

ARGONAUTA



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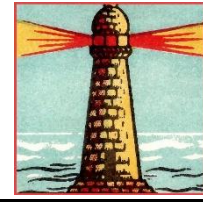


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Editorial

Erika Behrisch



Hi everyone,

Happy summer, happy conference, happy research! This issue is about digging into details as important and intriguing as they are obscure, and telling stories that deserve a much larger audience than they have hitherto received.

The first article illuminates the history of the RCN Commissioning Pennant, tied of course to discussions of nationhood and national identity and pride. The inclusion of a hand-drawn sketch in Brian Bertosa's piece give the discussion an unexpected intimacy; I imagine a pot of coloured pencils and a quick glance out the window to confirm the shape of the maple leaf. More than this, the history of regular citizens writing to Canada's Chief Herald is also suggestive of the smallness of our nation, as if in spite of the vast distances between our coasts, we're never far away from each other.

Joel Zemel's article on Dr. Clement Ligoure, an unsung hero of the Halifax Explosion and a prominent member of Halifax's Black community in the first quarter of the twentieth century, tells a much different tale about our collective history—of separation and isolation within close quarters. Graduating from Queen's University (Kingston) only a few years before the school banned Black medical students, Dr. Ligoure fought against racism to pursue his career in medicine, advocate for Black rights, and participate in Canada's war effort as Europe erupted into conflict. Often stymied by backward and ignorant policies, Dr. Ligoure's commitment to his chosen city is powerfully shown by his untiring efforts to help those around him in the days and weeks following the Explosion. It's a story that needs to be told, and told again.

This issue ends with the abstracts of the upcoming presentations in our annual conference, taking place both in-person at Memorial University and online, and the biographies of the presenters—and the draft minutes of the Council meeting in March. Both pieces are testaments to the health and vitality not just of our Society, but of the maritime research community: new angles of insight, innovative ideas, and strategies for inclusion abound. It's an exciting season, with wonderful potential.

WMP,

Erika

President's corner

by Michael Moir

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Summer has arrived, bringing heat, humidity, and maritime history conferences. I recently had the pleasure of attending the gathering of the North American Society for Ocean History in San Diego, accompanied by Faye Kert, Richard Gimblett, and Jeff Nokes. Presentations were held on the upper deck of the historic ferry *Berkeley*, built in 1898 for service on San Francisco Bay. There were many excellent presentations and good discussion during breaks, but also some confusion; how do you make plans to meet at the bow or stern when both ends of a ferry are identical?

One of the most interesting sessions was a panel devoted to the future of maritime history and marine archaeology as careers, organized for the benefit of the many students attending. Most of the panelists came to their current positions later in careers that took circuitous routes and often began in the United States Navy. Several themes emerged throughout the presentations: the importance of volunteering and internships, where every day could be an informal job interview; the importance of practical skills, especially in archaeology; and the importance of being able to talk about what you do and what you know with people who are not in your field. While positions are scarce in academia and museums, the panelists agreed that good jobs can often be found in policy areas, but an effort must be made to speak the language of other specialists in the department.

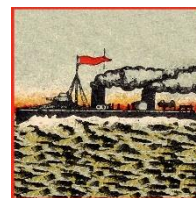
The session was upbeat and positive, which must have been encouraging for the students. The panel highlighted the importance of marine archaeology to the renewal of NASOH's membership, including Canadian students heading to the US for graduate degrees in this field. These students must be kept engaged in maritime studies on both sides of the border by making sure that archaeological research is welcome in *The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord* – an approach supported by general editor Peter Kikkert in the journal's latest issue.

Thanks to Meaghan Walker, our own conference is ready to launch. Meaghan has crafted an interesting, diverse program of speakers who will gather in person and virtually at the Maritime History Archive of Memorial University. We are still adapting to the hybrid model that enables remote participation, but it offers exciting possibilities to engage our widely dispersed membership in ways that reduce the expense and carbon footprint of travel.

Our upcoming annual meeting will bring a close to my term as President. It has been a privilege to serve in this role, and a relief that the Society did not founder as we weathered the challenges of the pandemic. I am grateful for the support and wise counsel of my colleagues on Council, especially Richard Gimblett, Past President, who was always available to listen and advise even when he was on his many travels. The Society is in good hands with my successor, Thomas Malcomson, who has shown considerable leadership in his work on the Awards Committee and organizing conferences. Last but by no means least, I thank Erika Behrisch for her excellent work as editor of *Argonauta*. Erika's editorials have been a delight and the publication has maintained its strong tradition of serving our members under her guidance.

The curious Canadian Commissioning Pennants of 1967 and 1972

Brian Bertosa



Introduction

The Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) has used two different commissioning pennants over its 112-year history. The first, authorized for use in RCN vessels in 1911, was the same as that used by the Royal Navy, consisting of a white pennant with a cross of St. George closest to the attachment point¹ (image 1):



Image 1. The commissioning pennant of the Royal Navy, used also by the Royal Canadian Navy for a significant portion of its existence. (Object AAA0905, Royal Museums Greenwich, accessed 7 December, 2022, <https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmqc-object-905>, © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London)

The second pennant was introduced in the early 1980s. A Canadianized version of the original, it has a red maple leaf in place of the St. George's cross, but is otherwise identical² (image 2).

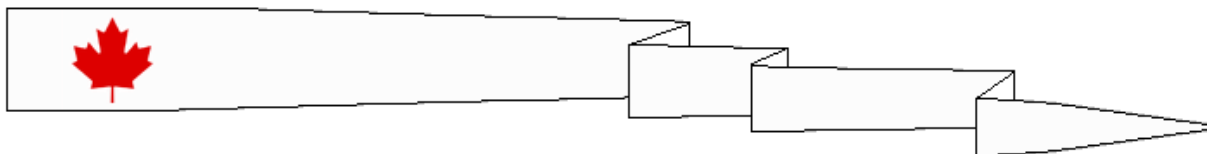


Image 2. The current commissioning pennant of the Royal Canadian Navy. (Wikimedia Commons, accessed 7 December 2022, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Canadian_Commissioning_Pennant.png)

While the “colony to nation” narrative expressed visually by these two pennants could not be clearer, the fact is that an acceptable successor to the 1911 pennant took a number of tries. The first, in 1967, was brought to light for the first time by Captain (retired) Norman Jolin, RCN, in his major article of 2013 on Canadian naval flags.³ The second attempt, in 1972, appears to have actually entered service, only to be mysteriously withdrawn in favour of a return to the 1911 pennant. One of the goals of this paper is to examine in greater detail the 1967 proposal for a distinctive commissioning pennant, including new information on the failure of the initiative. The other is to present the earliest known illustration of the 1972 pennant proposal, along with the little documentation on it available.

What Is a Commissioning Pennant?

Physically, a commissioning pennant—sometimes referred to as a masthead pennant or captain's pennant—is a long, narrow flag, six feet long and three inches high in Canadian

use,⁴ giving a length-to-height ratio of twenty-four to one. Because they taper, any distinctive national identifying marks are normally seen close to the wide end.

In the RCN context, the pennant with St. George's cross is symmetrical about its long axis and has no top or bottom; it can therefore be attached with a single Inglefield clip (older examples used a wooden toggle). It is free to rotate because there is no possibility of being upside-down. The pennant with the maple leaf, on the other hand, has a clearly defined top and bottom, and therefore must be attached with two Inglefield clips to hold it on the correct axis.

Functionally, the commissioning pennant is more complex, fulfilling two purposes at once. On the one hand, as the name implies, it is meant to indicate that a warship is in commission.⁵ In this role, then, it is only hauled down when the vessel decommissions. On the other hand, the pennant also serves as a "distinguishing pennant of command" for the ship's commanding officer.⁶ In this role, the pennant must be taken down if a superior officer is embarked, to be temporarily replaced by that officer's distinguishing flag.⁷ This suggests that the role of "captain's pennant" is understood as the more fundamental of the two: if it were more a "ship's pennant," it would remain flying no matter who was visiting the ship. A third purpose of the commissioning pennant appears nowhere in the governance, and yet is surely implicit in the plethora of colourful designs--some of them quite clever given the flag's restrictive shape--devised by the majority of the world's navies for their pennants.⁸ They would not have gone to the trouble had they not seen their respective pennants as a worthy form of national identifier. Although arguably the least important aspect of a commissioning pennant—given all the other, better, methods of determining a warship's nationality—it is nevertheless the one that drove all efforts at a replacement for the Royal Navy-style pennant in Canada.

The 1967 Commissioning Pennant

The introduction of the National Flag of Canada on 15 February 1965 entailed the simultaneous obsolescence, in Canadian military use, of the Union Jack, the White Ensign, the Canadian Red Ensign, the Canadian Blue Ensign, and the Royal Canadian Air Force Ensign.⁹ The maple leaf flag replaced all of them. The 1911 commissioning pennant, however, remained in service for the time being. This was not because there was no intention of replacing it, but because a suitable redesign of the National Flag, its dimensions modified to fit the pennant, had not yet been created.

The wait would not be long. By 12 October 1966, a set of designs for a new "Ensign and pennants" had been prepared for consideration by the Armed Forces Council.¹⁰ We learn in a memo of 23 December 1966 that included in the package was a "Ship's Commissioning Pennant" designed "in consultation with the Commander of Maritime Command" and "derived from the Canadian flag"¹¹ (image 3):

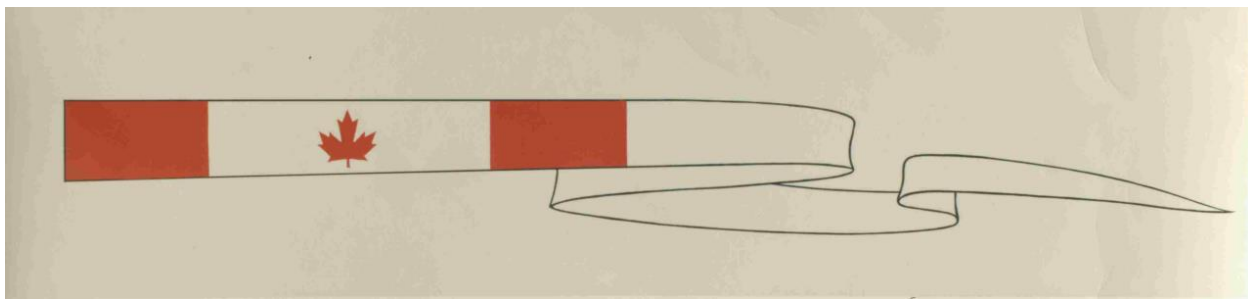


Image 3. The proposed 1967 commissioning pennant. At least two copies of this graphic exist in the files of the Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence, but it is unlikely that an actual physical pennant was ever made. If it had, it appears that the maple leaf flag, suitably elongated, would have taken up the first two feet of a six-foot pennant. (Illustration accompanying J. V. Allard to the Minister, Canadian Forces Flags, Ensigns and Pennants, 13 March 1967, P 1810-11 [DGA], P 1145-4, Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence)

It is not known if any other pattern had been presented for consideration. In any case, selection of a design by the Armed Forces Council constituted only the first step in a long process projected to involve approval by the Defence Council, Cabinet approval, and, for some of the flags, possibly Royal approval.

In the interim, it seems that questions may have been raised concerning the need for the commissioning pennant in light of the upcoming unification of the three armed services. As part of the package of the proposed “Ensign and pennants,” a set of distinguishing flags and pennants for senior officers, all based on the National Flag, had been devised for use in the new, single service. These included a pennant for those holding the rank of colonel (equivalent to a captain in the RCN, image 4), as well as one for lieutenant-colonel (RCN commander) and below, neither of which was ultimately adopted. Other than the commissioning pennant, the RCN had never had pennants for officers at those levels.



Image 4. A proposed distinguishing pennant for a Canadian Armed Forces colonel, 1967 (not adopted). The command insignia shown is that of Mobile Command. (Illustration accompanying J. V. Allard to the Minister, Canadian Forces Flags, Ensigns and Pennants, 13 March 1967, P 1810-11 [DGA], P 1145-4, Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence)

The issue with the new designs seems to have been whether the commissioning pennant, in its role of “captain’s pennant,” should now be phased out in favour of the distinguishing pennant of either a colonel or lieutenant-colonel and below, depending on the rank of the

vessel's commanding officer.¹² In response, an RCAF wing commander, R. J. Mitchell, composed a lengthy memo, addressed to the Director General of Administration, on all aspects of the commissioning pennant. The passage of interest for our purposes is the following:

It can be argued, therefore, that if and when the proposed rank and command pennants are approved, there will be no real requirement for a special commissioning pennant. On the other hand, if the pennant is to continue to serve the purpose it has in the past and to fill the role of what appears to be the universally accepted badge of a ship of war, the rank pennant would have to be lengthened and proportionately narrowed. This would result in diminution of the national flag to an undesirable degree. The special commissioning pennant is designed to overcome this difficulty. It is recommended that we seek approval of this pennant in the manner originally intended.¹³

Combining the roles of captain's pennant and ship's pennant (one of the proposed pennants for a colonel, for example) and keeping within the confining dimensions of a commissioning pennant, the Canadian flag in the canton would shrink to a risible extent. The 1967 design, on the other hand—the “special commissioning pennant”—kept the National Flag across its full three-inch width.

