

BOOK REVIEWS

Stavanger Museum Årbok 1992 [1992 Yearbook of the Stavanger Museum]. Stavanger, Norway: Stavanger Museum, 1993. 220 pp., maps, figures, photographs, English summaries. NOK 100, paper; ISBN 82-90054-33-1; ISSN 0333-0656.

As befits an institution in a city with both a proud sea-going past and a prosperous maritime present, the Stavanger Museum has always been interested in publishing papers with a marine orientation in its *Yearbook*. The fact that the Stavanger Maritime Museum, which ranks among Scandinavia's best, is one of its components gives it an edge in soliciting such articles. The 1992 edition continues this tradition with a fifty-five page essay by Harald Hamre, the former Director of the Maritime Museum who now occupies a similar post in the larger establishment. Although "Norway's Baltic Herring Trade in the Nineteenth Century" is the only maritime paper in this year's volume, it provides an excellent rationale for maritime historians to consult the book. Those lacking a reading knowledge of Norwegian will not be able to use that as an excuse, since there is a competent English summary and many of the figures and diagrams have English as well as Norwegian captions and explanations.

Hamre's essay is a fine overview of the spring herring trade from the west coast. This was Norway's most important export in the first half of the century and virtually the only Norwegian commodity in demand in the Baltic. From about 1840 Stavanger was the most important port in this commerce, and the prospect of carrying herring was the principal motivation for local entrepreneurs to invest in

shipping. Indeed, in some years as much as eighty percent of herring exports to the Baltic were carried in Stavanger-owned vessels. When the trade declined after 1870, Stavanger and its shipping also entered a prolonged period of stagnation.

Hamre supports his lucid discussion with maps, figures and tables that present a wealth of data and illustrate his major points well. The only significant problem is that he seldom attempts to explain what he observes. Although Hamre calls this a "reconnaissance," the fact that it is in some ways a preliminary essay does not obviate his responsibility to try to explain at least some of what he observes. In particular, I would have welcomed a discussion of what comparative advantages Stavanger had in the trade compared to its principal domestic rival, Bergen. Tackling such questions would have strengthened the article.

Although Hamre's portrait of this significant trade will be useful to many maritime historians, of special interest is his use of data from the former Soviet Union. Rather than relying solely on domestic sources, as most Norwegian historians of export trades tend to do, he has utilized customs records for Pernau, Reval and Narva to flesh out his account. While this is one of the first published studies to use such data since the Baltic states gained their independence, historians who read it are certain to recognize the richness of the material awaiting examination in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. There are a variety of other maritime routes, including the British coal trade, which would benefit from such evidence. If Harald Hamre's essay sensitizes scholars to this resource and stimulates at least a few to exploit it, the 1992 issue of the

Yearbook will have more than served its purpose.

Lewis R. Fischer
St. John's, Newfoundland

Norman J. Brouwer. *International Register of Historic Ships*. 2nd. ed.; Sea History Press in association with the Mystic Seaport Museum, 1985, 1993 [order from: Publications Dept., Mystic Seaport Museum, 75 Greenmanville Avenue, Mystic, CT 06355 USA]. 392 pp., photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$57.75, cloth; ISBN 0-930248-04-X; US \$37.75, paper; ISBN 0-930248-05-8.

Eight years after this highly acclaimed list of historic ships first appeared, Norman Brouwer, marine historian at the South Street Seaport Museum in New York, has completed an even more complete directory of the world's preserved historic ships. Enlarged by seventy pages, the new register contains data on over 1,300 ships in fifty-two countries, while its predecessor only mentioned 700 vessels in forty-three countries. A few ships have been added to the second edition because the cut-off year was altered from 1945 to 1955 (all ships had to be a minimum size of forty feet overall length of complete hulls). Even so, most of the new ships were built before the old cut-off year, indicating an increased interest in preserving historic ships.

The foreword to the new edition was written by the Duke of Edinburgh, himself a ship enthusiast and patron of the Maritime Trust. He praises the tribute paid in the preface by Peter Stanford, the president of the National Maritime Historical Society, to the late Frank Carr and to Karl Kortum. To both men the world's lovers of historic ships are deeply indebted. The preparation of such a book for publication can only be mastered by a man with Herculean powers. In order to collect all relevant information and to put it all together in a somewhat uniform way, even though he was unable to inspect all ships, a standardized questionnaire was distributed to

experts who were willing to do their best for the users of the book. To a large extent, this seemingly hopeless task was achieved. Where there are shortcomings, it is the informant and not the compiler who should be blamed. Take for example the institution where I work. The Deutsches Schifffahrtsmuseum owns a *Seehund* Type Midget Submarine which is not incorporated in the register. Our whale catcher *Rau IX* was converted into a submarine chaser and served as a mine sweeper before she sailed as a whale catcher under the Norwegian flag between 1948 and 1968. Such information would have been very useful since it had important consequences for the superstructure. Only recently she was restored to the appearance she would have had when she was built in 1939. Still another of the main exhibits in the museum is the central section of the 1881 river paddle steamer *Meissen*, with an oscillation steam-engine. She would have fitted ideally into Appendix 3.

The saddest chapter in the book is that on the Falkland Islands. The pictures of seven vessels are reproduced, all wrecks. Let us hope that some will find foster-parents and will be saved in the near future. However, good news from the Falklands reached me while writing this review. The *ex-Feuerland*, built as an exploration vessel in Germany in 1927, is still in use under her new name *Penelope*, serving Bob and John Ferguson on Weddell Island as a cattle transporter.

Extremely useful are Brouwer's appendices. The list of vessels by type shows that "sailing vessels - fore & aft rig - cargo" with 193 ships head the list. Anyone thinking of preserving a vessel will have to consult that list in order to establish the importance of a ship type, since it is essential that gaps be filled. It is extremely costly to preserve and restore a ship. So it may be helpful to know that a certain type is a rare or even a unique example of the maritime past.

