BEFORE CLARKE STEAMSHIP

While erecting and operating a mill in an isolated region of Quebec was a far cry from publishing in the cities of Toronto, Chicago, New York and London, the younger brothers became experienced businessmen, always ready to contemplate a money-making opportunity.

They and their father knew from the start that if the pulp mill was to flourish, it was essential to have reliable shipping service to bring in the people and supplies to build Clarke City and then to ensure its continuing existence. But some years were to pass before they would form their own steamship company. The thought - and the expense - of assembling a fleet of ships was a daunting one.

Navigation on the St Lawrence presented endless difficulties. For several months each year, ice prevented access to the ports. The lighthouses and buoys on the St Lawrence were less extensive than conditions warranted. Channels and shoals were not always clearly marked. Although the first steamship had sailed the St Lawrence as long ago as 1809, the North Shore had been poorly served, partly because of its remote location and small population, partly because of natural hazards.

Although this is really the story of the Clarke Steamship Co, the routes
that the Clarke ships served had much history. Not only that, but some of its predecessors had also operated in southern waters, where Clarke would be active as well. The trials and risks of ice navigation in northern waters in the winter time meant that many northern ships engaged in southern employment when they could.

Timber and Sail

Throughout the 19th Century and even before, the Port of Quebec had been well known for its huge volumes of timber shipments and also for its wooden shipbuilding industry, having produced some very large square-rigged ships for the British and Canadian merchant fleets.

That is a story of its own, however, and is recounted in several good books on the subject, not least Frederick William Wallace's famous "Wooden Ships and Iron Men." Suffice it here to quote from Wallace's work that "from 1797 to 1896, there were 2,542 ships built at Quebec, with an aggregate tonnage of 1,377,099 tons."

Molson's "Accommodation" of 1809

The first steamship to operate on the St Lawrence River was John Molson's wooden paddle steamer Accommodation, built in Montreal in 1809. At 85 feet in length and with a beam of 16 feet, she was placed into service between Montreal and Quebec and arrived at the latter port for the first time on November 4, 1809. Her arrival was reported in the "Quebec Mercury" on November 6, 1809:

On Saturday morning, at eight o'clock, arrived here from Montreal, being her first trip, the steam boat Accommodation, with ten passengers. This is the first vessel of the kind that has ever appeared in this harbour. She is continually crowded with visitants. She left Montreal on Wednesday at two o'clock, so that her passage was sixty-six hours; thirty of which she was at anchor. She arrived at Three Rivers in twenty-four hours. She has at present berths for twenty passengers; which next year will be considerably augmented - no wind or tide can stop her. She has seventy-five feet keel and eighty-five feet on deck. The price for a passage up is nine dollars and eight down, the vessel supplying provisions.

It was also in 1809 that the citizens of Montreal raised Nelson's Column in Place Jacques Cartier, in memory of the British admiral who had lost his life while defeating the combined French and Spanish fleets at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. Nelson had visited Quebec in HMS Albermarle in 1782. It would be 1842 before Londoners erected their own more famous column in Trafalgar Square.
The *Accommodation* was quickly followed by more steamships and a regular Molson Line of steamers developed, resulting in April 1822 in the formation of the St Lawrence Steamboat Company, with offices in Montreal and Quebec, in which the Molson family held 59 per cent of the shares.

Competition arose in 1816 when John Torrance & Company of Montreal formed another line, adding more vessels to the route. Torrance opened the Montreal Towboat Company in 1824. As the years passed, each company introduced bigger and more luxurious vessels to carry inter-city passengers, immigrants from Quebec bound for Upper Canada, now Ontario, and cargo and mails. They also built towboats to bring sailing ships up to Montreal from Quebec and to transport barges between the two cities. Other operators such as the Tate Brothers, John Munn and John Wilson also participated in this business, sometimes winning mail contracts despite the presence of the Molsons and the Torrances.

The St Lawrence Steamboat Co remained in the Montreal-Quebec trade until about 1855, when Transatlantic liners began to sail beyond Quebec and up to Montreal. In the process, the Molsons owned about thirty steamers and barges, but later nautical interests were restricted to the yachts they used to take them down to their summer homes at Cacouna, Rivière-du-Loup and Tadoussac. Other interests included Molson's Brewery, which is still active; the Champlain & St Lawrence Railway, opened in 1836 and later part of the Grand Trunk Railway; and Molson's Bank, opened in 1837 and later part of the Bank of Montreal.

In 1833, the Torrance family came to an accommodation with the Molsons that saw their own plus jointly-owned vessels co-operating to offer daily service between Montreal and Quebec. David Torrance succeeded his uncle in 1853. The Torrances also opened a shipping agency. In 1872, David Torrance & Co became general agent for the Dominion Line, representing its service between Montreal, Quebec and Liverpool, and the following year David Torrance himself became president of the Bank of Montreal, a position that John Molson had held for four years from 1826 before creating Molson's Bank.

Although the route between Montreal and Quebec saw the origins of steam navigation not only on the St Lawrence but in Canada, we will avoid discussing the ships and rivalries of this trade and instead concentrate on the long-distance operators, those that steamed below Quebec out into the Gulf of St Lawrence and coastal waters.

**The "Royal William" of 1831**

On April 27, 1831, the steamship *Royal William* was launched at Quebec for the Quebec & Halifax Steam Navigation Company. Measuring 176
feet by 28 feet, she had a gross tonnage of 830, could carry 50 first-class and 60 steerage passengers and had cost £16,000 to build. She was built for a three-year £6,000 mail contract that called for a steamship connection between Quebec and the Lower Provinces. Her engine was installed by the St Mary's Foundry in Montreal, once owned by John Molson but now by the engineering firm of Bennett & Henderson.

The *Royal William* left Quebec on her maiden voyage on August 24, 1831, bound for Miramichi, Charlottetown and Halifax, with 20 cabin passengers, 70 steerage and 200 tons of cargo, and a week later became the first steamship to call at Halifax. By September 3, she was in Pictou on her return voyage of this, the first of three round trips she made between Quebec and Halifax that year. Several accounts, some of them inaccurate, have been published on the construction and engineering aspects of this ship, but a report in Charlottetown's "Royal Gazette" on September 13, 1831, took more the viewpoint of a potential passenger:

On Wednesday, this elegant and substantial vessel touched here on her way from Halifax to Quebec via Miramichi. Her arrival was greeted with firing of cannons, and the cheers of the numerous spectators... She had hardly dropped her anchor before she was surrounded with boats, filled with young and old, all eager to gratify their curiosity by inspecting her interior arrangements... After remaining about four hours, she again got under weigh for Miramichi - where she arrived safely next morning. The ship was built ... for the conveyance of passengers and goods between Quebec, Halifax, and the intermediate ports. Her accommodations for passengers are of the first description. Her cabins are elegant and the sleeping berths, of which there are about 50, admirable. The round house contains a spacious dining room, handsomely fitted up capable of accommodating 100 persons. The steerage also is roomy and comfortable, and there is ample space on deck. She can stow away about 200 tons of goods in her hold. The engines ... are ... capable of propelling her with ease and comfort at a rate of at least ten miles an hour.

It was decided to change the route in 1832 so that instead of steaming all the way round to Halifax, the *Royal William* turned at Pictou, Nova Scotia's most important port on the Gulf of St Lawrence. Pictou had been settled by a company of thirty from Philadelphia, who had arrived in the brig *Hope* in 1767. These in turn had been joined by about a hundred and seventy Highland Scots who arrived in the brig *Hector* in 1773. The *Hector* had brought the first large scale Scottish immigration to Nova Scotia, a flow that still saw eight or ten ships a year bringing Scots to Pictou while the *Royal William* was active.

Unfortunately, a cholera outbreak in the spring of 1832 stopped the *Royal William* when she arrived at Miramichi on her first voyage with the disease on board. She was sent to quarantine and her engineer died. After
suffering a loss of about $85,000, the Quebec & Halifax company sold the ship to a group of Quebec merchants.

In the spring of 1833, the *Royal William* worked as a tow boat in the St Lawrence and then became the first British steamer to enter Boston, when she did so on June 17. But her new owners decided to send her to London to be sold. Leaving Quebec on August 4, 1833, she reached Pictou on August 8 to take on bunkers. On August 12, as she lay at Pictou preparing for her Transatlantic voyage, the barque *Economy* arrived from Leith with forty-two Scottish immigrants.

The *Royal William* departed Pictou on August 18 for Gravesend, Kent, with seven passengers and 330 tons of coal from the nearby Albion Mines, opened in 1827. The August 20 issue of Pictou's "Colonial Patriot" recorded her departure: "Cleared ... Ship *Royal William*, McDougall, London, Coal, Natural curiosities and spars." The natural curiosities were said to have been a box of stuffed birds sent to London by Dr Thomas McCulloch, principal of the Pictou Academy, on behalf of John James Audubon, who was that summer visiting the Quebec North Shore. Arriving at Cowes, Isle of Wight, on September 6, after a voyage of 19½ days, she then proceeded to Gravesend.

The *Royal William* was chartered to the Portuguese Navy and eventually fetched a price of £10,000 when sold to the Spanish Navy. Her place in history, however, is that of having been the first steamship to cross the North Atlantic entirely under steam.

**Cunard's "Unicorn" of 1840**

One of the *Royal William*'s original shareholders was Samuel Cunard of Halifax, founder of the Cunard Line. Although Cunard did not operate direct Transatlantic sailings into the St Lawrence until 1911, the first ship the company put into service, the 648-ton paddle steamer *Unicorn*, was acquired to operate a feeder service to Quebec. She was intended to run between Quebec and Pictou, 147 miles from Halifax, where connection was to be made by the Halifax, Truro & Pictou stage coach with Cunard's Transatlantic sailings at Halifax. Later, she would add a call at Gaspé en route.

The *Unicorn* left Liverpool on May 16, 1840, with passengers for Halifax and Boston on Cunard's very first Transatlantic voyage, a trial run for the four new steamers Cunard was building for the North Atlantic, the first of which would leave Liverpool in July. On her arrival in Boston in early June, "Hazard's United States Commercial & Statistical Register" said of her: -

We learn from Capt Douglas that the *Unicorn* left Liverpool on the 16th of May, and arrived at Halifax on the first instant, about 10 am, and remained there until 11 o'clock pm. She brought out 27 cabin passengers for Halifax and 24 for Boston; and files of London papers to
the 15th of May; Liverpool of the 16th, and Paris of the 13th. The *Unicorn* is a neatly built and gallant steamer of about 700 tons burthen, and a very fast sailer. The cabin accommodations are of a very superior character, and that passengers state, that although they had headwinds during the greater part of the passage, yet they have enjoyed the trip exceedingly.

She then sailed for Quebec, where she arrived on June 29, ready for Cunard's Gulf of St Lawrence route. Her master, Capt Walter Douglas, had commanded the 605-ton Torrance steamship *Canada*, built at Montreal in 1832, and had previously surveyed the river for the Canadian Government. Occasionally, between voyages, Douglas took the *Unicorn* to the Saguenay River, thus becoming one of the first ships to engage in that trade. "Fisher's Colonial Magazine" made a note of this in July 1843:

> It is singular, that it has remained for the present age first to explore the river Saguenay, which, rising in the bosoms of the desolate mountains of Labrador, after a course of 500 miles, falls into the St Lawrence, about 170 miles below Quebec. Captain Douglas, of the *Unicorn*, who first explored it, found its current full and rapid, its average breadth a mile, its depth often exceeding 200 feet, and its banks in one place 800 or 1,000 feet high, and consisting of perpendicular or overhanging cliffs of lime; on such a huge scale does nature work in those solitudes.

The *Unicorn*’s first such cruise departed Quebec on August 24, 1840, when she charged a fare of £6 per person. Earlier that same month, she had made an excursion to Montreal, where she had been inspected by the locals.

A year after the *Unicorn* entered service, J H R Molson of Montreal left a brief record of travelling in her in May 1841:

> We left Quebec in the Steam Ship *Unicorn* on Friday the 14th at 11 am. Saturday; very squeamish, eat nothing till the following day. The passage was a very smooth one and the weather very pleasant. We anchored at Pictou at 2 am Monday. So we remained on board till the morning.

> We came down to Pictou in a ferry boat and went to the Stage Office to take our places in the stages. Instead of bringing stages with six horses, they brought two wagons. We were very uncomfortable for we had no place to put our feet at the bottom of the cart, it being filled up with baggage.

> Ironically, Pictou had one of the first railways to open in British North America, equipped with three steam locomotives imported from England, but it was built to carry coal from the Albion Mines to the docks.
A second Cunard steamer, the 689-ton Margaret, named for Samuel Cunard’s mother, became a spare ship at Halifax and sometimes assisted the Unicorn. In May 1844, the Unicorn was delayed three days in ice at Canso on her first voyage of the season. The Quebec-Pictou service lasted until that November, in the same year in which Montreal became, for five years, capital of the united Province of Canada, today’s Quebec and Ontario. Cunard had offered a £10,000 reduction in the subsidy if it were allowed to withdraw the Unicorn, and thereafter to move Canadian overseas mails through Boston, which it would do until a direct service was opened into the St Lawrence in 1853.

Cunard sold the Unicorn to New Brunswick owners who ran her between Halifax and St John’s, Newfoundland, until 1848. In 1849, she went to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, making her way out to California by way of the Straits of Magellan. After a hiatus, other operators would once again take up the Quebec-Pictou route, when the British North American colonies began discussing union.

**Cunard’s Colonial Line**

While Cunard’s Transatlantic service and its feeder operation to Quebec fell under the British & North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Co, as the Cunard Line was called, a second concern, the Nova Scotia, Newfoundland & Bermuda Royal Mail Steam Packet Co, known as the Cunard Colonial Line, was formed in 1849. Cunard had been involved with Royal Mail contracts since 1827, with the brigs Emily and Susan first engaged to run between Bermuda and Annapolis, Maryland, and then between Halifax and Boston, relaying incoming mails to America from the Admiralty’s Falmouth packets. By 1833, a Halifax-Bermuda service had been added, again using sail, but the Halifax-Boston run was dropped in 1840 with the arrival of the new Transatlantic ships.

Cunard’s Colonial Line employed three 275-ton Royal Mail steamers, the Falcon, Kestrel and Ospray, on routes from Halifax to Bermuda and Halifax to St John’s, Newfoundland, delivering mails brought to Halifax in the Transatlantic ships. As paddle steamers had a tendency to suffer damage in ice, these ships were screw-propelled. In 1850, it opened a New York-Bermuda-St Thomas line, and in 1854 Halifax replaced New York as its northern terminus. At this time, the 528-ton Curlew became the chief ship.

In 1859, with the help of a £3,000 subsidy from the British and Bahamian governments, another Cunard company, the British & Foreign Steam Navigation Co, which since 1855 had been operating to the Mediterranean, began a monthly service between New York and Nassau. Its 1,127-ton Karnak also connected New York to Havana and although she was lost off Bermuda in 1862 the service carried on until 1870. This would not be the only time Cunard ran between New York and Nassau.
When Cunard's Transatlantic steamers stopped calling at Halifax in 1867 in favour of New York, the local company introduced larger ships and took the mails from Cunard's successors at Halifax, first the Inman Line and then the Allan Line. By then, the mainstay of the Cunard Colonial fleet that served Halifax consisted of the 653-ton Alpha and 645-ton Delta, to which was added the 1,070-ton Beta in 1873.

Cunard's Halifax–Bermuda–St Thomas line continued until 1886, when its mail contract finally ended. The Halifax firm of Pickford & Black then took over the Halifax to Bermuda and West Indies run in 1888, using Cunard's former Alpha and Beta. To these were added the 1,919-ton Duart Castle and 1,910-ton Taymouth Castle, renamed Oruro and Ocamo in 1900, in which year the Pickford & Black Steamship Co Ltd was incorporated, with a capital of $600,000.

La Compagnie du Richelieu

Back in the St Lawrence, Jacques-Félix Sincennes of Sorel opened La Société de Navigation de la Rivière Richelieu in 1845, with a subscribed capital of £3,715, to operate the 125-ton steamer Richelieu and the barge Sincennes between Sorel and Montreal. In 1848 this was followed by La Compagnie du Richelieu, which was formed at Montreal by the merger of this firm with its 1847 competitor La Société de Navigation du St-Laurent et du Richelieu. The Richelieu would survive for one hundred and nine years, taking on various roles until finally being broken up as the ferry Beauharnois in 1954.

In 1856 La Compagnie du Richelieu entered the Montreal-Quebec trade with the newly-built 392-ton sister ships Napoleon and the Victoria, overnight vessels with dimensions of 168 by 25 feet. Another Richelieu Company ship, the 351-ton Quebec, a vessel of 266 by 27 feet (59 feet over the paddle guards) built at her namesake city in 1844, was acquired from Molson's St Lawrence Steamboat Co. The Quebec was made famous by an 1852 painting of her by Cornelius Krieghoff, and was the first of several to carry that name for the company. Her running mate had been the 379-ton Montreal, a similar vessel built at Montreal in 1841, but wrecked near Batiscan in 1853.

The next Montreal, a 1,005-ton ship rebuilt in 1855 from the Tate Brothers' Lord Sydenham, was owned by John Wilson of Quebec. Unfortunately, on June 26, 1857, an hour out of Quebec for Montreal, she burned with the loss of 157 lives out of 400 on board, the worst maritime disaster until then in Canadian history. The Richelieu ship Napoleon, which had left Quebec just before the Montreal, turned back and was able to rescue several survivors, but the Montreal burned too quickly. The victims were mostly Scottish and Norwegian immigrants just arrived from ocean ships at
Quebec. After this disaster, ruinous competition diminished and most of the Montreal-Quebec night boat business fell to the Richelieu Company.

La Compagnie du Richelieu went on to acquire the St Lawrence & North Shore Navigation Company in 1860. In 1875, it merged with the Canadian Navigation Company of Toronto, also known as the Royal Mail Line, which had operated as the Canadian Inland Steam Navigation Company between 1857 and 1867, to create the Montreal-based Richelieu & Ontario Navigation Company. In 1886, the R&O took over the St Lawrence Steam Navigation Company, and through a further set of mergers in 1913, ultimately become part of today's Canada Steamship Lines (CSL).

Another of Sincennes’ activities was the Sincennes-McNaughton Line, founded in 1849 with William McNaughton. Involved in both shipping and towing, as well as having a shipyard at Sorel, by 1929, it eventually became Sin-Mac Lines Ltd, engaged in towing, ship berthing and salvage work throughout the Great Lakes and St Lawrence.

**Government Contract Steamers**

In 1853, steam services began to develop in the trades below Quebec, chiefly operated under contract to the Province of Canada by Quebec merchant François Baby. Baby began with two wooden paddle steamers, to which he added a third in 1854. The ships were used as towboats between Bic, near Rimouski, and Quebec but also carried passengers and cargo on their runs up and down the St Lawrence. One of them would be used to carry mails to the lower Gulf of St Lawrence.

Between 1854 and 1858, Baby also contracted to complete four major lighthouses, at Cap des Rosiers and West Point, Anticosti, in Quebec and at Belle Isle and Point Amour in Labrador. These lighthouses improved the safety of navigation through the Strait of Belle Isle and the Gulf of St Lawrence.

Three new ships joined the fleet during this period, the 495-ton Queen Victoria and Napoleon III of 1856, and the 299-ton Lady Head of 1857. The 1856 sisters were screw steamships of 173 by 30 feet, while the Lady Head was a smaller version at 151 by 24 feet. All were built by Robert Napier at Govan, Scotland, who had built the first Cunard steamships.

The Napoleon III and Queen Victoria, like the earlier ships, operated as Government towing steamers below Quebec, and should not be confused with the Richelieu company's Napoleon and Victoria, which were overnight paddle steamers operating between Montreal and Quebec.

**To The Saguenay**
Elsewhere, in 1853, private interests, including David Torrance, formed the Quebec & Trois Pistoles Navigation Company, which built the 286-ton **Saguenay**, a vessel with dimensions of 165 by 24 feet. Launched at Sorel on May 9, 1853, the first ship of this name entered service on July 19. She had forty-two staterooms and a passenger saloon that stretched the full length of her superstructure.

Intended to trade below Quebec to the Saguenay, she occasionally also traded upriver as far as Kingston. "Harper's" magazine in July 1859 carried a story on one of her voyages to the Saguenay, excerpts of which give a feeling for life on board:

The A No. 1 sea-going steamer **Saguenay**, commanded by Captain R Simard, was to start on its weekly trip to the dark river of the same name, away down the St Lawrence, some forty leagues below Quebec...

The moisture from the storm that had prevailed in the St Lawrence for almost a week had penetrated everywhere, and we found the berths in the state rooms dangerously damp. The obliging steward brought us dry mattresses and flannel blankets, with which I soon made up three comfortable beds at the dark end of the saloon. To make "assurance doubly sure" in guarding against agues, each one of my immediate company swallowed a hot gin sling before retiring. The precaution was effectual...

We proceeded a few miles, when the fog came rolling up the St Lawrence in such dense masses that we were compelled to anchor. There we lay for an hour, when we moved again cautiously. No land was visible. Shoals of sand and sunken rocks there abounded, and the lead was heaved continually. Finally the pilot became uncertain of his whereabouts... suddenly the engines were reversed and the anchor was cast, for it was evident that we were approaching a shoal...

Despite initial problems, the writer's conclusions foretold the huge growth that would follow in the Saguenay tourist trade:

I would most earnestly advise every summer tourist seeking pleasure to follow our example. Every comfort of "bed and board" may be found on the staunch steamer **Saguenay**; and every one who has made the voyage with Captain Simard and Mr Papineau, his clerk, entertains the most grateful recollections of their polite attentions and skilful management.

Unfortunately, the first **Saguenay** only saw one more season, as she burned in the Lachine Canal on May 12, 1861, and was thereafter converted into a barge. In 1863 came the St Lawrence Tow Boat Company, which
introduced the next *Saguenay* in 1872. This company eventually operated both tow boats and river steamers, as well as a ferry service between Quebec and Lévis.

The Blais Family and the North Shore

In 1858, the year in which the Hudson's Bay Co lost its monopoly on the salmon fishery in Labrador, Capt Narcisse Blais of Montmagny bought the schooner *Marie Thérèse* and began a regular commercial service between Quebec and the Lower North Shore, as far as the Canada-Newfoundland border on the Strait of Belle Isle at Blanc-Sablon. Although the Hudson's Bay Co had operated its own schooners along this coast, they had been engaged in its own business, supplying trading posts and taking away furs and fish.

Over time, two more Blais schooners followed and the 130-ton *Stadacona* was the second of these. By the 1890s, Narcisse Blais was reputed to know the coast better than any man and he was described in a letter to Victor Huard, author of "Labrador et Anticosti":

Lower Labrador has no more secrets from him - the people, the harbours, the anchorages, the islands, the underwater reefs that are legion in these parts, the prevailing winds and currents at each location, all are familiar to him, he knows them by heart... One can sail without fear on board the *Stadacona*; I have experienced it myself.

In 1896, the business was handed to his son Joseph Blais, who had been representing Narcisse on the coast now for some years. At this time, this coast was known as the "Canadian Labrador" and while many of its residents had come from the Magdalen Islands and Gaspé, some of the more downstream settlements had been settled from Newfoundland.

The Blais family would continue to operate a schooner on this route until June 1923, when its last ship, Joseph Blais' 100-ton *Daisy*, was stranded in Bradore Bay, and Joseph established himself at Mutton Bay. But their involvement in shipping did not end there. Louis T Blais, son of Joseph, went on to work with the Clarke Steamship Co and with Labrador Fisheries, and the Blais family's involvements on the Lower North Shore would span more than a century.

The "Lady Head"

On her first arrival at Quebec on July 9, 1857, the Quebec "Morning Chronicle" had carried a report under the heading "Arrival of the Steamer *Lady Head*":

Mr. Baby has had constructed of iron a new and well fitted up,
commodious, and fast propeller, which he has named the *Lady Head*, and which has made the voyage from Londonderry to Quebec, stoppages included, in the very short time of 13 days, having arrived here, as will be perceived by the shipping intelligence, yesterday evening. This vessel is exceedingly well adapted for passengers, and might be profitably employed in opening up a passenger trade with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. She will for the present be in the employ of the Quebec Trinity House, and will be commanded by Captain Davison.

The *Lady Head* was named for the wife of the then Canadian Governor-General and former Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick. In 1858, fourteen years after Cunard’s *Unicorn* had left her Quebec-Pictou route, the *Lady Head* entered service as a mail boat, initially making seven voyages a year for a fee of $10,000 running between Quebec and Gaspé, Dalhousie, Bathurst, Miramichi, Shediac and Pictou.

Baby's operations were not financially successful, however, and in 1860 the Canadian Government took over operation of the ships for its own account. The *Lady Head* continued as the mail ship, usually operating about fourteen round voyages a year. The *Unicorn* had lasted five seasons in this trade, and the *Lady Head* would continue until 1867, when a private company took over the route. Capt William Davison remained in command throughout most of this period and a typical sailing card in the Quebec "Morning Chronicle" ran as follows on May 16, 1860:

Royal Mail Line
Quebec to Gaspé, Paspébiac, Dalhousie, Miramichi and Pictou
The powerful first-class new iron screw steamer *Lady Head*, W Davidson, master, will leave Atkinson's Wharf on Monday, the 21st of May, at four o'clock pm, touching at the above places going and returning...

All baggage at risk of owners thereof.
Berths not secured until paid for at the office.
Fir further particulars apply to
F Buteau, agent, Atkinson's Wharf, St James Street, Quebec

While the *Unicorn* had connected Quebec with Cunard’s fortnightly mail ship call at Halifax, the *Lady Head* soon connected at Quebec with the ships of the Allan Line, which had commenced service in 1853. In his book "The Steamboat Mails of Eastern Canada" Robert Parsons outlined how this worked:

In 1860, the sailing dates for the Gaspé steamers were arranged to coincide with the arrival and departure of the Allan Line steamers. Mails to and from the Lower Provinces connected with the steamers at Rivière-du-Loup. In a letter to his counterpart, Arthur Woodgate, in
Nova Scotia, the Postmaster General of Canada, W H Griffin explained the procedures:

[I] "have the honour to inform you that arrangements are being made for the employment of a Canadian Government steamer, to ply, during the approaching season of navigation, fortnightly, between Quebec and Pictou; (touching at some of the intermediate gulf ports) and that it is intended that this steamer shall so arrange her voyages as to arrive, on her upward trips, to Rivière-du-Loup, on every alternate Saturday afternoon, so as to connect there with the Canadian steamer for Liverpool, embarking the mails for Europe every Saturday, about 4 or 5 o'clock pm; also to leave Quebec on her downward voyages, on every alternate Monday; or, as soon as practical, after the arrival of the incoming steamer from Liverpool.

"That this arrangement may extend to Nova Scotia, the option of exchanging mails with the United Kingdom by the Canadian line, the gulf steamer will leave Pictou on the Monday night or Tuesday morning of the week in which there is no Cunard steamer direct from Halifax, and arrive at Rivière-du-Loup in time to deliver on board the Canadian steamer, on the following Saturday, any mails you may forward by her."

The two larger ships, on the other hand, were engaged mainly in government work and rarely used commercially. Occasionally, though, the Queen Victoria filled in for the Lady Head running to Pictou, often for the last voyage of the season.

The "Arabian"

Starting in 1859, the Lady Head was joined by a second mail steamer in the Quebec-Maritimes trade. This was the privately-owned 618-ton Arabian, a Niagara-built vessel of 174 by 24 feet. Owned by Andrew Heron of Niagara and previously trading in the Royal Mail Line between Montreal and Hamilton, she had been mentioned in the "Niagara Chronicle" in April 1852 when new:

- The new steamer Arabian ... has a full-length upper cabin with staterooms on each side and dining saloons in the centre. The ladies' cabin is beautifully fitted and furnished, as also the upper cabins and in both, the stained glass windows give an excellent effect. There are 110 berths.

The Arabian had more recently been sailing between Quebec and Rivière-du-Loup when she was contracted by the province of New Brunswick. She now alternated with the Lady Head, with the latter turning at Pictou and the Arabian, "carrying the Canadian and New Brunswick mails," at Shediac.
While second class fares were nearly identical on both ships, the *Lady Head*'s first-class fares were 18 to 36 per cent higher than the *Arabian*'s equivalent cabin fares for common ports. A sailing card published in the same Quebec "Morning Chronicle" that advertised the *Lady Head* on May 16, 1860, advertised the *Arabian* as follows:

For Shediac, New Brunswick, and Intermediate Ports

The powerful sidewheel steamer *Arabian*, M Steen, commander (carrying the Canadian and the New Brunswick mails), will leave Quebec for Shediac, NB, calling at Rivière-du-Loup, Rimouski, Gaspé, Paspébiac, Dalhousie, Miramichi and Richibucto, at 8 am on Saturdays (commencing May 5, 1860)... *Arabian* connects at Shediac with E&NA Railway for Saint John, Portland, Boston and with steamer *Westmoreland*, for Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia.

For further information apply to
Peter Deniss, Agent, Corner of St Peter Street and Cul-de-Sac Market, Quebec.

The 305-ton *Westmoreland* was a New Brunswick steamer that had been built in 1854 and was owned locally. With 38 berths in a gentlemen's cabin and 37 in a ladies' cabin, she offered the *Arabian*'s onward connections to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island while the *Arabian* concentrated all five of her Maritimes calls in New Brunswick, whose government was of course paying for her.

The *Lady Head*'s 1860 season opened on Saturday, May 12, with her first sailing from Quebec while the *Arabian* departed from Shediac. The Chatham newspaper "The Gleaner" reported on that day, under the heading "The Gulf Steamers":

On Tuesday evening last, we were gratified with the sight of the *Arabian* on her first trip of the season. During the winter she underwent considerable repairs, and is now in first-rate condition. Captain Steen is still in command. She left for Shediac on Wednesday morning having discharged her cargo at Newcastle and Chatham. The *Lady Head*, the agent informs us, will leave Quebec on Monday next, not Saturday as previously announced. She may be expected here on Thursday.

The *Lady Head*'s first-class fares were about 20 to 25% higher, however, as she charged $12 to Gaspé to *Arabian*'s $9.50; $15 to Dalhousie to *Arabian*'s $12; and $18 to Miramichi to *Arabian*'s $15. But the *Arabian* advertised her meals as extra while the *Lady Head*'s notice was silent on this, as meals were usually included in first-class fares. The second-class, or deck
fares, were common rated, however, at $4 to Gaspé, $6 to Dalhousie and $7 to Miramichi.

That summer, the Prince of Wales, son of Queen Victoria and later to be King Edward VII, visited Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Gaspé, the Saguenay River and Quebec in HMS Hero., The Arabian and Lady Head, meanwhile, were busy carrying members of the press as well as the public during his visit. At Charlottetown, for example, on August 9, as the Prince went ashore, the Arabian was reported to have brought six hundred spectators from Quebec while the Westmoreland had brought another four hundred from New Brunswick.

Thereafter, the Queen Victoria carried the Prince up the Saguenay together with Governor-General Head. HMS Hero was having a rather tricky summer, however. She had already grounded at Gaspé on her inward voyage and now grounded once again on a reef at the mouth of the Saguenay, leaving it the name of Prince Shoal. Later, at Montreal, the prince opened the Grand Trunk Railway's Victoria Bridge across the St Lawrence River.

In 1861, the 18,915-ton Great Eastern came to Quebec with troops to reinforce the local garrisons in Canada. Being the largest ship in the world, this caused quite a lot of interest and the result was a special cruise by the Arabian that was advertised in Chatham's "The Gleaner" on July 12:

Excursion to see the Great Eastern and Niagara Falls

The steamer Arabian will leave Chatham on Wednesday, the 24th inst (calling at intermediate ports) on a Pleasure Excursion to Quebec and Niagara Falls. Persons desirous of beholding the mammoth steamship Great Eastern will have their wishes gratified if they avail themselves of the advantages of this trip. They will also have the pleasure of beholding the Falls of Niagara as through tickets from Chatham to Niagara and back by the boat can be procured from Wm Muirhead Esq, for the low figure of $40. Meals on board Arabian included. Wm Muirhead, Agent, Chatham.

The joint service with the Lady Head lasted for only four seasons, however, before a boiler explosion off l'Islet-sur-Mer on October 15, 1862, killed four people on the Arabian. That winter, she went south as a blockade runner, operating from Nassau to Wilmington and Charleston, but was wrecked with a cargo of cotton on board at Fort Fisher near Wilmington on September 15, 1863, while trying to escape capture. Her feeder ship, the Westmoreland, also went to the Americans in 1864.

In 1863, the Lady Head commenced her Quebec to Pictou season on May 6 but on her eighth voyage of the season she broke her propeller shaft below Shediaic. The Napoleon III towed her back to Quebec and on September 8 the Queen Victoria took over her route, maintaining it for the
rest of the season while the *Lady Head* received a new shaft.

Another former Royal Mail Line steamer, the 1,029-ton *Magnet*, came to the St Lawrence in 1863, to run in connection with the Richelieu Co from Quebec to Cacouna, Rivière-du-Loup, Murray Bay and Tadoussac to Ha! Ha! Bay in the Saguenay, sailing every Tuesday and Friday. Despite the Grand Trunk Railway having opened its line between Quebec and Rivière-du-Loup in 1860, the popularity of travelling by ship was continuing to grow. Like the *Arabian*, the *Magnet* had been built by the Niagara Harbour & Dock Company, but five years earlier, in 1847. She returned to Quebec for the Saguenay run for several summer seasons in a row.

**The "Acadia"**


In 1864 it was the turn of the steamer *Acadia*; she carried mails up and down the river for a short time. "Built expressly for the route," trumpeted one newspaper. Her arrival was greeted with the press's usual optimism and high expectations of "supplying the wants of commerce with the Lower Provinces." As far as can be determined, she lasted only until August... On September 7, she cleared for Halifax, which she reached eleven days later.

The *Acadia* made only two voyages from Quebec, one on July 21 to Pictou and a second to Shediac, and suffered an enormous loss, for the time, of $8,000. She was therefore withdrawn and, like the *Arabian* three years before, went south, sailing to Havana, to be used as a blockade runner between Nassau and Charleston. A second 612-ton *Acadia* was built at Hamilton for other owners in 1867 but spent all her three decades trading between Montreal and Great Lakes ports for the Merchants' Line of Montreal.

On August 29, 1864, the *Queen Victoria* carried half the Canadian cabinet, including future Canadian Prime Minister John A Macdonald, on a special voyage from Quebec via Gaspé to Charlottetown to discuss the possibility of a Canadian union. After the conference the *Queen Victoria* took some of the delegates to Shediac, Pictou and Halifax, and on October 3 she left Quebec again to collect delegates from Pictou, Shediac and Charlottetown for a new conference to be held in Quebec.

In the enthusiasm of the time, the *Queen Victoria* was used to start a new service between Montreal and Halifax via Quebec, Gaspé, Shediac and Pictou on June 29, 1865. There was some comment of course that
government should not be in business, but the service was justified on the basis that no private operator was serving the route and the ship had no other ready employment. On June 22, the "Halifax Herald" carried the announcement of the service:

Direct Trade with Canada

The steamship *Queen Victoria* will hereafter run between Halifax to Montreal, touching at Pictou and Gaspé. She will run on alternate weeks with the *Lady Head* from Pictou, and will thus form a weekly line from Pictou to Quebec, and a fortnightly line from Halifax to Montreal. Days of sailing and other particulars in a few days. Will probably leave Montreal for Halifax about 26th or 27th instant.

Wm J Fraser, Agent, Commercial Wharf

Carrying passengers, mail and cargo, and connecting at Quebec and Montreal with steamers beyond, this innovation may have been too much too early, however, as the service only lasted the one season.

**Geo Chaffey & Brothers**

In the lead-up to Canadian Confederation in 1867 and for several years thereafter, steamship owners, sometimes with government assistance, sought to profit from the trade that was expected between Canada, now Quebec and Ontario, and the Lower Provinces. Of the latter, when New Brunswick and Nova Scotia entered Confederation in 1867 and Prince Edward Island in 1873, all tariff barriers would disappear. However, Newfoundland, although present at the original negotiations, remained a British colony for another eighty-two years, with duty applying on Canadian goods entering Newfoundland as well as its own exports to Canada.

Newcomers to this trade were Geo Chaffey & Brothers of Kingston, Ontario, operators of a fleet of tugs and barges on the St Lawrence River and Rideau Canal. Chaffey's Lock, opened on the Rideau Canal in 1831, was named for Samuel Chaffey, who had immigrated from Somerset in 1816 and built a milling business and a distillery at the site, but died of malaria in 1827. In 1855, Geo Chaffey & Brothers became involved in the mining of iron ore at Hull, Quebec, shipping about 5,000 tons a year through the Rideau Canal to Kingston for eventual export to Pennsylvania.

