

ARGONAUTA



**The Newsletter of the Canadian Nautical Research Society/Société
canadienne pour la recherche nautique**

Volume XXVIII Number 3 Summer 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:	Maurice Smith, Kingston
Past President:	Paul Adamthwaite, Picton
1 st Vice President:	Chris Madsen, Toronto
2 nd Vice President:	Roger Sarty, Kitchener
Treasurer:	Errolyn Humphreys, Ottawa
Secretary:	Rob Davison, Waterloo
Membership Secretary:	Faye Kert, Ottawa
Councillor:	Isabel Campbell, Ottawa
Councillor:	Dan Conlin, Halifax
Councillor:	Richard O. Mayne, Winnipeg
Councillor:	Barbara Winters, Ottawa

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
President's Corner	2-3
Announcements	3-4
CNRS Executive Council Minutes May 2011	4-7
CNRS AGM Minutes	7-14
Conference Presentation Summaries	15-22
<i>Et si les Allemands envahissaient le Quebec?</i> (continued from Spring 2011)	23-29

Editorial

The cool evenings of the end of the season are a welcome change from the heat of July and August, but we invite you to re-visit the high days of summer with this issue of *Argonauta*. We've packed it with many interesting and useful pieces. You will find the Executive and Annual General Meeting minutes, which we encourage you to read for news of the society's web site and fiscal management. There is information about a new award and on the forthcoming 2012 conference, to be held in Picton, Ontario. The minutes also contain details of a discussion on copyright, an important current topic of interest; we urge all potential authors to ensure that they get copyright permission for any reproduced materials they would like to submit to us. Faye Kert alerted us to a free online journal at www.warfaremagazine.co.uk. The journal includes maritime history.

Our sincere thanks to Richard Gimblett who organized this year's conference, "Nautical Voyages. Cruising, Yachting, and small-boating through the ages". The Conference, held at HMCS Bytown in Ottawa from 18 to 21 May, was lively with members from all parts of Canada enriching meetings and sessions with their first-hand experience and expert knowledge. However, "the best question of the conference" came from one of the youngest attendees of the CNRS who we look forward to meeting again. Readers who missed the conference will find summaries of all the presentations in this issue. More complete papers and articles are already awaiting publication in future issues of *Argonauta* and *Northern Mariner*.

We apologise to those of you who sent us complete conference presentations and excellent submissions that were not part of the

conference. The membership voted in favour of running conference summaries, so we have held back publication of other items in this issue and look forward to publishing the aforementioned submissions in future issues. Do continue to send us your materials or news and announcements of general interest.

In closing, we welcome the society's new President, Maurice Smith, and invite you to enjoy the view from the President's Corner.

Fair Winds

Isabel and Colleen

President's Corner

by Maurice Smith

I am honoured to be elected the President of the Society. I will do my best.

For those who do not know me I am a professional sailor, British certification, recruited as a project manager to help build a museum and later to develop the collections. Now that short sentence encompasses forty-eight years of time served afloat and ashore. I have been more or less unemployed since 2001 but occupy my days as a curator emeritus, consultant, author, emerging gardener and member of an exclusive "guy" cooking group. A second and more ambitious book is under way. There is still a certain amount of recreational sailing in our 'empty nester' lives but my ambition, shared with Ruth, is to continue exploring the narrow-boat canals of England. We are at the 500 mile mark. There are two boys, Romney the eldest is working on his Doctorate at the University of Toronto while Tarragon lives in London (UK) working hard as an artist. Those two would be an asset at any dinner party, even one where maritime history is a topic of discussion.

I am of the opinion that there is maritime history everywhere and that it is appearing with increasing frequency in many different forms. In fact in a moment of boastfulness, we might say that in maritime history is the history of the world. Some of you might recognize the reference to a book edited by Daniel Finamore, Maritime History as World History where you will find at least three CNRS members as contributors. There are two publishing events at the top of my list this spring. The first is a book by CNRS Council member, Jim Pritchard. "A Bridge of Ships: Canadian Shipbuilding during the Second World War" published by McGill-Queen's University Press. This book, pricy, will stand the test of

time. Regard it as an investment. Jim's analysis; merging technology, politics, labour, the culture of the Canadian Navy and personalities is a mighty step forward. My current favourite section: Modernization and Repairing, 1943 – 45. It will help you understand our situation in Canada – with clarity. On a different plane and a different medium is the work of a small group of individuals with strong professional backgrounds in maritime heritage. The group includes John MacFarlane, Dan and Lynn Salmon, Bill Clearihue and Stephen Rybak. Their collaborative creation is The Nauticapedia: Celebrating the stories of the Maritime Heritage of Western and Northern Canada, and Canada's Naval Forces that can be found at <http://www.nauticapedia.ca/index.php>.

CNRS Members - you have a talented Council and remarkable volunteers. Our doors are open, our listening trumpets are raised; every member of your Council is eager to hear from you.

Maurice

Announcements

Historic 1812 Gunboat Moved

by Amanda Smith

The 1812 British Navy gunboat that has been residing at St. Lawrence National Park in Mallorytown Landing was moved to a new home in Prescott in early August. The gunner will add an important component to Fort Wellington's historic site and a display will illustrate the role the St. Lawrence River and these British gun boats played during the War of 1812. "It's in excellent condition for a 200 year-old boat," said Elizabeth Pilon, visitor experience project manager. "It's been a long-term goal to move the boat to Fort Wellington. It will be a centerpiece to the fort." The move, part of a project that has taken two years to co-ordinate, involves Parks Canada engineers, conservation staff, St. Lawrence Islands staff, project staff, the Parks Canada underwater archaeology department, and the movers. The gunner will be housed in a new 649-square-metre visitors' centre at Fort Wellington, with the bow of the boat looking out towards the St. Lawrence River. The 16.5-metre gunner was lifted by airbag system to raise it the required two feet to complete the move. The wall of the boathouse was removed and the boat was encased in a protective shell

to prevent damage.

The gun boat was found in the water near Brown's Bay with the bow exposed but the remainder of the ship underwater. In 1966, Parks Canada began a project to raise the ship. Based on the artifacts located around the ship, they dated the boat to have been abandoned between 1850 and 1870. This was the first major project in Canada in underwater archaeology, Parks Canada staff say. According to Pilon, all that's known about the gunner is that it was British Navy. The name of the boat remains unknown.

Minutes of the Executive Council Meeting of the CNRS/SCRN at HMCS Bytown, Ottawa Ontario, Thursday, 19 May 2011.

Present:

President: Paul Adamthwaite

Past President: Richard Gimblett

2nd Vice President: Roger Sarty

Membership Secretary: Faye Kert

Hon. Councillor: Jim Pritchard

Councillor: Isabel Campbell

Councillor: Chris Madsen

1. President's Remarks. Paul Adamthwaite welcomed the members of the Executive Council present and, as it was his final Council meeting as President, he thanked all the members for their support and assistance over the past three years. His proposed agenda for the meeting was to prepare for the next day's Annual General Meeting.