In this situation at least, it appears that the commissioning pennant's role of ship's pennant— “the universally accepted badge of a ship of war”—was deemed the more important, saving it from possible derailment. It is not clear, however, to what extent it had been in any real danger. Mitchell's memo may have been little more than a rhetorical exercise directed against a straw opponent in order to shore up support for a design that may have looked to some as if it were taking unacceptable liberties with the new Canadian flag.

A key individual who did *not* hold that view of the proposed pennant was the Minister of National Defence, Paul T. Hellyer. At the Defence Council meeting of 1 May 1967, “Canadian Forces Ensign and Pennants” was the first item on the agenda. In an admirably succinct manner, the 1967 commissioning pennant was dispositioned in the following words:

The Minister said he had no comment on the proposed Ship's Commissioning Pennant, which was acceptable.¹⁴

Having thus received Defence Council approval, the next step was approval by the Cabinet. Accordingly, a draft Memorandum to Cabinet was prepared, with “Canadian Forces Ensign and Pennants” to be discussed again at the meeting of the Defence Council of 5 June 1967. Something unfavourable to the fortunes of the proposed pennant must have happened between the two meetings, however, for the minister:

requested that the draft Memorandum to Cabinet . . . be revised to seek approval only for the Canadian Armed Forces Ensign and Ship's Jack and agreement in principle only for distinguishing flags and ensigns for senior officers [“ensigns” is an obvious error for “pennants”].¹⁵

There was in fact no mention of the commissioning pennant at that meeting, nor would it be discussed at any further meetings of the Defence Council during the remaining tenure of Paul Hellyer as Minister. Since we know that the 1967 design was not adopted, the idea appears to have been quietly dropped. A tantalizing clue to its ultimate fate would emerge, however, a half-decade later.

The 1972 Commissioning Pennant

The belief that Canadian warships ought to have a commissioning pennant distinct from that of the Royal Navy did not stay submerged forever, and surfaced again in 1972. The story of this pennant, unusual in terms of both its appearance and its service history, depends primarily upon a single document with an attached drawing in the files of the Directorate of History and Heritage.

Forming part of the unified Canadian Armed Forces since 1968, the navy was referred to at that time as Maritime Command (MARCOM).

The Document

A rumpled Department of National Defence Minute Sheet (DND 317A), with file number and date left blank, addressed to DC (Director of Ceremonial), and entirely handwritten on both front and back, contains correspondence on the 1967 pennant—referred to as Flag D—as well as something entirely new.

COMMISSIONING PENNANT – SHIP'S

1. *Before proceeding with new paintings, direction/information on the following would be appreciated pl[ea]se.*
 - a. *Why design at Flag D was not approved.*
 - b. *MARCOM have requested a white-red-white pennant (DC3 has request)*
 - c. *Pennants of other nations usually incl[ude] some distinctive national mark – ie the flag[,] a device from it, or the colours. The suggestion from MARCOM is not in order colourwise with our flag.*
 - d. *However a straight red-white-red is the same as the Peruvian pennant, but a red maple leaf in the centre white section*

(over)

would offer some distinction, although unless pennant was flying well out [it] wouldn't be seen. Therefore original d[esign] at Flag D would probably be more readily recognized.

In a different hand, in a different-coloured ink, is a reply:

DC – 3

1. *Flag D is a distortion of the National Flag. PM Pearson didn't like the idea.*
2. *Mr Trudeau, however, is not worried – see our logos on govt vehicles, etc.*
3. *To incorporate the colours & maple leaf, in other words to utilize a distortion of the National Flag would require Cabinet approval.*
4. *The rag is so insignificant anyway, that I cannot get up-tight over MARCOM's design.*

A note in the margin on the front has the following:

DC 4

1. Full speed ahead with Marcom design.
[signed] N. [illegible, but not N. A. Buckingham]
16 June

The back is stamped at the bottom:

N. A. BUCKINGHAM
DIR. OF CEREMONIAL
JUN 16 1972

Attached to the above is an illustration of the 1967 pennant, labelled Annex D, as well as a rendering, drawn by hand and coloured with red pencil crayon, of the proposed Maritime Command pennant (image 5):

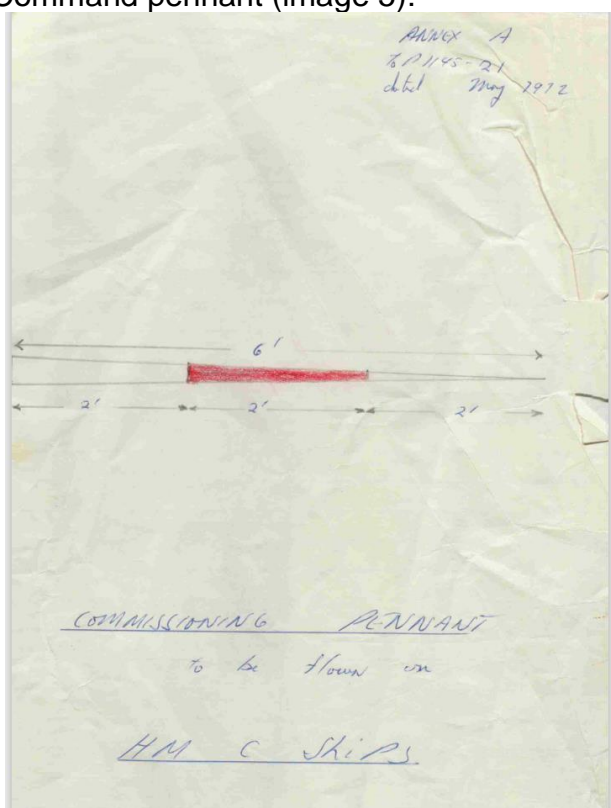


Image 5. The proposed 1972 commissioning pennant. (Commissioning Pennant to be Flown on HMC Ships, Annex A to P 1145-21, May 1972, Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence)

Commentary

The phrase “Before proceeding with new paintings” suggests that Maritime Command’s design was ready to be progressed, if not to approval, then at least to a more advanced stage of consideration.

The first writer appears to be in the dark concerning the fate of the 1967 commissioning pennant, lending support to the idea that its demise left no trace in the documentary record.

Apparently not enamoured of the design now being requested by Maritime Command, the suggestion is made that the colours be reversed to match the Canadian flag. A pennant

such as that, however, would be identical to the one used at that time by the navy of Peru (image 6).

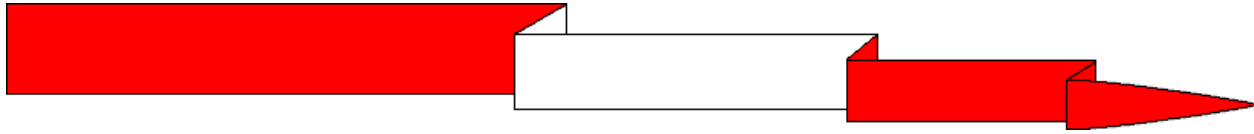


Image 6. The commissioning pennant of the Peruvian Navy, pre-1995. (“Naval Ensigns and Flags – Cold War Era,” Republic of Peru, Archive of the Colors, War Flags, accessed 4 December 2022, <https://tmq110.tripod.com/peru3.htm>)

Given that such a pennant needed some identifying symbol of Canada, most logically a red maple leaf in the centre, the author seems to be saying, in effect, that one might as well then simply move forward with the 1967 pennant.

The second writer (DC - 3) appears to know precisely why the 1967 pennant did not progress—an objection that holds good, moreover, for any proposal based on the Peruvian model. Given their radically non-rectangular shape, “distortion of the National Flag” is clearly present in the designs of a great many naval commissioning pennants internationally, but it appears that, nevertheless, this did not meet with the approval of Lester B. Pearson, prime minister from 1963 to 1968. Although I have not been able to corroborate this elsewhere—there is no mention of it, for example, in Pearson’s *Memoirs*¹⁶—the idea makes a great deal of sense because, having been approved by Hellyer, the only person in the hierarchy with the power to scuttle the pennant at that stage would have been Pearson. Moreover, as the acknowledged “father” of the then-very new maple leaf flag, it does not strain credibility to believe that he could have taken a very dim view indeed of any “distortion” applied to it.

That Pearson’s successor, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, was willing to tread where Pearson would not appears to signal a smooth path for the 1967 pattern. Indeed, with the prime minister’s backing, Cabinet approval would be a certainty, so it cannot be concerns about ultimate rejection that caused the second writer to invoke the need for Cabinet approval as a stumbling block. Presumably a proposal intended for the Cabinet would require a great deal of staff work, involving a much longer and more cumbersome process than a proposal that was not. The implication seems to be that any design that did not look like the National Flag would therefore not require Cabinet approval, a point in the MARCOM pennant’s favour.

Whatever the irreverent comment likening the commissioning pennant to an “insignificant rag” may tell us about the individual making it, if it were an opinion more broadly held within the navy, or even just the Directorate of Ceremonial, such apathy may at least partially explain why the 1911 pennant was still in use in 1972.

“Full speed ahead with Marcom design,” whoever may have been backing it at the time, seems to have come to fruition, as the following evidence indicates.

Published sources on the 1972 Commissioning Pennant

Although the white-red-white commissioning pennant left very little institutional memory,¹⁷ its appearance in the 1974 *Manual of Ceremonial for HMC Ships*, complete with a black-and-

white illustration (not reproduced here), indicates that it must have entered service by that date. The relevant paragraph in the *Manual* is unambiguous on this:

The commissioning pennant is 6' in length by 3" wide at the hoist divided into three equal segments, which are coloured white, red and white. It is to be worn by HMC SHIPS in commission.¹⁸

Also unambiguous is the analogous paragraph in the 1980 version of the *Manual*:

The Commissioning Pennant is six feet (2m.) in length and 3 inches (3cm) [sic] wide, at the hoist, having a St. Georges Cross on a white field in the part next to the mast, with a white fly.¹⁹

This of course is an unmistakable description of the 1911 pennant, indicating that the new version, for whatever reason, had been withdrawn before the end of the 1970s. That interpretation is corroborated by the perplexingly brief mention in E. C. Russell's *Customs and Traditions of the Canadian Armed Forces* of 1980:

In HMC ships, the pennant is six feet long and only three inches wide at the hoist, tapering to a point at the fly. Though a new masthead pennant has been designed with three equal vertical panels, white-red-white, HMC ships continue to fly the ancient white streamer with the red St. George's Cross at the hoist.²⁰

The reasons for the about-face on the 1972 commissioning pennant are unknown, but can be guessed at. Other than its white and red colours, the 1972 pennant lacked any obvious Canadian symbolism, which of course had been the impetus behind the initiative to replace the Royal Navy-style pennant back in 1966. With nothing else to fall back on, Maritime Command made the decision to return to the version with St. George's cross.

Appendix: An unusual proposal for a Canadian Naval Ensign

Interestingly enough, the failure of the 1972 commissioning pennant was not the end of the idea of reversing the colours of the National Flag for naval purposes. When it recurred, though, it was in connection with a different flag altogether.

During the long period of 1965 to 2013, during which the National Flag of Canada served as the navy's ensign, a number of proposals were submitted, some from within the Department of National Defence and others from outside, suggesting that something a little more naval might be preferable. Most of the proposals advocated either a return to the White Ensign or—the course of action ultimately adopted—the use of the Canadian Armed Forces Naval Jack as the ensign.²¹ A highly original proposal, quite unlike either of those, came from Ralph Brocklebank, a British heraldry specialist with connections to Canada.²² In a rather chummy handwritten letter to the Chief Herald of Canada, he offers the following:

I have recently come across a book on Canadian Warship Names by David J. Freeman, a retired naval officer, who has identified the need for a distinctive Canadian Naval Ensign. I do not know whether Naval Flags come within your remit, but if not, I expect you would know who to approach. The point is that at present there

is no way of telling whether a Canadian Warship is in commission or not, since the abandonment of the use of the White Ensign. The flag needed must meet two requirements – 1) it must be distinctly Canadian, and 2) it must be recognized as serving the purpose formerly indicated by the use of the White Ensign. I believe that this proposed flag meets these requirements, and submit it for your consideration:

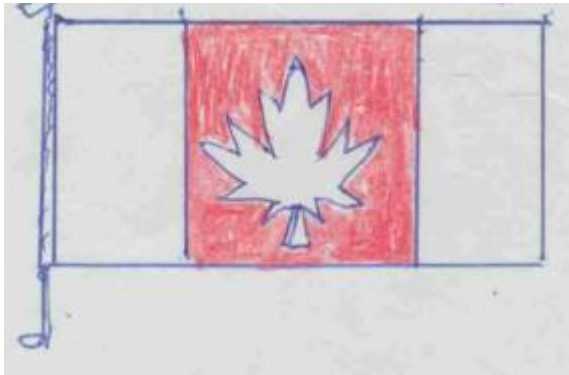


Image 7. A proposal for a Canadian Naval Ensign submitted by Ralph Brocklebank, 2000. (Brocklebank to Robert Watt, 18 December 2000, Chancellery file no. HRLD 795-B, P 1145-18, Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence)]

In other words, the Canadian flag with its colours reversed. I should be interested to hear your opinion.