Like *Lloyd's Register*, Brouwer's *Register* is a most valuable directory for every maritime historian and ship lover throughout the world. I am sure that a third edition will be

published after a few more years, perhaps including replicas of historic ships like the Kieler cog or the *Endeavour*, launched recently in Fremantle, Australia.

Lars U. Scholl
Bremerhaven, Germany

Reinder Reinders and Kees Paul (eds.). *Carvel Construction Technique: Fifth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology, Amsterdam 1988*. Oxbow Monograph 12; Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1991. 194 pp., figures, photographs, maps. US \$42, paper; ISBN 0-946897-34-4. Distributed in Canada and the United States by David Brown Book Company, Bloomington, IN.

This book presents the proceedings from the Fifth ISBSA Symposium and focuses on carvel building techniques, although clinker building practices are also covered. The book, as a whole, considers the problem of the transition from shell-first to frame-first construction techniques and when, where, why and how this might have occurred. The subject matter is vast geographically, chronologically and typologically. The focus is clearly European but there are contributions bearing on the Mediterranean, North and South America as well as Australia. The time period covered ranges from the Bronze Age to modern times. Typologically, the contributors consider everything from small inland craft to the largest ocean-going vessels.

The book suffers from the usual problems when trying to solicit contributions from a large number of international authors to produce the proceedings of a conference. Some of the papers have been well prepared and illustrated while others are little more than resumé's. Also, problems of translation make comprehending a very few of the papers difficult. The editors, however, have done an admirable job of assembling and organizing the material into a coherent package. The strength of the volume is that it concentrates on a single subject and, for the most part,

deals with real vessels. It goes beyond the theoretical and centres on the actual construction features found on extant archaeological specimens or existing modern vessels.

The thirty-one papers in the publication have been organized into three sections: Historical Development, Local Craft, and Short Reports on Current Research. The chronological arrangement of the papers on Historical Development provides an evolutionary perspective on the subject. Whether by design or accident, the four papers on Dutch vessels (Green, Oosting, Hoving and Gawronski) were grouped together to form a coherent sub-section that highlights developments from a single geographic region. A similar grouping is found for a number of papers on Roman boatbuilding although the geographical spread is much larger. Lehmann's paper on variations in Roman boatbuilding suffers from a difficult translation while Arnold's contribution on the Bevaix boat is nearly incomprehensible. On the other hand, Hôckman presents an interesting case for the mass production of Roman Danube vessels.

Many of the papers offer mainly straightforward technical descriptions of the vessels under study; a few go further and advance the field with significant insights derived from their data. The authors of these papers clearly took great care in preparing their texts and in selecting their illustrations: Steffy's presentation on the shell-to-skeleton transition in the Mediterranean, showing possible links with northwest European construction techniques, is an outstanding contribution. Rieth's paper on the early sixteenth-century Villefranche wreck provides a fine description and analysis of the major structural features on this vessel. The late John Sarsfield's description of the ethnographic survival in Brazil and other parts of the western hemisphere of the ancient "master frame and ribbands" technique of construction is one of the highlights of this volume. Besides describing the method, he compares it to other methods such as "Mediterranean moulding" and whole moulding, and

proposes an evolutionary sequence for the various techniques. Another very interesting contribution is the paper by Riess on the construction of the eighteenth-century Ronson ship. Riess provides a good description of the construction of this vessel and successfully ties together historical treatise information with the design of this ship.

Other noteworthy contributions include: Barker's paper on dockyard design practices around 1600 and the use and possible survival of surmarks on extant ship's timbers as a clue to how a ship may have been constructed; Gillmer's description of the development of true naval architecture and how it arose in the eighteenth century; and Litwin's offering on Polish working boats which compares medieval and modern craft and how their working environments dictated the form of the hull.

A few papers are strictly historical including a study by Filgueiras of Spanish medieval shipbuilding, a description by Litwin of the construction of the first Polish galleon, and Moura's presentation on Portuguese caravelões. Their inclusion among mainly archaeological papers emphasizes the inadequacy of the historical approach to the study of detailed shipbuilding methods. Often, iconographic evidence and treatise information do not correspond to real construction methods seen on surviving archaeological vessels. Further, it is archaeological information that is illuminating many of the difficult to understand passages in the treatises.

Because of the sheer wealth of its information, it is difficult to do adequate justice to this volume in a short review. For the most part, the papers are extremely technical in nature and most suitable for individuals with at least some knowledge of shipbuilding techniques and terminology. Yet they embody most of the current thinking on the subject. For anyone intently interested in this particular aspect of shipbuilding, this volume is mandatory reading.

R. James Ringer
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Jacques Marc. *Exploring the Lord Western*. Vancouver: Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia, 1989. v + 43 pp., figures, photographs, references. \$8 (+ shipping; = \$3.50 in Canada), paper.

Jacques Marc. *Historic Shipwrecks of Southern Vancouver Island*. Vancouver: Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia, 1990. vi + 57 pp., photographs, figures. \$9 (+ shipping; = \$3.50 in Canada), paper.

Current research in nautical archaeology has shied away from the grand excavations of the past to concentrate primarily on resource inventories and non-invasive site documentation. There are several reasons for this. Today, complex underwater archaeological excavation and conservation of recovered artifacts is very expensive and often not technically feasible. In addition, government administrators and archaeologists, who have been asked to manage these non-renewable cultural resources, simply do not know what lies out there. *Exploring the Lord Western* and *Historic Shipwrecks of Southern Vancouver Island* represent a very good effort by the Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia (UASBC) to begin inventorying the historical resource base lying in the waters off British Columbia.

Shipwrecks have been likened to time capsules of history; when excavated properly, they can reveal much about our past. In this perspective, these two manuscripts by the UASBC show readers that the true value of these resources is in their historical information, not the fanciful treasures they are so often rumoured to contain. The UASBC quite correctly points out that the archaeological information contained in the wrecks is public property, to be shared by all. These reports should therefore carry a broad appeal to anyone interested in history, maritime trade, ships, shipwrecks, or archaeology. Their publication will be of particular value for the way they will serve as a reference inventory for archaeologists and historians who are inter-

ested in expanding the resource base of nineteenth-century ships and shipping.