2. Awards. Roger Sarty indicated that there were nine envelopes prepared for the winners of the various awards. Both recipients of the Panting Award for new scholars, Sam McLean and Corbin Williamson, were at the conference and would receive bursaries of \$500 each. The winners of the Matthews Awards for Best Book and Best Article published in *The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord* for 2010 had been selected and would be announced at the dinner that night. Rich Gimblett agreed to act as Master of Ceremonies and Roger would read out the names and titles.

3. AGM Agenda. The agenda for the AGM was drawn up and Rich agreed to prepare a slide to use during the meeting so that paper copies would not need to be handed out.

3.1. President's remarks and introduction.

3.2. Financial Report. The Report was written by the Treasurer, Errolyn Humphreys. Copies of the report were handed out to Executive Council members and there was a brief discussion of the financial fitness of the society and the good balance of income over expenses thanks to past conferences where there was a small surplus as well as some savings in publication costs and elsewhere. Further, some back dues had also been received which helped decrease liabilities. Rich Gimblett indicated that there were 35 registrants for the conference and costs for the mess had been lower than he had thought, so there was a small profit forecast for this year.

3.3. Nomination Committee. Rich Gimblett indicated that nominations had been received and nominees contacted and the slate was reviewed. Maurice Smith and Chris Madsen have been nominated as President and 1st Vice President respectively. Chris Bell has stepped down as Councillor and Barbara Winters has agreed to serve on Council if she were to be nominated at the AGM. There was a short discussion regarding the Society's by-laws and the number of councillors (4) versus other members such as Secretary and Membership Secretary. Although the wording in the by-laws was somewhat ambiguous, it was determined that the intended number of councillors was to be four with additional members to include the Society's Secretary and Membership Chair as members of Executive Council. It was felt that this did not require discussion at the AGM since it was a matter for Executive Council to clarify. The results of the review and any update to the by-laws would be published in Argonauta for the benefit of the whole membership.

3.4. Membership Report. Faye Kert indicated that although the overall number of members was down slightly, there were a number of new members to offset cancellations and one death over the past year. Institutional memberships were down 1 to 58 members and individual membership was also down 1 after 8 members were lost but 7 new ones were added. A number of delinquent dues owing for 2010 were also collected, raising membership income over the previous year. There are approximately 20 joint CNRS/NASOH members; half primarily NASOH members and half CNRS helped increase the numbers.

3.5. Publications. Roger Sarty and Isabel Campbell discussed the state of the Society's publications. In regard to The Northern Mariner/Le

marin du nord, Roger indicated that despite some delays in the publishing schedule last year, the journal was nearly back on track. There had been problems getting timely peer reviews and revisions from authors that had delayed the January and April issues. On the plus side, the scrambling around had resolved future articles to the point that the July issue was pretty well ready to go as soon as the April issue could be printed. The reviews were done and two articles required minimal attention before a printing date could be arranged. The failure to meet the print date meant a three-week delay. In regard to Argonauta, Isabel stated that the newsletter was proceeding well and that she and Colleen McKee had received favourable comments about the redesigned format and content. Paul said that the text of past issues of Argonauta was slowly being added to the website and would continue until it was caught up.

3.6. Awards. In the absence of Bill Glover, Roger Sarty agreed to present this report. As there were no applicants for the Cartier Prize again this year, it was decided to put together a group to discuss ways to reach active academics and solicit MA theses. Chris Madsen reported on his outline for the proposed Schleihauf Prize discussed at the March Executive Meeting. Created in memory of Bill Schleihauf, former CNRS Secretary and long-time member, it would be a \$500 prize for the best graphic design or digital submission and would be judged by the same selection committee as the Cartier Prize. Chris would announce the prize at the AGM.

3.7. Conferences. Rich Gimblett would discuss this year's conference and Paul Adamthwaite would speak to plans for the 2012 conference at Picton. He was proposing 3 ½ days instead of 2 ½ to allow for a day of activities in Kingston. Members were urged to think of sites for future conferences where local members could collaborate on a conference such as the successful Victoria conference run by Jan Drent and Barry Gough.

3.8. Nominations. Richard Gimblett held that nominations were to be moved to the end of the program as the President's last act. There was a discussion of how to keep Rich's expertise as Conference Chair for several conferences on Council and it was decided that, like Past Presidents Alec Douglas and Jim Pritchard, Rich could continue on Executive Council if he wished with voice but no vote. The President agreed to raise it at the AGM.

3.9. New Business. Rich Gimblett reminded Executive Council that the Society's seal is at his home along with some other archival material. It was decided to leave it there since it has not been used for years.

Paul Adamthwaite proposed an omnibus motion to approve the agenda as discussed. Moved by Faye Kert and seconded by Isabel Campbell.
Carried.

The meeting was adjourned.

Special thanks to Faye Kert for recording the minutes in the Secretary's absence.

Respectfully Submitted,

Robert L. Davison
Secretary, CNRS/SCRN

**Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the CNRS/SCRN at
HMCS Bytown, Ottawa Ontario, Saturday, 21 May 2011.**

Present: 20 members

Members of Executive Council present:

President: Paul Adamthwaite

Past President: Richard Gimblett

2nd Vice President: Roger Sarty

Membership Secretary: Faye Kert

Secretary: Robert Davison

Hon. Councillor: Jim Pritchard

Councillor: Isabel Campbell

Councillor: Chris Madsen

President Paul Adamthwaite called the AGM to order at 1115 hrs.

1. Welcome. The President welcomed the membership in both official languages and expressed the hope that the meeting could be conducted expeditiously. The President reminded the membership that he had come to the end of this three-year term leading the Society. He expressed that it had been an absolute honour to have fulfilled this role and he thanked both the membership at large and the executive council for its support and input.

The President wished to make several points about the state of the Society. First, the recession has played havoc with public and private institutions as grants have been cut and levels of discretionary spending for individuals have fallen. Despite the downturn, the Society is doing

well financially. While the Society's investments have been adversely affected they were slowly recovering. In light of the continuing recession, the President and Executive Council had decided to postpone the President's Appeal. It was felt that launching the Appeal at this time would be unlikely to achieve its goal and would be counterproductive. The recession had also affected the Society's American counterpart, NASOH and therefore direct collaboration has been not as visible as he would have liked. The President expressed hope that within the year affairs would be back to normal.

In regard to publications, the Society's operations are on track. Both The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord and Argonauta are in good shape. In regard to Argonauta, the newsletter has two new editors and a new format. The newsletter is now shipped with copies of The Northern Mariner that has enabled considerable savings in postage. With respect to The Northern Mariner, the Society has signed a contract with EBSCO to enable its subscribers to access the latest issues of the journal online. Despite the fact that the most recent issues will be posted online, we project that there will be no negative impact on membership levels but can expect an increase in exposure for the Society's work. The Society will realize minimal financial compensation. In regard to the 2012 International Congress of Maritime History (ICMH) at Ghent, Belgium, Past President Richard Gimblett and/or the President will represent the Society.

The Society's new website has been launched and work is continuing in digitizing back issues of Argonauta. The President also emphasized that the site is fully bilingual with a view to increase francophone participation. In regard to prizes there has been considerable disappointment in the lack of eligible MA theses. A new task force has been appointed to work with university faculties to increase the number of research projects that would be eligible for the Cartier prize. Also a new prize has been established to honour Bill Schleihauf in recognition of his unique contributions to the Society. The President concluded his remarks by stressing the importance of reaching out to youth and encouraging a lowering of the average age of the membership.

