Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939. Less than two weeks later, on 14 September, Christian Salvesen & Co of Leith, Edinburgh wrote to the Admiralty to point out that they had a large fleet of whalecatchers lying at their whaling station at Leith Harbour on South Georgia. If destroyed or captured, whaling operations would cease. There were also about 18,000 tons of fuel oil at Leith Harbour and other South Georgia whaling stations which would be attractive to the enemy. More whalecatchers and fuel oil were held at the Grytviken and Husvik Harbour whaling stations. Salvesen’s also described recent visits to South Georgia by German whaling ships that had taken soundings at Leith Harbour, which was rather suspicious. They concluded: ‘We have the honour to suggest that you consider whether it would not be advisable to give South Georgia some special protection in view of the above circumstances'.

Salvesen’s letter started a discussion in the Admiralty in which it was recognised that the whaling industry was important for producing the raw material for the manufacture of margarine and, to a lesser degree, soap. It was decided that the defence of South Georgia would be considered, together with that of the Falkland Islands, at a meeting of the Overseas Defence Committee on 25 October.

When the committee met, it also discussed the protection of the whaling fleets that operated in the Southern Ocean. It considered that remoteness was a protection against submarine attack but that an armed raider would find a whaling station an attractive target. As well as seizing or destroying the whalecatchers and other vessels, the enemy could destroy whaling products, valuable stores and equipment, as well as obtaining fuel oil for their own use. South Georgia could also be used as a base for mounting attacks on shipping in the south-west Atlantic. The threat was considered to come from Japanese as well as German forces. (Later in the war, there was discussion in London as what should be done if Argentina invaded South Georgia. The conclusion was that nothing should be done.)

Therefore, some form of defence should be provided. It was decided that a 4-inch gun would be sent to defend Leith Harbour. It would be manned by volunteers from the whaling station overseen by a military instructor. The Secretary of State for the
Colonies, Malcolm Macdonald, did not consider that protection was necessary for the whaling station at Grytviken belonging to the Compañía Argentina de Pesca (known as 'Pesca') and the Government Headquarters and wireless station at King Edward Point (KEP). This led the Governor of the Falkland Islands, Sir Herbert Henniker-Heaton, to protest that they were no less important. Grytviken whaling station and KEP should be defended because the Argentine company 'Pesca' paid the same rent and taxes as the British company Salvesens and there would be grave repercussions with Argentina if Grytviken was attacked with impunity while Leith Harbour was defended. The Governor also insisted that the volunteers defending South Georgia should form a unit of the Falkland Islands Defence Force (FIDF).

The outcome of the discussions by the Overseas Defence Committee was that two 4-inch naval guns, four Lewis guns and some rifles, with ammunition and other equipment, would be provided on loan by the Admiralty for the defence of both Leith Harbour and Grytviken/KEP. Volunteers would be recruited from local personnel. Their uniforms consisted of steel helmets and armbands.

The two guns were 4-inch Mark IX guns manufactured in 1918 by Vickers Son & Maxim for secondary armament on capital ships and main armament on smaller vessels. Large numbers had been made in World War I and were still available for use in World War II for arming Flower-class corvettes, minesweepers, merchant ships and ports around the coasts of the United Kingdom.

Salvesens had suggested that harpoon guns loaded with nails, rivets and scrap might be used but they wondered whether this would conflict with international convention. The War Office replied that there appeared to be 'some slight doubt' about the legality of using harpoon guns loaded in that way and advised that they should not be used as offensive or defensive weapons. It is difficult to see how such a weapon could be usefully deployed.

In early January 1940, the Magistrate at South Georgia, William ('Wullie') Barlas, who had been Magistrate since 1928 and a member of the FIDF since 1914, was asked by the Governor to raise a local defence force under the Falkland Islands and Dependencies Defence Ordinance (1920). He was to attest personnel (enrol them as ready for military service although not actually enlist them), recommend names for appointment as officers and call out the force for active service under Section 15 of the Ordinance.