The manuscripts are simply arranged, well organized, and eminently readable, though a good map would help non-Canadian readers find their way to Adventure Bay and the *Lord Western* site. Illustrations are informative and skilfully done, while photographs contribute a great deal to the ship and wreck site descriptions.

The historical research contained in the publications serves to highlight each vessel's particular career and the specific disasters that befell them. The use of historical references and primary sources validates the underwater research, adding much to their professional quality. It is here that the authors have attained their goal of an interested archaeological survey that goes far beyond most non-professional efforts and will be a valuable resource for archaeologists as well as good reading for the public.

If the reports have a weakness, it is that the historical research does not place the ships in a larger historical context. The *Major Tomkins*, for instance, though not physically located in the survey, is a very early screw steamer, and of considerable importance in a world historical context. Another example is the *San Pedro*, constructed as one of the world's last of the wrought-iron steamers, before steel construction made iron obsolete.

The technical understanding of nautical archaeology by the authors is considerable and a credit to the UASBC. Non-invasive survey, documentation, and conservation techniques and the rationale behind them are clearly stated and demonstrate a dedication to the preservation of these underwater sites through education and awareness raising. The authors should take care, however, that new technical innovation in underwater work should not dominate the actual goals of information gathering. One simple example of several, is that a balance beam and a beaker will suffice to measure salinity through evaporation, as opposed to procurement of an expensive and delicate salinometer.

Overall these site inventories add a great deal to maritime studies, whether it be through wreck site description or historical research. The resource base, as is clearly stated, should be protected for the benefit of all, from the diving enjoyment of future generations, to the historical information contained within these sites. The UASBC should be commended for these publications and their dedication to education and a resource preservation ethic. This is one archaeologist who thanks them for a fine effort.

Bradley A. Rodgers
Greenville, North Carolina

David Macaulay. *Ship*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993. 96 pp., illustrations. \$28.95, cloth; ISBN 0-395-52439-3. Distributed in Canada by Thomas Allen & Sons, Markham, ON.

Prize-winning children's writer David Macaulay has turned his talents to shipwreck archaeology in this fictional account of the discovery and study of a 1504 caravel site in the Bahamas. Everything is here, from the search for the wreck, through its excavation, to the work in the conservation lab and the archives. There is even a sub-plot of site destruction by treasure hunters, carrying with it an appropriate heritage preservation message.

The real joy of the book is not so much in its content as in its graphic presentation. The text overlies assorted illustrations, including site plans, field sketches and even the archaeologist's desk top (complete to coffee mug, half-eaten doughnut and what seems to be the tail of the office cat). Some of the text is incorporated in novel forms, such as faxes from the project's archive researcher in Seville, Post-It notes on open textbooks, and even mail from the Nobel Prize Committee (!). Finally, the story of the wreck is told in the form of a draft of a magazine article, followed by the illustrated diary of the caravel's owner, discovered in the archives.

The result is an accurate portrayal of

modern shipwreck archaeology, at least as the game is played by the Ships of Discovery and Exploration Program, whose staff obviously provided the author with his models. The discomfort and rewards of fieldwork, the logistic demands of research in isolated areas, the difficult choices facing an excavation team, the long slog in the laboratory and the excitement of discovery as details fall into place are all revealed, though often not explicitly stated. The technical details of the caravel closely follow Sarsfield's conclusions. This makes them as accurate as current knowledge can support, if not actually reliable. There are no compromises in the terminology used, either in describing the work of the archaeologists or the construction of the caravel, which adds to the authenticity of the whole.

The publisher categorizes *Ship* as "juvenile literature" and in its pace and style it is evidently designed for teenagers. Lacking recent personal experience in that age bracket, I passed the review copy to a thirteen year-old for comment. He was delighted with it.

My only serious criticism is that the book is very short; less than 5,000 words for the main text and as much again for the diary. I read it in half an hour. Perhaps that really is the attention span of a teenager but it gives no space for the development of the main characters nor for the reader's emotional involvement in the story. The story is also too pat. The problems are solved too easily. Artifact assemblages are rarely this complete. None of the few wrecks of this vintage actually known can even be named, let alone linked to surviving diaries. Perhaps this too is necessary to appeal to an audience raised on television.

In short, if you want to "turn on" a teenager to matters nautical, archaeological or simply cerebral, you could do far worse than to present them with this book. But don't expect it to keep them occupied for more than a minute for each dollar that it will cost you.

Trevor Kenchington
Musquodoboit Harbour, Nova Scotia

Dana A. Story. *Growing Up In A Shipyard: Reminiscences of a Shipbuilding Life in Essex, Massachusetts*. Mystic, CT and Essex, MA: Mystic Seaport Museum in association with The Essex Shipbuilding Museum, 1991. xviii + 139 pp., photographs. US \$15, paper; ISBN 0-913372-57-9.

The author of this book is a mainstay of, and an historian with, the Essex Shipbuilding Museum. Dana Story wants us to regard him as an unexceptional individual whose life was shaped by his relationship to his father's shipyard. In addition, we learn that he lived within the context of an extended family of relatives in the town of Essex. Among the workers in his father's shipyard there was a variety of individuals who helped to shape him. There are no footnotes documenting the story of his life. He tells us that "facts, figures and dates" are drawn from his memory because the records of the family shipbuilding company were destroyed by fire, in 1950.

Moreover, it was the demands of a war-time economy (World War II) that made it possible for him to gain experience in the operation of shipyards and the actual building of various kinds of craft. Fulfilling an established family objective, the author attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology but did not complete the programme. He did become a qualified draughtsman. After working in this capacity for Sun Shipbuilding at Chester, Pennsylvania from 1940 to 1942, Story worked in wooden and steel naval construction at Ipswich, Massachusetts.