2. Conflict of Interest. Before beginning the meeting in earnest members were asked to declare any possible conflict of interest. None being declared, attention was turned to the agenda.

3. Agenda. The Agenda of the meeting was shown on the screen at the front of the room and the President asked for a motion that it be

approved. Betty Ann Anderson moved and Karl Gagnon seconded, that it be accepted. **Carried.**

4. Financials. Rich Gimblett reported that the Treasurer, Errolyn Humphreys, was unable to attend the meeting due to personal business. In the Treasurer's absence the President presented a report on the Society's finances. The President distributed copies of the Comparative Balance Sheet for 2009 and 2010, the Comparative Income Statement for 2009 and 2010 and the Annual Forecast for 2011. These reports showed that the Society is still in a fairly good financial position and cuts in expenses have been fruitful and the Society showed a small surplus of \$442.87 for 2010 and total revenue was \$13,903.17. This figure was smaller than normal due to the 2010 conference in Halifax being organized by Dalhousie University and the Navy. For 2011, it was projected that the Society should realize \$808.80 in net income on revenues of \$24,511.20. Upon presenting the report, the President asked the membership if there were any questions. John Armstrong asked about the income that would be realized from the Society's agreement with EBSCO as there was no entry in the projected budget for 2011. The President indicated that the contract with EBSCO would be in the range of \$25-50 per annum depending on the number of EBSCO subscribers accessing The Northern Mariner online. The President emphasized that the Society would continue to own the copyright on the journal and that he had managed to negotiate a shortened time period to cancel the agreement if it proved detrimental. Also, the agreement was to be governed under Canadian law. Alan Ruffman asked about conference costs. Rich Gimblett was happy to report that the fees charged by HMCS Bytown were less than expected and the Society should clear about \$400 to \$500. The policy of the Society was to keep conferences on a cost recovery basis. Hon. Councillor Jim Pritchard moved that the Treasurer's Report be accepted, seconded by Faye Kert. **Carried Unanimously.**

5. Membership. The Membership Secretary, Faye Kert, presented her report. She noted that the Society had lost some members and gained others. In regard to institutions the Society had lost one that reduced the total to 59 plus twelve complimentary memberships. In regard to individuals there were 191 members after eight cancellations and one death. Seven new members joined the Society. Of the individual memberships, 139 were in Canada, 39 in the US, ten in the UK, four in continental Europe and four elsewhere in the world. The Society was

down to four student memberships. Moved by Alan Ruffman, seconded by Gordon Miller to accept the Membership Secretary's report. **Carried.**

6. Publications. 2nd Vice President and Editor Roger Sarty presented a report on state of The Northern Mariner. He stated that the journal is good shape despite delays in releasing the January and April issues. The root of the delay is obtaining peer reviews and several of the articles required substantial revisions. The April issue is nearing completion and the July number is well in hand. Overall, the quality of material for the journal has been of a very high calibre. The new members of the editorial board nominated by NASOH have been extraordinarily helpful, especially Jim Bradford. Book Review Editor Faye Kert encouraged members to contribute reviews and make suggestions for books that ought to be reviewed. Faye also indicated that younger scholars should be encouraged to cut their teeth on reviews.

Rich Gimblett interjected at the conclusion of Faye's report to remind presenters that The Northern Mariner and Argonauta had the first right of refusal to publish papers and asked that the paper be sent to either Roger Sarty or Isabel Campbell. The President also reminded authors of the new guidelines for authors on the CNRS/SCRN website.

In regard to Argonauta, Editor Isabel Campbell presented her report. She stated that the newsletter is on schedule and the spring issue is nearly ready for publication. A full slate has already been prepared for the summer issue. Argonauta is currently publishing a longer serial piece in French. Isabel also praised the helpfulness of former editor Maurice Smith as well as the new Co-Editor Colleen McKee.

Councillor Chris Madsen inquired as to the possibility of introducing colour into The Northern Mariner and Argonauta. He felt this was especially important since the content of both publications would be made available online. Isabel responded that the problem was layout since the Society was charged four pages at a time for colour printing and it is quite expensive. However, nothing precluded the Society from issuing special editions with colour printing of maritime art etc. The President commented that when the publications have been put on line the colour version of illustrations have been used whenever possible. Gordon Miller expressed reservations about which version of the publications would be the official one. This was important in order to maintain the official bibliographical data for all the Society's publications. The President acknowledged the validity of this point and promised to take it into consideration. Another member asked whether it

was appropriate to publish Argonauta digital only. The President discussed this issue with the Executive Council in March and it was decided that the paper version of the newsletter would be maintained for the time being. Alan Ruffman asked whether steps were being taken to publish the abstracts of the papers at the Conference in Argonauta. Roger Sarty said that the Society did not get abstracts but can get easily get them and he also pointed out that these ought to be published in both official languages. Rich Gimblett said that not all the papers will be published but he would ask that the presenters furnish the editors with a 200-word abstract of their papers. Chris Madsen said that it even would be enough to publish the titles of the papers and name the presenters. Karl Gagnon expressed concern that websites are often not archived and there is a need to leave a paper trace of the research presented at Society conferences. One member commented the book reviews brought him back to the society. Betty Ann Anderson also pointed out that the Society now has a Facebook page and that assistance was needed from the membership to maintain it. Sam Maclean volunteered to assist. The President indicated that the CNRS/SCRN page needs to score 25 "likes" to get a more easily accessed page and currently there are only ten. A motion was tabled by Gordon Miller, seconded by Carl Christie, to accept the Publications Reports. **Carried.**

7. Awards. On behalf of the absent Bill Glover, Roger Sarty presented the report of the Awards Committee. The 2010 awards were presented last night with the best book being Barry Gough's Historical Dreadnoughts: Arthur Marder, Stephen Roskill and Battles for Naval History, published by Seaforth Publishing. The Honourable Mention was for: William Johnston, William Rawling, Richard Gimblett and John McFarlane, The Seabound Coast: The Official History of the Royal Canadian Navy, 1867-1939, vol 1 published by Dundurn Press. The Keith Matthews Prize for the best article was awarded to James Pritchard, "The Beaver and the Bear: Canadian Mutual Aid, Ship Repairing and the Soviet Far Eastern Merchant Fleet 1941 - 1945" vol XX, no 2 and the Honourable Mention was given to Janet Maybee, "The Persecution of Pilot Mackey" vol XX, no 2. The Panting Award was won by Sam Maclean. Roger noted with sadness the passing of the 2008 David Alexander Prize winner Freeman Tovell in March of this year. In regard to the book awards, thirteen submissions were made by eight publishers. The publishing companies seem to be happy with the CNRS

given their ready cooperation. The Awards Committee divided the eligible books into categories and cross-compared them. The honourable mention was selected from a different category from the winner. Again, there were no submissions for the Cartier Prize this year. The solution to the dearth of eligible MA theses was to set up a committee under Bill Glover to work with universities.

