ARGONAUTA

The Newsletter of

The Canadian Nautical Research Society

Volume XXVIII Number 1 Winter 2011

ARGONAUTA

Founded 1984 by Kenneth MacKenzie
ISSN No. 0843-8544

Editors
Isabel Campbell and S. Colleen McKee

Argonauta Editorial Office
c/o Isabel Campbell
2067 Alta Vista Dr. Ottawa ON K1H 7L4

e-mail submissions to:
scmckee@magma.ca
or
Isabel.Campbell@forces.gc.ca
ARGONAUTA is published four times a year—Winter, Spring, Summer and Autumn

The Canadian Nautical Research Society

Executive Officers

President:	Paul Adamthwaite, Picton
Past President:	Richard Gimblett, Ottawa
1st Vice President:	Roger Sarty, Kitchener
2nd Vice President:	Maurice D Smith, Kingston
Treasurer:	Errolyn Humphreys, Ottawa
Secretary:	Rob Davison
Membership Secretary:	Faye Kert, Ottawa
Councillor:	Chris Bell, Halifax
Councillor:	Isabel Campbell, Ottawa
Councillor:	Chris Madsen, Toronto
Councillor:	Richard O Mayne

Membership Business:
200 Fifth Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario, K1S 2N2, Canada
e-mail: fkert@sympatico.ca

Annual Membership including four issues of *ARGONAUTA*
and four issues of *THE NORTHERN MARINER/LE MARIN DU NORD:*
Within Canada: Individuals, $65.00; Institutions, $90.00; Students, $20.00
International: Individuals, $75.00; Institutions, $100.00; Students, $30.00
Our Website: http://www.cnrs-scrn.org

In This Issue
Table of Contents

Editorial	1-2
Call for Nominations	3
President's Corner	4
Obituaries	5-6
What does ASDIC mean?	7
Literature review	7-8
CFAP (Art)	8-11
Great Lakes Ship News	11-13
ACUA	13-14
Conference Announcements	15-16
Et si les Allemands envahissaient le Quebec?	17-20
Registration	21

Editorial

Winter brought Canada's coasts and some parts of the interior extremely rough weather, with flooding, heavy snow, and high winds hitting hard particularly in New Brunswick, the Great Lakes, and other maritime areas. After digging out our driveways here in Ottawa, we savoured the opportunity to come inside to hot mugs of tea and read the contributions from our far-flung members. We hope you will enjoy these samplings as much as we did.

Tavis Harris, a lecturer at Wilfred Laurier University and part of the Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies, contributed the literature review found on page eight. Tavis is a new member of the CNRS and recently completed her doctorate; she is a Sub-Lieutenant, serving as the Historical Officer at HMCS STAR. She will provide future literary commentaries.

John MacFarlane, a well known historian at the Directorate of History and Heritage, has contributed a piece on two naval art exhibits at the Canadian War Museum. John has managed the Canadian Forces Art Program since 2001 and was recently awarded the 2011 Distinguished Book Award for Biography/Memoir reflecting original research and an outstanding contribution to military history for his book *Triquet's Cross: A Study of Military Heroism* by the American Society for Military History.

Fraser McKee, a long time member and recognized maritime historian, has sent along an interesting piece on the meaning of ASDIC which may serve as a cautionary tale for new scholars in the field.

It is with great sadness that we note the passing of two CNRS members: Charles Armour, a maritime historian and archivist, and Garth Wilson, an historian and curator. We thank Maurice Smith who has kindly written up obituaries for our readers.

This issue of *Argo* launches the initial installment of a French article entitled *"Et si les Allemands envahissaient le Québec? Le Saint-Laurent, les rumeurs, la propagande et la mobilisation des Québécois lors de la Grande Guerre, 1914-1918".* The article analyses rumours about a possible German invasion of Quebec during the First World War. Due to its length, this piece by Mourad Djebala, a post-doctoral fellow at McGill, will appear in serial form in consecutive issues of *Argo.*

We have some exciting contributions coming out in the spring issue. As always, we welcome news about archives, art galleries, histories, museums, that feature exhibitions or projects on maritime or naval history. Please let us know what is happening in your part of the world.