Consistent with this self-portrayal of an ordinary guy who has led an unspectacular life, Story notes that while he had financially successful relatives, personally he was not in their league. From 1872, his father had been engaged not only in the construction of vessels but also in various other enterprises and activities. It was not until after D-Day that the author decided to begin his own business in the family yard formerly run by his father. His first order was for a fishing craft. In Chapter 7, there is an explanation of

how his own attempt to run a shipyard came to grief. So Story's short career as the owner and manager of a yard came to an end in 1948.

It is this date that constitutes one of the most interesting aspects of this book. While shipbuilding at Essex, Massachusetts began in the middle of the seventeenth century, Dana was not born until 1919. Therefore, his experience of growing up in a yard where wooden fishing vessels were constructed occurred after the great era of the sailing ship had passed. Yet, the rhythm of operations appears to have differed little from that of the shipyards in Atlantic Canada during the nineteenth century. At Essex, the yards were located along the banks of a tidal estuary. Most of the building was done by traditional handwork. Tried and true ways were also used for the launchings. Some vessels were provided with engines, of course. Nevertheless, the reader gets the distinct impression that the activity in the yards discussed was the construction of sailing vessels.

The launching of his own business marked one of the social changes that Story notes when examining the collapse of his business and the end of the wooden shipbuilding era at Essex and elsewhere in the United States. The first order for a vessel came from the owner of the Producers' Fish Company. An influential citizen in the local communities, he was able to direct other customers to Story's company. The author indicates that his customers still wanted fishing boats but that they were no longer from the original ethnic stock of Essex and vicinity. The note upon which the book ends is therefore one that conveys the passing of Essex's uniqueness. It became much like other towns as the "old Anglo-Saxon names began to die out and disappear...." In this context, it may be of sociological interest that his last foreman was a Doucette replacing a Cogswell.

Gerry Panting
St. John's, Newfoundland

Alan Storm. *Storm and Company*. Whitby, UK: Caedmon of Whitby, 1993 [Caedmon of Whitby, "Headlands," 128 Uppang Lane, Whitby, North Yorkshire YO21 3JJ]. 192 pp., photographs, illustrations. £10.50, paper; ISBN 0-905355-41-5.

This is a book about the Storm clan of fishermen (in-shore and deep-sea), colliers, coastal and ocean-going seamen and master mariners, based on Robin Hood's Bay between Whitby and Scarborough and closely interrelated with other similar clans from those parts whose existence depended largely upon the sea. The approach is primarily genealogical and therefore other aspects of maritime social and economic history emerge only tantalisingly and are not developed.

Part 1 (seventy pages) is devoted to the Memoirs of Jacob Storm (1837-1926), a master mariner who graduated from sail to steam and who put together an account of Storms from 1539 onwards including many contemporaries, sea-goers to a man. There are many references to the severe casualties suffered, and the profits and losses of investment in ships, some of which he commanded, together with a succinct diary of a two-month voyage in 1887, carrying coal to Venice, thence in ballast to the Black Sea for grain and homewards to the Elbe, bunkering at Constantinople, Malta and Gibraltar. With a fair wind eleven knots could be achieved, reducing to four in foul weather.

Having swallowed the anchor Jacob became a marine superintendent at Whitby with time to indulge in genealogy. His great-grandson, Alan Storm, the author/editor, devotes 120 pages in Part 2 to Tables (*sic*) of descent of the Storms up to the present with potted biographies of a host of these mariners and their in-laws.

Some analysis of single ship companies and of the shareholders (who were they? Locals or tradesfolk and others from elsewhere?) would have illustrated the social structures of this isolated community. Were 'the Bay' and Whitby pace-setters in the

revolutionary changes from wood to iron, sail to steam and the new technologies of marine engineering in the last century, or did these changes only come slowly and if so was it due to lack of capital or conservative attitudes? The relationship between seafaring and husbandry as separate or interdependent seasonal activities pursued by the same or different sections of the Bay community is also not clear. The shadowy figure of one member of the clan who was engaged in smuggling ("a comfortable farmer...till he challenged the government over imports and lost his holdings") indicates one such link with the land.

Six monetary tables appear between pages 17 and 48, of which five are incorrectly totted up, e.g. the final profit of the brig *Harrison* (including capital outlay) amounted to £668 over eighteen years, not "well over £1,000" as stated; we are left to guess whether the errors lie with Jacob, the author/editor or the printer. Cross-referencing, particularly of the photographs, is sketchy or non-existent; the method of tabulating the generations presents difficulties and is remote from normal usage, the reader being denied the help of any sketch pedigrees. Only a half-tamed computer could produce such an erratic layout and wasted spaces; ship names are randomly indicated in four different methods of printing and there are many other errors which should not have survived proof-reading.

For those who have connections with 'the Bay' or Storm antecedents the undoubted value of this incredibly numerous clan of seafarers will outweigh the failures of presentation, some of which confuse the genealogical data. Despite many irritants the general reader will find this eye-witness account over the forty years that Jacob was at sea from 1850 onwards the more interesting part, but will also do well to persevere into Part 2 to recapture the shipping business of all kinds that was engaged in by the mariners whom Dr. Storm has mustered.

Peter Raban
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Peter N. Davies (ed.). *The Diary of John Holt*. Research in Maritime History No. 5; St. John's, NF: International Maritime Economic History Association, 1993. xiii + 205 pp., photographs, tables. US \$15, paper; ISBN 0-9695885-5-0.