A new prize, introduced to the membership by Chris Madsen, has been established to honour the memory of Bill Schleihauf. An annual prize of \$250 is to be awarded to the best digital arts or graphic design project. The aim of this prize is three-fold. First, to recognize the contributions of the late Bill Schleihauf to the Society in a way that reflected his personal interests; second, to appeal to the museum segment of the membership and third, to reach out to a younger demographic. The prize would be open to maritime-related projects completed either by Canadians or non-Canadians working on a topic related to this country. In either case, the winner must be 25 years old or younger.

Some concern was expressed in regard to the ownership of copyright and also issues related to the obsolescence of software. The President indicated that the exact policies governing the prize rules have yet to be determined. Members willing to assist the Prize Committee were urged to contact either the President or Chris Madsen.

Betty Ann Anderson reminded the membership that the Society's awards have great significance. The obituary of the late Freeman Tovell gave prominent place to the fact that he had won the David Alexander Prize in 2008. Alan Ruffman tabled a motion, seconded by Jim Pritchard, that the Awards Committee report be accepted. **Carried.**

8. Future Conferences. The President began the discussion in regard to future conferences and AGMs by thanking Rich Gimblett and the other volunteers for their work in making the 2011 Conference a success. The 2012 Conference and AGM will be provisionally held 16-20 May 2012 in Picton, Ontario and will be centered round the bicentenary of the outbreak of the War of 1812. The trick for the conference was to come up with a title that would be open and yet try to encourage to presentation of papers with new perspectives and new themes. He asked the assistance of the membership to put forward suggestions.

The 2012 conference is to be somewhat longer with three and a half days including one social day in Kingston. No decision had been taken at the Executive Council meeting in March as to future conferences. Venues for conferences were affected by the need to collaborate with

NASOH, transportation links, costs as well as desirability of spreading the Society's work in every region of the country. The President encouraged the membership to submit their ideas for future conferences. Rich Gimblett stressed the importance of a local organizer wherever a conference was to be situated.

9. Nominations. The Past President, Rich Gimblett presented the nominations for members of the Society's Executive Council. The following were nominated:

President: Maurice Smith

1st Vice President: Chris Madsen

2nd Vice President: Roger Sarty

Treasurer: Errolyn Humphreys

Secretary: Robert Davison

Membership Secretary: Faye Kert

Councillor: Isabel Campbell

Councillor: Dan Conlin

Councillor: Richard Mayne

Councillor: Barbara Winters

The Past President called for any other nominations from the membership. Being none, he asked for a member to put forward a motion to accept the above slate of officers. Gordon Miller put forward the motion that was seconded by Karl Gagnon. **Carried Unanimously.**

10. Other Business. The President asked the membership if there was any further business to consider. John G. Armstrong presented a detailed question in regard to alternative sources of revenue. As it stands the Society is almost wholly dependent on the membership for its revenue. He suggested the possibility of obtaining income through Access Copyright. This is a program that compensates copyright holders for the reproduction of their works in libraries etc. Full details may be found at the following URL:

<http://accesscopyright.ca/Default.aspx>.

John stated that he was aware of the details of this program as an author (on the advice of UBC Press) and he has been receiving a few hundred dollars each year. According to his research, scholarly journals are eligible and it appears that the application process is straightforward. With the Society holding 100% copyright on all articles, the potential for some additional funding looks to be there, almost in perpetuity. It remains uncertain as to how much might be realized since

the Society is a non-profit organization. It might be worth contacting Access Copyright before submitting an application. John and Barbara Winters volunteered to investigate this further. Gordon Miller stated that while the copyright fees provide a steady income for authors it might amount to one or two hundred dollars annually. The President stated that the Society had realized income for a similar program and it amounted to about \$7 in 2008 and the maximum income in any one year was about \$50. Nonetheless, John and Barbara would investigate the possibilities.

The President announced that the new President of the Society, Maurice Smith, was unfortunately detained in Kingston and could not attend the AGM. The President thanked the membership and the members of Council for their assistance over the past three years. Rich Gimblett tabled a motion, seconded by Alan Ruffman to thank the President for his efforts in leading the Society. **Carried Unanimously.**

11. Adjournment. Being no further business to conduct, a motion was made by Gordon Miller, seconded by Carl Christie to adjourn the AGM. **Carried.**

Respectfully Submitted,

Robert L. Davison
Secretary, CNRS/SCRN

CONFERENCE PRESENTATION SUMMARIES

“The Yacht *Atalanta*: Canadian Challenge for the America's Cup”

by Peter Rindlisbacher

This paper presented the history of a failed attempt by the crew of *Atalanta* to challenge for the America's Cup with a careful analysis of the technical and training problems which caused *Atalanta* to perform poorly in this event.

How Rating Rules influenced Ocean Racing yacht hull forms – 1866-1936

by Paul Adamsthwaite

Ocean racing, or competitive offshore sailing, started in 1866 with a wager between three yacht owners for a race from New York to the Isle

of Wight. Handicapping – a means of equalizing winning potential – was not used for this event as the yachts were of similar sizes. However, the late nineteenth century saw major technological advances in hydrodynamics and yacht design; handicap ratings, until then based on old commercial tonnage rules, were exploited by designers and owners leading to the establishment by major yacht clubs and national sailing authorities in the U.K., France and the U.S.A of newer, ever evolving rating rules. From the turn of the century the size of ocean racers started to diminish, the sport became more popular, hull forms became less extreme, yet the competition between innovative design and the rating rules continued unabated. The people involved include William Froude, Dixon Kemp, Archibald Cary Smith, Nathanael Herreshoff, Brooke Heckstall-Smith, Professor Kenneth Davidson and Olin Stephens. The period covered by this paper ends when more sophisticated tank testing led to a new era of yacht design.

The Re-incarnation of Verve I – in Miniature

by David H. Gray

Verve I was the 1877 George L. Watson designed cutter, which, for a part of her life, was owned by my great-grandfather and sailed out of the RCYC. The paper describes how I came to make a model of her. It outlines the British and American yacht design styles of that era, a comparison of two paintings of her by the same marine artist, how I obtained the hull lines, the spar dimensions, the sail plan, and the deck layout.

Within Sight of Shore: the sinking of HMCS Esquimalt

by Ian & Scott Macmillan

Ian and Scott Macmillan presented a screening of a DVD on the sinking of *HMCS Esquimalt*. This hour long documentary combined music and film to tell the tragic story of this ship, her captain, and her legacy.

“Pleasure Boats” in the Canadian Navy: Acquisition of and Disposal as Yachts”

by Karl Gagnon

A few years after the establishment of the Royal Canadian Navy, circumstances forced the naval service to use yachts in wartime. This paper looks at the varied employment of such vessels in time of conflict and peace. The emphasis will be on the armed yachts, as they represented Canada’s last line of defence during the Great War and in the first quarter of the Second World War. The paper will also touch upon important and essential tasks such as training and support roles which included motor launches and auxiliaries. To this very day, yachts continue to be used for training and to give pleasure in our navy. The final segment of the paper will explore naval vessels which had, or are having, a second career as personal yachts.

