with two masts. The ocean going tug had a distinctive profile with her two in-line funnels.

Two compound surface condensing, direct acting, inverted steam engines with cylinders of 30 inches and 60 inches diameter and strokes of 30 inches drove the *William Jolliffe's* single screw with 164 nominal horsepower. The tug's first registry entry in Canada in 1914 records that the original boilers were replaced by two steel, single ended, Scotch marine boilers of 120 pounds pressure constructed by Commercial Boiler Works of Seattle, Washington in 1913.

Operational History

The *William Jolliffe* was built for a prominent firm of tug owners located in the port of Liverpool, England. William and Thomas Jolliffe founded the company W. & T. Jolliffe in 1854 and became actively involved in ocean and river towage and also operated an excursion service to North Wales. By 1892, the firm was managing a fleet of some twelve screw and paddle tugs. Family names for the company's tugs were introduced in 1879 with the launching of the screw driven *Thomas Jolliffe*. Six years later, the *William Jolliffe* was launched.

The Mersey River based tug fleet was widely known around the coast of Great Britain and it was also commonplace for Liverpool tugs to be regularly reported coming and going from continental ports such as Bremen and Hamburg. The *William Jolliffe* was operated primarily as a "cruiser," picking up windjammers and towing them into harbour or out to the open ocean. Cruiser was a British term commonly used from 1880 onwards and applied to the larger steam tugs with a good bunker radius and especially those in the fleet working out of the Port of Liverpool. These towboats often spent time cruising the western approaches to the English Channel hoping to come upon inward-bound sailing ships, slowed by unfavourable winds and willing to pay for a tow.

The *William Jolliffe* was also capable of handling large salvage jobs and was often involved with assisting and towing disabled vessels. With its large size, powerful engines and good sea keeping qualities, the *William Jolliffe* was recognized as being well designed

for deep sea work. The "Billy", as the *William Jolliffe* was commonly called, performed a major salvage feat in 1894 when, under the command of Captain James Clare, she rescued the Dundee steamer *Loch Marie* drifting off the north west coast of Ireland after the steamer had used up all her coal.

The Atlantic Transport liner *Maryland* had already put a rope onto the *Loch Marie* to prevent her from drifting on to the beach. Unfortunately, the liner couldn't hold the steamer and she broke adrift. A few days later, the *William Jolliffe* relocated the derelict, put three men aboard, passed over a hawser, and brought the *Loch Marie* into Belfast Lough. The liner's crew received £1,500 while the tug's crew received £7,500 as the salvage award for the rescue.

The *William Jolliffe* was bought by the British Columbia Salvage Company in 1907 for use as a salvage vessel and brought out to British Columbia. Founded in Victoria, British Columbia in 1903, B.C. Salvage was a subsidiary of B.C. Marine Railway Company, owned by Bullen Brothers, later to become Yarrows Ltd. One of the shareholders and a director of the company was Captain J.W. Troup, general superintendent of B.C. Coast Steamship Service of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company (CPR). Consequently, the salvage company maintained a close relationship with the big transportation company. B.C. Salvage was the first salvage company in the province and operated, along with the *William Jolliffe*, the *Salvor* (the ex-*Danube*, a 215 foot iron steamship) and the 113.5 foot wooden steamer *Maude*. When the company was reorganized in 1916, it was renamed Pacific Salvage Company Ltd.

Early in the morning of 5 August 1910, the Canadian Pacific Railway's passenger steamer *Princess May* ran up onto Sentinel Rock, Lynn Canal after leaving Skagway, Alaska. Left sitting high and dry on the rock, the salvage ship *Santa Cruz* and the tug *William Jolliffe* were dispatched to her rescue. After the hull was patched, the **two** salvage vessels succeeded in pulling the *Princess May* into deep water and the *William Jolliffe* proceeded to take her in tow to Esquimalt for repairs.

In November 1911, the *William Jolliffe* was sent out to search for the CPR steamer *Tees* missing somewhere along the west coast of Vancouver Island after a faint signal for help from the ship had been picked by the steamer *Niagara* and relayed on. --Jack Robertson, relieving chief engineer on the *William Jolliffe*, recalled that as the steamer hadn't been heard from in nearly a week excitement was running high. He also remembered that they "had weather pretty bad, but what a ship! The *Jolliffe* could ride it out like a duck." The *Tees* was eventually found tied up to the beach in a sheltered inlet. She had struck a rock on leaving Kyuquot and stripped the propeller and damaged her rudder.

When the *William Jolliffe* was sold to the CPR in 1914, her registry was finally transferred over from Liverpool to Victoria on 9 April and on 7 May she was renamed *Nitinat*. The late Captain T.S. Guns, who became skipper of the *Nitinat*, told marine writer Norman Hacking that the steam tug's boilers needed replacing and the former owners couldn't afford the job so they sold the *William Jolliffe* to the CPR who had her fitted with new ones at Bullen Bros. shipyard. The

tug also received oil burning gear and an automatic winch at that time.

The CPR assigned the *Nitinat* to general work and later placed her on the regular transfer service of railway car barges between Vancouver Island and the CPR's mainland tenninus at Vancouver. The big steam tug was called upon to perfonn one unusual job although when she hauled the large Heffernan floating dock, required for the construction of Victoria's Outer Wharf, from Seattle to Victoria. Seattle shipping interests insisted two tugs would be needed but the old, but still powerful, tug proved capable of perfonning the job on her own.

The *Nitinat ex-William Jolliffe* retired from general towing work and returned to salvage duty when the CPR sold the tug back to the Pacific Salvage Company of Victoria in June 1924. The salvage company consequently refitted her with pumps and other salvage gear and, on the 31 August 1924, they renamed *Nitinat* to *Salvage Chief* Unfortunately the big steam tug only operated under this name for a few **short** months: early in February 1925 she was wrecked on Merry Island in the Gulf of Georgia.

Her Loss

On the 6 February 1925, the *Salvage Chief* left Victoria harbour with a crew of 14 aboard under the command of master F.C. Stratford. The big salvage tug was dispatched to assist the Hecate Straits Towing Company tug *Cape Scott* which was struggling to regain control of two huge Davis rafts) she was towing. The *Cape Scott's* difficulties began when she encountered bad weather passing through

Active Pass.

The *Salvage Chief*reached the *Cape Scott* and on 7 February the two tugs worked to free the Davis rafts which had grounded on Merry Island just off the Sechelt peninsula. When the *Salvage Chief* was manoeuvring into position, one Davis raft began drifting down on her and the tug attempted to move aside. Unfortunately, this put the tug over some rocks and she slammed down heavy in the trough of the waves on a pinnacle and remained fast.

The rock the big tug was stranded on was 500 yards off shore and 1000 yards southwest of the lighthouse. A strong southeast breeze was blowing and it was two hours before high water at the time of the accident. By the next day, a strong wind had come up and a large sea developed.

The *Salvage Chief* was hung up midships with a large hole punched in her bottom under the boilers. Since the rising tide flooded in uncontrollably through the stove in bottom, the tug was unable to free herself and the officers and crew abandoned ship for the *Cape Scott*. Down by the stem, at high tide the bow remained out of the water while the wreck flooded up to the after funnel. At low water, the tide dropped back to the top of the towing engine.