In 1865, Chaffey & Brothers introduced two new steamers into the Maritimes trade. Although a slightly mismatched pair, both were screw propellers. The first, the 336-ton *Her Majesty*, 185 by 30 feet, was built at St Catharines, Ontario, in 1863, the largest propeller steamer yet built in Canada. She was converted from a passenger steamer to a cargo ship at Kingston in 1864 by the removal of her 140-foot deck saloon containing
eighty-four staterooms. The second, the 1,128-ton *Merritt*, 174 by 38 feet, was built at Brockville in 1864 and designed as a three-masted barque for use in ocean service by winter, with an engine to be used as an auxiliary.

Kenneth MacKenzie recorded Chaffey Brothers' entry into the trade in the May 1983 edition of "Seaports & the Shipping World": -

The Chaffey Brothers, owners of the steamers *Her Majesty* and *Merritt*, after discovering that the government intended to maintain its ships on their Quebec-Pictou route, placed their two ships on a route from Toronto to Halifax, carrying Canadian flour to the Maritimes.

Chaffey's ships, although small and commanding high rates, managed to survive. The fact that they could offer service without transhipment might have been a huge factor.

The Chaffey Brothers continued to advertise their "propellers" for Halifax direct, from Toronto. The "direct" claim was stretching the truth somewhat, as they stopped at many intermediate ports - but at least there was no transhipment of goods. *Merritt* and *Her Majesty* operated throughout 1866, apparently making a commercial success of their endeavour.

Geo Chaffey & Brothers were engineers as well as shipping men. As well as milling and mining, they had started a shipyard in Brockville and moved to Kingston in 1859. They were now heavily involved in the St Lawrence canals trade, operating several tugs and a large fleet of barges in the forwarding business between Kingston and Montreal in the days before the old St Lawrence Canals were enlarged.

**The "Union"**

Very briefly, the St Lawrence Tow Boat Co was awarded a contract for the Gulf of St Lawrence route and in August 1866 introduced its 687-ton *Union* into service between Quebec and Pictou. Built in Lévis that same year, at 218 by 28 feet and with berths for about 150 passengers, her name indicated her intended trade. Her first sailing card, published in Quebec and Ottawa newspapers on July 28, 1866, read as follows: -

St Lawrence Tow-Boat Company.  
Passenger and Freight Line between Quebec and Pictou.  

The splendid and fast-sailing new steamer *Union*, Capt W Davison, will leave the St Andrew's Wharf on Tuesday, the 7th August next at 4 pm for Pictou (going and returning) via Father Point, Gaspé, Percé, Paspébiac, Dalhousie, Newcastle, Chatham and Shediac... This splendid steamer has all the modern improvements, with large family
staterooms and is acknowledged to be one of the fastest vessels on the St Lawrence.

For further information apply at the company's office, St Andrew's Wharf.
J Chabot, Manager

On August 15, a week after her first sailing, the "Halifax Morning Sun" reported as follows, under the heading "Canadian Steamer Union": -

This new side-wheel steamer has made her first trip on the route from Quebec to Pictou... The vessel was built at Quebec by the St Lawrence Tow Boat Company - the machinery manufactured at Montreal by Mr Bush of the Eagle Foundry. She can comfortably accommodate 100 cabin passengers and is furnished with a number of family staterooms as well; she is capable of carrying 2,000 barrels. On her trip on the St Lawrence she averaged 19 knots with the tide, and 10 against it. She is intended to run in conjunction with the Lady Head, making a weekly line between Quebec and Pictou, calling at the following intermediate ports, viz: Father Point, Gaspé Basin, Percé, Paspébiac, New Carlisle, Dalhousie, Miramichi and Shediac.

If this excellent boat does not meet with encouragement sufficient to enable the enterprising company to keep her on the line, she will be placed on some one of the numerous routes in Upper Canada. Her hull was built by Mr F Brunelle, the excellent Canadian shipbuilder, and [she] is commanded by Capt Wm Davison, formerly of the Lady Head, a gentleman well known to the travelling public on the line from Quebec to Pictou.

As can be seen, there was already some hesitation as to whether the service would be able to obtain the required support, and, just like the Acadia, the service was, as the Quebec "Morning Chronicle" called it on September 25, a "miserable commercial failure." The Union too had to be withdrawn after only her second voyage, which left Quebec on August 21. But the same newspaper also pointed out that where the Lady Head had received an $800 postal subsidy, the Union had only been granted $120.

In the following year the Union was chartered under a five-year contract to the Canadian Navigation Company and after a $9,500 refit was placed on the Saguenay run, sailing from Montreal to Murray Bay, Rivière-du-Loup, Tadoussac and Ha! Ha! Bay in conjunction with the Magnet, running from Quebec. On June 18, 1867, the Toronto "Daily Globe" stated that the Union: -

Will leave Montreal every Monday evening during the season, at 5 o'clock, and Quebec on Tuesday morning, at 8 o'clock, for the River Saguenay. This steamer was built last year expressly for the
navigation of the Lower St Lawrence, and is far superior in size, space and comfort, to any boat hitherto on the route.

In 1868, the St Lawrence Tow Boat Co took delivery of the 237-ton Clyde at Quebec, running her both upstream to Montreal and downstream to Chicoutimi or to Kamouraska. Meanwhile, with the expiry of the Union’s charter in 1872 she reverted to her owners, who introduced her to their own service to the Saguenay, running from Quebec to Baie-St-Paul, Les Eboulements, Pointe-au-Pic, Rivière-du-Loup and on to Tadoussac and Ha! Ha! Bay.

The Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Company 1867

An important new firm, the Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Company, was founded at Quebec on March 1, 1867, to begin weekly service between Quebec and Pictou via way ports in the Gaspé Peninsula and Prince Edward Island. This private company took over the service that had formerly been operated by the Lady Head and Arabian. As the Nova Scotia Railway was about to open a line between Halifax and Pictou Landing in June, the new firm would be able to offer a through rail and water service between Montreal and Halifax. As Pictou was not served direct, however, passengers and freight had to moved between Pictou Landing and Pictou in a railway-owned ferry.

After negotiations with the Canadian Post Office, Quebec & Gulf Ports was awarded a subsidy of $1,000 per round voyage for weekly service between Quebec and Pictou. Starting with the 467-ton paddle steamer Secret and the 340-ton screw steamship Gaspé in 1867, the following announcement appeared in the Quebec newspapers: -

The Quebec and Gulf Ports Steamship Company

Royal Mail Line between Montreal, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. The iron side-wheel steamship Secret, Captain Davison. The screw steamship Gaspé. The above powerful and commodious and first-class steamships are intended to sail as under, for Pictou, NS.

s.s. Gaspé, from Quebec, on Tuesday, 28th June, at 4 o’clock pm, and every alternate Tuesday, calling at Father Point, Gaspé, Percé, Chatham, Newcastle, Miramichi, Shediac, Paspébiac and Dalhousie on each down trip.

s.s. Secret, from Quebec, Tuesday, 21st June, at four o’clock pm, and every alternate Tuesday, calling at Father Point, Gaspé, Percé, Paspébiac, Dalhousie, Chatham, Newcastle and Shediac, connecting at
Shediac with railway for St John, steamers for Fredericton, Eastport, Portland and Boston, and at Pictou with railway to Halifax.

The Secret has very superior accommodation for over 100 cabin passengers, and the Gaspé for 60. The company having purchased the first-class iron screw steamship Georgia, built at Dumbarton, Scotland, in 1864, it is intended to place her on the line between Montreal and Gulf Ports immediately. Particulars in a future advertisement, as to dates of sailing and ports of call, etc.

Through tickets for Halifax, NS, St John, NB, Eastport, Portland and Boston at very low rates. For freight and passage apply to W H Howland, 25 Church Street.

Capt Davison, formerly of the Lady Head and Union, now joined Quebec & Gulf Ports in the Secret. The 648-ton Georgia was in fact delayed and did not join the route until 1870, when she finally departed New York for Quebec in June, while another ship, the 472-ton City of Quebec, was added in her stead in 1868. Quebec & Gulf Ports acquired eight ships during its first six years of operation. Mostly British-built, many of them were former Confederate blockade runners built during the American Civil War.

Kenneth MacKenzie mentioned the introduction of the new company's first ships in the June 1983 edition of "Seaports & the Shipping World." After some initial teething pains for both ships, he recounted:

By September 1867 Secret and Gaspé were able to maintain the weekly service. The faithful Lady Head was quietly withdrawn from the mail route ... and placed on the branch line service, calling at the way ports envisaged by the Port Office Department...

Thereafter, the Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Co bore the full burden of the mail service between Quebec and Pictou. For the first time the government was able to rely on private enterprise to provide the full requirements of the St Lawrence communities.

The Lady Heads new branch line served Rimouski, Gaspé Basin, Percé and Paspébiac in Quebec, and Campbellton, Bathurst and Caraquet, three New Brunswick lumber towns located on the Baie-des-Chaleurs, but at the end of the 1868 season, her ninth running to the Maritimes, she was transferred to Halifax as a Government ship.

Almost five years later, on April 1, 1873, the Lady Head and Cunard's Delta rescued many survivors from the wreck of the two-year-old 3,707-ton White Star liner Atlantic, aground near Halifax. On a voyage from Liverpool to New York, she had run low on coal and tried to reach Halifax, but 562 lives were lost in the wreck out of 957 on board. No women and only one child survived. The full story of this disaster is told in C H Milsoms' book "The Coal
Was There For Burning." The Lady Head, meanwhile, also made spring voyages to Sable Island and was lost herself near Gaspé on August 10, 1878.

The "Merritt" and "Her Majesty"

In the same issue of "Seaports & the Shipping World," MacKenzie continued the Chaffey & Brothers story:

Meanwhile, Chaffey Brothers quietly continued its sailings and announced their intention of putting Merritt on the Montreal to St John's route, if trade developed, while maintaining Her Majesty on the Montreal-Halifax service, a quiet deviation of its previous service from Toronto. Merritt in fact sailed fairly consistently that summer to St John's, mostly carrying flour.

The Merritt, designed for ocean service, offered an early Montreal-St John's steamship service while her fleetmate was able to increase her own frequency of sailings to Halifax by avoiding the time-consuming canal system between Montreal and Toronto.

Chaffey & Brothers' fleet was absorbed in 1868 into the Montreal Transportation Company, which was incorporated in 1869 with a capital of $120,000. The next news we have of the two ships appeared in the "Pictou Standard" on June 21, 1869:

The steamer Her Majesty, while coaling at the Intercolonial Coal Co's wharf yesterday, was run into by the steamer Merritt and seriously damaged. The latter, which was disabled by the loss of her screw, was being towed up to the wharf, and after being cast off, came into collision with the former, and her anchor, which was hanging down forward, penetrated her planking, making a hole through which the water rushed in so violently as to render it necessary to run her onto the flats to prevent her sinking. Her Majesty was loaded with a cargo of 4,000 bbls of flour, a large part of which is under water.

Chaffey's Maritimes traders ended their days in the Gulf of St Lawrence, Her Majesty wrecked at Percé on November 6, 1869, and the Merritt, by then under control of the Allan interests, in fog on the Magdalen Islands on July 13, 1873.

The Chaffeys' engineering background prevailed. George Chaffey Sr, as a director of the Montreal Transportation Co, continued to build ships until his retirement in 1877 to California, and George Jr, who had found work as a naval architect, followed him there in 1881. There they established irrigation schemes around Ontario, California, a city they named after their home province. Five years later, George Jr and his older brother William were attracted to a similar project on Australia's Murray River, a stream that runs
1,609 miles through three states, where they founded the towns of Mildura and Renmark using similar irrigation schemes.

In 1888, things came full circle. Far from the Rideau and the St Lawrence, the Chaffey Brothers invested in the River Murray Navigation Co Ltd, which had been founded in 1857, to run passengers and cargo upstream from a railhead at a place called Morgan to Mildura, a voyage of about 165 miles. One of its steamers could accommodate fifty overnight passengers, and another, the 228-ton Gem, survives to this day as a static museum. William remained in Australia, eventually becoming mayor of Mildura, while George returned to America in 1897.

The Montreal & Maritime Provinces Steamship Line

On July 17, 1867, just a few months after Quebec & Gulf Ports was formed, another shipping line was opened when Sandford Fleming, who had now been appointed by Ottawa as engineer in chief for the Intercolonial Railway, acquired the 993-ton Flamborough, a ship with dimensions of 200 by 28 feet. The Intercolonial Railway was a project to build a railway between the Maritime Provinces with Central Canada that had been adopted as a condition of the Canadian union.

When she arrived at Pictou that month, the Flamborough entered service as a collier, hauling Nova Scotia coal to Montreal and returning with whatever cargo she could find. She operated alone for three years, but in 1870 was joined by two fleetmates, the 704-ton Bolivar and the 700-ton Ouse, to serve the Montreal-Pictou route of the Montreal & Maritime Provinces Steamship Line. The Bolivar ran aground on St Helen's Island at Montreal on June 9 and was refloated on July 2, but was not back in service again until mid-September.

In 1871, the Flamborough once more operated alone, ranging as far as Halifax and Newfoundland, and at the end of the season she broke her way through ice into Charlottetown with late mails, and wintered there.

The "Alhambra" and "Flamborough"

When the Flamborough again left Charlottetown on May 9, 1872, it was as a member of the Quebec & Gulf Ports fleet. Fleming, her former owner, had now moved from Halifax to Ottawa to go on to become a director of both the Hudson's Bay Co and the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1897, he was knighted by Queen Victoria for his role in promoting the adoption of time zones.

The Flamborough's new owners once more advertised her on the Montreal-Pictou run, where she was joined by their own 1,063-ton Alhambra,
a vessel of 219 by 28 feet. The *Flamborough* remained with Quebec & Gulf Ports until 1893, trading as far as the West Indies and to Bermuda in the crop season.

The *Alhambra* had been running between Boston, Halifax and Charlottetown as early as 1867, but was registered at Quebec on April 15, 1871, intended to run between Montreal, Quebec and Newfoundland by way of Nova Scotia ports. For most of 1871 and 1872, however, she continued to run between Halifax and Boston and on June 8, 1872, was reported at Halifax with 90 passengers from Prince Edward Island and Strait of Canso, departing again for Boston with 144 passengers. That autumn, she also made a number of passages between Pictou and St John's, Newfoundland.

Together with the *Flamborough* and other Quebec & Gulf Ports vessels, she often traded on the East Coast. These ships spent time working for the Cromwell Line, an American operator, running between Halifax and Portland, Maine, and between New York, Halifax and St John's, as well as steaming south for Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Co.

**The "Miramichi"**

The sixth member of the Quebec & Gulf Ports fleet was the company's fourth and last paddle steamer. The 727-ton *Miramichi*, at 229 x 25 feet, joined the fleet in 1872. On May 15, on her delivery voyage, and already named *Miramichi*, she cleared New York under Capt McKenzie, bound for Quebec. With berths for 117 and room for a good cargo, she was licensed to carry up to 300 passengers.

At first, she operated as one of a fleet of half a dozen ships but the advertised sailing arrangements soon after she joined the fleet are worth examining. From an advertisement that appeared in "New England: A Handbook for Travelers," we are able to note the following:

- **Quebec to Pictou and Cape Breton.** By the vessels of the Quebec and Gulf Ports Steamship Company.

  The *Georgia* leaves Montreal every alternate Friday at 4 am; reaching Quebec at 6 pm, leaves Quebec at 7 pm, and arrives at Father Point at 10 am Saturday; leaves at 11 am and arrives at Shediac at 2 am, Monday; leaves (by rail) at 5 am, and arrives at Saint John in the afternoon. The steamer reaches Charlottetown (Prince Edward Island) Monday noon and leaves at 3 pm, reaching Pictou at 7 pm on Monday.

  The *Secret* or the *Miramichi* leaves Quebec at 2 pm Tuesdays, reaches Father Point at 5 am Wednesday, and leaves at 6 am, 175 m (fare $4; 2nd class $2), to Gaspé, 433 m (fare $10; 2nd class $4), to Percé, 472 m (fare $11; 2nd class $4.25), to Paspébiac, 543 m (fare $13; 2nd
class $5) to Dalhousie... and at a little after noon on Saturday, the steamer reaches Pictou.

After the loss of the Georgia at Penobscot, Maine, on January 14, 1875, the Miramichi and Secret were moved to weekly service between Montreal, Quebec, Gaspé, Chatham, Charlottetown and Pictou. And that same year, in order to compete with the anticipated new railway, commercial travellers on the Miramichi were given a 25 per cent fare reduction when travelling to or from Pictou and other Gulf ports.

**Alexander Fraser & Company**

Quebec merchants and insurance agents Alexander Fraser & Company established another St Lawrence coastal service in 1872, to run between Quebec, Gaspé and ports in the Baie-des-Chaleurs. For this they acquired the 147-ton screw steamer Beaver, 110 by 19 feet, with a license to carry 70 passengers, from builders in Scotland.

Eight years later, on May 27, 1880, a second Fraser steamship, the 223-ton Otter, began the first regular steamship service to the North Shore, sailing between Quebec and Natashquan via way ports and making a call at Rimouski on the South Shore.

The Otter, at 111 by 18 feet, was acquired from Molson's Moisie Iron Company, who had been operating a mine that had opened at Moisie in 1865, and for whom, as the Margaretha Stevenson, she had been carrying iron blooms between the Bay of Sept-Iles and Montreal, for onforwarding to the United States by rail. The ship, however, had become surplus after the Americans, under pressure from the Minnesota mining industry, had imposed an increase in duty on the Moisie Iron Co's product, from $15 a ton for pig iron to $33.60 a ton for worked iron, thus forcing them out of the market.

Under Fraser, the Otter was commanded for a good part of her career by Capt O C Bernier. Typical of the newspaper sailing cards that were published regularly during her career was the following:

For Labrador. The Mail Steamer Otter, Captain O C Bernier, sails for Esquimaux Point and way places at 8 am 20th & 30th July

And 10th, 20th and 30th of each succeeding month, to 20th October inclusive. Last trips of the season 29th October and 9th November. Will visit Natashquan etc when sufficient traffic offers.

A Fraser & Co, Agents

Esquimaux Point, or Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, was later known as Havre-St-Pierre. The little Otter was a product of the famous Denny of
Dumbarton shipyard in Scotland and was licensed to carry 125 passengers.

**Sir Hugh Allan and the St Lawrence**

The Allan Line had originated as far back as 1819, and been incorporated in Canada in 1853 as the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company. From 1855 it had held the mail contract for ocean steamship service between Montreal, Quebec and Liverpool. Between 1873 and 1889, Sir Hugh Allan, the head of the family in Canada, also operated several steamers between Montreal, Quebec and the Lower St Lawrence.

Allan's local ships were mainly sidewheel tow boats, used to assist not only Allan Line ocean liners but also sailing ships and barges in the river. But as they were designed for use as tenders, they were also well enough fitted out to carry a few passengers up or down the St Lawrence, including the odd prince or newlywed.

The best-known were the 252-ton *Meteor* and 386-ton *Rocket*, both built at Sorel in 1866. The *Rocket* managed to ram and sink Montreal Harbour Commissioners' little 125-ton *Richelieu* on October 22, 1878, off Cap-de-la-Madeleine, but otherwise they plied their trade without much publicity. These jacks of all trades later became passenger ships on the Great Lakes. Other investments were also made in coastal ships that were either chartered to other operators or run for Allan's own account.

Sir Hugh had interests in several different St Lawrence shipping concerns and was not reluctant to play one off against another. He held shares in both the Canadian Navigation Co and La Compagnie du Richelieu and after their merger into Richelieu & Ontario in 1875, he became its president, a position he held until Louis Senécal succeeded him in February 1882.

**The "Newfoundland"**

The Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Company had tried sporadically to start a line between St Lawrence ports and Newfoundland, and finally landed a contract with the Newfoundland Government to do so. For this, it ordered a wooden steamship to be built in Quebec. Wooden hulls were favoured for working in winter ice. Construction of the ship was reported in Quebec's "Morning Chronicle" on July 11, 1872:

Mr P Baldwin is now building, at his shipyard, Hare Point, for this company, a steamship of the following dimensions:- 200' keel, 29'6" beam, 23' depth of hold... The vessel will be built of hardwood throughout ... with every appliance that can give strength, as the vessel is intended to navigate between Halifax and St John's, Nfld, in
the winter months, and between Montreal, Quebec and St John's during the season of navigation. The space between the main and spar decks will be fitted up with neat and commodious cabins for first and second-class passengers... It is expected the vessel with be completed about 15th November. With this steamer and the s.s. Pictou the company will be able to run a fortnightly line between Montreal, Quebec, Pictou and St John's Nfld.

Peter Baldwin, in whose yard the new ship was built, would some fifteen years later join the Quebec Steamship Company as its superintendent in New York. Launched on November 2, the 919-ton Newfoundland proceeded under sail to England, where her machinery was to be installed.

**The "Pictou" and "Hadji"**

The second ship acquired for the Newfoundland trade, the 757-ton Pictou, was purchased in February 1872, around the same time as the Alhambra, and registered in St John's, Newfoundland. The only Quebec & Gulf Ports vessel to have been built in the United States, the Pictou had been launched in New York in 1862 as the Fah-Kee. She had served variously in the coastal trades and then between New York and Cuba and Mexico, and had been chartered by the Bermuda Government to run between New York and Bermuda in 1868 as the first regular steamship connection to New York for fourteen years. Originally intended for service in China, her original name had been a Chinese expression for Americans. After the Fah-Kee in 1868, the Bermuda Government had chartered a series of steamships from different owners and with her acquisition Quebec & Gulf Ports started to take an interest in this service.

On July 4, 1872, the Pictou brought to Quebec 119 passengers and crew of the 1,271-ton British liner Adalia, which had left London on June 5 and been wrecked on St Paul's Island in the Gulf of St Lawrence on June 26. The Pictou had left her namesake port on her rescue mission to St Paul's Island on June 29. In an advertisement first run on July 10, 1872, and was still running in September in the Quebec "Morning Chronicle" the company was now advertising service to Newfoundland as well:

The Quebec and Gulf Ports Steamship Company

Steam communication between Montreal, Quebec, Father Point, Gaspé, Percé, Paspébiac, Dalhousie, Chatham, Newcastle, Shediac, Charlottetown, Pictou and St John's Nfld and by railway connections with Saint John NB and Halifax NS.

The steamers of this line, under contract with the Government of the Dominion of Canada and the Government of Newfoundland, are intended to sail as noted:
The steel-built paddle steamers *Secret* or *Miramichi* to leave Quebec and Pictou every Tuesday during the season of navigation, touching at Father Point, Gaspé, Percé, Paspébiac, Dalhousie, Chatham, Newcastle and Shediac, on the up and down trips.

The screw steamers *Georgia* or *Alhambra* to leave Montreal Thursday, 23rd July at four o’clock pm, and every alternate Tuesday, touching at Quebec, Shediac, Charlottetown and Pictou, leaving Pictou for St John’s Nfld on Tuesday, 30th July, at 2 pm and every alternative Tuesday.

The steamships *Flamborough* and *Pictou* to run regularly during the season between Pictou, Quebec and Montreal, touching at Shediac and Charlottetown on the down trips, as business may offer.

For freight or passage, apply to W H Howland, Toronto; Geo Heubach, Montreal; or, W Moore, Manager.

Before an engine could be installed in the *Newfoundland*, the Newfoundland Government withdrew the contract on account of the poor performance of the ships that were assigned to the run. The *Newfoundland* was then sold in April 1873 to James & Alexander Allan of the Allan Line, who installed an engine and brought her back to Canada for their own service between Halifax and St John’s. She ran successfully for twenty years before being sold in 1893 to J A Farquhar & Co of Halifax, with a minority interest held by Harvey & Co of St John's, merchants who had originally arrived from Bermuda.

With Capt James Farquhar as master for much of this time, the *Newfoundland* served another twenty years as a freighter by summer and a sealer by winter before moving to Newfoundland registry under the ownership of A Harvey & Co in 1904.

Ten years after that, a disaster would see 78 of the 189 men on board freeze to death on March 31, 1914, when out on the ice during the annual seal hunt in the Gulf of St Lawrence, they were cut off from their ship by storms. This story is told in Cassie Brown’s "Death on the Ice: the Great Newfoundland Sealing Disaster of 1914."

Meanwhile, joining the Montreal-Pictou service on May 23, 1873, was the Sunderland-built 1,032-ton *Hadji*. She later ran south to the West Indies, including a period on charter to the Ward Line in 1876-77, while they were building their own ships to run between New York and Cuba. The *Hadji* was fitted for 100 first-class and 100 steerage passengers.

Soon, the line was describing its service in American magazines as the "unrivalled tourist route between Montreal, Quebec, Lower Ports on the Gulf
of St. Lawrence, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island and Pictou, Nova Scotia," and indeed on July 26, 1873, an advertisement in the Halifax "Morning Chronicle" listed a substantial fleet, but with no more mention of Newfoundland:

The Quebec and Gulf Ports Steamship Company

Royal Mail Line between Pictou, P E Island, New Brunswick, Quebec and Montreal, touching at the Intermediate Gulf ports.

s.s. Secret .................................... Captain Davison
s.s. Miramichi ................................. Captain Bacquet
s.s. Georgia ................................... Captain McKenzie
s.s. Alhambra ................................. Captain Angrove
s.s. Flamborough ............................ Captain Telfer
s.s. Hadji ....................................... Captain McKichan
s.s. Pictou ....................................... Captain Jack

The above steamers are intended to sail from Pictou, as undernoted, during the season of navigation:

The Georgia and the Pictou when specially advertised, for Montreal, every alternate Friday at 1 pm, say June 27th, July 11th, 25th, &c, touching at Charlottetown PEI, Shediac, Father Point and Quebec.

The Secret or Miramichi for Quebec, every Tuesday at 7 am, touching at Shediac, Newcastle, Chatham, Dalhousie, Paspébiac, Percé, Gaspé and Father Point.

Passengers have the option of going by rail from Halifax, and taking steamer at Shediac, leaving Halifax by 7:30 am train on Tuesdays; or via Pictou, leaving Halifax by 11:30 am train on Mondays.

The above powerful and commodious First Class steamships are fitted up with new and elegant Saloons, Staterooms and Promenade Deck, and have accommodation which cannot be surpassed for a large number of passengers.

A saving of ten per cent can be effected by the purchase of Through Tickets at the agent's office in Halifax, where stateroom can be secured, and all information obtained.

The freight steamers Alhambra, Flamborough and Hadji will ply regularly between Pictou and Montreal, carrying freight at low rates.

F D Corbett & Co, Agents, 141 Lower Water St, Halifax

However, the Pictou became one of several ships that Quebec & Gulf
Ports lost in its early years, and Kenneth MacKenzie recounted her early demise in his fleet list:

In late November 1873, when it appeared as though the company would obtain the Bermuda contract, she was sent out of the river in anticipation of returning to her old stamping grounds between New York and Bermuda. On 18 November, as near as can be judged, she was utterly destroyed by fire in the vicinity of the Magdalen Islands. Twenty-nine lives were lost in her, and little or no debris ever came ashore. Insured for $18,000, her loss was given as $46,000.

Ivan S Brookes gave a similar story in his book "The Lower St Lawrence":

She sailed from Quebec about the 16 November 1873 and was not heard from again. On the night of the 18th, a fire was seen off the north coast of Prince Edward Island, but an offshore wind carried the unfortunate vessel out into the Gulf.

There have been many reports over the years of people seeing a vision of a burning ship off the coast of Prince Edward Island and while most people put this down to a natural phenomenon, some of the more superstitious claim it is the *Pictou*. This tale eventually made its way into the tourist guides of the Clarke Steamship Co. The Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Co lost four ships in its first eight years of operation, but the company survived and was able to replace its losses.

**Quebec & Gulf Ports and the "Bermuda Ferry"**

Anticipating that the new railway would soon take the lion's share of the river trade, the Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Co, had begun looking to expand beyond the Gulf of St Lawrence in order to find future employment for its ships. In 1873, it won the contract to operate what came to be called the "Bermuda Ferry" between New York and Hamilton, Bermuda. This service dated to 1868, when the Bermuda Government had formed the Bermuda Steam Navigation Company and chartered the American steamer *Fah-Kee*, which had arrived in Hamilton for the first time that September. This was the ship that became Quebec & Gulf Ports' *Pictou*.

With the help of the Outerbridge family, who had arrived in Bermuda in 1619, the Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Co managed to obtain a long-term contract for this service. Colonial inks were interesting as yet another branch of the Outerbridge family, in Newfoundland, together with the Harvey family, controlled A Harvey & Co.

Starting in 1874, with A E Outerbridge & Company as its New York agent, Quebec & Gulf Ports began regular service on the 697-mile route between New York and Bermuda, with its 692-ton *Canima* arriving in
Hamilton on her maiden voyage on January 21. The fare was $30 one-way or $50 round trip and initially, Stevenson & Leve of Quebec were appointed as agents in Boston, Montreal and Toronto while Trott & Cox, who had acted for the Fah-Kee and other ships that had followed her, were appointed in Bermuda. Although Samuel Cunard had operated a service between Halifax and Bermuda since 1833, this was the first regular connection with New York.

The Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Co was soon busy publicizing its new New York-Bermuda service. Its first advertising piece, an illustrated twenty-page brochure, featured a reprint of a seventeen-page article on the Bermuda Islands that appeared in "Harpers Magazine" in March 1874, just weeks after service began. This same article of course gave full details of the new steamship service and its schedules, as this was the first time that North Americans had been able to travel to Bermuda with such ease.

The Canima was joined by the 1,284-ton Bermuda, the company's first newbuilding. Able to carry 60 first-class passengers and 1,600 tons of cargo, the Bermuda operated on the Montreal-Pictou route in 1875, the year before the opening of the Intercolonial Railway, and again in 1876, along with the Miramichi and the Secret, and "during the season of pleasure travel," the Alhambra and Hadji, which like the Bermuda had been built on the Clyde. It had been intended to give the Bermuda the name St Lawrence but she was assigned to the new route instead, while the Miramichi and other ships would carry on in Canada. As Bermuda's high season was then the winter, Quebec & Gulf Ports probably intended at first to operate her in the St Lawrence during the open season and to Bermuda by winter, but she was soon trading quite regularly to Bermuda.

The Montreal & Acadian Line and the Mitchell Line

In 1874 two more Gulf of St Lawrence services were started, one stemming from the Allan interests and the other by a New Brunswicker.

The Montreal & Acadian Steamship Line, an affiliate of the Allan Line, opened a service between Montreal, Shediac, Charlottetown and Pictou with three chartered steamers, the 601-ton Armenia, the 667-ton California and the 629-ton Columbia, all built in Ontario in 1873.

Three higher-powered former Mediterranean-trading passenger and cargo ships, the 656-ton sisters Roma, Valetta and Venezia, were acquired from the Anchor Line of Glasgow late in 1874, and the original trio returned to their intended trade between Montreal and the Great Lakes. The replacement ships were registered in Montreal under the name of Hugh McLennan, a member, along with Andrew Allan, of the Montreal Harbour Commissioners. McLennan was also president of the Montreal Transportation Co, with its large fleet of tugs, barges, sailing ships and steamships engaged
in the Great Lakes and St Lawrence grain trade.

Typical of the times, the Roma was reported arriving Halifax on May 19, 1875, after having spent six days in ice in the Gulf of St Lawrence. This same line operated colliers between Nova Scotia and Quebec for the Allan Line. The Allans had interests in the Pictou area coal mines, which shipped their production across a dock at Pictou Landing.

Meanwhile, Peter Mitchell, a native of the Miramichi and former premier of New Brunswick, who had been named as the first Canadian Minister of Marine & Fisheries on July 1, 1867, started the Mitchell Steamship Company in September 1873. Having been involved in shipbuilding in New Brunswick, in partnership with John Haws from 1853 and from 1861 for his own account, Mitchell had been involved in building some fifteen ships. He was also a strong promoter of the Intercolonial Railway, which would run through his home town. One of Mitchell's original shareholders was Montreal businessman Donald Smith, later Lord Strathacona.

The Mitchell Line placed two new British-built ships, the 852-ton *Normanton* and 817-ton *Polino*, into the St Lawrence to Maritimes trade. By winter, they ran between Saint John and Portland, Maine, where they connected with the Grand Trunk Railway to Montreal. Mitchell was also interested in the Canadian Pacific Railway, which would eventually reach Saint John in 1889.

Each of the new lines lost a ship on the South Shore in November 1875, the Mitchell Line's *Normanton* the victim of a collision off Rimouski on the 6th and the Montreal & Acadian Line's *Roma* wrecked at Ile aux Oies on the 29th. The *Venezia* lasted four seasons before being wrecked on the Cape Breton coast on October 21, 1878. Although both lines were affected by the opening of the rail link to the Maritimes in 1876, the *Polino* and *Valetta* would continue to trade for some years.

The *Polino* became a regular trader to Newfoundland, reported on May 9, 1881, for example, fighting ice in the Cabot Strait en route from Montreal to St John's, where she arrived on May 12. Exactly five years later, on May 11, 1886, she was in a very similar situation. Meanwhile, in August 1883, she carried several lumber merchants from St John's to Bay of Islands, on Newfoundland's west coast, to look for new sources of timber. In June 1887, she was reported carrying saloon passengers to Montreal and a decade later, on May 5, 1897, in St John's, damaged by Gulf ice and unloading general cargo and roofing supplies. That September she brought in a cargo of sheep and potatoes from Prince Edward Island.

The *Polino* ran between Montreal and St John's with calls at Summerside and Charlottetown, first for the Ross Line and then for Henry Dobell & Company of Montreal. Together with S Cunard & Company of Halifax, Dobell had sold coal from the Albion Mines in Pictou County, Nova
Scotia, and in addition to selling alum, soda, potash and china clay, brought in large quantities of iron pyrites, as well as fish oil, from Newfoundland. Dobell was also sole agent for Newfoundland for the Adam's Tobacco Company of Montreal. On the eastern end of her circuit, from Prince Edward Island to St John's, the Polino's cargoes included potatoes and fresh produce loaded under deck and cattle on deck. She would survive for many years yet.

The Valetta served for two decades, trading in the Gulf of St Lawrence, and on the East Coast by winter. She was often reported jammed in ice for days in a row in the early season in May when trading between Montreal and St John's. By winter, she traded between Boston, Saint John, Halifax and St John's, until she was lost in ice about fifty miles off Halifax on April 18, 1894.

The St Lawrence Steam Navigation Company

The year 1874 was a busy one for St Lawrence shipping lines. Not only had two new lines entered the St Lawrence to Maritimes trade and the Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Co opened its New York-Bermuda service, but the St Lawrence Tow Boat Co changed its name to the St Lawrence Steam Navigation Company. As well as owning the Clyde and the Union, it had purchased two large ex-American steamers, the 1,077-ton Saguenay, 218 by 28 feet, and the 869-ton St Lawrence, 211 by 28 feet, in the autumn of 1872. The new Saguenay served for a dozen years before burning at Pointe-au-Pic, on September 24, 1884.

In 1875, the St Lawrence Steam Navigation Co took over the Quebec & Trois Pistoles Navigation Co, and that season it operated three ships from Quebec, offering six departures a week. The latest Saguenay left on Tuesdays and Fridays for Chicoutimi and Ha! Ha! Bay, by way of Baie-St-Paul, Les Eboulements, Murray Bay, Rivière-du-Loup and Tadoussac and the Union on Wednesdays and Saturdays for Ha! Ha! Bay via Murray Bay, Rivière-du-Loup and Tadoussac. The St Lawrence took a Thursday sailing on the same route as the Union, and a special Saturday sailing from Quebec to Murray Bay and Rivière-du-Loup. For a couple of years after her introduction, the St Lawrence sailed as far downstream as Rimouski, but she now turned at Rivière-du-Loup.

The "Allan Line Illustrated Tourists' Guide to Canada and the United States" for 1880 summarized the Saguenay cruise for its own passengers in two quick paragraphs: -

Excursion to the Saguenay - The steamer leaves Quebec in the morning. Below Orleans island, the St. Lawrence is never less than 10 miles wide, and its water salt. At Grosse Isle - (24 miles) is quarantine station for immigrants. Then follow Crane, Goose, and other islands. Steamer stops first at Murray Bay (Malbaie, 90 miles) and then crosses over to Rivière-du-Loup or Fraserville, where she remains during the
night, the passengers sleeping on board.

Early in the morning she crosses over to Tadousac (20 miles), at the mouth of Saguenay, and proceeds for 60 miles up that remarkable river, which runs through a cleft in the rocks, with walls rising on either side perpendicularly to a height of 1500 feet. Among the remarkable precipices pointed out are Cape Eternity, Trinity Rock, and Statue Point. At Ha Ha Bay the steamer stops and then returns to Rivière-du-Loup, which is reached in the evening.

Aside from the stunning views in the Saguenay River, the resort hotel at Murray Bay and the history of Tadoussac, Rivière-du-Loup was now the centre of a popular summer resort area. Cacouna, not far downstream, had many resort hotels and at St Patrick, just upstream, Prime Minister John A Macdonald had his summer home.