We would also like to draw your attention to the forthcoming CNRS conferences. Past President Richard Gimblett has provided us with the announcement of the May 2011 conference. It can be found on page 15.

A note on formatting and mailing

The CNRS executive and membership requested that *Argonauta* adopt a smaller format (Please see minutes, June 2010 meeting, *Argonauta,* Spring, Summer, and Autumn 2010). *Argonauta* will now be mailed out with *Northern Mariner* to affect cost savings. We thank you for your patience with the delays in producing and mailing these publications in tandem. *Argonauta* will also appear on the CNRS website beginning in April 2011.

We look forward to seeing you at the CNRS conference in May.

Call for Nominations

The Canadian Nautical research Society invites nominations for the following positions, to be elected at the forthcoming Annual General Meeting:

- President
- First Vice-President
- Second Vice-President
- Secretary
- Treasurer
- Councillors (4)

Nominations are to be in writing (email acceptable) by two members in good standing (this means individuals or institutions that have paid their 2011 dues and have no arrears). Members may nominate themselves. The individual(s) nominated must also indicate in writing a willingness to serve if elected. All terms of office are for one year.

The position of President has to be filled at the forthcoming AGM, as the occupant has served three consecutive one-year terms and cannot be re-elected under the by-laws of the Society.

The Chair of the Nominating Committee must receive nominations no later than 30 April 2011.

Please direct nominations and requests for additional information to:

Dr Richard Gimblett
Chair, CNRS Nominating Committee
49 Southpark Drive
Ottawa, Ontario
K1B 3B8
Richard.Gmblett@rogers.com

President's Corner – Outreach and visibility

For this second edition of the newly formatted *Argonauta*, I am sure you will all join me in thanking Maurice Smith and the late Bill Schleihauf for their work over the last many years, and to congratulate our new editors, Isabel Campbell and Colleen McKee, for their enthusiasm in continuing the fine tradition of our Society's newsletter. Volume 1, number 1 appeared in September 1984 with the experimental banner of *The Canadian* and requesting members to suggest a more appropriate title. The March 1985 issue appeared as *Argonauta* illustrated with our still current logo. Since then a remarkable amount of material – of general interest and of intellectual value – has been published and I hope to announce in the very near future that back issues are available on our website at <http://www.cnrs-scrn.org>. The project has been approved and I feel sure that it will be of interest to those of you who do not have a complete run of back issues and of great use to a wider public.

This decision, reached at a recent meeting of your executive committee, was part of our ongoing desire to reach out to a broader community. The discussion was wide ranging, from our current input to the educational community to esoteric thoughts on age-based demographics and two further decisions were taken. First, after lengthy negotiations with EBSCO Publishing, I am happy to announce that *The Northern Mariner* will be made available to their wide base of subscribers. This should not affect our own hard copy subscriber base – quite the contrary in fact – nor will it remove the back issue availability on our website.

We also decided to start a Facebook internet page (at <http://www.facebook.com>). This is now visible, albeit in embryonic form, for those of you who have free subscriptions to this web presence, by searching for 'Canadian Nautical Research Society'. I would encourage as many of you as possible to declare yourselves as friends of our page as we need a certain number of "likes" before we obtain full functionality. We saw a major increase in the usage of our own website after ensuring a Wikipedia presence, and we are looking forward to more visibility through Facebook.

Lastly, our annual conference will shortly be held in Ottawa (details are elsewhere in this issue) and from what I have heard on some of the proposed papers it will be branching out into uncharted waters. I hope to see many of you there.

Charles Armour ~ 1934 – 2010

Charles Armour passed away peacefully with his beloved wife Hedy at his side on 4 December 2010. Armour was born to Dorothy and Everett Armour in Taylor Village, NB on March 5, 1934; he was a graduate of Mount Allison University (BSc 1956) and Dalhousie University (MSc 1957). A Beaverbrook Scholar, he graduated from University College, London, England (PhD 1960). Launched on a teaching career in chemistry, appointments at Mount Allison University, Kingston College of Technology at Kingston on Thames, and Dalhousie University followed. The chance discovery of a trunk containing log books, manifests, and shipbuilding records in his family home in Taylor Village marked the beginning of a change of direction in his academic career.