The reply he received repeats the phrasing used in a number of previous polite refusals, namely, that because the maple leaf flag has become recognized internationally as the naval ensign through long use, little advantage would be gained by changing now.

Could it have worked? That, of course, is impossible to know, but it must be kept in mind that the Royal Navy's White Ensign contains no specifically naval symbols at all: no anchors, no dolphins, no tridents. It is simply by association, its long use as such, that has made it the archetype of naval ensigns at least among Commonwealth countries. Perhaps, then, years of use for that exclusive purpose may eventually have caused the Brocklebank design to be seen as a natural choice for a Canadian naval ensign. If nothing else, it would have been a striking design, particularly in combination with the 1972 commissioning pennant.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my gratitude to Norman Jolin, whose kind gift of research material used in the preparation of his important 2013 article made the present paper possible, as well as to Dr. Sean Graham, Isabella Sun, and Emilie Vandal of the Directorate of History and Heritage.

Endnotes

¹ Norman Jolin, "The Restoration of a Canadian Naval Ensign," *The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord* 23, no. 3 (July 2013): 270-271, https://www.cnrs-scrn.org/northern_mariner/vol23/tm_23_267-286.pdf.

² Jolin, "Restoration of a Canadian Naval Ensign," 279, 282. The new pennant was in use by 1984; see *Maritime Command Ceremonial Manual*, 1 August 1984, para. 343.a, <http://www.forposterityssake.ca/RCN-DOCS/Maritime-Command-Ceremonial-Manual-1984.pdf>. For a quick visual overview of the changes

undergone by all of our naval flags, see “Display of Naval Flags on Her Majesty’s Canadian Ships Over Time,” Canadian Armed Forces, Government of Canada, last modified 24 October 2017, <https://www.canada.ca/en/navy/services/history/naval-flags-uniforms/diplay-naval-flags.html>, which incorrectly assigns the advent of the new pennant to the early 1990s.

³ Jolin, “Restoration of a Canadian Naval Ensign,” 279.

⁴ Graeme Arbuckle, *Customs and Traditions of the Canadian Navy* (Halifax, NS: Nimbus, 1984), 40; these dimensions are rendered as “7.6 x 183 cm” in A-AD-200-000/AG-000, *The Heritage Structure of the Canadian Forces* (Ottawa: DND Canada, 1999), 14-3-27 b, <https://www.canada.ca/en/services/defence/caf/military-identity-system/heritage-manual/chapter-14/section-3.html>.

⁵ “History of Canadian Naval Flags.”

⁶ *Heritage Structure of the Canadian Forces*, 14-3-10 c.

⁷ *Heritage Structure of the Canadian Forces*, 14-3-19.

⁸ Australia and New Zealand seem content to continue with the Royal Navy-style pennant.

⁹ Alistair B. Fraser, “The Flags of National Defence,” chap. 6 in *The Flags of Canada*, accessed 10 December 2022, <http://fraser.cc/FlagsCan/Nation/NatDefence.html#n36>.

¹⁰ E. M. Reyno to CDS, Canadian Forces Ensign and Pennants, 13 January 1967, para. 5, P 1810-11 (DGA) TD 6361, Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence (hereinafter DHH).

¹¹ Memorandum to Defence Council from Chief of the Defence Staff, Canadian Forces Ensign and Pennants, 23 December 1966, paras 1 c, 3, and 6, P 1810-11 (DGA), DHH. I realize that this more correctly makes it a 1966 commissioning pennant, but I wish to maintain continuity with Jolin, “Restoration of a Canadian Naval Ensign,” 279.

¹² It should be noted that in the early unification period it was envisioned, in some quarters, that naval officers would use Army-style rank titles; see Michael Whitby, Richard H. Gimblett, and Peter Haydon, eds., *The Admirals: Canada’s Senior Naval Leadership in the Twentieth Century*, (Toronto: Dundurn, 2006), 317-318.

¹³ R. J. Mitchell to DGA, Flags and Pennants – Commissioning Pennant, 28 February 1967, paras 8 and 9, P 1145-4 (DGA), DHH.

¹⁴ Defence Council – Minutes, 216th Meeting, held in the Minister’s Conference Room at 0930 hours on Monday, 1 May, 1967, para. 10, fonds 73/1223, Robert Lewis Raymont fonds, series 3, file 1392, DHH.

¹⁵ Defence Council – Minutes, 220th Meeting, held in the Minister’s Conference Room at 0930 hours on Monday, 5 June, 1967, para. 9 c, fonds 73/1223, Robert Lewis Raymont fonds, series 3, file 1392, DHH.

¹⁶ Lester B. Pearson, *Mike: The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson*, ed. John A. Munro and Alex I. Inglis, vol. 3, 1957-1968 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

¹⁷ Jolin, “Restoration of a Canadian Naval Ensign,” for example, despite addressing the 1967 pennant, makes no mention of it, nor is it seen in “Display of Naval Flags on Her Majesty’s Canadian Ships Over Time.”

¹⁸ *Manual of Ceremonial for HMC Ships* (Draft), 3 June 1974, para. 207.1, <http://www.forposterityssake.ca/RCN-DOCS/Manual-of-Ceremonial-1974.pdf>.

¹⁹ *Manual of Ceremonial – HMC Ships*, 9 May 1980, para. 315.a, <http://www.forposterityssake.ca/RCN-DOCS/Manual-of-Ceremonial-1980.pdf>.

²⁰ E. C. Russell, *Customs and Traditions of the Canadian Armed Forces* (Ottawa; Deneau & Greenberg, 1980), 163 (print version), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/military-history/history-heritage/official-military-history-lineages/customs-traditions/flags-colours.html> (not paginated).

²¹ On which see Jolin, “Restoration of a Canadian Naval Ensign.”

²² “Ralph Wilfrid Brocklebank†, FRHSC, FHS,” Royal Heraldry Society of Canada, accessed 6 December 2022, http://www.heraldry.ca/content/bios/bio_brocklebank.htm.

Brian Bertosa is an unaffiliated researcher who lives in Cobourg, Ontario, Canada. He is the author of book chapters, articles, and reviews, mostly in the field of military history, that have been published in Canada and elsewhere. His most recent article, on the Canadian Armed Forces Naval Jack, appeared in *The Northern Mariner* 32, no. 4.

Dr. Clement Ligoure: A humanitarian approach to medical care

Joel Zemel



This article has been updated from the original version published on 20 February 2023 for my online historical newspaper column HalifaxYesterday.

Mahatma Ghandi once said, “The best way to find yourself is to lose yourself in the service of others.” His statement perfectly describes a heretofore little known social activist and humanitarian named Dr. Clement Courtenay Ligoure. Notably, Ligoure was the first Black physician in Nova Scotia whose unconditional selflessness during the chaotic weeks following the 1917 explosion in Halifax Harbour saved hundreds of lives.

Clement Courtenay Ligoure was born on 13 October 1887 at San Fernando on the Caribbean island of Trinidad, to parents Clement François, a deputy marshal and accountant for the Supreme Court of Trinidad and Tobago, and Amanda M. (Crooke) Ligoure. He attended Saint Mary's College for his preparatory work and received a Junior Cambridge Certificate from England in 1902. He immigrated to the United States in April 1904 at age 19 and took up residence in New York City.

While residing at 204 Prince Street in Brooklyn, he entered Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, Canada (19 November 1906) to study medicine. He attended three sessions there: 1906-07, 1907-08 and 1908-09. On 24 April 1909 in New York, he married Vivian E. Haynes a 22 year-old woman from British Guiana, but their marriage appears to have been short-lived. As a single man, Ligoure relocated to Kingston, Ontario in 1912 where he once again attended Queen's in pursuit of his medical degrees. He was awarded his Bachelor of Medicine (M.B.) in September 1914 and his Doctor of Medicine (M.D., C.M.) in April 1916.



Dr. Ligoure, Final Year, 1913 Class of Medicine, Queen's University Archives

It is only by luck that Ligoure graduated before the university officially banned Black medical students in early 1918. One reason for the restriction instigated by Dean of Medicine, James C. Connell, was due to “difficulties connected with clinical instruction of colored men in a community where there is no colored population and where a great deal of prejudice against the colored race survives.” Also, many wounded soldiers returning from the battlefield refused to be treated by physicians or medical students of colour.

Another reason for the ban of fifteen Black students was that Queen’s apparently wished to improve its standing with the American Medical Association, which rated the quality of medical schools in both the United States and Canada. A higher rating would invariably lead to larger financial donations for the university. This racist policy remained in place until 1965, and it took another forty-three years before the university formally repealed the ban in 2018.

Ligoure occasionally travelled between Trinidad and New York City. In September 1915, while staying at 253 West 43rd Street, he worked at NYC’s Harlem Hospital on 136th Street and had earlier signed a Declaration of Intention to become an American citizen. But with the Great War raging, he made post-graduation plans to set up his practice in Nova Scotia and obtain a commission whereby he could leave for the Front with “the second contingent” by the following June.

• • •

At the beginning of WWI in 1914, many Canadian Black men were willing and eager to enlist in the armed services and do their part to aid in the country’s war effort. Approximately 1,300 Black men enlisted for service in the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF), including 300 draftees. Of these men, 200 were rejected and 100 went to fight on the front lines. Over 400 enlisted in other units of the CEF. The rest of the enlistees served in the soon-to-be-formed No. 2 Construction Battalion.

Although racism ran rampant within the military, Black community leaders across the country had exerted pressure on the government to form a segregated Black infantry battalion. A promise to act was made by the Canadian minister of Militias and Defence, Samuel Hughes, but walked back soon after for various reasons, one being that the military did not want an armed Black unit that could potentially use their learned abilities in the field against British authorities in the colonies. The first point of a directive from Sir Willoughby Gwatkin, KCMG, CB Chief of the General Staff, written on 13 April 1916 articulated the complexities of the racism at the root of the decision:

“Nothing is to be gained by blinking facts. The civilized negro is vain and imitative; in Canada he is not being impelled to enlist by a high sense of duty; in the trenches he is not likely to make a good fighter; and the average white man will not associate with him on terms of equality. Not a single commanding officer in Military District No. 2 is willing to accept a coloured platoon as part of his battalion (H.Q. 297-1-29); and it would be

humiliating to the coloured men themselves to serve in a battalion where they were not wanted.”

A compromise allowing for the establishment of an unarmed Black labour group for necessary support in the campaigns proved acceptable. This resulted in the formation of No. 2 Construction Battalion under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel Sutherland. The No. 2 Construction Battalion was authorized on 5 July 1916 and organized in Nova Scotia, first based in Pictou and eventually moved to Truro. Over the course of the war, over 600 men served in the unit.



No. 2 Construction Battalion, ca. 1916, by H.O. Dodge, Cape Breton Military History Collections

Ligoure began organizing his application to the Nova Scotia Medical Board in October 1915 and was sent a preliminary application in November. He filled out and mailed in his final application near the end of the following April, anticipating a successful outcome. However, the medical board's acting registrar informed him by letter (5 May 1916) that a calculation error had precluded his passing the exam. Notice of his status had also been forwarded to the military authorities. The letter went on to state that a pending amendment to the rules allowing registration without examination would be enacted in another week or so, at which time he could reapply.

Just the day before, a letter arrived from Queen's University certifying Ligoure had graduated and received his M.D. and C.M. degrees. As he had already been awarded his desired military commission, the news of his failure to pass the exam dismayed him greatly. His anger and disappointment is clearly displayed in a return letter to Dr. Frank Mack, dated 8 May 1916: "I need hardly tell you what a ludicrous situation said information has placed me in as such and everyone of my friends know I had succeeded." He wrote that he now felt duty-bound to reverse his earlier telegram and re-inform his colonel that he was unsuccessful in his application. "I am at a loss to know what to do."

Despite the setback, Dr. Ligoure travelled to Halifax from his Lafayette Street residence in New York. Once there, he resolved the matter of obtaining his medical license and joined the newly-formed No. 2 Construction Battalion. He spent seven months recruiting for the battalion and raised over \$2,000. In September 1916, he was appointed a supernumerary lieutenant—a military officer attached to a corps or arm of the service where no vacancy exists.

For reasons that remain unclear, Dr. Ligoure never received a full commission or served overseas with his battalion as their medical officer. In fact, LCol. Sutherland dismissed him in February 1917. His exclusion from active service may have been due, in part, to endemic

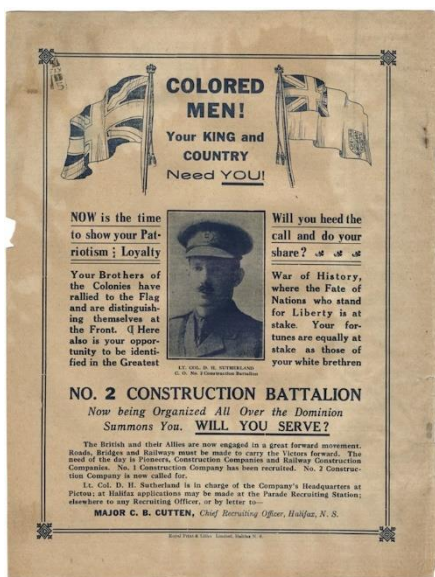
racism within the British War Office and by extension the Canadian Department of Militias and Defence, and their refusal to see beyond the colour bar. Sutherland reneged on his promise to send a Black medical officer to accompany the No. 2 Construction Battalion overseas. The appointment instead went to Dr. Daniel Murray, a white physician from Tatamagouche, Nova Scotia.