**The Arrival of the Intercolonial Railway 1876**

On July 1, 1876, the ninth anniversary of Confederation, the Intercolonial Railway opened from Montreal and Quebec, where it had a station on the south shore at Lévis, through Rivière-du-Loup and all the way to Halifax. This event led to significant reductions in waterborne commerce between St Lawrence ports and the Maritimes, and affected all the lines operating down the St Lawrence. Having taken over the Nova Scotia Railway in 1872, the Intercolonial now also controlled the Halifax rail link from Pictou Landing.

Kenneth MacKenzie, in the October 1983 issue of “Seaports & the Shipping World,” outlined what happened in shipping in 1876 after the ship losses of 1875 and the opening of the railway in 1876:

These circumstances severely tested the various companies. However, all expressed themselves determined to carry on, and indeed their remaining ships were operated throughout 1876. But regardless of the fact that the Montreal & Acadian Line added its [931-ton] collier *Acadian* and the propellor *Columbia*, and the s.s. *Newfoundland* to its roster the Q&GP SS Co remained dominant.

The Mitchell Line's determination proceeded no further than a belligerent directors' meeting; the additional ship promised by its deliberations failed to materialize and it operated only *Polino* during 1876.

The Montreal Line at least tried harder. Its first advertisements noted that the ships in its service would be the five as mentioned above [which included *Valetta* and *Venezia*]. *Acadian* and *Newfoundland* were advertised for a weekly Montreal-Newfoundland service, but after one
trip each they appear to have reverted to the coal trade in support of the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company - the Allan Line - to whom they really belonged. The other three vessels operated in much the same way, although on occasion some of them included Newfoundland in their itinerary, as opportunity offered.

The Q&GP SS Co, on the other hand, showed its faith in the future by giving its ships extensive refits and adding to their passenger accommodation during the winter...

Meanwhile, the Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Co had gained valuable experience trading from New York, and seeing the writing on the wall, was planning to move most of its ships in a wholesale reorganization to routes on the coast.

Quebec's "Morning Chronicle" of July 28, 1876, outlined the importance of the Quebec & Gulf Ports service, indicating that it had been operating: -

... six steamers between Montreal, Quebec and the Gulf Ports, and capable of carrying each way during the season sixty thousand tons, carrying bread stuffs and general merchandise down and coal and other products upward, carrying in the season about 40,000 tons coal from Pictou ... and being a consumer of about 15,000 tons annually.

That summer, the United States was celebrating its Centennial at Philadelphia, with the country's first official World's Fair attracting about ten million visitors. With five steamers operating at the peak of the season, Quebec & Gulf Ports took advantage of this by offering connecting through service by a number of different means via Boston and New York and then the Pennsylvania Railroad to Philadelphia.

But it would not be long before the remaining ship on the run to Pictou came to be described as "the favourite passenger steamer Miramichi" and, as Kenneth MacKenzie commented in his private fleet list of the company's vessels: -

She became the company's stalwart in the St Lawrence, operating under the terms of the contract until it ran out in 1876. After then she was the only vessel to operate regularly on behalf of the company in its home waters. For all this time she was commanded by Capt A Baquet.

MacKenzie had already summarized the effect the arrival of the Intercolonial had on the company in an earlier article, in the January 1983 issue of "Seaports & the Shipping World": -

Its supremacy lasted only until 1876, when the Intercolonial Railway
was opened for its full length to Halifax. Then, the Federal Government, so determined to make this showcase of Confederation pay, authorized it to charge through rates at a rate so low that the Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship service was decimated, and dropped from a high of seven ships to a lone vessel, the Miramichi, which maintained a twice-monthly passenger service between Montreal and Pictou, via way ports.

Although other company ships would trade into the Gulf of St Lawrence and Quebec from New York, the Miramichi now became its mainstay ship on the Montreal-Pictou service, which would remain a one-ship operation for the next forty years. Quebec & Gulf Ports' most important business by far became its Bermuda and West Indies services from New York. And although some ships, such as the Flamborough and Alhambra, briefly ran between Yarmouth, Saint John and New York and other vessels saw coastal service, Bermuda and the West Indies came to dominate.

The Quebec Steamship Company

In 1880, having changed its whole basis of operation, the Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Co restyled itself as the Quebec Steamship Co. Soon it introduced two new ships to the New York-Bermuda-West Indies run, both purpose-built for the company. It was also around this time that the company appointed Thomas Cook & Sons as passenger agents, replacing Stevenson & Leve.

The 1,864-ton Orinoco appeared in 1881, and the 2,162-ton Trinidad followed in 1885. Bermuda had recently received some excellent publicity from Samuel Clemens, better known as Mark Twain, which contributed to the company's ability to build these ships. Five years before taking Belford, Clarke & Co to courts, Twain had travelled with the Quebec & Gulf Ports Steamship Co to Bermuda. He had been there ten years before, but his first 1877 return had been in the Bermuda, of the company's "New York & Bermuda Mail Line."

After this voyage, Twain wrote four articles for "Atlantic Monthly." Appearing between October 1877 and January 1878, just after his highly successful "Adventures of Tom Sawyer" had been published, they were widely read and were repeated in the "Canadian Monthly & National Review." After taking the night boat down from New Haven, Twain described his departure on Thursday, May 17, 1877, in the opening of "Some Rambling Notes of an Idle Excursion": -

The next day, in New York, was a hot one. Still we managed to get more or less entertainment out of it. Toward the middle of the afternoon we arrived on board the staunch steamship Bermuda, with bag and baggage, and hunted for a shady place. It was blazing
summer weather, until we were half-way down the harbor. Then I
buttoned my coat closely; half an hour later I put on a spring overcoat
and buttoned that. As we passed the light-ship I added an ulster and
tied a handkerchief around the collar to hold it snug to my neck. So
rapidly had the summer gone and winter come again?

By nightfall we were far out at sea, with no land in sight. No telegrams
could come here, no letters, no news. This was an uplifting thought. It
was still more uplifting to reflect that the millions of harassed people
on shore behind us were suffering just as usual.

The next day brought us into the midst of the Atlantic solitudes - out
of smoke-colored sounding into fathomless deep blue; no ships visible
anywhere over the wide ocean; no company but Mother Carey's
chickens wheeling, darting, skimming the waves in the sun.

Twain stayed only four days, but he would return with the Quebec Steamship
Co six more times over the next thirty-odd years. He missed no detail, as
Donald Hoffman related in "Mark Twain in Paradise: His Voyages to
Bermuda," published in 2006. "When the Bermuda returned to New York it
carried a cargo of 13,464 boxes of onions, 3,010 barrels of potatoes, and
11,397 boxes and 97 crates of tomatoes."

While Twain's articles on Bermuda had been tremendous for the
islands' tourist business, and for the Quebec Steamship Co, who reprinted
them for their own use, he himself was prone to seasickness. One quotation
the company chose not to use was his famous "Bermuda is a paradise, but
you have to go through Hell to get there." In a much more positive vain, he
also wrote of Bermuda "you may go to Heaven if you want to. I'd druther
stay here."

As to how the Quebec Steamship Co was doing, an interesting report
on the latest annual general meeting of the company appeared in the Quebec
"Daily Telegraph" on April 28, 1882. It quoted some of the results for various
ships for the year ending December 31, 1881: -

From the statements, we made a few notes on the earnings of each
steamship. The Orinoco, which is a first class boat, built quite recently
by the company, earned n the space of about nine months, a gross
revenue of $93,409 , against which, including wages etc, must be
deducted $85,336, leaving a net profit for the shareholders of $8,073.
The next statement which we picked up from the table, refers to the
general account of the steamship Muriel, another good boat as far as
we could learn from those who are in the trade, as underwriters. She
did remarkably well in the service, her gross earnings amounting to
$75,203, expenses $58,435, net profit to the shareholders $16,768.
The shareholders can feel proud of the services of the steamship
Flamborough, because she has netted $41688 of profits out of a gross revenue of $119,333. Her expenditure amounted to $77,645. The Hadji's gross earnings were $37,187, expenditures $44,566; loss $7,379. The Bermuda has a profit of $2,424 to her credit on the 31st December. Her gross earnings were $71,302, expenditure $64,878. The Alhambra's gross earnings reached $66,926, expenditure $64,170; profit $2,756. The Canima's gross earnings reached $56,461, expenditure $61,165; loss $4,694. The Miramichi earned $36,302 against an expenditure of $28,555; net profit $7,747. The total revenue from all sources amounted to $102,708 and expenditure to $79,952, leaving a balance to go to the credit of profit and loss of $22,776. Since this statement was made up, the loss of the Bahama has occurred, which will wipe out the profit and about $20,000 of this year's earnings.

The Miramichi, by now the mainstay on the Montreal to Pictou route, had done particularly well by producing a profit of 21% on revenues. The Bahama, on the other hand, a 1,238-ton steamer purchased in 1869, was lost on February 11, 1882, after leaving San Juan for New York and getting caught in a gale. Twenty of those on board perished. A year earlier, the Hadji, on a voyage on the same route, had had to jettison cargo in heavy weather. Indeed, the Hadji too was lost, when she was wrecked on a shoal off Yarmouth on August 25, 1881, perhaps why she had lost money that year.

By 1888-89, the Quebec Steamship Co's "Bermuda & West Indies" schedule was advertising weekly winter sailings. A departure by one of the two ships from New York's Pier 47 every Thursday, would arrive in Bermuda on Sunday, and the line's schedules beckoned tourists:

For a delightful winter excursion, the trip to Bermuda has not its equal. A short, refreshing ocean sail in one of these strong and elegantly equipped steamers will transpose you from the rigid and unpleasant winter weather to the balmy clime of the southern seas, to an island famed for its scenery and clad in the freshest verdure of spring.

Bermuda was developing a sterling reputation as a warm weather resort for northerners, especially after the Princess Hotel opened in Hamilton on January 1, 1885. This Bermuda institution, the work of Harley Trott, of Trott & Cox, Quebec Steamship Co's Bermuda agent, would one day feature a bronze statue of Mark Twain in its lobby. The hotel was named after Princess Louise, fourth daughter of Queen Victoria and wife of the Marquess of Lorne, Governor-General of Canada from 1878 to 1883, after she visited Bermuda in 1883. In another connection with Bermuda, the Governor-General and Princess Louise received Mark Twain on her return to Ottawa that May.

Princess Louise has a connection with Quebec as well, as she had laid
The tablet stone for the building of that port's Princess Louise Docks on July 29, 1880, a project that took ten years to complete. Probably the best-known part of this development is called the Louise Basin, or Bassin Louise. In 1890, the Quebec "Morning Chronicle" published a guide entitled "The Port of Quebec," in which it outlined the services of the Quebec Steamship Co as they had now developed: -

The s.s. *Miramichi*, of the Quebec Steamship Company, is a regular liner between Quebec and Prince Edward Island, calling at Father Point, Gaspé, Mal-Bay, Percé, Summerside, Charlottetown and Pictou. This steamer does a very large freight and passenger business, and has excellent accommodation for tourists and others. The careful management of this company, which is entirely a Quebec concern, enables it to successfully maintain excellent lines of steamships between New York and Bermuda, and New York and the Windward West Indies. The lines worked by the company and the steamers that perform the service are as follows: -

New York and Bermuda Royal Mail Line
s.s. *Trinidad*, 2,162 tons
s.s. *Orinoco*, 1,864 tons

New York and Windward West Indies Line
s.s. *Caribbée*, 2,007 tons
s.s. *Bermuda*, 1,284 tons
s.s. *Muriel*, 1,232 tons
s.s. *Flamborough*, 993 tons

Montreal, Quebec and Maritime Provinces Line
s.s. *Miramichi*, 727 tons

This Quebec-based company, formed under a statute of Canada, operating ships with masters from Quebec and Nova Scotia and Canadian crews, had now become the established operator of the "Bermuda Ferry." This was perhaps logical, as both Bermuda and Canada fell within the British realm. The Royal Navy's North America & West Indies Station included all of Canada, Newfoundland, Bermuda and the British West Indies in its purview while British regiments typically did colonial tours that included three postings, with ships carrying regiments of nine hundred men to two-year assignments in each of Bermuda and Halifax, then a third in Barbados, St Lucia or Jamaica. That a Canadian company should have been succeeded over American competitors was only natural in these circumstances.

**The Black Diamond Steamship Company**

In November 1881, Kingman, Brown & Company, as agent for the International Coal Company of Nova Scotia, had formed the Black Diamond
Steamship Company of Montreal Ltd, with a capital of $300,000. Founded five years after the opening of the Intercolonial Railway, the intent was to carry coal from the Cape Breton mines to markets in Montreal, Quebec, the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland. Being a bulk cargo moving in large volumes, coal could still be transported economically by water, and would constitute a hefty proportion of the tonnage moved in the St Lawrence for decades to come. President of the Black Diamond Steamship Line, as well as the International Coal Co, was Hugh McLennan of the Montreal Transportation Co, who had also previously been involved with the Montreal & Acadian Line.

Chartering was popular for cargoes of coal, but the Black Diamond Line also purchased ships for its own account. William Doxford & Sons of Sunderland, England delivered its first new passenger and cargo ship, the 1,063-ton Coban, in 1882.

In her second season, leaving St John's for Montreal on November 3, 1883, the Coban managed to hit the pier of A Harvey & Co, where she had been berthed. In the process, she damaged both shed and dock, knocking about 700 casks of butter into the water, but was able to depart as small boats salvaged the butter from the harbour. Although the Coban proved to be a reliable ship, a much more serious accident would befall her many years later, when on May 3, 1903, a coal gas explosion killed three of those on board off the New Brunswick coast, whilst en route from St John's to Montreal.

Six months after the St John's butter incident, on May 12, 1884, the "North Sydney Advocate" announced another ship, with the heading "New Steamer":

The Black Diamond Steamship Line (whose stock is principally held in Montreal, St John's, Newfoundland and Liverpool) are building a large new steamer, the Bonavista which with the Coban, will run regularly next season between St John's, Newfoundland and Montreal, touching at Sydney, Strait of Canso, Pictou and Charlottetown. The Coban, which sailed last year between the same points, touching only at Sydney, succeeded so admirably, both as to the passenger and freight traffic, that the company have concluded to extend their operations. Pictou will thus have one boat a week each way, which should have a favourable effect upon the trade of the port, and should induce Pictou farmers to compete with those of Antigonish for a share of profitable Newfoundland trade. The Bonavista will be commanded by Capt D Henderson of Pictou.

The 1,313-ton Bonavista, licensed to carry 150 passengers, had been ordered through the company's UK agents, Radcliffe & Brown of Liverpool, and delivered by Wigham, Richardson & Co at Newcastle upon Tyne in 1884. The Black Diamond Line brochure for that year announced:
The magnificent new iron steamships *Bonavista* and *Coban* are British built, full powered, and of the highest class, specially fitted for the passenger trade in the Gulf of St Lawrence, having elegant saloons, handsome state rooms, ladies cabin, smoking room, bath rooms with hot and cold water, and carrying experienced stewardess...

This route offers to the traveller, either in business or in pleasure, an interesting and picturesque journey, enlivened by the beautiful and varied scenery of the River and Gulf.

These were followed by two more ships, the 1,451-ton *Cacouna*, also from Wigham, Richardson & Co, in 1884, and the 1,764-ton *Cape Breton*, which was added to the fleet in 1890.

Although the Black Diamond Line had been formed to carry coal from the "Lower Ports" of Sydney and Glace Bay to Montreal and Quebec, the *Bonavista* and *Coban* were built with the regular passenger and cargo trade between Montreal, Charlottetown, Pictou and St John's in mind as well. The usual procedure at Montreal was to go to the coal docks for discharge and then shift to a general cargo berth to clean ship before boarding passengers for the return trip to St John's. The *Bonavista* made unfortunate news in her second season, however, when on October 27, 1885, while en route from Montreal to St John's, a young girl with smallpox and her mother had to be landed at Pictou, as did the *Cacouna* in her third season, when she spent ten days jammed in ice off Sydney in May 1887 before returning to port with damage to her bow.

On the other hand, the line's summer sailings from Montreal were soon featuring in Summer Tours by the Canadian Pacific Railway. For example, in its 1889 guide, should a trip down the St Lawrence be decided upon, the following dates were given for the Black Diamond Line: -

Black Diamond Steamship Line. For Gulf Ports, depart early morning of June 1st, 13th and 25th, July 4th, 6th, 19th and 25th and about every ten days thereafter. Passengers should board steamer night prior to sailing

While the Quebec Steamship Co served Gaspé and the Black Diamond Line Sydney and St John's, both served Charlottetown and Pictou, so businessmen like Donald Smith, who owned a rather large summer home at Pictou, now had a choice between the Black Diamond Line, in which he later owned shares, and the Quebec Steamship Co to travel between Pictou and Montreal.

Rail service to Halifax was much improved in November 1887 when the Intercolonial Railway opened a direct line into Pictou and it was no longer necessary to connect to the railway by taking the ferry across to Pictou
Landing. On the other hand, the Black Diamond Line stopped serving Pictou at the close of the 1887 season

The Holliday Brothers and Davie's "Lord Stanley"

In September 1886, the Government steamer Napoleon III was assigned somewhat different duties when she was sent to evacuate two hundred impoverished North Shore settlers from the coast between Pointe-aux-Esquimaux and Natashquan after the failure of the local fishery. Meanwhile, the Holliday Brothers - James, Willie and Malcolm - of Quebec, had acquired salmon rights on much of the coast and carried on.

At Quebec, 1889 saw the introduction of the new 276-ton salvage steamer Lord Stanley, built in Glasgow for George T Davie & Sons of Lévis. Several times each season, she was chartered by Holliday Brothers to collect fish from various outposts on the Lower North Shore, particularly between Godbout, Moisie and Rivière-St-Jean.

The Holliday Brothers would use the Lord Stanley every summer for the next dozen years, until 1901, when she was sold to the Department of Marine & Fisheries and the Hollidays went on to form their own shipping line. George T Davie replaced her in 1902 with the larger 495-ton Lord Strathcona, a vessel that was taken over by Canadian Pacific in 1914, and its new Quebec Salvage & Wrecking Co Ltd.

In addition to the Holliday Brothers' own salmon fishery on the Moisie, they now let out certain leases in their own territory. Salmon fishing had become very popular as a sport, and by the 1890s clubs existed not only on Holliday Brothers' Moisie, but also on the Godbout, Mingan, Natashaquan, Romaine and St Jean Rivers, as well as on the Ste Marguerite, a tributary of the Saguenay, the Restigouche on the south shore below Quebec and the Cascapedia in Gaspé. Wealthy clubs of anglers from New York, Boston and the Midwest, as well as from Quebec and Montreal, now paid tens of thousands of dollars per year to have exclusive rights to the sports fishing on these streams.

A Bigger Ship for the Saguenay

The year 1890 saw a much larger ship sailing to the Saguenay when Richelieu & Ontario transferred its 2,010-ton Canada, 268 x 58 feet, to the route. The Saguenay ships sailed from Quebec, along the north shore to Baie-St-Paul, Les Eboulements, St-Irenée and Murray Bay, then over to Rivière-du-Loup and back to Tadoussac, from where they steamed up the Saguenay River to Ha! Ha! Bay and Chicoutimi, where they turned. R&O's 1890 brochure made the announcement: -
In order to fully meet the requirements of the greatly increased travel to the far-famed River Saguenay, and afford tourists and the travelling public ample accommodation, the large and comfortable steamer *Canada*, Capt Bartras, has been put on this route this season, having large and numerous staterooms, efficient staff of servants, and large airy dining room, giving passengers all the comforts of a home, and the full enjoyment of a trip unsurpassed for beauty of scenery and wild and picturesque sights.

The *Canada* came from the busy Montreal-Quebec line. Built at Sorel in 1866, on a hull prefabricated on the Clyde, her engine had come from the 341-ton *Europa* of 1854, which in turn had received it from the American Great Lakes ship *Queen of the West* of 1851. Licensed to carry 1,200 passengers, the *Canada* joined the 773-passenger *Union*, also built in 1866, on this route, with the *Canada* taking the Tuesday and Friday sailings and the *Union* the Wednesday and Saturday ones. The *Union* also called at l'Anse-St-Jean between Tadoussac and Ha! Ha! Bay, and was rebuilt in 1892 to 1,104 tons.

**The Plant Line**

In 1892, Henry Plant, who also had important steamship operations in Florida, took over the Boston, Halifax & Prince Edward Island Steam Ship Line and began working with the Canada Atlantic Steamship Co Ltd. The former had been operating a Maritimes and Gulf of St Lawrence service between Boston, Halifax, Port Hawkesbury and Charlottetown with US-flag ships since 1864, and the latter participated in the trade between Boston and Halifax under British flag.

The Canada Atlantic Line contributed the 1,738-ton Clyde-built *Halifax*, 250 by 36 feet, of 1888, which worked the route between Boston and Halifax together with Plant's 1,611-ton *Olivette*, built in 1887 for service between Florida and Havana. The *Olivette*, first arrived at Halifax in July 1892, but usually operated in the winter time between Tampa, Key West and Havana, in connection with Plant's own Atlantic & Gulf Railroad, which had been opened in 1885 between Jacksonville and Tampa. But the *Olivette* had always had profitable year-round employment as before running to Halifax she had been used in summer service between Boston and Bar Harbor, Maine.

A new Plant Line was soon incorporated as the Canada Atlantic & Plant Steamship Line Ltd. The "New York Times" carried the details of the new Plant Line, as it was generally called, on February 7, 1893:

Last season, Gen Plant of the Plant Investment Company of New York put the steamer *Olivette* on the route between Boston and Halifax, in conjunction with the Canada Atlantic's steamer *Halifax*. A meeting of
the shareholders of the Canada Atlantic Company was held today, and the proposals of the Plant people for acquiring the property of the Canada Atlantic Company were submitted.

It was agreed to form a combination to be called the Canada Atlantic and Plant Steamship Company. The capital has been fixed at $1,000,000. The idea is to employ the steamers in the south in winter, with the Plant Line connections, when the northern business is dull, and this find profitable work for them the year round.

Subsequent to the merger, "the magnificent Plant Line s.s. Halifax" went south in early 1893 to perform three 10-day experimental winter cruises between Tampa, Nassau and Jamaica, the first leaving Tampa on February 16 with 89 passengers. This was not this ship's first time in the south, however, as she had been to Jamaica two years earlier. On April 13, 1891, the "Toronto Daily Mail" had reported the "Canadian steamer Halifax" bringing "an excursion of 185 Americans from Boston" to Kingston in March. Those travellers had probably sailed from Florida, but the same report gave Pickford & Black's Alpha sailing direct to Halifax on April 3 with "a large contingent of Canadians" on board.

The Plant System's New York headquarters, was soon distributing timetables headed "Florida, Cuba, Jamaica, Nova Scotia." These cruises might have continued except that Plant and the Jamaican Government failed to come to an agreement to manage hotels in Jamaica. Although the Halifax would return to Florida many times, it was usually in the regular Plant Line service between Tampa, Key West and Havana.

In 1893, spring service to Canada opened when the Halifax returned from the south, leaving Boston on April 8, and summer service started on June 24 with the first sailing of the Olivette. The tri-weekly summer service then ran between Halifax and Boston, with sailings from each port every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday and connecting with the Intercolonial Railway and with the Prince Edward Island Steam Navigation Company between Halifax and Charlottetown.

The spring of 1894 at Halifax was the worst for ice in over forty years and the Halifax, along with the Black Diamond Line's Cacouna, Pickford & Black's Duart Castle and Farquhar's Newfoundland, were all caught up in it that April. All suffered serious delays while trying to make port, while other ships were trapped in port by the ice. It was in this ice that the Valetta was lost on the 19th, although her crew got away. The whole coast of Nova Scotia from Canso to Halifax was blocked by heavy ice, blown inshore by prevailing easterly gales that spring.

After a brief time turning at Halifax, the Plant Line's direct sailings into the Gulf of St Lawrence at Charlottetown recommenced, with the Halifax and Olivette replacing the Boston, Halifax & Prince Edward Island Line's
wooden-hulled sister ships, the 1,244-ton Carroll and Worcester. These had been on the run since 1874, prior to which they had run between Baltimore and Liverpool for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. The Plant Line now added the note "No Changes or Transfers" to its timetables. Although they sailed into the Gulf it was still possible to perform two sailings a week in each direction. As a US-flag vessel, the Olivette could not carry passengers between Canadian ports, but only to and from Boston or on continuous round trips. As this had been the case with the earlier US-flag ships, it was nothing new, and the introduction of the Halifax, which was eligible to carry Canadian inter-port passengers, in fact opened up some new trade for the line.

The Plant Line handled not only local trade but also through traffic. Soon included in its Nova Scotia advertisements, for example, was the notation "Through tickets issued to New York by Fall River Line and also railway tickets issued via Boston to Montreal, Ottawa, and points on the Canadian Pacific Railway."

As the Canadian trade was at its height in the summer and the Havana trade in the winter, this arrangement was superb. By finding winter work for the northerner Halifax and summer work for the southern-based Olivette, both ships were now profitably employed year-round in a way that allowed them to gain from both peak seasons. Not long after this, on November 19, 1895, the Olivette carried a 20-year-old Winston Churchill from Tampa to Havana on the event of his first visit to Cuba.

The Halifax, on the other hand, hit the headlines on July 8, 1898, when she brought 162 survivors of the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique’s 7,395-ton La Bourgogne to Boston from Halifax, where they had boarded on the 6th. The French liner had left New York on July 2 for Le Havre and collided on July 4 in dense fog with the 1,554-ton British sailing ship Cromartyshire about 60 miles south of Sable Island, with the loss of 549 lives among the 506 passengers and 220 crew on board. The Allan Line’s 3,613-ton Grecian had rescued the survivors, of whom only 61 were passengers, and brought them in to Halifax with the Cromartyshire in tow. Only four months earlier, on March 2, the Halifax had carried 189 steerage passengers from her sister ship, the 7,087-ton La Champagne, from Halifax to Boston on their way to New York. After breaking her tailshaft on February 17 and having gone missing for almost a week off Newfoundland, La Champagne had been towed into Halifax for repairs.

**Fraser Steamships**

Alexander Fraser & Co moved a new coastal steamship to its Gaspé run in 1894 in the 305-ton St Olaf, 151 by 22 feet, under Capt P T Lemaistre. She was brought in as a replacement for the Beaver, which had been wrecked at Fame Point on the Gaspé coast on September 6, 1893.
The St Olaf had been built in 1882 in Port Glasgow and was purchased from the famous North of Scotland, Orkney & Shetland Shipping Co Ltd in 1891. Until 1893, she ran for Fraser from Pictou to the Magdalen Islands and to Cape Breton Island. Once a month, she had also proceeded beyond the Magdalen Islands to Gaspé or Percé, which meant that she was already a known quantity in those ports. Another of the Fraser clan, Pictou merchant F Wyatt Fraser, acted as agent for their services from Pictou.

The Black Diamond Steamship Line

Also in 1893, the Dominion Coal Company was formed in Nova Scotia, uniting many individual Cape Breton Island coal mines into one entity, with the Black Diamond Steamship Co to act as its shipping arm. In the same year, Black Diamond chartered several "turret deck" steamers to carry coal from Sydney to Montreal and the Great Lakes. The turrets were of a special design developed by William Doxford & Sons, who had built the Coban, to make use of a wide hull but give the ship a narrow deck in order to minimize canal tolls based on deck area. They could carry about 50 per cent more tonnage than previous colliers and turned around more quickly. That coal was king can be judged by a report in "The Gazette" on August 29 that same year that over the previous three days eight ships had arrived in Montreal with full cargoes of coal consigned to Kingman, Brown & Co.

With the arrival of the turrets, Black Diamonds Bonavista and Coban continued their scheduled passenger and cargo service between Montreal, Charlottetown, Sydney and St John's, under the slightly revised name of Black Diamond Steamship Line, with a sailing every twelve days. But a typical announcement by Charlottetown agents Peake Brothers & Company in "The Daily Examiner" on May 18, 1898, showed a part of the business that was important to Prince Edward Islanders:

The s.s. Coban, sailing from Montreal, Friday morning, May 20th, will be due at Charlottetown Monday morning, May 23rd, and will sail for St John's, Newfoundland, via N Sydney, carrying horses, cattle and sheep on deck, and produce under deck at lowest possible rates. For further particulars as to freight or passage, apply to Peake Bros & Co, Agents.

Harvey & Co acted as Newfoundland agents and, as with previous lines to St John's, flour also seemed to make up a large part of their cargo. Indeed, in 1903 the line obtained a booking from the Ogilvie Flour Mills Co Ltd for 65,000 barrels, to be shipped over two months, the largest booking ever made in Canada. But passenger numbers were still appreciable.

Meanwhile, on December 20, 1893, as the St Lawrence fleets laid up for the winter in the Louise Basin, Canadian Pacific opened its famous Chateau Frontenac in Quebec's upper town. As built, the hotel had 170
rooms, although the original building was expanded greatly over the years, with the addition of several new wings, and eventually a central tower, which would one day bring it to over 600 rooms.

Quebec Steamship Co Winter Cruises

In 1894 the Quebec Steamship Co began operating what it called "Special Cruises" from New York to the Windward Islands of the Caribbean, which it would now offer every January and February. The usual itinerary included St Thomas, St Croix, St Kitts, Antigua, Guadeloupe, Dominica, Martinique, St Lucia, Barbados, St Vincent, Demerara (British Guiana) and, starting in 1895, Jamaica. The 1895 "Winter Cruises" brochure described their success:

During the Winter season 1893-4, the Madiana made a series of cruises to the West Indies, and during the past summer, the Orinoco performed a similar service to the Maritime Provinces of Canada. These cruises were eminently successful in every possible way, and afforded unbounded satisfaction and pleasure to the participants.

With fares between $130 and $275 per passenger, soon rising to a minimum of $150, these cruises were for the well off. They were successful enough, however, that in 1895 the company dedicated three ships, the 3,198-ton Madiana, the Orinoco and the Caribbée, to make one cruise each, all departing in February. The 1895 brochure elaborated:

The Quebec Steamship Company's fine steamers Madiana, Orinoco and Caribbée, which have been selected to carry out these winter cruises, possess qualifications of the highest order for the service. Specially designed and built for high-class passenger traffic to the tropics, every consideration (excepting, of course, that of safety) has been subordinated to coolness and comfort. The staterooms are lofty and large, and are principally situated on the saloon deck, with a number of extra roomy ones on the shade deck. The promenade decks provide an unusually large amount of free and unimpeded space, a very important consideration, and are, as well be readily understood, thoroughly protected by awnings. The grand saloons are large and elegantly fitted apartments, lighted, as are all the staterooms, with the electric light; in every detail the steamers selected to make these cruises are thoroughly well adapted for a pleasure cruise in the tropics. ... The commanders have had many years' experience in these waters, are well known and popular, and seamen of great experience and ability.

By 1896, five departures were offered, starting with the Madiana on January 10, and running through to March 17. Further on, discussing the service, the company's brochure 1895 brochure added that:
The cuisine will be of the highest character, and the food provided the very best the markets afford. This department is in competent hands, the chief stewards are of French nationality. And have had many years' experience in the company's service. They will be assisted by a large and efficient staff, all speaking French as well as English. A competent stewardess will be carried on each steamer.

Thus did the first Quebec crews become involved in tropical cruising. The chief steward in the Orinoco, for example, was one G S Bélanger, a good French-Canadian name. By 1898, the company's fifth cruising season, the minimum fare rose to $200 and its "Bermuda and Windward Islands" guide describe the cruises as follows: -

The tour occupying about thirty days, allows from six to twenty-four hours at each island. The Quebec Steamship Co has recently placed upon this route the steamers Pretoria, 3,300 tons, and Madiana, 3,080 tons, with a speed of 300 miles per day...

During the coming winter the Quebec Steamship Co will arrange a number of cruises to the Windward Islands with special inducements to tourists. The cruises, made during the past few years by the steamers Madiana and Orinoco were found to be very attractive, and the Quebec Steamship Co having received a number of letters from passengers in every way commending the service on the steamers, as well as the beauty of the trip, they have this year added the large handsome steamship Pretoria, newly fitted in every way.

These southern cruises by Canadian ships were among the first West Indies cruises offered from New York, and over the years, further Quebec Steamship Co vessels would participate in these services as well.

St Lawrence Cruises

Meanwhile, the Orinoco's 1894 cruise from New York to the St Lawrence had set out for Saint John, Halifax, Charlottetown, Gaspé, Tadoussac, the Saguenay River and Quebec. It drew many favourable comments, some of which were contained in letters written to Thomas Cook & Sons, the Quebec Steamship Co's passenger agents.

Frank E Hodgins of Toronto, for example, wrote: -

The cruise of the s.s. Orinoco has been such a success, that I hope the venture will be repeated next season. To any one familiar with the romance which the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries have thrown around the St Lawrence coast, our two weeks were almost too short. ... It is hard to imagine upon this continent such a union of history and scenery.
With Thomas Cook operating from offices in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco, it seems Mr Hodgins ended up being the only Canadian aboard this first St Lawrence cruise. This was something that would always be true, as Americans constituted the majority of those seeking to cruise the Gulf of St Lawrence, escaping the oppressive heat of summer in their congested cities.

Mr W Vrooman of Parkersburg, West Virginia, wrote with his appreciation for the calls at Percé and Gaspé:

I take pleasure in stating that my trip from New York to Quebec per steamer Orinoco last month was very enjoyable. The courtesy of the officers of the steamer was marked and highly appreciated, as was also the politeness and attention shown by your representative. The scenery grand beyond description. The kindness of Captain Fraser in stopping the vessel and remaining in the vicinity of the Percé Rock until long after daylight, thus affording the tourists that magnificent view, together with the addition to the itinerary of the visit to the Gaspé, including the very delightful scenery of Gaspé Bay, deserves special attention.

The 1894 cruise was so successful that the company decided to schedule the Orinoco for more summer cruises from New York to Quebec in July and August 1895.

Meanwhile, the company continued to advertise the Miramichi, its mainstay in the St Lawrence, as its "St Lawrence Line to Maritime Provinces. Typically, for the season of 1893, for example, it had announced:

The Steel Steamship Miramichi, 1,000 tons having first-class accommodation for passengers, will sail from Montreal for Pictou, NS, calling at Quebec, Father Point, Gaspé, Mal-Bay, Percé, Summerside, PEI, and Charlottetown, PEI, at 4 pm Monday, 11th June, and every alternate Monday during the Season of Navigation, sailing from Quebec the following Tuesdays at 2 pm. At Pictou, the Intercolonial Railway train is taken for Halifax, whence connections can be made for St John's, Nfld, Saint John, NB, Portland, Boston and New York.

Such advertisements often now appeared in small print underneath the company's main offerings for Bermuda and the West Indies, with the Miramichi now leaving Montreal at 4 pm, as opposed to the 4 am sailing times that had originally been advertised for the Georgia.

Quebec Steamship Co's "Bermuda Line"

Also in 1894, the Quebec Steamship Co introduced dedicated service
to Bermuda when a newly rebuilt 2,592-ton Trinidad opened a separate New York-Bermuda shuttle without continuing to the West Indies. Her length overall had been increased from 270 feet to 320 feet, and she received a second funnel in the process. The "New York Times" reported on her conversion, under the heading "Steamship Trinidad Now First Class," on January 5, 1894:

The steamer Trinidad of the Quebec Steamship Company, which was sent to Sunderland, England, several months ago to be rebuilt, arrived here yesterday. She has been lengthened forty feet, a new triple-expansion engine has been put in her, and her cabins and saloons overhauled and renovated. Her general appearance has been entirely changed, so that she now looks like a miniature Campania. Two lofty funnels tower above her upper works, and she is now marked first class at Lloyd's and the Board of Trade. She will be put into service in the Bermuda trade, and will alternate with the Orinoco.

The 12,950-ton Campania was one of the Cunard Line's crack North Atlantic liners of the era. When the Quebec Steamship Co purchased the 3,303-ton Pretoria from Britain's Union Line in 1897, it was thought that she might be put on the Bermuda run, but she was engaged primarily to the West Indies, and especially on winter cruises from New York. While she did later call at Bermuda, it was the Trinidad and Orinoco that kept their place as the regular Bermuda ships.

A Voyage in the "Otter"

In 1895, in the course of writing "Labrador et Anticosti," a book that was published in 1897, Victor Huard made a voyage from Quebec to the North Shore in Fraser's Otter. Accompanying the Bishop of Chicoutimi on a visit to his congregations in the Gulf of St Lawrence, he left a record of his first day on board:

Saturday, May 25 - At nine in the morning, all is ready: passengers and various packages are installed each in their own place on the little ship. We wait no longer... The whistle blows... some helpful men let go the lines that keep the steamer tied to the quay, the engineer lets the steam play onto the pistons, the propeller starts to turn and the rudder is given the required direction. All of this, along with the action of the current, distances us bit by bit from the superb Harbour Commission docks, and we depart almost majestically from the Louise Basin and take to the high seas...