When Barlas visited Leith Harbour in mid-February, he found that the manager, Ragnvald Hansen, had already received an order from the War Office via Salvesens to organise a defence force of 30 to 60 men to protect the station. He would be assisted by Captain Swanson, the master of the whaling factory ship Saluta which was docked
at Leith Harbour. *Saluta's* cargo included one 4-inch gun, two Lewis guns and rifles, with ammunition, steel helmets and armbands, together with a copy of the Memorandum on the Laws and Usages of War on Land.

Barlas queried with the Governor whether it was in order for the force to be raised by Hansen - a 'Norwegian national of a commercial concern'. The Governor replied that it was not in order but that Captain Swanson of *Saluta*, who had taken the Merchant Navy Defence Course parts 1 and 2 to train in gunnery, could proceed with the work of installing the gun, but only employing British nationals. In fact, *Saluta* soon left Leith Harbour and the work was overseen by the Engineer Superintendent of the station with the aid of a trained gunlayer Bosun Jamieson who had come ashore from *Saluta*.

*Fig 1. The gun at Hansen Point with its protective canvas wrapping (photo courtesy Ronald Grant).*

The gun crew was raised from Salvesen employees who were willing to overwinter and they were enrolled into the FIDF. Initially command was given to Jamieson with the rank of sergeant. Later command passed to Thomas 'Tammy' Laurenson, a Shetland Islander and 2nd mate of the Salvesen factory ship *New Sevilla* which arrived on 23 March 1940. Like Swanson, Laurenson had attended the Merchant Navy Defence Course and was familiar with the 4-inch gun. He was promoted Lieutenant and volunteered to remain at South Georgia and command the Leith Harbour gun for the rest of the War.

Manning the naval guns with local personnel was easier said than done. Initially there was a question whether the Norwegian whalers could be called on to defend British interests. This was resolved when Germany invaded Norway on April 9 1940. The threat of Japanese forces coming round Cape Horn also had to be considered because
Norway had not declared war on Japan. However, the Norwegian government stated that there was no question of Norwegian citizens not defending South Georgia against any attack.

The Magistrate could now attest Norwegian as well as British citizens.

**Government Notice**

*His Excellency the Governor of the Falkland Islands has directed it to be notified for general information that with a view to the defence of South Georgia in case of attack, Norwegian and other allied subjects may be enrolled in the Defence Force in this Dependency. Any person desirous of enrolling should give his name to the Secretary of the Company. The act of joining the Defence Force does not commit the person joining in any way; his enrollment will only apply to this Dependency. Name should be handed in as early as possible.*

By late July 1940, 31 men at Grytviken had volunteered and the 'Pesca' head office in Buenos Aires was assured that this would not interfere with their work in the whaling station. It is, however, not known what role these men played in the defence of Grytviken. Many left the island soon afterwards to return home. Later, some were enrolled into the FIDF. This was made possible by the Oath of Allegiance in the Defence Ordinance (1920) being amended by replacing ‘British subject’ with ‘person’ and deleting ‘and bear true allegiance’.

![Cordite charges were carried to the gun in flash-proof leather Clarkson cases.](image)

However, it proved difficult to find enough men even to man the guns at the two whaling stations. During the whaling season they could not be spared from work. Whaling continued throughout the War at Grytviken but, outside the season, the majority of men left the island, leaving only a small maintenance crew. Whaling ceased at Leith Harbour for the remainder of the War at the end of the 1940/1941 season and only a small crew remained. Attempts were made to recruit men for gunnery duty from the Falkland Islands and the British community in Argentina but they came to naught.

At the end of March 1940, RSM Sheppard of the FIDF sailed to South Georgia aboard *Lafonia*. His stay would only last a day or two while the ship remained at the island but he was to act as Officer Commanding the Defences, investigate the state of the
island's defences and issue orders as he thought necessary for their improvement. Little was known in Stanley about the situation on South Georgia because the secret code for communication on military matters had yet to reach the Magistrate.

Sheppard's recommendation was that the Leith Harbour gun was best situated on a hill behind the station and the Grytviken gun on Hope Point, just above the settlement on King Edward Point. There would be quick access to the gun at both sites even when the snow lay deep. Shackleton's cairn and cross would be either camouflaged or moved to another site so as to render the gun site less conspicuous. They chose to demolish the cairn.