Returning to England he began serious research into early maritime shipbuilding at the Public Records Office and other British archives. In 1970, he was appointed University Archivist at Dalhousie. In addition to acquiring university records, he expanded the collection to include British and Canadian shipping records, a Labour History and Medical Archive, Theatre, Business and Music Archive and the private manuscripts of historians and writers. He served as regional director of the National Archival Appraisal Board.

He retired from Dalhousie in 1999. His many publications include the books *Sailing Ships of the Maritimes* (1975), *Shipbuilding in Westmoreland County* (2008), and contributions to the Dictionary of Canadian Biography. He curated several exhibitions of ship portraits at the Dalhousie University Art Gallery and in 2004, with Graham Young, he curated a large exhibition held jointly at the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia and the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic entitled Masters of the Sea: Tall Ship Portraits from the Age of Sail. Whatever he did, he did with great thoroughness and passion, writing with meticulous care. He continued his research until shortly before his death.

A memorial gathering is planned for spring 2011.

Garth Wilson ~ 1960 - 2010

After a long battle with cancer Garth passed away with his beloved wife Sandy Lynch by his side on 13 November 2010. Garth, who received all his early education in Victoria, was a curator at the Canadian Science and Technology Museum in Ottawa for 21 years. David Monaghan, who began work at the museum on the same day as Garth and is now Curator of Parliament, gave an emotional and heartfelt eulogy. After Garth joined the museum, many considered him, as our "maritime museum ambassador" in the Nation's Capital and he did much to raise the status of maritime and material history at the national level.

Garth met his wife Sandy while working at the Marine Museum of the Great Lakes in the late 1980s. Along with David Walker and Steve Killing, he produced *The Great Lakes Historic Ship Research Project* in 1989. The culmination of two years of research, this outstanding work garnered international attention, especially in the American north-east and in museums in northern Europe. Its originality and conclusions still stand as an important contribution to maritime history. His wit, good humour, and compassion for others will be missed.

These obituaries were prepared by Maurice Smith with contributions from friends. Readers may also read the obituary for Charles Armour, *Halifax Chronicle,* 12 December 2010, for additional details.

The photo of Garth Wilson first appeared in *T2M*, June 2007.

What does 'Asdic' mean? By Fraser McKee

Wartime sailors will know the term, especially if they served in corvettes or frigates: Asdic was the equipment used to detect submerged submarines. The term has now been replaced by the U.S. term 'sonar', supposedly to stand for '**so**und **na**vigation and **r**anging.'

Churchill used the term in the British House of Commons, prompting questions about its meaning. Admiralty staffers explained that it stood for the Anti-Submarine Detection International Committee and this answer was widely believed. Well that's baloney! In the face of a need for an instant answer, no-one in Admiralty knew what the obvious acronym stood for, and so someone unknown provided a rumoured response which became accepted history, too often repeated in otherwise carefully crafted histories.

But in Willem Hackmann's authoritative history of RN A/S warfare, "Seek And Strike" (HMSO, London, 1984) he records *there never was* such a Committee. Anyway the term was in use by 1918 at a couple of anti-submarine experimental establishments in the U.K. I can confirm this, having copies of their official reports from 1919 where the term 'asdics' is indeed used. Hackmann is sure the term arose from the Admiralty's Anti-Submarine Division – i.e. ASD... – plus 'ics, like in logistics or semantics, etc. That is, equipment pertaining to the ASD's work – ASDICS.

So as the Chief Yeoman used to say – "Get it right!" And don't believe everything you read in naval histories.

Literature Review by Tavis Harris

I would like to wish *Argonauta* readers a happy and productive New Year. Recent publications offer maritime historians several interesting articles on a wide variety of topics as we enter the New Year. Michael Epkenhans's "Germany and Sea Power in the 20th Century" (*Journal of Strategic Studies,* Vol. 12 Iss. 4, Summer 2010) provides an insightful overview of German naval history and its relation to Canadian naval and strategic considerations during a turbulent century. Epkenhans, a

noted historian of the Imperial German Navy, argues sea power remains important in the modern age of terrorism and asymmetrical warfare with important historical roots. The author traces the development of Tirpitz's Dreadnought fleet right through to Cold War relations between the Canadian and German Navies.