Capt O C Bernier, who commands the Otter, is a most obliging captain... This still-young man has the benefit of having crossed the equator fourteen times; there isn't a port in North America nor South America that he hasn't been to. This is enough for him to be classed
among the old men of the sea...

To assist him he has a crew of good men, almost twenty of them, who
arrive every spring from the four points of the compass to go to sea.
Not always the easiest and most agreeable task in the world,
especially in the autumn, when it is infinitely more pleasurable to be at
home, reading one's newspaper close by a good fire, than to be
turning the wheel on the deck of the \textit{Otter}.

We round Point Lévis, we coast along the green banks of \textit{Île-d'Orléans},
and we pass the pretty parishes of St-Laurent, St-Jean, St-Michel and
a host of others...

The river is calm, the weather is superb. A fiery sun roasts us slowly.
Inside the ship the atmosphere is like a furnace. There is much to be
gained from staying on deck, in the shade of the masts and the
funnel...

Towards evening, some sailors come to lash a dozen barrels of oil that
share the deck with us solidly to the rails. I take from their lack of
cheerfulness a forewarning of what awaits us next... Nevertheless, the
evening is charming. Passengers and crew, in groups here and there,
chat agreeably about the most diverse range of subjects...

All of a sudden, at about eleven o'clock, the wind veers to the east and
an icy gale blows forcefully. The \textit{Otter} pitches. I thought it wise to
leave the deck where I had been detained. My cabin, situated forward,
was well positioned to follow admirably the ups and downs of our
situation. You could hear the noise of the waves breaking through the
thin iron shell. Each impact of the sea shook the vessel. I didn't know
how her hull withstood such terrible shocks. Ultimately, a stream of
water appeared ... and this happened in my cabin. Surveying the
situation with absolute calm, I tried to preserve my effects from the
efforts of the briny deep. I positioned myself on a nearby settee with
them. But once more I had to move; I was chased from there by a
torrent falling from the ceiling above. Water was now gaining access
here as it came from the deck above, onto which huge waves were
breaking...

\textbf{Sunday, May 26.} At four thirty in the morning, we are in the roads
opposite the smart little town of Rimouski...

At Rimouski, they attended morning service before carrying on for the
North Shore. Huard and the bishop disembarked at Godbout, a village on the
Godbout River, named for the captain of a Hudson's Bay Co schooner, where
they were met by naturalist Napoléon Comeau, who had been the last
Hudson's Bay Co agent there in 1880. From Godbout, they would travel the
coast by boat in order to allow enough time at each stop.
That same summer, starting with the next voyage of the *Otter*, Alexander Fraser was advertising fishing trips in a Toronto-based paper, the "Daily Mail & Empire":

Salmon and Sea Trout Fishing on Rivers along the North Shore

Sportsmen taking the steamer *Otter* on the 8th or 22nd June, 6th or 20th July, can enjoy Fly Fishing, at a price per rod, to include passage and meals, going and returning. For particulars address A Fraser & Co, 98 St Peter St, Quebec.

Godbout was not the last Huard and the Bishop would see of the *Otter* however. On her next voyage, they embarked at Pentecôte on June 10 for the five-hour trip to Sept-Iles, where they collected mail. The voyage after that dropped their mail at Magpie on June 29. That trip, which left Quebec on the 22nd with some American passengers on board, was delayed by weather. On July 19, Huard and the Bishop of Chicoutimi boarded the 17-ton two-masted schooner *Sea Star* at Pointe-aux-Esquimaux for a rough overnight passage to Natashquan. Finally, at the end of their visit to the North Shore, Huard and the bishop caught the *Otter* at Natashquan on July 24, reaching Bersimis on the 27th.

At Bersimis, Père Arnaud’s yacht came alongside and boarded Huard and the bishop for a trip along the coast to Les Escoumins and then an overland run to Tadoussac. The "sumptuous" 969-ton Richelieu & Ontario steamer *Carolina* took them back to Chicoutimi, where they arrived on August 1. The *Carolina* had only been on the river for a couple of years, but after ten years' service she would run aground near Tadoussac on August 19, 1903. Later she took the name *Murray Bay*.

In 1895, the *Otter* was joined on the North Shore run by the 381-ton steamer *Relief*, 116 by 30 feet, which had been built in Mystic, Connecticut, in 1865 as a salvage vessel. Owned by Frank Ross of Quebec and commanded by Capt Pouliot, she left on her first voyage on May 24, as the *Otter* arrived to collect Huard and the Bishop. The *Relief*, which had previously traded in Newfoundland and was then used as a tug at Montreal, did not carry mail.

As to the little *Otter*, three years after Huard travelled in her, and still under Capt Bernier, she was wrecked on Île Blanche, near Rivière-du-Loup, on November 18, 1898, in dense fog while returning from her last trip of the season. The *St Olaf* was then moved over from the Gaspé service to replace the *Otter* on the North Shore, leaving her winter lay-up berth in Pictou on April 26, 1899, to start a new season from Quebec.
Schooner Trade

After his tour of the Lower North Shore, Huard made comment in his book on the schooner services that catered to the coast beyond the range of the regular steamer service to Natashquan:

The traders are schooner owners who play the role of merchants on the coast. They keep stores aboard their vessels, stocked with all sorts of merchandise and provisions that they trade for preserved fish, cod liver oil, seal oil and skins; and when the accounts don't balance, they willingly pay the fishermen cash or gold for the surplus owed to the fishermen...

Three Halifax traders and three Quebec traders carry the trade to lower Labrador. Each undertakes about three voyages a year. The Halifax schooners call at all outposts from Harrington to Blanc-Sablon; those from Quebec call at Natashquan and settlements downstream from there.

Other than the value this type of trading brings to the people of Labrador, these schooner lines provide coastal inhabitants with an easy and inexpensive means of communication, passengers paying only 40 cents a day on board these vessels. The journey from La Tabatière to Quebec usually takes two or three weeks. A schooner returns once every eight days from Blanc-Sablon to Quebec... On average, a round voyage to Quebec takes a month and a half.

A round voyage of about 1,600 miles thus covered about 35 miles a day, with the many delays incurred by high seas, trying to sail against contrary winds or being becalmed. Of course, one of the three Quebec schooner operators was Captain Blais. Steamships, when they arrived, would be able to complete the same voyage in twelve days, or a rate of about 135 miles a day.

The "Campana"

Until 1895 the Quebec Steamship Co maintained its Gulf of St Lawrence service using the Miramichi, running from Montreal and Quebec to Pictou via Pointe au Père, Gaspé and Charlottetown. With the arrival of the Intercolonial Railway in 1876, the Miramichi had become a one-ship service, but had carried on faithfully for more than twenty years before making her last departure from Quebec on July 4, 1895, while Huard was still exploring the Gulf of St Lawrence. As far away as Indiana, the "Fort Wayne Gazette" reported on her withdrawal from service in its July 16 issue:

One more round trip of the Miramichi between Montreal and the Gulf ports and the staunch old boat's life will have ended, says "The
Montreal Star." The quaint side-wheeler of the fashion of a generation ago will give place to the modern twin-screw steamship *Campana*, which is even now on her way down the canal...

She has made 300 round trips to the lower ports, which aggregate just over 600,000 miles, and in all her service has never lost a life.

To replace the *Miramichi*, the company had purchased the 1,697-ton *Campana*, with dimensions of 245 by 35 feet, from Smith & Keighley of Toronto. Clyde-built in 1873, she had traded first in the South Atlantic and then been brought to the Great Lakes in 1881, when passenger accommodation was added.

One of the first twin-screw steamships on the Upper Lakes, she had worked four years between Collingwood and Lake Superior ports for the Canada-Lake Superior Transit Company, four years between Owen Sound and the Canadian Lakehead for Canadian Pacific Great Lakes Steamships and five years between Sarnia and the same ports for the North-West Transportation Co Ltd. She had also run to the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, a route on which she had run briefly for the Merchants' Line in 1891. The Merchants' Line's agents in Chicago, Dickinson Bros & King, also handled their weekly sailings between Montreal and Chicago via Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, Detroit, Windsor and Sarnia. Three ships, including the second *Acadia*, offered an 18-day round trip on this route, carrying about 80 passengers each, mostly American cruisers, from $38. The Merchants' Line was managed by G E Jaques & Company of Montreal.

Just as when she had been brought into the Great Lakes in 1881, the *Campana* had to be cut in two to be brought down the old Welland and St Lawrence canals in the spring of 1895, and the sections rejoined at Montreal. She arrived at Quebec on July 9, while the *Miramichi* was still on her last rounds, and the next days Quebec "Morning Chronicle" described her as follows: -

Handsomely furnished; the staterooms, which are on the upper deck, are light and airy, and fitted with every modern improvement. One advantage of the large saloon is that it is clear from the fore to the after part of the vessel, thus leaving plenty of room for those dining there. Her commander, Capt Baquet, is an experienced and popular St Lawrence trader, and he was heartily congratulated on attaining command of such a fine vessel, which is undoubtedly an acquisition to the lower port trade, for she is not only able to take more cargo than her predecessor, but the accommodation for the passengers is also superior, and this, combined with making a much faster trip, should make her a valuable boat for shippers and a popular boat with the travelling public.

Modifications carried out at Montreal included heightening her funnel,
replacing most of her bow bulwarks with steel railings and moving the high jib booms on her masts, which had been capable of carrying sails in good weather, to a lower position. Later, a small deckhouse was also added forward of her funnel.

Keeping the same name, the Campana's new St Lawrence schedule now included Montreal, Quebec, Pointe au Père, Gaspé, Barachois, Percé, Summerside, Charlottetown and Pictou. Capt Baquet, who had been with the Miramichi during her whole career, took command of the Campana. Along with her master, her whole crew transferred over from the Miramichi, which was laid up in Quebec's Louise Basin until being sold for use as a quarantine steamer in May 1896 but being wrecked at Cap Chat that same summer.

Compagnie Maritime & Commerciale du Bas St-Laurent Ltée

On November 16, 1895, French chocolate millionaire Henri Menier purchased the island of Anticosti in the Gulf of St Lawrence, with a view to exploiting its resources for lumber and pulpwood, as well as lobsters and silver fox. In order to develop the island he ordered a new coaster to act as its supply ship. He himself, however, preferred to move around the St Lawrence and across the Atlantic in his yachts, first the 615-ton Velleda, in which he arrived at Anticosti on June 1, 1896, to return to Le Havre in October, and the 973-ton Bacchante, in which he would arrive at Quebec for the first time on August 3, 1898.

The Savoy opened service between Quebec and Anticosti in 1896. Built in Scotland and acquired through London shipbrokers for 130,000 Francs, with delivery at Le Havre, she sailed for Anticosti with a full load of building materials, rails, equipment and supplies for Menier's new island in the Gulf of St Lawrence. She then went into service between Quebec and Baie-Ste-Claire, Anticosti.

During his visit to the North Shore, just before its acquisition by the Meniers, Victor Huard had visited Anticosti in the yacht Aida, sailing from Magpie. In "Labrador et Anticosti," Huard commented: -

We should add that the island administration has a small steamer, the Savoy, which offers a regular service between Quebec and Anticosti Island...

The Savoy will soon render the Gaspé packet a memory, and during the season of navigation, the lot of Anticostians will be left with little more to desire.

However, as Baie-Ste-Claire had no real protection of any kind, a new port soon had to be built at Port Menier, on Ellis Bay, which became the island's main port of shipment. The Savoy did not make her first call at Port
Menier until July 29, 1902, six years after entering service.

In "A Summer Colony at Anticosti," an article that appeared in "The Auk," the publication of the American Ornithologists Union, in 1902, Dr Joseph Schmitt, Anticosti's doctor, wrote about Menier's supply ship taking shelter on the island:

The steamer *Savoy*, in visiting the different places around the island, is sometimes obliged in stormy weather to seek shelter in this harbor. It was while the *Savoy* was at anchor that I chanced to have the opportunity of observing the birds of Gull Cliff. When a mile out in the offing we could perceive with a telescope about these abrupt rocks an incessant stream going and coming, like an immense swarm of bees near a gigantic hive, usually forming two parallel but opposite currents... Some of them, going in pursuit of fish, would pass near the steamer so that we could recognize the species.

At last, the depth of the sea being sufficient, the *Savoy* came to anchor very near the shore. The approach of the boat disquieted the colony, and it was all in confusion, as when the anchor is let go the sound of the chain is echoed from the cliff. Then from every jutting point of the rocks numberless birds fly off, but they soon return again.

High Cliff is quite an outstanding feature on Anticosti as it rises to four hundred feet over the Gulf. The *Savoy*, meanwhile, had just begun thirty years of hard work to Anticosti and the North Shore.

Not only did the *Savoy* become known for bringing both loggers and deer to Anticosti, but she went on to become one of the Gulf's veterans. In the late 1920s, after a larger ship replaced her, she would trade across the Lower St Lawrence for two other paper companies. In her fiftieth year, 1945, she would be given a diesel engine. In the late 1940s, she would be trading to Newfoundland. And in the 1950s, the Clarke Steamship Co even chartered her for a few voyages. The *Savoy* would still be afloat as late as the 1960s, under the slightly modified name of *Savoie*.

**Early Florida-Nassau Ships**

Meanwhile, in southern waters, railway magnate Henry Flagler, having established his Florida East Coast Railway company's network of railways, hotels and steamships throughout the state, decided in the 1890s to expand to Nassau, where he acquired some hotels. To serve these, his Florida East Coast Steamship Company chartered ships from Canadian owners to run the 190 nautical miles between Florida, initially Palm Beach but then Miami, and Nassau in the winter tourist season, from January to April each year.

In January 1896, it chartered the 1,255-ton Prince Edward Island
steamer *Northumberland*, 220 by 30 feet, to run from the end of his railway line at Palm Beach to Nassau. Built at Newcastle upon Tyne in 1891 for the Charlottetown Steam Navigation Co Ltd, she was five years old when she began scheduled service between Florida and Nassau, and had been described in the "Marine Engineer & Naval Architect" when new as follows: -

She has handsome accommodation for a large number of passengers in a deckhouse extending over about three-quarters of the vessel's length. The saloon, which is about 120 ft long, is very handsomely fitted in neatly decorated hardwood, and well upholstered. At the after-part there is the ladies' saloon, and there are besides a smoking-room, a few staterooms and other conveniences.

The *Northumberland*'s two round voyages a week increased to three in high season, mid-January to mid-February, a pattern that would be followed for decades to come. While this ship served but one winter, three decades later, another ship from the same shipyard would become a long-standing pioneer of cruising from Florida.

In 1897, Florida East Coast chartered another Canadian ship, the 1,033-ton *City of Monticello*, 234 by 32 feet, from the Bay of Fundy Steamship Company. When she arrived in Miami on January 17, she became the first steamship to arrive there from any foreign port. An older vessel, the *City of Monticello* was a white-hulled iron paddle steamer dating to 1866, but she was fast and had thirty-eight staterooms and forty dormitory berths. Built for the Morgan Line, she had operated between Charleston and Jacksonville for the Florida Steamship Company before going to Canada, where she ran between Saint John, New Brunswick, and Digby, Nova Scotia. In 1898, she moved to the Gulf of St Lawrence to run between Dalhousie and Gaspé, with sixteen calls en route, including New Richmond, New Carlisle, Port Daniel and Percé.

As Flagler's railway had now been extended to Miami, the *City of Monticello* had the honour of opening the first service between Miami and Nassau, carrying 60 passengers on her first crossing to Nassau on January 20. This was not her first voyage to Nassau however as she had been there ten years earlier when she traded from Jacksonville. Meanwhile, Flagler soon extended his railway right to the steamship dock so that travellers to Nassau could transfer directly to his ship in Miami.

Chartering ships was only a temporary expedient, however, as on June 20, 1897, Flagler had signed a contract for a ship of his own. Launched at the Cramp yards in Philadelphia on October 23, a wire story to the "New York Times" read as follows: -

The steel steamship *Miami*, built by the William Cramp Ship & Engine Building Company, was launched successfully at the company's yard today, Not only was the launching a success, but the shipbuilders
covered themselves with honor, as the record for building a modern vessel has been broken.

The vessel was built for Henry M Flagler, and when completed will be used by the Florida East Coast Company, and will ply between Miami, Florida, and Nassau NP. This is the first vessel to be constructed for this service.

After running her trials on December 1, the 1,741-ton Miami, with dimensions of 239 by 40 feet, and able to carry 125 passengers, was introduced in 1898. Edward Akin described the new ship in his book "Flagler": -

The Miami consisted of three decks and two tiers of staterooms. These staterooms were of white mahogany panelling, each containing running water. The Cramps yards of Philadelphia built the all-electric Miami. The twin-screwed vessel was capable of seventeen knots per hour. It began its schedule to Nassau after a banquet and ball in Miami on January 17, 1898.

With a subsidy from the Government of the Bahamas, which passed the Hotel and Steamship Act of 1898, the Florida East Coast Steamship Co had accordingly established the first regular steamship service between Miami and Nassau. After July 7, 1900, the route was taken over by the Peninsular & Occidental Steamship Co, a new joint company the Flagler and Plant interests established to merge their shipping interests in Florida.

**Plant's "La Grande Duchesse"**

Not long after acquiring the Boston-Halifax-Port Hawkesbury-Charlottetown route, the Plant Line had decided to build an ambitious $500,000 17-knot coastal liner for the run. The new ship, ordered in 1895 from the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co, was launched as La Grande Duchesse in 1896 and completed in 1897. Twice refused by the Plant Line because of excessive vibration and steering difficulties, and excessive drag at the stern, she was chartered to the US Government to transport troops during the Spanish-American War. After the builders installed new boilers, the Plant Line finally accepted her on April 3, 1899, in time for that summer’s season. By the time she was finally delivered, after five sets of sea trials, she had cost her builders over $1 million.

The 5,018-ton La Grande Duchesse, at 404 by 48 feet, entered service from Boston in the spring of 1899, sailing at first to Halifax, and then after July 1 as far as Charlottetown. She made frequent voyages to the Gulf of St Lawrence that summer, carrying between 500 and 740 passengers each time. Advertisements talked about "2 trips per week to Charlottetown" and "1,400 miles for $118" in "the elegant new 5,000-ton steamship La Grande"
La Grande Duchesse, unequalled in every respect by any steamer in the Province trade, and the staunch English-built ship Halifax." Apart from the fact that the Halifax had been built in Scotland, La Grande Duchesse was once again delayed by engine trouble on one of her July high season voyages.

Her intended winter route was between Tampa and Nassau, where she would have offered serious competition to Flagler's much smaller Miami, except that Flagler and Plant jointly established the Peninsular & Occidental in 1900 and she wasn't included. Never satisfactory, La Grande Duchesse was too big for the Maritimes trade and it wasn't long before the Olivette rejoined the Halifax on this run.

La Grande Duchesse was sold in 1901 to the Savannah Line, who renamed her City of Savannah (ii). In 1906, she became the New York and Porto Rico Steamship Co's Carolina. Her end finally came twenty years after entering service, when she was hit by a torpedo from the German U-boat U-151 off Cape May, New Jersey, on June 2, 1918. Her intended Gulf of St Lawrence service consisted of only two seasons out of a twenty-year career.

Quebec Steamship Co's Gulf of St Lawrence Tours

The Quebec Steamship Co had been employing Thomas Cook as passenger agents for many years now, and in 1900, the brochure for the Campana, entitled "Summer Excursions on the Gulf of St Lawrence," described the attractions for the tourist: -

No finer nor more inviting trip for summer tourists has ever been offered than that from Montreal and Quebec to the principal cities and towns of the Maritime Provinces of the Canadian Dominion by the large and commodious steamers of the Quebec Steamship Company. The route traversed by the steamers of this Company from Montreal, PQ, to Pictou, NS, extending as it does over more than a thousand miles, has all the advantages of an ocean trip, with the great additional advantage of frequent stops at the finest and most attractive summer resorts in the Dominion.

The "steamers" must have been a historical reference as only one now ran on this route. The West Indies ships having been provided with electric light from their first cruises and the Campana having been so fitted in 1896, the brochure went on to say: -

The s.s. Campana has recently received important improvements for the comfort of passengers. Oscillation, or sea motion, is reduced to a minimum. Electric light and steam heat throughout saloons and cabins. The staterooms, being on the upper deck, are light, airy and all outside. They have double and single beds fitted with wire mattresses. The kitchen, pantry and dining saloons are arranged for convenience,
good service and best of ventilation. Spacious smoking room on promenade deck overlooking the sea. The officers and staff are proficient and polite.

The *Campana* would serve the Quebec Steamship Co loyally for fifteen years, longer than she had served any of her previous owners.

**Two Ships Named "Orinoco"**

On May 17, 1900, the Pickford & Black Steamship Co, having just won a new mail contract from the Canadian Government, announced that it had completed negotiations to charter the Quebec Steamship Co's *Orinoco*. Pickford & Black announced that she would be chartered for a year, could carry 60 first class and 30 second-class passengers and had "extensive freight accommodation." Less than six months later, on November 2, she was wrecked on a reef off Grenada, although her passengers were landed safely.

In the event, Pickford & Black purchased the 2,417-ton Rotterdam Lloyd liner *Bromo*, renaming her *Orinoco* (ii) to replace the original ship of that name. The new *Orinoco* left Halifax for the West Indies for the first time on February 26, 1901. Pickford & Black's *Orinoco* had accommodation for 50 cabin passengers and 24 in second class. Having replaced the Cunard mail and passenger service in 1888, Pickford & Black eventually turned to chartering ships and, although the company remained in operation, it lost the government contract to the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co Ltd, which agreed to put its own passenger and cargo ships on the route in 1913.

**The Loss of the "St Olaf"**

Although the *St Olaf* had replaced the *Otter* on the North Shore service in 1899, she lasted only two seasons herself. Leaving Natashquan on her last trip of the season on November 22, 1900, she was lost with all hands, including Capt Lemaistre, seven passengers and 19 crew, when she was wrecked in bad weather on Ile Boule, at the approaches to Sept-Iles. The "New York Times" reported on her last voyage in a report from Quebec dated November 24: -

The *St Olaf* left here on Sunday morning last on the trip to Esquimaux Point, carrying government mails, passengers and a large cargo. All went apparently well on the way down, and the steamer started on her return trip to this port. The last news heard of the *St Olaf* up to this morning was that she had left Sheldrake on Wednesday afternoon. Shortly after this the signal station dispatches reported rough weather with gales of wind and snow, and it is supposed that during one of these gales the *St Olaf* ran ashore on one of the rocks at the entrance
Valued at about $40,000 and insured for $32,000, the wreck of the St Olaf lay off Ile Boule for many years, with only her wheelhouse visible above water at low tide.

The "Douro"

To replace the St Olaf, in 1901 Alexander Fraser purchased the 433-ton Douro, 171 by 20 feet, a slightly older ship that had been built in Bristol in 1879. The "Quebec Chronicle" carried news of her impending arrival at Quebec on May 8, 1901:

The steamer Douro, now on her way out from England to replace the St Olaf, will take up the usual ten-days service on arrival. Meantime, the mails are being transported by the steam schooner Marie Josephine. Messrs A Fraser & Co are agents for the steamer.

The 117-ton Marie Josephine was a schooner that had been fitted with a steam engine in 1898. Nineteen days later, on May 27, the same newspaper carried news of the Douro's arrival at Quebec:

The s.s. Douro, Capt Reid, from Bristol, arrived in port at midnight on Friday, after a passage of sixteen days. This vessel is to replace the s.s. St Olaf on the route between this port and the North Shore of the St Lawrence. On Saturday morning she was berthed in the Louise Dock. She is a tidy-looking vessel; and appears to be quite suitable for the route. She has a flush spar deck, which will, no doubt, be appreciated by passengers who will patronize the ship, as ample room is afforded for promenading. In the 'tween decks there is a large space which can be utilized for staterooms, berths, etc. There is plenty of room for cargo in the hold, while there are large hatches to facilitate the loading and unloading of merchandise. The boat is well supplied with steam winches for the rapid handling of cargo. The officers of the Douro report that she is an excellent sea boat. One of them, who has crossed the Atlantic over one hundred times, said he never was on a more comfortable ship in heavy weather.

On her arrival at Quebec, Capt O C Bernier was placed in command. Meanwhile, a story had appeared in "The Gazette" on May 14, 1901, under the heading "New Steamer to Run Between Quebec and Blanc-Sablon":

The Mingan Steamship Company, of Montreal and Quebec, has sent a representative to England to purchase a steamer to run between Quebec and Blanc-Sablon. The steamer is to be similar to the Bruce or Glencoe and make three trips a month, beginning in May and closing the season in November each year. It is to be fitted up with a view to
attracting American tourists.

Nothing ever came of this but the 1,155-ton Bruce and 767-ton Glencoe were the top coastal steamers of the Reid Newfoundland Company, the Bruce having been delivered in 1897 for the Cabot Strait crossing between North Sydney and Port aux Basques and the Glencoe in 1899 for the Labrador coast run. The Glencoe had accommodations for 50 first- and 75 second-class passengers and was built to run from St John's to the Labrador coast by summer and between St John's and Halifax by winter to connect with the Plant Line to Boston and Pickford & Black to the West Indies. "The Gazette" had said about her on December 23, 1899, "In such a splendid steamer the trip to Labrador during the summer months can be made in comfort and in the enjoyment of all the luxuries to be met with on board the best-appointed steamers elsewhere." It would be another quarter century however before Blanc-Sablon would see such service.

As to Alexander Fraser, after being hit by two shipwrecks in two years, the latest of which had involved a total loss of life, and now in his late 70s, he may have had good cause to start thinking about leaving the business. Nevertheless, he continued to fulfill his contract and operate a sailing every ten days between Quebec and Pointe-aux-Esquimaux.

Gaspé Steamers

Meanwhile, the government had started awarding mail contracts on a shorter route from Montreal to Gaspé, without continuance to the Maritime Provinces. An early carrier in this trade was the St Lawrence Steamship Co Ltd, incorporated in 1900, which introduced the 565-ton ex-American steamer Atlantic, built in 1879. Leaving Montreal on alternate Fridays, she sailed in weeks when there was no sailing of the Quebec Steamship Co's Campana. Although the latter left Montreal on Tuesdays, this gave Gaspé a sailing every week. The Atlantic, however, soon passed to the Canadian Import Co Ltd, coal dealers at Quebec, and by 1906 was being used as a barge.

Other ships ran locally from Gaspé to ports on the Baie-des-Chaleurs. Among those running between Gaspé and Dalhousie was the City of Monticello, the first Miami-Nassau steamer, which was on the route in 1898. She was sold to the Yarmouth Steamship Co to trade between Saint John and Halifax via Yarmouth and other ports but on November 10, 1900, she sank in a storm off Yarmouth, with the loss of thirty-six lives.

The 681-ton Brooklyn-built Admiral, which had been owned in Quebec since 1883, replaced the City of Monticello and a summary of her service appeared in the "Connecting Lines" section of the Quebec Steamship Co's 1902 brochure: -
The North American Transportation Co's steamer *Admiral* sails from Dalhousie, NB, every Wednesday and Saturday morning, immediately after the arrival of the Intercolonial Express trains from the East and West, for Gaspé, PQ, and all intermediate ports on the Baie-des-Chaleurs, arriving at Gaspé same evening at 7 o'clock. Returning, the steamer leaves Gaspé every Monday and Thursday morning about 1 o'clock, arriving at Dalhousie about 6 pm.

The North American Transportation Co had been formed at Quebec on January 15, 1896, with a capital of $250,000. In 1899, it acquired the 391-ton Kingston-built *City of London*, running her briefly between Quebec and Gaspé. Deemed too slow for the route, she was then used in the coastal trades out of Charlottetown between 1903 and 1906 and later ran a twice-weekly service between Quebec and Murray Bay.

The sidewheeler *Admiral* featured in a description of the harbour at Gaspé that gave a flavour to the place John Mason Clarke's "Sketches of Gaspé":

> The Basin is a harbor of such dimensions and absolute security that it is full of craft of many kinds, the schooners of the fishing establishments, the luggers of coastwise trade, the cruisers of the cable inspection and fisheries service, the packet-boats to Anticosti and the Labrador, now and then a pleasure yacht; when the sea is heavy outside, the fishing barges come scurrying in by scores; there is the tug, which does the ferry to Peninsula, the flats and scows of the ferry to York, every week the Quebec steamers, and twice a week the classical old sidewheeler that plies back and forth into Chaleur Bay.

The *Admiral*'s career came to an end, however, when she burned at Montreal on October 10, 1904. North American then replaced her in its own fleet with the 963-ton *Restigouche*, of which more later.

**Quebec Steamship Co Schedules and Connections**

As one of only two lines remaining in the Montreal-Maritimes trade, the Quebec Steamship Co was much in evidence. An advertisement published in "The Annals of the Port of Quebec 1535-1900" in 1901, read as follows:

> The Twin-Screw Iron Steamship *Campana* 1,700 tons, having the highest accommodation for passengers, will sail from Montreal to Pictou, NS, calling at Quebec, Father Point, Gaspé, Malbay, Percé, Summerside, PEI, and Charlottetown, PEI, at 2:00 pm, every alternate Monday during the Season of Navigation, sailing from Quebec the following Tuesday at noon. At Pictou, the Intercolonial train is taken for Halifax, whence connections can be made for St. Johns, Nfld, Saint John, NB, Portland, Boston and New York.
The importance of the Campana’s summer passenger traffic, as well as both rail and boat connections, can be seen from the schedule notes that featured in the brochures of the period. Between 1900 and 1909, the schedules acknowledged the urgency of connections for people arriving from west of Montreal:

Intending passengers, arriving in Montreal from the West on day of sailing too late to take the Campana there, may continue on to Quebec same evening, by boat or rail; and join the steamer the following day, having some hours in which to see the ancient Capital before departure at noon.

Starting around 1902, we also see the importance of the Maritime rail connection for the summer trade. In 1907, by which time the Campana sailed from Montreal on Mondays at 4 pm, instead of 2 pm, the brochure outlined return rail connections:

Returning, will leave Pictou, Nova Scotia, every alternate Monday, at Midday, up to 16th September, on arrival of trains from Halifax and Saint John. Commencing 28th September, leave Pictou Saturdays as soon as cargo is landed.

The Campana was a popular steamer, reporting 107 passengers plus a number of children on departure from Montreal on July 14, 1907, for example. Quebec Steamship Co schedules listed connecting steamship lines, marking them as part of a transportation network. This differed from the more isolated services to the North Shore, which operated as supply lines for the merchants and traders of Quebec and the trappers and loggers of the North Shore. While the North Shore remained frontier country, the South Shore was now well served by rail and far better connected to the main centres, both east and west.

Richelieu & Ontario Navigation Co

By the turn of the century, the Richelieu & Ontario Navigation Co was the leading steamship line between Niagara, the St Lawrence River and the head of the Saguenay. Its 1901 publication "Niagara to the Sea" listed the following passenger ships in long-distance service, all of them river and lake type sidewheel packets:

- Toronto-Montreal Line: Kingston, Toronto, Bohemian, Columbian
- Montreal-Quebec Line: Montreal, Quebec
- Saguenay Line: Carolina, Canada, Saguenay
- Hamilton-Montreal Line: Hamilton, Algerian, Spartan

The 2,779-ton Toronto and the 2,925-ton Kingston were new ships,
built in Toronto in 1899 and 1901 respectively to run between Toronto, Kingston and Prescott, Ontario, where they connected with smaller rapids steamers. The 1,138-ton Bohemian and 944-ton Columbian would "shoot" the famous St Lawrence rapids to Montreal, and then return through the old canal system to Prescott. Veteran steamers that had now been retired from the main line runs, meanwhile, maintained the Hamilton-Montreal line.

The 2,068-ton Montreal of 1860 and the 2,656-ton Quebec of 1865 were by now very old ships, having been assembled from components sent out from Scotland to replace much smaller ships in the night boat service between Montreal and Quebec.

The Saguenay Steamers

R&O's Saguenay ships were the only ones to reach saltwater. Of the 1901 fleet, the Carolina, 251 by 35 feet, was an 1877-built former Old Bay Line steamer acquired from Chesapeake Bay in 1893 and the steamer in which Victor Huard had returned to Chicoutimi in 1895. She became the Murray Bay in 1905 and the Cape Diamond in 1920, and was laid up for a time before finally being broken up in 1932. A second Old Bay Line ship, the 1,701-ton Tadousac, the ex-Virginia of 1879, joined her in 1903. Despite the differing tonnage, the two were sister ships, both products of the Harlan & Hollingsworth shipyard at Wilmington, Delaware, but acquired ten years apart.

Like the Carolina, the two Canadian-built Saguenay ships, the Canada and the Saguenay (iii), would also have multiple names. The Canada, built at Sorel, was rebuilt as the St-Irenée in 1905 and became the Cape St Francis in 1920, before being broken up in 1928. The third Saguenay was none other than the old Union, built at Lévis for the Quebec-Pictou run and now renamed. She became the Chicoutimi in 1904 and had been withdrawn from service by 1910.

As part of its tourist expansion, Richelieu & Ontario had opened a 250-room resort hotel, the Manoir Richelieu, on the top of Pointe-au-Pic at Murray Bay in 1899. The company's Hotel Tadoussac, which had been built in 1864, as the Saguenay trade was still developing, completed the picture.

Plant Line Charters

On August 12, 1901, the Plant Line's Halifax, inbound from Charlottetown and Halifax with 250 passengers, managed to hole herself on a ledge at the entrance to Boston harbour and had to be beached in shallow water. Her passengers were rescued but their hold luggage was lost when water entered her hull. Most of her cargo of fish and lobster, on the other hand, was salvaged. The Halifax was sent to Harlan & Hollingsworth for
repairs, there to remain from September 1901 through March 1902, while she received a complete rebuild, including reconditioning, a new upper deck house and twenty-seven new cabins.

Ironically, in the very year in which the Plant Line had sold La Grande Duchesse they might have been able to use for her. Instead, it had to charter ships from other owners to run with the Olivette. The first was the Dominion Atlantic Railway's 1,472-ton Yarmouth, recently acquired from the Yarmouth Steamship Co. The Plant Line had chartered this ship previously, for a direct Key West-Havana service in 1899. Prior to being purchased by Dominion Atlantic, she had been on the Boston-Yarmouth-Halifax route. The second was the Black Diamond Line's Bonavista, which usually ran between Montreal and St John's, that they hired to replace the Halifax while was completing her extensive repairs and rebuilding.

The "King Edward"

In 1902, the year in which the Clarke brothers founded the North Shore Power, Railway & Navigation Co and work began at Clarke City, Holliday Brothers opened a new fortnightly service between Quebec and the North Shore. Although the Frasers already had a service, the relationship between the Hollidays and the Frasers was close. John Holliday had become a partner in Alexander Fraser & Co in 1859, and his wife and Alexander Fraser's were sisters. When Holliday died in 1891, his rights had gone to his sons John and James, and Holliday Brothers now owned half the shares in A Fraser & Co. In essence, therefore, they were adding to the service that Fraser had started thirty years earlier. Backed by a contract with the federal Department of Trade & Commerce, the Hollidays had made this move in order to protect their interests in the fisheries.

After their usual charter of G T Davie's Lord Stanley in 1901 and her sale to the government at the end of that year, James Holliday had ordered a vessel to be built at Beverley in Yorkshire. The King Edward, a screw steamship of 156 by 24 feet, which had berths for 30 saloon passengers and could carry another 50 in steerage, was registered in Hull, England. She began service in June 1902 as far as Pointe-aux-Esquimaux under a contract that called for fortnightly sailings to Natashquan and one trip each season as far as Blanc-Sablon. The Clarkes were thus able to rely on the new ship, as well as Fraser's Douro, to bring in supplies and workers for their mill construction project at Clarke City.

The Douro took the first departure from Quebec for 1903 on April 3, with passengers and general cargo for the North Shore, while the King Edward began her second season with a voyage from Quebec to Sydney, where she arrived on April 26. That summer, the King Edward was sent to Anticosti to take a cargo of butter and cheese off the 3,318-ton Manchester Trader, which had gone aground on August 10 on her way from Montreal to
Manchester. This British vessel was one of the first two ships of Manchester Liners Ltd, which had been formed in association with Sir Christopher Furness's Furness Withy & Co Ltd in 1898. The King Edward was later criticized for taking on these profitable salvage jobs, which inconvenienced passengers who planned to travel in her. But she was not alone in assisting the Manchester Trader, as Menier's Savoy arrived on the 14th and took three loads of cattle, about 500 head, ashore. This effort was not wasted, however, as Menier promptly purchased the cattle and they stayed on Anticosti.

A couple of weeks after this salvage job, the King Edward went to Rimouski to collect a party of twelve Eudist missionaries arriving from France and take them to new postings along the North Shore. These men, whose ministries would form the basis of a new Diocese of the Gulf of St Lawrence, had arrived from Liverpool in Allan Line's 10,576-ton Tunisian. The King Edward collected them on August 27, crossing the St Lawrence to Baie des Anglais, near present-day Baie Comeau, to drop off the first two missionaries. Along with provisions for the lumber camp of the Manicouagan & English Bay Export Co Ltd, they were taken upriver to Manicouagan by a local tug. Many years later, one of these missionaries, Louis Garnier, would record the development of the North Shore in a book, "Dog Sled to Airplane."