Les « bateaux de plaisance » de la Marine canadienne : l’acquisition et la liquidation des yachts

Par Karl Gagnon

Seulement quelques années après sa fondation, la Marine canadienne s’est mise à faire l’acquisition de yachts afin d’être en mesure de prendre part à la guerre qui venait d’éclater. Dans le présent article, nous examinerons les diverses utilisations de ces navires en temps de conflit et de paix. Vu la nature de leur emploi, et puisqu’ils représentent le dernier moyen de défense auquel a eu recours le Canada pendant la Grande Guerre et durant le premier quart de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, nous nous pencherons surtout les yachts de guerre. Nous traiterons des activités essentielles que ces navires rendent possible comme l’entraînement ainsi que de ses fonctions secondaires comme les vedettes et les auxiliaires. Encore aujourd’hui, les yachts continuent d’être utilisés à des fins d’entraînement – ou de loisir – dans la Marine. Dans la deuxième partie de l’article, nous discuterons de la seconde vie ces yachts, c’est-à-dire comme bateaux de plaisance privés.

Motor Torpedo Boats – A Common Heritage in both the RCN & RCAF

by T.F.J. Leversedge

Even with the recent 100th anniversary of the Navy, very few people will remember that from 1941 to 1953 both the Royal Canadian Air Force and the Royal Canadian Navy operated the same type of equipment in the form of high speed torpedo boats. This presentation detailed both the use and ultimate fate of six 70-foot RCAF High Speed (Rescue) Launches, six 40-foot RCAF Armoured Target Boats, and twelve 70-foot RCN Motor Torpedo Boats supplied by Hubert Scott-Payne's Canadian Power Boat Corporation. Also outlined was the fact that the RCAF had first acquired five ex-prototype PT boats from the United States Navy as well as two ex-RCMP fast launches. Ironically, the RCN was to briefly inherit some of these RCAF's assets in the post-war period.

"The Honour & the Profit": The Steamboat Letters of the Torrance family, 1831-1848

by Robert Fisher

Though not well-known today, the Torrance family of Montreal challenged the Molsons in shipping on the St. Lawrence River and ultimately forged a cartel with them. The recent discovery of twenty-five Torrance family letters in the Robert M. Powell and family fonds at Library and Archives Canada offers a valuable glimpse of early steamboating on the St. Lawrence and an opportunity to re-evaluate the role of the Torrance family in this revolutionary development. This paper explored the contents of the surviving letters, which revealed, perhaps most keenly, the interest of Daniel Torrance, who wrote long, detailed letters weighing the merits of specific steamboats and discussing recent innovations. Daniel's passion for steamboats ultimately took him to New York where he came under the influence of Cornelius Vanderbilt, managing his shipping interests and marrying his daughter Sophia.

Fred Denison, Garnet Wolseley and Two Boat Expeditions, 1870 and 1884-8

by O.A. Cooke

There would seem to be little in common between Fred Denison, amateur militia officer, Toronto lawyer, businessman and municipal and federal politician and Garnet Wolseley, successful British general and eventual professional head of the British Army; but they knew each other well, served together on three occasions and corresponded over twenty-five years. Wolseley achieved an early professional success through his conduct of the 1870 Red River expedition, moving British and Canadian troops over a difficult river and portage route through northern Ontario and Manitoba by York boats and canoes, aided by civilian boatmen and lumbermen. Denison gained important experience as his aide-de-camp. In 1884, faced with what he considered a similar problem, the ascent of the Nile rapids to Khartoum, Wolseley re-created the Canadian “voyageurs”, led by Denison, once more to assist his soldiers. Although the expedition was unsuccessful, the voyageurs provided valuable aid and expertise, and Denison re-joined the Wolseley “Ring” of talented staff officers.

D.M. Schurman and *The Education of a Navy: How a Cape Bretoner Came to Lead Studies of British Naval Strategic Thought*

by Roger Sarty

One of the benchmarks in the development of academic history in Canada in the 1950s-60s was the appearance of several works on military subjects that gained international recognition. Perhaps the most enduring of these titles is Donald M. Schurman’s *The Education of a Navy* (1965). After wartime service in bomber operations against Germany, Schurman reluctantly succumbed to family pressure and attended Acadia University. He discovered an interest in the political ideas of British Empire federation in the late nineteenth century, the original topic he pursued in graduate studies at Cambridge University. Pure chance -- the ill health of his supervisor -- brought him to work with the maritime historians Gerald S. Graham, and then Brian Tunstall, who inspired a sharpening of focus on British Empire defence for his PhD thesis. Chance then brought him to the Royal Military College of Canada to teach naval history. That experience underscored the need

to explain the evolution of strategic thought about British Empire defence, the final genesis of *Education of a Navy*.

British Warship Repairs in North America During the Second World War

by Chris Madsen and Corbin Williamson

By the spring of 1941, the Royal Navy had been in action for almost 20 months against Germany and later Italy. Damaged British warships, the inevitable result of prolonged naval operations, needed to be repaired and refitted and British shipyards lacked the capacity to perform the needed repairs while producing shipping to replace losses to German U-boats. Chris Madsen described how Canadian shipyards with limited, but growing capacity, assisted in repairing British ships. Corbin Williamson addressed the passage of the Lend-Lease Act in March 1941 which gave President Franklin Roosevelt the authority to open American shipyards to perform repairs on British warships. By the end of the war, over 180 British warships, ranging in size from merchant cruisers to battleships had been repaired or refitted in U.S. shipyards.

Capturing Canada's Naval Technical History

by Tony Thatcher

The Canadian Technical History Association (CNTHA) was initiated in the early 1990s by a small group of enthusiasts who were determined to record the impressive technical history associated with the Canadian Navy. The CNTHA Mission is to capture and preserve Canada's oral and written naval technical history. The CNTHA vision is to encourage the establishment of a culture in which Canada's naval technical heritage is preserved and made accessible to future generations. We are gathering evidence to show how the navy has contributed to the country's development. We are helping to realize a comprehensive historical archive and contributing to a lasting legacy for future authors, researchers, students. We feel it is one's social responsibility to preserve our heritage and the Navy has a major role in this too; we are trying to encourage the Navy to fulfill its cultural responsibility. We hope to capture the national imagination by helping to showcase interesting events and making it easily accessible for students, authors,

researchers and historians.

We want to show that the Navy's technical services has, and is, leaving a lasting technical heritage for future Naval Engineers which can help instil some national pride.

Satellite Communications On The High Seas: A Brief Introduction and History

by Christopher Willmes

Communicating with vessels at sea has always been a challenge. Over the centuries sophisticated visual signalling methods evolved, but the Earth's curvature limited their range. The only option for longer range communications was to employ other ships as couriers, a very slow and unreliable proposition. The advent of wireless telegraphy at the end of the 19th century suddenly enabled communications at great ranges – a tremendous boon to commercial shipping interests, naval commanders, and the yachting public. But even this technology is hindered by environmental conditions and is limited in capacity.

Satellite communications is essentially the extension of line of sight communications over the horizon using radio relay(s) in orbit high above the Earth. Although not originally envisaged for this purpose, the technology very quickly demonstrated its suitability and superiority for marine communications.

The presentation comprises a brief explanation of satellite communications, its origins and a discussion of the marine application of the technology.

Vessels as "mobile seismometers" in the pre-instrumental era of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

by Alan Ruffman and Brian T. Hill

To best defend against earthquakes society needs proper building codes rated against the probable danger. To estimate the probability of a destructive earthquake one needs as complete a record of historic earthquakes for the area as possible. The instrumental period of recorded seismic events is barely 100 years old.