From almost the moment he arrived in Halifax, Dr. Ligoure became an integral part of the social and professional fabric of the Black community. Although a fully accredited physician and surgeon in Nova Scotia (LMS, PMB, NS, 1916), he was still denied medical privileges in the city's hospitals. Nevertheless, his private practice served the whole community. Eventually, he served as medical officer for employees of the Canadian National Railway (1917). He also had major roles in the running of a newsmagazine publishing venture, *The Atlantic Advocate*, with Wilfred and Miriam DeCosta, located in the Keith Building (later the Green Lantern Building) on Barrington Street. Mr. DeCosta founded the newspaper in April 1915.



Wilfred A. & Miriam A. DeCosta, Atlantic Advocate, N.S. Archives

The Atlantic Advocate was the first publication in Canada that primarily served the interests of the Black community. The trio incorporated the publication on 8 June 1916 as The Atlantic Advocate Association Ltd. At first, Dr. Ligoure contributed as managing editor and then as publisher, taking over from Mr. DeCosta who left to join the No. 2 Construction Battalion. *The Atlantic Advocate* ran numerous full-page recruitment ads to encourage Black men to enlist in the battalion.



Recruiting poster from *The Atlantic Advocate*, January 1917, Volume 1, Number 7 p. 20, NS Archives

Over time, Dr. Ligoure had become disillusioned with the military and their harsh, disrespectful treatment of Black soldiers. In the April 1917 issue (p.3) of *The Atlantic Advocate*, he asked why the members of the No. 2 Construction Battalion had been herded like cattle from barracks to the train at Truro. These volunteers were subsequently hustled quickly aboard the transport at Halifax without being permitted to have proper goodbyes with their families. Dr. Ligoure also lamented the fact that a “Colored Medical Officer would not go with them.”

He declared the No. 2 Construction Battalion had proved a failure due to the unit not being given the advantage afforded other battalions—to build up to full strength so that fully qualified “men of the Race” could accompany them overseas. “Not because the Commanding Officer is now indebted to the writer in the sum of \$600.00 that such an editorial appears but there is without doubt, a whirlwind of discontentment sweeping over the Dominion among the Colored population which would have been averted had they been given justice.”

The situation grew worse on 29 August 1917 when the Military Service Act became law and conscription was imposed on the nation. Because Black men were now forced to join in the war effort, bitterness and lack of patriotism set in as a result of the unyielding discrimination they had faced when voluntarily seeking enlistment.

Earlier in March, Dr. Ligoure had purchased a property at 166 North Street from a commission merchant, John W. DeWolf, for \$3,600 (subject to terms). In May, he relocated his practice along with the entire newsmagazine operation to this location. He named his fifteen-patient clinic the Amanda Private Hospital, in honour of his mother. Unfortunately, due to overwhelming production costs, *The Atlantic Advocate* was forced to cease publication later in the year. However, the truly defining moments of Dr. Ligoure’s life were about to transpire.

NOTICE

Dr. C. C. Ligoure begs to inform his many patients that from May 2nd his office, as well as that of the Atlantic Advocate, will be at his recently purchased residence, **166 North St., Halifax, N. S.** instead of at the Keith Building. All communications, therefore, must in future be addressed to him at **166 North St., Halifax, N. S.**

Dr. Ligoure's Practice Relocation Notice, The Atlantic Advocate, May 1917, v.1, no.11, p. 3

...

On the morning of Thursday, 6 December 1917, a French munition ship, *SS Mont-Blanc*, loaded with a cargo of volatile explosives, and a sea-bound Norwegian freighter, *SS Imo* under charter from Belgian Relief, collided in Halifax Harbour near midstream. Almost immediately, the French ship caught fire. Approximately twenty minutes later, a catastrophic 2.9 kiloton explosion devastated the North End district of Richmond, killing over 2,000 people, injuring 9,000, making thousands more homeless, and causing millions of dollars' worth of property damage.



View to Northwest from Russell Street, panorama section, W.G. MacLaughlan

Almost immediately after the blast, injured patients inundated Dr. Ligoure's office. He was the only physician who serviced the entire area around Willow Street and north to the now-destroyed cotton factory on the corner of Kempt and Robie. With many cases coming

through his door—some extremely serious—he pressed forward with only his housekeeper and a boarder named H. D. Nicholas, a CNR porter, to assist him. Despite being warned of a possible second explosion, he continued working non-stop for almost ten and a half hours. Scores of his new patients, mostly white, had been turned away from the hospitals. With nowhere else to go, they desperately sought out Dr. Ligoure. At the conclusion of the first day's work, seven people stayed overnight in the hospital, laid out on blankets.

Throughout the next three days, the city endured a blizzard, then driving rain. Dr. Ligoure spent his daylight hours working in his hospital and nights doing outside calls, coming home completely exhausted. The following Monday, he went straight to City Hall to let it be known that a dressing station was needed in his district. Without hesitation, the person in charge of medical relief, Lieutenant Ryecroft, offered him the services of two nurses to alleviate the workload. Soon after, over a dozen more nurses and three men—including the assistant medical officer for Medical Relief, Captain Dr. Parker—were assigned to the North Street hospital, now designated No. 4 Dressing Station. Dr Ligoure's team kept up with their grueling schedule until 28 December.

From 6 December onward, Dr. Ligoure had not charged a single penny for his services. He also worked gratis for Medical Relief and was given the use of a car to travel to and from his patients. Near the end of January 1918, he still treated over 50 people a day, many arriving at his office with explosion-related injuries.

* * *

By the end of 1918, the Nova Scotia temperance laws had been enacted and the police were cracking down on various alcohol-related offenses. In mid-January of 1919, Halifax was all abuzz over an article that appeared in the *Halifax Herald* newspaper. It stated that Dr. Ligoure, after being served a warrant, had been brought to the police station and arraigned for having sold a bottle of alcohol for two dollars to an unnamed Frenchman. Dr. Ligoure pleaded not guilty to this alleged violation of the Temperance Act. The aforementioned Frenchman happened to be in court at the same time, charged with drunkenness. He apparently mixed the alcohol with some "invalid port wine" and became overly intoxicated as a result.

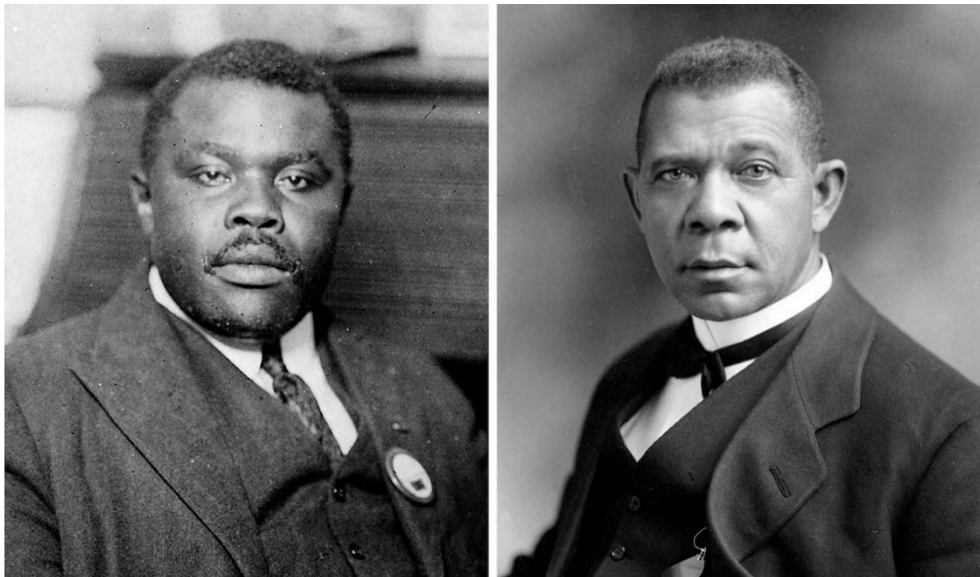
It is folly to suggest the good doctor meant for the man to ingest the alcohol orally. A more plausible scenario is that the Frenchman, possibly one of Dr. Ligoure's transient patients, decided to mix the alcohol with his port wine and ended up giving himself a near case of alcohol poisoning. Instead of accepting responsibility for his actions, he blamed Dr. Ligoure for selling the bottle of alcohol to him in the first place. In fact, the *Halifax Herald* article clearly states that the case focussed on whether a physician should be permitted to sell alcohol to his patients under the present temperance laws. Though the outcome remains unknown, the worst-case result would have been that Dr. Ligoure paid a fine up to the amount of \$200; at best, he would have been acquitted.**

At some point during 1919, Dr. Ligoure visited his parents at their home on Abercromby Street in Port of Spain, Trinidad. Upon his return to Halifax, he began to suffer a severe and protracted illness (possibly tuberculosis), though his mobility seems to have been unaffected

by this ailment, at least in its early stages. Near the end of November, he purchased a second property at 127 Morris Street (presently, 5615), but there is no available evidence to suggest he used it as a residence. Just over a week later, he received news of his father's passing on 4 December and made arrangements to go back to Trinidad.

For several years, Dr. Ligoure had been closely connected with the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) Pan-African movement and its president, the Hon. Marcus Garvey. So, on 23 January 1920, while en route back to Nova Scotia from the West Indies, Dr. Ligoure stopped over at Roseau, Dominica, where he had been invited to give a speech to the Dominica Brotherhood Union. The group sought to be affiliated with UNIA and exuberantly received him at their meeting hall.

During his talk, Dr. Ligoure referenced his friendship with the late Booker T. Washington and voiced his admiration and respect for Marcus Garvey. He expressed to the audience his pride and pleasure at seeing such a gathering of members of his race seated before him and how much this made him even prouder to be Black. He paid tribute to several Black individuals throughout history “who gave Civilization to the world,” including one of the leaders of the Haitian Revolution, Toussaint L’Overture, as well as poets Phyllis Wheatley and Paul Lawrence Dunbar. He bestowed special praise upon the Hon. Marcus Garvey, whom he described as independent, intelligent, and fearless.



**Marcus Garvey ca. 1920, Public Domain Image;
Booker T. Washington, Library of Congress**

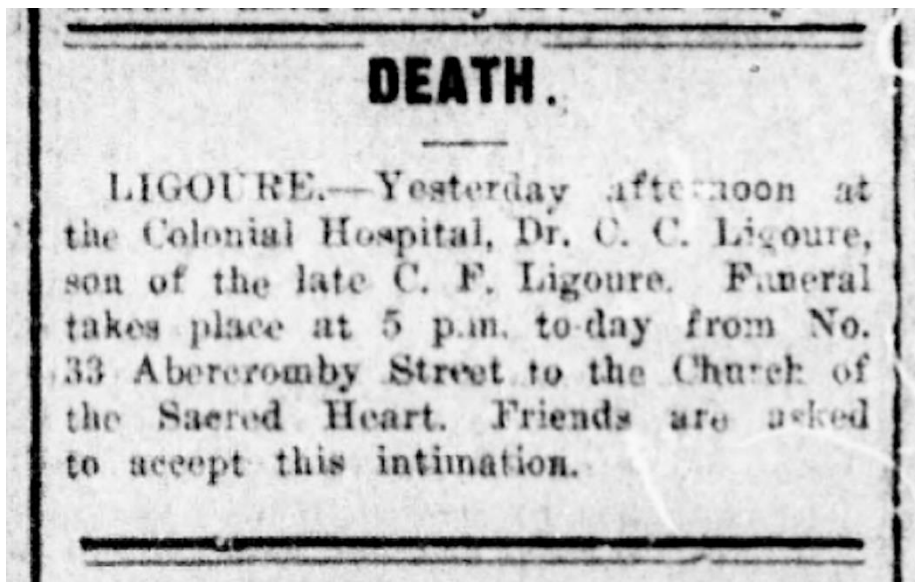
Dr. Ligoure went on to trace accomplishments by Blacks in America and give kudos to the UNIA for working “intelligently, incessantly and successfully” to establish the Black Star Line, a steamship company which aimed to provide Black travellers with “well-equipped vessels of their own, officered by people of their own race.” He closed his address with a message of unity and hope for all: “This was not the time for back-biting, prejudice, jealousy and such evil passions which simply served to keep peoples and races apart, but one for Union, Goodwill and Co-operation.” He then wished the Dominica movement every success.

• • •

In due course, Dr. Ligoure's affliction forced him to seek relief in warmer climes. In February 1921, he returned his North Street house to John DeWolf's widow, Mary R. DeWolf as per Release of Agreement, for the price of \$1. A biographical sketch in the *Port of Spain Gazette* suggests he returned to Trinidad to reside at his parents' Abercromby Street house. In early May 1922, Dr. Ligoure visited his brother Clarence, a solicitor living on the island of Tobago, northeast of Trinidad, in hopes of mitigating his condition, but the trip only served to worsen it. He soon contracted malignant malaria and became deathly ill.