Deep water surrounded the pinnacle and efforts to pull the big steam tug off only wedged the hull finner. Salvage experts examined the wreck and found the tug in a bad way. With a heavy storm pounding her, the *Salvage Chief*continued to sustain more damage and it was decided to declare the

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vessel a total loss. There was \$50,000 of insurance on the vessel and \$25,000 on the cargo. While the *Salvage Chief* was never raised, the wrecking scow *Skookum II* did recover some of her machinery and equipment. The hulk eventually broke up and disappeared beneath the waves.

6. Davis rafts were an ingenious method devised for towing logs along the **West** Coast. A flat boom of logs was lain and then woven together with wire rope. Logs were piled on top until the side sticks were about to sink and then more wire rope was laid over top of the whole package and cinched tight. The resulting raft would draw 15 to 20 feet of water and sit above the water about the same height. A big tug could make about three miles an hour with this unusual tow.

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Author's Note:

This operational history of the tug *Salvage Chief* will be included in the next regional status report from the Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia (UASBC.) (The UASBC is currently researching, documenting, and surveying 13 historic wrecks in the waters around the Sunshine Coast and Powell River regions of British Columbia and hopes to publish its findings within the next year.)

The UASBC is a non-profit volunteer

organization founded in 1975. It is dedicated to promoting the science of underwater archaeology and to conserving, preserving, and protecting the maritime heritage lying beneath British Columbia's coastal and inland waters. Inventories of shipwrecks and other submerged cultural sites are an especially important contribution.

The Nova Scotia Tree-Ring Project

by Alan Ruffman

This project was begun in 1995 with a grant from the Royal Canadian Geographic Society. Initially Erik Nielsen and Alan Ruffman began with the idea of building a tree-ring record or 'dendrochronology' of softwoods in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. A field trip to Newfoundland in 1995 yielded numerous samples, but not living in Newfoundland made the project there more difficult, so they have concentrated on Nova Scotia where Alan has easier access to samples. At present there are very few tree-ring records in any of the four Atlantic Provinces. This does not stem from a lack of trees, but rather a lack of interested researchers to date. This is perhaps rather surprising, given the current interest in climate change; tree-rings offer one of the best records of the climate of an area, and allow one to absolutely date the wood in a heritage building.

To build the Nova Scotia tree-ring records, Alan and Erik need tree-ring samples that cover all of the years from the present back as far as one can reach. Living trees will give them the first 100 to 150 years easily, and may reach back even further. In Nova Scotia we have a tremendous resource in the beams

and boards of heritage buildings. To date they have a large collection from the charred bones of St. George's Round Church (trees cut circa 1799) and from the Mitchell House (circa 1827), both located in Halifax, from the Anderson Barn on the West Petpeswick Road (circa 1830), the Elisha Clark House in Belmont (circa 1800), and some samples from the Colonel McHaffey barn in Windsor Forks, constructed of timbers apparently cut in Parrsboro circa 1800. They need data from buildings built in the later 1800s up until about 1920. To go back before about 1470- the oldest tree measured to date - the project will probably have to depend upon trees buried in peat bogs, **river** meanders, or deltas, or trees caught by rising sea levels.

The researchers need a 'cookie' cut from the trunk of a living tree about 3-4 inches thick (7.5 - 10 em), about one metre from the ground to get clear of the roots.

With samples from a heritage building, they would like to obtain similar cookies from the discarded portions of timbers, sills, or pieces sawn from boards that are not reincorporated in a restoration - a 6-inch long (15 em) board sample is ideal. If the sample can be labelled as to its origin in the building, it will make the results more interesting to the owner. And if some of the samples include 'the round' or 'the bark' (ie the 'live edge') of the tree, they should be able to date the year (and even the season) of the cut, hence closely date the construction of the building.

If interested in Nova Scotia tree-rings, you may be interested to see what you can get out of the charred timbers that are left after a tragic fire in a National Historic Site:

Ruffman, Alan (, Erik Nielsen and Scott St. George). 2000. "A Phoenix Rising from the Ashes: The Nova Scotia Tree Ring Project and Saint George's Round Church". *The Griffin*, a publication of Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Vol. 25, No.4, December, pp. 18-19.

The Nova Scotia Tree-Ring Project
Samples to September, 2000

	<u>Source/Age</u>	<u>No. of Samples</u>	<u>No. Showing Live Edge</u>
PRJ	Mitchell House 5112 Prince Street Halifax, Nova Scotia circa pre-1827	61	3
StG	St. George's Round Church 2222 Brunswick Street Halifax, Nova Scotia 1800	56	19+

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PPP	Point Pleasant Park Halifax, Nova Scotia trees had been dead for up to 5 years when cut in the spring of 1997	15	15
PCR	D. Tamlyn Property 312 Purcell's Cove Road Halifax, Nova Scotia cut about August 20, 1997		
LDC	Little Dutch Church Brunswick Street northwest corner of Gerrish Street Halifax, Nova Scotia samples circa 1900 or late 1800s??	3	3
RKHH	Elisha Clark (Planter House?) c/o Rosie and Keith Hare 864 Belmont Road Belmont, Hants County Nova Scotia circa early 1800s	12	3
LMG	Leminster, West Hants County Nova Scotia about 300 tree-rings cut in spring of 2000		1
WPR	George Anderson Barn 222 West Petpeswick Road Musquodoboit Harbour Halifax County, Nova Scotia originally; re-assembled as a house at 100 English Point Road, Head of Jeddore Halifax County, Nova Scotia on an 1830 map	25	18
CMcB	Colonel MeHaffey Barn 4485 Highway 14 Windsor Forks West Hants County, Nova Scotia a planter (?) Bam disassembled and shipped to Vermont	28	17 to 19
CWRB	Central West River Road Barn near Greenhill, Pictou County, Nova Scotia age unknown, 1800s??		

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P-FH	Putnam-Frieze House Maitland, East Hants County Nova Scotia 1790 with wood from 1830 house used for restoration	to come	?
LTB	Lower Truro Barn Colchester County, Nova Scotia late 1800s?? disassembled for a Sheet Harbour dealer who ships to a New York dealer who sells the barns to Europe	to come	?

Total: 7 heritage structures (2 more to come) providing 203 samples to date

Post Script:

It has really come along quite far since I put these sheet together. I can add to these that we now have over 300 samples in the database, have dated the Colonel McHaffey Barn to within 1 to 2 months, have dated the Anderson Barn, have sampled the Lower Truro Barn, have cross-dated our spruce chronology to an anchored hemlock chronology, and have cross-dated our St. George's Round Church in White Pine to years in spruce, 500+ years in hemlock, and soon will have an anchored 500+ years chronology in pine. We are now at a point that, if you hand us a softwood 'cookie', or other sample, from an undated local heritage structure, or from a Louisbourg archaeological site, we can probably tell you the date on which the tree was cut down, right to the season, hence can tell you the probable construction date of the undated structure. We are about to try to produce a preliminary climate model for the past 500 years.

Erik Nielsen, Scott St. George (both in Winnipeg), and I can also report that we have now achieved the first dating of a Nova Scotia heritage structure of previously-unknown age using tree-rings. These tree-ring chronologies

offer the opportunity for other researchers to now date wharf and dyke pilings, or even mast and other elements of vessels built of Nova Scotian wood in local yards. For more information, or to suggest a source of samples, please contact: .