Prior to ca. 1900 the historic record of seismicity depends upon events felt by humans and recorded in newspapers, letters, diaries, or occasionally in folklore and oral histories. Thus seismic evidence

depends upon a public that has a written language, that can read and write, and could afford the cost of a pen, ink and paper, as well as the actual time to keep a journal. And it depends upon the preservation of these vulnerable records. Many parts of the world have a thin historical seismicity record and vessel logs can address this problem prior to land-based seismometers becoming widely available shortly after 1900. For centuries the lives of mariners have depended on their skills on the bridge of their vessels; the vessel's logbook is the written record of that survival. Sailing vessels of the 18th & 19th centuries rarely felt earthquakes but when they did, these events were entered into the logbook. In that sense, vessels and their crews became "mobile seismometers" and often the only recorders of a felt event, recording both its time and the position. The 2000-2003 'Climatological Database for the World's Oceans 1750 to 1850' (CLIWOC) demonstrated the value of vessel logbooks using but 10,000 of the 120,000 available British, Dutch, and Spanish naval logbooks from 1750 to 1855 to document open-ocean wind-force and direction. The logbooks of what we call "mobile seismometers" from 1750 to 1900, including the French naval collection lie virtually untouched for their seismic content. In many respects seismology grew into a respected science after the Lisbon Earthquake of November 1, 1755. Captain Johnson in the 'Pennsylvanian Gazette' of December 18, 1755, "...who arrived here [in Boston] Tuesday last five [actually seven] weeks from Lisbon...reports a strong vibration of his ship when about sixty leagues [290 km] out from Lisbon, four or five days after he had left." Captain Johnson on board his "mobile seismometer" in fact gave the first report of the Lisbon Earthquake to America though he did not at the time realize it.

**To Put the Sea in the Soul of the Sailor:
Naval Attitudes towards Sail Training**

by Sam McLean

Since the suspension of the Royal Navy's Sail Training Squadron in 1899, the suitability and role of naval sail has been the focus of heated discussions. Where the Royal Navy does not use sail training, many European, South American and Asian nations continue to do so. This paper is an examination of professional naval officers' views on naval sail training, and compares decades of discussion from the Naval Review against the results of a survey of professional naval officers conducted in 2011. Although officers of many nations can benefit from

the professional aspects of sail training such as introduction to naval life and the maritime environment, sail training also provides an opportunity for officers to physically understand the development of the naval officer profession for their specific institutions, as well as the development of professional naval officer identity within their naval service.

Modelling HMS Kelly

by David H. Gray

HMS Kelly was perhaps the most famous, or infamous, of the 24 J-, K-, and N-class destroyers built by the Royal Navy for service in the Second World War. HMS Kelly, named after Adm. Sir John Kelly, was destroyer-leader of the 5th Flotilla, commanded by Capt. (D) Lord Louis Mountbatten. Many of her exploits were used in Noel Coward's movie "In Which We Serve". The paper continues with an accounting of the author's attempts to make a model of her that was as authentic as possible and where, by his earlier ignorance, it is at variance.

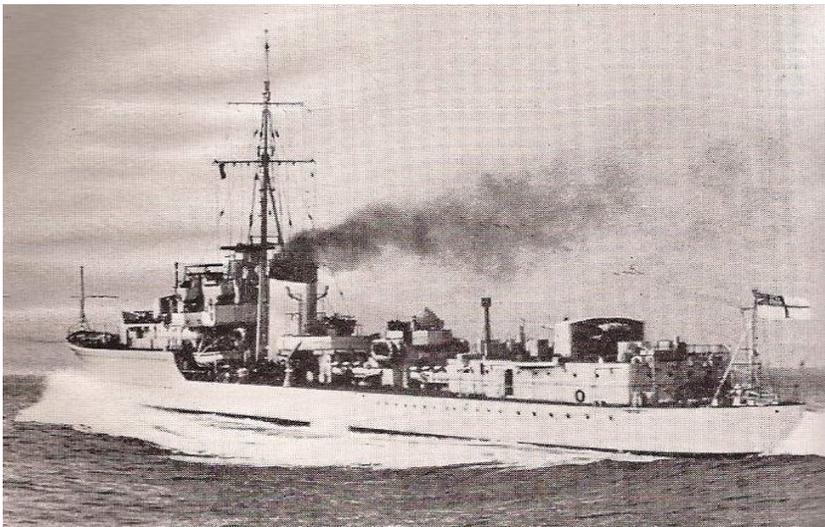


Image of HMS Kelly. Photo courtesy of author.

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.

by Mourad Djebabla

Summary: This article examines the role of rumours and propaganda relating to a possible German invasion of Quebec during the First World War.

The first part of the article, which appeared in the winter issue of *Argonauta*, drew upon sociology and European history to set up a comparative theoretical framework. The second segment, which appeared in the spring issue, introduced definitions of terms and provided an overview of the presence of enemy aliens in Quebec. This third segment concludes the rest of the article.



This dramatic image appeared on the cover of the novel *Similia Similibus* by Ulric Barthe. The novel is discussed later in this segment of the article.

Image courtesy of the author.

La presse a une responsabilité certaine dans l'entretien de ces rumeurs en rapportant, souvent de manière sensationnaliste, des cas présumés d'espionnage ou de complots avortés. Au Québec, et plus précisément

à Montréal, *La Presse* a fait de ce sujet son cheval de bataille, en particulier de l'été à l'automne 1914, période durant laquelle les mesures contre les ressortissants de pays ennemis commencent progressivement à être prises. Dans le quotidien, des incidents viennent aussi rappeler le statut d'ennemi d'une partie de la population canadienne. Par exemple, un événement survenu à Montréal le 20 octobre 1914, démontre le malaise de la ville face à ses concitoyens d'origine ennemie. Après le dynamitage, pour des raisons obscures, d'un immeuble à logements de la rue Frontenac habité par des Russes, relevant alors du camp allié, l'élite municipale y voit une urgence pour presser le gouvernement fédéral à prendre des mesures:

Vu le grand nombre de ces étrangers qui habitent actuellement Montréal, et contre lesquels il existe une grande animosité causée par la guerre actuelle, il y a tout à craindre que ces attentats ne se renouvellent avec des conséquences beaucoup plus graves, et ne serait-il pas prudent et même urgent de demander au Gouvernement fédéral de bien vouloir prendre les mesures nécessaires pour protéger la vie et la propriété de nos citoyens, attendu que plusieurs de ces étrangers sont actuellement des ennemis de l'Angleterre actuellement en guerre contre leurs pays¹.

Cette peur de l'attentat ou du sabotage concerne plus particulièrement les lieux qui accueillent des activités en rapport avec l'effort de guerre, comme le port de Montréal, ou les ponts sur le Saint-Laurent². Les récits d'espionnage rapportés par la presse sont parfois rocambolesques. *L'Action catholique* rend ainsi compte, en novembre 1914, de soupçons émanant de la population de Québec au sujet d'un entrepreneur allemand établi sur l'Île d'Orléans où il poursuit un projet de relevés topographiques. Avec la guerre, son activité est interprétée comme devant faciliter une future invasion du Québec par la mer en fournissant de l'information à l'état-major allemand. L'individu est alors arrêté³.