At Leith, permanent manning and watchkeeping was maintained all year, but a continuous watch at Grytviken was impossible. The arrangement was that six government employees at King Edward Point (two customs officers, one constable, two wireless operators and their Norwegian steward) would turn out when the alarm was raised until the second crew made up of 'Pesca' whalers arrived from the whaling station one kilometre away. This was clearly unsatisfactory and Barlas, now appointed O.C. South Georgia Defences, asked for men to be sent from Stanley. None was available and eventually a crew of seven Salvesen men was sent round from Leith Harbour and accommodated in a hut built near the gun, although it was recognised that this was 'robbing Peter to pay Paul'.

The inability to maintain a continuous watch at Grytviken was a worry but both Barlas and the Colonial Secretary in Stanley, Montagu Craigie-Halkett, thought that, during the whaling season, the whalecatchers (five from Grytviken and 10 to 12 from Leith) operating along the north coast of South Georgia would form a screen that would make it practically impossible for any vessel to approach undetected by day or night. This contradicted RSM Sheppard's conclusion that in low visibility an enemy ship could close on either harbour unseen, and was wildly optimistic given the prevalence of foul weather at South Georgia ('…but should the weather be thick, and this is usually the case...' (Antarctic Pilot, 1930)). It seems to have been a matter of putting on a brave face in an unsatisfactory situation. It resulted in the Governor suggesting to the Secretary of State for Colonies that, as it seemed impracticable to send out a full gun's crew of at least 12 trained British troops, the use of Norwegian soldiers might be considered.

On 2 September 1941, William Barlas was drowned when he was pushed into the sea by an avalanche while walking along the shore between KEP and Grytviken. He was replaced on 17 April 1942 as Magistrate by Arthur Fleuret who already had 10 years' experience in coastal gunnery with the FIDF. He was commissioned Major and appointed Officer Commanding South Georgia Defences. On 14 July 1941, Fleuret issued a Defence Force Notice: 'The Night watchman, on observing a rocket fired from
KEP, he will at once proceed to the Boiler house and blow the whistle in a series of three short and one long blasts and continue to do so for at least a minute. Should the steam whistle be out of use at the time the same procedure should be carried out with a hand whistle.' Presumably this was in the event of an enemy vessel being sighted. There is no record as to what the station personnel should do on hearing this signal.

To avoid friendly fire, whalecatchers were to identify themselves. If they were coming in to the station by day, they had to fly a large flag and by night two white lights disposed vertically on the foremast. When 'in sight of the gun emplacement they should give “one long blast” on the whistle. This signal will be recognized by those concerned.' Any unidentified vessel would be 'brought to' by a practice (dummy) shot.

In October 1941 Colonel C. D. (Donald) Allderidge, Officer Commanding Troops Falkland Islands, visited South Georgia. His main objectives were to inspect the defences, clarify the liaison between the Leith Harbour and Grytviken detachments and become acquainted with the general situation at South Georgia.

The most significant outcome of Allderidge's visit was his conclusion that the 4-inch guns at Grytviken and Leith Harbour were badly placed and should be redeployed to give a better coverage of the approaches to the whaling stations. His suggestion was that the former gun should be moved across King Edward Cove to Susa Point and the latter gun along the coast to Hansen Point. There is little record of these operations except that, at Leith Harbour, there was a bill from Salvesen's for 'Expenses for shifting Gun December 1941 – February 1942 £232. 11.7'. It included '1041 working hours @ 2/6 (1/8 of a pound) £130.2.6' and 'Use of W/C [whalecatcher] "Gun 6" and motorboat £12'. Most of the
working hours must have been spent on constructing the new gun site with the accompanying accommodation and magazine huts. At Grytviken, Allderidge ensured that that Shackleton's memorial cairn on Hope Point, which had been demolished as noted earlier, was rebuilt.

Fig 4. The accommodation hut on Susa Point with the gun and observation hut beyond in 1978 (photo Robert Headland).

There are few details of the manning of the guns. Shetlander Peter Pole recalled that there were three watches per day, each with two men. The Leith gun was fired the day after installation and Peter Pole describes how a motor boat towed a raft made of oil barrels to the far end of the harbour about a mile away and a shell was fired at it. 'It went over the station down below and smashed all the windows in the buildings but we were only a few yards from the raft so we did a very good aim and if it had been a German ship I think we would have hit her.' (Shetland's Whalers Remember... compiled by Gibbie Fraser).