On Friday, 19 May 1922, Dr. Ligoure was transported to Port of Spain, taken to the Colonial Hospital, and immediately placed under the care of Drs. Campariolo, Payne, and Bass. He was dutifully looked after by Nurse Austin and the nursing sisters there. As well, he received the affectionate attention of another brother, Lucien, recently returned from New York. All resources at the hospital were directed towards treating Dr. Ligoure's illness.

Sadly, his health deteriorated and despite all efforts to save him, Dr. Clement Ligoure died at age 34 on the afternoon of Tuesday, 23 May. His funeral took place on the following day at 5 pm, from his 33 Abercromby Street home to the Church of the Sacred Heart, where Reverend Father Lamarre, O.P., officiated at the service. Members of the Ligoure family and his many friends attended. No mention of his death has been found in any concurrent news or medical publication in Halifax.



Dr. C.C. Ligoure obituary, 24 May 1922, Port of Spain Gazette, p. 4

The following is a list of mourners present at Dr. Clement Ligoure's funeral as published in the *Port of Spain Gazette*, 30 May 1922, an indication of the size and affection of his community:

Bearers: Messrs. J. Ligoure, Drs. Lermont, Lynch and Gittens, and R.M.T. Pritzgar and E. McEachran.

Followed by: Drs. H. Lynch and Harley, Paul McCarthy, Sydney Smith, E. Mitchell, J. Chandler, E. Thomas, A. Burns, Chs. Rene and Bonterre (likely Dr. Ligoure's third brother and his wife), Mr. and Miss Gordon, Miss Wilson, Miss Sanchez, Miss Branker, Miss Facey, Mrs. Pitman, Mrs. Monteil, Miss H. A. Wharton, Mrs. and Miss Harrison, Miss Myra Monsegue, Miss Hart, Miss Durham, Mrs. J. Alvarez, Miss Sasportas, Misses Faure, Miss Hatt, Mr. and Mrs. Camps, Miss Donaldson, Miss G. Marquez, Miss F. Cabrera, Miss O'Brien, Miss A. Ayers, Miss Smith, Misses Donawa, Mrs. Lucien, Mrs. E. Thomas, Mrs. St. Clair Goodridge, Misses Melita Goodridge and Gladys Goodridge, Miss D. Euchrane, Misses Subero (2), Mrs. Rawle and Misses Austin.

Floral tributes sent by: Mrs. Penco and family, Mr. Fedna Ligoure, the Misses Ligoure, Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Ligoure and family, Mr. Lucien Ligoure, Mr. Charles Ligoure, Mr. and Mrs. Alvarez, Mr. and Mrs. St. Clair Goodridge and family, Mr. and Mrs H. A. Wharton, Mr. and Mrs. E. Thomas and Mrs. Lucien.

•••

Recently, Dr. Ligoure's former home—what remains of a once much larger structure—became the subject of a concerted local campaign to pressure City Council to register the house (listed as 5812-14 North Street) as a municipal heritage property under the Heritage Property Act. The property is currently owned by a developer who asserted he had no intention of having the house demolished and that the structure sits outside the area of Robie Street slated to be widened.

Notwithstanding these assurances, the group Friends of Halifax Common and several prominent leaders of the Black community sought to preserve this historically and architecturally significant building as an important social landmark for future generations—and, most importantly, to recognize Dr. Ligoure's work and Black Heritage in HRM.



Views of Dr. Ligoure's North Street Home, Arthur F. Pelton Collection, HRM

The successful action to save the doctor's former home caused a wide resurgence of interest in the life story of this inspirational man. This author is hopeful that researchers will seize on the opportunity to consider the new information presented in this article. Descendants of Dr. Ligoure's family and those of his friends likely reside in Trinidad and Tobago as well as in the United States. They may provide additional family history, documentation as well as much needed archival photographs. A comprehensive, contextual account of Dr. Clement Courtenay Ligoure's life is necessary to forever ensure his significant legacy will be remembered by our entire community and by Canadians in general.

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**An article about this case also appeared in the 17 January 1919 edition of the *Saint John Standard*, p. 4. The author followed up with research of subsequent editions of the 17 January article in the *Halifax Herald* up to and including 25 January 1919, but could find nothing concerning the resolution of this matter. Therefore, it is assumed the case was resolved in favour of Dr. Ligoure.

Sources: *Port of Spain Gazette*, Wednesday, 24 May 1922, p. 4, and Tuesday, 30 May 1922, p. 4; *Dominica Guardian*, 29 January 1920, p. 3; *Digital Library of the Caribbean* (dLOC); *Halifax Herald*, 17 January 1919; "Dr. Ligoure's Hospital at 166 North Street, Halifax," by Garry Shutlak, *The Griffin*, March 2020, pp. 7 & 19; *Personal Narrative by Dr. C. C. Ligoure as told to Archibald MacMechan* in January 1918, N. S. Archives, MG1 vol. 2124, nos. 166 and 166a; Clement Ligoure's complete academic record provided by Queen's University Archives; Dalhousie University Archives; *[Philip] Hartling, 1-4: PANS RG83, v3, n12, 16 Liguore, Clement C.*, Nova Scotia Archives; HRM Council / Heritage Advisory Committee meeting records, Items 18.8.2 & 12.1 (William G. Petrites); *McAlpine's Halifax City Directories*; *University Affairs* online; *The Canadian Encyclopedia* and *Valour Canada*; Dissertation by Paula Pears Hastings (2010); Thesis by Sean Flynn Foyn (1999); David Woods; *Schmidtville Heritage Conservation Plan*; discussions with Dr. Allan Marble; various online genealogy and news resources.

Notes: Dr. Ligoure had a third brother named Charles Austin Raymond Ligoure (1885-1935) who immigrated to the United States and enlisted in the US Army in August 1918 and was discharged in December of that year. His occupation thereafter was listed as a professional "Waiter - Hotel." Source: Alabama Deaths, 1908-1974.

Suggested Reading: "[The Underside of Glory: AfriCanadian Enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1917](#)" by Sean Flynn Foyn, copyright 1999, (University of Ottawa Thesis).

"[Dreams of a Tropical Canada: Race, Nation, and Canadian Aspirations in the Caribbean Basin, 1883-1919](#)" Dissertation by Paula Pears Hastings, Department of History, Duke University (2010).

Online issues of *The Atlantic Advocate*, Nova Scotia Archives:
<https://archives.novascotia.ca/newspapers/results/?nTitle=The+Atlantic+Advocate>

Personal Narrative by Dr. C. C. Ligoure as told to Archibald MacMechan (25 January 1918),
Nova Scotia Archives: <https://archives.novascotia.ca/explosion/personal/narratives/?ID=4>

Joel Zemel resides and works in Halifax. He received the prestigious 2016 John Lyman Book Award in the category of Canadian Naval and Maritime History for his book *Scapegoat: The extraordinary legal proceedings following the 1917 Halifax Explosion*. He also received a Gold Medal from the 2017 Independent Publisher Book Awards for his biography *Betrayal of Trust: Commander Wyatt and the Halifax Explosion*. Joel served as historical consultant for Canada Post Corporation's stamp commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Halifax Explosion and wrote the description for the OFDC and stamp pamphlets.

Canadian Nautical Research Society 2023 Conference and Annual General Meeting: 17-18 August 2023

Shaped by the Sea: The Maritime World as Transformative



Panoramic view of St. John's and Narrows, 1905. Job Collection, Maritime History Archive, Memorial University of Newfoundland

In-person Schedule

St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador (NDT: UTC -2:30)

All presentations will take place in the same location:



Maritime History Archive

Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's NL
Henrietta Harvey Building, HH-1013

Thursday 17 August

9:00 AM Welcome

9:30 AM Session 1 – Researching Famous Shipwrecks

Wrecking the Terror: Drowning Breadalbane
Alex Comber, Independent

A Biography of His Majesty's Ship Sapphire, sunk in Bay Bulls in 1696
Erika Laanela, Independent

10:30 AM Break – Arts Building Atrium

11:00 AM Session 2 – Animals at Sea as Objects and Companions

Lanterns and Windowpanes Made of Shell: The Case of the Frigate Santo António de Taná (1697)

Gonçalo C. Lopez and Joana Baço, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

Little Birds, Long Voyages: The Presence of Companion Birds Aboard European Ships, 17th to 19th Century

Joana Baço and Gonçalo C. Lopez, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

12:00 PM Lunch

- 1:00 PM Session 3 – Food and Clothing for Maritime Workers**
Buying Clothes in Bonavista: A Study of Garment Sales in the Ryan’s Merchant Records
 Meaghan Walker, Memorial University of Newfoundland
The Efficient Cook: The “Cookery Manual” of the Upper Lakes & St. Lawrence Transportation Company
 Thomas Malcomson, George Brown College, Ret.
- 2:00 PM Break
- 2:30 PM Session 4 – To the Crow’s Nest: The Battle of the Atlantic**
Not Lost at Sea: The Ajax Club Legacy
 Wes Cross, McGill University
The Battle of the Atlantic and the Delay in Closing the “Air Gap”
 Christopher Bell, Dalhousie University
- 7:00 PM Reception at the Crow’s Nest, 88 Water Street, St. John’s NL

Friday 18 August

- 9:15 AM Welcome
- 9:30 AM Session 5 – Maritime Labour in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries**
As Scarce as a Snowball in Hades: Shipbuilding and the Search for Skilled Labour during the First World War
 Michael Moir, York University Libraries
Merchant Seamen and the Parameters of Involuntary Servitude
 Johnathan Thayer, Queen’s College, City University of New York
- 10:30 AM Break
- 11:00 AM Session 6 – Canadian Cold War Defence in the Atlantic and Pacific**
Canada, the US, and the Defence of Newfoundland and Labrador during the 1950s
 Richard Goette, Canadian Forces College
“This matter will have to be given much careful thought”: Soviet Torpedoes and Mines Captured in North Korea
 Jeff Noakes, Canadian War Museum
- 12:00 PM Lunch

- 1:00 PM** **Session 7 – A Focus on Maritime and Military Scholars**
French Interest in Philip Colomb's 1879 Naval Wargame The Duel
Chris Madsen, Canadian Forces College
An Albertan's Discovery of the Maritimes: George Stanley in New Brunswick, 1936-1942
Roger Sarty, Wilfred Laurier University
- 2:00 PM Break
- 2:30 PM** **Session 8 – Mapping the Sea, Charting a Course**
The RCN's 1948 Northern Voyages and Contributions to Oceanographic Research During the Cold War
Isabel Campbell, Directorate of History and Heritage
Navigating the High Seas: A Comparative Analysis of the 'Atlante idrogeografico ed astronomic' and 'Portolan Atlas' in the 16th Century
Salvatore Martinelli, University Kessel
- 3:30 PM Conference Conclusion & Break
- 4:00 PM** **CNRS General Meeting**

Digital Schedule

Eastern (EDT: UTC -4) and Western European Time (WEST: UTC +1)

Thursday 17 August

EDT (UTC-4)

WEST (UTC+1)

7:30 AM	12:30 PM	Welcome
8:00 AM	1:00 PM	Session 1 – Famous Shipwrecks: <i>Saphire</i> and <i>Terror</i>
9:00 AM	2:00 PM	Break
9:30 AM	2:30 PM	Session 2 – Animals at Sea and Objects and Companions
10:30 AM	3:30 PM	Lunch
11:30 AM	4:30 PM	Session 3 – Food and Clothing for Maritime Workers
12:30 PM	5:30 PM	Break
1:00 PM	6:00 PM	Session 4 – To the Crow's Nest: The Battle of the Atlantic In-person reception

Friday 18 August

EDT (UTC-4) WEST (UTC+1)

7:45 AM	12:45 PM	Welcome
8:00 AM	1:00 PM	Session 5 – Maritime Labour in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries
9:00 AM	2:00 PM	Break
9:30 AM	2:30 PM	Session 6 – Canadian Cold War Defence in the Atlantic and Pacific
10:30 AM	3:30 PM	Lunch
11:30 AM	4:30 PM	Session 7 – A Focus on Maritime and Military Scholars
12:30 PM	5:30 PM	Break
1:00 PM	6:00 PM	Session 8 – Mapping the Sea, Charting a Course
2:00 PM	7:00 PM	Conference Conclusion & Break
2:30 PM	7:30 PM	CNRS General Meeting

Presenter Biographies and Paper Abstracts (in alphabetical order)

Joana Baço and Gonçalo C. Lopes, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

“Little Birds, Long Voyages: The Presence of Companion Birds Aboard European Ships, Seventeenth to Nineteenth Century”

This presentation targets the presence of companion animals on board European ships in the 17th-19th centuries, namely the transport of small birds. We intend to show not only the existing relationship between humans and non-humans, but also the objects supporting and the reasons for these relationships. Our study is based in a specific group of archaeological objects collected from the Portuguese frigate *Santo António de Tanná*, wrecked in Mombasa (1697) and the analysis of a historical source directly related to this wreck.

Voyages lasted months, which made the transport of live animals difficult due to limited space, atmospheric conditions, and restricted attention given to the animals. One of the easiest animals to care for and transport were birds, especially the very colourful and melodious ones such as parrots, macaws, parakeets, and canaries. It is therefore not surprising that they were among the most traded species, both as collectors' items and as gifts for royal families and other dignitaries. It is also worth mentioning the symbolic role these ornamental birds played, especially their contribution to creating a serene and bucolic environment. Thus, they became pets, trade items, and transformers of the environments in which they were kept. Through historical sources, iconography, painting, and archaeological objects we discover these little companions of people, the voyages, and the ships where these encounters happened.

