

ARGONAUTA



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Editorial

by Isabel Campbell / Colleen McKee



Dear Readers,

How fast and dramatically the world has shifted since our last issue. We hope that this spring issue finds all our readers, their families, and friends safe and sound.

Since it is our last issue and more than a decade since Colleen and I took over the editorial reins from the wise Maurice Smith, we will begin there. No one could hope to replace Maurice who did such a wonderful job of editing the newsletter, serving on the executive, and of being President and we did not even try, though we were very grateful for all his guidance as we began our task. Thanks Maurice.

In the beginning the newsletter was printed in a large format, requiring separate envelopes and mailings for each and every one. A tedious task but one that Isabel had first undertaken many years before when a former colleague at the Directorate of History had responsibility for the newsletter and asked for help. And so, when we began as editors, one of the first priorities was to re-size the publication to fit in the same envelope as *The Northern Mariner* and to ship all the copies to Picton to be mailed out with it. This small step saved the Society some money, but it also pushed the entire dreaded mailing task on to Paul Adamthwaite, his wife Betty Ann Anderson, and their team of student volunteers. They took on this extra task without a word of complaint. Paul also served as President, set up the CNRS website and still runs it, and he also managed the production side of *The Northern Mariner* for years. A formidable contribution and one which merits our recognition. He and his wife have served the Society well in many capacities. Thanks Paul and Betty Ann.

There's a fair bit of labour of all kinds involved in producing newsletters, quarterlies, and peer-reviewed academic journals – to say nothing of the website, the conferences, and other Executive duties for the Canadian Nautical Research Society. Cooperation and team spirit are important elements in making these tasks work. All of the Executive have been supportive of us and we thank them all, especially past President Chris Madsen, current President Rich Gimblett, and the incoming President Michael Moir.

Colleen and I enjoyed working with many talented authors over the years. We remember fondly Tavis Harris who provided us with literature reviews, Fraser McKee's careful piece on ASDIC, John MacFarlane's war art pieces, and Mourad Djebala, "*Et si les Allemands envahissaient le Québec? Le Saint-Laurent, les rumeurs, la propagande et la mobilisation des Québécois lors de la Grande Guerre, 1914-1918*" which was so lengthy that we had to divide it into pieces and publish it in three different issues. In the print format we published David Gray's ship modelling pieces and Jan Drent's various articles on the RCN. Doreen Larsen Riedel became a friend as we learned of her father's Arctic voyages and of her own monumental task of identifying people and places from the photographs from his archives. And others - Faye Kert, Chris Madsen, Alec Douglas, Michael Whitby, Roger Sarty, Bill Glover, Willy Pullen, Charles Nadeau, Tom Tulloch, Brian Hill, Alan Ruffman,

Michael Moir, George Bolotenko, Derek Waller, Sam McLean sent us announcements, research, articles, and vital communications that kept *Argonauta* going.

Soon it became apparent that, to accommodate the longer pieces coming in, and to allow for faster communication of time sensitive information, we had to go “on line,” a move which also saved the printing and mailing costs. And so *Argonauta* changed. With the move to online issues, we were able to run longer pieces in a timely manner.

We were delighted when Lincoln Paine, Joshua Smith, and Kelly Chaves agreed to provide pieces debating the future of maritime history for the winter 2013 issue. It is fitting that all three agreed to do so again in our final spring 2020 issue when change is upon us once again. They have updated the debate with their assessments of the current academic climate and other questions of relevance. This last issue showcases their important ideas about precarity and how maritime historians have become inter-disciplinary in their approaches. We hope that the Society and its sister organization, The North American Society of Oceanic History (NASOH), continue to survive, encourage, and welcome students and new members. These are difficult times, but the study of history goes on. If tenure track posts have almost vanished, the online environment provides new forums for interchange and facilitates collaboration among historians and other professionals in the field.

On that note, we congratulate Jane Harkness, a cooperative student at the University of Ottawa who has contributed a piece with new perceptions about how members of the Women’s Royal Canadian Naval Service (WRCNS) lobbied for changes in their uniforms during the Second World War. The author draws upon a diverse historiography, including recent doctoral research by Sarah Hogenbirk of Carleton, and evidence about the women’s own voices to highlight the social history of women’s wartime service. Although there are few academic jobs around, we believe that the younger generation will bring refreshing insights to maritime history and related fields. Jane is planning a career in Museums. She and other cooperative students at the Directorate of History and Heritage in Ottawa bring energy, intelligence, and an outstanding work ethic to their tasks. They are also flexible and creative in their job searches. Most of all, they give us faith in the future of historical studies.

Our readers already know that Professor Erika Elce Behrisch of Royal Military College will take over editorship beginning in the next issue, summer 2020. Kip Scoville, our production and distribution manager will remain in place to assist her. We counted upon Kip for his excellent work and he has always been good humoured, even during lengthy tasks of proofing corrections. Thanks to Kip for his years of kind-hearted assistance.

Colleen and I have truly enjoyed our collaboration, forming a great friendship over countless chuckles, cups of tea, and lots of prose. It is time for change, but we are both grateful for the warm bonds that will endure past our editorial taskings.

We trust that you will provide Erika with your contributions and that you will encourage and support her as you did us. We strongly recommend that you read and follow! the “Guidelines to Authors” found at the back of *Argonauta* which will save both you and your editor much time and effort. We would like to thank every single author who contributed to *Argonauta* and also to thank you, our readers, for your appreciation and endorsement of the contents of *Argo* over the decade of our editorship.

Adieu for now and fair winds.

President's Corner

by Richard Gimblett
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After putting my New Year Corner to rest, I was looking forward to be penning this missive “on a slow boat from China... somewhere between Singapore and Dubai.” Well, that didn’t quite work out, and instead I find myself in preventive sequestration in the splendid isolation of my den in Port Hope. I would wager there isn’t a single member of the Society who has not seen their life convulsed by the corona virus pandemic in some manner, and it is my very sincere wish that you and your loved ones are able to weather this storm in health and safety. With any luck, a year from now we will be sharing on the whole happy stories of “what did you do during the pandemic?” Anyone else blowing the dust off a manuscript?

Meanwhile, where does this leave the Society? As I write this on the vernal equinox, the Autumn 2019 number of *The Northern Mariner* has just been sent off to the printer (which is still professing “business as usual”), so you should see it in your mailboxes before Easter.¹ As for the Conference and AGM, I am in regular contact with organizer Chris Madsen. With that event set for some months away in mid-August we are continuing with plans to keep it a “go” — if nothing else, we are not yet within the “window” of any cancel-without-penalty policies to take effect. But as we monitor the situation, we will keep you abreast of our decision-making process. For what it is worth, I am sitting tight with all of my train, hotel and air bookings, and am looking forward to re-connecting with as many of you as possible in North Vancouver!

It was only three weeks ago that Council met for our winter planning session on Leap Day 29 February, but already it seems like a different lifetime. Back then, the concern was about the rail blockade — we had been looking for full attendance from all except Prairie Sailors Bill Glover and Ian Yeates, but saw our numbers dwindle as cancelled VIA trains kept the Ottawa cohort away. In what could be a portent of the conduct of business in the future, each of Treasurer Errolyn Humphreys and Councillors Isabel Campbell, Jeff Noakes and Ian Yeates were able to call or Skype-in, and we were able to enjoy wide-ranging discussion of a variety of topics concerning Society business. Perhaps the most momentous item was that concerning the search for a new editor for *The Northern Mariner*. With none of our efforts to find a “volunteer” replacement enjoying any success, and with the financial health of the Society allowing us some flexibility (we have \$38K in the bank), we have decided to post the position as a paid appointment. This announcement will be distributed when ready to the membership, but as I work with Editorial Board Chair Roger Sarty to define the scope of work and necessary qualifications, it has become apparent to us just how much we personally, and the Society generally, owe Bill along with Review Editor Faye Kert and Production Manager Walter Lewis, and their various predecessors, who have put in so much unpaid effort to produce a journal of such high calibre for coming on 30 years, the last nearly two decades without any institutional support. I don’t believe there is any comparable publication produced under similar circumstances anywhere else in the world.

Which brings me to my final topic. It is with very mixed emotions that I note this is the final number of *Argonauta* to be brought to you by the editorial team of Isabel Campbell and Colleen McKee. Nigh on a decade ago they jumped into the breach at another time of different need, with very big boots to fill then also. But as every editor does, and with the expenditure of no little time or effort either, they soon found their “voice” and have brought us

a quarterly exchange of nautical notes of exceptional enjoyment. I wouldn't dare venture as to their shoe size, but I have every confidence that incoming editor Erika is up to taking us in her own directions (with Kip remaining on as her faithful sidekick). So sadness coupled with great expectations!

Isabel & Colleen, on behalf of the Society, thank-you from the bottom of my heart for your wonderful work and friendship. I know you will remain active with the Society in your different ways, but in this you have made your mark and will be missed.

Richard H. Gimblett, MSC, CD, PhD, RCN (ret'd)
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1. Editorial note: after this corner was submitted, the printer indicated they could not produce the issue for mailing and so the Autumn 2019 issue of *The Northern Mariner* will be available online at this link: https://cnsr-scrn.org/northern_mariner/vol29/tnm_29_3_toc.pdf



We encourage you to join us on Facebook (now over 600 followers) and Twitter where we post links to interesting articles and announcements from around the internet. Our social media channels are where you will find time sensitive notices that are not suitable for publishing here in the *Argonauta*.