1 Archives de la Ville de Montréal, Fond Bureau des Commissaires-Greffe, *Lettre du maire suppléant de Montréal au Bureau des Commissaire de Montréal, 21/10/1914*, VM-17, bobine 64, partie 898, document n°23464.

2 Voir, par exemple : « Le pont Victoria », *La Presse*, 7 août 1914, p. 1. ; « Encore une fois : gare aux espions ! », *La Presse*, 28 août 1914, p. 9.

3 « L'espionnage chez nous », *L'Action sociale*, 19 novembre 1914, p. 3. ; Dans les faits, il s'agit d'un baron allemand, lieutenant-colonel dans l'armée allemande, qui fait partie d'un syndicat de financiers qui, en 1913, entreprend de construire une ligne de chemin de fer entre Québec et l'île d'Orléans. En 1914, après une enquête menée par les services de renseignement

L'une des conséquences humaines de la peur de l'« étranger d'origine ennemie » est son ostracisme social. Au Québec, ceci se traduit par la perte d'un emploi. En effet, comme le souligne, en février 1916, l'artiste canadien-français Gustave Comte, il est alors fort mal vu, en temps de guerre, d'employer des individus d'origine allemande⁴. Au niveau universitaire, nous notons, par exemple, à McGill, le congédiement des professeurs d'origine allemande⁵.

Les Canadiens d'origine allemande ou autrichienne sont également les victimes des « faits de guerre » de l'Allemagne. C'est le cas avec l'épisode du torpillage du *Lusitania*, paquebot britannique coulé par un sous-marin allemand, le 7 mai 1915, aux larges des côtes d'Irlande, et faisant près de 1 195 victimes civiles. L'événement donne lieu au renvoi de l'hôtel Ritz, à Montréal, de tous les employés d'origine allemande et autrichienne⁶.

Après l'été 1915, l'étude de la presse montre que l'ardeur de l'« espionnite » retombe. *La Presse* n'en fait plus son cheval de bataille, se concentrant plutôt sur les faits d'armes des Canadiens, notamment à partir d'avril 1915, à Ypres. Ces événements sont plus fédérateurs pour la population canadienne que ne peut l'être le problème de la chasse aux espions au Canada. De plus, nous pouvons penser que les passions populaires autour de la « menace » de l'« étranger d'origine ennemie » ont pu s'apaiser avec les mesures prises par le gouvernement fédéral.

C'est dans ce contexte de la peur de l'Autre, défini comme un ennemi, que se développent les rumeurs d'invasion.

3-Les rumeurs d'invasion

Tout d'abord, il convient de se demander quelles sont les sources émettrices des rumeurs d'invasion. Martin Kitchen les identifie comme provenant de l'ambassade britannique aux États-Unis. Selon lui, au cours du conflit, l'ambassadeur britannique à Washington met en garde, à plusieurs reprises, le gouvernement canadien contre des tentatives possibles d'Américains d'origine allemande de passer la frontière canado-américaine pour commettre des actes hostiles au Canada⁷. Des

britannique, aucune charge ne put être retenue contre lui. (Serge Bernier *et al.*, *Québec, ville militaire, 1608-2008*, Montréal, Art global, 2008, p. 258.)

4 Gustave Comte, « L'Art et les Artistes », *Le Passe-temps*, vol.12, n° 545, 12 février 1916, p. 44 et 57.

5 « McGill is Free of Trouble », *Toronto Star*, 7 décembre 1914, p. 4.

6 « Alien Enemies Have Left Ritz », *The Gazette*, 14 mai 1915, p. 3.

7 Martin Kitchen, « The German Invasion of Canada in the First World War », *International History Review*, vol. 7, n°2, mai 1985, p. 245-246.

hommes politiques et des religieux canadiens prennent cependant le relais de ces rumeurs pour encourager l'engagement des civils dans l'effort de guerre canadien. Comme le souligne alors Leonard Doob, l'effet psychologique de la rumeur est appuyé par le fait que des individus usent de leur statut social pour l'avaliser⁸.

Le sujet de l'invasion a en effet l'avantage de favoriser l'unité face à un ennemi extérieur, d'où l'intérêt qu'il représente pour les hommes politiques. Par exemple, en 1915, dans un discours prononcé à Saint-Jean-Chrysotome, le ministre fédéral du Revenu intérieur, E.-L. Patenaude, met en scène une douzaine ou plus de navires allemands brisant le blocus britannique de la mer du Nord pour pénétrer le Saint-Laurent et bombarder les églises et les couvents en bordure du fleuve⁹. Le politicien applique ainsi les procédés que la propagande alliée décrit comme des actes barbares, contre des biens religieux chers aux Canadiens français, pour qui la religion est l'un de leurs piliers identitaires.

Même si, pour Martin Kitchen, le Canada n'a jamais véritablement fait l'objet de l'ambition allemande, l'exploitation du sujet est l'occasion de rendre plus perceptible le conflit aux yeux des civils canadiens. La question de l'invasion en fait en effet des victimes potentielles des visées allemandes, à l'instar des Belges ou des Français des zones occupées. Cette forme de mise en garde vise alors à faire sortir de sa torpeur « sécuritaire » la population civile canadienne qui peut se penser à l'abri loin des lieux d'affrontements.

Dans le cadre des discours de recrutement, la question de l'invasion répond aux besoins de mobilisation de la population autour de l'idée que si le Québec et le Canada ne sont toujours pas envahis, c'est grâce à l'action de la marine anglaise garantissant un blocus des côtes européennes et empêchant ainsi tout navire allemand de pouvoir faire route vers le Canada. Sur ce point, une conférence de la *Citizen's Recruiting League*, tenue à Montréal en 1915, explique la menace que la marine allemande pourrait faire peser sur le Canada :

Il n'y pas de défenses sur le Saint-Laurent, le pays est ouvert. Les Allemands ont, avec la ligne Hambourg-Amérique, suffisamment de navires pour transporter, en moins de 30 jours, une armée de 30 000 à 40 000 hommes, hautement entraînés et armés avec de l'armement

8 Leonard W. Doob, *Propaganda. Its Psychology and Technique*, USA, Henry Holt and Company, 1935, p. 374.

9 Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1916*, Toronto, The A.R., 1917, p. 337.

moderne, s'ils arrivaient à passer les navires britanniques¹⁰.

Plus précisément, cette idée d'invasion répond au discours de Robert Borden pour qui la défense du Canada se fait dans les Flandres. Cette thématique de l'invasion répond ainsi à l'idée que, pour la prévenir, il faut arrêter les Allemands en France. Dans ce cas, les rumeurs sont reprises par la propagande officielle et exploitées au nom du soutien de l'effort de guerre. Nous retrouvons d'ailleurs une mise en image de ce discours dans une affiche de recrutement pour les Canadiens français leur représentant ce qu'il adviendrait de leur famille et de leur foyer si les Allemands débarquaient au Québec. L'affiche représente une mère et son bébé morts sur le seuil de leur maison en flamme, tandis que des soldats allemands s'éloignent. Le slogan est direct : « Canadiens, c'est le moment d'agir. N'attendez pas que les boches viennent mettre tout à feu et à sang au Canada¹¹. »

Pour percevoir de manière tangible la menace de l'ennemi, la presse informe les civils sur des tentatives déjouées, nourrissant ainsi l'idée de la probabilité d'une telle menace. Dans son édition du 17 août 1914, *The Globe* rend ainsi compte de l'arrestation d'un Autrichien en possession d'un télégramme du consul d'Autriche à Montréal. Celui-ci lui demandait de se tenir prêts pour lever, le moment venu, une armée de concitoyens autrichiens et allemands pour envahir le Canada¹².