First published in 1948, this diary is reissued and benefits from the editing of Peter Davies' unrivalled knowledge of shipping on the West African coast in the nineteenth century. John Holt (1841-1915) spent twelve years in West Africa, much of them on the island of Fernando Po. He established a company in his name which became a leader in the trade and himself as a major Liverpoolian entrepreneur. This work covers his sojourn on Fernando Po during June 1862 to December 1864 and January 1869 to January 1872. The work also includes a memo, based on its log, of the voyages from England and on the West African coast of a sailing schooner, the *Maria*, during February 1869 to January 1871. In addition, there is a separate record for the brief stay in November and December 1867 of the iron barque *Peep o'Day* (built at Newcastle in 1863) recruiting crews. Krumen from the coast of Liberia were extensively used on ships plying West African waters. And Holt used them.

The diary entries are more revealing and insightful than the usual personal records left by self-made businessmen of the Victorian era. Distinguishing features of the flora and fauna of the island are identified. The interpersonal relationships and group dynamics of the island's polyglot inhabitants are explored. They included Spanish and British among those of European descent, several African groups, people of mixed ancestry and of various socio-economic classes. Holt's own personal preferences when it came to people and which were rather less Euro-centric than his contemporaries as well as his eating habits and illnesses are detailed. Quinine in problematic dosage did not prevent him from contracting malaria in virulent form. It would not be until the 1890s that the mosquito's role in

transferring the disease would be discovered and references in the diary to the insect's presence including in ships' bilges precede its recurrence in Holt or others with whom he worked. There is, as well, sufficient evidence here to establish why he was successful at business and others he encountered less so. Fair, careful and shrewd in his dealings, sensible in his drinking and eating habits and hardworking, even when stricken with illness, he was unique among his compatriots.

The *Maria* cost Holt £1200 (diary entry, p. 96; the introduction, p. 12, states £620). He thought he had paid too much for this oak-hulled vessel built at Plymouth in 1852 of sixty-five registered tons, but he used it very effectively. Its sailing characteristics, cargo, ports of call, crew and officers are all well documented in the diary or the memo. Numerous other vessels which called at Fernando Po are mentioned but not much elaborated upon. For example, the scheduled liners of the British and African Steam Navigation Company are only named. The editor, using *Lloyd's Register*, provides additional information on many of these steamers. One is illustrated. Naval vessels, including the ubiquitous gunboat, also get editorial treatment. But other ships mentioned go unremarked so that, for example, it is not clear whether they are sailers or steamers. Nevertheless, a sense of the goods and passenger traffic instrumental in integrating West Africa's economy into that of Europe's can be derived from the work. And this understanding could be substantially expanded not only by reference to Davies' own publications but also to an uncited work, J.E. Cowden and J.O.C. Duffy, *The Elder Dempster Fleet History, 1852-1925* (1986).

Essential reading for the study of European expansion on the west coast of Africa as well as for British entrepreneurship, this work is also useful for maritime studies, especially if used in conjunction with other sources.

Robert Kubicek
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Basil Greenhill (consulting ed.); Robert Gardiner (gen. ed.). *Conway's History of the Ship: The Advent of Steam. The Merchant Steamship before 1900*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1993. 190 pp., photographs, line drawings, tables, maps, bibliography, glossary, index. £28, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-563-2.

The Advent of Steam constitutes the fifth volume in Conway's new, twelve-part "History of the Ship" series, with Robert Gardiner serving as general editor. This is a pedigree that recommends its constituents very strongly, for both the series itself, and the philosophy that informs it, are welcome additions to maritime literature. Each volume in the series consists of thematic essays written by a carefully selected group of specialist-contributors and edited by a specialist on the volume's particular topic. The organization of the themes is not strictly chronological, but serves, nonetheless, to present the subject in a coherent manner. This multi-author, thematic approach is one of the salient features of the series, imbuing it with both the richness that comes from a variety of perspectives and expertise, as well as an enhanced utility for the researcher.

This particular volume is broken down into ten chapters with contributions from nine different authors covering large, general issues like "Steam before the Screw" and "Steam Navigation and the United States" as well as more specific topics such as "The Ship Propeller Company and the Promotion of Screw Propulsion 1836-1952," "Sail-Assist and the Steamship," and "Alfred Holt and the Compound Engine." Finally, in proper recognition of the essentially technological nature of the subject, the book devotes special attention to such matters as "Triple Expansion and the First Shipping Revolution," "Industrial Background to the Development of the Steamship," and "Marine Engineering Development in the Nineteenth Century." Overall, the chapters complement Basil Greenhill's tripartite conception of the subject: paddlewheels, propel-

lers, and compound steampower. (pp.11-12) Though some readers might prefer a more conventional approach to a subject as pivotal to maritime history as steampower, the virtues of Greenhill's selections and arrangement outweigh the drawbacks. In the history of technology, progress and innovation are seldom as linear as the didactic efforts of historians sometimes suggest.

In this respect, it is regrettable that the notion of "revolution" found its way into one of the chapters, for too often this concept is more a dramatic device than an explanatory model. While few would deny the importance of the triple expansion engine, Denis Griffiths' statement that "many factors worked to bring about the change from sail to steam during the final two decades of the nineteenth century, but the introduction of the triple expansion engine may be considered as the most influential" (p.125) is an unnecessary assertion of hierarchy. Such an argument serves only to reinforce, explicitly or implicitly, the Whig notion of progress. Indeed, the Anglo-American bias of this particular topic ought to inspire a greater than normal degree of caution in this particular respect.

While it was clearly not the intention of the editor to present a revisionist collection of essays on the subject, students of the history of technology might well wish for more analysis of the causes and nature of innovation. Andrew Lambert's chapter on the Ship Propeller Company provides a good example of such an approach, examining as it does, through a case study, the politics and economics of invention. Most of the authors chose instead a more conservative, chronological narrative line. Still, the result is a volume that is a useful contribution to the literature; a thorough, well-presented account of both the details and the context of the development of steam navigation. For those who can afford it, this book, like the series to which it belongs, is well worth the investment.

