

# ARGONAUTA

The Newsletter of



## **The Canadian Nautical Research Society**

Volume 3 Number one  
31 March 1986

## THE CANADIAN NAUTICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

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Your newsletter is only as good as the contributions you send in -- so PLEASE CONTRIBUTE.

THIS issue by dint of sheer effort belongs to the Maritime History Group -- and in particular to Skip Fischer. Not only do we have the first of his book review sections, in which readers will see he has dug out some excellent reviews, but we also have a real first -- a Canadian Maritime Bibliography for 1985. It is an excellent first effort, and should be the precursor for many to come in the future. As in the case of this newsletter, however, it can never be fully successful without input. All you maritime historians out there, make sure you bring all relevant articles, books, whatever, to Skip's attention, so that his 1986 issue can be even more comprehensive.

Books for review, says Skip, are literally rolling in. We have provided him with the completed questionnaires from last year, so that he may glean potential reviewers from them -- but please all of you let him know what sort of book you would be prepared to review.

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Woe is me (or should that be 'we'?). I have been chastised, I have been taken severely to task, by a struggling curator of a "one-man low budget museum" for my terms of approbation over Parks' Gargantuan efforts to dot the last 'i' on the great San Juan caper: "I would suggest", he writes,

that the amount of money spent to try to establish the piece of trivia is a complete waste... -- what would this piece of knowledge add to the history of the vessel?...

I suppose I am upset about this since I am struggling to run a museum and do research here...while the amount of money spent by Parks Canada to try to establish when those trees were cut would likely pay for a researcher to work for several months doing some valuable research on \_\_\_\_\_'s part in the Canadian marine scene.

And d'ye know, he is correct. In this period of chronic financial problems, such an expenditure for such a frivolous purpose is a disgrace.

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CorrespondentsWe Get Letters:

One of the really nice advantages of being your editor is the correspondence: it gives an immense opportunity to obtain a sense of the maritime history potential across the country. In fact, so interesting is most of it (there are exceptions) that I have decided to share excerpts from it with you. Perhaps no better a correspondent with which to start is John D. in

Victoria. We have never met, but over a period of about three years we have built up a communication that, while woefully one-sided, has proven a constant source of wonderment and enjoyment to me.

Consider this. John has first hand knowledge of at least one of the items in virtually every issue we have put out to date. He knocked elbows with Barney Johnson; he sailed in Parks ships; he knew a naval classmate of mine, and so on. In the last issue he was part of the Hal Banks story, and knew many of the principals -- and could recall the events. John thought the CBC special "did portray the man pretty well."

Then he got onto the topic of Canada's mercantile marine, and peoples' knowledge of it now. Noting that it was 33 years since he "paid off my last F.G. ship," and almost 26 years since the BC Coast Steamship service ceased its Vancouver-Victoria-Seattle service (or 55 years since the CNS 'Tri'City Service' staggered to a halt), he remarked "not only does no-one give a damn or really care, but most people don't even recall all this." So there in a nutshell is our reason for being!

Thank you, John, for your letters; keep them up -- and all of you. Just because I do not always respond right away is no indication of a lack of interest. Quite the reverse. I look forward to them with the greatest interest.

#### CNRS Journal Trust Fund

We cannot say we have been overwhelmed by the response to our plea! Please help -- put your money where my mouth is and support this worthwhile endeavour. Show the sceptics that we really do want a first-class journal, and sooner rather than later.

We are moving into our new format. The work is being produced professionally, and no more will those almost-anonymous gray envelopes appear every three months (give or take a few days). We earnestly solicit a reaction/response to our efforts so that we can judge how to proceed in the future. For those of you with Scottish instincts, enclose your comments with your Trust Fund cheque to our Secretary, who will then forward the editor's part to him.

You will all see from the enclosed that there are some fascinating conferences organized during the summer months. In particular we draw your attention to the CNRS Annual Conference, scheduled for beautiful, sunny Galiano Island, only about three islands south of

where your editor grew up! WE, your officers, are proving to the membership that we are indeed a cross-country, all-Canadian organization. As many members as possible, please turn out. Combine it with a trip to Expo '86, and attendance at the CN/WSS Conference scheduled for Vancouver, 27-29 July. Incidentally, contrary to press announcements, the Tall Ships will NOT be in attendance. Details of this conference will be circulated in our next Newsletter at the latest -- perhaps earlier. It will be an excellent follow-on from the CNRS Conference.

#### Maritime History in Australia

Our Australian colleagues are amongst our strongest overseas supporters. How about a joint research project, results to be produced at a conference in the future. We know of an excellent topic -- the first Cunard steamer to cross the Atlantic, the redoubtable SS Unicorn. Suggestions, please -- and reaction next issue.