The Environmental Turn in Maritime History

by Lincoln Paine

Periodic reviews of the state of maritime history suggest that there is a growing awareness of maritime enterprise as a discrete and productive specialty within the wider ambit of the historical discipline, and that practitioners of the subject are following ever-multiplying lines of inquiry. It is especially remarkable to consider how much the field has grown in the seven years that have elapsed since Kelly Chaves, Josh Smith, and I were last invited to offer our views on the subject. Back then, Maurice Smith was concerned about “planning for a long-term healthy future” for the discipline. Seven years is not long-term, but there is no question that the state of maritime history can only be described as healthy- even robust.

The most significant of the new avenues of research has to be ocean history, that is, the history of the mutual relationship between people and the maritime environment: how we influence and comprehend the ocean, and how the seas and sea life influence us. This is part of a more general “oceanic turn in the humanities,”¹ which has found expression in everything from literary criticism, like Steve Mentz’s *At the Bottom of Shakespeare’s Ocean*, to legal history, as in Renisa Mawani’s *Across Oceans of Law: The Komagata Maru and Jurisdiction in the Time of Empire*.

The environment has always been present in our historical understanding of maritime events, but for the most part it has lurked in the background, or had the role of a bit player in people- or ship-centered dramas. The physical world in which mariners actually ply their trade started coming into sharper focus in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with efforts to visualize ocean phenomena with maps showing the tides of the English Channel (by Edmund Halley), the Gulf Stream (Benjamin Franklin) and Humboldt Current (Alexander von Humboldt), and especially Matthew Fontaine Maury’s citizen-science initiative to map whaling grounds and the winds and currents of the world.

At the same time, people began to understand the ocean as a three-dimensional space for the first time. While people have fished from time immemorial, their prey were generally within easy reach, and they otherwise developed little interest in the depths of the sea. (Mapping shallows, those great hazards to navigation, was another matter.) Curiosity about the ocean deeps was prompted by the chase for sperm whales, which can dive more than 2,000 meters (compared with no more than 150 meters for right and bowhead whales), and the laying of the transatlantic telegraph cable in the 1850s. Investigators in the HMS *Challenger* expedition of 1872–76 were equipped to take soundings of up to 6,000 fathoms (36,000 feet), as well as temperature readings, current measurements, and bottom samples from depths of up to 4,000 fathoms. The ship returned to England with more than 4,000 previously unknown specimens of marine life, the first comprehensive study of the terrain and composition of the seabed, and the discovery that the average depth of the Pacific Ocean is significantly greater than that of the Atlantic. In addition, the expedition happened to plumb the Challenger Deep, the deepest known point in the ocean at more than 10,900 meters.

The pace of exploring the ocean from the surface to the seabed accelerated into the twentieth century, but it did not fully seize the public imagination until the 1950s thanks especially to the publication of Rachel Carson’s *The Sea Around Us*, and Jacques-Yves Cousteau’s pioneering work in the development of scuba diving and underwater photography, which revealed the physical beauty of the undersea world in dazzling clarity and made the ocean depths accessible to virtually anyone.

Their work took on new urgency from, and helped advance, the environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s. But it was still decades before people had an awareness of the sea as a place with its own history, thanks to efforts like the History of Marine Animal Populations (HMAP) project, the multidisciplinary research effort to assess the historical size of fish stocks. In this context, the notion of the ocean as something with a history was brought home thanks to the insight of fisheries biologist Daniel Pauly, who in 1995 observed that fisheries scientists tended to describe a healthy fishery in terms of what it had been in the previous generation, a phenomenon he called the “shifting baseline syndrome.” No longer could people look at the ocean as a static, infinite source of abundance.

One of the first books to build on this new avenue of research in the United States was Jeffrey Bolster’s *The Mortal Sea: Fishing the Atlantic in the Age of Sail*, which showed how “fishermen’s hard-won knowledge all too often disappeared as new technologies increased catches. Bumper catches obliterated memories of how the same number of men, with the same gear, fishing in the same place, had been catching fewer fish as time passed - an indicator that stocks were diminishing.”² The resulting “periodic loss of vernacular knowledge” about the actual state of fish stocks masked the fact that they were, in fact, shrinking.

Important though they are, however, the fisheries are only one aspect of ocean history, as Helen Rozwadowski, who coined this meaning of the term, makes clear in *Fathoming the Ocean: The Discovery and Exploration of the Deep Sea* and *Vast Expanses: A History of the Oceans*. Coincident with the development of the submarine telegraph was the novel allure of the sea as a space for recreation and amateur science, which “extended into the private space of the home when families brought back collections of shells or seaweeds, tended aquaria or read maritime books.”³ The effort to formally catalogue the contents of the sea, which led to a belated appreciation that its resources are finite, eventually gave way to both an understanding of the sea’s physics and chemistry and their effect on the global environment and also - one hopes not too belatedly - the influence of human activity on the ocean.

Such large-scale processes are not readily susceptible to historical analysis for the simple reason that there are too many variables. But historians are increasingly inclined to focus on the sea per se as part of their research. As Jason Smith writes in *To Master the Boundless Sea: The US Navy, the Marine Environment, and the Cartography of Empire*, the historicization of the ocean not only gives “context to our shared relationship with this most important environment, it has also begun to revise our broader narratives of war, politics, class, and race.”⁴ Notwithstanding that all history is maritime history, this has especially important implications for people who do not identify as maritime historians, as well as those in other disciplines. Notable instances of the latter are sociologist Kurt Schlichting, whose *Waterfront Manhattan: From Henry Hudson to the High Line* is a fascinating account of the centuries-long contest for control of the island’s shoreline, and anthropologist Samuel Hanes, author of *The Aquatic Frontier: Oysters and Aquaculture in the Progressive Era*. Two outstanding examples of the former are cultural and social historian Christopher Pastore’s *Between Land and Sea: The Atlantic Coast and the Transformation of New England* and environmental and economic historian Strother Roberts’ *Colonial Ecology, Atlantic Economy: Transforming Nature in Early New England*. Similarly, Christine Keiner has two books on maritime subjects, but viewed through the lens of science, technology, and society: *The Oyster Question: Scientists, Watermen, and the Maryland Chesapeake Bay since 1880*, and the forthcoming *Deep Cut: Science, Power, and the Unbuilt Interoceanic Canal* that the United States government considered building in the 1960s and 1970s.

Just as terrestrial historians are looking to the sea, so maritime historians are looking to the land, as in Matthew McKenzie’s *Clearing the Coastline: The Nineteenth-Century*

Ecological & Cultural Transformation of Cape Cod, and viewing otherwise familiar topics through a specifically maritime prism, as Christopher Magra does in *The Fisherman's Cause: Atlantic Commerce and Maritime Dimensions of the American Revolution*.

Ocean history is not the only development in the field, of course. Many continuities with past approaches to the study of maritime enterprise remain, but it is especially gratifying to see increased attention paid to people and regions formerly underrepresented in maritime historical studies. The following is just a smattering of recent titles that illuminate the contributions of Native Americans and African Americans, or center parts of the United States beyond New England and the mid-Atlantic: Joshua Reid's *The Sea is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs*, Andrew Lipman's *The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast*, Lynn Harris's *Patroons & Periaguas: Enslaved Watermen and Watercraft of the Lowcountry*, Michael Thompson's *Working on the Dock of the Bay: Labor and Enterprise in an Antebellum Southern Port*, Jack Davis's Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Gulf: The Making of An American Sea* and John Sledge's *The Gulf of Mexico: A Maritime History*, John Jensen's *Stories from the Wreckage: A Great Lakes Maritime History Inspired by Shipwrecks*, and Peter Beidler's invaluable *Rafts and Other Rivercraft in Huckleberry Finn*.

It is safe to say that maritime history is as dynamic and multifaceted as it has ever been, and that the prospects for its long-term health remain very good.

Endnotes

1. "oceanic turn": Adler, *Neptune's Laboratory: Fantasy, Fear, and Science at Sea*, 167.
2. Bolster, *The Mortal Sea*, 2.
3. Rozwadowski, *Vast Expanses*, 105.
4. Smith, *To Master the Boundless Sea*, 13.

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Mid-Watch Concerns

by Joshua M. Smith,
American Merchant Marine Museum/
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In the winter 2013 issue of *Argonauta*, I applied a metaphor to the state of maritime history: the change of watch on a cargo vessel, with one mate relieving another. As predicted, a number of our leading lights in North America “stood below” for a welcome rest. Olaf Janzen, Jeff Bolster, and Paul Fontenoy have fully retired, while the restless John Hattendorf and Timothy Runyan puzzle their way through semi-retirement. Others race in that direction, such as my M.A. thesis advisor, Michael Palmer of East Carolina University. Lamentably, others have crossed the bar, such as Skip Fischer, an excellent scholar, and organizer in the field; or Morgiana Halley, whose labors in maritime ethnography went largely unrecognized; or Charles Dana Gibson, whose record of publications reminds us that non-academics have an essential place in the crafting of maritime history.

The watch goes on. The lights are burning bright, and the seas are calm. The screw continues to spin at 100 rpm, and we cut a wake through the sea. Nevertheless, a sense of unease prevails. Things go on as they have before, but there are no guarantees that they will continue to do so. While the ship moves forward, one wonders if the company itself is going under and that assets like maritime history will be scrapped on a beach somewhere in South Asia. Alternatively, perhaps it is that the barometer has been dropping, and the weather reports ignored, or that an ice field lies ahead. Then there is the matter of who relieves me at the end of my watch, which isn’t so far away. Clutching my mid-watch cup of coffee and peering into the dark or occasionally glancing at an electronic screen, I remind myself that complacency is the enemy of the watch-stander.¹

What troubles me is that the historical profession is in parlous waters. Every indication is that enrollment is dramatically down in North American universities. The American Historical Association reported that hiring remained static in 2017-2018. The Humanities as a whole are not prospering, and numerous sources indicate a drastic decline in the number of history majors. The *Chronicle of Higher Education* reported a thirty percent decline in the number of history majors between 2008 and 2018.² Furthermore, this decline has been the most pronounced at the prominent research universities, although the *New York Times* reports that the history major continues to be popular at elite universities such as Yale.³ The same pattern is apparent in Canada, even though the historical narrative and issue of the “two solitudes” make the content very different. The Canadian Historical Association has at least recognized the issue, publishing an excellent manual entitled *Becoming a Historian!* which is full of good advice and caveats.