John T. Kuehn's "The U. S. Navy General Board and Naval Arms Limitation: 1922–1937" (*The Journal of Military History* Vol. 74, No. 4 October 2010) examines the General Board's role during a series of naval disarmament conferences. Kuehn, currently an Associate Professor of History at U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, is a retired Commander of the United States Navy. His article examines how the General Board acted and reacted to the constraints placed upon it during the 1920s and 1930s and how this shaped the American Fleet as it entered the Second World War. His major focus is the impact of the "Nonfortification Clause" of the 1922 Washington Conference and how this forced sweeping technological changes in naval construction.

As always our colleagues at *The Mariner's Mirror* offered up many interesting articles in their recent volume (November 2010). One such offering is by Tony Beales, an amateur historian and director of a computer software company, who, in his article "'Great Expectations': The Approach of British Ships at the Battle of Trafalgar," addresses why Captain George Johnstone Hope, commanding HMS DEFENCE, arrived late at the Battle of Trafalgar. By using a combination of sources such as ships logs, signals and other various accounts, Beales argues that to date many historians have improperly placed the ship in the line of battle.

Editorial note: We look forward to more reviews from Tavis in future issues.

The Canadian Forces Art Program – CFAP

Two exhibitions at the Canadian War Museum document the first century of the Royal Canadian Navy and demonstrate a significant evolution in how Canadian artists have portrayed military subjects. The first exhibit, *The Navy: A Century in Art*, features 46 paintings "from many of Canada's leading war artists", particularly those generated by the National Defence programs during the two world wars. The exhibit,

according to the Museum web site, "demonstrates how geography, history and war have shaped the Navy through its first century of service….They capture the diverse roles, traditions and activities of this national institution." The second, *A Brush with War*, includes 64 works, mostly those generated by the two post-1945 Department of National Defence programs, developed in partnership with the Directorate of History and Heritage at the Department of National Defence.

While the wartime programs produced mainly traditional works centring upon key historical events, artists in the more recent programs portray a wider variety of subjects incorporating recent trends. Laura Brandon, curator of *A Brush with* War, records that “the critical and creative engagement [of many recent artists]…has already resulted in a more nuanced and complex visual record of Canadian military history, one powerfully informed by past practice and yet one that is already well free of its constraints.” This brief note will focus on some of these works, particularly those related to naval subjects, produced by the current Canadian Forces Artists Program (CFAP).

The CFAP was launched in 2001. Approximately forty artists have already experienced “what life is like” in the Canadian Forces. Their experiences usually last for seven to ten days and result in art detailing many aspects of military and naval life. While many works appear in a *Brush with War,* others have been displayed across Canada in various exhibitions. One show at National Defence Headquarters in November 2007 contained a sculpture by François Béraud, David Collier’s drawings for his graphic novel, and photography by Andrew Wright. All portrayed life on the Atlantic on the *HMCS Toronto* in April 2005. Scott Conarroe will visit the East Coast in 2011 to conduct future work.

On the West Coast, Maskull Lasserre produced careful drawings, while Ho Tam photographed and Douglas Bradford created watercolour paintings during 2004 and 2005. More recently, Tim Pitseolak produced a large coloured pencil drawing based on his experiences in northern waters with the Rangers. In addition, two artists have sailed with the Canadian ships overseas, John Horton in the Arabian Sea in 2002 and Ian Wall crossed the English Channel during commemorative events surrounding the 60th anniversary of D-Day in 2004.

The two exhibitions at the War Museum highlight the excellent cooperation and active encouragement from the men and women in

uniform and an exceptional quality of work, allowing visitors a unique opportunity to enjoy great art and to learn more about the many activities performed by the Canada's navy. These artists and their work will help shape the way future generations will perceive the first century of the RCN.

Muskull Lasserre produced this work
while serving on Canadian naval ships in Pacific waters.

.

Tim Pitseolak served with the Northern Rangers.

Photographs of art, courtesy of John MacFarlane,
National Defence Headquarters.