#### Marine History in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia

A ton-and-a-half Fresnel lens formerly from the Cape Forchu Light dominates the Yarmouth County Museum. This lens, from 1908 to 1964, guided vessels into Yarmouth Harbour. Today its flashing light shines on many artifacts illustrating the various aspects of Yarmouth's marine history.

Nautically-minded visitors consider the museum to be a maritime museum whereas spouses of such visitors who do not share the intrigue of nautical artifacts and documents will conclude, rightly so, that the museum is also of the general history ilk. This brief article will attempt to describe the wealth of the museum's marine collections.

The prize collection is the ship portrait collection which presently numbers over one hundred paintings. This is the third largest such collection in Canada, that of the New Brunswick Museum and the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic surpass it in number. Our collection is unique, however, since each portrait relates directly to Yarmouth either being a picture of a Yarmouth-owned vessel or of one which was captained by a Yarmouth "Sea-Captain". The portraits were painted in Nova Scotia, in the United States, in many of the major European ports and in faraway Australia.

This collection symbolizes Yarmouth's seafaring past. In 1878, when at its peak, the shipping industry of Yarmouth boasted the second highest tonnage in Canada

[behind Saint John, N.B.]. The fact that the port was sixth in Canada in terms of the number of vessels on the registry books serves to indicate that the Yarmouth fleet was of the deep sea nature. Their "ships" were built in the Yarmouth area, owned by Yarmouth men and women and captained by Yarmouth captains. The wealth earned by the vessels can still be seen in the architecture of Yarmouth while paintings, photographs and sometimes artifacts from them can be viewed in the museum.

One recently acquired collection consists of four ship portraits, numerous photographs and a large number of souvenirs purchased around the world by Captain Fred A. Ladd and his family. Two of the portraits are of the ships Captain Ladd served in as mate, the others, the ship Morning Light and the barque Belmont, were commanded by Captain Ladd. Most of the time, Mrs. Ladd and their children went to sea with the captain. Miss Kathryn Ladd, who donated the collection, spent her first twelve years at sea -- many of the photographs are of her as a child "scrubbing" the decks and polishing brass, some show her with her dog, aptly named Pilot. The artifacts in the collection include Australian boomerangs, carved emu eggs from South Africa, wild boar tusks from New Zealand, Chinese slippers for bound feet and a maté spoon from Argentina. As well, there is a fine collection of charts, in a wooden chart case.

These artifacts will supplement those we have of navigating instruments [including an 18th century nocturnal], sailmaking tools, telescopes, blocks and a medicine chest, to give a good impression of life at sea aboard a square-rigger. A fair number of half models and scale models illustrate, three dimensionally, the vessels themselves.

Certain artifacts illustrate specific stories of Yarmouth ships. A presentation sextant and a gold watch form a good example -- these items were presented to sixteen-year-old Aaron Flint Churchill, mate aboard his uncle's ship, the Research, which in an 1863 mid-winter voyage from Quebec to Scotland required a total of seven jury-rigged rudders to make the crossing. Young Churchill went over the side several times to fit the rudders.

Another side of Yarmouth's connections with the sea is told with paintings, photographs, cabin furniture, bells, models and china from the ships which, since the 1860's, have almost continuously plied the passenger service route to New England [formerly Boston but now Portland and Bar Harbour, Maine].

Similar cabin furnishings, china and silverware tell the tale of the many shipwrecks in the area.

Recently a newly discovered fact has brought a new meaning to one artifact. The nameplate of the City of New York wrecked off Yarmouth in 1952 has been displayed for many years. The name Samson on the reverse of the board meant nothing until Richard Brown's Voyage of the Iceberg brought to light the fact that the Samson had been within sight of the Titanic when she was lost -- the Samson could have saved hundreds of lives. Both sides of the nameplate are now shown.

The Yarmouth County Historical Society which owns and operates the museums also runs a library/archives in the same building. The museum's collections are supplemented by those of the archives which include photographs of Yarmouth's vessel owners and captains, logs and diaries, charts and newspapers as well as a variety of documents including charter parties, insurance papers, protests, bills of sale, wage accounts, ships accounts, sloop chest accounts and masters papers.

The Yarmouth County Museum and archives are open year round and are always interested in hearing about Yarmouth-oriented marine history.

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#### CANADIAN MARITIME BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1985

Compiled by Lewis R. Fischer

#### Introduction

This first annual bibliography is a response to requests from a number of researchers who have complained -- with good reason -- that it was impossible to find references to recent published material. The bibliography lists materials published in 1985 on Canadian topics or on foreign subjects if authored by a Canadian. It is as complete as we could make it, but doubtless there are works that we have overlooked. We would be pleased if you would draw omissions or errors to our attention.

A number of members of the CNRS suggested materials for inclusion, but special thanks are owed to Steve Salmon for a particularly important set of listings.