There is also a part of me that wonders if first-class intellects can be drawn to a career in the history profession. Not only are their few jobs, but the pay is low, and the life quality of the academic is not what it used to be. Intrusive outcomes assessment, statistics gathering, and other administrative impedimenta have notably degraded the independence of professors. Campus culture has also become peril-fraught with students and colleagues alike setting intersectional traps for the unwary, starting with pronouns and trigger warnings. Although it is an ancient and legal term, I can see the day coming when the term “ship’s master” will become odious in the minds of a few outspoken and ill-informed activists. What chance does maritime history have in this milieu?

Let me suggest that the news isn't all bad in our little corner of the history profession. For example, Williams College has committed to hiring a full-time historian to replace Glenn Gordinier at the William-Mystic Program. But I would suggest that we look to a growing range of undergraduate and M.A. programs to gauge the health of maritime history and the direction of maritime history. The key term here is "maritime studies." Per the University of Connecticut's 2019-2020 course catalog, "Maritime Studies is an interdisciplinary major that embraces the liberal arts as the foundation for exploring humankind's critical and continually evolving connections with the world's waterways and watersheds." While this program requires a maritime history course, out of its four concentrations (Blue Humanities, Marine Policy, Maritime Archaeology, or Fisheries Policy), maritime history is notably absent. Texas A&M University also has a maritime studies program, which its catalog touts as "well-suited for students who seek to understand the vital and synergistic relationship humans have with the sea." Tufts University has a graduate program with an emphasis on policy; SUNY Maritime has also developed a "Maritime and Naval Studies" program, largely on-line. The unifying element here is the interdisciplinary nature of these programs. Maritime history is a part of these programs, but generally not the dominant field. Given the proliferation of these programs internationally, there is every reason to think that these programs have been successful, such as East Carolina University's maritime archaeology program.

A telephone interview with Prof. Amy Mitchell-Cook, chair of the History Department at the University of West Florida (UWF), reinforces a hunch. She is also the president of NASOH and will be hosting that organization's annual meeting in May, and is well-known in maritime circles as both a historian and archaeologist. This chat verified my suspicions about the interdisciplinary nature of maritime history and its utilitarian bent. A few years ago, this department enticed the well-known and widely respected maritime historian John Jensen to join its ranks, quite a coup. However, she took pains to point out that the undergraduate maritime studies program is, in fact, part of the Anthropology Department. That program's stated goal reads, "Students gain the necessary knowledge and expertise to enable them to participate and contribute to our growing understanding and management of the maritime environment." Maritime history has a place in this program, but it does not drive it. The History Department runs three M.A. programs that include public history and maritime archaeology elements, but carry the names "Traditional History," "Early American Studies," and "Public History," as well as offering a certificate in Historic Preservation. According to Mitchell-Cook, the M.A. programs run by her department focus on "real-world skills," such as public history or historic preservation in conjunction with maritime history and shipwreck archaeology.

I find the interdisciplinary nature of the above programs exhilarating. But the idea is not new, as revealed in James M. Lindgren's delightful recent work, *Preserving Maritime America*. Ben Labaree, long the head of Mystic Seaport's Munson Institute and a mentor to many maritime historians, including myself, propounded the idea in the 1990s that maritime studies must be broad-based and multidisciplinary and involve "almost every profession having to do with the sea."⁴ Munson Institute's idea of interdisciplinary studies was combining history and literature in the curriculum. Bill Still had an interdisciplinary vision, too, combining maritime history and underwater archaeology when he founded the M.A. program at East Carolina University. As an alumnus of both programs, it would be very strange if I did not advocate for an interdisciplinary approach, and I think this is why I see maritime historians as divided between "utilitarians" and "traditionalists."⁵ The former is much more interesting, with of necessity a broader outlook in which they have to demonstrate their usefulness on a daily basis. I suspect most people drawn to maritime studies will not have an issue with this. They often come from fields that demand a greater interaction with the world outside academia, such as marine biology, maritime business, museum studies, and underwater archaeology.

However, interdisciplinarity is both a strength and a weakness. Traditional historians often speak in favor of multidisciplinary studies, but in fact, often harbor a prejudice against them. So too the more effete academics are alarmed at the thought of rubbing elbows with real mariners, fishermen, dockworkers, navy veterans, and boat builders or feel threatened when these sea-going hoi-polloi write books that sometimes outshine academic monographs. I think many maritime historians lean the other direction: they revel in the fact that their work impacts real people. Among these utilitarians, I would list Matt McKenzie, who rolls up his sleeves to craft fisheries policy, Sal Mercogliano who advocates for the Jones Act and American sealift capability, Helen Rozwadowski who puts ocean science into historical context, and James Kraska who writes about freedom of navigation, largely for naval and coast guard audiences in the United States and abroad. There are, of course, many others purposefully fishing these waters, including archaeologists, public historians, literary scholars, museum specialists, policy wonks, and retired sea-service officers, to name but a few. As an example, I am thoroughly enjoying a book entitled *Around the World in a Dugout Canoe*, written by two Canadian museum professionals. They write as well, if not better than most academic historians.

I don't mean to imply that maritime history will go away in a purely academic setting. I'm not sure there is a need for a Ph.D. in maritime studies, and the field seems to get along fine without a specialized doctoral program. The M.A. in maritime studies seems a sufficient launching pad into a more traditional doctoral programs for those who really desire it, although I would suggest they are gluttons for punishment given the current state of the academic hiring environment, which is comparable to the dismal hiring climate for newly-minted third mates.

Before long my watch will be drawing to a close, and like others, I am astonished at how rapidly time has passed. I have done my logbook entries, taken the required fixes, and kept the ship on course and on-time. While the night orders sternly insist I wake the master if I have even the slightest concern, thus far there has been no need. Around me, the electronic apparatus of a wheelhouse hums and the deck cadet struggles to stay awake in a dark corner. Everything is normal, and I expect no great changes in the near future. I've had a quiet watch so far, and a good career, but I'm not sure I could recommend my path to young people. I worry about my dozy cadet: will there be a job for her? If asked, I would urge her to work on "real-world skills" as Prof. Mitchell-Cook advocates, and develop interdisciplinary abilities. But I would not encourage the cadet to pursue a career as a maritime historian, nor anybody else for that matter.

Endnotes

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5. Joshua M. Smith, "Far Beyond Jack Tar: Maritime Historians and the Problem of Audience," *Coriolis: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Maritime Studies* 2:2 (December, 2011), 1-11; "Relieving the Watch," *Argonauta: The Newsletter of The Canadian Nautical Research Society / Société canadienne pour la recherche nautique* XXX:1 (Winter, 2013), 11-14; "Toward a Taxonomy of Maritime Historians," *International Journal of Maritime History* XXV:2 (December, 2013), 1-16.
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“Water, water every where:” The End of Maritime History?

By Kelly Chaves

*Water, water every where
And all the boards did shrink;
Water, water every where,
Nor any drop to drink.*

- Samuel Taylor Coleridge, “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner” -

Historians measure time in millennia, centuries, long-centuries, decades, years, months, weeks, days, and hours. In the grand scheme of the historical past, seven years is but a drop in the ocean. Within the lives of people or in the evolution of a profession, however, it is a significant amount of time. Seven years ago, when Josh Smith, Lincoln Paine, and I received the invitation from *Argonauta* to record our thoughts on maritime history, I, with youthful optimism, suggested that opportunities in maritime history abounded and urged young historians to look to the field of maritime history and not be afraid of pursuing their passions in studying life upon the seas. Seven years later, I realize I was mistaken.

Opportunities in maritime history, as practiced from the 1930s until present, are few and far between, almost to the point of non-existence. Josh Smith lauds the Williams-Mystic Program’s commitment to hiring a full-time replacement for Glenn Gordinier, but that is one job in maritime history for the entirety of academia the world over. East Carolina University advertised this year for a Maritime Research Associate, listed through the history department, but they desired their job candidate to have more practical skills, such as holding a SCUBA license, being able to use an ROV, launch boats and maintain equipment.¹ With the exception of ECU graduates, I know few maritime *historians* who possess those skills. By and large, the maritime historians I know enjoy boats, Patrick O’Brien novels, and, if they are alumnae of the Mystic Seaport program, a good swizzle; a few can sail, a smaller percentage own their own watercraft. Most can carry-on a rousing chorus to “What should you do with a drunken sailor?” With the lack of actual maritime history jobs, mournful scholars might assume that maritime history is dying. While maritime history as currently practiced is diminishing, the study of the ocean in a historical and academic sense is just beginning.