Practice shoots provided some excitement to break up the dull routine of keeping watch. A set of orders for a practice at Grytviken specify that 12 rounds were to be fired at a target towed a safe 200 fathoms (365 m) behind the old whalecatcher Lille Carl. She would fly a large blue flag while the range was clear and the target was on course. If firing had to stop, the flag was to be hauled down.

Practice shot (non-explosive) was used with a full propellant charge of the rather antique weight of 7 pounds, 14 ounces and 10 drams (3.59 kg.). For these WWI guns, the cordite
propellant was carried in a cloth bag rather than a brass cartridge case attached to the shell. To prevent the charge being ignited accidentally by a stray spark from flashback, it was carried from the magazine to the gun in a leather Clarkson case.

![Fig 5. The gun on Susa Point commands the approaches to King Edward Cove (photo Robert Burton).](image)

**The Norwegian detachment**

Because of the difficulty of finding sufficient men for gun crews, the Governor's suggestion to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the use of Norwegian troops might be considered was agreed by the War Office. Arrangements were made with the Norwegian Government and a detachment arrived on South Georgia aboard SS Ernesto Tornquist on December 17, 1941, after a voyage of two months via Canada and the West Indies.

The detachment came from the Norwegian brigade stationed in Dumfries in Scotland. It consisted of the commander, Lieutenant Johannes Orderud, Sergeant Trygve Haatuft and 12 corporals and privates. All were volunteers and, perhaps not surprisingly, many were former whalers. Only Haatuft had previous experience in coastal gunnery but the others received training before they left Scotland. The detachment came under the overall command of the O.C. Falkland Islands Troops and, locally, under the O.C. South Georgia Detachment.
Orderud’s orders were to man the Grytviken gun. It was still at Hope Point and their first job was to move it to Susa Point on the other side of King Edward Cove, as Colonel Allderidge had recommended. This was carried out with the aid of a team of men from Leith Harbour. The Norwegians also had to build an accommodation hut at the new site, dig a well and lay a telephone cable to the whaling station and round to King Edward Point.

Once again, the problem was raised as to how the Norwegians troops should react to an attack by Japanese forces. Orderud received an instruction from the Norwegian Army Command on 18 February 1942: *To prevent possible misunderstanding you are to inform your unit that you will take defensive action under orders of your British Commander against any attack even though Norway may not be at war with the country concerned for example today Japan ends. Acknowledge immediately.*
Among the details set out in Orderud's orders was the requirement for every man to take a daily ascorbic acid (vitamin C) tablet to ward off scurvy, and ½ oz (14 gm) of Bemax, a dietary supplement rich in vitamins and trace elements. The detachment had been supplied with a Norwegian flag but there were strict orders that it could only be flown indoors. To fly it outdoors would infringe British sovereignty of South Georgia.

Time must have hung heavily between practice shoots and watch-keeping. Lt. Orderud organised sports and arranged hunting and fishing expeditions. Hunting was for reindeer, introduced from Norway 39 years earlier, but it is likely that skuas and other birds became targets for trigger-happy soldiers. Fishing would have been for the Antarctic cod, *Notothenia*, known to the whalers as torsk. These occupations also met the need for fresh food. Poker occupied a lot of their spare time. Regular bridge and chess tournaments were held at KEP and visits were made to the Grytviken Kino (cinema). The Norwegians had also brought a wireless set for recreation. When arrangements were made for paying the men, it was pointed out there were no shops on South Georgia but that cigarettes, tobacco, chocolate etc. could be bought at the whaling station.

It is surprising to find there was a marriage, only the fourth in South Georgia's history. By special licence, Corporal Erling Bjerke married Mary Whitney, a Falkland Islander working as a domestic servant at KEP, on 10 February 1943. Two days later, Lieutenant Orderud's detachment sailed from Grytviken to Stanley and it must be assumed that Mrs (or Fru) Bjerke went with them.