By August 30, two more missionaries had been landed at each of Pentecôte, Sept-Iles, Rivière-au-Tonnerre and Magpie, with the last pair, for Natashquan, going ashore at Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. Two of these were later posted to Anticosti and a third to Blanc-Sablon, while another moved to Clarke City in 1908, when the pulp mill opened. The Eudist brothers assisted in the development of improved postal service, health delivery and in the building of local docks, roads and bridges throughout the region, as a kind of second-line bureaucracy to those in place in Quebec and Ottawa.

Quebec Steamship Company Events

Early in 1902, the Quebec Steamship Co hosted some distinguished guests when two of its ships carried Governors of Bermuda. First, on January 30, Lieutenant General Sir Henry Geary arrived in New York on the inbound 17,274-ton White Star liner Oceanic, and sailed for Bermuda the same day on the Trinidad. In fact, the connection was so close that the Trinidad had to be held for two hours to await the incoming Oceanic. On February 2, the northbound Pretoria brought the outgoing Governor, General Sir George Digby Parker, to New York, and he then proceeded to England on the return voyage of the Oceanic on February 5.

In the first couple of years while Clarke City was being built, the Quebec Steamship Co suffered three casualties. First, a fire in her forward hold forced the Pretoria, with 153 people on board, to abandon a voyage to Bermuda and return to New York on March 30, 1902. Passengers were transferred to the outbound 5,212-ton Red Star Line ship Noordland and
returned to New York. The Noordland had recently brought over 100 survivors of the 4,752-ton American Line ship Waesland, lost in a collision in UK waters on March 5. The Pretoria, under Capt James MacKenzie of Pictou, arrived in New York some time later to undergo repairs.

Five weeks later a far worse fate befell the 2,712-ton Roraima, another Quebec Steamship Co vessel under Capt George Muggah, a Cape Bretoner who had previously been in command of the Orinoco. As she arrived off St Pierre, then the largest city in Martinique, at 6:30 on the morning of May 8, 1902, the sky was full of smoke and falling debris from nearby Mont-Pélée. The Roraima suddenly saw the whole town destroyed when the volcano exploded and a cloud of superheated gas flooded down, taking more than 30,000 lives in about three minutes. The Roraima, just in from Dominica and about 2,000 feet from shore, hit first by a tidal wave and then by the ball of fire, was set aflame and sank in the harbour. Out of a crew of 47 and 21 passengers only about fifteen survived, some of whom were evacuated the following day by the company's 2,874-ton Korona. Most of those who died did so from burning and the Roraima burned for another three days before sinking. Seventeen ships were lost in the harbour of St Pierre that day.

In this light, the fate of the Madiana does not seem as bad, although it cost the company another ship. Southbound on a winter cruise, under Capt Roderick Frazer, she struck a reef off Bermuda on February 8, 1903, and became a total loss. Passengers, crew, mails and baggage were removed by local tugs and her passengers given a return ticket and a refund of their fares. Both the Madiana and the Roraima are today dive sites where they sank.

The Dobell Line

By the spring of 1903, Henry Dobell & Co, operating as the Dobell Line, had sold the old Polino and was operating the 1,091-ton Greetlands, advertising sailings for cargo and passengers to Summerside, Charlottetown and St John's. Dobell's fare to St John's was $25 while the Black Diamond Line charged $30. The Greetlands, built in 1883, had come to the St Lawrence soon thereafter to run between Montreal and St John's. She was registered in Quebec and had captains with names like Couillard and Delisle. In the winter season, she traded between New York and ports south such as Nassau, Cardenas and Progreso. She was soon replaced, however, by the 1,252-ton Norwegian ship Dageid, built in 1904.

Dobell had been using three older ships in the Newfoundland trade since the 1890s, but all had now been lost. The 1,684-ton Thames, built in 1871 and owned by Wm Ross & Company, who had also owned the Polino, was lost on November 21, 1895, while en route from St John's to North Sydney. The 1,736-ton Tiber, built in 1870 and registered in Montreal to the Tiber Steamship Co Ltd, was wrecked on the Nova Scotia coast on March 4,
1902, while carrying coal from Louisburg to Halifax. These two, both superannuated Atlantic liners acquired in the 1890s, had also carried passengers. The smaller Acadian of 1872 was acquired from the Montreal & Acadian Line to replace the Thames. Registered to the Acadian Steamship Co Ltd of Montreal in 1896, she was wrecked off Louisburg on February 5, 1899.

**Bouchard Brothers**

Newcomers to the Montreal-Gaspé trade in 1903 were Albert, François, Emile and Édouard Bouchard, of Quebec, who in 1904 were awarded a subsidy of $7,500 to operate a fortnightly service between Quebec and Gaspé between July 1, 1904, and June 30, 1905. For this, they used the 598-ton Gaspésien, a Newcastle-built vessel dating to 1874 that had twenty cabins and room for 100 overnight passengers. The Gaspésien, under the command of Capt É Bouchard, alternated her sailings from Montreal to Gaspé with the Quebec Steamship Co’s Campana, which also served Prince Edward Island and Pictou.

On July 3, 1906, under Capt Bouchard, the Gaspésien was involved in an altercation while berthing at Victoria Pier in Montreal. Run into and holed by the port’s HCM Floating Elevator No 7, Bouchard promptly ran the Gaspésien aground in order to save her from sinking, and she was soon repaired. Later that year, Capt Phidelen Blouin assumed command. On November 11, she was nearby when the 8.669-ton Dominion liner Kensington, inbound from Liverpool to Montreal, went aground in a heavy snow storm off Matane. The Gaspésien took off her 75 second-class and 540 steerage passengers and landed them at Matane for oncarriage to Quebec in other vessels.

In 1907, Bouchard Brothers were awarded another contract, as they were for the next several years, with an annual subsidy of $8,500. In 1911, for example, the Gaspésien was reported leaving Quebec on April 12, bound for Montreal to open another new season. Although the subsidy was only paid for service from from Quebec the Gaspésien also served Montreal, where Mr A Lemieux served as agent for what was now known as the Gaspé Steamship Line. The Gaspésien used the same berth as the Quebec Steamship Co's Campana. The only untoward event in this period occurred on November 7, 1911, when the Gaspésien found herself aground for about ten hours off Ste-Anne-des-Monts, while on an inbound voyage from Paspébiac.

**A Voyage in the "Douro"**

Although Fraser's Douro continued in service along the North Shore, the number of complaints against her began to build, and she was fined for
missing a call at Moisie in August 1903, the same month in which the *King Edward* had delivered her missionaries to the North Shore. The *Douro* also found herself involved in a grounding accident at Ste Anne-de-la-Pocatière, on the South Shore below Quebec, later that season.

One account remains of a voyage in the *Douro*, probably under the same Capt Bernier that Huard had encountered in the *Otter*. Curiously, it appears in a work of science-fiction entitled "The Man Who Rocked the Earth" by Arthur Train and Robert Wood. Published in 1914, it recorded a voyage by the American scientist Bennie Hooker, from Boston, who was ostensibly going to Moisie to go salmon fishing:

Bennie boarded the *Douro* on Thursday morning, engaged a stateroom, and purchased a ticket for Seven Islands, which is the nearest harbour to the mouth of the River Moisie. She was a large and comfortable river steamer of about eight hundred and fifty tons, and from her appearance belied the fact that she was the connecting link between civilization and the desolate and ice-clad wastes of the Far North, as in fact she was.

The captain ... ascending to the pilot house blew the whistle. Quebec, with its teeming wharves and crowded shipping, overlooked by the cliffs that made Wolfe famous, slowly fell behind. Off their leeward bow the Isle of Orleans swung nearer and swept past, its neat homesteads inviting the weary traveller to pastoral repose. The river cleared. Low, farm-clad shores began to slip by. The few tourists and returning habitants settled themselves in the bow and made ready for their voyage.

There would have been much to interest the ordinary American traveller in this comparatively unfrequented corner of his native continent; but our salmon fisherman, having conveniently disposed of his baggage, immediately retired to his stateroom and, intent on saving time, proceeded, wholly oblivious of the *Douro*, to read passionately several exceedingly uninviting looking books which he produced from his valise. The *Douro*, quite as oblivious to Professor Hooker, proceeded on her accustomed way, passed by Tadousac, and made her first stop at the Godbout. Bennie, finding the boat no longer in motion, reappeared on deck under the mistaken impression that they had reached the end of the voyage, for he was unfamiliar with the topography of the St. Lawrence, and in fact had very vague ideas as to distances and the time required to traverse them by rail or boat.

At the Godbout the *Douro* dropped a habitant or two, a few boatloads of steel rods, crates of crockery and tobacco, and then thrust her bow out into the stream and steered down river, rounding at length the Pointe des Monts and winding in behind the Isles des Oeufs to the River Pentecôte, where she deposited some more habitants, including
a priest in a black soutane, who somewhat incongruously was smoking a large cigar. Then, nosing through a fog bank and breaking out at last into sunlight again, she steamed across and put in past the Carousel Island, that picturesque and rocky headland, into Seven Islands Bay. Here she anchored, and, having discharged cargo, steamed out by the Grand Boule, where eighteen miles beyond the islands Bennie saw the pilot house of the old St Olaf, of unhappy memory, just lifting above the water.

He had emerged from the retirement of his stateroom only on being asked by the steward for his ticket and learning that the Douro was nearing the end of her journey... The Douro was running along a sandy, low-lying beach about half a mile offshore. They were nearing the mouth of a wide river. The volume of black fresh water from the Moisie rushed out into the St. Lawrence until it met the green sea water, causing a sharp demarcation of colour and a no less pronounced conflict of natural forces. For, owing to the pressure of the tide against the solid mass of the fresh stream, acres of water unexpectedly boiled on all sides, throwing geysers of foam twenty feet or more into the air, and then subsided. Off the point the engine bell rang twice, and the Douro came to a pause.

Bennie, standing in the bow, in his sportsman's cap and waterproof, hugging his rod cases to his breast, watched while a heterogeneous fleet of canoes, skiffs, and sailboats came racing out from shore, for the steamer does not land here, but hangs in the offing and lighters its cargo ashore. Leading the lot was a sort of whaleboat propelled by two oars on one side and one on the other, and in the sternsheets sat a rosy-cheeked, good-natured looking man with a smooth-shaven face who Bennie knew must be Malcolm Holliday...

The whaleboat containing Holliday was now right under the ship's bows... A rope ladder had been thrown over the side and one of the sailors now lowered Bennie's luggage into the boat. The professor followed, avoiding with difficulty stepping on his mackintosh as he climbed down the slippery rounds. Holliday grasped his hand and yanked him to a seat in the stern...

A crate of canned goods, a parcel of mail, and a huge bundle of newspapers were deposited in the bow. Holliday waved his hand. The Douro churned the water and swung out into midstream again. Bennie looked curiously after her. To the north lay a sandy shore dotted by a scraggy forest of dwarf spruce and birch. A few fishing huts and a mass of wooden shanties fringed the forest. To the east, seaward, many miles down that great stretch of treacherous, sullen river waited a gray bank of fog. But overhead the air was crystalline with that sparkling, scratchy brilliance that is found only in northern climes...
And now when Malcolm Holliday makes his yearly trip home to Quebec, to report to the firm of Holliday Brothers, who own all the nets far east of Anticosti, he spends hours at the Club des Voyageurs, recounting in detail all the circumstances surrounding the arrival of Professor Hooker and how he took him for a gold hunter.

One of the authors, probably Train, had made this voyage. The details of the boats, cargoes, Malcolm Holliday's role on the North Shore and the wreck of the *St Olaf* were all factual, but the *Douro* 's "eight hundred and fifty tons" was closer to her cargo capacity than her gross tonnage.

Elsewhere, in January 1903 it was announced that the Canadian Steel & Coal Company had been incorporated in South Dakota, with a capital of $6 million. The intent was to exploit 4,000 acres of iron sands near Natashquan, said to contain 50 million tons of iron, but the enterprise came to nought. The magnetic iron sands are said to have a heavy mineral content of about 5.9 per cent.

**The North Shore Steamship Line**

After her grounding, the *Douro* was taken over by new owners in the North Shore Steamship Line, owned by Quebec footwear merchant W A Marsh, who purchased her at auction for $3,000 and gave her the more suitable name of *St Lawrence*. Her new mail contract called for nineteen voyages in 1904, with the usual sailing from Quebec every ten days. The new opened at 83 Dalhousie Street in Quebec with S S Lester as manager, while Capt O C Bernier was again her master.

But the *St Lawrence* lasted only one summer under her new name, for she was the ship that was wrecked at Pointe aux Anglais on October 9 with George Clarke, who had been returning from the project site at Clarke City. Although she had been meant to leave Quebec on her fifteenth voyage on October 8, she was running a few days behind schedule when lost, and was replaced for the rest of the season by the chartered *Havana*. Meanwhile, Alexander Fraser, who had owned the *St Lawrence* when she operated as the *Douro*, died five months later, on March 2, 1905, at the age of 80.

That same year, Holliday Brothers was still operating the *King Edward* to the North Shore under a separate mail contract with the Department of Trade & Commerce worth about $8,000, and had another, more lucrative contract, worth $200 a day, with the Marine Department to carry supplies for the light service in the same ship.

**The "Aranmore"**

Holliday Brothers were then awarded a five-year mail contract, to
apply from 1905 to 1909. To replace the *St Lawrence* they purchased a much larger vessel, the 1,170-ton *Aranmore*, measuring 242 by 35 feet and licensed to carry 100 passengers. Also an iron-hulled ship, she was acquired from Scotland's Clyde Shipping Co Ltd, who had been running her between Glasgow, Irish ports and the English Channel.

The *King Edward* opened the 1905 season, sailing from Quebec on April 12 under Capt O C Bernier, late of the *St Lawrence*, and bound for the North Shore with 25 cabin and 200 steerage passengers, mails and a full general cargo. Then when the *Aranmore* joined the *King Edward*, Holliday Brothers extended its service. Its new subsidy contract called for six sailings a month, three between Quebec and Pointe-aux-Esquimaux and three between Quebec and Natashquan, with a monthly extension of the Natashquan service to Blanc-Sablon. Beyond Godbout, Pentecôte, Sept-Îles, Longue Pointe, Mingan and Pointe-aux-Esquimaux the *Aranmore* now also now ran across the Gulf of St Lawrence to Charlottetown and Sydney, and between the two services Holliday Brothers offered a sailing from Quebec about every six days.

Being on Cape Breton Island, Sydney was not as convenient to Halifax as Pictou, where the Quebec Steamship Co called, but it was growing. Passengers could now connect to Newfoundland by taking the service that had been opened in 1898 by the Reid Newfoundland Co's *Bruce* between North Sydney and Port aux Basques and taking the new railway across Newfoundland to St John's. Indeed Sydney had been chosen as there had been thought of running the *Aranmore* all the way to Halifax, somewhat like some of the Quebec Steamship Co vessels had done. Meantime, Sydney's first steel had been produced on the last day of 1901 and it was now becoming an industrial centre known for both steel and coal. Its population had grown three-fold in three years, mostly from young Newfoundlanders coming to work in the mines and the steel mills.

Not long into her first season on the St Lawrence, on Sunday, July 9, the *Aranmore* ran aground at the entrance to Sept-Îles and stove in her bow. Her passengers were all removed by fleetmate *King Edward* two days later and the *Aranmore* eventually released and repaired.

**Busy Times for Holliday Brothers**

With a total solar eclipse occurring in Labrador on August 30, 1905, the Canadian Government chartered the *King Edward* and extended her usual North Shore trip to take the chief astronomer north to observe it. Leaving Quebec on August 4 under Capt Bélanger, she completed her usual run and then continued on through the Strait of Belle Isle, which was still quite icy, to Northwest River on Hamilton Inlet, where she arrived on August 11 to disembark her passengers. On returning to Quebec, she departed on August 21 with a second party.
Meanwhile, the Quebec Steamship Co's _Pretoria_ had left New York on a special charter on August 3 and was due at Indian Harbour, Labrador, on August 26. Another American expedition had proceeded to Cartwright via St John's. All was in vain however, as when the _King Edward_ arrived back at Blanc-Sablon on September 4 she had to report that no observations of the eclipse had been possible because of cloudy weather and that not a single photo had been secured.

On the afternoon of November 20, the _King Edward_, under Cape Bélanger, brought Labrador adventurer Mina Hubbard safely back to Quebec. She had succeeded in crossing Labrador from Northwest River to George River on Ungava Bay after her husband Leonidas had died of starvation trying to do the same thing in 1903. Hubbard had returned south from Ungava Bay in the 632-ton Hudson's Bay Co supply ship _Pelican_, and then transferred to the _King Edward_ for her return to Quebec.

That same November morning, the _Aranmore_ had arrived at Quebec with a cargo of coal from Sydney and Menier's _Savoy_ in tow. She had found the inbound _Savoy_ drifting off Godbout with a broken crank shaft and towed her back to Quebec. Four days later, on November 24, after discharging her coal, she went to the aid of a much larger ship when she, together with the _Lord Strathcona_ and CGS _Montcalm_, tried to tow the grounded 10,387-ton Allan liner _Bavarian_ off Wye Rock, at Grosse Isle, 38 miles below Quebec. The six-year-old outbound liner, the first over 10,000 tons to be lost, had run aground on November 3. Her hull broke into two and the two sections were finally salvaged, using compressed air for flotation, almost a year later, on November 16, 1906, to be towed to Quebec for scrapping. The pilot in charge of the liner when she grounded had his license suspended for eighteen months, until July 1, 1907. Only two months before her own grounding, the _Bavarian_ had taken on the passengers of the brand-new turbine-powered 10,635-ton _Victorian_ when she had grounded, also outbound, at Ile aux Grues, eight miles from where the _Bavarian_ was now.

The _Aranmore_ did end up going to Halifax, but on charter to the Plant Line for the winter of 1905-06 for its service between Halifax and Boston. Being larger than most of the ships that had previously served the North Shore, she was able to find profitable winter employment on the East Coast. The _Aranmore_ replaced the Plant Line's _Halifax_, which had gone south to trade between Miami and Havana via Key West for Peninsular & Occidental.

The East Coast had been particularly hard on the _Halifax_ that November so the crew were probably quite happy to go south. On November 3, she had arrived in Boston with 62 frightened passengers after losing her carpenter overboard and having to heave to for twenty-four hours. Huge seas had swept over her decks, breaking her bridge windows. Then on November 16, she had had to return to Halifax three hours after sailing after a rogue wave had stove in her wheelhouse, carrying away log, compass and
fixtures, and flooding some of her passenger accommodation. Her third officer had been so badly injured he had to be taken to hospital.

Soon after arriving in Halifax, the "Quebec Telegraph" reported the Aranmore in another terrific storm off the East Coast, taking four days to reach Halifax from Boston. The story, wired from Halifax on Wednesday, December 12, appeared the next day: -

The steamer Aranmore, which sailed from Boston Saturday at noon for Halifax, only reached here at midnight. Captain Pickett reports the voyage one of the most tempestuous he has experienced in the last decade. The storm was encountered almost as soon as the ship got clear of Boston light. The wind blew with terrific force, first from the southeast and then from the northeast, accompanied with snow and rain. The steamer kept on her course, but at times hardly made steerage way, the seas washing over her on all sides. She came through it, however, without mishap. The Aranmore had about half a hundred passengers, all of whom were extremely sick.

Just over three weeks later, the Aranmore found herself aground in the approaches to Boston. The "Saint John Daily Sun" carried this story on January 5, 1906, in a wire from Boston dated the day before: -

The British steamer Aranmore, inward bound from Halifax NS, went ashore in Black Rock channel, between Bug's light and Lovell's Island, while coming up the harbor today. Her 22 passengers were taken off by the tug Confidence and conveyed to this city. The steamer grounded in the dense fog which prevailed in the harbour at that time. It was believed that she could be floated at high tide this afternoon, and arrangements were made for tugs to assist the Aranmore.

W J Holliday, one of the owners of the steamer, who was a passenger, said the Aranmore was lying easy on a rock bottom and apparently she was not seriously damaged. He expressed the belief that the steamer would be pulled off on rising tide. The water ballast in the vessel was pumped out to lighten her. When the accident happened the Aranmore was moving slowly up the harbor.

The following day, the same newspaper reported that a diver had inspected the ship, and having found the damage to be slight, she sailed on January 6 on her regular trip to Halifax. That winter was rather eventful for the Aranmore, as early on the morning of April 2, still in the service of the Plant Line, she also collided with and sank the schooner Alexander R in Halifax harbour.

After her winter service on the Halifax-Boston route there was again thought, in 1906, of extending the Aranmore's run from Montreal to Sydney via the North Shore to Halifax, to connect with the Plant Line, but this never
came about. Instead, she managed to get to St John's and was reported at Montreal in mid-July as "cleared for St John's and lower ports with general cargo" and later reported sailing from St John's on August 10 with 11 passengers and cargo "for Montreal via Gulf ports." The Holliday Brothers' close relationship with the Marine Department then led to them chartering Aranmore to the government that autumn to carry building supplies to the Gulf of St Lawrence.

On April 28, 1906, meanwhile, the King Edward had been reported arriving at Quebec with Dillon Wallace, author of "The Lure of the Labrador Wild," having picked him up at Pointe-aux-Esquimaux after a winter in Labrador. Wallace had also accompanied the ill-fated Leonidas Hubbard on the 1903 trip. The autumn of 1906 was very stormy and the King Edward reported running into rough weather twice in October. On November 11-13, a fierce gale accompanied by snow hit the Gulf and the Aranmore was one of four vessels that had to take refuge in Gaspé Basin, while the North Shore service was reported to be running two days late.

The Aranmore's temporary replacement on the North Shore run was the Restigouche, chartered from the North American Transportation Co. Like the Aranmore, she was a former Clyde Shipping Co vessel, having been built as the Rathlin (i) in 1877 and brought to Canada in 1903 by the contractor Michael Connolly, who also managed the North American Transportation Co, for service between Dalhousie and Gaspé.

On June 17, 1907, Holliday Brothers signed a new five-year contract with the Department of Trade & Commerce that saw a subsidy paid for service between Quebec and Natashquan, with occasional extensions to Blanc-Sablon, until the close of navigation in 1911.

That same month, an attempt was made by Government steamers to handle passengers and mail to and from passing Atlantic liners at North Sydney, but the scheme was not successful. Even under a skilled navigator such as Capt Bélanger, the CGS Montcalm was damaged when she came into repeated contact in the swell with the 10,757-ton Allan liner Virginian after the liner's master refused to come closer to shore. Both ships had to steam in for better protection, and finally transferred 52 passengers and 334 packages of mail, but in the end Rimouski, with its nearby pilot station at Pointe au Père, proved a much better venue for such activity.

**Canadian Ships Sail South**

The Halifax having found regular winter employment with the Plant Line to Havana after 1893 (and with P&O from 1901) and the Northumberland and City of Monticello with the Florida East Coast Steamship Co to Nassau in 1896 and 1897, other Canadian ships soon followed.
Among these were the ships of the Dominion Atlantic Railway Company. Their 1,414-ton *Prince Edward* found work running between Miami and Havana during the winter of 1900 for the Florida East Coast, and in 1901 and 1902 for its successor, P&O. Dominion Atlantic ships were often seen in Havana by winter over this period.

A larger fleet mate, the 2,240-ton *Prince Arthur* from the New York and Yarmouth run, followed the *Prince Edward* south to begin a winter charter in December 1905 between New Orleans and Havana for Southern Pacific Steamships. Southern Pacific's descriptive brochure extolled the virtues of the Canadian ship:

This elegant passenger carrier was built in Hull, England, in 1899, especially for the transportation of tourists, and is laid down on the lines of the modern Transatlantic liners. Her steel hull is of the yacht model and is fitted with bilge keels, imparting great steadiness of motion. The *Prince Arthur* is 304 feet long, 39 foot beam and of 2,240 gross tons and has accommodation for 183 first class passengers, 40 second class and 24 steerage.

These same themes - a 300-foot British-built ship constructed along Transatlantic lines and capable of carrying more than 200 passengers - would be followed twenty years later when the Clarke Steamship Co decided to enter the Florida trades.

**The "Bermudian"**

In January 1905, the Quebec Steamship Co introduced the first purpose-built liner for the New York-Bermuda run. The 5,530-ton *Bermudian* was built to replace the smaller *Trinidad*, with weekly sailings from New York, at the same time cutting the trip from three days to two. Stephen Card and Piers Plowman wrote about the new ship in their book "Queen of Bermuda and the Furness Bermuda Line":

On January 7, 1905, *Bermudian* departed New York on her maiden voyage. The trip was marred by high seas and strong winds, which delayed her arrival by several hours, but on the afternoon of January 9, the new liner tied up alongside Front Street. On board were 120 first-class and 26 second-class passengers. The ship remained in Hamilton for three days, including an afternoon of public inspections that brought most of the Island's populace on board.

*Bermudian* introduced a regular weekly return service between New York and Bermuda, under a new contract with the Bermuda government. Initially, the Quebec Steamship Company had planned to operate *Bermudian* on the Bermuda trade only during the peak winter months, then use her in their West Indies trade in summer. However,
During her first few months of service, the new liner brought so many passengers to Bermuda, there was insufficient accommodation for them on the Island. As a temporary arrangement, the Trinidad was moved to Hamilton for several weeks as a floating hotel. With no sign of the demand for passages to Bermuda declining in the summer months, it was decided to leave Bermudian on the trade all year. As a result, during the first ten years of her career, Bermudian entered no other ports than New York and Hamilton.

Sir James Laing of Sunderland, England had built the Bermudian. This yard had built and lengthened the Trinidad and was also entrusted with the Quebec Steamship Co's next order for a new West Indies ship, the 3,657-ton Guiana, delivered in 1907. The Bermudian could carry 240 saloon passengers, 32 in second class and 48 in third class. The Guiana, on the other hand, carried only 62 first-class passengers and 80 in steerage, in addition to a full cargo. The Guiana was the ultimate Quebec Steamship Co West Indies ship.

After the Bermudian had been in service for almost three years, the "New York Herald" carried an item in the magazine section of its December 30, 1907, edition under the heading "Bermuda":

And now the Bermuda season is already in full swing. The Quebec Steamship line already has so large a booking that it may be compelled to put another steamer in this particular service during the height of the season. The big, roomy twin screw Bermudian, which was built specially to meet the demands of increased travel and placed on the line two years ago, accommodates 238 first class passengers...

Bermuda has developed into an all year resort... Last summer, from 1,500 to 2,000 excursionists visited the place, an increase of forty per cent over last year. Five years ago no one visited the resort during the summer months...

With the introduction of the Bermudian, the Trinidad was now mainly engaged in the trades between New York and the West Indies. A typical example is the following cruise advertisement that appeared in the "New York Times" on March 24, 1906:

18 Days' Spring Cruise. The fine passenger steamer Trinidad sails from New York for Barbados, Dominica, St Thomas and St Croix April 7th and 28th. Fare for the round trip $80 and up. For full particulars apply to A E Outerbridge & Co, Agents. Quebec Steamship Co Ltd, 39 Broadway, NY.

In 1908, however, the Trinidad introduced a new winter service from New York to both Bermuda and Nassau. At the time, the Ward Line of New York, which usually ran to Havana and Mexico, also ran a fortnightly service
on the 962 nautical miles between New York and Nassau, which became weekly January, February and March.

**A New Ship for the Plant Line**

After the failure of *La Grande Duchesse*, the Plant Line had carried on its Boston, Nova Scotia and Gulf of St Lawrence service with the *Halifax* and *Olivette*, but in 1905 it added another ship. Acquired from the United Fruit Company, the 1,601-ton *A W Perry* was rebuilt with substantial passenger accommodation and named for the Plant Line president. Unlike the *Olivette*, she was British-flag and was thus eligible to join the *Halifax* in the carriage of Canadian inter-port passengers.

An advertisement appearing in a popular magazine in 1904 under the heading "Plant Line Ocean Trips" portrayed the nature of the service:

"One Night at Sea" or Six Days' Cruise 1400 miles for $18. From Union Wharf, Boston, every Tuesday and Saturday, 12 noon for Halifax, Hawkesbury and Charlottetown. Good board. Cheapest rates. Best trout and salmon fishing, and shooting. Beautiful scenery. This doesn't half tell it. Send stamp for booklet "Looking Eastward," maps, etc.

The half it didn't tell was perhaps that meals were extra and that the fare applied to a "cabin berth" but not a "stateroom berth." Dinner was 75 cents and breakfast and supper were 50 cents each, so six days of meals would be another $9.75.

Like the *Halifax*, the *A W Perry* also saw employment in the south, but not as often. In 1909, for example, she was used on P&O's run between Knight's Key and Havana. Knight's Key was a temporary terminal that was used while the railway was being built out to Key West.

**Quebec Steamship Co and Plant Line Connections**

The Plant Line's Boston, Halifax and Charlottetown service advertised connections with other steamship lines, including the Quebec Steamship Co's "s.s. Campana, alternate Mondays dating from about May 28. From Pictou on arrival of Halifax morning train." As the Saturday sailing from Boston arrived at Halifax on Sunday evening, a good connection could be made for Quebec or Montreal after a night spent in Halifax. Indeed when Plant Line steamers stayed overnight in Halifax, passengers connecting with morning trains were allowed to remain on board till morning. The Monday sailing of the *Campana* from Pictou put the traveller in Quebec for Thursday or Montreal for Friday.

Likewise, the Quebec Steamship Co advertised its connections with the
Plant Line, from Charlottetown "for Hawkesbury, Halifax and Boston every Tuesday and Friday at noon" and from Halifax "for Boston, Wednesdays at 2 pm and Saturdays at 11 pm." As the *Campana* arrived at Charlottetown on Fridays and at Pictou on Saturdays, taking the train at Pictou for the Saturday night departure from Halifax offered the better connection. By 1902 the Quebec Steamship Co had started selling "tourist tickets" between Montreal and Boston in connection with the Plant Line, either via Charlottetown for $29 or via Pictou and the Intercolonial Railway to Halifax for $28.90. Tickets were sold "including meals, berth extra" on the *Campana* and "meals and berth in stateroom extra" on the Plant Line. Fares were $2.50 less from Quebec than from Montreal.

When the Plant Line chartered the Quebec Steamship Co's *Pretoria* in 1906, the year before she was finally sold, it was possible, for one season, to travel in two Quebec Steamship Co vessels all the way between Montreal and Boston, by booking on the *Campana* between Montreal and the Gulf of St Lawrence and connecting with the *Pretoria* between the Gulf and Boston. That winter, however, the *Pretoria* performed her last season of West Indies cruises from New York.

**Gaspé and the Baie-des-Chaleurs**

For many years, ships such as the *Lady Head* and others had served both Gaspé and Baie-des-Chaleurs ports, but later, Gaspé-bound ships began to connect at Gaspé with local steamers that sailed round into ports on both the Quebec and New Brunswick sides of the Baie-des-Chaleurs. Some of these ships were owned in Rivière-du-Loup, and managed from Campbellton, New Brunswick, a town at the western end of the bay that was actually closer to Rivière-du-Loup than Gaspé.

Although the North American Transportation Co owned the *Restigouche*, when the much-admired forty-year-old *Admiral* burned in 1904 she was replaced on the Baie-des-Chaleurs by a brand new ship, which became the pride of the locals. The 921-ton *Lady Eileen* was built on the Clyde in 1905 for the Interprovincial Navigation Co of Canada Ltd, a company that was incorporated at Rivière-du-Loup on September 13, 1904. She was brought out from her builders in April by Capt Phidelen Blouin, long-time master of the *Admiral*, but he only remained with the line until the end of June before moving on to the *Gaspésien*. Named for a Canadian-born daughter of Lord Minto, a Canadian Governor-General, the *Lady Eileen* had berths for 100 passengers and could carry up to 500 including deck passengers. The "Saint John Daily Sun" published some details of the new ship on August 11, 1905:

The new twin-screw steamer *Lady Eileen* leaves Campbellton Wednesday morning at 5, or on arrival of the maritime express from Montreal, and on Saturday mornings at 10 o'clock, arriving at Gaspé
the same night... Lighted throughout with electricity, ladies' and gents' bathrooms etc, superb stateroom accommodations, unexcelled saloon service, carrying a steward, stewardess, polite and attentive bell boys and waiters, whose one care is the comfort of their passengers, it is little wonder that it is with regret one leaves her after the delightful sail on the Bay Chaleur to Gaspé and return.

A popular ship with her clientele, she ran regularly between Gaspé, Dalhousie and Campbellton by way of bay ports. On August 29, the same newspaper carried a story from Campbellton under the heading "Lady Eileen Made a Record Run": -

The Lady Eileen arrived in port this afternoon at five o'clock from Gaspé with a very large passenger list and cargo, and reports beautiful weather and a splendid run. Quite a large number made the round trip in her, and were enthusiastic over the scenery and the fine service given.

Passing Percé this morning at one o'clock, the powerful searchlight was turned on the famous rock, and it was a scene not to be forgotten, the rock standing out in all its majesty in the light, with the inky night for a background, and the birds, of which there were myriads on the rock, protesting against being awakened from their slumbers.

The Lady Eileen made the run from Gaspé in 18 hours, the fastest on record in the Bay Chaleur.

Interprovincial Navigation published a 46-page book entitled "How to Enjoy the Bay Chaleur Country: the Ideal Holiday Land of Eastern Canada," in 1906. The Lady Eileen was also successful in managing to extend the winter season on the Baie-des-Chaleurs into mid-January. She did not last long, however. After beginning her fourth season with the loss of a propeller to ice in April 1908, she was wrecked at Newport on the Gaspé Peninsula on June 6, only three years after being delivered.

To replace the Lady Eileen, the Fraserville Navigation Co Ltd was formed on April 5, 1909, again at Rivière-du-Loup, with a capital of $50,000. The name stems from the incorporated name the town of Rivière-du-Loup used between 1850 and 1919. Fraserville acquired the 704-ton Canada, a twenty-six cabin ship that could accommodate 100 overnight passengers, or 240 passengers in all. Built in Scotland in 1893, she had operated between Halifax and St Pierre and Miquelon as the Pro Patria (i), with the Plant Line as Halifax agents, and had been purchased by Halifax owners in 1905, when she became the Canada. From May 13 to December 1, 1909, Fraserville's Canada performed fifty-one round voyages and a half trip between Gaspé and ports on the Baie-des-Chaleurs, for which it received a subsidy of $12,875.

In 1909 and 1910, Wm Thomson & Company of Saint John contested
the Campbellton to Gaspé line with its 1,011-ton Senlac, which had been operating weekly between Saint John and Halifax via Yarmouth, and was brought round to the Gulf. The Senlac left Campbellton for Gaspé via wayports every Wednesday and Saturday morning on arrival of the "Ocean Limited" from Montreal. Thomson, which operated the Battle Line of cargo steamers, as well as acting as Saint John agent for the Pickford & Black steamships to the West Indies, was the only Maritimes-based shipowner to have moved successfully from sail to steam. The Senlac, named for the Battle of Hastings, was represented in Campbellton by C D Robinson.

On December 6, 1910, the Canada, Capt Bernier, was reported arriving at Quebec at the end of the navigation season together with the Aranmore, Capt John Hearn. The Fraserville company had gone bankrupt a couple of weeks earlier, and that winter, while she was laid-up at Quebec, the Canada was sold at auction to Rivière-du-Loup merchant Georges Binet, who had been involved in the Fraserville Navigation Co and had also managed to negotiate a new subsidy agreement.

On May 4, 1911, Georges Binet and a number of other shareholders from Rivière-du-Loup formed the Campbellton & Gaspé Steamship Co Ltd, this time with a capital of $100,000, to take over the Baie-des-Chaleurs route. Binet was president, and the board included plenty of talent, including an accountant, a lawyer, a merchant, a hotelkeeper and a customs collector. Purchasing the Canada from Binet, the new company was awarded a $13,500 subsidy for a twice-weekly service of fifty-four round voyages between April and November 1911. The subsidy was increased to $15,000 in 1912.

The Canada later passed to the Gaspé & Baie-des-Chaleurs Steamship Co Ltd, the new name taken by the Campbellton & Gaspé Steamship Co on May 7, 1914, shortly after the death of Georges Binet. With the Gaspésien now also having been acquired from Bouchard Brothers, the August 1914 issue of "Canadian Railway & Marine World" advised the two ship's very similar long-haul routes as follows: -

These vessels are now being operated on routes as follows - s.s. Canada, sailing from Quebec for Gaspé and Baie-des-Chaleurs coast, calling at Méchins and intermediate ports as far as Campbellton, NB; s.s. Gaspésien, sailing from Quebec direct to Gaspé Basin and all intermediate ports in Baie-des-Chaleurs, as far as Campbellton, NB, and also calls at Caraquet.