Academic interest in the ocean has only grown in the past seven years. As Josh Smith contends in his current re-evaluation of the field, maritime studies and ocean studies are providing new, exciting opportunities in the academy and the students within those new programs will be expertly placed to help society deal with the maritime by-products of climate change: sea-level rise, coastal erosion, warming of the oceans, loss of fish and loss of oceanic biomes. Nor have books on oceanic history ceased to be published. Lincoln Paine provides an exciting bibliography of new works published about the ocean in the past seven years. He notes that many of these new monographs share the same environmental turn that is now evident in ocean and maritime studies programs. But - and here, I think, is the important distinction - few of those scholars who have navigated their monographs through the treacherous and shoal-ridden waters of academic publishing actually identify as maritime historians. Matthew Bahar and Andrew Lipman consider themselves early Americanists. Joshua L. Reid is a professor of American Indian Studies, not maritime

history, while Christopher Pastore self-defines as “a social and cultural historian of early America and the Atlantic world with particular interest in the human dimensions of environmental change.”² The naïve-me from seven years ago might have said that these people were really maritime historians; they were just maritime historians in hiding. My modern-self recognizes that this is not so. These historians employ the methodologies of their fields and sub-fields to study their given subjects and time periods. That their studies intersect with the ocean have more to do with the fact that water composes 75% of the planet and an examination of the human past would not be complete without an examination of our interactions in, around, and on the water. As historians, we do not label those who study the human condition on land as terra firma historians, why should maritime historians be marked by the places on the planet with which their subjects interact?

By and large, the ocean has become more prominent within the historical profession. In 2019, the University of Cardiff held a series of focused conferences, entitled “Zones and Lines, Water and Land: New Conversations on Borders,” which challenged scholars to rethink how they understood the intersections of ocean and land. Where does one end and the other begin? The beach? The fall line? The tidewater? The high water mark? Where have those definitions originated and who created them? Is it time for a reassessment? Conceptual challenges to established historical paradigms can only be positive for the profession, breathing new life into hoary analytical frameworks. The conference organizers in Cardiff are not alone in asking historians to think about water in different ways. Scholars of Indigenous history are pioneering an ontological turn. Canadian scholars Nicole J. Wilson and Jody Inskter explored the political ontology of water in modern Yukon First Nations communities in 2018 and concluded that Indigenous people felt a kinship towards the water in their traditional spaces in much the same way that they felt kinship towards their land.³ In 2020, the 41st American Indian Workshop to be held at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich, Germany plans to have scholars explore the Indigenous Shapes of Water.⁴ The organizers challenge participants to think about their organizing question: “What does water do with people and what do people do with water?” These directions provide a thrilling new way to think about our existence on the planet and the ways in which our cultural and ideological lenses perceive our lived experiences. Until reading Wilson and Inskter, I never realized that I had been operating from a Euro-centric, resource-based transactional view of water and the ocean. It should have been obvious to me that I had been, but I was so steeped in Euro-centric thought patterns that I did not even question the dominant paradigms. Most maritime history to-date has been a study of European oceanic activity. It is time to open the flood gates and welcome new ways of thinking about the ocean from all cultural perspectives.

Maritime historians should not fear the loss of their watery domain. This has happened before with historical fields. In the 1950s, Ermine Wheeler-Voeglin pioneered the field of ethnohistory in response to requests from the Indian Claims Commission, which heard court cases adjudicating Indigenous treaty claims during the era of Indian Termination policy in the United States.⁵ Ethnohistory combined historical methodologies, ethnological understandings of culture, and an anthropological evidence base that included archaeological findings, oral tradition, material culture, and maps to reshape historians’ understandings of Indigenous-European relationships in early American scholarship.⁶ In the 1980s and the 1990s, many scholars of New Indian history adopted the ethnohistorical methodology and reshaped our understanding of early colonial life in North America. Attend an Omohundro Institute conference today, or look at the program, and you will find that 50% to 75% of the papers discuss Indigenous-European interactions and employ ethnohistorical methodologies. However, in the same way that Andrew Lipman does not describe himself as a maritime historian, most early American scholars do not think of themselves as ethnohistorians.

Geography never defined ethnohistory; its methodology did and it has become mainstream. So too with maritime history. Maritime history, as currently practiced, never had a unique methodology, but it did have a unique study area - the ocean and the rivers. It is this that is being adopted and pushed into the forefront by the broader historical discipline. Will maritime history end? The study of the oceans and the rivers will continue in full force, but maritime historians today will find themselves in the coming years much like Coleridge's ancient mariner. There will be:

"Water, water every where,
Nor any drop to drink."

Endnotes

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Functioning Femininity: Examining the WRCNS Uniform in the Second World War and Service Women's Social History

By Jane Harkness

On prominent display in the Second World War gallery of the Canadian War Museum is the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (WRCNS) uniform of Wren Joan A. Voller, née Thompson. The caption alongside the display explains how the 'Wrens', the nickname given to women in the Navy, were always so proud of how smart they looked their uniforms.

This statement begs the question of why these uniforms generated such a strong and lasting impression. In a time when feminism both blossomed and was restricted by imposed femininity, uniforms reveal evidence about the social history of Canadian service women during the Second World War. This paper will analyze femininity during the war, the establishment of the WRCNS, and how Wrens lobbied for changes in their uniforms, and then frame this analysis within the historiography of Canadian servicewomen. The establishment and evolution of the WRCNS uniform during the Second World War from the service women's perspective embodies the wartime struggle in Canadian society between femininity and feminism, and thus can be used to understand the contradictions in the social history of servicewomen.

Canadian society and Femininity

Leading up to the Second World War, Canadian society faced a shift in how it defined womanhood. In her book, *Lipstick and High Heels: War, Gender and Popular Culture*, Emily Spencer examines femininity in *Chatelaine Magazine* from 1928 to 1956. She states that editorials from the late 1930s onward showed an increase in social pressure for women to be defined by a traditional domestic lifestyle.¹ This lifestyle

encompassed rigid gendered spheres of work, where the female sphere consisted largely of unpaid labour and revolved around care for the family and home. Earlier publications of the magazine had implied that marriage and the domestic working sphere were not necessary preconditions for a successful woman's life. The perceived threat to democracy caused by the Second World War seemed a contributing factor in *Chatelaine's* shift. Maintaining traditional and divided spheres of work in the daily lives of Canadians appeared to be a way to sustain democracy at home while it remained uncertain overseas.

For example, the Elliott-Haynes survey *An Enquiry into the Attitude of the Canadian Civilian Public towards the Women's Armed Forces* asked Canadian citizens in 1943 how women could best contribute to Canada's war effort. The highest single percentage (26 percent) agreed women might best support the war effort by maintaining home life.² (See appendix 1) Of all answers provided, work outside the female sphere, namely doing war work in factories, joining women's forces, and releasing manpower made up just over a third of responses from Canadians. These results show how ideas of domestic femininity prevailed in Canada's wartime society, limiting the degree to which women were involved in the war effort.

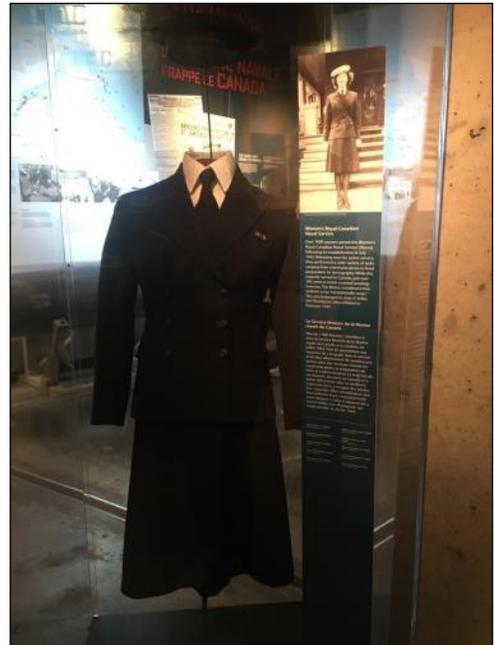


fig. 1 - A photo of the WRCNS uniform belonging to Joan A. Voller, née Thompson at the Canadian War Museum. Credit: Jane Harkness, personal collection.

As the war progressed, and the need for men in combat roles increased, it became apparent that more women were required to work in roles that would support the war effort beyond their traditional sphere. Ruth Roach Pierson argues that while female work was necessary, the Canadian military did not wish to irreversibly alter the role of women in society in terms of patriarchal gender relations. This goal resulted in an inherent tension to women's admissions to the armed services.³ Thus, recruitment sent the message that women were only able to serve in the armed forces for the duration of the war, emphasizing patriotic duty and the different roles of service women and men. Both of these elements are exhibited in the phrase "Free a man to serve at sea".⁴ Patriotic messages clarified that women's work was only to help win the war, thus implying that when it was over, women would return to the domestic, feminine sphere. Separated duties cemented the two distinct gendered spheres to counteract relaxed work spheres during the war. These messages from the government established the temporary necessity of women working in the traditional male spheres in order to help men win the war.

The emphasis placed on maintaining womanhood by society and by the branches of the military made women's recruitment in the armed services difficult. When examining the Elliott-Haynes survey, the tri-service group tasked with women's recruitment found the overwhelming reason women did not join up was due to the fear among young Canadian women of becoming un-womanly. Just as society tied femininity to domesticity, it also tied military service to masculinity. Pierson explains that "wearing a uniform, marching, standing at attention, and saluting were, traditionally, masculine behavior. [sic] The woman who appeared so appeared unconventional."⁵ Due to the established division between gendered worlds in the lead up to war, women feared becoming too masculine, and so the armed services took further steps to include femininity in the women's services. This entrenched an idea of femininity in Canadian society and encouraged the dismantling of women's services at the end of the war.