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Seeing the Sea - the Maritime Dimension in History

by Sarah Palmer

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Introduction

What is maritime history? Indeed, is there such a subject? And, if there is, should there be? For me, someone who has been honoured by the title of Professor of Maritime History, to ask this question may seem foolhardy - not only because it might encourage the University of Greenwich to have second thoughts, but also because the present assembly includes a number of scholars who would describe themselves as maritime historians, as also possibly some Greenwich Maritime Institute postgraduate students reading for an MA in Maritime History. I would not want my friends who are maritime historians to decide that professional honour means that they have to leave at this point, or my students to ask the Registry for a refund of their fees, so let me immediately clarify what I mean in posing these questions.

Maritime History as a Branch of Scholarship

There can, of course, be no doubt that maritime history exists as a historical specialism. On my shelves in the Greenwich Maritime Institute sit well-established journals with an international readership dedicated to the publication of research into the maritime past.¹ Across the road is the National Maritime Museum, itself now only one of many such museums in Britain and in the

wider world with a focus on the sea. The Society for Nautical Research continues to promote the cause in Britain, as does the British element of the International Commission for Maritime History; a global professional organization which together with the International Maritime Economic History Association regularly organises sessions at major historical congresses. The Congress of Maritime Museums provides an international forum for the museum side, while regional organisations like the North Sea Society, as well as national bodies such as the Dutch Society for Maritime History, founded in 1961, and the Australian Association for Maritime History, set up in 1978, offer more localised points of contact between researchers.

Neither can there be any doubt that the circle of those who see themselves as maritime historians has been much enlarged over the last twenty-five years. The sheer number of articles published annually and the popularity of conferences on maritime themes, whether one-day local history events or major international gatherings, amply testifies to this. One distinctive feature of the field, which distinguishes it from most other areas of historical investigation, is that the research effort in most countries comes from a range of spheres - navy, museums, universities, amateur historians - though there are significant national differences in the contribution made by each. In **Scandinavia**, for example, those in museums have taken the lead. In the United States it is those with naval backgrounds. In Canada it is one particular university, Memorial University of Newfoundland, which has also made a world-wide impact largely through the efforts

of a single individual, Lewis 'Skip' Fischer (if every emerging discipline needs its entrepreneur, then that has been his role). In the Netherlands, where maritime history has particular vitality, honours are evenly divided between the University of Leiden, which has a Chair in Maritime History, the Dutch Royal Naval College and the museum sector.² The research structure in Britain is arguably somewhat similar to the Dutch pattern, with universities, museums and to a lesser extent the Royal Navy, serving as bases for historical investigation. There is here, too, a tradition of high quality amateur scholarship, reflected in many of the articles published by *Mariner's Mirror*, and reference must also be made to the part played by independent professional researchers.

The History of Maritime History

We may agree, then, that something called maritime history is a reasonably vigorous historical area, but when we describe something as maritime history what do we mean? Although serious engagement with aspects of the maritime past is nothing new (the Hakluyt Society dates from 1845, Lindsay's four volume *History of Merchant Shipping* appeared in 1874-6, the Navy Records Society was founded in 1893), the term 'maritime history' is itself in fact apparently relatively recent.³ In Britain it first seems to have come into use some twenty years ago, at a time when naval history was the dominant strand, to distinguish the history of merchant shipping from naval history and to assert an equal or greater claim to attention. Owing to its attraction to late nineteenth century naval officers, both as a means of

understanding naval operations and as a source of inspiration in its tales of great men, naval history had an early start as a subject for scholarship.⁴ That early naval impetus was not maintained after the First World War, and naval history, together with history of warfare, arguably did not achieve more than a minor foothold in the universities until the late 1960s, though this is not to say that there were not those professionally identified with other historical fields who advanced the cause in their research and writing. A prime example here would be the imperial historian Gerald S. Graham, author of a formidable number of books and articles on naval topics.⁵ If, however, naval history achieved slight formal recognition in universities, even so the flame of naval history burned bright elsewhere, not least in the Society for Nautical Research which successfully campaigned to preserve the *Victory* and brought into being the National Maritime Museum in 1937.⁶ Although the NMM's founding vision included the range of maritime activity, in practice the naval side eclipsed other collections and displays. Furthermore, it was the ships, men and activities of the Royal Navy which overwhelmingly attracted both amateur historians and the wider public.

This remained the situation until university expansion and particularly the creation of new Departments of Economic History provided the context in the 1960s for an academic reaction against - a naval-dominated interpretation of the significance of the sea, with the business of merchant shipping, shipbuilding and ports increasingly chosen as topics for doctoral theses and subjects for published work. Two economic historians, Ralph Davis and Robin

Craig were key figures here - Davis as the author of *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1962), still a rare example of a scholarly general survey, and Craig, in 1971 the founding editor of the journal *Maritime History*.⁷ Publishing difficulties made this successful journal a short-lived venture, but its launch marked a fresh direction since it proposed to 'concentrate on merchant shipping in all its aspects' and to 'exclude from consideration both naval history and marine archaeology'.⁸ In effect this was an attempt to reserve the term 'maritime history' for commercial maritime activity and to eschew narrowly technical aspects. It was also a conscious rejoinder to the perceived obsession of traditionalists with details such as rigging. To some extent it reflected too a professional antipathy which found expression in the portrayal of naval historians in some academic arena as amateurish, and lacking rigour in comparison with the social scientific practitioners of the 'new' maritime history.

Such criticisms, though not entirely unjustified, took little account of the extent to which naval historians were themselves becoming influenced by developments in the study of economic and social history. Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* (1976) is the outstanding example here.⁹ It underestimated, too, the will for change elsewhere. Under the direction of Basil Greenhill, the National Maritime Museum built up what is almost certainly the finest collection of shipping and shipbuilding business archives in the world.¹⁰ In addition, not all those working on themes with a maritime dimension were happy with the distinction between military and civil which

'naval and maritime' implied, rightly judging this profoundly misleading.¹¹ As a consequence, although historians equally at home with both fields remain rare, if non-existent, the formalisation of the division between naval history and the rest did not materialise and in this country 'maritime history' is now typically used inclusively in universities and museums, though such a given meaning is not always understood outside these institutions. This has brought English usage into line with typical European practice, but contrasts with the United States where the continued primacy of interest in naval affairs has ensured that reference is invariably to 'naval and maritime history' in historiographical discussion.¹²

A reason for not treating the history of navies as distinct areas for investigation is the obvious practical point that the fortunes of the merchant service and national defence needs have usually been intertwined, so to know about the one is important for understanding of the other. My own particular current area of research interest, in addition to port history, is maritime policy, past and present, and three examples here make the point. Britain's protectionist Navigation Laws, not abandoned until the mid nineteenth century, by favouring the national merchant fleet were believed to ensure that it served as a 'nursery for seamen' who could be brought into naval service at time of war. Here we have the case of the subordination of the interests of commerce to the needs of the Navy; shipowners appreciated the protection of the Laws, traders restricted in the choice of vessels to carry their cargoes did not. Another, more contentious example, is the view that the Anglo-German naval race which contributed to the outbreak of War in

1914 was itself the product of earlier British naval expansion fuelled by the perceived need to match the country's ever increasing trade maritime trade with a sufficient defensive force. Finally, no-one who has studied the United States government's ultimately unsuccessful efforts through much of the twentieth century to develop its peace-time national foreign-going flagged fleet can fail to notice that preparedness in case of war was the justification for the plethora of subsidies, subventions and protective regulations which underpinned (some would say undermined) the American merchant navy.¹³

Interpretations of 'Maritime'

The argument for resisting the division 'naval and maritime' however, goes further than this, leading back to my initial question, 'what is maritime history'? An advantage of the label 'maritime history' over some hybrid or more specific term is that the meaning of maritime, as indeed the meaning of history, is mercifully vague, with the potential to be used in a variety of senses and to encompass a range of approaches. I say mercifully, because if we look at where maritime history stands today we can see that the areas of research which are claimed by maritime historians to merit the description, even if in some cases the researchers themselves do not recognise them as such (we are a territorially expansionist lot), have extended well beyond the history of men in ships and boats, though the subject as a whole has not moved far enough, nor in the direction it needs to go, if it is to reach its full potential.