All items are listed only once to save space. This may mean that a researcher will need to look under more than one topic heading to find suitable materials. We have tried to apply sensible judgments to the publications, but we hope that you will bear with us if some of the decisions seem less than reasonable in your opinions.

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#### NAVAL OPERATIONS 1939-1945

Readers are no doubt familiar with Joseph Schull's marvelous book The Far Distant Ships, the "official account" of Canadian naval operations in the Second World War. They may also know of Gilbert Tucker's The Naval Service of Canada, the second volume of which is the official history of RCN shore activities from 1939 to 1945. Both Tucker and Schull have been out of

print for many years, and although other books about the RCN have since appeared there is still a need to make an official history of the navy available.

For years people have been after us to reprint Schull, but we have been unable to justify the expense. Well-written as it is, and as skillfully as it captures the flavor of Canada's wartime navy, it is, quite simply, out of date. We now know so much about the use of intelligence, and have such complete access to German records, neither of which sources were available to Schull or Tucker, that a new official history is now the only possible means of placing all that is known about the RCN's wartime story on record. Accordingly, W.A.B. Douglas, Roger Sarty and Marc Milner have begun work on a single volume account of Canadian naval operations, 1939-1945.

There is a great deal of material still to be consulted in this new study, and a great deal of condensation will be required to put it all between the covers of one book. We anticipate completing the work in about five years. In the meantime, any personal papers, recollections, photographs with captions, or other information will be very welcome. I am particularly anxious to collect data about life on the lower deck, an aspect of the story which is too little known.

If you have such information, or know of any, please don't hesitate to contact Dr. W.A.B. Douglas, Director, Directorate of History, National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0K2; Telephone: (613) 998-7044.

Michael L. Hadley. U-boats Against Canada: German Submarines in Canadian Waters. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985. 360 pp, notes, bibliography, photographs.

Some years ago Michael Hadley's career underwent a sea change. He decided to leave eighteenth century German literature behind and do what no-one else had done before, produce an encyclopaedic account of German U-boat operations in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Canadian maritime waters during World War II. He succeeded brilliantly. Drawing upon the latest Allied and German scholarship, he set those operations against the larger backdrop of the Battle of the Atlantic, analyzing the impact of U-boat sorties on Canadian federal/provincial politics, highlighting the shortcomings of the Royal Canadian Navy's response to the threat, and putting right an assortment of myths about Canada's "Unknown War."

Hadley was ideally suited to the task. As a senior naval reserve officer with a perfect command of German he was able to examine an impressive array of German documentation and interview many of the U-boat commanders involved in operations off Canada's Atlantic coast. He spent months painstakingly recreating U-boat tracks on charts overlaid with German operational quadrants. This process enabled him to highlight the shortcomings in existing accounts and introduce his readers to U-boat operations, conditions on board German submarines, the nature of Admiral Dönitz's overall control of submarine activities, and changes in submarine and anti-submarine technology.

The Germans began to penetrate the St. Lawrence area in June 1941 and early in 1942 they launched Operation Paukenschlag ("Drumbeat"), a major U-boat offensive which resulted in the sinking of forty-four ships in Canadian waters. Later in the same year, U-boats penetrated the St. Lawrence River to within 172 miles of Quebec City and skilled U-boat commanders like Paul Hartwig (U-517) and Eberhard Hoffman (U-165) conducted successful sorties in the autumn "Battle of the St. Lawrence."

The Canadians, "marvellously aloof from [their] own maritime past," were hopelessly unprepared for enemy operations close to home. Canada's opening gambits, Hadley points out, "consisted of makeshift responses in terms of matériel, equipment, training, and operational hardware" (p. 302). A higgledy-piggledy assortment of armed yachts, corvettes, minesweepers, fairmiles, and defensively-equipped merchant ships was pressed into service to escort convoys in the St. Lawrence River and Gulf region. The Germans, however, did not have it all their own way. They lacked vessels (thanks to Hitler's grandiose and unrealistic naval building programme -- Plan Z) and suffered from chronic torpedo failure. Nevertheless, conditions in the region did confer considerable advantages on the attackers. First and foremost were the oceanographic conditions. While Hartwig and his colleagues cursed the "dam [water] layers," (p. 121) which affected emergency dives, those same layers -- of varying density and salinity -- rendered Canadian asdic almost useless on many occasions and enabled German submarines to make good their escape.

One of the interesting aspects of Hadley's account is his analysis of Canadian press coverage of the U-boat war in home waters. Canadian newspapers pieced together in "the usual collage of fact, well-intended inaccuracy, surmise, and fiction" (p. 133), stories which frequently gave support to German intelligence, portrayed the enemy as "wily and unethical" (p. 80), and reinforced "a clamour for protection from outlying

ports out of all proportion to their value in the strategic plan as a whole" (as quoted on p. 116). Political responses and press reaction to U-boat attacks led the Cabinet War Committee on 9 September 1942 to close the St. Lawrence to convoy traffic for an extended period and thus a relatively small number of German submarines succeeded in effecting a major dislocation in the Canadian war effort.