Great Lakes Shipwreck News

As today's economic difficulties continue to present a challenge for non-profit organizations, I am very pleased to report that the Shipwreck Society has been making substantial progress towards achieving our goals. Here are the results from a healthy 2010 season:

Shipwreck Museum attendance:	61,196
Weather Bureau attendance:	13,436
Total attendance:	74,632

Events:

- Four book signing events and five educational workshops at Whitefish Point
- On-site filming for future productions by National Geographic Canada, Travel Channel, and Discovery Channel
- New funding for Phase II of Whitefish Point Light Tower restoration
- New funding for restoration of Shipwreck Museum interpretive panels

These successes are accomplished only through your dedicated support, coupled with a great deal of volunteer effort from our Board of Directors, management, and staff.

Annual Appeal gifts provide a critical increment of operating support that cannot be met through admission, museum store sales, and membership fees. While we recognize that you are approached by many institutions for gifting, please remember that the Shipwreck Society has a relatively limited contributor base in a highly rural area. Shipwreck Society members are very special -- and we genuinely need your support at this time. Our mission is important, our efforts impressive, our results high quality, and our purpose of education is wholly worthwhile and exciting.

Your support will help fund the following initiatives:

- Commencing the Search for Lake Superior's French Minesweepers, lost to shipwreck in 1918
- Completion of the 1899 Weather Bureau Building Restoration
- Design Work for the 2002 Whitefish Point Management Plan
- Restoration of Interpretive Panels in the Shipwreck Museum Building
- Complete restoration of the Whitefish Point Light Tower

Gifts are fully tax deductible as the Society is a 501 (c) (3) organization.

With our record of past accomplishments hopefully having earned your trust, please continue to support our mission of preserving and educating with respect to our rich maritime culture. Without your help, many Society projects would not move forward.

To make it easy for you to make a contribution, we have now created a dedicated page on our newly designed web site for this purpose. Please go to www.shipwreckmuseum.com and click on the “Donate” link.

Alternatively, you may call our administrative office at 800-635-1742 to make a donation by credit card, or to ask that a return envelope be sent to you for contributions by cheque.

Thank you very much for your past and continuing support!

Thomas L. Farnquist, Executive Director
Great Lakes Shipwreck Historical Society
400 W. Portage Avenue, Sault Ste Marie, MI 49783
906-635-1742 Toll Free Phone: 800-635-1742

ACUA

The Organizing Committee of the International Maritime Economic History Association invites proposals for papers to be presented at the 6th International Congress of Maritime History to be hosted by Ghent University at Het Pand, an old Dominican monastery located in the heart of the city. We will travel to Antwerp for one day to hold part of our programme at the Red Star Line and Antwerp City Museum (MAS).

All previous Congresses have adopted a broad concept of maritime history, treating it as an interdisciplinary discipline covering all historical periods and areas. This Congress builds on this to promote and disseminate research in all aspects of humankind's relationship with the sea from ancient times to the present. The emphasis will be on the international, transnational and global character of maritime history. This Congress will have a special theme: the relation between maritime and global history. The Congress invites proposals for panels and papers that address any issue in maritime history. Interdisciplinary approaches are especially welcome.

Confirmed keynote speakers:

Prof. Patrick Manning (University of Pittsburgh),
Prof. Lewis Fischer (Memorial University of Newfoundland)
Prof. Rene de le Pedraja (Canisius College) and
Prof. Yrjo Kaukiainen (University of Helsinki).

Session Proposals

Sessions will usually consist of four papers of not more than 20 minutes each. Other formats (debate panels, roundtables) are possible, but all sessions will need to conclude after 120 minutes. Session proposals should include a cover page with title, list of contributors, a commentator and chair, individual paper titles, a session abstract (maximum of 200 words), individual paper abstracts of no more than 200 words, and a short curriculum vitae for each participant. All sessions should include sufficient time for general discussion.

Paper Proposals

Contributors may also submit proposals for individual papers to be presented in a maximum of 20 minutes; if accepted, these will be combined into sessions of four papers. Paper proposals should include an abstract (maximum of 200 words) and a short curriculum vitae. All proposals will be reviewed and decisions will be made by end of May 2011.