The detachment then spent three months with the British garrison outside Stanley before embarking on the troopship *Highland Princess* bound for Liverpool. They had been relieved by a new group of men, led by Lieutenant Roald Arnfinn, who found themselves staying on South Georgia for less than the expected year. The Norwegian Government enquired whether the detachment could be withdrawn in the following January and the Governor was asked if Grytviken was sufficiently important to need permanent manning of the gun. He replied that this was no longer necessary in the current situation and that the whalers at Grytviken could man the gun when required.

So the second Norwegian detachment left South Georgia in late December 1943. The Governor wrote to King Haakon VII: *On departure of the Norwegian contingent, which has been stationed in South Georgia, we express heartfelt thanks from the administration and the islanders for sharing the burden of defending the colonies.*

The 'scorched earth' plan

Early in 1942, the government in London sent out to all British colonies orders for a 'scorched earth' plan in which anything of value to the enemy was be destroyed in the
event of defences being overwhelmed. At South Georgia, once again, there was the political problem of Grytviken being owned by an Argentine company. Its destruction would have repercussions with the Argentine government but it was decided that any question of reparation could be left until the end of the War. Adverse reaction by the Argentines could also jeopardise the United States' attempt to persuade them to loosen their links with the Axis powers.

If, in deference to the Americans, the plan was not invoked at Grytviken, large stocks of fuel oil and whale oil could fall into enemy hands. In April 1942, Grytviken held 3250 tons of fuel oil and 6750 tons of whale and elephant seal oil. Part of the scorched earth plan forbade the keeping of such 'idle stocks' of fuel or whale oil that could be taken by the enemy. It was also thought that the threat of the destruction of Grytviken might lead 'Pesca' to relocate its whaling business to the South Shetland Islands. This would be politically worrying because of the rival claims by Argentina and Chile to these islands.

Tammie Laurenson's orders from Fleuret included the scorched earth plan for Leith Harbour. It was recognised that the gun might be only a slight deterrent to an enemy so, in the event of an attack, the gun crew would prepare for action. The Magistrate would declare a State of Emergency and the demolition crew would stand by. If it seemed likely the station would be overrun, the demolition crew would blast holes in the fuel tanks and destroy wireless sets, ammunition and anything else that would benefit the enemy. For this, they had been supplied with demolition charges and ‘tarbaby’ incendiaries for setting fuel oil alight.

![Fig 7. The Leith Harbour gun in the shelter of the original emplacement behind the whaling station (photo courtesy of Shetland Museum & Archives).](image)
The guns would be destroyed by loading one shell up the breech and another down the muzzle. ‘The gun should be fired from cover with a long lanyard’! Rifles and the Lewis guns would be rendered useless at the last minute. As the Governor wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on 11 April 1942, ‘Given the smallest opportunity in time the place will be destroyed ruthlessly.’

The gun emplacements became protected areas.

24 November 1942
It is hereby ordered as follows:

1. That the area specified in the subjoined Schedule is a protected area and the entry of all persons into that area except Officers and men of the Falkland Islands Defence Force, the Norwegian Army and such other persons as may from time to time be given permission by the Officer Commanding Defences, South Georgia, is strictly forbidden.

2. Persons acting in contravention of this Order will do so at their own peril and risk.
   A. I. Fleuret Competent Authority

“Within 200 yards, east and west and 700 yards north of the summit of the Hill known as Horse Head.”

Was the defence necessary?

In the early years of the War, German shipping raiders such as *Pinguin* and *Komet* were operating in sub-Antarctic waters. In January 1941, *Pinguin* captured a Norwegian whaling fleet comprising two factory ships, 11 whalecatchers and a transport ship, as well as large cargoes of whale oil. Luckily, the factory ship *Thorshammer* was alerted by an astute whalecatcher skipper and escaped to South Georgia with her whalecatchers.