Strictly speaking, of course, maritime history might be the history of the element

which covers at present seven-tenths of the globe; the *mare*, the sea itself. There is increasing contemporary awareness of the importance of the oceans as an energy and food resource and of their role in the climate, but as yet few historians have traced the past influence of what we might call the inner life of the oceans (the currents, the winds, the movements of fish) on human fortunes. This is not to say that these do not feature in studies of shipping, trade, fishing or exploration, nor indeed to deny that a kind of aquarium element has crept into some maritime museum presentations, but to date the sea has in most often been treated by historians in the same way as those who have used it - as a 'given', something to be traversed; sometimes a bridge, a sea-way; sometimes a barrier, variously a defence or an obstacle; something to fight on, something to live **off**, something to play on, something to drown in.

The maritime world portrayed in much of the literature is still populated by European vessels and crews; the passages most studied are those they traced, the feats of navigation theirs. This is not just a reflection of the origins of many maritime historians, a demonstration of understandable concentration on their national histories. **For** long it concealed a denial of, a disbelief in, the maritime experience of other peoples, a view which, for example, led to assumptions about Polynesian settlement in the Pacific which are now increasingly difficult to sustain in the light of evidence of Polynesian navigational skills.¹⁴ As we in the West have learned more of global maritime history, such as the 15th century Chinese expeditions of Cheng Ho to the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and East Africa, and those of the Arab navigators,

professional perceptions have changed. It is clear that the triumphs associated with the great maritime explorers, Columbus, Magellan and Cook, were not restricted to them.¹⁵ Others, in other parts of the world, also went out into unknown waters and returned. But to acknowledge this is not to undermine the claim to fame of more familiar figures, only to say that the exploration of the oceans has produced more examples of outstanding human achievement than we had supposed.

As we have seen, the means by which mankind has crossed the oceans or fought enemies at sea, the vessels themselves, were one of the earliest concerns of the historian, and technical and design detail continues to attract a considerable following, though primarily among archaeologists or as an amateur enthusiasm, as any issue of the *Mariner's Mirror*, *Sea Breezes*, or the catalogues of maritime book dealers will show. Maritime economic historians have tended not to share this interest unless, that is, the technical detail can be translated into an influence on cost. For some the vessel is a box-shaped receptacle designed to carry water-borne cargo rather than as the thing of beauty, and even personality, which commands affectionate attachment. (Here it may seem that modern nautical architects have helped economic historians in the quest to de-romanticise shipping.) Research into the shipbuilding and merchant shipping industries, and more recently the marine extractive industries of fishing, gas and oil, has illuminated their characteristics as economic enterprises with investment patterns, markets and cost structures which distinguish them from non-maritime industries. Foreign-going shipping no longer

dominates the agenda here.¹⁶ There has been a recognition in the British case that however spectacular and valuable trades such as that with the East Indies were in the eighteenth century, the routine day-to-day transport of cargoes like grain, bricks and coal up and down the coast accounted for most maritime activity, and this continued to be the case for much of the nineteenth century.

Yet another sub-area, maritime business history - the study of companies such as Cunard - in the 1960s and 1970s achieved such a close identification with researchers associated with the University of Liverpool, as to designate a particular style of detailed, company record based historical writing as a recognisable product of the 'Liverpool School', though the 1980s saw a number of scholars outside this circle, including some better known as imperial historians, also writing about maritime business.¹⁷ The Liverpool approach has now somewhat fallen out of fashion, in part because of its concentration on the management side of operations alone, and current work focusing on firms is far more theoretical and comparative.¹⁸

One aspect of development linked with business history, has been the biographical treatment of leading figures in merchant shipping. The more recent discovery of biography as a tool on the merchant shipping side contrasts with naval history where since the naval past is well-endowed with heroes and anti-heroes, and has its fair share of idols too, biography has long had a central place. Indeed, here the lives of naval historians themselves have been subjects of attention; an indication of what some would see as not only

the influence of seapower on history, but also the influence of historians on seapower, with their works on the waging of war at sea underpinning professional naval thought on strategy and policy.¹⁹

Historians of the economic side of the maritime dimension have yet to achieve such status, and I do not think that we can claim credit for the fact that current Labour government policy on shipping, as set out in the DETR policy paper, *British Shipping, Charting a New Course*, certainly demonstrates a sharper historical awareness of its significance than was the case with the previous government.²⁰ Set, however, against the situation thirty years ago there is no doubt that a tremendous advance has been made in knowledge of the economic history of shipping in Britain, though there is still a great way to go before the twentieth century is as well served as the nineteenth.

Drawing in and Drawing On, the Widening Definition of Maritime History

The change in the definition of what constitutes maritime history has, however, over the last ten years taken us still further away from the old concerns with ships and navigation than I have suggested so far. The current tendency is to see maritime history as 'embracing all aspects of mankind's relationship with the sea', which is how the British Commission for Maritime History's constitution puts it. Sea-based economic activities no longer dominate the non-naval research agenda and naval activity - the projection of power - is increasingly presented together with transport as just one of several ways in which men have made use of the sea.

The sea now features as an resource providing oil, gas, salt, seaweed and fish, and as an aspect of leisure activity. Any international conference with a commercial focus is now as likely, perhaps more likely, to include scholarly papers on such matters as port development, maritime communities in particular those associated with fishing, coastal tourism, waterfront culture, gender issues and maritime labour, as they are to cover the shipping business or the operation of particular trades. Several of these research areas are sufficiently developed to have taken on a life of their own as sub-disciplines; port historians, feminist historians concerned with 'women and the sea', naval dockyard historians, and labour historians are among those who have set up networks, national or international, and meet together. Each of these is in its turn expansive and inclusive. Current research in the field of port history, for example, includes investigations of dock construction and engineering, port operation and governance, port services, port labour and port society.²¹ In short, the breath and reach of research being undertaken in the name of maritime history has become remarkably extensive.²²

There are a number of features here which deserve further comment. First, we can perceive a beneficial process of both drawing in and drawing on a wide sphere of disciplinary and methodological influences. To the earlier contribution of economic and political history is now added social and labour history, but more telling is the influence of sociologists, geographers, anthropologists and, in a European context, ethnologists, themselves pushing at the boundaries of their respective disciplines.