"Grandiloquent flummery" aside, the Battle of the St. Lawrence was a Canadian defeat, not a Canadian victory. What turned the tide in Canadian home waters eventually was what turned it elsewhere; the gradual ascendancy of Allied technology, the increased effectiveness of combined sea/air operations, and the erosion in the quality of the U-Waffe. The U-Waffe was an elite force early in the war and it is fitting that U-boats Against Canada highlights the skill, daring and dedication of a naval force which suffered unprecedented losses during the Atlantic campaign.

U-boats Against Canada is history as it should be; closely researched, carefully argued, and cleanly written. It contains valuable insights into civilian attitudes towards the war at sea and, more alarmingly, the naiveté of political and military figures with respect to the U-boat threat. Indeed, Hadley is writing for the present as well as about the past. And he minces no words. "In matters of national defence," he observes, "Canada has no memory." (p. 143). It took thirteen ships to hunt down U-537 in 1943 and twenty-one vessels to hunt down U-806 in 1944. "In each single case these well-defined searches against a single opponent drew upon more operational vessels than exist in the Canadian Navy today" (p. 304). U-boats... is, therefore, in Hadley's own words, "not without a certain uncomfortable relevance to our own present and future maritime plans" (p. xi).

James A. Boutilier  
Victoria, British Columbia

Vivian Vale. The American Peril: Challenge to Britain on the North Atlantic, 1901-04. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984. viii + 256 pp., appendices, index.

Stanley Jackson. J.P. Morgan: A Biography. New York: Stein and Day, 1983. 332 pp., photographs, bibliography, index.

The American Peril compresses an amazing amount of material into one brief monograph. It tells the story of British reactions to the threat posed by a revived

U.S. merchant fleet to British maritime hegemony. Covering the period 1901-04, it sets out vividly the establishment of J.P. Morgan's International Mercantile Marine and in so doing lays the groundwork for the temporary success of what one commentator later called "Kylsant's Crime" -- the insane amalgamations of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company.

The book is required reading for anyone wishing to begin to understand the labyrinthine developments in international shipping at the turn of the century. This was a crucial age for Canada's merchant marine, but to Canadians who have an interest in the history of their own merchant service, this is a peculiarly unsatisfactory book. It ignores completely the very considerable presence on the world's oceans -- and particularly on the North Atlantic -- of a Canadian steam merchant fleet.

Elsewhere Vale has identified Prime Minister Laurier's intransigence in refusing to agree to a British-sponsored package to assist Cunard to compete with the new American behemoth as being a crucial blow to the plan. But in this book he has difficulty delineating between what was Canadian and what was British. For example, in listing "seven British companies" operating in the mid-1890's, he ignores the fact that three (Allan, Beaver, and Dominion) were Canadian-owned, another (Allan & State Line) was a joint venture, and yet another was Cunard -- and how does one class Cunard? The fact that most of these companies registered their ships in Britain changes little; companies could (and did) change registration to suit their whims. Thirty pages later, in praising British companies for their adaptability to technological innovation, he makes yet another silly claim: that the first North Atlantic passenger liners with turbines were British. In fact they were Canadian -- the Allans' Victorian and Virginian. There are many other examples of Canadian owners pioneering technological change, but it is difficult to deduce this from reading Vale.

Let anyone draw the conclusion that in advancing these arguments Vale was only following that annoying tendency to lump colonial and imperial vessels together under the classification "British", what are we to make of his later claim (p. 131), while discussing "independent British shipping resources on the North Atlantic," that there was only "one which was still uncontrolled by the Americans": Cunard. Wrong again -- what about the ubiquitous Allans? Further, in a good but brief discussion of the Furness group he fails to mention the British Maritime Trust, that shadowy body controlled by Furness which provided so much of the impetus behind the one Canadian merger that succeeded, Canada Steamship Lines.

For Canadian marine historians, the judgement of this book must be that while the battle was won the war was lost. Vale provides us with a good understanding of the machinations of the period from a British perspective, but as usual the history of our own steam merchant marine is virtually ignored.

In other matters, criticism of the book must be unanimous. Vale indicates an unsatisfactory mastery of secondary sources. It is hard to imagine a book of this nature which ignores the work of S.G. Sturmeay or N.R.P. Bonsor, but Vale has done so. In fact, the collection of books that he used (or appears to have used, since the book has no bibliography) is woefully weak and distinctly elderly. He can be excused for not having read the new biography of J.P. Morgan, but there is no excuse for the apparent failure to digest Francis Hyde's Cunard and the North Atlantic. How else can we explain Vale's contention that there was a "dramatic duel" (p. 48) between Cunard and the American Collins Line when Hyde makes it abundantly clear that any appearance of competition was entirely illusory? Vale also fails to cite a 1981 National Maritime Museum publication which establishes that modern shipping conferences were a product of the 1870s and not of twenty years later.