The Gaspé & Baie-des-Chaleurs company did not get off to a smooth start, however, as on June 9 the Canada was damaged in a fierce storm in the Baie-des-Chaleurs. A month later, on July 12, whilst on a voyage from Montreal to Gaspé ports and Campbellton, the Canada ran aground at Cap Chat, near Matane. Although not seriously damaged, her passengers had to be taken off by the Gaspésien, which happened to be nearby. Released ten days later, the Canada went to Canadian Vickers in Montreal for repairs to
several bilge plates. Then, on October 1 she was in collision in Montreal with the Black Diamond Line's *Cape Breton*, near the entrance to the Lachine Canal. Neither ship was badly damaged but Capt Blouin was found to blame for having tried to manoeuvre in too confined a space.

Eventually, the two ships' routes were divided at Gaspé, with one ship running weekly from Quebec and the other twice a week from Campbellton. Over the winter of 1914-15, the *Canada* was rebuilt, re-appearing in the spring as the 782-ton *Percésien*, which name had been substituted when the originally-proposed *Acadian* was turned down. Capt Blouin was now manager of the line, operating the *Percésien* and *Gaspésien* from offices in the Hochelaga Bank Building at 97 rue St-Jacques in Montreal, while J M Pouliot was Quebec agent.

**North Shore Transportation & National Navigation**

Elsewhere, late in 1906, Joseph Arthur Fafard of Quebec, son of the long-time light keeper at Pointe des Monts, had been involved with a group of investors that acquired the 991-ton *Natashquan*, formerly the Mitchell Line's *Polino*, which for three seasons previous had been operated by Gagnon & Frères, the firm that had bought the wreck of the *St Lawrence* in 1904. With dimensions of 200 by 27 feet, the *Polino* had been well known in the Newfoundland trade.

As the *Natashquan*, she was acquired by the oddly-named North Shore Transportation & Wreckage Co Ltd, a firm that was incorporated by a number of Montreal interests on December 20, 1906, with a capital of $250,000. With Thomas Gagnon as president, it had its headquarters in the New York Life Building, Montreal's first skyscraper when it opened on Place d'Armes in 1887. As the Clarke City mill was coming to completion, on March 5, 1907, "The Gazette" carried a story headed "The North Shore Transportation & Wreckage Company Limited: A Patriotic Enterprise of National Importance":

A company has just been formed in Montreal and Quebec, the purpose of which is to make known and develop one of the most important sections of our country. We mean the northern side of the St Lawrence, between Quebec and Natashquan, situated at more than 600 miles below Quebec. This region teams with resources of all kinds, such as fishing, game, mines and timber limits...

The charter which the company has received from the Dominion Government gives it power to make contracts for the transportation of His Majesty's mails, to carry on the fish as well as the fur trade, to operate mines, to deal in timber limits and wreckage...

It is the company's intention to provide a weekly or biweekly service according to the needs, To begin with, the service will be fortnightly. A
vessel of 1,050 tons displacement has already been acquired, which is thoroughly equipped for the transportation of freight and passengers. The passengers' cabin is to be elegantly and comfortably furnished, and the first trip will be made on the first of April next.

Having obtained the right to carry on the fish trade, the company has fitted out the vessel with a cold storage that will enable it to deliver fish in the best possible condition. Considering that the company has already contracted for an annual supply of 600,000 pounds of salmon, the profits to be realized from this source alone will amount to about $50,000.

The reporter seems completely to have forgotten about the Holliday Brothers and Meniers. In the event, the Natashquan did not go into service until June 30, 1907, two months late, but once she did she gave regular service to the North Shore and on the afternoon of October 28, for example, was reported arriving in Quebec together with the Restigouche, both ships going about their own trade. The Natashquan's master, Capt Joseph Boucher, came from l'Islet-sur-Mer, a village on the St Lawrence south shore about sixty miles below Quebec that would produce almost two hundred sea captains.

"The Gazette" somewhat made up for its earlier lapse a year and a half later, when on November 3, 1908, it reported that Sept-Iles was "285 miles below Quebec, and connected with the latter by three steamers keeping a regular line, the steamers Savoy and King Edward of Holliday Bros, and Natashquan of the North Shore Transportation & Wrecking Company." The Savoy was not owned by the Hollidays, so unless she was chartered, there would have been three operators on the route. But the rather ambitious North Shore Transportation Co would last but two seasons.

On February 19, 1909, Fafard formed La Compagnie de Navigation Nationale, or National Navigation Company, to take over the service and Ottawa in due course awarded it a contract to carry mail between Quebec and the Canadian Labrador at a rate of $4,500 per season. In 1910, the forty-year-old Natashquan left Quebec early, on March 26, with passengers, mail and cargo for the North Shore and in 1911 she sailed on April 1.

Ornithologist Charles Wendell Townsend travelled in the Natashquan three times and wrote about both her and Capt Boucher in his book "In Audubon's Labrador":

It was an open secret that parts of her engine were wired together, that her iron shell was so old and weak that cement had been poured in to strengthen her feeble frame, and that insurance companies had long refused to carry her on their books.

On the latter account, if for no other reason, Captain Boucher
navigated with great caution, avoided the paths of other steamers, and, in thick weather anchored at night. In low-lying fogs by day he himself climbed to the masthead and eagerly peered over the mists. I retain a vivid picture of the little captain in carpet-slippers holding to the rigging with one hand, a chart in the other, while he delivered from time to time his clear-cut orders in French.

Boucher and the Natashquan served the route until 1913, but in May 1914, after seven years of operation, "Canadian Railway & Marine World reported her owners' demise:

The National Navigation Co Ltd, of Quebec, which is in liquidation, will not, we are officially informed, resume business. The company owned the steamship Natashquan, formerly Polino, built in Sunderland, Eng, in 1870.

While the Natashquan was sold by the liquidators and reduced to a barge, Capt Boucher still had a long career ahead of him.

Changes at Holliday Brothers

Holliday Brothers' two-ship service with the Aranmore and King Edward had carried on now since the season of 1905. However, bad luck befell them on November 10, 1908, when the King Edward was wrecked on Anticosti Island, where five years earlier she had been involved in salvaging the cargo from the Manchester Trader. After an assessment of her damage, the King Edward was abandoned to the underwriters and the Aranmore brought her crew to Quebec, arriving on December 2.

The King Edward was later salvaged, however, and acquired in July 1909 by Davie Brothers of Lévis, who chartered her to the Customs Preventive Service between 1911 and 1913, under the name Laurentian and with a Canadian Government crew. Ironically, for a ship that had already been wrecked, she was registered at Quebec using a name that had been freed by the Allan Line's 4,522-ton Laurentian, herself wrecked at Trepassey Bay, Newfoundland, in September 1909.

In a typical early season opening, the Aranmore was reported leaving Quebec on April 5, 1909, with a general cargo for lower ports, while several schooners were reported arriving at the Customs House wharf from Ile d'Orléans. In order to fulfill the terms of their contract, in 1909 Holliday Brothers purchased the 774-ton General Wolfe, a former Dutch ship, as a replacement for the King Edward. Measuring 206 by 29 feet, "The Gazette" mentioned her on July 29:

Holliday Brothers recently put up on the North Shore route the Newcastle-built steamer General Wolfe, a single-screw steamer of 750
tons, which is quite up to the requirements of the North Shore between Quebec and Natashquan. The first round trip of the *General Wolfe* was completed on Wednesday last, and the vessel brought to Quebec a number of sportsmen who had made a good catch on the North Shore with rod and fly.

For a time, the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co, the Hudson's Bay Co and other customers on the North Shore had two good ships to serve them. In 1910, full of passengers, mail and cargo for the North Shore, the *General Wolfe* left Quebec for the first time on March 26, the same day as the competing *Natashquan*, and left Quebec on her last voyage in November 10.

Occasionally, the *General Wolfe* also sailed to Blanc-Sablon, as this sailing card in "The Quebec Telegraph" indicated on September 28, 1910:

North Shore Mail and Passenger Service. r.m.s. *General Wolfe*, Capt Thos Young. Is expected to sail Friday, October 7th, at 9 am for Blanc-Sablon and all intermediate North Shore ports of call, also Anticosti. Freight is now being received at steamer's berth, Pointe à Carcy wharf. For rates of Passage, Freight, and other information, apply to Holliday Bros, 101 St Peter St.

The Holliday Brothers subsidy was now $12,500 for the season of navigation, rising to $20,000 for 1911, when, in her third season, the *General Wolfe* left Quebec on March 24, for another early start, with the *Aranmore* due to follow on April 8.

But the *General Wolfe* did not remain long in the fleet. Three months into her third season, in the early morning hours of June 29, five miles below La Malbaie, the two running mates collided. The *General Wolfe*, had left Godbout for Quebec under Capt Thomas Young, with 31 passengers and 23 crew, and was steaming at full speed in variable fog when the collision occurred. The *Aranmore*, in her fifth season under Capt John Hearn, with 27 passengers and 27 crew, had left Quebec for Harrington Harbour, but was proceeding with caution, sometimes anchoring.

As soon as Hearn saw the *General Wolfe*, he ordered full astern but it was too late. She hit the *General Wolfe* aft of her engine room and the stricken ship went down in thirty-five minutes. Meanwhile, Young and his first officer somehow made it on board the *Aranmore* before returning to their own ship, for which action they both had their certificates permanently revoked. After the *General Wolfe* went down, the *Aranmore* picked up all of her passengers and crew and returned to Quebec.

Part of the cargo lost with the *General Wolfe* was woodpulp from the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co at Clarke City and part consisted of 300 cases of salmon that had been destined for Fourth of July celebrations in the United States. And not only was her cargo lost, but Holliday Brothers was also held
responsible for the loss of the mails that had gone down with the General Wolfe. With only the Aranmore left, this once more reduced Holliday Brothers to just one ship.

The "Trinidad" Comes to the St Lawrence

In 1908, Quebec celebrated the tercentenary of Samuel de Champlain's first arrival back in 1608. In commemoration of this event, the Quebec Steamship Co decided to open a new summer service between New York and Quebec via Long Island Sound, Halifax and Charlottetown. For this it used the Trinidad, carrying about 170 first-class passengers, on four departures in July and August 1908. The new service was in fact a revival of the cruises that the Orinoco had performed in 1894 and 1895.

Now that both the Quebec Steamship Co and the Plant Line were calling at Halifax and Charlottetown on sailings to and from United States ports, they withdrew their through fares between Montreal and Quebec and Boston. In their place, the Quebec Steamship Co offered its own tours, among which could be found a fare from Boston.

The Trinidad's first St Lawrence cruise season was so successful that the company decided to repeat it in 1909. But on June 17, 1909, before the Trinidad had the opportunity of starting her second season, the Campana hit a shoal in heavy rain off Pointe-St-Michel, on the south shore near Île d'Orléans. Under the command of Capt Pierre Lachance, who had joined her from the Trinidad that spring, she had been inbound from Pictou for Quebec and Montreal when she hit bottom. When found to be taking in water, she was beached and her 40 passengers and much of her 42 crew were taken ashore in the ship's lifeboats.

As the route was subsidized, the Quebec Steamship Co had to move quickly to replace the stranded ship, for which it assigned the Trinidad to take over the Pictou service while it went about trying to salvage the Campana. Although twenty-five years old, the Trinidad had been rebuilt and was the best and biggest ship the Pictou route had seen. Quebec's "Morning Chronicle" described her on June 23, 1909, not a week after the grounding of the Campana: -

[She is] fitted up in the most modern style as a passenger steamer. Her saloon, a handsomely furnished apartment, is situated amidships, and has accommodation for nearly 200 passengers. Immediately forward of the saloon is the ladies sitting room, most tastefully fitted up and furnished... [and aft], a cosy smoking room, where gentlemen can enjoy a quiet smoke of their favourite brand ... while discussing topics of the day. There is also a music room, in which both sexes can meet and listen to the music of a first class piano ... staterooms are lofty, well ventilated, and comfortably furnished. The passages to them
are wide and lofty, being richly carpeted. On the upper or boat deck is a promenade extending nearly the full length of the steamer. This deck is covered with canvas awnings and is well supplied with chairs...

An early summer storm disrupted efforts to refloat the Campana and just as she was on the point of being salvaged the ship broke in two. She had to be abandoned as a total loss on June 24, only the day after the "Chronicle" had reviewed the Trinidad. She was valued at about $50,000 and her cargo, which included several thousand bags of potatoes, at between $15,000 and $20,000. Although four cruises had been scheduled for the Trinidad in each direction between New York and Quebec, the Quebec Steamship Co had no option but to make the following announcement in order to maintain its subsidized St Lawrence service:

The cruises of the s.s. Trinidad ... have been cancelled. The s.s. Trinidad will take the place of the s.s. Campana on the Montreal-Pictou service. The rates between the ports will be the same as shown for the s.s. Campana with the exception that berths in upper deck rooms are extra... The call at Summerside, PEI, will not be made by the s.s. Trinidad.

This of course meant that the Trinidad would be sailing from Montreal rather than turning at Quebec on cruises from New York. Summerside had to be dropped, but Prince Edward Island was still served via Charlottetown. The Summerside call was to connect to New Brunswick by the Northumberland Strait ferry to Pointe du Chêne and the railway to Saint John that had been opened by the Prince of Wales in 1860.

Then, on August 27, while she was in Montreal on one of her turnarounds, Richelieu & Ontario's Prescott, the former Bohemian, caught fire at an adjacent berth at Victoria Pier. Although the Trinidad had only one boiler up out of four, she was able to bring two hoses to play, but the Prescott was destroyed by the fire. The Trinidad carried on in the Pictou service for the rest of the summer, but left the route at the end of the passenger season in September to head south again and take up her usual duties.

The Bermuda-Atlantic Steamship Company

In New York, the Quebec Steamship Co's Bermudian was now the pride of the Bermuda route. On one sailing, on April 11, 1908, not only Mark Twain but also Earl Grey, the Governor-General of Canada, had embarked in Bermuda. Grey, who had hosted the current Prince of Wales (later King George V), at the Quebec celebrations in 1908, gave his name to the Grey Cup football championship when he donated a trophy to what is now the Canadian Football League in 1909.
However, the *Bermudian*’s success had increased demand, and this was about to create new competition. The Bermuda-Atlantic Steamship Co Ltd was formed in Toronto by American shareholders, and based in New York. For its first ship, the new line chartered the Dominion Atlantic Railway’s 2,041-ton *Prince George*, sister ship of the *Prince Arthur*, to run to Bermuda during its own 300th Anniversary in 1909. The rate war that followed saw the Quebec Steamship Co's previous minimum round trip fare of $45 reduced to $40 by Bermuda Atlantic, and progressively down to $25, and on February 12, 1909, to $20 on the *Trinidad* and *Prince George*, and only slightly more on the *Bermudian*.

Victor Huard, who had written of his voyage in Fraser's *Otter* fourteen years earlier, sailed in the *Prince George* in March 1909, and recorded his observations in the May 1909 issue of the "Quebec Geographical Society Bulletin":

Two steamship lines maintain the regular connection from New York to Bermuda. One of them, the Quebec Steamship Co, owns two ships, the *Trinidad* and the *Bermudian* (5,530 tons). Coming from Quebec, it was by one of this company's ships that we had wished to travel, but the passenger lists already being full for the outbound and return dates we had chosen, we had to apply to the other company. The Bermuda-Atlantic Steamship Co had only existed for a short time and its fleet consisted of but one steamer, the *Prince George*, which according to the line's timetable assured a "Superb Nineteen Knot Highest Class Twin Screw Steamship Service." Throughout, it emphasized "nineteen knots" and "twin screw," but nowhere did it indicate the vessel's tonnage - which was 2,041, as we learned through indirect means...

At 11 am on Thursday, March 25, we thus arrived at Pier 10 in New York, to take passage in the *Prince George*. The *Prince George* is named for none other than the Prince of Wales in England, and in fact a portrait of His Highness hangs in a prominent position on board. There is a British feeling about this ship that might have been surprising on a ship sailing from the United States, if one did not know that the ship usually sailed to the Maritime Provinces of Canada...

When the vessel left dock, the weather was not pleasant. The air was quite cold and there was a strong breeze. The sea was agitated in port and it had to be even worse on the high seas. For the experienced traveller, the outlook was nothing to be pleased about. But the majority of passengers had never been to sea and their calm, while waiting to clear, was complete. Also waiting, we toured the steamer, which was well fitted out, and which did not lack a certain luxury - a certain type of luxury, for mariners have their own ideas of decoration...
As the distance increased between New York and our steamer, the breeze stiffened and the seas mounted; the waves became long and high... The Prince George, to tell the truth, did not rise too high nor fall too deep. She just danced on a surface more and more confused, buffeted from time to time by a sea that made her shudder from bow to stern.

Within less than two hours of sailing, we were well into this great turbulence. At lunch time, almost no one responded to the bell's call and the dining room remained almost empty. Elsewhere, from time to time, someone would rapidly rise from their steamer chair, quickly going to rest their elbows on the railing that surrounded the ship, to see, I suppose, what kinds of fish inhabit that part of the Atlantic Ocean and come back, leaping through pitch and roll to return to their chair. From time to time also, some passenger would leave his or her place to go inside, demonstrating en route the most picturesque gymnastics exercises that one could hope to see... Almost all the Prince George's passengers were on their backs, and more or less sick for the duration of the voyage...

On March 27, forty-eight hours after leaving New York's Pier 10, we disembarked on the quay at St George's. During the morning, the steamer entered the eastern basin, that stretched between St George's Island in the north and St David's Island in the south. The sea is calm between these two bodies of land and all who had been sick the day before promptly regained their health and good humour...

The Prince George did not carry her passengers as far as Hamilton, as did the steamers of the Quebec Steamship Co, but landed them at St George's... It seems that with the port of Hamilton falling under the influence of the Quebec Steamship Co, the Bermuda-Atlantic was unable to elbow its way in that far.

The port of St George's, once the location of Bermuda's capital, was starting to develop as Bermudas second passenger port and the Bermuda-Atlantic Steamship Co would continue in the trade for a few more years.

In 1910, the Quebec Steamship Co chartered Hamburg-American Line's 7,859-ton Oceana, a large clipper-bowed ship that could carry 350 first-class passengers. Like the Bermudian, she was a twin-screw steamer, and arrived at New York for the first time on January 2. The Quebec Steamship Co had chartered the ship, under Capt Witt, for weekly sailings between January and April 1910 but this lasted for only for one season. This was a very competitive year in the New York-Bermuda trade as the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co had also placed one of its Australian steamers, the 5,857-ton Orotava, on the run in December 1909. The Royal Mail Line would continue to compete with the Quebec Steamship Co and successors until
By 1911, the Bermuda-Atlantic Line had bought the Oceana and received permission to register her in Toronto. In a notable race between Quebec Steamship's Bermudian and Bermuda-Atlantic's Oceana, the Bermudian won, docking at Hamilton at 1 pm on Christmas Day. Unable to make a success of the Oceana and after a rate war with the two other lines on the route, Bermuda-Atlantic went into receivership in June 1912. And that November, President-elect Woodrow Wilson sailed to Bermuda in the Bermudian for a little rest before taking office after a hard-fought election campaign.

Bouchard Brothers and the "Lady of Gaspé"

In 1908, the Bouchard Brothers acquired the Restigouche from the North American Transportation Co and chartered her for three months to the Department of Marine & Fisheries, at $235 a day, to replace ships that were undergoing repair. Upon completion of this work, the Bouchards rebuilt her for service between Montreal, Quebec and Gaspé, and gave her the new name of Lady of Gaspé. Following the same plan that had been used for the Campana, the Bouchards added cabins fore and aft of her main superstructure and moved her bridge forward before introducing her in 1909. Now measuring 1,237 gross tons, she was quite a bit larger than the Gaspésien and their intention was to use her not only for the Gaspé Steamship Line's coastal trade but also to carry tourists. After her introduction, cruise advertisements began to appear, one of which was carried several times in the "Quebec Telegraph" in 1911:

700 Miles by Water for $26.00. With Meals and Cabin. To Gaspé, Percé and Baie-des-Chaleurs, by way of the beautiful St Lawrence, on board the comfortable steamer s.s. Lady of Gaspé. Round trip, Quebec to Quebec, in 8 days. Next sailings August 1st and 15th.

Apply Bouchard Brothers, 40 Dalhousie Street
F S Stocking and Hone & Rivet, Ticket Agents.

Items also began to appear in the social columns, including one on July 19, 1911, in "The Gazette," that announced that "Mr & Mrs Arthur Brossard and their daughters, Berthe and Jeanne, have left by the Lady of Gaspé for a cruise in the Gulf." Brossard was a Montreal lawyer who later became a Quebec Superior Court judge.

Quebec was nothing if not a cozy place for people involved in shipping at that time. The Bouchard Brothers, who had bought this ship, and the North American Transportation Co, which had sold her, were both located at 40 Dalhousie Street, in a building that looked out onto the Quebec waterfront, as was the Quebec Steamship Co, with whose ships the Bouchard
Brothers' often ran in concert.

Having succeeded on the Gaspé route, Bouchard Brothers also submitted occasional tenders for other routes, particularly to the Magdalen Islands. But the *Gaspésien* would remain on the Montreal-Gaspé route until 1913, operating to twenty-six way ports between Quebec and Paspébiac under the name Gaspé Steamship Line.

**The "Cascapedia"

The search for a replacement for the *Campana* finally led to a suitable ship in Scotland. Following the precedent of the *Lady of Gaspé,* and the Holliday Brothers with the *Aranmore* five years earlier, the Quebec Steamship Co acquired another of the Clyde Shipping Co's iron ships, the *Fastnet* (ii), in February 1910. The *Aranmore* and *Fastnet* had both been built by W B Thompson in Dundee. This brought the number of Clyde Shipping Co vessels to come to Canada to four.

The first, in 1891, an earlier *Fastnet,* was a 338-ton vessel that Pickford & Black had purchased to run weekly between Halifax, Hawkesbury and Charlottetown, without change of name. This little ship left Halifax for Vancouver via Cape Horn during the Klondike Gold Rush, in April 1898, before the other three crossed the Atlantic. That summer, the earlier *Fastnet* towed two river steamers from Victoria bound for St Michael, Alaska, but lost both en route. The *Restigouche* was the second to arrive, in 1903, and the *Aranmore* had been the third, in 1905.

Clyde Shipping Co vessels were sturdy passenger and cargo ships, designed by company superintendent David Christie Hamilton and named for Irish lighthouses. Common to them all were a flush-decked hull, straight stem, counter stern, tall funnel and two large sideports on each side forward plus a third smaller one aft, along with side strakes along the hull and triple fenders on each side astern. Before coming to Canada, they had run from Glasgow through the Irish Sea to Belfast, Dublin, Cork and Waterford and round the south coast of England to London.

With additional passenger cabins for the Gulf of St Lawrence trade fitted forward and aft of her midships superstructure, the *Fastnet* (ii) emerged in April 1910 as the 1,849-ton *Cascapedia.* At first to have been renamed *Ungava,* it was thought that the great salmon river provided a more appropriate name. How many of the *Campana's* fittings made their way into the *Cascapedia* is not known, but both ships had a piano in the after saloon.

Although a newer ship, the *Cascapedia* was similar in size, dimensions and layout to the *Campana.* Both ships had received blocks of new cabins fore and aft of a midships superstructure that spanned the full width of the vessel. The *Cascapedia* had fifty-one cabins, one less than the *Campana,*
with those forward and aft looking onto an open side promenade while the
midship ones had portholes at the ship's side. Six midship cabins in the
*Cascapedia* accommodated a third passenger, as had eight in the *Campana*.
But the 108 berths on the *Cascapedia* ran fore-and-aft, as opposed to
athwartships in the *Campana*, presumably to improve passenger comfort in
the Gulf of St Lawrence.

The most noticeable difference was that the *Cascapedia*’s bridge was
located amidships, while the *Campana*’s had been forward, an inheritance
from her Great Lakes days that had probably made her a wet ship in rough
weather in the Gulf. Both ships handled their cargo through sideports.

The *Cascapedia* entered the Quebec Steamship Co’s St Lawrence route
on May 6, 1910, under Capt Lachance from the *Campana*, who had brought
the new ship over from Scotland. The company described her in similar terms
to the ship she replaced:

The s.s. *Cascapedia* is a commodious vessel of 245 feet length and 35
feet beam, recently fitted out especially for the St Lawrence service
with all the latest appliances for securing comfort and security. The
staterooms are all outside, spacious, light and airy. The kitchen,
pantry and dining-saloons are arranged for convenience, good service
and best of ventilation. The officers and staff are proficient and polite.

The schedules of the two St Lawrence ships were now co-ordinated to
offer a sailing from Quebec every Friday. The *Cascapedia* would sail from
Montreal at 4 pm on alternate Thursdays, and from Quebec at noon on
Friday, while the *Trinidad* left Quebec at 8 pm every other Friday, thus
assuring a weekly service.

In this way, the two ships could offer a set day of the week service,
every Friday, from Quebec to Gaspé, Charlottetown, and Nova Scotia. While
the *Cascapedia*’s Nova Scotia call was Pictou, with travellers connecting to
Halifax by train, the *Trinidad* called directly at Halifax. This was a great
improvement on the schedule of the *Campana*, which had left Montreal on
Mondays and Quebec on Tuesdays, while the *Trinidad* had left Quebec on
Fridays.

**The "Cascapedia" and "Trinidad"**

A new, more elaborate "Gulf and Lower St Lawrence Summer
Excursions" brochure was developed for the introduction of sailings between
Quebec and New York. Originally for the *Trinidad* and *Campana*, it now
promoted the *Trinidad* and *Cascapedia*, a ship that had no difficulty replacing
her predecessor. The company’s 1911 Gulf of St Lawrence brochure outlined
both services:
The Quebec Steamship Company, Limited, maintains two services on the St Lawrence, one between Montreal and Pictou, NS (for Halifax), and the other between New York and Quebec, via Long Island Sound, Halifax, NS, the Strait of Canso, Charlottetown, PEI, the Gulf and Lower St Lawrence. The first is operated by the well known, commodious iron screw steamship *Cascapedia*; the second by the fast mail steamship *Trinidad*...

The novelty and many attractions of the route, the excellence of the accommodation and the cuisine on the *Cascapedia*, and the convenient connections at either end, make this an ideal summer trip. The short voyage by the steamship *Trinidad* from New York to Quebec is an equally pleasant experience, and one that offers an charming and beneficial summer trip.

With effect from 1911, both the *Cascapedia* and Bouchard Brothers' *Gaspésien* called at the Champlain Market wharf in Quebec, at yearly rentals agreed with the Quebec's ferry committee. This alternation meant a weekly service for Gaspé, while the *Cascapedia* and *Trinidad* provided the same to Charlottetown and Nova Scotia ports. Such alternating schedules became a common way of offering the best service to communities in the Gulf of St Lawrence when the government had a hand in the postal contracts.

While ships' schedules were now better co-ordinated, the Quebec Steamship Co curiously chose to stress the *Cascapedia*’s iron hull. Perhaps this was to differentiate her from the steel-hulled *Campana*, which after all had broken in two, some observers having noted that the break occurred where she had been cut in two to transit the old canal system. Whatever the case, even after the *Cascapedia* had replaced her, a portrait of the *Campana* at Percé continued to adorn the cover of the company's Gulf of St Lawrence brochure. Perhaps this was just a case of "business as usual," in order not to remind people that she had been replaced. It was noteworthy as well how very similar the deck plans of the two ships were.

**Sailings by Government Steamers**

During the period that Clarke City was being developed and after the pulp mill opened, the icebreaker CGS *Montcalm* made a number of winter supply and passenger trips. She travelled as far as Sept-Iles in January 1906, February 1907 and would do so again in February 1911, March 1913 and thereafter, sometimes carrying as many as 40 passengers. The *Montcalm* was also occasionally asked to stand by at Sept-Iles in case she was needed to assist late season ships loading at Clarke City. The CGS *Montmagny* also made a few voyages to Sept-Iles and Anticosti in December, as did the CGS *Lady Grey*. These winter sailings were only made when necessary to extend the season, and although they carried passengers, mail and cargo to populations in need, the accommodation was intended for
lighthouse keepers and the voyages were not intended to be commercial.

Occasionally, an icebreaker also took passengers and mail or supplies out to the Magdalen Islands. A typical voyage was performed by the Montmagny in 1910, leaving Quebec on December 9 and calling at Sept-Iles and Clarke City, Ellis Bay and East Point on Anticosti, Harrington in the Canadian Labrador and the Magdalen Islands, in her case before proceeding to Halifax for the winter.

Other support voyages were occasionally offered in the summer as well. In 1909, for example, the CGS Princess sailed from Gaspé on June 20, taking Andrew Dunn, the Anglican Bishop of Quebec, across to the North Shore at Sheldrake, Rivière-St-Jean, Longue Pointe, Mingan and Natashquan to perform confirmations among the Anglicans who had come from Jersey. Returning to Gaspé, on July 4, she collected Commander Wakeham, a former Arctic navigator and fisheries inspector, and Sir Louis Davies, former premier of Prince Edward Island, engaged on an enquiry into the lobster fishery, and along with Bishop Dunn, took them to the Magdalen Islands, before returning the various parties to Souris, Prince Edward Island, and Gaspé at the end of their missions.

Unlike the Montcalm, Montmagny and Lady Grey, which had been built for the Department of Marine & Fisheries, the 542-ton Princess had been purchased from the Charlottetown Steam Navigation Co, where until 1906 she had worked with the Northumberland and the 612-ton Empress on routes between Charlottetown and Pictou and Summerside and Pointe du Chêne.

But no attempt was ever made to establish a government-owned line as the preferred policy was for the government to assist private companies to maintain such services, especially for the more outlying places, by means of a mail contract.

The Black Diamond Line

The Black Diamond Line continued its passenger and cargo sailings from Montreal to St John's by way of Charlottetown and Sydney. Spring came relatively early in 1908, with the Bonavista leaving Halifax for Cape Breton on April 5 to load for Quebec. The next year, however, she made news, when, on July 25, 1909, with 70 passengers on board, she hit an iceberg in fog off Cape Race while en route from Montreal to St John's. Her passengers were mostly Welsh and English immigrants who had landed at Montreal and were coming to work in the mines in Newfoundland. Although her bow had been badly damaged she was able to make St John's.

In an effort to publicize the tourist advantages of its route, the Black Diamond Line engaged Mr A T Weldon as its general freight and passenger agent, with offices at 112 St James Street in Montreal. Weldon had started
with the Intercolonial Railway in Moncton in 1890 and had also worked in Halifax and Saint John. Soon, a new cruise brochure had been produced and regular advertisements began to appear in the press, urging people to "Take the Finest Boat Trip in Canada by Spending Your Vacation on the 'Black Diamond' Steamers - 2 Weeks $65.00 up - Including Meals and Berth."

In 1911 the Bonavista’s running mate was the 2,568-ton Rosalind (i), a ship that the Black Diamond Line had chartered from the Red Cross Line, an operation of C T Bowring & Co Ltd of Liverpool that ran a passenger and cargo service between New York, Halifax and St John's. In that year, the Black Diamond Line was featured in the June 14 issue of "The Canadian Century" magazine, with an article on its cruises: -

The St Lawrence route has already gained a reputation among Transatlantic travellers, and many of them prefer taking the scenic Canadian route to the lines running from the American ports where, after leaving port, the passenger is out in the open Atlantic within a few hours.

One of the best mediums for the St Lawrence and Gulf trip is afforded by the service of the Black Diamond Line, whose vessels, the Rosalind and Bonavista, maintain regular services between Montreal, the Gulf ports and Newfoundland. Both vessels are comfortable screw steamers, equipped with all the latest improvements and with first-class accommodation and cuisine for passengers. The Rosalind ... is the larger of the two, and gained a reputation for herself while under the flag of the Red Cross Line. She is a steel, screw steamship of 3,000 tons, fitted with bilge keels, Marconi wireless and submarine bell apparatus. Her passenger accommodation is situated on the main deck and is capable of berthing 125 first-class passengers.

Leaving Montreal every Saturday during the summer season, the steamer swings out from the wharf while the buildings and spires of the city are reflecting the light of the rising sun. Borne on the swift St Mary’s current, the vessel flies past St Helen's Island and in a few minutes has passed Longue Pointe. In a panoramic succession, the French-Canadian villages of Boucherville, Verchères, Varennes and Lanoraie are passed until Sorel, the first town of importance, is passed. Here are to be seen the Government dockyards and the shipping at the mouth of the Richelieu River, and five miles further the steamer enters the broad expanse of Lake St Peter... Three Rivers, the half-way house of the river, is passed next on the left bank, and the St Lawrence narrows to a deep, swift-rushing torrent, flanked by steep wooded banks. At one of the narrow bends of the river the construction work and the caissons for the Quebec Bridge can be seen, and a few miles further on the steamer glides under the shadow of Cape Diamond and the Citadel of Quebec. Leaving the historical and picturesque Rock City, the steamer passes the falls of Montmorency,
and threading past the Isle of Orléans and the islands around the quarantine station at Grosse Isle, begins to enter salt water. The mountains of the north shore tower along the coast on the port hand, and loom impressively in the light of declining day. The landmarks give way to flashing, occulting lights, and the passengers turn their attentions to the attractions of the music or the smoking rooms.

The dawn of the next day sees the steamer forging past the steep pine-clad mountains of Lower Quebec. Father Point, the pilot station, and Rimouski, the ocean mail terminus, have been left astern during the early hours of the morning, and the blue waters of the Gulf smile and glitter in the sunlight.

The land on the port side has disappeared, and all day long the ship steams along the south shore. The scenery is indescribably wild and rugged; the mountains arising in an unbroken succession along the coast, with little villages nestling at their feet. Here and there an old sailing ship can be seen anchored off the land and loading lumber, and occasionally one may be passed under sail. Liners, cargo vessels and schooners flit by in a never-ending succession, and the signal stations and lighthouse of Cape Chat, Fame Point and Cap Rosier mark to the passenger the gradual departure of the ship from the mainland. After Gaspé Light has blinked a farewell, the mountains dwindle into the bluish mist of distance, and the steamer lifts to the roll of open, wind-free water.

Charlottetown, the capital of Prince Edward Island, is the first stop, and the steamer reaches here after steaming through Northumberland Straits, and past the verdant shores of the "Garden of the Gulf." A short stay is made at the island port, and then the vessel leaves for Sydney. Leaving East Cape astern, the next landfall is the bold headland of Cape North, towering 1,200 feet above the sea... Sydney impresses the visitor as a purely commercial centre - the coal towers and blast furnaces lending colour to the impression, but, a few trips into the surrounding country, or up the celebrated Bras d'Or Lakes will show that Cape Breton has other attractions which appeal to the traveller.

The stay in port seems only too short, when the ship heads for the harbour mouth again, and lays her course for St John's, Newfoundland. The passage occupies about thirty-six hours out of sight of land, until the rugged iron-bound coast of the island colony serrates the skyline. For a few miles the steamer runs along it, until the entrance to St John's harbour is reached. Apparently driving into a huge rent in the surrounding cliffs, the vessel winds through a narrow, ravine-like channel, until the harbour and city of St John's opens to view and she moors alongside the wharf in the last port of the cruise.
A decade later, Clarke ships would be steaming through these waters, but that is yet to come. Meanwhile, it was to the little Rosalind that the actress Rosalind Russell owed her name, her parents having chosen it after a remarkably happy honeymoon cruise with the Red Cross Line in 1907. The Black Diamond Line finally purchased the Rosalind on April 20, 1912, renaming her City of Sydney.

Meanwhile, on March 15, 1912, just as it was completing the purchase of the Rosalind, the Bonavista was lost on Brier Island, in the Bay of Fundy. Her replacement, the 1,414-ton Morwenna, was acquired from the Yeoward Line of Liverpool, who had been running between the UK, the Iberian Peninsula and the Canary Islands as the Ardeola (ii). A Black Diamond subsidiary, the St Lawrence Shipping Co Ltd of Montreal, owned both the City of Sydney and the Morwenna.

Despite icebergs and groundings, the Black Diamond Line's 1913 brochure, entitled "River, Gulf and Sea," offered "Two Weeks Cruise by way of the St Lawrence River and Gulf and the North Atlantic," and described its latest ships as follows: -

The s.s. City of Sydney is a first-class ship of 2,500 tons registered, 300 feet long, with a speed of 13 knots. She is fitted with Marconi Wireless, electric lights and bells and steam heating, and up-to-date baths, also bilge keel to prevent rolling. She has accommodation for 115 saloon passengers, besides 54 third-class, and an unusually fine promenade deck. Her rooms (nearly all of which are on deck) are spacious, well lighted and ventilated.

The s.s. Morwenna is a fine new 13-knot ship of 1,500 tons register, is 260 feet long, equipped with Marconi Wireless, electric light and bells, steam and electric heating. She accommodates 60 saloon and 28 third-class passengers, and also has spacious promenade decks. Her rooms are all outside rooms, well furnished and accommodate not more than three adults each.