The Wrens

Established on July 31, 1942, the WRCNS was the last of the three services in Canada to admit women into their ranks during the Second World War. In 1941, when the Department of National Defence asked each service to estimate the total amount of woman power needed, the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) had initially decided that at most 20 drivers would be needed.⁶ Over the course of the next year this view changed with the surge in the Battle of the Atlantic and the need for more men at sea.⁷ They established the women's services to take on home front service roles so that more servicemen could serve on combat duty. Due to a lack of knowledge on how to run a women's service, the Navy requested the help of Britain's Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS) to help set up the WRCNS. The WRNS initially sent Superintendent Joan Carpenter, Chief Officer Dorothy Isherwood, and Second Officer Elizabeth Sturdee to naval headquarters in Ottawa to help lead the women's organization. Together they set up the rules, regulations and policies for the WRCNS.

The WRCNS lacked Canadian female representation from the outset, as Canadian men and British women formed a service for Canadian women. Knowing the British Wrens would not remain in Canada for the duration of the war, the Naval Board sought a "suitable lady" to be appointed as the Director of the Wrens.⁸ The woman they found was Adelaide Sinclair. Sinclair was born in Toronto in 1900 to a wealthy family. She was highly educated, having completed her Bachelors in Political Science in 1922 and her Masters in 1925, both from the University of Toronto. She attended postgraduate studies at the London School of Economics and the University of Berlin, and later taught economics at the University of Toronto. Sinclair married in 1930, but after her husband's death in 1938 she returned to the work force.⁹ Sinclair had no naval background, but her academic accomplishments and

social standing were seen as acceptable the eyes of the Naval Board.¹⁰ She completed officer training in the United Kingdom, and returned to officially become the Director of the WRCNS on September 18, 1943. Sinclair's life experiences prior to leading the Wrens exemplified how a woman could pursue both femininity and feminism, and shaped how the organization would run under her jurisdiction. Under her leadership femininity would prevail within the Wrens, but it would not be the only way these servicewomen would define themselves.

The WRCNS changed how they implemented femininity into their service as the war went on. Under the jurisdiction of the RCN and the WRNS, emphasis was placed upon preservation of femininity as a prerequisite for women's entry into the armed services. Superintendent Carpenter confirms this in a newspaper, stating in an interview shortly after her arrival in Canada that "We [the Wrens] are the most feminine of all the services for women, and we try to keep it so."¹¹ This, along with the commonly-used phrase "Lady before Navy", showed they felt it was important that servicewomen retained traditional feminine traits and were seen more as citizens than sailors.¹² The RCN and WRNS used femininity to retain the long-term, gender divided society and to assuage civilian women's fears of losing their femininity.

When Sinclair became director there was a noticeable shift in the use of gendered identity. She was known by those around her as a brilliant woman who had also not lost her femininity, yet did not let it get in the way of doing her job to the best of her ability. This is exemplified in an interview with Jean Gow, where Sinclair recalls an incident which arose after her suggestion to ensure the integrity of the officer appointments was ignored. Then, the father of a particular Wren asked for a decision regarding his daughter's appointment to be over-turned. Sinclair felt this would have sacrificed the WRCNS's moral integrity, and fought a lengthy battle against the Naval and parliamentary chain of command, who had continuously swept her concerns under the rug in this issue, until her decision was respected. This was an important battle to win, as those who had worked with the Wren knew of her immaturity and respected Sinclair's determined course of action to defend her initial judgement.¹³ Sinclair's reputation for overcoming adversity for the betterment of the WRCNS proved her to be an exemplary leader for her Wrens.

The Uniforms

The Canadian Army, Air Force and Navy all introduced women's services during the Second World War. Each service, in turn, needed its own uniform to help define the women who wore them and what their roles were. One newspaper headline characterized this moment as "uniform-conscious times", exemplifying the importance of appearance for the armed services, especially for women in these new positions.¹⁴ Uniforms were one of the main methods of reassuring femininity within the armed services and allowed for the visual definition of a servicewoman's place in society. By examining the uniform, the influences on its creation, how it evolved, and how it was viewed, a greater understanding of Canada's Second World War servicewomen can be reached, along with their social history within the context of their society.

The uniform of the WRCNS for both officers and ratings consisted of a double-breasted jacket and skirt, either in Wren Blue tropical worsted fabric for summer or Navy Blue Botany serge for winter.¹⁵ A white shirt and black tie were worn underneath, as well as black shoes and stockings. For example, an image of two Wren NCO's speaking with a member of the RCMP show their full uniforms.¹⁶ (See fig. 2) All Wrens were given greatcoats, overshoes and gloves, and all officers were given rain coats. Officers always wore tricorne hats and wore their pochettes, a black leather purse, on their shoulder, while ratings had different



fig. 2 - Photo of two Second World War WRCNS NCO's in uniform, Directorate of History and Heritage Archives, Ottawa, ON, 85/712.

variations of hats for both summer and winter and wore their pochettes across their chest. In addition, ratings were given extra clothing specific to their job, such as sou'wester rain hats.¹⁷

The WRCNS uniform evolved throughout the duration of the war alongside its organizational leadership and their differing interpretations of femininity in the service. The initial uniform created by the RCN and the WRNS, with help from Canadian fashion designers, was an expression of their stronghold on womanhood within the services. The influence of the WRNS followed Carpenter's desire for retaining the lady within the Navy. Carpenter envisioned that the WRCNS uniform would pioneer the back-to-femininity movement.¹⁸ She thought femininity had been lost with the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC) and the Royal Canadian Air Force Women's Division (RCAF WD), as they had both emphasized that female recruits were service members over women, and femininity was not as actively preserved. Carpenter provides the example that Wrens kept their hats on when entering a room, while CWACs and WDs, like men in the services, took theirs off.¹⁹ In the eyes of the Navy, this was a sign of the decline of traditional womanhood. The winter uniform greatly resembled that of the feminine British WRNS and the summer uniform consisted of a dress which looked more civilian than military.

The influence of the Naval Staff was just as important in maintaining femininity. One aspect of societally defined womanhood was attractiveness, which Pierson specified as attractive to men.²⁰ In discussion with reporters over the yet to be released uniform at the time, one member of Naval Staff specified the main difference between the British and Canadian Wren uniform was the Canadian uniform's slimming effect. He explained that the

end result would make a “chubby little Wren not too grotesque in her uniform.”²¹ This comment shows that the decision to slim uniforms was not for the purpose of function, but rather that he, and other men, would be looking at attractive women in uniform.

Both WRNS and RCN influences on uniform were integrations of their own agendas for preserving femininity. After Sinclair became the director of the Wrens, she insisted on two notable changes to the uniform, round rig hats and trousers, which exemplified her concern for a smart appearance combined with good function.



fig. 3 - Photo of early Wrens in their 'Pork Pie' hats and dresses, their original summer uniforms, Directorate of History and Heritage Archives, Ottawa, ON, 85/712.7

The original hats of the WRCNS uniform were detested by the ratings. The floppy brimmed pique hat came in white for summer and navy blue for winter, and had a black ribbon with HMCS written across the brim.²² (See fig. 3) These were dubbed 'Pork Pie' hats due to their resemblance to popular civilian headwear named after the meat pastry. Due to consistent complaints over design, the idea for new hats for ratings emerged in 1943, and were introduced the following spring. This is an example of how feminine civilian fashion influences in uniform were rejected by the women wearing them. The new beret style hats, or 'Round Rigs' as they were known, resembled the headwear of the sailors in the RCN and were worn for day-to-day usage.²³ (See fig. 4) Previously, the British and Canadian male leadership had deemed this style of headwear unsuitable for the original Wrens uniform.²⁴ The new hats were navy blue with a white cover for summer wear, and again bore a black ribbon with HMCS around the perimeter of the base of the hat. A note made by Adelaide Sinclair states “It is most important to decide where the line is to be drawn between treating Wrens as naval ratings and as women.”²⁵ The change to hat design shows the original emphasis on femininity, and how the Wrens insisted upon being represented as members of the armed forces.

With their nation-wide entry into the war industry, women's pants became a practical, necessary and normalized part of life. However, the military was reluctant to allow pants and their introduction was "slow and restricted" according to Pierson.²⁶ When asked whether the WRCNS uniform would include pants, Superintendent Carpenter responded "What a silly idea. [...] Most women look very awkward in trousers, and they'd be most uncomfortable in wet weather."²⁷ This once again reflects the emphasis on femininity over function. However, bell-bottoms were eventually issued in 1944, as they became recognized as a practical piece of kit for women working outdoors, such as signallers or drivers. Photos prove the necessity of bell-bottoms for Wrens, such as one example of signaller Wrens climbing the ladder of a sail.²⁸ (See fig. 5) Pierson argues that the issuing of pants in the military exemplified "wartime politics of dress, indicating the symbolic power that could be invested in attire as a regulator of gender and class relations." This holds true, as resistance to pants served to continue divided gender relations, yet their symbolic power was in how the ratings took to bell-bottoms. As Wren Beatrice 'Trix' Greary recalled, "The signals course was fantastic! I loved it. We were issued bell-bottomed trousers because we would be climbing ladder to rooftops to hoist up signal flags, and climbing the big masts in the Parade Square. (We were proud of our uniforms, and very proud of being in the navy.)"²⁹ Testaments like these show that Wrens decided how they represented themselves as women as service members.

On May 31, 1946 Sinclair submitted the *Report on the W.R.C.N.S.*, where she explained all aspects of the organization during wartime and gave recommendations for mobilization of Canadian Wrens for future conflicts. In discussing the uniform, she notes several recommendations. Firstly, she states the importance of a smart and appropriate uniform, explaining "its effect on recruiting, morale, efficiency and public opinion is at times amazing."³⁰ Secondly, she asserts that women should be involved in decisions regarding uniforms from the outset. She asserts that "expert advice should be sought from authorities on styles and fabrics, and from ex-Service members – not too much from merely interested laymen."³¹ This comment alludes to the influence of the creators of the original uniform, who did not include the wishes or practical needs of the servicewomen in their designs. Both recommendations show her emphasis on the importance of women's voices in influencing the design of their uniforms.