Joana Baço has a master's degree in Archaeology from NOVA FCSH, Lisbon. She has participated in national and international research projects on nautical and underwater archaeology and on the archaeology of the Portuguese expansion. She has coordinated several preventive archaeological works, mainly in riverside and coastal areas. Since 2018 she has been a researcher at CHAM – Centre for the Humanities and currently integrates the ERC SYNERGY 4 OCEANS team. She is also the executive coordinator of the UNESCO chair “The Ocean’s Cultural Heritage.”

Christopher M. Bell, Dalhousie University

“The Battle of the Atlantic and the Delay in Closing the ‘Air Gap’”

The Allied victory in the Battle of the Atlantic was delayed by the inability to provide air support to convoys for the entire length of their passage through the U-boat-infested waters of the north Atlantic. From mid-1942 until May 1943, U-boats inflicted devastating losses on shipping in the region known as the ‘Air Gap’: the waters south of Greenland in which convoys could not count on air support from either land-based or carrier-based aircraft. It was only in May 1943 that the ‘Air Gap’ was closed and the Axis threat to shipping finally reduced to manageable proportions. This result could have been achieved much sooner if Allied resources had been allocated differently. The persistence of the ‘Air Gap’ is usually attributed to British leaders’ prioritization of the strategic bombing campaign over the defence of trade. Recent research has demonstrated, however, that this explanation is both misleading and incomplete. This paper argues that the delays in providing air support to mid-Atlantic convoys need to be examined from a multi-national and multi-service perspective.

Critical miscalculations and oversights were made on both sides of the Atlantic in 1942-43, and were not recognized and corrected promptly due to systemic shortcomings in the Allied decision-making process.

Christopher M. Bell is Professor of History at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia. His books include *Churchill and Sea Power*, *The Royal Navy, Seapower and Strategy between the Wars*, *Churchill and the Dardanelles*, and (as co-editor) *Decision in the Atlantic: The Allies and the Longest Campaign of the Second World War*.

Isabel Campbell, Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence
“The RCN’s 1948 Northern Voyages and Contributions to Oceanographic Research During the Cold War”

This paper will summarize multiple, intertwining, and layered motivations for the Royal Canadian Navy’s 1948 northern voyages into Hudson Bay. Drawing upon scientific papers, it adds to the existing historical literature about this voyage, showing how some officials and scientists attempted to utilize the voyage for humanitarian, social, economic, and other purposes beyond security and defence. It also critically examines how a westernized masculine faith in science and technology drove Cold War anxieties and developments, justifying military and naval invasions of the sparsely populated Northern areas. It also exposes how the bipolar dynamic influenced decision-making, taking attention away from a vital consideration of local peoples, their lifestyles, and the conservation of natural resources.

Isabel Campbell is a senior historian at the Directorate of History and Heritage, NDHQ, Ottawa. The author of *Unlikely Diplomats: The Canadian Brigade in Germany, 1951-1964*, she is a co-author on volumes three and four of the official histories of the Royal Canadian Navy and Royal Canadian Air Force respectively. This paper is based partly upon “A re-assessment of the Royal Canadian Navy’s (RCN) 1948 northern voyages into Hudson Bay and its place in oceanographic research,” *International Journal of Maritime History*, December 2019, 826-841.

Alex Comber, Independent
“Wrecking the *Terror*: Drowning *Breadalbane*”

During 2021, as new information became available about the Franklin Expedition shipwreck HMS *Terror*, located in 2016 at King William Island, I decided to attempt a small-scale reconstruction of *Terror* in its current condition. After 170 years of mystery, we are on the threshold of understanding the last days of the 1845-1848 expedition to discover the Northwest Passage. Using site survey plans, ROV and dive footage, other sources of imagery and data, and information gleaned from academic presentations and recently published monographs, I attempted a preliminary diorama, interpreting and hypothesizing as I went. I continued the project with a reconstruction of the wreck site of one of the many ships lost searching for Franklin’s crews, the supply ship *Breadalbane*, sunk in the Barrow Strait off Beechey Island in August 1853. My hope is that these hobbyist reconstructions could help interpret two extremely remote, but incredible National Historic Sites. Join me as we wreck two fine vessels and forge a last miniature link across the top of Canada!

Alex Comber is a government records military portfolio archivist at Library and Archives Canada. He has directed his passion for naval history to making archival collections more accessible, while also working to acquire Department of National Defence records. Personal projects include warship identification and tracking, OSINT analysis, and the sharing of online content about naval vessels and Canadian First World War war trophies.

Wes Cross, Independent
“Not Lost at Sea: The Ajax Club Legacy”

At the outbreak of war in September 1939, Canadian ports were ill-equipped to deal with the volume of shipping required to deliver goods and supplies across the Atlantic. Halifax immediately became a key port on the western edge of the Battle of the Atlantic. The city faced several issues related to the surge in ship movements and the resulting increase of naval and merchant marine sailors in port. Several local initiatives were undertaken to cope with this influx, including the creation of the Ajax Club in 1940 by Dolly McEuen. Over the next five years, McEuen would struggle with local, provincial and federal levels of government, churches, temperance leaders, two naval bureaucracies, and even bootleggers. Once a national story, the importance of the club has been illuminated once again by the re-discovery of the Ajax Club collection of naval badges in McGill University.

Using the collection and archival material from a number of Canadian and British institutions, this paper tells a compelling part of Canadian history: the home front tale of an urgent need and an indomitable woman. The story of the Ajax Club is a unique prism through which to examine the evolution of local, provincial, and federal policy and controls, popular sentiment, the role of contemporary media and the outcome for sailors, the city, and the naval collection itself.

Wes Cross is a co-founder of the McGill Remembers Roundtable, created in 2005 to raise awareness of military and social history contained in institutional archives. In this role he has lectured on a range of military history topics, prepared course material for educational institutions, and served as an advisor on several initiatives. He currently serves on the Executive Council of the James McGill Society. A graduate of Concordia University, Wes is a recipient of a Minister of Veterans Affairs Commendation for his work on the development of historical material and public engagement.

Richard Goette, Canadian Forces College
“Canada, the US, and the Defence of Newfoundland and Labrador during the 1950s”

The role of Canada in defending Newfoundland and Labrador in conjunction with the United States during the Second World War is familiar to many. However, the defence of the territory, notably after it became a Canadian province, is less well known. During this time the Canadian military also worked closely with the United States. The Northwest approaches to the continent once again became a possible route for an enemy maritime, land, and air attack, only this time it was the Soviet Union as the adversary. Significantly, Newfoundland and Labrador also hosted American military bases, this time with nuclear weapons present. Defending both the territory of the province and the American strategic deterrent resources located within them therefore became a key consideration.

This paper will be based on official documents from both Canadian and American archival institutions. It will discuss the establishment by the American Joint Chiefs of Staff of US Northeast Command in Newfoundland in the late 1940s and what the Canadian military's relationship with this new unified command would be. Specifically, it will examine the variety of proposals tabled by both Canadian and American planners, including the establishment of a combined Canada-US command for Newfoundland, with an American commander and a Canadian deputy; the appointment of Canadian officers on the staff of US Northeast Command; and lastly the final compromise, the assigning of operational control over the American command organization to the Commander-in-Chief of the RCAF's Air Defence Command.

Richard Goette is an air power academic and Canadian air force historian. He is an associate professor in the Department of Defence Studies at the Canadian Forces College (CFC) in Toronto. Richard has been a CNRS member for over 20 years and is currently the CNRS Secretary. He is conducting research on air power issues related to the RCAF as a professional military institution, command and control, maritime air power, air mobility (airlift and Search-and-Rescue), "soft" air power, and the Arctic.

Erika Laanela, Independent

"A Biography of His Majesty's Ship *Sapphire*, Sunk in Bay Bulls in 1696"

Many Newfoundlanders are familiar with the story of the English fifth-rate frigate *Sapphire*, which was set on fire by its commander in Bay Bulls during an encounter with a French squadron in September 1696. The remains of the ship were rediscovered by divers in the 1960s, and the wreck was partially excavated by the Newfoundland Marine Archaeological Society and later by Parks Canada. What is less widely known is that the *Sapphire* had 21 years of active service in the Royal Navy prior to being deployed to Newfoundland. Most of the *Sapphire's* career was spent cruising in the Mediterranean, where it was engaged chasing warships belonging to Barbary corsairs, and capturing or assisting with the capture of ships commissioned into the Royal Navy as prizes. To understand its historical significance, one must consider the whole lifespan of the ship, not only the last six months spent in Newfoundland on convoy duty to protect the English cod fishing fleet. This examination of naval records illuminates the *Sapphire's* service history and demonstrates the role that frigates played in English naval policy, the duties and roles typically assigned to them, and the demands of maintaining an active-duty naval vessel in the late 17th century.

Erika Laanela is an archaeologist and heritage professional with experience working in a range of academic, consulting, and government contexts. She studied archaeology at Simon Fraser University, Texas A&M University, and the College of William and Mary. Erika previously worked for the Ontario Ministry of Culture and for Parks Canada's Indigenous Affairs and Cultural Heritage directorate, and she is currently a heritage policy advisor for the province of British Columbia. This paper is an extension of her PhD research on the *Sapphire*.

Gonçalo C. Lopes and Joana Baço, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

"Lanterns and windowpanes made of shell: the case of the frigate *Santo António de Taná* (1697)"

During the Portuguese presence in Goa, there was a constant exchange of traditions, customs, and techniques, with both sides incorporating elements from the other. This symbiosis resulted in the so-called Indo-Portuguese architecture, which can still be seen today along many coastal areas of India, but especially in Goa and its surroundings. The case study presented here is an example of the perfect communion between these two realities, especially regarding the exploitation of fauna resources.

The frigate *Santo António de Taná*, coming from Goa and bound for Kenya, sank in 1697 after a long battle with Omani forces. Its wreck remained untouched until 1960, when it was found by two local divers. Between 1977 and 1979 the site was the target of underwater archaeological excavations, carried out by the Institute of Nautical Archaeology (INA). Numerous artifacts of daily use used by the crew were identified and recovered from the wreck. Among them were several very small elements, considered “undetermined” at the time, but which a recent study has positively identified as fragments of windowpanes. They were used to replace glass, both in the ship’s windows and in the hand lanterns also identified. There were also lead frames where the windowpanes fitted. This presentation aims to highlight a unique case study in the world, where European and Asian traditions cohabited, resulting in a perfect symbiosis possible only through globalization.

Gonçalo C. Lopes has a master’s degree and a PhD in Nautical and Underwater Archaeology from NOVA FCSH, Lisbon, with a dissertation and a thesis about the shipbuilding architectural fingertips of two wooden shipwrecks. Since 2013 he has been a researcher at CHAM – Centre for the Humanities, where he researches Early Modern shipbuilding. He has integrated national and international research projects about Portuguese Expansion in North Africa. He has also coordinated urban archaeology excavations, mainly rescue contexts on the Lisbon waterfront. Since 2021, he has integrated the Portuguese National Centre for Nautical and Underwater Archaeology of the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage.

Chris Madsen, Canadian Forces College
“French interest in Philip Colomb’s 1879 naval wargame *The Duel*”

In 1879, Royal Navy officer and budding historian and naval strategist Philip Howard Colomb published a naval wargame through the commercial firm of Griffin and Co. in Portsmouth. It was meant to simulate a warship-on-warship encounter as a means of instruction in tactics, maneuvering and gunnery, opportunity for safe tabletop practice, and resolving of debates surrounding the best way to fight modern armoured steamships. To this end, the game’s reception in professional circles inside Great Britain was tepid, Colomb not even getting a chance to play a game during a session at the Royal United Service Institute when critics lined up to point out its deficiencies. In France, however, Colomb was held in high regard as a noted authority; knowledgeable French naval officers followed his writings and ideas with some interest. Adherents to the emerging *Jeune École* argued for a naval strategy of the weak against the strong, the main tenets being coastal defence and commerce warfare against Great Britain and its dominant Royal Navy. Colomb’s naval wargame also appeared at a time when the French were learning and adapting wargaming from the Germans, and incorporating that methodology into professional military instruction in its armies and navies. A foreign navy like the French therefore benefited far more than the Royal Navy from the

critical intellectual inquisitiveness that playing the game fostered. This research note introduces and presents a full bilingual text of Philip Colomb's naval wargame based on a translation in the February 1881 *Revue maritime et coloniale* by Lieutenant de vaisseau Louis Jean Rivet and the Griffin and Co. original book held at the British Library.

Chris Madsen is a Professor in the Department of Defence Studies at the Canadian Forces College and Royal Military College of Canada in Toronto, Ontario. He teaches military officers and senior public servants on the National Security Programme and the Joint Command and Staff Programme. He is a past president of the Canadian Nautical Research Society.