The production of the volume is also appalling. Despite being produced by a university press, this book has more typographical errors than I have ever seen in any work, academic or otherwise. The inconsistency in citing direct quotations with footnotes is infuriating; the absence of a bibliography defies comment.

A fascinating aspect of The American Peril is the thread throughout of uniting shipping with rail networks. The other book discussed in this review, Stanley Jackson's biography of J.P. Morgan, should have been excellently placed to amplify on this; after all, it was Morgan who established the IMM. Regrettably, this is not the case. The reader will search in vain through this biography of the archetypal robber baron to determine either his motives or his actions in forming the IMM. It would be possible to understand (if not condone) Morgan's acts if there was a carefully-constructed, rational plan behind them. But from Jackson's discussion this appears not to have been the case. Morgan seems to have sandwiched this part of his activities between other more important endeavours, such as consorting with courtesans, waltzing bishops across the United States, and adding to his enormous art collection. There are no redeeming features to be found in Morgan's career at this time, a period which culminated with his acquisition of a significant proportion of the steamship fleets on the North Atlantic.

Not even the sinking of the Titanic, the flagship of his fleets, was significant enough to elicit from Jackson a description of Morgan's emotions. Indeed, his only reported reaction was to redouble his activities in the purchase of art. Otherwise, this book paints a revolting picture of the worst elements of finance capitalism at work. As one reviewer noted, Morgan's success came "by a combination of theft, political pull, swindling and blind luck." On such a foundation was built the International Mercantile Marine, the company which had such a profound effect on shipping history.

In the final analysis, then, perhaps the measured reaction of the British government to this "American peril" was reasonable. But in hindsight we can see that the episode boded ill for the stability of the British merchant marine. If nothing else, J.P. Morgan's threat created a climate unsympathetic to action and a mindset which allowed Kysant to wreak his havoc in ensuing years. But when all is said and done, it is useful to return to a point which Vale made in his epilogue: that it was the mercantile threat posed by extensive German participation in the IMM that worried British statesmen at least as much as any German naval threat prior to World War I. It was a sudden threat to their mercantile lifelines that awakened Britons to the German peril.

Kenneth S. Mackenzie  
Montreal, Quebec

Commander Frederick B. Watt, RCN (R), Retired. In All Respects Ready: The Merchant Navy and the Battle of the Atlantic, 1940-1945. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1985. xviii + 222 pp., photographs.

This title is to a degree misleading. Frederick Watt does not attempt to present an overall view of the merchant navy during the Second World War; instead, this book reads like a memoir of a "Prairie Canadian's" career as the Director of the Naval Boarding Service. Woven into the tale are stories of some of those who worked with him. The insights in the book are the result of his talents as a publicist and a poet rather than of full-scale research.

During the war Commander Watt was engaged to a great extent in what might be termed "psychological warfare." In order to be "in all respects ready for sea," the crews of merchant vessels had to be prepared psychologically, as Gerald A. Morgan, himself a master mariner, notes in his introduction. Merchant seamen had to be ready to return to service despite any previous harrowing experiences. As Morgan sees it,

"Ted Watt sacrificed his own chance of a command at sea among his 'death or glory' comrades for the task of sending other men toward death without glory." Originally recruited as a temporary officer, Commander Watt agreed to stay and develop the Boarding Service. It was a difficult but essential job. Watt admits that keeping up the required level of manning was crucial to the Allied victory in the North Atlantic. In the process, he gives us the opportunity to empathize with the crews of convoy vessels, anxiously awaiting the appearance of German submarine packs.

From the Allied perspective, the Battle of the Atlantic consisted largely of assembling and shepherding convoys from eastern Canadian ports to the United Kingdom. Faced with the threat of sabotage aboard vessels awaiting incorporation into transatlantic convoys, the Boarding Service had to establish rigorous investigative techniques, as we learn through a series of vignettes. In many ways this was a frustrating task, made more difficult by official constraints and his own aspirations for advancement. Besides investigating the stowage of cargoes and handling bomb scares, the ratings who served with him also acted as intelligence officers, ferreting out the sources of discontent, poor morale, and conscious subversion among the crews. Indeed, as Watt indicates, the members of the Boarding Service regarded the redress of seamen's grievances as a vital part of their jobs. This was only natural, since many who served in the N.B.S. were in peacetime themselves merchant seamen. The reports which they filed are important, if underutilized, historical documents which could tell us much about the deployment and activities of merchant seamen at war.

In short, Commander Watt provides the reader with many telling insights into a neglected part of one of the great historical dramas of the twentieth century. But the reader should be aware that in telling his story, the author tends to see the manning of the wartime merchant marine in a managerial context. What begs to be written is a full labour history of the merchant navy in World War II.