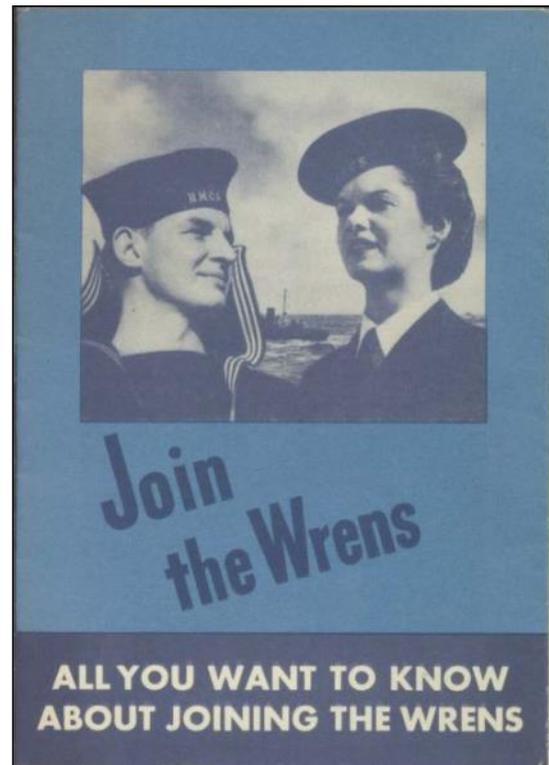


fig. 4 - Front cover of a pamphlet entitled *Join the Wrens* with a photo showing the hats of male and female ratings, Directorate of History and Heritage Archives, Ottawa, ON, 81/520/1000 Box 3, File 25.



fig. 5 - Signaller Wrens climb a ladder at St. Hyacinthe Signal School. *Crow's Nest*, May-June 1960, 50th Anniversary, *The Wrens*, Directorate of History and Heritage Archives, Ottawa, ON, 81/520/1440-600 Vol 1.

Historiographical Debate

There has been little attention to how uniforms have played a role in Canadian service women's military history since the Second World War. Two differing points of view lead the debate on the effect of military service on women in this era. The first is the emancipation theory that women's services in the war were a watershed moment in the fight towards gender equality. Author Barbara Winters argues this in her chapter *The Wrens of the Second World War: Their Place in the History of Canadian Servicewomen*, stating that Second World War Wrens paved the way for the permanent admission of women to the Navy in the 1950s by way of proving their worth.³² The second is the patriarchal theory spearheaded by Ruth Roach Pierson in her book *"They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood*. This work stands alone as the sole academic book published exclusively on the women's military work in Canada during the Second World War. Here, she argues that while the glamour of emancipation lives in the war's nostalgic memory, mobilization propaganda set a preface for men to return to their privileged pre-war social positions.³³

Yet, neither of these arguments adequately integrates the voices of service women. Sarah Hogenbirk takes a third point of view focused on these voices in her recent doctoral thesis *Women Inside the Canadian Military, 1938-1966*. She asserts that "studying women's negotiations of their military roles and their history reveals the policing of gender norms in the armed services, Canadian society, and in the Scholarship of the Second World War."³⁴ In doing so, she takes the narrative of women's military social history and places it in the hands of Canadian servicewomen.³⁵

This mixed sentiment was reflected in the testimonials of Second World War Wrens. Audrey Sim Shortridge wrote in her memoir of her WRCNS service:

We were part of the first group of the feminist movement, although we did not know it at the time. After discharge we went home and put on our hats and gloves, required attire for church and social occasions, and slotted back into our place. Some of us took advantage of government programs to further education. Some of us faced opposition to this, and with regret went back to acceptance of parental wishes.³⁶

Joan 'Tommy' Voller recalled that she thought "the women who chose to enlist were generally more adventurous. They had the courage to leave everybody behind and take a chance on the unknown; and they didn't mind obeying orders and wearing uniforms."³⁷ Elizabeth Victoria 'Vicki' La Prairie explained her experience taking off her uniform for the last time, saying "As I took off each item, tears filled my eyes. I loved my uniform, and had been so proud to wear it. [...] I was so proud of every wren I knew. I had loved my work as a Visual Signaller, and never wanted to come off duty. When I was off duty, I could hardly wait to go back on!"³⁸

These Wrens' descriptions of their time as servicewomen created a narrative that does not conform to either repression or emancipation, but encompasses an understanding of the complexity of femininity, the hope for change for future generations, and the pride of being a woman in the armed services. The Canadian Wrens were neither solely feminine ladies, nor functional service members, but defined themselves on the line between the two.

Inclusion of servicewomen is key to understanding their social history throughout the Second World War. The Wrens always praised their smartness of uniform, but they did not give themselves credit for the design or their appearance. However, examining the uniform and its changes within the context of the WRCNS and Canadian society of the 1940s shows

how servicewomen defined their own image and representation. In doing so, they wrote their own narrative of their social history, which reveals a more nuanced tale. These women were servicewomen on their own terms and took great pride in that accomplishment regardless of the very real restrictions and limitations which they faced, as exemplified by the uniform retired in 1945.



Jane Harkness originates from Virden, Manitoba, where she discovered an avid interest in history at an early age, with a specific interest in women's history, social history, and the history of the World Wars. In 2016 she was a recipient of the Vimy Foundation's Beaverbrook Vimy Prize and worked for her local museum as a tour guide and junior curator for four years. Here, she gained a passion for museums, and has since pursued it as her career. She is currently a third-year history student at the University of Ottawa and the student archivist at the Department of History and Heritage. Besides history, Jane is a leader in her local Girl Guides group, and enjoys exploring her city, travelling, keeping up with the latest movies, and reading a good book. She lives by the motto "Women in history shouldn't be a mystery".

Endnotes

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3. Ruth Roach Pierson, *"They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 130.
4. Jean Bruce, *Back the Attack! Canadian Women During the Second World War— At Home and Abroad*, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1985), 93.
5. Ruth Roach Pierson, "They're Still Women After All", 174.
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7. *Ibid.*, 93.
8. W.A.B. Douglas, Roger Sarty, and Michael Whitby, *A Blue Water Navy: The Official Operational History of the Royal Canadian Navy in the Second World War - 1943-1945, Volume II, Part 2*, (St Catherine's, Ontario: Vanwell, 2007), 597.
9. Sarah Hogenbirk, "Women Inside the Canadian Military, 1938-1966," (Doctoral dissertation, Carleton University, 2017), 200-201.
10. *Ibid.*, 202.
11. Austin F. Cross, "'Wrens' Called Most Feminine of All Services," *Montreal Daily Star*, May 14, 1942, 91/490, Directorate of History and Heritage Archives, Ottawa, ON.
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13. Jean Gow, "Edited Transcript of an Interview with Commander Adelaide Sinclair by Jean Gow re Service in the WRCNS", Interview, 84/301, Directorate of History and Heritage Archives, Ottawa, ON.

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15. Rating defines any Wren of a rank below that of a commissioned officer.
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17. Adelaide Sinclair, "Report on the W.R.C.N.S.," 75/554, Directorate of History and Heritage Archives, Ottawa, ON.
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19. Canadian Press, "Lady Before Navy, Order for WRENS".
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21. Margaret Ecker, "Uniforms for Canadian Wrens Surpass British Models in Style," *Montreal Gazette*, July 9, 1942, 91/490, Directorate of History and Heritage Archives, Ottawa, ON.
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25. Adelaide Sinclair, "Report on the W.R.C.N.S.".
26. Ruth Roach Pierson, "They're Still Women After All," 150.
27. Windsor Daily Star, "'Wrens' to Be Recruited by Canada Within Month," *Windsor Daily Star*, May 15, 1942, 91/490, Directorate of History and Heritage Archives, Ottawa, ON.
28. Government of Canada, Photo, c. 1939-1945, 81/520/1440-600 Vol 1, Directorate of History and Heritage Archives, Ottawa, ON.
29. Beatrice Greary, *Equal to the Challenge: An Anthology of Women's Experiences during World War II* (Canada: Department of National Defence, 2001), 322.
30. Adelaide Sinclair, "Report on the W.R.C.N.S.".
31. Adelaide Sinclair, "Report on the W.R.C.N.S.".
32. Barbara Winters, *The Wrens of the Second World War: Their Place in the History of Canadian Servicewomen – A Nation's Navy: In Quest of Canadian Naval Identity*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 295.
33. Ruth Roach Pierson, "They're Still Women After All," 215.
34. Sarah Hogenbirk, "Women Inside the Canadian Military, 1938-1966," iii.
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37. Joan Voller, *Equal to the Challenge: An Anthology of Women's Experiences during World War II* (Canada: Department of National Defence, 2001), 58.
38. Elizabeth Victoria La Prairie, *Equal to the Challenge: An Anthology of Women's Experiences during World War II* (Canada: Department of National Defence, 2001), 401.