The round trip cruise was offered from $60 in the City of Sydney and $65 in the Morwenna and by now a sailing was offered from Montreal every Friday evening at 9 pm, with the return voyage leaving St John's the following Saturday at noon. Meanwhile, at the other end of the chain, the Cacouna was reported at Corner Brook, delivering coal for the Reid Newfoundland Railway, on December 31 that same year.

**Early Cruises from Florida**

The first ship to offer a regular schedule of cruises from a port in Florida, the 3,786-ton Evangeline, 365 by 46 feet, was also the first of two vessels of this name to sail from that state. Built for the Plant Line's route
between Boston, Halifax, Port Hawkesbury and Charlottetown, she was also designed for cruising when ice blocked the entrance to the Gulf of St Lawrence. Designated as a "tourist passenger steamer" and based on previous experience with the *Halifax*, she was chartered to the Peninsular & Occidental Steamship Co for winter cruises.

The Plant Line described the *Evangeline*, completed on the Clyde in October 1912, as "the most luxurious passenger steamer on the Atlantic Coast." On January 7, 1913, only a few weeks after entering service, she departed Key West on her maiden cruise from Florida. Her eight 11-day cruises that winter, with fares from $110, were described in a special P&O brochure as "Winter Outings on Summer Seas":

The s.s. *Evangeline* will leave Key West direct for Colon, Panama, remain at that port two days, and sail direct to Kingston, Jamaica, remain at that port for two days, thence sail for Key West, Fla, via Havana, Cuba. Persons desiring to stop in Havana may do so at will, and return to Key West on any of the P&O ships with no extra charge.

After operating her first season of cruises from Key West, the *Evangeline* arrived at Charlottetown for the first time on June 6, 1913, on her intended summer route from Boston.

These early Florida winter cruises, operated from January through April, were followed by seven similar 14-day cruises in 1914, but this time from Jacksonville, with fares starting at $125. They included a visit to the Panama Canal, then of great interest as it was still under construction, as well as calls at Kingston and at Havana, ports that would later be served by Clarke, but the outbreak of the First World War prevented them from being repeated.

While there is no doubt that the *Evangeline* performed the first genuine cruises from Florida, it should not be forgotten that the *Halifax* had already made a number of winter voyages for the Plant Line between Tampa, Nassau and Jamaica two decades earlier, in 1893.

**Red Cross Line Cruises**

The Red Cross Line's 3,449-ton *Stephano*, a "new cruising steamer" built in 1911, offered a series of longer 21-day Panama cruises from New York, in January and February 1913 and then again in 1914. Her first southern cruise, in 1912, had visited Nassau, Havana, Kingston and Colon, but now she called at Hamilton, Bermuda, then Port Antonio and Kingston in Jamaica and Colon, before returning via Havana, where she spent three days. Even the Quebec Steamship Co's *Trinidad* was chartered for a Panama Canal cruise in March 1912. The "Boston Evening Transcript" carried a typical advertisement for these cruises on November 8, 1913: -
Don't visit the Panama Canal or the West Indies without sending for the book of the 21-day limited cruise Jan 10, Feb 8, 1914 on the new touring s.s. *Stephano* of the Red Cross Line. 21 days on Glorious Summer Seas $100 up. Only 150 passengers carried; ample deck space. Orchestra; swimming tank; superior cuisine; sea sports; fans in all rooms.

Bowring & Co, 17 Battery Place, New York.

As the *Stephanos* fares began at only $100, it seems that the *Evangeline* was able to command a very good premium for her Florida cruises.

The operator of the Bowring Red Cross Line was the New York, Newfoundland & Halifax Steam Ship Co Ltd, a company that had been incorporated in 1884,. It had succeeded the Cromwell Line on the route and had been offering cruises from New York for some time. In 1899, for example, with Raymond & Whitcomb as general passenger agents, it had advertised "Summer Cruises to Near-By Foreign Lands," with a "sailing from New York every Saturday at 4 pm." A 12-day cruise to St John's was $60, "including berth and meals," and a 7-day cruise, with change of ships at Halifax, was $28.

The Red Cross Line continued to offer these cruises even into the First World War and a typical advertisement in Wilmington, Delaware's "The Sunday Morning Star" on September 3, 1916, summarized how they were sold in the United States:

12 Day All Expense Vacation $60 Up: The Great North American Cruise.

The Finest Cruise on the Atlantic Coast. Including all essential expense, visiting Halifax, Nova Scotia, the truly European capital of this province, and St John's, Newfoundland, the unique and busy farthest north city on the Atlantic Seaboard. The splendid steamships *Stephano* and *Florizel* of the Red Cross Line are especially built for the accommodation of tourists, having ample deck room, comfortable cabins and lounge, and exceptionally pleasant dining saloon, in which is served to the music of an orchestra, meals of unusual excellence. The boats are new and able, with every modern device for safety, including full boat equipment for passengers and crew. No cruise on the Atlantic Seaboard offers such novelty and grandeur of scenery and is so health-giving and altogether delightful.

Reduced fares were offered for September and October departures. The *Stephano*'s running mate in the Halifax and St John's service, the 3,081-ton *Florizel*, was built in 1909 and, like the *Stephano*, was an ice-strengthened passenger ship that had also been built to go to the seal
hunt each spring. In Stephano's case, she did so after completing her winter cruise program, while the Florizel had carried on the service from New York.

The End of the Holliday Brothers Service

In 1912, having lost first the King Edward and General Wolfe and then Fraser's St Lawrence, Holliday Brothers was back to one ship, the Aranmore, with a sailing every fortnight between Quebec and Natashquan. Holliday Brothers now operated under a new title, Quebec & Labrador Steamship Service, and the "Quebec Telegraph" for June 27 carried a typical sailing advertisement: -

Quebec & Labrador Steamship Service
(via North Shore ports)
r.m.s. Aranmore, John Hearn, Master
This steamer is intended to sail for all ports of call as far as Natashquan, with passengers, mail and cargo, on Saturday, June 29th, July 13th and 27th. Freight will be received at the steamer's berth up to the day of sailing. For rates and other particulars apply to:
Holliday Brothers, 101 St Peter Street

Over the winter of 1912-13 the Aranmore was again chartered to the Plant Line for its Boston-Halifax service. By using chartered tonnage they managed to maintain a weekly departure, performing forty-one sailings in 1913 from March 28 through November, for which they were paid $200 each, for a total subsidy of $8,200. Meanwhile, in 1913, Holliday Brothers revived the title North Shore Steamship Line that had been used in 1904. A typical sailing advertisement appeared in the "Quebec Telegraph" on June 13, 1913: -

North Shore Steamship Line. Mail and Passenger Service. s.s. Aranmore - Capt O Sherrer. Proposed sailings during June from Quebec to Natashquan, via all intermediate ports of call. Saturday June 14th and 28th at 8 pm. Freight will be received up to 3 pm day of sailing. For rate of passage and freight, and other information apply to: Holliday Bros, 101 St Peter Street.

In the meantime, Alfred Mercier of Beauport, Quebec, was awarded a contract to provide one voyage a month between Quebec, Natashquan and Blanc-Sablon, in order to supplement the Aranmore. For this, he used the 80-ton Nova Scotia-built auxiliary schooner Hilda M Backman. Mercier moved freight and traded furs along the North Shore for more than twenty years before finally losing his life when he was wrecked at Natashquan after the First World War.

The Holliday Brothers finally closed their steamship service at the end of 1913. Following on her earlier use as for lighthouse supply, the Aranmore
was sold to the Department of Marine & Fisheries, where she joined the Lord Stanley that the Holliday Brothers had employed before her.

The Aranmore would later be involved in some charter work for the Clarke Steamship Co. Then, remaining in government service, she made it as far as the Arctic. In 1939, she became the Foundation Aranmore. And finally, in 1948, she was lost off Haiti whilst under Cuban ownership.

Canada Steamship Lines

On December 4, 1913, the biggest merger in Canadian shipping history came about when, with the backing of Furness Withy, several major Canadian shipping lines were brought together in what became Canada Steamship Lines Ltd, with headquarters in Montreal. The most important were the Northern Navigation Co, Inland Lines Ltd, the Richelieu & Ontario Navigation Co Ltd, Merchants Mutual Line and the Quebec Steamship Co Ltd. Six months earlier, the Quebec Steamship Co had declared a 4 per cent dividend for 1912, the sixty-sixth it had paid in forty-five years of independent existence. The Montreal Transportation Co Ltd would also follow, but not until 1920.

While the Clarke family was busy developing Clarke City these services were evolving, so that by 1916 the Canada Steamship Lines publication "Niagara to the Sea" listed the following passenger ships, now including several seagoing vessels in addition to the traditional lake and river craft: -

Toronto-Montreal Division:  Kingston, Toronto, Rapids Prince, Rapids King
Montreal-Quebec Division:  Montreal, Quebec
Saguenay Division:  Saguenay St-Irenée, Syracuse, Tadousac
Montreal-PEI-Nova Scotia Division:  Cascapedia
New York-Bermuda Division:  Bermudian, Evangeline
New York-West Indies Division:  Guiana, Parima, Korona

The Kingston and Toronto on the Toronto-Montreal route were the same ships that R&O had listed in its 1901 guide. However, the Prescott-Montreal portion of this service had been renewed with a pair of new "Rapids" steamers, the 1,801-ton Rapids King of 1907 and the 1,384-ton Rapids Prince of 1911. By now, the old Hamilton line had been abandoned except for freight.

The 4,282-ton Montreal was a new ship, a 1902 product of the same Toronto shipyard that had built the Kingston and Toronto. She had become the largest steamship to shoot the St Lawrence rapids when she did so on her delivery voyage to Montreal, and had entered service in 1905 after a fire and final completion at Sorel. On the other hand, the 3,498-ton Quebec, although registered as a new ship in 1907, had actually been built on the
original hull that supported the Quebec of 1865.

**Saguenay Sailings from Montreal**

The *Saguenay* had replaced the ship of the same name in R&O's 1901 listing and was the fourth of the name. This 240-berth ship was the one on which James Clarke made the cruise to Clarke City in 1912. Previous Saguenay River steamers had all been paddle steamers so this *Saguenay*'s twin-screw propulsion was a novelty. And while previous Saguenay steamers had all departed from Quebec, the new ship was built for a new twice-a-week express service from Montreal, with sailings on Tuesday and Friday evenings at 7:15 pm. The *Saguenay* made calls at Quebec, St-Irène, Murray Bay, Cap à l'Aigle, St-Siméon and Tadoussac before turning at Ha! Ha! Bay in the Saguenay. If booked as a round-trip from Montreal, the voyage could be taken as a 3-night cruise.

CSL's other Saguenay steamers, the *St-Irène, Syracuse* and *Tadousac*, sailed from Quebec to Baie-St-Paul, Les Eboulements, St-Irène, Murray Bay, Cap-à-l'Aigle, St-Siméon, Tadoussac and L'Anse-St-Jean, Ha! Ha! Bay and Chicoutimi on the Saguenay. The *St-Irène* and *Tadousac* were in the R&O listing for 1901, but the 2,105-ton *Syracuse* was a screw steamship, acquired in 1914. Built at Collingwood, Ontario, in 1911 as the *Geronia*, she was renamed *Cape Trinity* in 1920.

The Saguenay line would remain an institution right up until Canada Steamship Lines finally closed the service in 1965.

**The "Empress of Ireland" and the Black Diamond Line**

In late May 1914, the St Lawrence River's largest shipping disaster ever occurred when Canadian Pacific's 14,191-ton Transatlantic liner *Empress of Ireland* was lost by collision in a fogbank off Bic, along with the lives of 1,012 of those on board. One of a pair of new liners Canadian Pacific had placed on the Quebec-Liverpool route in 1906, she had left Quebec on May 28, and in the early morning hours of May 29, soon after dropping her pilot at Pointe au Père, near Rimouski, was hit by the 6,028-ton Norwegian collier *Storstad*. Master of the *Empress of Ireland* was Capt Harvey Kendall, who had spotted Dr Crippen on board the *Montrose* in 1910 and had him arrested very near to the spot where the *Empress* now sank.

The *Storstad*, on charter to the Black Diamond Line, was on her way from Sydney to Montreal with a full cargo of 10,000 tons of coal when she struck the *Empress of Ireland* squarely amidships. The *Empress* went down in less than fifteen minutes and the *Storstad* was found to be at fault. This disaster has been covered in detail in three books on the subject, but no account of shipping in the St Lawrence River can fail to mention the huge
loss of life, especially as more passengers were lost in her than in sinking of the 46,329-ton Titanic in 1912.

As for the Black Diamond Line, it was now in the midst of a whole string of disasters. On September 18, not four months after the loss of the Empress of Ireland, the 4,677-ton chartered collier Lingan, again in fog and again fully loaded, with 6,000 tons of coal, ploughed into the five-year-old CGS Montmagny, en route to supply Gulf of St Lawrence lighthouses. Fourteen were lost in the Montmagny, including eleven children and two women from the families of the lighthouse keepers, when she sank in just four minutes close to her namesake town. The master and pilot of the Lingan were found to be at fault. The Black Diamond Line bought the Furness Withy-owned ship three years later.

In an earlier collision involving a Black Diamond collier, on August 20, 1911, just above Quebec, the 3,719-ton Norwegian-flag Hero had ploughed down the 355-ton tow boat Chieftain III, owned by the Calvin Co Ltd of Kingston. The Hero's pilot was severely censured after the five-year-old Chieftain III, used to tow large rafts of logs, had sunk with the loss of four of her crew. The Calvin fleet was absorbed into the Montreal Transportation Co in 1913.

On top of three collisions involving colliers, the Black Diamond Line was in the course of losing both its passenger ships. The City of Sydney was lost just weeks before the Empress of Ireland when she ran aground in dense fog on March 17, 1914, on Sambro Rocks, near Halifax. Chartered back to her original owners, the Red Cross Line, she was en route from New York to St John's at the time and her thirteen passengers and 35 crew were all rescued.

On May 26, 1915, a year after the Empress of Ireland, the Morwenna was torpedoed while en route from Cardiff to Sydney in ballast. One crew member was killed and three wounded when the U-boat shelled them while she sank off Ireland but a Belgian trawler came to the rescue. Among others, the same radio officer survived both sinkings.

And this was not all. The line had lost two chartered colliers, the 6,104-ton Glace Bay, ashore on Cape Race, Newfoundland, in May 1913 and the 6,014-ton Bridgeport, missing at sea with a crew of 45 after leaving Sydney on November 1, 1913. These two virtually new ships, updated versions of the Storstad, had only been built in 1912. And it would lose three more, the 3,918-ton Kongprins Olav in June 1915, the 1,426-ton Easington that September and the 4,836-ton Batiscan in March 1918, all to marine disaster.

Each of these five ships, only seven or eight years old, was lost with all hands while carrying coal from Sydney, two bound for Montreal and one for Saint John. And to add to this, the Batiscan had been found alone to blame
for another collision, with the 2,584-ton Head Line cargo ship Bengore Head, off Cap Saumon on August 1, 1915, when there had been no loss of life or ship.

With ten maritime disasters to its name, including the loss of seven of its own ships in less than five years, four of them with all hands, plus the huge loss of life involved in the collision with the Empress of Ireland, and the tragic sinkings of the Chieftain III and Montmagny, the Black Diamond Line had developed a reputation from which it could not easily recover.

The Black Diamond name was therefore dropped and the company's activities transferred on July 1, 1917, the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Dominion of Canada, to the newly-formed Dominion Shipping Co Ltd, another subsidiary of the Dominion Coal Co.

All this bad news did not stop one individual, however. Having started with the Intercolonial Railway, A T Weldon, Black Diamond's general passenger agent, went back to the Intercolonial in October 1914 and over the next few years became assistant general freight agent of Canadian Government Railways, traffic manager for Canadian National Railways in Moncton and by 1927, vice president, traffic, for the whole Canadian National system.

Canada Steamship Lines to the North Shore

After the Quebec Steamship Co became part of Canada Steamship Lines in 1913, the Cascapedia remained on the run from Montreal and Quebec to Gaspé and the Maritimes while the Trinidad still sailed between Quebec and New York. Between the two ships, this still gave a departure from Quebec every Friday. The Trinidad's cruise schedule usually called for four departures in each direction, two each in July and August for the "far-famed Saquenay River," although sometimes she also sailed into September.

One of the first things Canada Steamship Lines did was to bid on the Quebec North Shore mail contract. How much this had to do with its new president James Carruthers, and his visit to Clarke City in 1911, is not known, but in April it was awarded the contract for 1914. As it had a spare ship in the Great Lakes, it followed the precedent set by the Quebec Steamship Co with the Campana and brought one of its Great Lakes fleet down to the St Lawrence.

The 1,961-ton Saronic, built in 1882 and rebuilt in 1904, had been acquired with the Northern Navigation Co Ltd in 1913. The Saronic and Campana had in fact worked together for five years in the early 1890s with the earlier North-West Transportation Co, when the Saronic had been known
as the United Empire. The Campana was the first twin-screw passenger ship on the Great Lakes while the United Empire was the first to be equipped with electric light. As the Saronic, she had been portrayed on the Canadian four dollar bill in 1907-08, but now, in 1914, she had been displaced by the 6,905-ton Noronic, Northern Navigation's new flagship on the Great Lakes.

Being too large for Northern Navigation's secondary Georgian Bay service, it had been intended to run her between Montreal and Toronto, but instead she would now open a weekly service from Quebec to the North Shore. As late as March 1914, "Canadian Railway & Marine World" had been speculating that she might be transferred to the Hamilton-Montreal or Toronto-Montreal route, but by April it was reporting that Canada Steamship Lines had submitted a tender "for a mail service, which the Dominion Government intends to inaugurate along the north shore of the lower St Lawrence, between Quebec and Seven Islands," and furthermore that "it may run the Northern Navigation Co's s.s. Saronic on the route."

Unlike the Campana, which had to be cut in two in order to transit the St Lawrence canals, the locks had been enlarged in 1901 and the Saronic was now able to reach Quebec in one piece. While the Saronic had run a weekly schedule from Sarnia to Sault Ste Marie, the Canadian Lakehead and back on the Great Lakes, and had seen her share of fogs, she had not operated in tidewater before.

The "Niagara to the Sea" brochure for 1914 introduced the new service as CSL's "North Shore Route":

Inauguration of Service to the Sportsmen's "Paradise of the North"

The company, in order to open up the great game country along the North Shore of the River and Gulf of St Lawrence, will this year operate a service four times monthly from Quebec to Natashquan ... and once a month making the trip to Harrington Harbour.

The finest salmon and trout fishing on the continent may be had at various points along the route, but most particularly at the Mingan Group of Islands.

During the summer months wild seafowl are plentiful, and from September to the close of the season, snipe, plover, partridge, black duck and geese lend ample variety to the sportsman’s gun.

This service will be performed by the s.s. Saronic, a fine comfortable passenger steamer 258 feet in length, 36 feet 6 inch beam, with a gross tonnage of 1,900 tons. During the tourist season the days are warm, but not uncomfortable, while the nights are cool enough to necessitate blankets for sleeping purposes.
An engine-aft lakes-style vessel, with passenger cabins above and cargo handled through sideports in her hull, the *Saronic*, under Capt W S Kennedy, would serve the North Shore for but one season. She could carry 1,200 tons on a 12-foot draft but had no deck winches, and it was difficult to handle cargo through her sideports at many of the ports where there were no docks. It was difficult enough to maintain a weekly schedule on a treacherous and fogbound coast, but if there were further delays in handling cargo, it became almost impossible. An ignominious sign of her unsuitability occurred early on, when on May 13, she had to be towed into Quebec after an engine breakdown.

Then, on August 7, 1914, Canada Steamship Lines announced that "conditions necessitated the discontinuance of the steamship service between Quebec and New York," provided by the *Trinidad*. No specific reason was given, but the announcement was made on the same day as the British Expeditionary Force landed in France to help the French and Belgians defend themselves against German invasion.

**Canada Steamship Lines Acquires the "Laurentian"**

In 1915, Canada Steamship Lines replaced the oak-hulled *Saronic* with the steel-hulled *Laurentian*, which they acquired from Davie Brothers after she completed her customs duties. The *Laurentian* was a known factor as between 1902 and 1908 she had served the coast as Holliday Brothers' *King Edward*. Carrying up to 62 passengers, and handling cargo more conventionally, with derricks through a hatch, as well as sideports, the *Laurentian* took over the *Saronic*’s route from Quebec to Natashquan. But being of slower speed, she had to operate a fortnightly schedule rather than the weekly sailings that the *Saronic* had attempted the year before. Capt Jos Boucher, late of the *Natashquan*, was appointed master of the *Laurentian*.

In order to continue the weekly sailings, CSL altered the *Cascapedia*’s fortnightly schedule to run her opposite the *Laurentian*. After almost fifty years of Quebec Steamship Co service to the Gaspé coast, the *Cascapedia* dropped Gaspé and substituted seventeen new ports on the North Shore, from Les Escoumins to Clarke City and Natashquan. But she continued to serve Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, the steaming time by way of the North Shore being almost the same as via Gaspé. The *Cascapedia*’s new Montreal-North Shore-Charlottetown-Pictou pattern was similar to the Quebec-North Shore-Charlottetown-Sydney service that Holliday Brothers had operated with the *Aranmore*. On her first trip in 1915, heavy ice kept the *Cascapedia* from reaching Pictou from Charlottetown and she returned to Summerside to refuel for the trip back to Montreal.

This arrangement with the *Laurentian* allowed Canada Steamship Lines to maintain weekly sailings from Quebec to the North Shore at the same time as offering a fortnightly Montreal-Maritimes service. And as the North Shore
sailings had traditionally taken place from Quebec, it also allowed them to open up a new fortnightly trade from Montreal to the North Shore. The two ships operated as the Quebec Steamship Division of Canada Steamship Lines but still carried the Quebec Steamship Co red funnel with a black top that had long been familiar.

**A New North Shore Schedule**

The new two-ship service with the *Cascapedia* and *Laurentian* provided a sailing from Quebec every Friday morning at 9 am. This was achieved quite simply, with the *Cascapedia* continuing her Thursday afternoon departures from Montreal so that she could be in Quebec on Friday morning on her week. Similar scheduling had allowed her to combine fortnightly Montreal sailings with the Quebec turnarounds of the *Trinidad* to offer a weekly service to Gaspé and the Maritimes until the year before.

Canada Steamship Lines' "St Lawrence Gulf and River" brochure for 1915 briefly outlined the new service: -

From Quebec the s.s. *Cascapedia* proceeds down the North Shore to Clarke City and Seven Islands, past the Island of Anticosti to the port of Natashquan, and crossing over from there to the shores of Prince Edward Island, calling at Summerside and Charlottetown, thence to Pictou, Nova Scotia, where connection is made with the Intercolonial train for Halifax.

The s.s. *Laurentian* takes the same route as far as Natashquan, and instead of crossing over, returns from that port, except when her schedule calls for the continuation of her trip to Harrington Harbour [once a month].

This arrangement of schedule gives a weekly service to the hunting and fishing haunts of the North Shore.

The 1915 contract ran from May 2 to December 2 and attracted a subsidy of $28,000. In addition to the monthly extension to Harrington Harbour, which included a call at Romaine, the contract called for a single extension to Blanc-Sablon during the season, a level of service that would be greatly improved within a few years.

**Canada Steamship Lines and Gulf Pulp & Paper**

In 1916, five years after the *Saguenay*’s cruise to Clarke City, the Canada Steamship Lines publication "Niagara to the Sea" gave a brief account of the company's first dealings with the Clarke enterprises, when it described the call at Sept-Iles: -
Our first stop in the bay is Clarke City wharf, where we load pulp and discharge a general cargo. Clarke City itself is reached by the only line of railroad on the north shore east of the Saguenay. It is built on the first falls of the St Margaret River, its only industry being the great mill of the Gulf Pulp & Paper Company. Its population is about a thousand.

That the Cascapedia loaded woodpulp in Clarke City says not only that the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co depended on the steamship service for its incoming supplies, but that it also used it to ship some of its own products. Cargo that left the Clarke City wharf in the eight years since the mill had been opened had been shipped to both Europe and the United States.

The reaction to this new routing can be judged from a letter one of the Cascapedia's passengers. Mr T A Poston of Lévis, a provincial revenue inspector, wrote to Canada Steamship Lines on August 16, 1916:

I arrived yesterday on the Cascapedia after one of the most delightful trips I have had in all my experience to the North Shore and Pictou. The passengers were loud in their praises of the natural beauties of the North Shore, and the "out of sight of land trip" across the Gulf, was, they said, just what they wanted, after the torrid heat they had experienced at their homes this summer. They were all more than satisfied and expressed their wonder to me how the company could give them such a trip with all its enjoyable wonders to them for so little money. The officers, from the genial skipper down, were all to be desired, and by their kindness and attention made all the passengers feel "at home."

The delicious codfish and sea trout out of the icy waters of the Gulf they enjoyed immensely, and many of them told me that they wished they had fish for every meal as they got lots of meat at home, but codfish and sea trout in the Gulf is at its best there, and only there. It would make a considerable saving on the meal bill as these fish are so cheap down there in comparison to meat.

While Canada Steamship Lines had managed to maintain its longstanding service to Charlottetown and Pictou, it no longer served the Gaspé coast, where other ships had begun to trade instead of the Cascapedia.

**Gaspé Steamships**

Another interesting announcement appeared in the "Quebec Telegraph" on June 13, 1913, advertising an 8-day round trip to Gaspé:

Gaspé Steamship Line.
s.s. *Lady of Gaspé* - Delightful Trip to Gaspé & Baie-des-Chaleurs.
$26.00 for round trip (8 days) including meals and berth.
Next sailings, June 17th and July 1st.
Excellent accommodation for 100 tourists.
For tickets apply to:
Hone & Rivet, 31 Buade St
F S Stocking, 32 St Louis St, or
Bouchard Brothers, managers, 40 Dalhousie St

On both the Montreal-Gaspé and the Quebec-Gaspé routes, and on local services between Gaspé and northern New Brunswick ports, various lines were active during this period. These Gaspé lines operated several ships worthy of remark. A pre-World War I issue of Karl Baedeker's travel guide "" said the following about steamship services to Gaspé:

Travellers who wish to see something of the peninsula may proceed by steamer (Quebec SS Co) from Quebec to Gaspé or by the Gaspé & Baie-des-Chaleurs or Gaspé Steamship lines from Montreal, but those who object to this long voyage can visit the most interesting points from Campbellton via steamers of the Gaspé & Baie-des-Chaleurs Co, sailing weekly through Chaleur Bay to Gaspé (176 mi in 22 hrs, return-fare $9.20, berth and meals extra).

The season of 1914 was the last in which the Quebec Steamship Co would serve Gaspé, but for now a Gaspé steamer still left Victoria Pier every Tuesday at 2 pm for Quebec and points on the Gaspé Peninsula and Baie-des-Chaleurs, a distance of about 700 miles.

On July 28, 1913, while downbound and anchored in fog near Trois Rivières with over 130 passengers on board, the *Lady of Gaspé* was run into by the downbound 3,472-ton Scottish cargo ship *Crown of Cordova*, and had to be beached at Cap-de-la-Madeleine to prevent her from sinking. Bouchard Brothers arranged for her passengers to be carried from Trois Rivières to Quebec in R&O's *Quebec* and then on to Gaspé in the Quebec Steamship Co's *Cascapedia*.

In the cross-suits that followed, the owners of the *Crown of Cordova* and Bouchard Brothers were each ordered to pay half of the damages suffered by the other, but the damages to the *Lady of Gaspé* were far greater. Capt Cléophas Vézina, master of the *Lady of Gaspé*, was severely censured, while Joseph Gauthier, second officer had his license removed for having abandoned ship by boarding the *Crown of Cordova*. This was not a good time for the Bouchard Brothers.

On November 11, 1913, the Gaspé Steamship Co Ltd was awarded a contract to operate a semi-monthly Quebec-Gaspé service "from the opening to the close of navigation in 1914" using the *Lady of Gaspé*. On December
14, 1914, after a successful first season, the contract was extended to cover the period April 23 to November 30, 1915.

In 1915, the Lady of Gaspé effectively replaced the Quebec Steamship Co's Cascapedia on the run to Gaspé while the latter switched to the Montreal-North Shore-Pictou route. But the Lady of Gaspé's time with the Gaspé Steamship Co would come to an end on October 13, when she stranded in fog near below Cap Rouge near the Quebec Bridge with a leak in number 3 hold. She then sank after being taken into port at Quebec and was salvaged by the Quebec Harbour Commissioners. On November 27, she was sold by the Commissioner of Wrecks for $10,000 and repaired at Lauzon for $7,000, to be placed into service between Halifax and the UK. By February 1917, still under the name Lady of Gaspé, she was reported trading during the winter season between New York and Kingston, Jamaica, and between Port Eads, Louisiana, and Mexico and Cuba, and even carrying a cargo of coal from Norfolk to Bermuda that March.

The Lady of Gaspé was replaced on the Gaspé route by the Gaspé & Baie-des-Chaleurs Steamship Co's rebuilt Percésien. The Percésien went onto the Montreal-Gaspé route, sailing as far as Paspébiac and New Carlisle but no longer to New Brunswick, as she had when she was the Canada. The Percésien left Montreal's Victoria Pier for the first time at 3 pm on Tuesday, May 18, 1915, and ran fortnightly through to November. Calling at Quebec's Custom House Pontoon, she left there for Gaspé at 4 pm on Wednesday. Westbound voyages left Paspébiac at 1:30 pm on Monday and Gaspé at the early hour of 4 am on Tuesday, while the thirty-hour layover at Paspébiac was sold as an opportunity for passengers to go sailing or fishing. Gaspé & Baie-des-Chaleurs made a point of publicizing fresh fish in its menus, as its 1915 brochure indicates:

The principal industry of this country is cod fishing. It is an interesting sight to see hundreds of boats, manned by two or more fishermen, hauling in the big fish right before the eyes of the steamers' passengers as they steam along. And what a delicious dish for the tourist with an appetite; of course, the boats' stewards are always careful to have it on the menu. Tell your friends about it.

Both vessels were advertised as "iron steamships" but the older Gaspésien had now been re-assigned to the local Baie-des-Chaleurs service that had been operated by the Percésien in her earlier days as Canada. Instead of two ships trading from Quebec or Montreal, travellers from the Percésien could now transfer to the Gaspésien at Gaspé to connect through to Campbellton. Both ships served the ports between Gaspé and Paspébiac and New Carlisle, thus giving that stretch three services a week.

With the loss of the Lady of Gaspé and the Cascapedia now on the Montreal-North Shore-Pictou route, the Gaspé mail subsidy went to the Percésien for the balance of the year. The Quebec Steamship Co had lost its
Gaspé mail subsidy in 1912, after the 1911 arrival of the railway to Gaspé, but had continued to serve Gaspé for a couple of years, even though the Lady of Gaspé was still subsidized. Subsidies paid on the Quebec-Gaspé route in 1915 totalled $8,500, split between the Gaspé Steamship Co and the Gaspé & Baie-des-Chaleurs Steamship Co and the Report of the Department of Trade & Commerce for 1915 summarized what was paid:

The Lady of Gaspé was wrecked on October 13, 1915, after performing twelve trips. The remaining three trips were run by the Percésien of the Gaspe and Baie-des-Chaleurs Steamship Company, which received $1,700 for the service.

Although the Gaspésien operated locally, she was up against the new railway, which would eventually eliminate all the ships running between Gaspé and the Baie-des-Chaleurs. Just as the opening of the Intercolonial Railway had affected shipping services to the Maritime Provinces thirty-five years earlier, the Gaspé-Campbellton route, which had for decades been operated by steamships, now became part of Canada's railway network, while steamship subsidies would end with the 1917 season.

Meanwhile, wintering over in the Louise Basin at Quebec in 1915-16 were three iron-hulled ships, all involved in the Gaspé trades. The Cascapedia and the similar but damaged Lady of Gaspé were former Clyde Shipping Co vessels, while the Gaspésien was a product of the shipyards of Newcastle upon Tyne.

**The Bermuda Service 1916**

While the Bermudian remained the chief ship on the New York to Hamilton route, other vessels were still engaged from time to time. In 1909 this was the Prince George, in 1910 the Oceana and in 1916 it was the turn of the Evangeline, which the Quebec Steamship Co chartered from the Plant Line. The Evangeline had already made four voyages from New York to Bermuda carrying US Mail in the spring of 1915, after having operated her first cruises from Florida in 1913 and 1914.

With the Oceana in 1910, the Bermudian had sailed from New York every Wednesday and the Oceana every Saturday. But when the Evangeline arrived, being a slower ship, the Bermudian still took the Wednesday sailings but the Evangeline had to be advertised to sail on "alternate Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays." Having been transferred from British to US registry at the beginning of the war, the Quebec Steamship Co was also able to advertise the Evangeline as offering service "under the American flag." And she offered a number of suites with private bath.
The Plant Line Closes

The Evangeline and Halifax returned to Boston for the summers of 1913 and 1914 to maintain the service to Halifax and Charlottetown. They offered a round trip tour rate of $43.50 from Boston to Quebec and Montreal connecting with the Quebec Steamship Co's Cascapedia at Charlottetown and returning to Boston by rail. In 1915, the Evangeline ran twice weekly between Halifax and Boston but in 1916, now under US flag, moved to weekly sailings between Boston and Charlottetown, with a call at Halifax.

At the end of 1916 the Plant Line suspended its Canadian service because of low fares and the threat of German submarines. The Evangeline was a good ship, less than four years old, but the disruption caused by the First World War meant that 1916 would be her last season. A torpedoing off New England was probably the last straw.

On October 9, 1916, the Red Cross Line's Stephano, bound for New York with 80 passengers and a cargo of fish from St John's, was stopped off the Nantucket coast by the German submarine U-53. In the presence of neutral American destroyers, the Stephano was looted and then sunk by gunfire and a single torpedo. One of the destroyers, USS Balch, picked up the passengers and crew, who had been ordered by the captain to abandon ship, and took them to Newport, Rhode Island. The Red Cross Line's New York representative, Charles W Bowring, already had some experience of U-boats, having been a survivor of Cunard Line's 31,550-ton Lusitania when she was torpedoed south of Ireland on May 7, 1915, with the loss of 1,178, including 134 Americans. Although Americans has been lost, the United States would not enter the war until April 6, 1917.

In November 1916, shortly after the loss of the Stephano, with its business suffering and showing no signs of improvement, the Plant Line announced that it was closing and that its ships would be sold. The A W Perry had already been lost the previous year, due to errors of navigation rather than war, running aground on Chebucto Head near Halifax on June 8, 1915. Shore stations responding to her calls had summoned nearby vessels, which managed to rescue all 82 persons on board.

The Halifax, which had done some transport work including carrying German prisoners of war from Jamaica to Halifax in May 1915 and Canadian troops to England, went to New York buyers. She was lost without trace on her way across the Atlantic from New York, after leaving the Azores on December 11, 1917.

The Evangeline, on the other hand, went to the French Government and her passenger accommodation was removed when she was converted into a workaday freighter for operation by Union Maritime. On January 13,
1921, she too was lost, with a cargo of steel plate and seaplanes at Lorient Roads, while attempting to enter Port Louis on France's Atlantic Coast.

Elsewhere, an unusual charter occurred in the winter of 1917 when the *Prince Arthur*, usually employed between Yarmouth and Boston or New York, went south once again to run between Jacksonville, Nassau and Havana for the Ward Line.

**The Quebec Steamship Co and the First World War**

With the closure of the Holliday Brothers service in 1914, Canada Steamship Lines had become the major operator of steamship services from Montreal to the Gulf of St Lawrence. But the *Cascapedia* only remain in the St Lawrence until the spring of 1917, when she was transferred to the New York-Bermuda run, there to replace the *Bermudian*, which had been requisitioned for trooping.

Other than its St Lawrence service vessels, the Quebec Steamship Co had usually registered its ships in London. But Canada Steamship Lines decided to bring the whole fleet under Canadian flag in early 1917, and the *Bermudian*, along with the West Indies traders *Guiana*, *Korona* and the 2,990-ton *Parima*, were registered in Montreal. The West Indies ships remained on the run from New York, but were now joined by first the 2,214-ton *Canadian* and then the 2,368-ton diesel-powered *Fordonian*, two of Canada Steamship Lines' large fleet of St Lawrence canallers. Built at Glasgow in 1912, the *Fordonian* was an exception. Sold to the Quebec Steamship Co in 1916, she was briefly that company's first and only motorship, but soon went under US flag, registered to local agents A E Outerbridge & Co at New York. She worked from New York for seven years before returning to the Great Lakes and eventually being converted for the New York State barge canal.