Gerald E. Panting  
St. John's, Newfoundland

Harald Hamre. Skipsfarten i Stavanger i 1870-ara. Stavanger: Stavanger Maritime Museum, 1985. 171 pp., bibliography, photographs, English summary.

This interesting monograph of the shipping industry of Norway's second largest port towards the end of the golden age of sail is a most welcome addition to the

literature on Norwegian maritime history. The Norwegian merchant marine grew to prominence at roughly the same time as did the Canadian fleet and exhibited many of the same characteristics. The salient features of Norwegian shipping should therefore be of interest to a Canadian audience.

The port of Stavanger, situated south of Bergen on the western coast of Norway, built up a substantial fleet of small vessels on the basis of a thriving herring export trade following the Napoleonic Wars. After the repeal of the British Navigation Acts, Stavanger owners began investing in larger vessels and entered the crosstrades. By 1875, the fleet numbered some 600 vessels with a carrying capacity in excess of 100,000 tons. The growth rate of tonnage on registry in the period 1860-75 (8.6% per year) was especially impressive.

Hamre's book is basically an in-depth examination of this fleet in 1875, and contains separate chapters on the structure of the fleet, its labour force, the structure of ownership, and the profitability of the industry. The Norwegian Maritime Census of that year and the municipal tax records were the two principal sources. Although there is no source for Norwegian shipping to compare with the detailed shipping registers for the British Empire, Hamre has been able to reconstruct the shape of the fleet and its owners from alternative sources.

More than 400 individuals and companies owned shares in Stavanger vessels in the mid-1870s. But the structure of ownership, Hamre argues, was even more concentrated than that figure would suggest: eight percent of all owners controlled over a third of all tonnage. Unfortunately, in making this judgement the author neglected to compare his results with the evidence from Canada. Had he done so he would have discovered that the structure of ownership was

significantly more skewed in North America than in Stavanger.

The labour force of the Stavanger merchant fleet is also in many ways typical of conditions elsewhere in the middle of the nineteenth century. Between 80 and 90 percent of the crew below the rank of first mate were under the age of 35. Captains tended to be older, but fewer than one in ten had reached the age of 45. Still, in one important way the crews of these vessels were atypical: more than 90 percent were Norwegians. In other fleets about which we have detailed information, foreigners made up a much higher proportion of crews. Why Stavanger should have been so different than other fleets which comprised the international merchant marine remains to be answered.

From Hamre's figures, it is apparent that the Stavanger industry was highly profitable. According to the tax records, shipowners on average realized a 12 percent profit on their investments in the 1870s. The author contends that this figure actually understates the true rate of return, although in my view this is questionable. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that shipping in Stavanger was a lucrative industry.

Despite the many merits of this book, it represents little more than a beginning in Norwegian research. A study of the development of the Stavanger industry over an extended period of time would be most useful. So too would a modern study of the entire Norwegian shipping sector during the "golden age of sail." Until these further studies are produced, however, Hamre's book will stand as a good intermediate point of reference for understanding this important merchant fleet.

Helge W. Nordvik  
Bergen, Norway

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"The Nineteenth Century Merchant Marines:  
The Canadian and Norwegian Experiences in  
Comparative Perspective"

Memorial University of Newfoundland  
26-28 June 1986

FINAL PROGRAMME

LOCATION: Education Bldg., E5004/5, MUN

Thursday, 26 June

- 9:00 AM Registration
- 9:15 AM Welcome  
Leslie Harris, President,  
Memorial University of Newfoundland  
Gerald Panting, Chairman,  
Maritime History Group
- 9:45 AM Session I: Sources for the Writing of  
International Maritime History  
Lewis R. Fischer, Maritime History Group  
Helge W. Nordvik, University of Bergen  
Chairman: Michael Harrington,  
Maritime History Group
- 11:15 AM Coffee
- 11:30 AM Session II: The Economic Background of  
Shipping Investment  
Kris Inwood, St. Mary's University  
Edgar Hovland, University of Bergen  
Chairman: Atle Thowsen,  
Bergen Maritime Museum
- 1:00 PM Lunch
- 2:15 PM Session III: Structure and Use of National  
Fleets  
Lewis R. Fischer, Maritime History Group  
Lauritz Pettersen, Bergen Maritime Museum  
Chairman: Kenneth S. Mackenzie,  
CN Archives
- 3:45 PM Coffee
- 4:00 PM Tour of the Maritime History Group  
Heather Wareham, Archivist,  
Maritime History Group

There will be a reception in the evening.