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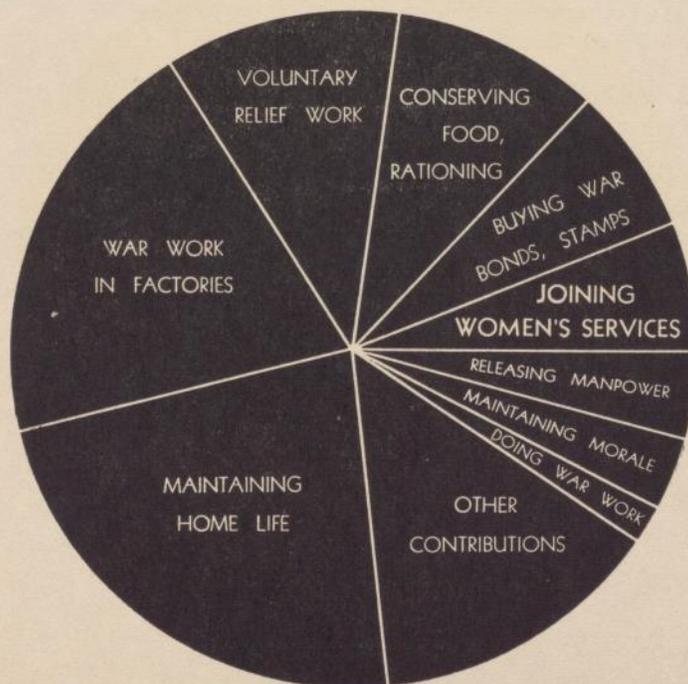
SUMMARY OF RESULTS

A. CONSCIOUSNESS OF NEED OF WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES

a. How Women Can Best Serve Canada's War Effort

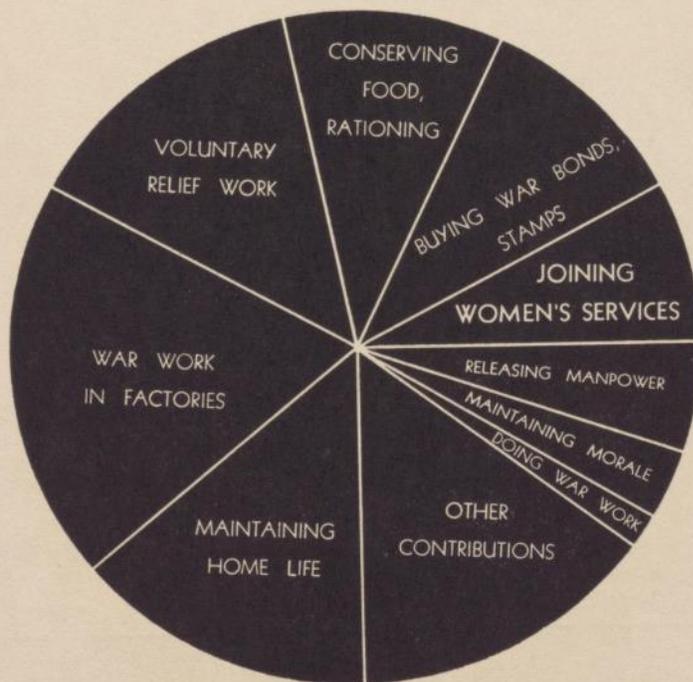
According to the civilian public, joining the women's armed forces was the sixth most important way that women could contribute to Canada's war effort. By far the most important contributions were felt to be maintaining home life and doing war work in factories. Maintaining home life overshadowed all other factors given by Quebec civilians.

CONTRIBUTION	Total Canada	English Canada	French Canada
Total persons interviewed	100%	100%	100%
Maintaining home life	26%	20%	40%
Doing war work in factories	23%	25%	18%
Part-time voluntary relief work	13%	13%	13%
Conserving food, rationing	11%	11%	12%
Buying war bonds, stamps	8%	10%	4%
JOINING WOMEN'S FORCES	7%	9%	3%
Releasing manpower	5%	7%	—
Maintaining morale, stopping rumours	4%	5%	2%
Doing Farm work	2%	2%	2%
Other	16%	22%	2%



Young women were somewhat more favourably disposed towards joining the armed forces than their parents and young men wanted them to be.

CONTRIBUTION	Total Canada	Parents	Young Men	Young Women
Total persons interviewed	100%	100%	100%	100%
Maintaining home life	26%	28%	32%	17%
Doing war work in factories	23%	19%	27%	23%
Part-time voluntary relief work	13%	15%	12%	16%
Conserving food, rationing	11%	9%	9%	12%
Buying war bonds, stamps	8%	7%	5%	12%
JOINING WOMEN'S FORCES	7%	6%	6%	9%
Releasing manpower	5%	5%	6%	6%
Maintaining morale, stopping rumours	4%	4%	4%	4%
Doing farm work	2%	2%	1%	2%
Other	16%	19%	14%	17%



While war workers naturally felt that doing war work in factories was the most important way that women could contribute to the war effort, this was entirely at the expense of maintaining home life.

CONTRIBUTION	Total Canada	War Workers	Civilian Workers	Farm Workers
Total persons interviewed	100%	100%	100%	100%
Maintaining home life	26%	18%	26%	24%
Doing war work in factories	23%	35%	22%	24%
Part-time voluntary relief work	13%	15%	14%	14%
Conserving food, rationing	11%	6%	12%	12%
Buying war bonds, stamps	8%	11%	7%	5%
JOINING WOMEN'S FORCES	7%	9%	8%	5%
Releasing manpower	5%	4%	6%	6%
Maintaining morale, stopping rumours	4%	5%	3%	2%
Doing farm work	2%	1%	2%	6%
Other	16%	16%	17%	16%

b. Extent of Need of Women in the Armed Forces

The conservative attitude held by the public towards the need for women in the armed forces which was clearly illustrated in the previous section, is further borne out by the figures below. It would appear that the general public believed that the need for women in war industry was twice as great as the need for women in the armed forces.

EXTENT WOMEN NEEDED	In Armed Forces	In War Industry
Total persons interviewed	100%	100%
Urgently	19%	37%
Moderately	47%	47%
Not at all	26%	11%
Don't know	8%	5%

DETAILED STATISTICAL TABLES

QUESTIONS	Total		Sex		Type of Persons			Occupational Groups				Geographic Regions			
	All Canada		Male	Female	Parents	Young Men	Young Women	War Workers	Civilian Workers	Farm Workers	Ontario	Quebec	Prairies	British Columbia	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
1.—HOW WOMEN CAN BEST SERVE CANADA'S WAR EFFORT															
Total Persons Interviewed	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
Maintaining home, health standards	26%	32%	21%	28%	32%	17%	18%	26%	24%	18%	40%	21%	20%	9%	
Doing war work in factories	23%	24%	22%	19%	27%	23%	35%	22%	24%	29%	18%	22%	20%	29%	
Part-time voluntary relief work	13%	11%	15%	15%	12%	16%	15%	14%	14%	15%	13%	12%	20%	8%	
Conserving food, rationing, etc.	11%	9%	13%	9%	9%	12%	6%	12%	12%	12%	12%	9%	7%	9%	
Buying war bonds, stamps	8%	7%	9%	7%	5%	12%	11%	7%	5%	9%	4%	8%	21%	9%	
Joining Women's Forces	7%	7%	7%	6%	6%	9%	9%	8%	5%	8%	3%	10%	5%	10%	
Releasing manpower	5%	6%	4%	5%	6%	6%	4%	6%	6%	6%	6%	10%	8%	8%	
Maintaining morale, squelching rumours	4%	3%	4%	4%	4%	4%	5%	3%	2%	5%	2%	4%	4%	3%	
Doing farm work	2%	2%	3%	2%	1%	2%	1%	2%	6%	2%	2%	1%	1%	3%	
Other	16%	16%	17%	19%	14%	17%	16%	17%	16%	23%	2%	2%	4%	32%	
2.—EXTENT WOMEN NEEDED IN WAR INDUSTRY															
Urgently	37%	36%	39%	37%	34%	37%	51%	36%	35%	54%	10%	45%	43%	45%	
Moderately	47%	47%	47%	50%	49%	46%	38%	48%	41%	41%	56%	44%	48%	52%	
Not at all	11%	12%	11%	10%	12%	12%	7%	12%	11%	2%	30%	6%	4%	1%	
Don't know	5%	5%	3%	3%	5%	5%	4%	4%	13%	3%	4%	5%	5%	2%	
EXTENT WOMEN NEEDED IN ARMED FORCES															
Urgently	19%	17%	20%	19%	16%	20%	24%	18%	18%	26%	5%	23%	23%	24%	
Moderately	47%	48%	46%	46%	49%	54%	51%	49%	44%	54%	35%	56%	59%	59%	
Not at all	26%	27%	25%	25%	29%	20%	21%	24%	26%	13%	53%	14%	10%	7%	
Don't know	8%	5%	9%	10%	6%	6%	4%	9%	12%	5%	7%	4%	8%	10%	
3.—EXTENT TO WHICH PEOPLE HAVE HEARD OF WOMEN'S ARMED FORCES															
Canadian Women's Army Corps	91%	91%	90%	92%	90%	87%	94%	95%	87%	99%	77%	100%	99%	98%	
Royal Canadian Air Force (W.D.)	85%	86%	85%	86%	85%	81%	87%	91%	78%	99%	58%	100%	99%	98%	
Women's Canadian Naval Service	79%	82%	77%	83%	81%	76%	85%	84%	72%	98%	41%	99%	99%	95%	
4.—WHY WOMEN TAKE JOBS IN WAR INDUSTRY															
Make good money	54%	57%	51%	53%	57%	56%	47%	59%	54%	57%	62%	46%	38%	66%	
Do their bit	33%	28%	38%	31%	27%	28%	40%	29%	28%	34%	34%	33%	33%	37%	
Release manpower	14%	12%	16%	13%	13%	15%	13%	12%	13%	15%	4%	20%	25%	10%	
Escape, change, adventure, meet men	8%	10%	6%	8%	9%	9%	9%	9%	7%	4%	7%	17%	8%	9%	
Like factory work	3%	4%	3%	3%	4%	3%	2%	4%	1%	3%	2%	4%	3%	3%	
Back up example of others	3%	3%	2%	2%	4%	3%	2%	3%	2%	5%	1%	2%	1%	2%	
Other	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%	3%	2%	3%	2%	2%	3%	3%	1%	1%	

Home Town Heroes and Parks Canada Honouring Qapik Attaqutsiak

By Isabel Campbell

This past January I had the pleasure of attending a special ceremony at the Museum of History to honour Qapik Attaqutsiak. Qapik Attaqutsiak is a local hero from Arctic Bay, Nunavit.