The government was right to be concerned and arrange the defence of the whaling stations. *Pinguin* was heading towards South Georgia when she was sunk but the island was otherwise never seriously threatened. The only alarm came soon after when a suspected raider was spotted by a whalecatcher and the armed merchant cruiser *HMS Queen of Bermuda* was despatched from Stanley. As she approached South Georgia she caused consternation among the whalecatchers’ crews who thought she might be an enemy raider. She put into Grytviken, picked up the skipper of the whalecatcher who had spotted the raider and headed for the South Orkneys, accompanying a supply ship for the whaling fleet. Before they reached the fleet a message came from Grytviken that a strange ship was entering King Edward Cove. So *Queen of Bermuda* headed back to South Georgia at full speed but arrived to find no sign of the raider or any other strange vessel.
The end of the War

On 8 November 1944, five months after D-Day, Major Fleuret was advised that the island's defences could be stood down, but not disbanded because they might need to be reformed if the war situation changed. Some of the whalers, including the small maintenance crews left at Stromness and Husvik whaling stations, had spent the entire war at South Georgia. When they were eventually demobilised, each man serving in the FIDF received a Certificate of Discharge from the Officer Commanding. Tammy Laurenson was not discharged until 19 February 1946 when he left for home. His brother Willie had been at Leith Harbour continuously from 1938 to 1946. Some whalers in the FIDF, including Tammy and Willy, were awarded the Defence Medal. Sadly, the Norwegian Detachment did not receive medals because the British authorities decided that, as foreigners, they did not qualify, while the Norwegian Government argued that they were not eligible for Norwegian decoration because they were in British service.

Fig 8. The Leith Harbour gun on Hansen Point in 2012 with the whaling station in the left background. (photo John Alexander).
Fig 9. The magazine at Hansen Point in 2012 with a dummy practice round. (photo Robert Burton).

The two 4-inch guns are still standing outside the whaling stations. In February 1947 the Admiralty decided that the Royal Navy no longer needed them. They had been on loan and were now presented, with the stock of ammunition, to the Falkland Islands Government, to be maintained in working order in case South Georgia was threatened again. The old ammunition, which had been on the island for eight years without being checked, was disposed of at sea and fresh ammunition sent down.

Fig 10. The gun emplacement on Hansen Point, Leith Harbour in 2020. To the right of the gun is the Observation Post with the rangefinder. To the left is the barrack with a covered passage leading to the magazine. (photo John Dickens).
Fig 1. The ruins of the original gun shelter behind the whaling station at Leith Harbour. The doorway at the back leads down a passage to a small barrack (photo Jayne Pierce).

There was a plan to build corrugated iron shelters over the guns but they never materialised and the guns were wrapped in canvas. At both Grytviken and Leith Harbour a man was employed to maintain the guns. At Grytviken this was Barry Goss, the policeman/handyman at KEP from 1946 to 1954. He had got the post partly because he had experience of the coastal guns guarding Stanley. He made monthly visits to the gun at £1 a time. Since then, the guns and associated buildings have fallen into disrepair through the effects of weather and souveniring. The guns are reminders that it had truly been a World War, although, thankfully, this was one corner which never witnessed hostilities.

Acknowledgements

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me technical details of the Mark IX guns. Stephen Palmer was an ever-ready source of
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knowledge of the gun emplacements was helpful. Jayne Pierce and Pat Lurcock took
photos of the gun emplacements.

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Endnotes

1 Arthur Isadore (Ike) Fleuret was born at Fitzroy, East Falkland. He held a number
of posts in the Falkland Islands government, including private secretary and aide-de-
camp to two governors, Henniker-Heaton and Cardinall. Fleuret was a keen member
of the FIDF, coming up through the ranks to captain in 1937. In 1940 he was
appointed MBE (Military Division).

2 Colonel Charles Allderidge DSO TD served in the Royal Garrison Artillery in World
War I. After the war, he became an architect but continued to serve in the Territorial
Army. In February 1941 he was sent to the Falkland Islands to reorganise the colony's
defences, returning to England in April 1942.

3 The story of Johannes Orderud's escape from Occupied Norway can be read in The
Falkland Islands News Weekly and Church Bulletin for April 1943.

4 Queen of Bermuda was a luxury cruise liner that plied between New York and Bermuda.
All cabins were first class so she was known as the 'Millionaires ship' and was popular
with honeymooners. In 1939 she was requisitioned by the Admiralty and converted to
an armed merchant cruiser with seven 6-inch guns, two 3-inch guns and a coat of grey
paint. She was deployed to the South Atlantic to guard whaling fleets.