Friday, 27 June

- 9:00 AM Session IV: Ownership of the National  
Fleets  
Gerald Panting, Maritime History Group  
Bard Kolltveit, Norwegian Maritime Museum  
Chairman: Lauritz Pettersen,  
Bergen Maritime Museum
- 10:30 AM Coffee
- 10:45 AM Session V: Shipping Entrepreneurs in Canada  
and Norway  
Kenneth S. Mackenzie, CN Archives  
Tore Hanisch, Bergesen Shipping Project  
Chairman: Rosemary Ommer, Memorial  
University of Newfoundland
- 12:15 PM Lunch
- 1:30 PM Session VI: Manning the National Fleets  
Rosemary Ommer, Memorial University of  
Newfoundland  
Harald Hamre, Stavanger Maritime Museum  
Chairman: Helge W. Nordvik, Univ. of Bergen
- 3:00 PM Coffee
- 3:15 PM Session VII: Technological Change in  
Shipping History  
C. Knick Harley, Univ. of Western Ontario  
Atle Thowsen, Bergen Maritime Museum  
Chairman: Gerald Panting,  
Maritime History Group

There will be a reception in the evening.

Saturday, 28 June

- 9:30 AM Session VIII: The Role of Government in  
Shipping  
Theodore McDorman, University of Victoria  
Fritz Hodne, Norwegian School of Economics  
and Business Administration  
Chairman: Edgar Hovland, Univ. of Bergen
- 11:00 AM Coffee
- 11:15 AM Conference Summary: The Lessons of  
Comparative Maritime History  
Arnljot Stromme Svendsen,  
Inst. for Shipping Research  
Chairman: Lewis R. Fischer  
Maritime History Group
- 1:00 PM Conference Ends

## MERCHANT NAVY EFFORTS ACCLAIMED

Press Contact: Faye Kert (613) 996-1420 March 1986

Under the Red Ensign, opening March 14, 1986 at the Canadian War Museum commemorates Canada's merchant navy during two world wars. By means of art, artifacts, film, models and mementoes, this exhibition traces the activities of the hundreds of men and ships responsible for the resupply and feeding of the Allied war effort overseas.

Unlike the Royal Canadian Navy, the Merchant Navy was a largely unarmed civilian force entrusted with cargoes of food, troops, ammunition and weapons. Facing them were enemy mines, aircraft and submarines and the risk of sudden violent death.

From a small merchant naval force of some 66 vessels in the First World War, Canada expanded her fleet to 500 ocean-going ships during the Second World War. The exhibition opens with a look at these ships and the danger and discomfort of life on board. The men of the merchant navy, although reasonably well paid, received no military honours for the high percentage of casualties they suffered. In order to combat the U-boat threat, merchant vessels crossed the Atlantic Ocean in convoy, but since they were dependent on accompanying naval vessels for protection, they were still vulnerable to submarine attack even in convoy. The exhibition closes with some of the memories and mementoes of the men who took part in this little-known aspect of Canada's war effort.

During the month of March, in conjunction with the opening of Under the Red Ensign, the Canadian War Museum will be presenting a free film and lecture program in French and English in the auditorium of the Victoria Memorial Museum Building.

Under the Red Ensign: The Canadian Merchant Navy at War will be on display at the Canadian War Museum, 330 Sussex Drive, from March 14 to December 31, 1986.

## LA MARINE MARCHANDE ACCLAMÉE

Agent de liaison: Faye Kert (613) 996-1420 mars 1986

L'exposition Sous le pavillon rouge qui sera inaugurée au Musée canadien de la guerre le 14 mars, 1986 rend hommage à la marine marchande du Canada pendant deux guerres mondiales. A l'aide d'artefacts, d'oeuvres d'arts, d'un film, de modèles réduits et de souvenirs, cette exposition retrace les activités de la force chargée de ravitailler les forces alliées outre-mer.

Contrairement à la Marine royale du Canada, la marine marchande était une force civile, en grande partie non armée, responsable du transport de nourriture, de troupes, de munitions et d'armes. Les mines, avions et sous-marins ennemis les attendaient au risque de leur vie.

D'une force navale modeste de 66 navires au cours de la Première Guerre mondiale, le Canada avait agrandi sa flotte à 500 navires trans-océaniques pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. L'exposition s'ouvre avec un aperçu sur ces navires et les problèmes de la vie à bord. Les hommes de la marine marchande, quoique assez bien payé, ne recevaient pas d'honneurs militaires malgré le taux élevé de fatalités. Pour combattre la menace des U-boats, les navires marchands traversaient l'Atlantique en convoi, mais étant dépendant des vaisseaux d'escorte pour leur protection, ils restaient vulnérables aux attaques des sous-marins même en formation. A la fin de l'exposition on retrouve certains souvenirs de ceux qui participèrent à cet aspect peu connu de l'effort de guerre canadien.

Pendant le mois de mars, de concert avec cette exposition, le Musée canadien de la guerre présentera un programme gratuit de films et de conférences en anglais et en français dans l'auditorium de l'Edifice commémoratif Victoria.