Registration fees

The registration fees for regular early bird will be 220 Euro (270€ late) and 170 Euro for MA and PhD students (220€ late). These fees include daily lunches and coffee breaks, conference dinner, receptions and the excursion to Antwerp. There is a social tariff of 100 Euro for participants from developing countries.

Proposal Details

Deadline for submissions is 31 March 2011. Proposals should be submitted using the conference website, www.imeha2012.ugent.be <http://www.imeha2012.ugent.be/> (via paper submission)

All inquiries: imeha2012@ugent.be.

All papers presented at the Congress will be considered for publication in the International Journal of Maritime History.

Canadian Nautical Research Society

Conference & Annual General Meeting

18-21 May 2011
Ottawa, Canada

Location: HMCS Bytown
78 Lisgar St.
Ottawa ON
K2P 0C1

Nautical Voyages: Cruising, Yachting and Small-boating Through the Ages

Whether for commerce, exploration, war fighting or simple pleasure cruising, travel on water – oceans, seas, lakes, rivers and canals – takes many forms and has been a staple of human transportation for at least as long as the wheel. Papers are invited to address any variety of perspectives on related themes involving ships, people, ports or trade.

Ottawa, the nation's capital, is ideally placed for this conference, located at the confluence of the Gatineau & Rideau Rivers with the Ottawa River, and at the northern mouth of the UNESCO Heritage Site Rideau Canal. Mid-May also is the height of the annual Tulip Festival. Conference sessions and banquet will be held in the historic quarters of HMCS Bytown, the Wardroom (officers' mess) for naval officers serving in the national defence headquarters.

No block accommodation booking has been made and participants are invited to make their own arrangements. A variety of options are available in the immediate area (note address of HMCS Bytown is 73 Lisgar St, at the corner of Cartier St, near the cluster of map hits at the middle right of the link below):
http://www.downtownottawahotels.com/

Paper proposals are requested to be made by 15 April 2011.

The Society reserves first right of refusal for publication in our journal *The Northern Mariner / Le Marin du nord* or newsletter *Argonauta* as appropriate, and new scholars are invited to apply for the Panting Bursary to support travel to deliver a paper (details on our web-site: www.cnrs-scrn.org).

The registration form (attached / enclosed) is to be returned by 16 May 2011 to allow booking of meals (although earlier expressions of interest always appreciated!)

Paper proposals, registration form (found on page 21) and any other administrative enquiries should be directed to:

CNRS 2011 Conference Coordinator

Dr Richard Gimblett
49 South Park Drive,
Ottawa, Ontario,
K1B 3B8

Telephone: (613) 830-8633 *or* (819) 997-3720
Facsimile: (819) 997-0664

Email:
richard.gimblett@rogers.com ***or***

Richard.Gimblett@forces.gc.ca

Et si les Allemands envahissaient le Québec? Le Saint-Laurent, les rumeurs, la propagande et la mobilisation des Québécois lors de la Grande Guerre, 1914-1918.

Abstract: This article examines the role of rumours and propaganda relating to a possible German invasion of Quebec during the First World World War. It uses a comparative theoretical framework, drawing from sociology and European histories along with new primary research from Canadian and Quebec sources. It will appear in short segments at the end of consecutive *Argonauta's.*

This dramatic poster drew upon rumours of a possible German invasion of Canada to promote the recruitment of French Canadians during the First World World War. Photograph, courtesy of author.

En 1921, dans un article intitulé « Réflexions d'un historien sur les fausses nouvelles de la guerre », l'historien et ancien combattant français, Marc Bloch, notait, au sujet des rumeurs du temps de guerre, ou de ce qu'il retenait alors comme les « fausses nouvelles de la guerre » : « l'erreur n'est pas, pour [l'historien], seulement le corps étranger qu'il s'efforce d'éliminer de toute la précision de ses instruments; il la considère aussi comme un objet d'étude sur lequel il se penche lorsqu'il s'efforce de comprendre l'enchaînement des actions humaines. De faux récits ont soulevé les

foules »[1]. Ce qu'il est intéressant de tirer de cette observation, c'est que Marc Bloch reconnait aux rumeurs du temps de guerre une existence et un intérêt pour aborder la Grande Guerre. Les rumeurs ont été un élément à part entière de l'expérience des civils et des militaires des années de la Première Guerre mondiale. Au Québec, les années 1914-1918 ont été marquées par nombre de rumeurs concernant la question de la menace d'invasion du Canada par des Allemands empruntant le Saint-Laurent, axe fluvial majeur dans l'histoire du Québec et, plus largement, du Canada.