Garth Wilson
Ottawa, Ontario

Maurizio Eliseo. *Rex: Regis Nomen, Navis Omen. Storia di un Transatlantico. The Greyhound of the Seas*. Parma, Italy: Ermanno Albertelli Editore, 1992. 256 pp., photographs (colour, b&w), figures, appendices, bibliography, index. L80,000, cloth; ISBN 88-85909-35-3 (North American orders: US \$60 by international money order to: Ermanno Albertelli Editore, P.O. Box 395, 1-43100 Parma, Italy).

In *Rex*, Maurizio Eliseo has produced one of the finest looking books devoted solely to a passenger liner that I have ever seen. His sumptuous paean to Italy's greatest liner is presented in a large format on the glossiest of paper. A fine collection of black and white photos detail her construction, appointments and demise. As well, many of the promotional renderings created for her inaugural voyage are reproduced in vivid colour. Also included are detailed plans of her accommodations, a photo album of famous passengers, and line drawings of the *Rex* and all other holders of the Blue Riband. As a testament to Eliseo's fascination with Italy's Greyhound there is an appendix on his construction of a 1:100 scale, working model of the *Rex* that took him 4,500 hours over three years to complete.

Rex is a book that you are predisposed to like upon picking it up and leafing through the pages. The fact that it is written in two languages—Italian and English—should have added to its attractiveness. It does not! Virtually half the book is given over to an English translation of the Italian text; and a translation is all that it is! The English translation is pedestrian at best and difficult to read at worst. Spelling mistakes I expected, but not awkward sentence structure, and inappropriate tenses. For a book that is obviously aimed at an English-speaking market as much as an Italian one, the use of a translator as adept at English as Italian should have been a given. As a result, the translation, such as it is, only hints at what must, in Italian, be a very enjoyable read.

While *Rex* is a fine history of the ship,

aside from the stories concerning her somewhat eccentric captain, Francesco Tarabotto and his relationship with his passengers and crew, there is little of a personal nature concerning the people, famous and otherwise, who travelled on her. This book could have benefited from the inclusion of recollections and anecdotes to bring the *Rex* back to life. Instead, too much attention is given over to her attainment of the Blue Riband for the fastest crossing of the Atlantic, and to the fact that it was the only time an Italian vessel had succeeded in capturing this coveted honour.

Rex does succeed in clearing up any confusion that the *Rex* and *Conte Di Savoia* were true "sisters." Sister ships they may have been through the amalgamation of the Navigazione Générale Italiana with the *Lloyd Sabauda* and other Italian lines, but "twins" they were not. They were totally different in style, construction and personality, having only their speed and dimensions in common. A similarity in name was contemplated with the naming of the Lloyd Sabauda liner *Dux*, but it was declined by Benito Mussolini, who thought the monarchy would be annoyed should their ship *Rex* prove slower than his, and // *Duce's* image would have suffered should the reverse have held true.

Eliseo's book will likely be considered the definitive history of one of the greatest trans-Atlantic liners of all time. I will concede him this distinction, but only in Italian.

John Davies
Vancouver, British Columbia

John Shepherd. *Steam Packet Memories*. Staplehurst, Kent: Ferry Publications, 1993. 48 pp., photographs, statistics. £3.45, paper; ISBN 0-9513506-8-4.

With illustrious names like *Ben-my-Chree*, *King Orry*, and *Mona's Queen*, the passenger steamers of the Isle of Man Steam Packet Company linked the island's port of Douglas with Liverpool and lesser ports on the Irish Sea. The final years of service for these ships.

an era which ended with the last voyage of the *Ben-my-Chree* in 1985, are the subject of *Steam Packet Memories*.

As its title suggests, this booklet's approach to its subject is heavily influenced, not surprising for a publication from a firm whose stated audience is "the enthusiast fraternity and the ferry industry" in Britain. However, readers who are not part of this specialized group would have appreciated at least some contextual information about the history of the Isle of Man Steam Packet Company both before and after the years from 1960 to 1985. The text is a narrative of events rather than an analysis of underlying forces; there is no nostalgia about the unpleasant economic factors which evidently caused the demise of steam passenger service in 1985. John Shepherd concludes with a plea for the preservation of *Manxman* at her birthplace in Birkenhead, where she would serve "not only as a reminder of a now departed form of transport but also as a testimony to the men of Cammell Laird who built her." (p.45)

Steam Packet Memories employs an attractive two-column page layout to advantage, and features both colour and black-and-white illustrations of the exteriors and interiors of the company's ships. The photograph of *Manxman* leaving Douglas in a Force 11 gale (p.16) is particularly evocative of the extreme conditions in which she and her sister ships sometimes operated.

Peter Robertson
Ottawa, Ontario

David Burrell. *Furness Withy: The Centenary History of Furness, Withy and Company, Ltd 1891-1991*. Kendal, UK: The World Ship Society, 1992 [28 Natland Road, Kendal LA 9 7LT, England]. 231 pp., illustrations, index. £30 UK, £32 in Canada; cloth; ISBN 0-905617-70-3.

David Burrell has written a fine popular history of Furness Withy. This oversize volume includes the host of ship portraits and the fleet

list readers have come to expect from World Ship Society publications. But perhaps rather unexpectedly the author has presented a useful introduction to the business strategy of the founder of the firm, Christopher Furness.

The heart of Burrell's volume lies in his description of Furness Withy's complex ownership and investment patterns. Furness was an early advocate of speculative ship-building. Beginning in the early 1880s he built standardized tramps at Edward Withy's shipyard. Furness would operate them until a market could be found for the tramps. These vessels were used in a multitude of enterprises which the author lays out in painstaking detail. Indeed the list of shipping companies in which Furness Withy had either a share or running arrangements was staggering. Included were such well-known fleets as Leyland, Manchester Liners, Houlder Brothers, Canada Steamship Lines and Shaw, Savill and Albion. The activities and structure of some firms could have been outlined more thoroughly than others, British Maritime Trust being a case in point. Although Furness did not establish the company, his influence deserves to be examined in greater detail.