Sous le pavillon rouge: la marine marchande du Canada au combat sera en montre au Musée canadien de la guerre, 330 promenade Sussex, du 14 mars au 31 décembre 1986.

Queries & AnswersNo. 16 - Glen Class Tugs of the RCN 1943-5:

Harry McDonald of the WSS is writing a pictorial history of those scrappy tugs of fond memory to many ex-Naval types. Alec Douglas has already provided him with a fleet list, but he would like photographs, etc. from other CNRS members. His address is:

900 East Bay Drive, A-405  
Olympia, WA., USA 98506

No. 17 - "Axeman" and "Caustic" Gunboats of the War of 1812:

Would any CNRS members have information on these vessels, of which I intend to build one-half inch to one foot scale models? I particularly need dimensions; the PAC does not have it, and other information (e.g. Col. Chapelle) is sketchy in the information he provides.

For example, did they sling hammocks in the 4'1" 'tweendecks? Could the guns be fired broadside or only quartering without over-turning?

Answer:

In part: Alec Douglas thinks the guns could be fired broadside.

No. 18 - Events in El Salvador, JAN 1932, involving HMCS Skeena & HMCS Vancouver:

Serge Durflinger (5507 Wellington Street, Verdun, Que., H4H 1N5) asks any and as much information as he can get on these events.

(Ed. - presumably he has perused Nigel Brodeur's work on his father?)

No. 19 - Old-timers on the river (St. Lawrence, of course!!)

Does anyone know of the fate of the tanker Ile de Montréal, which has been used in the dredging industry since 1972. She is ex-Creek Transport, and was built in 1910 at Sunderland.

What of the Saguenay River excursion vessel Marjolaine II (ex-Morrisburg)? She was probably built in Montreal in 1904.

(PS. Ed. - this querier prepares an annual Index of Seaway Ocean Vessels, listing and discussing Seaway transits. The 1985 issue is now available and can be obtained from René Beauchamp, 9041 Bellerive, Montréal, Que., H1L 3S5 for \$3 plus 85¢ postage.)

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Eric Lawson reports: The Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology and the Conference on Underwater Archaeology took place in Sacramento, California, from 8-12 January 1986. Between 500 and 600 people were supposed to have attended -- seemed like 900. Two hundred and eighty (!) papers were given over a period of four days in three simultaneous sessions. Fortunately the papers of strictly maritime interest numbered only 75 but even so, considerable agility was required in order to attend most of them, with many a dash between conference rooms because some papers were running late. The maritime papers were international in scope, as is usual for this conference. (Ed. - you guessed it -- we ran out of space to list those Eric brought to our attention. A list can be obtained from the Ed. -- it may also appear next issue.)

1986

COMING EVENTS

14 MAR - 31 DEC	Canadian War Museum, Ottawa	Exhibit: "Under the Red Ensign; the Canadian Merchant Navy War"
22 APR - 01 JUN	Vancouver Maritime Museum	Exhibit: "The Discovery of the World"
20 MAY - 24 MAY	Victoria BC	AGM., Canadian Museums Association
22 MAY	CNRS Ottawa Branch	Regular meeting, HMCS Bytown
22 MAY	Victoria, BC	Transport Museums Special Interest group meeting
30 MAY - 01 JUN	Canadian Canal Society/ Société des canaux au Canada	Spring meeting & tour (tentative)
07 JUN - 09 JUN	University of Winnipeg	AGM, Canadian Historical Association (see last issue for details)
10 JUN - 01 SEP	Vancouver Maritime Museum	Exhibit: "The Doomed Voyage of Laperouse"
26 JUN - 28 JUN	Memorial University, St. John's	Maritime History Group international conference. See details last issue.
25 JUL	Galiano Island, BC	CNRS AGM & conference: "Eighteenth Century Exploration & the Pacific Northwest". J. Kendrick, F.M. Tovell, W.R. Glover
26 JUL	Members should have received official notification of this in the mail, with registration forms and data. If you have not, write to our Secretary.	"The Royal Navy & the Pacific Northwest". Barry Gough, Janet Firman
27 JUL	The CNRS conference concludes with an important BUSINESS MEETING at which a main topic will be the Society's publication policy. Our meetings are preceded by the meeting of the BC Underwater Archaeological Society.	"Sailors & their Work". Lewis Fischer, Helge Nordvik, J. Harland, Eric Sager.  "Shipowners, Merchant Shipping & Historical Methods". M. McRoberts, P. Baskerville, D.P. McGinnis, G. Panting  Business Meeting
24 JUL - 31 JUL	Vancouver, BC	CN Lexington Group Meetings; CN/World Ship Society sponsored meetings. Plan to drop in to the latter after CNRS at Galiano. Final details in separate mailing.
16 SEP - 11 JAN	Vancouver Maritime Museum	Exhibit: "The Advance of Seapower"