D'un point de vue historiographique, les premières études à s'intéresser aux rumeurs remontent aux années 1940. Elles furent commandées par le gouvernement américain afin de lutter contre la prolifération des rumeurs et leurs effets psychologiques sur les troupes et la population. Ce sont alors plutôt des sociologues, des psychologues ou des chercheurs en communication qui s'intéressent à ce concept.[2] Plus en rapport avec cet article, la principale étude qu'il convient de citer est celle de Martin Kitchen, « The German Invasion of Canada in the First World War »[3]. Celui-ci développe en effet les actes réels posés par les autorités allemandes à l'encontre du Canada pour tenter d'affaiblir l'effort de guerre anglais, dont le Canada relève en tant que Dominion de l'Empire britannique. Ce travail nous permet d'avoir les bases utiles pour une vision d'ensemble du phénomène des rumeurs de sabotage qui sont apparues un peu partout au Canada au cours de la guerre, notamment en rapport avec la présence d'étrangers d'origine ennemie en sol canadien. Dans le cas du Québec, le travail de Jean Laflamme, *Les camps de détention au Québec*, est important à souligner pour rendre compte des différentes mesures prises par le gouvernement fédéral à l'encontre des étrangers d'origine ennemie, que ce soit pour les enregistrer ou les interner[4].

Pourquoi s'intéresser aux rumeurs qui, de prime abord, selon les

---

1 Marc Bloch, *Réflexions d'un historien sur les fausses nouvelles de la guerre*, Paris, Albia, 1999 (1921), p. 14.

2 Mireille Donadini-Rousseau, *Le discours social de la rumeur et le monde vécu. Enquête sur la connaissance et la diffusion des rumeurs*, Thèse de doctorat en sociologie, Québec, UQAM, 1998, p. 28-29.

3 Martin Kitchen, « The German Invasion of Canada in the First World War », *International History Review*, vol. 7, n°2, mai 1985, p. 245-260.

4 Jean Laflamme, *Les camps de détention au Québec durant la Première Guerre mondiale*, Montréal, sans éd., 1973, 49 p.

chercheurs en communication, relève d'une forme d'« information incertaine[5] »? L'origine latine du mot rumeur signifie d'ailleurs « bruit confus de voix ». Pour bien percevoir l'intérêt des rumeurs, il convient de se replacer dans le contexte des années 1914-1918 où, au nom d'une « guerre totale », civils et militaires font l'objet de l'attention des gouvernements en vue de les mobiliser activement ou moralement au soutien de l'effort de guerre. Soulignons que dans le domaine des communications, c'est la première fois que les gouvernements recourent de façon massive à la propagande pour mobiliser l'opinion publique.

Pour aborder cette propagande, l'historien Jeffrey Keshen, avec *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War*, a rendu compte de la complexité des supports dont le Censeur en chef du Canada, Ernest Chambers, prenait en compte pour contrôler l'information touchant à la guerre et diffusée au Canada[6]. La presse et ses nouvelles officielles, notamment proposées par le *Canadian War Records Office* de Londres, ont ainsi été retenues comme l'un des vecteurs privilégiés d'information des Canadiens. Or, comme le souligne la sociologue Mireille Donadini-Rousseau, dans la perception générale, il y a deux types d'informations, à savoir les vraies, celles qui nous parviennent par les médias et que nous jugeons comme dignes de crédibilité, et celles incertaines, désignées comme des « rumeurs », et sur lesquelles une certaine réserve s'impose[7]. Ce qu'il convient de comprendre, c'est que les rumeurs sont une forme de communication à part entière au sein de la société. C'est ainsi que si Jeffrey Keshen a pu proposer de rendre compte de l'information officielle du temps de guerre, il est utile de se pencher également sur l'information incertaine des années de guerre. Ceci nous permet de rendre compte des différentes caractéristiques des rumeurs, que ce soit au niveau de leur contenu ou de leur apparition, qui révèlent des indices du rapport du Québec à la Grande Guerre.