Thomas Malcomson, George Brown College

"The Efficient Cook: The 'Cookery Manual' of the Upper Lakes & St Lawrence Transportation Company"

The food served afloat has long been a major concern for sailors at sea. It could be a highly anticipated break from work, a nondescript bland event, or simply dreadful. A ship's meals play an essential role in maintaining the crew, yet food is one of the least studied aspects of maritime history.

This paper will explore the "Cookery Manual" distributed to stewards aboard ships of the Upper Lakes & St Lawrence Transportation Company in 1949. The document provides an interesting look at meal planning, preparation and serving, as well as general food handling aboard ship. The manual informed its readers that as cooks they were "making a substantial contribution towards the success of the Fleet" by providing meals that helped crews "attain the maximum efficiency and output." The manual reflected the contemporary nutritional knowledge and the push by public health officials to improve worker diets.

The "Cookery Manual" is clearly the company's attempt to create a uniformed skill level and to encourage nutritious cooking by the stewards who prepared the meals aboard ship. From how to plan a week's menu to basic nutrition, cooking and baking, and through butchering various cuts of meat, the manual is an introductory course to cooking. The numerous recipes provided the meals from which to plan a healthy menu. It also contained a list of approved food and galley suppliers to buy from in different ports around the lake.

Thomas Malcomson retired after teaching after 32 years at George Brown College, Toronto. He has a BA and MA in psychology, while his PhD is in history. As a professor he taught courses in Introductory, Social, and Developmental Psychology, the history of eugenics, and genocide, and was a co-author of a Life-Span Development text. Thomas has written numerous articles on naval and maritime subjects, with a primary focus on the final years of the long 18th century and the War of 1812. His latest book is *Order and Disorder in the British Navy, 1793-1815: Control, Resistance, Flogging and Hanging* (Boydell Press, 2016). He lives in Toronto with his wife Peg.

Salvatore Martinelli, University Kassel, Germany

"Navigating the High Seas: A Comparative Analysis of the 'Atlante idrogeografico ed astronomico' and 'Portolan Atlas' in the 16th Century"

The use of atlases in the 16th century played a crucial role in the advancement of navigation and astronomy. Two specific types of atlases were particularly significant as they contained both hydrographic and astronomical information, thereby facilitating navigation at sea. This study examines the differences between the “Atlante idrogeografico ed astronomico” created by Francesco Ghisolfi and the “Portolan Atlas” created by Battista Agnese in terms of their hydrographic and astronomical content, as well as their effects on navigation, allowing for a deeper understanding of the advancements in navigation and astronomy during the 16th century. The comparison of these two atlases analyzes their hydrographic and astronomical content, as well as their effects on navigation and this study aims to shed light on the significance of these atlases in the development of navigation and astronomy. Furthermore, this study serves to demonstrate the importance of analyzing and comparing historical works more broadly, allowing as it does for a better understanding of the evolution and advancements in different fields.

Salvatore Martinelli is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History at the University of Kassel, Germany. His research focuses on the cosmological figura of Antonino Saliba, a 16th-century Maltese polymath. In his published article, "Antonino Saliba: Maltesischer Polyhistor, Kartograph, Astronom und Philosoph des 16. Jahrhunderts," he explores the multifaceted contributions of Saliba. Salvatore has received prestigious research grants, including the Gerda Henkel Stiftung fellowship and a grant from the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, supporting his ongoing scholarly projects. Through his dissertation, he delves into the intricate connections between cosmology, mapping, and intellectual networks during the Renaissance.

Michael Moir, York University Library

“As Scarce as a Snowball in Hades: Shipbuilding and the Search for Skilled Labour during the First World War”

By late 1916, the loss of Allied and Neutral merchant shipping threatened to halt fighting in Europe regardless of the outcome of land battles. More than 1,600 ships with a combined capacity of almost 3,860,000 gross tons were sunk by German submarines in an attempt to sever the supply of munitions, equipment, and food across the Atlantic. Britain responded with an international shipbuilding program that included Canada and the United States until America’s entry into the war led to the construction of its own merchant marine. The rapid increase in the demand for new ships led to the expansion of existing shipyards and creation of new companies along North American coasts and Great Lakes, straining the industrial capacity of both countries that was already under pressure from munition manufacturers and military recruiters. Skilled labour was in short supply. As a Canadian shipyard manager observed in October 1917, trades such as fitters were “as scarce as a snowball would be in hades.” The lack of trained workers seriously impeded the pace of production when time was of the essence and raised issues about the quality of ship construction. This presentation will examine the approach taken by Canadian authorities in comparison with British and American counterparts to address this shortfall within an environment affected by the growth of unions and workers’ independence through training, the introduction of women to shipyards, and cross-border recruitment.

Michael Moir's career as an archivist began almost forty years ago with the Toronto Harbour Commission. He joined York University Libraries in 2004, where he is University Archivist and Head of the Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections. His research interests include Canadian shipbuilding between 1890 and 1939, and the management of ports and harbours. He was elected to the Council of the Canadian Nautical Research Society in 2015 and currently serves as President.

Jeff Noakes, Canadian War Museum

“This matter will have to be given much careful thought’: Soviet Torpedoes and Mines Captured in North Korea”

Since 1960, the Canadian War Museum’s collection has included a Soviet torpedo whose history remained obscure. Archival research has furnished details of its provenance, including its 1951 transportation to Canada as part of a cargo of Soviet-made torpedoes and naval mines captured in North Korea, destined for analysis and training purposes. Research has also revealed the intricacies and the implications of the technical analysis of the mines that accompanied the torpedoes. Events revealed limited Canadian capacities for explosive ordnance disposal work and for advanced technical analysis of this enemy equipment. While the torpedoes were similar to those in Canadian service, the more complex magnetic influence mines took much longer to assess. In part, this was because removing their explosive charges took quite some time, a reflection of the need to acquire the appropriate equipment.

The torpedoes proved to be relatively uncomplicated weapons, but the magnetic influence mines had considerably greater implications. The analysis of these mines raised significant questions about their potential threat in Canadian coastal waters, as well as doubts about the suitability of the RCN’s Bay-class minesweepers which were then being procured, and the equipment and training of clearance divers who were expected to deal with such weapons. This paper will examine the history of the CWM’s torpedo and the other torpedoes and mines brought to Canada, and suggest some of the wider implications of their acquisition and analysis for the early Cold War RCN, including potential areas for further research.

Jeff Noakes has been the Second World War historian at the Canadian War Museum since mid-2006, and is also the curator responsible for the William James Roué Collection at the Canadian Museum of History. He has been the historian on museum teams responsible for creating or adapting a number of temporary and online exhibitions. He is the author or joint author of books, book chapters, exhibition catalogues, and articles on subjects related to the First World War, the Second World War, the Cold War, and the Arctic.

Roger Sarty, Wilfred Laurier University

“An Albertan’s Discovery of the Maritimes: George Stanley in New Brunswick, 1936-42”

George Stanley, a native of Calgary and a historian of western Canada, had never been to the Maritimes when he took up his first academic position, at Mount Allison University in Sackville, NB. He had graduated from the University of Alberta in 1929 and immediately gone to Oxford as a Rhodes scholar. He received additional scholarships to complete his

doctorate and revise his B.Litt and D.Phil theses for publication as *The Birth of Western Canada* (1936). The move to Sackville after seven formative years in the UK was a shock. Yet, as this paper will demonstrate, he soon flourished. He began entirely fresh research, moving fully into military history, which had only figured in isolated parts of his work on western Canada, studying events in the Maritimes during the French Revolutionary War through the War of 1812. He also joined the local militia unit, and instructed in the Officers Training Corps at the university, which led to full time military service in 1940 at the Canadian Army training centre in Fredericton. These developments set his career on a new course: his appointment as an official historian of the Canadian Army in 1942-7, and then, in 1949, as chair of the newly created department of history at the Royal Military College of Canada. He had not abandoned the Maritimes, however. In 1969 he returned to Mount Allison, and after his retirement became New Brunswick's lieutenant governor in 1981-1987.

Roger Sarty is professor emeritus at Wilfrid Laurier University, where he taught naval, military, and Canadian history. Previously he had leadership positions at the Canadian War Museum (1998-2003), and was a historian (1981-1991) and then Senior Historian (1991-1998) at the Department of National Defence. A native of Halifax with family roots in Lunenburg and Pictou counties, Roger developed his early interest in the military history of the Maritimes at Duke University (MA) and the University of Toronto (BA and PhD).

Johnathan Thayer, Queens College, CUNY

“Merchant Seamen and the Parameters of Involuntary Servitude”

With the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, the US Congress officially banned involuntary servitude in addition to slavery. Despite this ban, Congress and the federal judiciary failed to provide a working definition of involuntary servitude that would establish guidelines for deciding court cases involving contracts between wage labourers and their employers. This lapse in definition was partially resolved in 1897 when the Supreme Court ruled on *Robertson v. Baldwin*, in which four US citizen merchant seamen brought their case before the Court, arguing that their imprisonment as punishment for breaking contract through desertion constituted a violation of the Thirteenth Amendment. This presentation considers the transformative impact of *Robertson v. Baldwin* in establishing far-reaching precedent in the history of free labour ideology and law both at sea and ashore, and as a turning point that sparked a national controversy in the US over the nature of contract labour and the legacies of emancipation and the Thirteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court's ruling against the *Arago* seamen, which privileged freedom of contract over the sailors' rights to the full protections of the Constitution, exemplified the janus-faced nature of the legal system's treatment of merchant seamen: both as wards of the state subject to extraordinary mechanisms of restriction and control, and simultaneously as a “special class” of workers entitled to extraordinary protections of the state. Sailors' mobility, an essential component of sailor culture ashore, had been abruptly curtailed by the nation's highest court, albeit temporarily.

Johnathan Thayer is Assistant Professor at the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies, Queens College, City University of New York (CUNY). He holds a PhD in History from the CUNY Graduate Center, an MLS with concentration in Archival Studies from Queens College, CUNY, and a BA in English from Wesleyan University. He is the author of

the forthcoming book *Citizenship, Subversion, and Surveillance in US Ports: Sailors Ashore*, and is co-editor of *Negotiating Masculinities and Modernity in the Maritime World, 1815-1940*, both titles in Palgrave Macmillan's *Global Studies in Social and Cultural Maritime History* series.

Meaghan Walker, Memorial University of Newfoundland
“Buying Clothes in Bonavista: A Study of Garment Sales in the Ryan’s Merchant Records”

The journals of the Ryan’s Merchant Premises, held by the Maritime History Archives, contain a day-to-day record of what Bonavistans were purchasing from such a merchant store. Among the fishing supplies, imported foods, and general household wares sold by the Ryans at the store are copious amounts of fabrics and notions, as well as ready-made clothing. The large movement of fabrics into the community reinforces the reliance on women’s domestic labour for outport clothing, but even so the ready-made market of maritime menswear was being felt even in rural Newfoundland as trousers, shirts, coats, and specialist gear like oil clothes were also sold in small numbers, in addition to the more typical market for stockings, footwear, and accessories. Financial data from the years 1863, 1873, and 1883 show the increasing amount of clothing and fabric available for purchase, the changing popularity of fabrics and cuts, and the fluctuating price of those items. Further, by looking at the purchases of a maritime community that contain more financial and physical detail, information from this study could be used to further comprehend the contents of the inventories of deceased merchant seafarers contained in the Crew Agreements also held at the MHA.

Meaghan Walker is the 2021-2023 Ewart A. Pratt Postdoc at Memorial University of Newfoundland and works closely with the Maritime History Archive. She studies the maritime menswear in the British Empire between 1660 and 1920. Her work has explored the clothing of merchant seafarers, Royal Navy sailors and marines, and now Newfoundland fishers largely in the long nineteenth century, with an emphasis on the adoption of ready-made or “slop” clothing by maritime workers. Dr. Walker received her doctorate from the University of Alberta in 2020 and studied for both her BA (Hons) and MA at Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Draft Minutes of the council meeting held using videoconferencing software, Saturday, 25 March 2023

Present: Michael Moir, President; Tom Malcomson, First Vice President; Isabel Campbell, Second Vice President; Errolyn Humphreys, Treasurer; Ian Yeates, Associate Treasurer; Sam McLean, Membership Secretary; Faye Kert, Honorary Member; Meaghan Walker, Walter Lewis, Jeff Noakes, Chris Perry, Winston “Kip” Scoville, Margaret Schotte, Ambjörn Adomeit, Sebastian Harper, Councillors; and Roger Sarty, Chair of the Editorial Board.

Regrets: Richard Gimblett, Past President

Calling to Order

Michael called the meeting to order at 13:03.

Approval of Agenda

Walter moved, Tom seconded. Carried.

Minutes of Council’s Previous Meeting

Isabel moved, Ambjörn seconded acceptance of the minutes for 22 July 2022. Carried.

Financial Update (see Attachment A)

Errolyn observed that it would be useful to speak to her report in the context of Ian’s fees structure report on membership fees.

Ian spoke to his report, reiterating that CNRS made a little bit of money last year compared to the previous year. The balance sheet is slightly improved as a result. We have total holdings of about \$40,000, making the financial situation for the society healthy. The main difference this year is that we have budgeted for seven issues of TNM, which is ambitious but will also be costly to get the journal caught up (\$7,500), with a budgeted loss of \$1,000, which we can afford due to the society’s financial position. Budgeting has also accounted for an in-person conference in 2023.