The transformation of Furness Withy from primarily a tramp owner to a liner operator in the decade before World War I is told well. The author sees this new direction as a result of the formation by J.P. Morgan of the International Merchant Marine in 1902. However Furness' unsuccessful attempts to gain control of the Royal Mail Line are not described at length. This is a pity because Furness was later to use the same strategy effectively to take over the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company.

The company's story during World War I was one of almost unmitigated disaster. In all Furness Withy lost ninety-seven ships to enemy action and marine risks between August 1914 and November 1918. Only the purchase of the Prince Line in 1916 relieved this dismal picture. Before rebuilding could begin, management lead by deputy chairman Frederick Lewis, purchased the company from

Marmaduke Furness (Lord Furness' son) in 1919. Shortly thereafter an attempt was made to repeat a Canada Steamship Lines-type amalgamation on the Danube with the acquisition of Austrian, Hungarian and German lines by the Furness Withy-led Danube Navigation Company. Unlike CSL, the Danube Navigation Company did not survive as a shipping firm. More successfully, in 1919 Furness Withy purchased the assets of the Quebec Steamship Company. Along with other of the company's holdings the old Canadian company was reconstituted as the Bermuda and West Indies Steamship Company. The new subsidiary profited immensely from prohibition in the United States which almost guaranteed the success of its cruise liners on the New York-Bermuda run. However, Furness Withy's crowning achievement during the inner war period was the acquisition of the Shaw, Savill and Albion Line in 1935 from the remnants of Lord Kysant's Royal Mail Steam Packet Group.

The chapters on World War II and subsequent post-war developments are rather disappointing. At times they are a mere catalogue of events with little analysis and few details. Unfortunately such summaries of recent events are almost inevitable in official histories.

There is much in this volume for the ship lover. The fleet list alone enumerates more than 1400 vessels. Not included in this list, however, are the ships owned by Canada Steamship Lines from 1913 to 1922 when CSL was controlled by Furness Withy and Vickers. Too many of the lovely black and white ship portraits are of a miniature size suitable for *Marine News* but not for an A4-size volume. In contrast, some of the half-page colour photographs are out of focus. This reviewer would also have appreciated a bibliography, if only to illuminate the author's research efforts. Taken as a whole, however, this volume is a success.

M. Stephen Salmon
Orleans, Ontario

Gunnar Nerheim and Bjørn S. Utne. *Smedvig: A Story of Canning, Shipping and Contract Drilling from Western Norway*. Stavanger: Peder Smedvig A/S, 1992 [order from: Peder Smedvig A/S, Lxkkeveien 103, N-4007 Stavanger, Norway]. 253 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, figures, notes. NOK 200, cloth; ISBN 82-992247-1-3.

This is the story of the growth and development of a family firm. Founded in Stavanger on Norway's western coast just before World War I, the company originated with small sailing vessels but soon ventured into fish canning. By the 1980s Peder Smedvig A/S was an international enterprise with core businesses in chartering supertankers, contract drilling and supply services for the oil industry. The authors explain how this commercial transformation and product diversification came about.

Although it covers three generations of managing-owners, the focus of the book is on the founder, Peder Smedvig, and to a lesser extent his two sons, Torolf and Johan, who took over the firm's assets on Peder's death in 1959. Johan managed the canning businesses, which paid modest but reliable returns, while Torolf, whom the book's narrative then largely follows, ran the more volatile shipping side. The authors speculate upon the different entrepreneurial styles adopted by Peder and Torolf. Both foresight and good fortune seem to have characterised Peder's decision-making. He was certainly lucky in the impact of random events like World War I, which raised shipping freights and expanded the demand for canned food, but it takes a skilful entrepreneur to exploit these openings in a changing business environment. Peder, it seems, also preferred to follow established business lines rather than to innovate yet his crucial decisions about when to enter or abandon a business often owed little to conventional wisdom. Nor was he afraid to diversify. He pulled out of shipping just before the boom broke after the war in favour of canning and fish oil and he preserved his fortune during

the interwar depression precisely because his low-cost investments were countercyclical in their timing. Smedvig also emerged profitably from World War II, despite Norway's occupation by the Germans and the loss of much of the firm's shipping. He possessed all the legendary entrepreneurial characteristics of toughness, independence, leadership and an aptitude for hard work — although these very qualities may have encouraged him to remain too long at the helm.

Although the risks of shipowning made Peder's caution understandable Torolf appears to have been more creative, investing in of all things a leisure complex in the British Virgin Islands. But it was also Torolf's boldly imaginative participation in oil and contract drilling that laid the foundations of the modern vertically integrated enterprise. By the 1980s, too, many of Peder Smedvig's cherished business principles had lapsed. The enormous financing needs of capital intensive and technologically complex businesses like oil exploration and supertankers no longer permitted the family's companies to control all the equity or avoid liquidity crises. Moreover, the well-known cycles of boom and bust in shipping, very often prompted by unpredictable world events, continued to make tanker management an art as much as a science.

Each chapter is credited to one of the authors but the finished work is both cohesive and informative. The authors acknowledge the help of the founder's grandson, Peter Smedvig, who became chairman after his father's death in 1977, but the book is not an uncritical appraisal of the family's business. It cleverly combines analysis with an appeal to a general readership. Indeed, the story is set within a wide context for there is much here upon Norway's modern economic history and upon recent developments in world shipping and oil drilling. Whatever the book may have lost in translation - it was originally published in Norwegian — is more than compensated by its lavish production. It is packed with illustrations, tables and charts, many of them in colour, but this is no coffee table

volume. The book is based both on business sources and upon secondary works — although many are in Norwegian and, therefore, unfamiliar to or inaccessible for an English readership. One small complaint is that although the book is properly annotated it lacks an index.

Robert G. Greenhill
Tonbridge, United Kingdom

Terry Robinson, *The Offshore: An Introduction to the Technology, Terminology and Operations of Offshore Oil Exploration*. St. John's, Newfoundland: Jespersen Press, 1992. xiv + 194 pp., photographs, figures, appendices, index, glossary. \$24.95, paper; ISBN 0-920502-98-9.