A photo of Qapik Attaqutsiak and her community celebrating her accomplishments at the Museum of History, Gatineau, Quebec, January 2020. Thanks to Pascale Guidon at Parks Canada for these photos

The Home Town Heroes program was established at Parks Canada to recognize Canadians like Qapik who have contributed to their community and to Canada. Many of them are not well known outside their immediate community and so Parks historians are working with communities to research and write about their accomplishments and to ensure that Canadians learn about them.

Qapik Attaqutsiak was one of the Inuit who gathered up animal bones during the Second World War to provide vital materials for Canada's war effort. She also taught sewing and served as a mid-wife to her community. She worked to establish the Akausivik Inuit Family Health Team Medical Centre in Ottawa, Ontario. She still provides leadership by counselling community members.

This ceremony allowed members of the Inuit community, members of Canada's forces, and government officials to gather together and honour this amazing Inuk elder. She regaled us with her memories of past events, including the story of the rescue of a hunter who had become lost in a winter storm. The ceremony itself showcased the important role of elders, and the audience enjoyed performances of dancing and throat singing by Inuit students

Those involved were:

- Attagutsiak family
- Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg First Nation
- Throat Singers Samantha Kigutaq-Metcalf & Cailyn Degrandpre
- Nunavut Sivuniksavut Performers
- Rapides-Deschênes School
- Canadian Museum of History
- Canadian Armed Forces

I'd like to thank Ray Coutu, the event Co-ordinator, Pascale Guidon and others at Parks Canada for their role in researching and writing about the Inuit bone-gathering and for inviting me to celebrate this event with everyone else. It was an honour to meet and speak with Qapik and to learn more about her life and her community.

Interested readers will find more about these heroes and Qapik Attagutsiak at this link: <https://www.pc.gc.ca/en/pn-np/nu/sirmilik/culture/heros-heroes>. Information is available in English, French, and Inuktitut.

A tribute to Fraser McKee

long time Canadian Nautical Research member

At the request of President Richard Gimblett and with much pleasure, we are paying tribute to long time Canadian Nautical Research member, Fraser McKee.

Fraser McKee was born in 1925 in Toronto, was in an Army Cadet Corps at high School and then joined the RCNVR as an Ordinary Seaman in March 1943. Commissioned a year later, he served in an Armed Yacht, an Algerine ocean escort that brought the last westbound convoy of the war into New York, and shore bases. Returning to Toronto in 1946, he took a degree in Forestry, later working in the communications and advertising industries until retirement in 1984.

Fraser remained in the Naval Reserves from 1947 until 1978, retiring as a Commander at HMCS *York* in Toronto. He specialized in anti-submarine warfare, serving in vessels ranging from a Royal Navy submarine to aircraft carriers, and with an RCAF Long Range Patrol Squadron. He edited two successive naval newsletters for 16 years for the Naval Association, has written or co-written six books on the Canadian Navy and the Merchant Navy, and a major NAC/DND paper on mine warfare in the days when the RCN had no mine counter-measure capability. This has been a major interest, leading in part to the eventual acquisition of the MCDV vessels. His latest effort was a Naval Reserve novel about the Arctic.

A Past President of the Navy League of Canada, he was also President of the Toronto Branch of the Naval Officers Association of Canada, of the Grey County Historical Society, of two Library Boards, a Concert Society, and his church's Board of Managers. He has been a member of the Royal Canadian Military Institute since 1955. He contributes maritime book reviews and articles to various journals, mostly based on his own 1,600 volume naval library. He lives in Toronto and has four children, one a retired Lt.Col. in the Canadian Militia. His wife died in 2007.

In 2012, Fraser received the Admiral's medal.

Admiral's Medal 2012 citation

Fraser McKee has an abiding interest in history, particularly with respect to Canada's Navy. A prolific writer and one of Canada's best known writers and researchers on Canadian naval history, he has authored or co-authored a number of books, including *Volunteers for Sea Service*, *The Armed Yachts of Canada*, *HMCS Swansea*, *Canadian Naval Chronicle*, *Sink All the Shipping There* and *Three Princes Armed*. He has also published a number of major articles addressing naval themes, including "How to Run a Mess Dinner" and has edited three newsletters including *Bumph* and *Starshell*.

He continues to be heavily involved with a number of organizations in his community and, as a public speaker, he continues to promote the Royal Canadian Navy history and current naval affairs to a wider audience primarily in the Toronto area.



Fraser McKee

Credit: Fraser McKee personal collection

The editors note that throughout their tenure as editors of *Argonauta*, Fraser McKee was one of the most encouraging and supportive of members who regularly provided feedback on the content and presentation of our quarterly. They thank him for his kind words and hope he and others will offer Erika the same generous support as she begins her editorship. They observe that although Colleen and Fraser share the same surname, they are not related except perhaps in spirit.



Call for papers

Canadian Nautical Research Society Annual Conference
Waterfronts at Work
August 13-15, 2020
Lonsdale Quay Hotel
North Vancouver, British Columbia

The Canadian Nautical Research Society (CNRS) will be holding its annual conference in scenic North Vancouver, British Columbia at Lonsdale Quay Hotel during August 2020. The north shore of Burrard Inlet has a long history of industrial waterfront activity, including lumber milling, shipbuilding and ship repair, barging and towing, and modern shipping terminals served by railways for export and import of commodities. The waterfront area at the foot of Lonsdale Avenue, the location of former shipyard sites, has redeveloped for cultural, commercial, and residential uses, while still paying homage to its maritime past and nearby operating dry docks and grain elevators. Fittingly, the theme of this year's conference is "Waterfronts at Work".

The Society invites paper proposals on a related theme, or a general maritime topic from any time period, that would interest CNRS members. Please include your name, affiliation (if any) and title, and a brief description of 250 words or less. Abstracts for accepted papers will be published in the CNRS newsletter *Argonauta* prior to the conference. Presentations will be 20-30 minutes followed by questions from the audience. Proposals should be sent no later than May 1, 2020, for inclusion in the conference, by regular mail or email to:

Chris Madsen
Canadian Forces College
215 Yonge Blvd.
Toronto, Ontario
M5M 3H9

Conf2020@cnrs-scrn.org or cnrs2016@gmail.com

Presenters are encouraged to submit completed papers for peer review and consideration toward publication in the CNRS journal *The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord*.

Updated details about the conference will be available on the CNRS website.

https://www.cnrs-scrn.org/admin/conferences_e.html

The Lonsdale Quay Hotel is located on the third floor of the Lonsdale Quay Public Market. It is served by public transit, including the Seabus, which operates every ten minutes from downtown Vancouver and the Skytrain connecting with the Vancouver International Airport and other parts of Greater Vancouver. In regards to accommodation in North Vancouver, the Lonsdale Quay Hotel conveniently has rooms for booking, and the Pinnacle Hotel at the Pier and new Seaside Hotel are also located nearby within a short walk, offering 4 star rooms and prices. The best prices will be found on third party websites such as Booking.com, Travelocity, and Hotels.com, instead of booking directly. A number of chain motels are located on Capilano Road off the Lion's Gate Bridge and the Holiday Inn and Suites is off Highway 1 near the Second Narrows Bridge, within 10 minute drive to

Lonsdale from west and east. Pay parking is available in the parkade north of the Lonsdale Public Market and the ICBC building. Lower Lonsdale has a number of restaurants and eating options catering to various tastes and budgets.

Registration fees for the two and half day conference will be \$100 for CNRS and NASOH members, \$125 for persons not belonging to CNRS or NASOH, \$75 for emerging scholars (5 years or less out of a degree), and \$50 for students attending university, college, or high school. The Canadian Nautical Research Society will be giving out the Panting Award, which provides some assistance to student presenters to defray travel, accommodation, and registration costs. The number and amount will depend on the number of student presenters accepted, up to a total maximum of \$1,000. Students should indicate their status and interest in consideration for the Panting Award when submitting a paper proposal. All presenters will be required to pay for conference registration for attendance.

CNRS 2021



CANADA'S PACIFIC GATEWAY

Notice is hereby given of the annual general meeting and conference of CNRS to be held in Victoria, BC

9- 12 June 2021

In commemoration of the 150th anniversary of British Columbia joining the Dominion of Canada by Act of Union 25 July 1871

A unique meeting of the membership, guests and speakers/commentators will be held on the dates listed. Please plan to attend this extraordinary conclave. Partner agencies will be announced at a later time.

Proposals for Conference Presentations are requested, particularly on themes (past, present, and future) of Canada's wider Pacific dimensions and the importance of BC ports, shipping and commodities to the rise of Canada as a Pacific trading partner

A local arrangements and tours committee is making plans for stimulating touring possibilities for Registrants.

Contacts

Professor Barry Gough (barrygough@shaw.ca)

or

Commodore Jan Drent (janjdrent@gmail.com)

Guidelines for Authors

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

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

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

Her Majesty's Canadian Ship (HMCS) *Queenston*
Her Majesty's Canadian Ship (HMCS) *Châteauguay*

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

Former HMCS *Fraser* rather than *Ex-Fraser*

Foreign ships and submarines:

USS *Enterprise*

HMS *Victory*

HMAS *Canberra* 3

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