Distinguished scholars with established reputations outside maritime history have brought a new perspective.²³ The history of navigation is now even more firmly linked with the history of science, and the contribution of medical historians has resulted in new insights into health at sea.²⁴

Although it would be fair to say that the written word, much of an official nature, is still the privileged source for most research in maritime history it is now recognised that past users of the sea have left to us a variety of other traces, sometimes in the form of objects and structures, sometimes in artistic representations, sometimes in customs, superstitions and oral traditions and that all these contribute to understanding. The, by now conventional point, that recovering the experience of those who do not feature prominently in the official record is as relevant a task for the scholar as exploring the reasons behind high policy, has been fully accepted by maritime historians. Power relations on board ship are no longer reflected in the degree of scholarly attention paid to the commander of a vessel as against the crew. Some of the most penetrating work in recent years, much of it undertaken by North American scholars, has been in the field of maritime labour history, enabling us to discard the stereotypical image of the seafarer as Jolly, or foolish, Jack Tar, substituting real beings, and also, drawing on insights offered by cultural historians, to appreciate the function of this image in its historical context.²⁵

Literary and artistic representations are increasingly used, not as illustrative props to liven up otherwise too solid blocks of text, but as integral aspects of the argument, in much the same fashion as the graphs and statistical

tables which are now commonplace but were much less so in the past. Centuries of interest by governments in national maritime activity as a source of power and wealth have left a data-rich legacy. Few quantitative studies in any historical field can match for industry, scale and achievement Dutch research on the VOC (the Dutch East India Company) or the work on merchant ship crews undertaken at Memorial University of Newfoundland, but it would be fair to say that the work of most maritime historians, whatever their field of interest, displays a willingness, encouraged by the computer, to count the numbers if appropriate.²⁶ Further signs of eclecticism in methodology is provided by the use made of oral evidence, and approaches to texts informed by insights drawn from literary criticism.

It cannot, of course, be claimed that all such approaches or methods feature in the work of anyone individual and indeed there is still research published which conforms to more traditional concepts of history. It can be argued that naval historians, in particular, seem to have been more resistant to external influences than other groups.²⁷ Even so the case can, in my view, be made that maritime history as a scholarly field is already characterised by a fair degree of interdisciplinarity, even if this is not usually explicit. For those who see disciplinary boundaries as artificial constructs, damaging to the pursuit of knowledge, this will be welcome but it poses challenges to the identity of maritime history as a distinct discipline and raises questions not only for the practitioners of maritime history, but also for those who read the books or articles they write, see paintings, experience audio-visual treatments,

those who encounter representations of maritime heritage, or visit maritime museums. Is maritime history, as currently practised by maritime historians, history as they know it and expect it?

This brings me on to a second feature of current work because it is not only the history in maritime history which has changed, there has also occurred a significant shift in the application of the word 'maritime'. Consider again some of the subjects which maritime historians currently investigate, port development, maritime communities, coastal tourism, waterfront culture, the industries which serve the sea-going sector. In these we have a land-based sight of maritime activity; the sea viewed from ashore or imagined from inland. Now, it seems, a connection with the sea is sufficient to justify the description maritime. This is not unique to academic study. Reflect in this context on 'Maritime London' as a contemporary encapsulation of the services offered to shipping by the City of London, as of course also our own 'Maritime Greenwich' and Medway's 'Chatham Maritime'.

We can welcome this wider interpretation of the maritime element as an acknowledgement of the profound, diverse and all embracing influence of the sea on the economy and society of many of those nations which have engaged with it. In the British case it encourages a realistic assessment of the extent to which Britain was a maritime economy in the past into which we can set current concerns about its continuing status as a maritime power, although, with 95% of Britain's exports and imports still leaving or entering by sea, there cannot be any doubts

about its continued central importance as a means of transport.²⁸ At another level it offers the opportunity to identify the maritime dimension in local history. Every vessel that went to sea had its own history of being built, equipped, invested in, victualled, provided with cargo or ballast and crewed. Men that returned from sea brought with them traces of their experiences which lent a distinctive flavour to the locality. Indeed port communities typically presented a paradox of local insularity co-existing with openness to a wider world beyond the seas. Aspects of the story of even this unique stretch of the river from Rotherhithe down to Chatham, with its shipbuilding, its commercial docks, its naval dockyards, its victualling yards, its seafarers and its dock workers, would find an echo in many parts of the world.

But there is more than this to the shift of maritime subject matter towards the shore. Those historians who, as it were, stayed at sea and focused attention on shipboard life, have themselves tended to conclude that this reflected economic and social relations on land. That this has led in the case of the two well known eighteenth-century studies by Rodger and Rediker to very different assessments of the hardships associated with the seafaring experience is a reflection of the authors' respective judgements on the nature of the society from which seafarers were drawn.²⁹ Research undertaken by Canadian scholars has challenged the notion that those who went to sea were a distinctive group, rather than simply 'working men who got wet', and gender historians have shown how masculine norms established ashore were both endorsed and threatened by life on board.³⁰

Such findings do not contradict the evidence that the ship was, and indeed still is, a unique social and occupational environment with its own hazards, practices and customs but they make the point that these can only be evaluated by reference to the situation ashore. This is perhaps unsurprising, but as maritime historians increasingly and appropriately set their concerns within a wider picture, where pursuing those concerns convincingly depends only partially on exploring the sea connection, a connections sometimes quite attenuated, then the maritime history label may appear unnecessary, except as a useful convenience to enable us all to get together every now and then at conferences. Indeed, given that some would consider that the term maritime history carries with it connotations of narrowness, attention to arcane detail and nautical memorabilia, which in no way reflect the actual current state of the field, might we not do well to dispense with this encumbrance? After all, we could go on to argue, how much impact has maritime history in all its current varied incarnations so far had on mainstream history ?

Maritime History and Mainstream History

Given the vitality of the field, remarkably little, or so it would appear from recent national assessments of the situation undertaken by leading maritime scholars across the world. Here is a subject with relevance to a host of other disciplines, yet is barely visible in the university curriculum. In Britain undergraduate courses in maritime history have surfaced every now and again, and at Hull where the new Maritime Historical Studies Centre, is presided over by David J.

Starkey, it is now possible to take an undergraduate degree in History and Maritime History.³) Indeed, with Exeter now joined by Hull and Greenwich in offering Maritime History Masters programmes, and four new Professorial titles recently awarded, (Andrew Lambert at King's College London, Richard Harding at Westminster, Nicholas Rodger at Exeter, all naval historians, are the others) the opportunities for advanced study and research training in the field are arguably greater than they have ever been. Even so, the subject has not made the impact on the syllabus here in Britain, or elsewhere in the world **which** the amount of scholarship going on might lead one to expect.

This may reflect what seems to me a much more serious and puzzling problem; the failure of the findings of research in maritime history to permeate mainstream history. In the British case, despite the historical, and indeed current, importance of sea trade for the growth and structure of the economy, shipping often receives little attention and sometimes barely features at all in standard economic history textbooks.³² Nor is it only in Britain that academics fail to see the sea. In Australia, the focus on the land and cities in conventional accounts of its development has provoked Frank Broeze into providing what he describes as an 'alternative history' of Australians and the sea. In Greece, incontrovertibly a maritime nation, the historian of its shipping industry, Gelina Harlaftis, has noted how this dimension has been overshadowed by its golden classical past in general historical writing. Even in the Netherlands, which has produced some of the most extensive and indeed popular scholarly maritime historical work, general historians do not take much

notice of such publications.³³ World-wide it is as if dubbing a piece of research as 'maritime' excludes it from the sum of general historical knowledge; the sea, it seems, is an intellectual barrier.