In the spring of 1917, the Quebec-registered *Cascapedia* went to New York to replace the 8,965-ton Portuguese liner *Tras Os Montes*. The ex-North German Lloyd war prize *Buelow*, she had arrived in New York on April 2 to stand in for the *Bermudian*, but was now needed for trooping service after the United States entered the war on April 6. Managed by Furness Withy and commanded by Commodore James MacKenzie, formerly of the *Bermudian*, her intended spot on the New York-Bermuda service was taken instead by the much smaller *Cascapedia*. "Canadian Railway & Marine World" carried the news this way in its June 1917 issue:

Canada Steamship Lines s.s. *Cascapedia*, which has been extensively repaired and overhauled, is running for a while on the Quebec Steamship Co's route between New York and Bermuda. Later in the season she will return to her customary service between Montreal, Gaspé and Prince Edward Island ports.
In fact, she would not return to the St Lawrence after all. Robert Aitken gave an account of the Cascapedia’s service to Bermuda in his article "All You Big Steamers - The Story of Bermuda and the Merchant Marine," which appeared in an issue of "The Bermuda Historical Quarterly" in 1966:

Canada Steamship Lines, now operating the Quebec Steamship Company, brought the Cascapedia down from the St Lawrence to replace the Bermudian - a small coastwise packet under 300 feet in length and less than 2,000 tons with a maximum speed of 9½ knots. To this little ship I was appointed 2nd Engineer.

It was soon proved that the Cascapedia was inadequate for the service and we, the crew, were not very anxiously looking forward with any degree of pleasure to the coming winter. There was no refrigeration space - all meat was brought to Bermuda on the hoof. I have seen the time we have imported 100 head of cattle in this little ship. The only available space for this purpose was the 'tween deck.

I can recall many amusing incidents in the nine months the Cascapedia was on the run. The winter of 1917-18 was a corkscrew. Some will recall the violent cold spell and blizzard that New York experienced. On several occasions it took six days to make the journey, still the Cascapedia weathered the Norwesters and remained on the trade until March 1918.

A somewhat improbable, but much larger, ship, the 3,583-ton ex-Royal Navy cruiser Charybdis, was taken on loan by the Bermudian Government and operated by the Quebec Steamship Co as the successor to the Cascapedia. HMS Charybdis had been part of the escort of the 1st Canadian Troop Convoy that included the Bermudian in October 1914, after the latter had made her one and only call at Quebec, to embark 562 troops of the Canadian Expeditionary Force for Britain.

Since a serious collision in 1915, the Charybdis had been laid up and used for harbour duties at Bermuda Dockyard. Converted in New York to carry 65 passengers plus cargo, her guns were replaced by derricks and she left New York for the first time on March 8, 1918. In the absence of the Bermudian, still trooping in the Mediterranean, the Charybdis soldiered on until being returned to the Admiralty in December 1919.

Meanwhile, as the Royal Canadian Navy took the Laurentian for use as a patrol boat in May 1917, and purchased her a few months later for $50,000, Canada Steamship Lines Gulf of St Lawrence service had effectively been suspended. The Trinidad was sold in late 1917, through broker J E Carter, to be lost to a German torpedo in UK waters, with the loss of thirty-eight lives, in March 1918.
The Wreck of the "Florizel"

On the Newfoundland scene, the Red Cross Line had lost its Stephano to a U-Boat in October 1916. Before the loss of the Stephano, the Florizel had been spared to carry the first 500 of the Newfoundland Regiment to England. Leaving St John's for Plymouth on October 4, 1914, she joined the 1st Canadian Troop Convoy, carrying 30,000 Canadians, off Cape Race the following day. This famous convoy had assembled at Gaspé Bay, leaving there on October 3, and the Florizel was its thirty-second troopship, along with thirty ocean liners and the Quebec Steamship Co's Bermudian, which had embarked Canadian troops at Quebec. Also in that convoy, the Dominion Line's 9,415-ton Canada had collected the Lincolnshire Regiment from Bermuda, where they had been on garrison duty.

Now, three and a half years later, disaster was about to strike again. On February 23, 1918, nine hours after leaving St John's on a routine winter voyage to Halifax and New York, the Florizel ran aground on Horn Head Reef, about twelve miles north of Cape Race. Survivor A E Gardiner gave his account in an article that appeared in the St John's "Evening Telegram" on February 25:

The Florizel left St. Johns at 8 o'clock on Saturday evening. The weather then was fairly clear, but an hour afterwards a blinding snow storm sprung up, accompanied by a SE gale, which made navigation difficult as lookout could scarcely see a ship's length ahead. The ship apparently running at a good rate and every precaution was taken to guard against accident. Passengers were all in bed sleeping soundly when at 4:30 am Sunday the ship struck ground with terrific force, and every person on board at once knew that something dreadful had happened.

Although the ship was only about two hundred yards from shore, huge waves breaking over her prevented most attempts at rescue. Ninety-four lives were lost, and only 17 passengers and 27 were saved. Casualties included John S Munn, a director of Bowring Brothers Ltd, the St John's arm of the Florizel's owners, and his three-year-old daughter Betty.

In 1925, in memory of little Betty, a replica of the Peter Pan statue that stands in London's Kensington Gardens was erected in Bowring Park in St John's. Bowring Brothers had donated the park to the city in 1911, on the hundredth anniversary of the company's founding. John Munn was the son of William P Munn, who had been the first owner of the Lady Glover, now Gulf Pulp & Paper's Amherst, and the stepson of Edgar R Bowring, who had married his mother after William Munn's death.

Capt Joseph Kean, a previous master of the Florizel, who had been in command of her during the Newfoundland rescue, was also on board,
travelling to Halifax to take another ship to the seal hunt. One of a dozen swept overboard when heavy seas broke over the bridge, his body was later washed ashore. The full story of this disaster is told in Cassie Brown's book "A Winter's Tale: The Wreck of the s.s. Florizel."

**The Ellis Shipping Company**

In the summer of 1918, an issue of the St John's trade review "Colonial Commerce" carried an announcement of a new service to Newfoundland under the heading "Gaspé Trader in Montreal-Nfld Trade": -

The schooner *Gaspé Trader*, built by H A Ellis and partners at Barachois, Que, and launched at the end of June, is now in commission and is scheduled for service between Montreal and Quebec, the Gaspé Coast and Newfoundland.

The vessel is 120 feet overall, 29 feet beam, and 10 feet depth of hold, and registers slightly over 300 tons gross. It has two masts and is ketch-rigged with three sails, and is powered by two Fairbanks-Morse Semi-Diesel crude oil engines of 75 HP each driving twin screws.

The 209-ton *Gaspé Trader* (300 tons was likely her cargo capacity) was rather small for trading all the way from Montreal to Newfoundland, but with a war on when she was introduced, she was no doubt a welcome addition. Eventually, she settled down into the Gaspé coast run operated by the Ellis Shipping Co Ltd of Montreal.

**The North Shore Mail Contract**

Because of changes brought about by the war, Canada Steamship Lines had served the North Shore for only three years, with a final subsidy of $28,000 having been paid for the season from mid-April to early December 1916. After that, with the Cascapedia and the Laurentian gone, CSL had declined to renew its contract for 1917 and the following announcement appeared in the April 1917 issue of "Canadian Railway & Marine World": -

The Dominion Government is calling for tenders for a steamship service between Quebec and Harrington, to consist of four regular sailings from Quebec to Natashquan, one each month to Harrington Harbor, and one trip each season to Blanc-Sablon.

Seeing service to the North Shore as more urgent than that to the Gaspé, which had the benefit of rail and road access, the Department of Trade & Commerce awarded a new contract to the Gaspé & Baie-des-Chaleurs Steamship Co, whose Percésien from the Gaspé service began sailing from Quebec to the North Shore, arriving at
Pointe-aux-Esquimaux for the first time on May 17.

When she was requisitioned for war service that summer she was in turn replaced by the Gaspésien, which had been moved to the Quebec-Gaspé run to replace the Percésien. Government estimates in 1917 provided for a subsidy of $28,000 per annum for service "between Quebec and Harrington, calling at ports and places along northern shore of River St. Lawrence between such terminals" and $8,500 for service between Quebec and Gaspé.

Continuing a one-ship service with three sailings a month to the North Shore, the Gaspésien too was requisitioned that autumn. Meanwhile, tragedy arrived on October 30 when J M Pouliot, company secretary and Quebec agent for the Gaspé & Baie-des-Chaleurs Steamship Co, drowned when he fell from the gangway leading from the Gaspésien to the pier at Quebec. This ship performed a rather unusual voyage, for her, however, when on May 16, 1918, she arrived at New York with seventeen male passengers and a cargo from Souris, Prince Edward Island. The old Plant Line service between Prince Edward Island and Boston had been closed for a year and a half by then.

In November 1917, Menier's Savoy had to be brought in to replace the Gaspésien. Not long after that, the Percésien loaded a cargo of timber at Quebec for Preston, Lancashire. Leaving Halifax on January 31, 1918, she was lost in heavy weather on February 9 after straggling from her convoy. In command of the forty-four-year-old ship was Capt Joseph Bernier, who was the last to leave her. He and his crew were rescued by the 4,331-ton Ulster-registered Lord Erne and taken to Liverpool.

With the Gaspésien having been sold to the Canadian Maritime Co Ltd of Montreal, a new firm that had been formed in October 1917 to operate a number of Great Lakes canallers in overseas service, the May 1918 issue of "Canadian Railway & Marine World" carried the following news:

The Gaspe & Bale des Chaleurs Steamship Co, which has operated the steamships Gaspésien and Percésien on the lower St Lawrence for some years, will not run any steamships this year, its vessels having gone into other service overseas. The s.s. Percésien was sunk near England in February.

Having lost its newest provider in less than a year, the Department of Trade & Commerce had to look elsewhere once more and thought it had come up with a solution when, after a five-year absence, it awarded the 1918 contract to Holliday Brothers. The new contract called for two sailings a month, one to Clarke City and Sept-Iles, and another to Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, with one sailing a month continuing to Harrington. But because of a shortage of ships, Holliday Brothers were limited to using small chartered vessels, namely the Savoy and the small steam schooner Marie Josephine, the same wrecking steamer that been used by Alexander Fraser between the loss of the St Olaf in November 1900 and the arrival of
the Douro in May 1901. This pairing was interesting as Marie Josephine de Savoy had been the titular Queen consort of France before Louis XIII took the throne in 1814, but had died in exile in England in 1810. When the Marie Josephine was lost in the Lower St Lawrence on November 2, 1918, the service was back where it started, with just one small ship.

The North Shore mail contract, the federal provision that supported steamship service to this area, was of course the maritime subsidy of the day. After half a century of stability, with relatively reliable suppliers, the mail contract had now begun to pass from hand to hand as ships were withdrawn for war duties or even lost. Once again, Trade & Commerce went to seek out a new supplier.

The Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading Company

In 1919, the government awarded a five-year contract to an ambitious new concern, the Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading Co Ltd. Formed with a capital of $3 million by a group of Quebec investors on November 22, 1918, it proposed not only to serve the North Shore and the Gaspé Peninsula, but also to buy and market fish from the Gulf of St Lawrence and Newfoundland. In return for operating "steam service between Quebec and ports on the North and/or South Shores of the Gulf of St Lawrence and/or between ports in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and the Magdalen Islands," the new company was given a much higher subsidy of $70,000 a year.

There had been objection from some members of the Montreal Board of Trade to this outcome, details of which had been carried in the Montreal newspaper "The Gazette" on November 25, 1918, only three days after the incorporation of the new company: -

The Department of Trade and Commerce had communicated to the council a copy of an order-in-council of October 2nd, authorizing a contract to be made with the Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping and Trading Co Ltd for the provision of steamship services between Quebec and points on the lower St Lawrence on the north shore, Prince Edward Island, the Magdalen Islands and Gaspé ports, including also a port on the western coast of Newfoundland. The company proposed to provide, in addition to the steamship service, refrigerator plants or ice houses at various points along the north shore of the gulf to take care of fish, meat and other natural resources of the Magdalen Islands, Prince Edward Island, western Cape Breton and the north and south shores of the Gulf of St Lawrence.

Objection had been made by some members of the board to the fact that the extension of this steamship service to Montreal was not provided for but the council was of the opinion that ample steamship
facilities would be available from Montreal for the trade to the south shore and ports in the lower St Lawrence next season. The traffic to the north shore centred almost entirely in the past on Quebec.

The new company at first advertised its operation as "St Lawrence Gulf Lines, a new service between Montreal, Quebec, Gaspé, Prince Edward Island." The inclusion of Montreal in this advertisements at least seemed to show some sensitivity to the objections of some at the Montreal Board of Trade.

The "Guide"

The line's first acquisition was the 156-ton Guide, to which was to be added second larger ship then under construction at Lauzon. Owner of the Guide was Capt Joseph Bernier, navigator and explorer of l'Islet-sur-Mer, who as master of the Percésien when she was lost in 1918, was well aware of the shortage of suitable ships for the St Lawrence trades. Bernier had purchased the Guide, a former Trinity House pilot ship, in Britain in 1914, and made two trips in her to the Arctic, in 1914-15 and 1915-16, for the Canadian Geological Survey, each time wintering over in order to trade furs.

Carl Wiegman gives us an insight into what it was like to travel in the Guide when Bernier had been operating the little ship to the North Shore for his own account. In "Trees to News," he tells us about a November 1918 voyage that Arthur Schmon made on the way to his first winter at Shelter Bay as the post's new manager, after he had returned his wife to their home in Newark:

"On the way back, he travelled in a little passenger boat called the Guide, which was making its last voyage of the season. An unstable vessel, the Guide shipped water in every rough sea, and occupants of lower berths were likely to be drenched. For this reason Schmon soon found he had to share his upper berth with his bunkmate below. A snow storm howled down from the northeast, kicking up high waves and obliterating all landmarks. The skipper steered a course back and forth in what he hoped was the middle of the Gulf, for he could not see his way to any harbor. For thirty-six hours the Guide rode out the gale and when visibility began to return the skipper guessed he was off Seven Islands. He soon discovered, however, that he was off Pointe des Monts, a hundred miles from Seven Islands.

That the Guide should have been pressed into this type of service was a result of the shortage that had been caused by the war, but in 1919 Bernier sold his Guide to the Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading Co. His partner in the new company was its general manager Joseph Bossé, a Quebec businessman whose family Bernier had known for over thirty years. Thus, in return for his Guide, Bernier became a shareholder in the new
Bernier was well known for his long career in shipping, shipbuilding and Arctic exploration. In "Wooden Ships and Iron Men," Wallace recorded that "Bernier took many Quebec-built vessels across to the UK and Continent, delivering them to owners or negotiating their sale. Bernier is stated to have made 46 Transatlantic crossings at an average of 22 days each." Many of these had been made when he was superintendent of Peter Baldwin's shipyard at Quebec. When Baldwin left Quebec to join the Quebec Steamship Co in 1887, Bernier went to manage the new dry dock at Lauzon, and eventually returned to sea to become Canada's foremost Arctic explorer as master of the 762-ton CGS Arctic between 1904 and 1911.

The "Labrador"

Shortly after winning the North Shore contract, Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading took delivery of the 317-ton Labrador. Laid down as the TR.45, she was one of a large class of armed coastal defence trawlers that had been ordered from Canadian shipyards at a cost of $191,000 each but not finished in time for the war. After she was acquired from the Department of Naval Service, Davie Shipbuilding & Repairing Co Ltd of Lauzon had completed her in 1919 as a coaster.

The Labrador had a much extended forecastle compared to the other naval trawlers and her bridge was located further aft, directly forward of the funnel, an arrangement that allowed for additional cargo space. Of those trawlers that were not completed for naval use, a few were taken up and completed as small tow barges for the Transportation & Shipping Co Ltd, a company formed in Quebec in 1920 by the Lachance Brothers and others.

Although roughly the same size as CSL's Laurentian and Menier's Savoy, the Labrador was not nearly as large as many of the ships that had previously served the coast. Her main quality seems to have been that she was bigger than the Guide, and did not take the seas as badly in heavy weather.

For now, the Labrador ran for Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping, but this little coaster would soon play a role with the new Clarke Steamship Company.

The "Enterprise"

As part of its contract, Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping also began service to the Magdalen Islands from Pictou, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, employing the 211-ton wooden steamer Enterprise. Originally served by mail schooners from Gaspé, mail for the Magdalen Islands had been routed by
steamer from Pictou since about 1876, when the Intercolonial railway arrived. The Enterprise did not last long, however, as she ran aground in the Magdalen Islands on May 14, 1919.

**The "Lady Evelyn"**

Soon, the company acquired another ship, the 483-ton *Lady Evelyn*, a twin-screw 14-knot day steamer. Built in 1901 as the *Deerhound*, she had originally operated excursions from Blackpool in England, and later from Falmouth and Penzance. Brought to Canada in 1907, she had been renamed *Lady Evelyn* after Governor-General Earl Grey's championship figure skating daughter. The Post Office had used her to meet ocean liners at Pointe au Père pilot station and transfer their mails to trains. While on this duty, she had rescued survivors of the *Empress of Ireland* and brought many of the bodies of the dead back to Quebec. In 1917 she joined the RCN as a patrol vessel, before finally being put up for sale.

Like the *Labrador*, the *Lady Evelyn* came from the Canadian Government, and Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping acquired her on April 24, 1919, for $40,000. Wherever the new company had intended to use her, her first duty was running from Pictou to the Magdalen Islands, where she was sent three weeks after she was acquired to replace the *Enterprise*.

**The "A Tremblay"**

Although the original idea had been to use the *Lady Evelyn* on the run from Montreal to the Gaspé coast, for 1919 Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping ran the service with a small chartered vessel, the 245-ton *A Tremblay*.

The *A Tremblay* was a wooden steam barge owned Ulric Tremblay of Matane. Her usual run had been to Gaspé and then on to Sydney to load coal for her return upriver. When other ships had gone to war, one of her owners, Ulric Tremblay, had been awarded a contract to provide fortnightly service from Quebec to Gaspé between April 20 and November 21, 1918. On November 14, near the end of the season, she had been struck by the schooner *Beatrice S Mack* while docked at Rivière-au-Renard, but not seriously damaged.

Like the *Labrador*, the *A Tremblay* was now running for Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping, but this little vessel too would soon have a role with the new Clarke Steamship Company.

**Magdalen Islands Ships**

Magdalen Islands contracts had been held by Fraser's *Beaver* and St
Olaf before 1900, and the Magdalen Islands Steamship Co Ltd, and its 357-ton *Amelia* and 265-ton *Lunenburg*, between 1903 and 1909. The Magdalen Islands company had suffered disaster when on Monday, December 4, 1905, its wooden-hulled *Lunenburg* was wrecked off Havre-Aubert in a snow storm, with the loss of eleven of the seventeen on board.

Among those drowned while leaving in the last lifeboat was R J Leslie, company managing director and member of the Quebec Legislature for Gaspé, which included the Magdalens, another passenger and several of the crew. That very year, Leslie had obtained a subsidy to run the little *Amelia* from Charlottetown to Placentia, Newfoundland, via Pictou, Souris, Cheticamp, North Sydney and Sydney, with optional calls at St Pierre and Miquelon. This service lasted two years before the Black Diamond Line took over with the much larger *Bonavista*, on the Montreal-Charlottetown-Sydney-St John's run in 1907.

The Magdalen Islands Steamship Co was in turn succeeded by William McLure's handsome-looking 676-ton *Lady Sybil*, which he had ordered from Geo Brown of Greenock expressly for the route. She carried 65 passengers plus a good cargo and ran from 1909 until 1916. The third Gulf of St Lawrence ship to be named for a Governor-General's daughter, the *Lady Sybil* was named for Earl Grey's eldest, a sister of Lady Evelyn. As soon as she arrived in 1908, the *Lady Sybil* spent the winter trading between Halifax and Boston on charter to the Plant Line before serving the Magdalen Islands, and normally worked her winters on the seaboard. For a time she also stood in for the *Lady Eileen*, after her loss, on the run between Gaspé and Campbellton.

On June 24, 1916, by which time the *Lady Sybil* was owned by Crosbie & Co Ltd of St John's, Newfoundland, the "Twillingate Sun" reported that:

Crosbie's s.s. *Lady Sybil* has been chartered by the Reid Newfoundland Co and will run in conjunction with the *Kyle* on the Cabot Strait. The *Sybil* is splendidly fitted up, and has up to date passenger accommodations.

At the time, the 1,055-ton *Kyle* was the regular North Sydney-Port aux Basques ship, providing the island's main link with Canada. The service could be operated three times a week by one ship or daily with two. Canada had begun to subsidize the service in 1906 and eight or nine different ships were used on the route in its first quarter century. Back-up ports in case of ice were Placentia or Argentia on the Newfoundland side and Louisburg in Nova Scotia. In 1916, when the *Lady Sybil* joined the *Kyle*, the Canadian subsidy was $64,000 for two ships.

The *Lady Sybil* was sold to Caribbean owners in 1917, however, and began trading as far afield as Barbados, Galveston, Panama, Chile and
Havana. Another ex-Crosbie ship, by then the Reid Newfoundland Co's 808-ton Sagona, was also used in the Cabot Strait service in the early 1920s.

In addition to these ships, the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co's Amherst had run briefly between Prince Edward Island and the islands in 1906 and 1907 for the Magdalen Islands Development Co.

**The End of the Quebec Steamship Co**

After her spell on the New York-Bermuda run, Canada Steamship Lines sold the Cascapedia in 1918 to Nova Scotia Steamships Ltd, a company controlled by the Federal Line Inc of New York. She went into service between New York, Boston, Halifax and St John's, partly to replace the Plant Line service that had ended in 1916, and the company engaged a former Plant Line manager to run it. The announcement appeared in the November 1918 issue of "Canadian Railway & Marine World":

Nova Scotia Steamships, Limited. This company was organized recently to operate a steamship service between Halifax NS, Newfoundland, Boston and New York, and has leased the old Plant Line terminal on the south side of Commercial Wharf, Boston, Mass. Announcement has been made previously, that the company is utilizing the offices and wharves formerly occupied by the Canada Atlantic & Plant Steamship Co at Halifax. F H Chipman, formerly Manager, Canada Atlantic & Plant Steamship Co, is Resident Manager, Boston, Mass; the Federal Line is agent at New York; H L Chipman, at one time Manager, CA&PS Co, is Manager at Halifax NS, and Shea & Co are agents at St John's, Nfld. We are officially advised that the steamships Cascapedia and Lady of Gaspé are being operated between St John's, Nfld, and New York, calling at Halifax and Boston. The call at Boston is not, at present, being made every trip, but only as conditions warrant. Full cargoes are being taken each trip, freight only being handled.

Both ships were former Clyde Shipping Co vessels, and both had been converted to carry passengers in a similar manner, although it was not intended, at least as first, to take advantage of this facility. The Cascapedia's time with her new owners was brief, however, as on November 17 she was lost east of Sable Island while en route to St John's. The next day the "New York Times" carried a brief report from St John's:

A radio message received here today from the British steamer Cascapedia of the Federal Line said she was in a sinking condition off Cape Race. No further particulars were given. It was thought here that the ship was damaged in the hurricane which swept the coast in the last twenty-four hours.
She was abandoned and her crew picked up by a passing ship and taken to Falmouth, England, while the 323-ton Sagamore, a yacht converted to carry cargo, was engaged as a temporary replacement.

The Lady of Gaspé, meanwhile, had traded as far as Lisbon, Bordeaux and Liverpool during the war. Her long career finally came to an end on August 8, 1921, when, inbound from Boston with passengers and a $60,000 cargo of barrelled beef, flour, meal, canned goods and generals, she stranded at the entrance to Halifax. There were no casualties. The somewhat accident-prone Lady of Gaspé had already been involved in a collision with another ship off Sable Island on May 16, 1921 and her master's licence suspended for a year. Having lost first the Cascapedia and now the Lady of Gaspé, Federal Lines declared bankruptcy in November 1921.

Meanwhile, the Quebec Steamship Co's other St Lawrence ship, the Laurentian, joined her once running mate Aranmore with the Department of Marine & Fisheries, who paid $50,000 for her in 1919, the same price the navy had paid Canada Steamship Lines in 1917, leaving them without any ships for the Gulf of St Lawrence. Not even the Saronic was available as she had burnt at Sarnia in December 1915 and been rebuilt as a barge.

In December 1919, short of funds for its post-war operations, Canada Steamship Lines sold the Quebec Steamship Co, along with its ships and routes, to Furness Withy & Co for $2 million. This sale brought to an end more than a half century of service. Concentrating on its Saguenay steamers and hotel operations, Canada Steamship Lines would also turn to shipbuilding and the carriage of coal.

On January 2, 1920, just days after selling the Quebec Steamship Co, Canada Steamship Lines took over the management of the Davie Shipbuilding & Repairing Co at Lauzon, a company it would later own, and six months later, on July 3, it agreed to pay $3 million for the Montreal Transportation Co, with the intention of using a number of its ships to move coal from Sydney to Montreal.

The Quebec Steamship Co's long Quebec and Canadian connections came to an end and Canada lost its link with Bermuda. The Bermudian made her first post-war sailing from New York to Bermuda that December as the Furness Bermuda Line's Fort Hamilton. Although the Quebec Steamship Co name continued to be used for a while and the full transfer took a couple of years, ownership of the ships ultimately passed to the Bermuda & West Indies Steamship Co Ltd, a new firm that was incorporated in 1921.

All that remained would be the Quebec Steamship Co house flag, three horizontal bars of red, white and red, crossed by a wide vertical band of dark blue, which Canada Steamship Lines had retained to fly over its huge fleet of lakers.
Shipping on the North Shore

With the demise of the long-standing Fraser and Holliday services, followed by Canada Steamship Lines, only three small ships now remained to carry passengers and cargo to the North Shore. Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading operated its two small ships, the Labrador and the Guide, while Menier's Savoy served Anticosti as well. In his book "Dog Sled to Airplane" Louis Garnier had the following to say about this period:

One could only depend on the Guide, which was captained by the famous Arctic explorer Bernier, or the tiny Labrador, or the Savoy under Capt J B Bélanger. The Savoy belonged to Mr Menier. It was at the service of Anticosti Island and carried passengers and mail for the North Shore... Capt Bernier had only eight beds for passengers and the main dish at meals was usually sausage...

The Labrador accommodated a greater number of passengers. It had ten cabins and twenty beds. As they were usually reserved for the ladies, there were often none left for the men...

On the Savoy conditions were no better. The vessel very frequently took on more passengers than it could accommodate comfortably, especially at the closing of the lumber camps. Passengers slept in the dining room, in the corridors, on the benches, and even on the tables.

Conditions were basic in all of these ships and Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping soon decided that it needed to expand its fleet. Meanwhile, the end of 1919 saw an interesting caller at Clarke City when the 1,768-ton Keyvive, a canaller owned by the Keystone Transportation Co Ltd of Montreal, left Montreal on November 26 to load baled wood pulp at Clarke City for delivery to New York. This was the first voyage for the Keyvive under a twelve-month charter to operate between New York, the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico. After taking her Gulf Pulp & Paper cargo to New York, she proceeded to Hampton Roads to load a cargo of coal for Cuba.

Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping in 1920

In 1920, the Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading Co was planning to operate four ships. The government had called tenders for the sale of the 522-ton icebreaking ferry Champlain, lying at Murray Bay. The Labrador having laid up at Murray Bay as well that winter, Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading had a look at the Champlain and thought she would make a useful candidate for its North Shore service. Placing a successful bid in February 1920, it paid for her with promissory notes issued by Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping and endorsed by Montreal shipping agent Thomas Harling, as well as the Clarke brothers at the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co.
Meanwhile, the 1920 season got off to a very early start, as was recorded in "Quebec Telegraph" on March 17: -

Quebec opened her season of navigation yesterday morning, when the s.s. Labrador of the Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping and Trading Company left port on her first voyage of the season bound for Bersimis, Godbout, Seven Islands and Clarke City. She carries considerable freight for the different ports named and has on board a number of passengers, including Mr Malcolm Holliday for Seven Islands...

The company which owns this steamer will also place the steamers Guide and Champlain on the same route, and expects to have another steamer for service to the South Shore.

The April issue of "Canadian Railway & Marine World" confirmed these movements and indicated that the Labrador had run into ice: -

The Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping and Trading Co's s.s. Labrador arrived at Quebec, from Murray Bay, Mar 10, and sailed again on Mar 17, for Seven Islands. She is reported to have had some difficulty in navigating, on account of ice, the section between Murray Bay and Quebec being considered the worst part of the river during winter.

The April 6 issue of the "Quebec Telegraph" seemed to indicate that the Labrador had been more seriously delayed, in a report headed "Steamer Guide to Sail for Clarke City and Anticosti": -

The steamer Guide, belonging to the Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping and Trading Company, will leave on Wednesday, weather conditions permitting, for her first trip this season to Clarke City and Anticosti, going afterwards to Pictou, where it will do service between that place and the Magdalen Islands until the Lady Evelyn can replace it. The Labrador will leave in two weeks to take up its regular service along the North Shore.

And in Quebec again, the "Quebec Telegraph" carried a sailing notice for the steam schooner A Tremblay to South Shore ports on April 21: -

s.s. A Tremblay. This vessel will take cargo on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd inst, for all South Shore ports as far as L'Anse-à-Louise. Freight will be received at Pointe à Carcy Wharf (Shed No 21). For information apply to Gulf of St Lawrence S&T Co Ltd, 147 Côte-de-la-Montagne.

By May 3, "The Gazette" of Montreal was advertising the same ship to sail from there all the way to Gaspé: -
Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading Co Limited. Steamer *Tremblay*. Will receive freight at Victoria Pier, Monday and Tuesday, May 3rd and 4th, for Gaspé Basin and intermediate ports. For freight rate and other information call Main 4263.

If the *Labrador*, *Guide* and *Champlain* were to trade to the North Shore and the *Lady Evelyn* to the Magdalen Islands from Pictou, the company would still need a better ship for the South Shore than the *A Tremblay*. Meanwhile, when the *Champlain* was delivered on May 3, Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping placed one Capt Antoine Fournier in command.

The company was now nothing if not ambitious. The same April issue of "Canadian Railway & Marine World" that contained the news of the *Labrador*'s trouble in ice also contained the following announcement:

The Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping and Trading Co is making arrangements for operating two steamships on the route between Montreal and St John's, Nfld, and another steamship between Montreal and Prince Edward Island, during the forthcoming St Lawrence navigation season.

An American ship had been reported chartered for the St John's route the previous year, and the company had also announced that it intended to begin carrying passengers to Newfoundland in 1920. But by August, it was advertising a single steamer sailing for both Charlottetown and St John's.

The new firm was busy with other commitments. In April, the "Canadian Railway & Marine World" reported on the transfer of the *Guide* to the Magdalens service:

The Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading Co's s.s. *Guide* commenced a regular service between Pictou NS and Magdalen Islands, April 19, leaving Pictou on Mondays and Thursdays after the arrival of the Canadian National Rys trains from Halifax.

For a while, the *Guide* stayed on the Magdalens run, freeing up the *Lady Evelyn*, which had wintered at Pictou, to take up the Quebec-Gaspé-Paspébiac service from the chartered *A Tremblay*. But within a month the *Guide* was back on the North Shore run, with the "Quebec Chronicle" carrying the following advertisement on May 17:

Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading Co Ltd. North Shore Service. Freight will be received for all North Shore ports as far as Natashquan, for the s.s. *Guide* and the s.s. *Labrador*, at the Custom House pontoon, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Monday, the 27th, 28th, 29th and 31st inst.

One reaction to the *Lady Evelyn*'s appearance on the Gaspé run was
Michel Tamisier's account, "From Quebec to Cap Chat by River in 1920," as re-published in the January-March 1986 issue of the magazine "Gaspésie":

I embarked on June 30 in the Lady Evelyn... She belonged to the Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading Co, a firm formed only two or three years earlier to serve the north and south shores of the River and Gulf. We had to recognize her as having undertaken to fill the void that had been left by the disappearance of the Percésien and the Lady of Gaspé.

The implication was clear. The former day excursion steamer and mail tender did not quite live up to expectations when compared with the ships that had preceded her.

**Thos Harling & Son as Managers**

With all the juggling of ships, many of which seemed unsuitable, it appeared that the service offered by Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading was in need of great improvement, and the June issue of "Canadian Railway & Marine World" contained further news announcing the appointment of managers:

The Gulf of St. Lawrence Trading & Shipping Co has been placed under the management of T Harling & Co, Montreal, and it is stated that the service will be considerably improved between Quebec and lower Gulf ports. It is also stated that a number of ships will be added to the fleet, either this year or next.

News of this move had actually broken in April in Quebec. Thos Harling was the firm that, along with the Clarke Brothers, had endorsed the promissory notes used to pay for the Champlain. It had been involved in shipping in Montreal for many years. Harling had participated in the construction of fourteen ships for Elder Dempster & Co Ltd, whose Transatlantic service was purchased by Canadian Pacific in 1903, as well as with the Leyland Line and the Dominion Line service to Bristol, and with the Port of Bristol. Harling had also represented the Canadian Ocean & Inland Navigation Co Ltd, which in 1903 had started cargo service between Rotterdam and Montreal, and operated three feeder ships into the Great Lakes. Ocean & Inland had also owned a number of turret ships.

Harling's other main activity was the chartering of tramp steamers for the Dominion Coal Co. The big news of 1920 was their purchase for £145,000 of the 7,335-ton Lord Strathcona. Acquired from London owners, together with a long-term charter to Dominion Coal, she was enrolled at Montreal to the Lord Strathcona Steamship Co Ltd.

**Trouble Brewing in the Gulf**
Despite the appointment of new managers, Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading was in trouble, and was only sustained through 1920 by the backing of some of its clients. An internal Clarke memorandum, written in 1936, for example, contained the pithy comment: -

In the year 1920, the company which was then operating the far from adequate service were on the point of bankruptcy, and the Clarkes found it necessary to invest a considerable amount of money in order to keep the service going. This money was lost to them, but as this was the only means of communication between Quebec City and the North Shore the service had to be maintained at all costs.

Indeed, the company provided the only steamship service to that coast other than Menier’s Savoy, whose main purpose was to serve Anticosti. Meanwhile, notes for $26,357 due to the Canadian Government went unpaid on August 31, 1920, but Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping was still allowed to keep operating, a sign that the government had no reliable alternative to fall back on. The troubles increased a couple of months later, when on November 5, 1920, the Lady Evelyn returned to Pictou and was attached by the Pictou Foundry Co Ltd for $12,000 in unpaid repair bills from the previous winter.

As if it needed more problems, the company was also involved in a dispute over a tug and barge charter. As the result of an introduction from Harling & Son that spring, Bossé had acted as broker for the Horwood Lumber Co Ltd of St John's in negotiating the charter of the 69-ton tug Long Sault and barge Allen 3 from Lachance Limitée, tug owners of Quebec. The pair were to have been delivered to St John's in June for a pulpwood towing contract that Horwood had in northeast Newfoundland. When they stopped at Sydney en route, however, the Long Sault was declared unseaworthy for the voyage to St John's, with the result that Horwood Lumber cancelled the charter and exercised an option it held to purchase the barge.

This dispute led Lachance to sue Horwood Lumber for hire of tug and damages, while Horwood counterclaimed for $87,025 plus return of its $5,000 deposit, something that the struggling shipping company could ill afford to be spending its precious time on. Ultimately, the Supreme Court of Newfoundland found in favour of Horwood.

The Auxiliary Schooner "Côte-Nord"

As Gulf of St Lawrence Shipping & Trading struggled to meet its various commitments, an attempt at a new design for service to the Quebec North Shore came out of Nova Scotia in 1920. John Parker described this singular vessel, designed as a superior replacement for earlier schooners that had been used to supply the North Shore, in his book "Sails of the
The McLean Construction Co of Mahone Bay built two three-masted schooners in 1920 and both were notable in their own way.

The *Côte-Nord* of 147 tons net was a new type with a round bow, spike bowsprit, no topmasts and fitted with oil auxiliaries. She was thus the first of these vessels built with sails as secondary propelling power. Her sails were to help out when the wind suited and, of course, in the event of her engines failing. She was built for the St Lawrence River and Gulf north shore service, but did not prove suitable, and was bought by Lunenburg interests...

The 205-ton *Côte-Nord* was delivered to The North East Co Ltd, a fur trading firm that had been incorporated at Quebec on April 11, 1919, with a capital of $300,000. The firm's partners included Arthur Boulton, former lieutenant in the Admiralty Survey and son of Canada's first chief hydrographer, and William Price of the lumbering and paper family.

At 125 by 27 feet, the *Côte-Nord* was only slightly larger than Alfred Mercier's *Hilda M Backman* of 1913 and the unlucky *Marie Josephine* of 1918, but she was only a temporary participant in the trade. After the North East Co went out of business, the *Côte-Nord* passed to other owners and continued to trade until she was lost near St John's, Newfoundland, on June 23, 1932.

Meanwhile, a Government ship made the last sailing to Clarke City in 1920, when the icebreaker CGS *Montcalm* departed Quebec on December 12 for points on the North Shore as far as Clarke City, while also escorting the 3,656-ton British cargo ship *Keyingham* to the Gulf.

If the Gulf of St Lawrence was ever going to grow and develop commercially, clearly something would have to be done to improve the state of its shipping services, which had now become uncertain and woefully inadequate.