Se pencher sur les rumeurs d'invasion du Québec via le Saint-Laurent, c'est en effet s'interroger sur le rapport à la Première Guerre mondiale de la population de cette province, où comment, par le biais de fausses

---

5 Pierre Marc, *De la bouche… à l'oreille. Psychologie sociale de la rumeur*, Suisse, Delval, 1987, p. 17.

6 Jeffrey Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War*, Edmonton, University of Alberta Press, 1996, 333 p.

7 Mireille Donadini-Rousseau, *op. cit.*, p. 1-2.

nouvelles de guerre, les civils ont été amenés à être mis en présence d'un danger qui se voulait imminent. Au-delà des différentes rumeurs qui ont pu effectivement circuler au Québec entre 1914 et 1918, il convient de se pencher tant sur leurs sources que sur leurs moyens de diffusion. Par définition, les rumeurs sont difficilement identifiables, circulant en effet d'abord de bouche à oreille. Mais, l'étude des principaux titres de la presse québécoise, comme en particulier *Le Devoir*, *La Presse*, ou *The Gazette*, nous donne des éléments intéressants quant aux sources des rumeurs d'invasion. Comme nous le développerons, cela répond alors à des projets précis visant à mobiliser la population civile pour l'effort de guerre canadien en rendant le conflit outre-mer plus « perceptible » depuis le Québec. Si les rumeurs naissent d'abord au sein de la société, traduisant ainsi son rapport à l'information, elles ont pu être récupérées et exploitées par des agents de promotion de l'effort de guerre.

Pour mener à bien cet article, il convient de revenir, dans un premier temps, sur les caractéristiques des rumeurs au sein de la société, en exploitant notamment des travaux de sociologues et de chercheurs en communication qui ont pu développer de nombreuses approches de ce sujet. Par la suite, il conviendra de dresser le contexte précis dans lequel les rumeurs du temps de guerre apparaissent au Québec, en particulier en traitant du problème des étrangers d'origine ennemie et de la question de l'« espionnite » qui leur est rattachée. Enfin, dans un troisième temps, nous mettrons en lumière les différentes rumeurs qui circulent sur le thème de l'invasion du Québec via le Saint Laurent, en soulignant particulièrement les sources et les moyens de diffusion.

by Mourad Djebabla, Phd,
Professeur adjoint,
Département d'histoire
Collège Militaire du Canada (Kingston),
Chercheur postdoctoral, Université McGill.

CNRS-SCRN Conference & AGM18-21 May, 2011

Dr. Richard Gimblett
49 South Park Dr.
Ottawa, ON
K1B 3B8

richard.gimblett@rogers.com
Richard.Gimblett@forces.ca
Tel: (613) 830-8633 / (819) 997-3720
Fax: (819) 997-0664

Registration Form

Name (for badge): _____

E-mail: _____

Address: _____

Note: All Fees in Cdn $

Conference Fees – Check One (1)

□ **Full** (Includes Lunches and Banquet) $120 _____

□ **Day Only** (includes coffee and lunch – Check as applicable:

□ Wednesday May 18 (register/reception-Mayflower Pub) At own cost

□ Thursday May 19 (Day only – Coffee & Lunch) $25 _____

□ Friday May 20 (Day only – Coffee & Lunch) $25 _____

□ Saturday May 21 (Day only – Coffee & Lunch) $25 _____

□ Friday Banquet Only and/or Additional Guest(s)@ $50ea _____

Membership CNRS-New/Renew Check one (1)

□ Canadian: Individual $65/Student $20 _____

□ International: Individual $65/Student $20/HASOH $30 _____

Payment – Check one (1): TOTAL_____

□ Cheque/Money Order – Payable to:
Canadian Nautical Research Society

□ Visa: _____ Expiry: _____
Signature: _____ Date: _____

□ Mastercard _____ Expiry: _____
Signature: _____ Date: _____

Argonauta ~ Winter ~ 2011

Published by The Canadian Nautical Research Society