A number of factors are at work here. The old accusation of antiquarianism (the ultimate insult for historians) however ill-founded by now may still linger; the very success of maritime historians in joining together, networking and exploring mutual interests may serve to give an impression of separateness; specialist journals providing an outlet and inspiration for maritime history researchers may limit access to readers with more general interests. More to the point, though, is again the question 'what is maritime history'? As I have demonstrated, **maritime** historians no longer occupy a separate territory from other fields of history, their research findings should have resonance for those with other interests, but few have the confidence to make the case for the subject by writing the books (and it is books we need, not articles) which by reflecting its full breadth reflect the extent of its relevance. Those with the competence and willingness to take on massive commissions such as Rodger's three volume *Naval History of Britain*, of which the 700 page first volume has now appeared, are extremely rare.³⁴ Mahan's complaint in 1890 about John Knox Laughton, claimed in a recent study by Andrew Lambert to be the founder of the discipline of modern naval history, could still strike home, 'He probably knows more naval history than any English speaking man living. Pity he don't produce a great work instead of piddling about in the byways of naval history'.³⁵

Maritime modern economic histories of Greece, Finland, Australia and Japan (this last, jointly authored by a British and a Japanese scholar, a rare example of international collaboration), which have appeared in recent years are examples of a greater willingness to take on 'big' subjects, rather than 'piddling about in the byways' but only a non-professional historian, Ronald Hope, has attempted to tackle this for Britain and none of these histories sets the maritime dimension within a broader national context.³⁶ Even so, enough progress has now been made for the awareness that things maritime are necessarily international and comparative to be translated into studies which transcend national boundaries and develop oceanic themes.³⁷ In saying this, I am not making a plea for a new Braudel to come forward, though that would be very welcome but rather to remind all of us working in the field that, if this stimulating, exciting and significant subject is to achieve the prominence it needs in academic circles to fulfil its potential we have to take more risks and exploit our knowledge more. ³⁸

Outside the university sector there is also a problem, but different. Those many thousands who visit maritime museums in this country every year are confronted directly with the outward signs of the new inner grace in maritime history. There is no absence at the Merseyside Maritime Museum, or at the Royal Naval Museum in Portsmouth, or at the National Maritime Museum of the newer influences on understanding of the maritime dimension. Economic, social and cultural references abound. The rows of ship models in glass cases of the past have given way to mock-ups of cruise passengers' cabins; the

working lives of shipbuilders are as likely to be evoked as the victory of Trafalgar; marine paintings may be displayed in galleries where videos are running of 1940s fiction films about the war at sea. For some, possibly the majority of visitors, such treatments of the maritime dimension are welcome, for others less so. Some, expecting something different, more glorious, more glorifying, are uncomfortable, even hostile; some perhaps merely confused.

Conclusion

In truth, there is much to be confused about, whether you are someone with little prior knowledge looking at a museum display or an academic trying to make sense, say, of the late twentieth century decline in traditional ports across the world. In maritime history we have a subject concerned with the interrelationship of people, things, and events on land and sea. It confronts an aspect of the environment which sometimes, in some centuries, and in some places, compels attention but equally can fade in political and economic significance. It deals with an element that has been, and is, used by peoples of many languages, of many cultures, but also has language and culture of its own. The study of the man's relationship with the sea in all its facets, with all its connections, requires technical understanding and specialised learning. Helping others to understand its importance does require the skill of maritime historians to pull together all these aspects to generate a productive, meaningful engagement with the past.

What is maritime history? It is the way in which we can indeed truly take account of

the maritime dimension in history and learn to 'see the sea'.

Major international English language maritime history journals are *American Neptune* (Peabody Essex Museum), *The Great Circle* (Australian Association for Maritime History), *International Journal of Maritime History* (International Maritime Economic History Association), *The Mariner's Mirror* (Society for Nautical Research), *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du Nord* (Canadian Nautical Research Society). A recent addition to journal provision is the electronic *Journal for Maritime Research* (National Maritime Museum).

- 2 This survey is based on information in Hattendorf, J. D. (ed) (1994) *Ubi Sumus? The State of Naval and Maritime History*. Newport Rhode Island, Naval War College Press; Broeze, F. (ed) (1995) *Research in Maritime History No.9, Maritime History at the Crossroads, A Critical Review of Recent Historiography*. St John's Newfoundland, International Maritime Economic History Association.
- 3 This lecture owes much to the thinking of others about the origins and early development of maritime history. See, in particular, Williams, David M. (1993) The progress of maritime history, 1953-93. *Journal of Transport History, Third Series* 14, 126 and Rodger, N.A.M. (1994) Britain. In Hattendorf, *Ubi Sumus?*, 41. Also Davis, Ralph (1978) Maritime history, progress and problems. In, S. Marriner (ed) *Business and Businessmen, Studies in Business, Economic and Accounting History*. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press; Marriner, S. and Davies P. N. (1988) Recent publications and developments in the study of maritime economic history. *Journal of Transport History, Third Series*, 9, 93.
- 4 Rodger (1994).

- 5 For a complete list of Graham's publications see Flint, J.E. and Williams, G. (eds) (1973) *Perspectives of Empire, Essays Presented to Gerald S. Graham*. London, Longman.
- 6 See Littlewood K. and Butler B. (1998) *Of Ships and Stars, Maritime Heritage and the Founding of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich*. London, Athlone Press and National Maritime Museum.
- 7 Davis, R. (1962) *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Newton Abbot, David & Charles.
- 8 Craig, R.S. (1971) Editorial. *Maritime History* 1, 1. There were four volumes produced between 1971 and 1974. A fifth volume, which appeared under this title in 1977, was distinct from the earlier venture.
- 9 Kennedy, P.M. (1976) *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*. London, Allen Lane. For further details of developments in naval history from the 1960s see Rodger. (1994). 45-48.
- 10 For an indication of the richness of these collections by 1980, see Knight, R.J.B. (1980) *Guide to the Manuscripts in the National Maritime Museum, Volume 2, Public Records, Business Records and Artificial Collections*. London, Mansell.
- 11 The programme for a conference held at Queen Mary College, University of London in 1980 deliberately resisted a navaVmercantile divide in subject matter, as did the syllabus for the undergraduate course in British Maritime History jointly taught for some years by Robin Craig, Glyn Williams and Sarah Palmer at University College and Queen Mary. See Palmer S. and Williams G. (1981) *Charted and Uncharted Waters, Proceedings of a Conference on the Study of British Maritime History*. London, National Maritime Museum.
- 12 Note, for example, the distinction made in the title of Albion, R.G. (1951) *Maritime and Naval History, an Annotated Bibliography*. Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press which has been maintained in subsequent updating, as also its use in Hattendorf (1993) *Ubi Sumus? The State of Naval and Maritime History*.
- 13 Palmer S.R. (1990) *Shipping, Politics and the Repeal of the Navigation Laws*. Manchester, Manchester University Press; Ranft, B. (1982) *The Royal Navy and the merchant marine, partners in ignorance*. In Palmer and Williams (1981); Gibson, A. and Donovan, A. *The Abandoned Ocean, the History of United States Maritime Policy*. South Carolina, University of South Carolina Press.
- 14 See Finney, B. (et al) (1994) *Voyages of Rediscovery, A Cultural Odyssey Through Polynesia*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- 15 See Fernandez-Armesto, F. (ed) (1991) *The Times Atlas of World Exploration*. London, Times Books.
- 16 See Armstrong, J (ed) (1996) *Coastal and Short Sea Shipping*. Aldershot, Sutton.
- 17 See, for example, Hyde, F.E. (1975) *Cunard*. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press; Marriner, S. (1961) *Rathbones of Liverpool*. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press; Davies, P.N. *The Trade Makers, Elder Dempster in West Africa, 1852-1972*. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press; Green E. and Moss M., (1982), *A Business of National Importance, the Royal Mail Shipping Group, 1902-37*. London, Methuen; Harcourt, F. (1981) *The P & O Company, Flagships of Imperialism*. In Palmer and Williams, *Charted and Uncharted Waters*, 6; Porter, A. (1986), *Victorian Shipping, Business and Imperial Policy, Donald Currie, the Castle Line and Southern Africa*. Woodbridge, Boydell Press; Ville, S. (1987) *English Shipowning During the Industrial*