Outre la presse, le monde culturel fait également sien le sujet de l'invasion. Par exemple, le roman *Similia Similibus*, du Canadien français Ulric Barthe, dépeint, grâce à la fiction, ce qu'il adviendrait de la province québécoise en cas d'invasion par le Saint-Laurent¹³. Le 29 juin 1916, *L'Action catholique* propose une critique de l'ouvrage et soutient : « A Québec et ailleurs chacun voudra lire son dernier ouvrage et reconstituer en rêve, ce que vraisemblablement, nous réservait les Allemands si leur flotte, dès le début de la guerre, n'avait été proprement embouteillée dans le canal de Kiev¹⁴. » Le récit traite alors de l'idée de Canadiens d'origine allemande prenant le contrôle de Québec et des principales villes de la province pour en faire une colonie de l'Allemagne. Seule la résistance et la loyauté des Canadiens français à la couronne britannique, avec le soutien des Canadiens

10 « Draws Picture of Huns in Montreal », *The Gazette*, 15 novembre 1915, p. 9. (traduction)

11 Marc Choko, *Affiches de guerre canadiennes : 1914-1918/1939-1945*, Québec, Méridien, 1994, p. 78.

12 « Charge of Arresting "A Public Enemy" », *The Globe*, 17 août 1914, p. 2.

13 Ulric Barthe, *Similia Similibus ou la guerre au Canada : essai sur un sujet d'actualité*, Québec, sans éd., 1916, 254 p.

14 « Similia Similibus », *L'Action catholique*, 29 juin 1916, p. 1.

anglais, permet de déjouer ce projet.

Des pièces de théâtre canadiennes-françaises permettent également de confronter les Québécois à cette question de l'invasion. C'est le cas de la pièce à succès de Julien Daoust, *La guerre ou le triomphe des Alliés*, jouée à Montréal en janvier 1915 et reprise en janvier et en août 1916¹⁵. Outre le fait de valoriser l'action du 22^e Bataillon face à des Allemands débarqués au Québec, elle offre aux spectateurs une mise en scène du bombardement de Québec, permettant ainsi de « voir » concrètement ce que signifie cette menace.

Notons enfin que le monde de la consommation n'est pas en reste. C'est ainsi qu'une publicité pour un couturier montréalais de la rue Notre-Dame Ouest exploite comme slogan que si les Allemands arrivaient à Montréal, ils pourraient y piller des complets de qualité¹⁶. Nous voyons combien ce sujet de l'invasion pouvait être à la mode puisque repris par des discours publicitaires.

Enfin, les films de fiction permettent de mettre en image les rumeurs d'invasion du Canada par les armées allemandes. Le sujet a donné lieu à la production d'un film ontarien : *Self Defence*. Produit par les frères Roos, en 1916, le scénario développe l'idée d'une invasion du Canada par des Allemands venus des États-Unis¹⁷.

Qu'en est-il toutefois de la réception de la population ontarienne et québécoise à ces allégations ? Probablement, pour quelques-uns au moins, une certaine crédulité est de mise, comme une intervention de Monseigneur Bruchési, archevêque de Montréal, le laisse penser. Il revient en effet, en janvier 1916, dans un discours prononcé à l'Université Laval, sur un « incident » survenu au sujet de rumeurs sur la présence de sous-marins allemands à l'embouchure du Saint-Laurent. L'article de presse qui relève ses propos note : « Son éminence parla au sujet des gens qui s'étaient alarmés avec les fausses nouvelles de présence de sous-marins allemands dans l'embouchure du Saint-Laurent, ajoutant que cette crainte ressentie donnait une idée de ce qu'il adviendrait réellement si la marine britannique était défaite en mer du Nord¹⁸. »

Notons également qu'Henri Bourassa lui-même se rit de cette stratégie

15 « Dans nos théâtres – Théâtre national », *La Presse*, 8 janvier 1916, p. 9. ; « Dans nos théâtres – Arcade », *La Presse*, 26 août 1916, p. 4.

16 « Boucher and Crotty », *The Gazette*, 8 octobre 1914, p. 11. (Encart publicitaire ; traduction)

17 Sylvain Garel et André Pâquet (sous la dir. de), *Les cinémas au Canada, Québec, Ontario, Prairies, Côte Ouest, Atlantique*, Paris, Centre Georges-Pompidou, 1992, p. 125.

18 Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1916*, Toronto, The A.R., 1917, p. 337. (traduction libre)

de mobilisation jouant sur la question de l'invasion en déclarant, lors du dîner d'anniversaire du *Devoir*, en février 1916 :

Afin de stimuler l'enthousiasme et la crainte –ces deux facteurs principaux de la fièvre guerrière, -ils [les impérialistes] ont entrepris de démontrer que le Canada est directement menacé. Si l'Allemagne est victorieuse, disent-ils, elle s'emparera du Canada. Les plus naïfs et les plus pince-sans-rire vont même jusqu'à affirmer que le principal objectif de l'Allemagne dans cette guerre est de s'emparer du Canada ! (...) ¹⁹. Pour Henri Bourassa, détournant cette idée à son avantage, déclarer le Canada menacé reviendrait plutôt à garder ses hommes au Canada même.

Pour conclure, un peu à l'exemple de ce que Marc Bloch notait au sujet des fausses nouvelles de guerre en France²⁰, la guerre de 14-18 a été une immense expérience de psychologie sociale où les rumeurs d'invasion du Québec sont à voir comme le reflet d'une conscience collective, celle d'être des cibles à part entière de l'ennemi. Mais, comme nous l'avons souligné, si la rumeur est, par essence, issue de la société, elle n'en est pas moins récupérée par des promoteurs de l'effort de guerre en vue d'individualiser le rapport du Québec à la guerre en implantant le conflit sur son sol même. Le sujet de l'invasion apparaît alors comme un prétexte à l'envoi d'homme en Flandres pour défendre le Canada de toute menace vue comme potentiellement possible par la modernité des navires et engins de guerre allemands. On pourrait se demander quel a pu être l'impact de ces rumeurs, un peu plus de vingt ans plus tard, lorsque, avec la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, des rumeurs de présence d'espions et de sous-marins allemands dans le Saint-Laurent ressurgissent.

Mourad Djebabla (Ph.D.)
Chercheur postdoctoral
Université McGill

19 Henri Bourassa, « Le « péril allemand » au Canada », *Le Devoir*, 3 février 1916, p. 1

20 Marc Bloch, *Réflexions d'un historien sur les fausses nouvelles de la guerre*, Paris, Albia, 1999 (1921), p. 56.

Published by The Canadian Nautical Research Society