Discussion:

- Roger noted that the editorial team met with the TNM editor and advised him not to be heroic by trying to get all seven issues published this year and that four may be more realistic – but to go for seven if he thinks he can.
- Walter noted that any extra amount in printing would cover any inflation in printer costs, which we have not seen so far from our new printer but we should be expecting this in the near future; i.e., there could be some inflation here but it would fit within the budget.

Faye moved, Isabel seconded acceptance of the budget of 2023. Carried.

Membership Report

Sam commented that the overall membership rate is nominally stable, although the rate at which people renew ahead of time or on time is declining. He believes this is due to

publishing delays having an impact on membership renewals. Therefore, getting caught up with the journal publication schedule will hopefully help with membership renewal. We lost one institutional member this year. As the outgoing Membership Secretary, he recommends that there be a reinvigorated effort to re-establish direct connections with our institutional members.

Discussion:

- Michael noted that with the institutional member that did not renew, the members may already be members of NASOH and get TNM anyway. We have set it up that you have to be a member to attend the conference, which should encourage membership growth.

CNRS Membership Fees

Michael noted that Ian's report came out of a discussion from the July 2022 meeting and then the AGM to determine if membership revenues are sufficient to cover the operating costs of the Society, which include publishing TNM. Ian reported that he took the information from Sam on different membership categories, costs, and total number of these memberships. Dues were only raised for members receiving the hard copy of the journal. He is recommending just three membership types.

Discussion:

- Isabel suggested slightly increasing all of the fees and/or offering students a subscription scholarship: if you have a promising graduate student or early career scholars, offering a free subscription for two years for a digital copy.
- Michael observed that the journal is now open access, so the only tangible CNRS membership benefit for students to join would be attendance at the conference.
- Sam asked about what is it we need to do to get students to sign up and stay in, as most join for a couple of years but then leave afterwards. How do we keep them here and engage them?
- Isabel agreed that there is a psychological element about letting members know that they are welcomed and valued.
- Richard Goette offered that there needs to be a way to engage maritime enthusiasts to join and stay in CNRS.
- Ambjörn suggested some kind of incentive for undergraduates. Faye said that book reviews—i.e., free books—is a good way of doing that.
- Michael observed that there are sectors of maritime heritage we are not engaging with, especially museums. Michael tried reaching out to them but didn't even get replies to his emails.
- Ian said he struggles with the concern over the amount; if you are engaged in the subject, membership fees should not be overly burdensome. It really boils down to what is the role of societies like ours in the academic/historical field and what will it cost to bring scholarship to be published. Ian was open to tabling his recommendations to the AGM.
- Sam concurred.
- Isabel had no problem with raising the fees as Ian indicates in his report, but felt that eliminating the student and early scholar categories would have a negative psychological impact that would dissuade potential young/new members.
- Michael concurred with Isabel's points, but also observed that we didn't see many

students at the virtual conference last year. This was despite great efforts by CNRS and NASOH members to promote the society and its annual conference. Michael concluded that there is a general consensus for increasing fees for international and digital members as per Ian's report but that we come back to the discussion at the next council meeting before the AGM so that Council comes to a consensus on the membership categories before the AGM.

- Ian clarified that his proposed rates in his reports are for 2024, not 2023, and that if anyone has ideas for the student/early scholar rates and membership categories to please send them to him.
- Walter inquired if we could waive the fees for students/young scholars to attend the conference as part of their membership. There was general agreement about this as a positive idea.
- Isabel said this would be seen as improving the student/new scholar situation by proposing something better than the previous categories. Michael suggested that we could even implement it this year for the conference. There was general agreement on this.
- Ian's report was tabled until the next Council meeting in July.

At this point, Errolyn left the meeting due to another commitment.

Break at 14:02 until 14:10.

Publications

Roger reported that three issues of the journal were published this year and that editor Pete Kikkert reports we have material for the next 2.5 issues, including an entire issue out of the 2021 conference. However, the editorial team has been very busy getting all of these articles reviewed. TNM and Argo provide excellent editorial support, but we also have to be wary of editorial burnout. Roger encouraged everyone to continue to beat the bushes for articles. He reported that he is getting increasingly worried about succession, especially for Faye as the book review editor. More generally we are trying to bring in people who can be understudies for the editor, book review editor, and editorial board members. He believes that the editorial board can be a vehicle for succession. There are currently three positions coming up vacant this year. If anyone has any ideas for new editorial board members, please let Roger know. We should encourage academics but also others interested/experienced in maritime history.

Discussion:

- Ambjörn asked if it is still necessary for a member of the editorial board to have a doctorate.
- Roger agreed that this is something to discuss. The standard is an editorial board member should have a doctorate and a major publication, but this needs to be reviewed.
- Council discussed reactions to the new format for TNM. Switching printers has saved us 25% in costs and it is a faster process than the previous printers. There were no concerns with the transition.
- Michael reminded Council that TNM is a joint publication of NASOH and the CNRS.
- Walter noted that NASOH reduced its numbers of copies of the journal from 225 to 200.

Conferences

2023 St. John's

Meaghan referred to her report and reiterated that everything has been going well. Space has been booked including the Crow's Nest, which she thinks attendees will like for a reception. There is concern over food, as it has to be provided by the university and we have to have the food in a different building than where the presentations will take place. Otherwise, MUN is hosting us for free.

2024 St. Catharines

Tom referred to his report and commented that he has had good conversations with NASOH and others for a joint conference in St. Catharines in June. Warren Riess from NASOH thinks that around 100 people will attend the conference. Tom explored having the conference at Brock University. The costs for renting rooms was astronomical, however, so we would need someone at the university to sponsor us and the tech help. Food costs would also be high at the university. There is a residence at Brock with reduced rates for accommodations. There are a few historical organizations to possibly sponsor breaks, including the Brock University Archives. The theme for the conference is open but will have some focus on inland waters. Tom would like some help to organize this conference.

Discussion:

- Walter pointed out that NASOH's idea of a conference is different than the CNRS's, leading to a notably higher conference rate on the part of NASOH.
- Sam asked if we have considered doing a hybrid digital and in-person conference. Tom said he would like to do that, but that we need to confirm a venue first to see what capabilities are available.

2025 TBD

Michael suggested that we should have a west coast location, which will be explored in coming months.

Awards

Tom Malcomson reported that the Keith Matthews award has seven submissions and one on the way. The Cartier prize has one submission, despite Tom's efforts to reach out to all history and maritime archaeology programs in Canadian universities, plus some in Europe. We will have a Keith Matthews award for best article.

Nominating Committee

Michael noted Rich Gimblett's report, especially the point about the openings on Council, notably Membership Secretary, and asked them to get in contact for the Council meeting before the AGM.

Other Business

Michael spoke to the subject of an endowed chair in maritime history at a Canadian university. Michael spoke with fundraising experts at York, who emphasized that to make this a reality, securing a partner institution was vital.

Discussion:

- Sam suggested that Memorial University of Newfoundland should be on the list due to the Maritime History Archives, which tends to get under-used. Meaghan noted that there are a few students at MUN writing on topics that have a relation to maritime history—i.e., not specifically maritime but deal with maritime in a certain way.
- Chris Perry suggested that University of Victoria would be a good choice, especially with its veterans' oral history collection.
- Michael suggested somewhere inland such as Queen's University, with its good archives and the Maritime Museum of the Great Lakes at Kingston.
- There was some discussion of what should come first, the university or the donor?

No other business.

Adjourned 15:10.

Respectfully submitted,
Richard Goette
Secretary

CANADIAN NAUTICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

Comparative Balance Sheet

	<u>As at 12/31/2022</u>	<u>As at 12/31/2021</u>	<u>Variance</u>
Current Assets			
BMO Operating Account	33,010.57	30,347.74	2,662.83
BMO Cash Reserve Account	0.00	0.00	0.00
Investments	6,488.06	7,803.32	(1,315.26)
Accounts Receivable	1,312.00	2,648.20	(1,336.20)
Member Receipts	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total Current Assets	40,810.63	40,799.26	11.37
			0.00
TOTAL ASSET	40,810.63	40,799.26	11.37
 LIABILITY			
Liabilities			
Accounts Payable	1,703.35	3,828.27	(2,124.92)
Membership Fees Received in Advance	1,395.00	1,010.00	385.00
Total Liabilities	3,098.35	4,838.27	(1,739.92)
			0.00
TOTAL LIABILITY	3,098.35	4,838.27	(1,739.92)
 EQUITY			
Members' Equity			
Current Earnings	2,483.87	-2,154.31	4,638.18
Retained Earnings	37,812.29	39,966.60	(2,154.31)
Unrealized Gain/Loss (OE)	-3,136.72	-1,851.30	(1,285.42)
Gain or Loss on Exchange	582.68	0.00	582.68
Total Members' Equity	37,742.12	35,960.99	1,781.13
			0.00
TOTAL EQUITY	37,742.12	35,960.99	1,781.13
			0.00
LIABILITIES AND EQUITY	40,840.47	40,799.26	41.21

CANADIAN NAUTICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

Comparative Income Statement

	<u>Actuals as at 12/31/2022</u>	<u>Actuals as at 12/31/2021</u>
REVENUE		
Individual -Cdn	2,730.00	3,990.00
Individual -Intl	545.00	790.00
Student - Cdn	125.00	150.00
Student -Intl	0.00	0.00
Institutional - Cdn	1,710.00	1,330.00
Institutional -Intl	1,785.00	1,785.00
Supporting	1,190.00	2,410.00
Individual-Digital	750.00	780.00
Early Career Researcher- Cdn	90.00	90.00
Early Career Researcher -Intl	0.00	0.00
NASOH- Digital	277.33	275.00
Total Membership Revenue	<u>9,202.33</u>	<u>11,600.00</u>
TNM Sales and Royalties	437.83	423.33
Total Publications Revenue	<u>437.83</u>	<u>423.33</u>
Registration Fees	0.00	0.00
Other	0.00	0.00
Total Conference Revenue	<u>0.00</u>	<u>0.00</u>
Investment-MFunds	239.53	173.10
Total Investment Revenue	<u>239.53</u>	<u>173.10</u>
Exchange Rate	1,039.87	707.09
Other Revenue	0.00	0.00
Total Other Revenue	<u>1,039.87</u>	<u>707.09</u>
TOTAL REVENUE	<u>10,919.56</u>	<u>12,903.52</u>
EXPENSE		
Bank and Credit Card Charges	887.60	575.15
Prepaid Mailing and Distr. Expense	0.00	0.00
Total Administrative Costs	<u>887.60</u>	<u>575.15</u>
Mailing & Distribution	2,897.77	4,299.69
Other Publication Expenses	0.00	1,000.00
Printing Expense -NM	8,066.22	9,543.05
NASOH - reduction	<u>(4,544.00)</u>	<u>(5,390.95)</u>
Total Printing Expense	<u>3,522.22</u>	<u>4,152.10</u>
NM - Other / Royalty Payments	0.00	0.00
Editing and Translation Expense	197.58	252.95
Book Review & Editorial Support	0.00	0.00
Total Publications Costs	<u>6,617.57</u>	<u>9,704.74</u>
CNRS Conferences	0.00	0.00
Other Conferences	0.00	0.00
Total Conferences Expenses	<u>0.00</u>	<u>0.00</u>
Prize Expenses	300.00	500.00
Total Prize Expenses	<u>300.00</u>	<u>500.00</u>
Other Expenses	0.00	2,500.00
Digital	202.04	900.81
Total Other Expenses	<u>202.04</u>	<u>3,400.81</u>
GST Expense	428.48	877.13
Total Sales Expense	<u>428.48</u>	<u>877.13</u>
TOTAL EXPENSE	<u>8,435.69</u>	<u>15,057.83</u>
NET INCOME	<u>2,483.87</u>	<u>(2,154.31)</u>

Argonauta guidelines for prospective authors

Argonauta aims to publish articles of interest to the wider community of maritime research enthusiasts. We are open to considering articles of any length and style, including research articles that fall outside the boundaries of conventional academic publishing (in terms of length or subject-matter), memoirs, humour, reviews of exhibits, descriptions of new archival acquisitions, and outstanding student papers. We also publish debates and discussions about changes in maritime history and its future. We encourage submissions in French and assure our authors that all French submissions will be edited for style by a well-qualified Francophone. Articles accepted for publication should be easily understood by interested non-experts.

For those producing specialized, original academic work, we direct your attention to *The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord*, a peer-reviewed journal appropriate for longer, in-depth analytical works also managed by the Canadian Nautical Research Society.

Except with proper names or in quotations, we follow standard Canadian spelling. Thus, the Canadian Department of Defence and the American Department of Defense may both be correct in context.

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) *Protecteur*
Her Majesty's Canadian Ship (HMCS) *Preserver*
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*

Following current industry standard, ships are considered gender neutral.

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Articles should conform to the following structural guidelines:

All submissions should be in Word format, utilizing Arial 12 pt. Please use endnotes rather than footnotes. All endnotes should be numbered from 1 consecutively to the highest or last number, without any repeating of numbers. We strongly encourage the use of online links to relevant websites and the inclusion of bibliographies to assist the younger generation of

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With each submission, please include a brief (5-7 sentence maximum) biography.



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