- Revolution, Michael Henley and Son, London Shipowners, 1770-1830.* Manchester, Manchester University Press; Jones, S. (1989) *Trade and Shipping, Lord Inchcape 1852-1932.* Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- 18 See Boyce, G. H. (1995) *Information, Mediation and Institutional Development, The Rise of Large-Scale Enterprise in British Shipping, 1870-1919.* Manchester, Manchester University Press; Broeze, F. (1993) *Mr Brooks and the Australian Trade. Imperial Business in the Nineteenth Century.* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press). A non-British example is Wray, W. D. (1984) *Mitsubishi and the N.Y.K., 1870-1914, Business Strategy in the Japanese Shipping Industry.* Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press.
- 19 The pun is a reference to the classic work Mahan, A. T. (1890), *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783* (Boston, Little Brown & Co). See Schunnam, D.M. (1965) *The Education of a Navy; the Development of British Naval Strategic Thought* (London, Cassell); Goldrick, J. and Hattendorf, J. B. (1993) *Mahan Is Not Enough, The Proceedings of a Conference on the Works of Sir Julian Corbett and Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond* (Newport, Rhode Island, Naval War College Press); Lambert, A. (1998) *The Foundations of Naval History, John Knox Laughton, the Royal Navy and the Historical Profession.* London, Chatham Publishing.
- 20 Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, (1998) *British Shipping, Charting a New Course.*
- 21 Essays in the recent *Festschrift* in honour of the leading British port historian, Fischer, L.R and Jarvis, A. (1999) *Harbours and Haven, Essays in Port History in Honour of Gordon Jackson.* St. John's Newfoundland, International Maritime Economic History Association, reflect all these facets.
- 22 It is impossible here to list the thousands of publications associated with these connections. Broeze (1995) *Maritime History at the Crossroads* and Hattendorf (1994) *Ubi Sumus?* provide an international guide to the historiography as it stood in the mid-1990s. These may now be supplemented by reference to the leading journals.
- 23 See Dening, G. (1992) *Mr Bligh's Bad Language, Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Earle, P. (1998) *Sailors.* London, Methuen.
- 24 See Hattendorf, J.B. (1997) *Maritime History Volume 2, The Eighteenth Century and the Classic Age of Sail.* Marabar, Florida, Krieger Publishing Company; Watt, Sir J., Freeman; Bynum, W.F. (eds) (1981) *Starving Sailors, The Influence of Nutrition upon Naval and Medical History.* Greenwich, National Maritime Museum; Carpenter, K. J. (1986) *The History of Scurvy and Vitamin C.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- 25 See Howell, C. and Twomey R.J. (1991) *Jack Tar in History, Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour.* Fredericton, New Brunswick, Acadiensis Press.
- 26 Bruijn, J.R., Gaastra, F.S. and Schoffer, I. (1979-1987), *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 3 Vols.* The Hague; Ommer, R.E., Fischer, L.R, Sager, E.W. (1982) The data base of the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project. In Fischer, L.R and Sager, E.W. (eds) *Merchant Shipping and Economic Development.* St. John's Newfoundland, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- 27 See Hattendorf, J.B. (ed) (1995) *Doing Naval History, Essays Towards Improvement.* Newport, Rhode Island, Naval War College Press; Knight, R.B. (1997) Surfing the sources, plugging into British naval history in the 1990s. In Cogar, W.B. (ed) *New*

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- Interpretations in Naval History*. Annapolis, Maryland, Naval Institute Press.
- 28 See Starkey, D. J. and Jamieson, A.G. (1998) *Exploiting the Sea, Aspects of Britain's Maritime Economy since 1870*. Exeter, Exeter University Press.
- 29 Rediker, M. (1987) *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Rodger, N.A.M. (1986) *The Wooden World, An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy*. London, William Collins.
- 30 See Ommer, R. and Panting, G. (eds) (1980) *Working Men Who Got Wet*. St. John's Newfoundland, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- 31 David J. Starkey, Wilson Family Lecturer in Maritime History at the University of Hull, is exceptional in the breadth of his maritime history expertise, having published extensively on privateering, shipping and shipbuilding in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
- 32 An exception is Daunton, M.J. (1995) *Progress and Poverty, An Economic and Social History of Britain 1700-1850*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. More typical is the almost complete absence of any reference to shipping in Floud, R. and McCloskey, D. (1984) *The Economic History of Britain since 1700, Vols 1-3*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. .
- 33 Broeze, F. (1998) *Island Nation, A History of Australia and the Sea*. New South Wales, Allen & Unwin, 1-9; Harlaftis, G. (1996) *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*. London & New York, Routledge; Bruijn, J. R. (1993). In Broeze, *Maritime History at the Crossroads, 196-7*.
- 34 Rodger, N.A.M. (1997) *The SaJeguard of the Sea. A Naval History of Great Britain*. Volume 1 660-1649. London, HarperCollins.
- 35 Quoted by Knight, R.J.B. reviewing Lambert (1998) *Foundations of Naval History* in Institute of Historical Research, School of Advanced Study, *Reviews in History*, 1999.
- 36 Harlaftis (199); Kaukiainen, Y. (1993) *A History of Finnish Shipping*. London & New York, Routledge; Broeze (1998); Chida, T and Davies, P.N. (1990) *The Japanese Shipping and Shipbuilding Industries*. London, Athlone Press; Hope, R. (1900) *A New History of British Shipping*. London, John Murray. The potential scholarly rewards offered by wide-ranging national maritime history have been demonstrated by Duffy, M.J. et al (eds) (1992, 1994), *The New Maritime History of Devon. Volume 1, From Early Times to the Late Eighteenth Century. Volume 2, From the Late Eighteenth Century to the Present Day*. London, Conway Maritime Press..
- 37 See Fischer, L.R. and Nordvik, H.W. (1989) The context of maritime history; the new *International Journal of Maritime History. International Journal of Maritime History*. 1, viii.
- 38 Braudel, F. (Revised edition 1966, English edition 1972), *The Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II. Volumes 1 & 2*. London, William Collins.

Members' News

Alec Douglas will be Visiting professor, Duke University, August 2001 to May 2002, while Professors Alex Roland and Tami Biddle are on leave at the US Naval Academy and the Army War College respectively. He has been busy at his keyboard, having recently completed the manuscript, with **Roger Sarty**, of Volume II of the Official History of the RCN, which

deals with the Second World War, and will be published in two parts, hopefully in 2002. He has contributed articles to the *New Dictionary of National Biography* on Lord Vere Beauclerk, Sir Erasmus Gower and John Rous; and will have presented a paper to the Millennium military history conference, Ottawa in May 2000 on "How the RCN became a Blue Water Navy". He has also prepared an article for the *Canadian Military Journal* on the sinking of the French submarine *La Perle* on 8 July 1944, by Swordfish aircraft from two MAC ships under the tactical control of escort group C5.

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Recent Publications: "Wagging the Dog: How Canada has influenced the Exercise of Seapower" in Ann L. Griffiths; Peter T. Haydon and Richard H. Gimblett, *Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy: The Canadian Navy and Foreign Policy*, (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 2000).

William Henry Flayhart III has just had published *The American Line, 1871 - 1902*, W.E. Norton & Company: N.Y., 2000; W.W. Norton, Ltd.: London, 2001, 404 pages, well illustrated with photograph, maps, charts. The price is \$39.85 US.

On a similar note, the long-awaited *HMCS Haida: Battle Ensign Flying* (Vanwell Publishing) by Barry Gough has finally appeared in print. You can look forward to a proper review in an upcoming *Northern Mariner*, but one of your co-editors has had a chance to skim through his copy, and is

pleased to report that it looks to be an excellent ship's history. Note that the proceeds go to support the ship herself.

At the end of April, Olaf Janzen participated in a symposium on the history of the French Shore which was organized in Placentia, Newfoundland by the Placentia Historical Society. Olaf spoke on the persistence of settlement in coastal Newfoundland by French fisherfolk following the evacuation of the French colony at Plaisance in 1714. Later this summer, Olaf will attend the Tenth Maritime History Conference of The Association for the History of the Northern Seas, to be held at the Merseyside Maritime Museum in Liverpool; Olaf will give a paper there with the title "The Eviction of French Fishermen from Newfoundland in 1755: Dress Rehearsal for the Acadian Deportation?"

As of February 1, 2001 Christopher J. Terry was appointed Director of the Canada Science & Technology Museum Corporation which manages the Canada Agriculture Museum, the Canadian Aviation Museum (of which he was the Director General from 1989 to 2001) and the Canada Science and Technology Museum.

Museum News and Events

Friends of HMCS *Haida*, Ontario Place, the Ontario Ministry of Tourism Culture and Recreation, and Parks Canada met early in the year to discuss plans for HMCS *Haida*. It is reported that "there is great political will" to relocate the ship at the new Hamilton Discovery Centre - naturally, there is much work to be done, and much money

needed, before the ship can be refitted and moved.

The Pier, Toronto's waterfront maritime museum is scheduled to close in July. The issue was fought at the city council level with the proponents losing. The official reason given was the massive operating deficit of the city and the need for cutbacks at all levels. Naturally the rumor mill is rife with other excuses, among them being the high value of the waterfront property and its potential use for other activities.

Summer Tour Schedule: Canada's Pacific Naval Dockyard and Museum at CFB Esquimalt, HMCS *Naden*, HMC Dockyard Info: (250) 363-7060 Johanne. Entrance to CFB Esquimalt (near Victoria; Vancouver Island, B.C.) is off Admirals Rd.. After entering base gates follow signs to the Naval and Military Museum.

Free bus tours of Naval Dockyard, June 11-August 17, 10:00 Monday- Friday except holidays departing from base Museum parking lot. Free Group guided Bus and Walking tours of HMC Dockyard. By appointment. Free Self-Guided walking tours of HMCS *Naden* in CFB Esquimalt. 08:00 - 16:00 Monday- Friday.

Naval and Military Museum at HMCS *Naden* in CFB ESQUIMALT.

10:00-15:30 Monday- Friday except holidays
Adult \$2.00 Child/Students/Seniors \$1.00
Guided tours by appointment (250) 363-4312

And this from Fraser McKee

"An Australian friend reports there is a truly spectacular display of models, large

and small at the Ballina Naval & Maritime Museum in New South Wales, Australia."

The Periodical Literature

by *Olaf Janzen*

Many articles on maritime topics appear in journals that are not specifically dedicated to maritime themes. Thus, the *Economic History Review* 53, No.3 (August 2000), pp. 429-454, carried an article by Maryanne Kowaleski entitled "The expansion of the south-western fisheries in late medieval England." The article "explores the expansion of the region's sea fisheries from the late fourteenth century to the early sixteenth century, and argues that this expansion was part of the maritime sector's critical, but unappreciated, contribution to the rising prosperity of south-western England during the late middle ages." A couple of issues later, the *Economic History Review* carried an intriguing analysis of an elusive subject; look for Evan Jones, "Illicit business: accounting for smuggling in mid-sixteenth-century Bristol" in the February 2001 issue of the *EHR*, 54, No.1, 17-38. Peggy Blair is the author of "Taken for 'Granted': Aboriginal Title and Public Fishing Rights in Upper Canada," *Ontario History* 92, No. 1 (Spring 2000), 31-55.

Peter Turnbull is the author of "Contesting Globalization on the Waterfront," which appeared in *Politics & Society* 28, 3 (September 2000), 367-391. On the same theme, but with a narrower focus is "Geographic Scale and Grass-Roots Internationalism: The Liverpool Dock Dispute, 1995-1998," *Economic Geography* 76, No.3 (July 2000), pp. 272-292, by Noel

Castree; this article examines the geography of this recent and bitter labour dispute within the context of the ongoing debates over the effects of 'globalization' on organized labour and, specifically, recent experiences in labour internationalism.

An article by David Syrett provides an account of Rear-Admiral James Gambier when he commanded the Royal Navy at New York during the American Revolutionary War; "'This penurious old reptile': Rear-Admiral James Gambier and the American War" appeared in *Historical Research* 74, No. 183 (February 2000), 63-76. The American journal *The Historian* 62, No. 4 (Summer 2000), pp. 731-757 carried "In the **Hands** of the British: The Treatment of American POWs in the War of Independence" by Philip Ranlet. Many of the POWs in question were captured at sea and a significant proportion were held or imprisoned on British prison hulks. The *Journal of British Studies* 39, No. 4 (October 2000), pp. 422-453 carried "Contesting the Hero: The Funeral of Admiral Lord Nelson" by Timothy Jenks. The article re-examines Nelson's funeral and qualifies an interpretation by Linda Colley, who saw the funeral less as a "loyalist" spectacle than as a counter-monarchical event. Jenks feels that the true answer is more complex, and that "various sectors of Georgian society competed with one another in their effort to commemorate Nelson." Thus, the article explores both "what the funeral can be held to have meant and what it can be held to have achieved."

CNRS member William Schleihau, is the author of "'Necessary stepping stones...' The Transfer of *Aurora*, *Patriot* and *Patrician*

to the Royal Canadian Navy after the First World War." Bill's paper appeared in *Canadian Military History* 9, No.3 (Summer 2000), pp. 36-48. On a closely related theme, Duncan McDowall wrote up the service history of "HMCS *Thiepvál*. The Accidental Tourist ... Destination," also in *Canadian Military History* 9, No.3 (Summer 2000), pp. 69-78. *Thiepvál* was a trawler commissioned into the RCN late in 1917 and served after the war on the Pacific Coast until it sank in 1930 after running aground. That same issue of *Canadian Military History* 9, No.3 (Summer 2000) carried Richard Oliver Mayne, "Bypassing the Chain of Command: The political origins of the RCN's equipment crisis of 1943," pp. 7-22. Richard Gimblett, contributed a paper, "What the Mainguy Report Never Told Us: The Tradition of 'Mutiny' in the Royal Canadian Navy Before 1949," to the *Canadian Military Journal* I, No. 2 (Summer 2000), 87-94. This is presumably a revised version of the paper that Richard presented to the joint conference of the CNRS and the Association of the History of the Northern Seas in Comer Brook, Newfoundland in 1999.

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