The dust jacket suggests that this book is suitable "for any person wishing to have a basic understanding of this [oil exploration] field," and the author in his preface hopes that the book will "serve as an approachable and informative introduction for members of the general public." Robinson, as an oil rig captain, does not do badly in this hope. Yet, like Captain Denis F. Drown in the foreword, I expect the book will be of more interest and value to those with some prior marine experience or knowledge and to those changing from the merchant marine onto an oil rig or related rig supply vessel. The book will certainly be of value to those studying the offshore oil industry, about to work in association with the marine exploration industry, or even those who have already been on offshore drilling rigs and around the offshore industry for some time.

Within a single page, Robinson rushes the reader through a review of the beginnings of the oil drilling industry and onto a drillship. In so doing he credits America with the first successful oil well in 1859 in Pennsylvania, ignoring the possibility that Canada has a legitimate claim to this title in the Petrolia area of Ontario. Certainly Canada can claim the first offshore oil well drilled from an artificial island; the Hillsborough No. 1 well

(a dry hole) was drilled off Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island during World War II by the Socony Vacuum Co. — later Mobil Oil.

The main part of the book is designed to take the reader chronologically from a rig while in port, getting various checkouts, followed by the tow-out to the wellsite, anchoring, ballasting and beginning to drill or spudding in. One continues through a well's history, testing of hydrocarbons, plugging and abandoning the well then the anchor recovery to move to a new location. "Safety is never far from the surface," according to the author, and those in the industry who were close to the *Ocean Ranger* tragedy, *Rowan Gorilla One's* loss and various helicopter mishaps will surely agree. Robinson has two chapters on safety; one concerns helicopter and lifeboat systems for getting on and off the drill rig and the other concerns safety on board a rig. He then reviews weather concerns and appropriate crew response with reference to the loss of the *Ocean Ranger* in February, 1982 and concerns over Hurricane Emily on an unnamed Grand Banks rig in September, 1987 (it was the *Bowdrill 3*). Next he discusses ice and icebergs, ending with a too-brief tantalizing photo essay on the late autumn 1988 loss of the *Rowan Gorilla One* jackup while under tow (and the similar 1980 loss of the *Dan Prince*). This example is severely short of explanatory text to amplify these two incidents where sensible human action prevented the loss of life.

The book concludes with a brief, almost weak, three-page "concluding note" on life offshore, which touches on some of the difficulties related to the month-on, month-off shift work involved. None of these are explored in detail and no solutions are offered. The eight appendices deal with specialized rig equipment, crew job descriptions, rig certification, check lists for pre-sailing, helicopters and lifeboats, and so on.

The book is well-illustrated with some fifty-nine photos and twenty-one illustrations. More detailed captions would have made these more useful, while a list of photo credits

and sources would have made the book a more valuable document. The four full-page colour photos appear to be an afterthought, for they are duplicates of black and white shots that were left in the text. The index and glossary is a welcome feature.

Robinson's book comes at a time when there has been virtually no exploration work off Eastern Canada for three years. Perhaps Robinson is also in a period of inactivity and will turn his hand to a similar handbook on production platforms to familiarize Canadians with this new phase of the offshore industry. Oil production began in mid-1993 off western Sable Island and the huge Hibernia GBS (gravity-based structure) is due to be in production in 1996.

Alan Ruffman
Fergusons Cove, Nova Scotia

Adrian Jarvis (intro.). *Nineteenth Century Business Ethics: Papers presented at a Research Day School organized jointly by National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside and The University of Liverpool, Merseyside Maritime Museum, 31st October, 1992*. Liverpool: Merseyside Maritime Museum, 1992. £2, spiral-bound, no ISBN.

This publication brings to a wider audience five papers originally presented at a day school held at Merseyside Maritime Museum. They are both tentative and preliminary and Adrian Jarvis sets the right note in his introduction by inviting communication from readers interested in carrying the investigation of nineteenth-century business ethics further. In short, this is an economically produced publication with few pretensions. It is pleasantly surprising therefore to find that three of the five essays are well researched, original and thought-provoking. They are well worth the attention of readers of this journal.

The best by far is David Williams' essay entitled "Business Ethics and Victorian Ship-owners: contexts for research." Williams moves systematically from an attempt at

defining business ethics, through an emphasis on the necessity for contextualization, to an examination of how ethics played into business policy and practice in nineteenth-century British shipowning. His thesis seems eminently reasonable: it is that government regulation and the increasing sophistication of business practice in the second half of the nineteenth century increased the moral and ethical complexion of doing business in shipping. The thesis is sustained through a review of different types of trade (legal and illegal); of the impact of government intervention (notably as it affected the terms and conditions of employment of the industry's workers); and of the changing structure of business in consequence of the rise of steam and of liner operations. His coverage is as comprehensive as is possible in the space available, and it is doubly impressive for incorporating a nuanced discussion of sources. As Williams observes, shady deals are not well documented, so the historian interested in business ethics works in half-light.

This is a problem which confronts Eric Groves. His piece, "Merchants of Death? Ethics in the Late Nineteenth-Century British Arms Trade," tackles thorny and often secretive subject matter. Groves is pragmatic: he uses a relativist concept of business ethics to investigate how business deals were done in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and how political lobbies were organized by arms traders, especially warship builders. Groves, like Williams, insists that an absolute standard of ethics is inappropriate to the practice of historical investigation. Context is vital, and it is in the context of nineteenth-century capitalism that business ethics should be understood.

Adrian Jarvis pays lip service to this idea. His approach to the nineteenth-century Liverpool docks engineers is, however, unsubtle. In a manner reminiscent of the British tabloid press Jarvis slates these men for inappropriate and unethical conduct. He passes judgement from a position which is foreshadowed in his introductory comment: "engineers and their

employers frequently acted in a manner which would today be regarded as highly unethical, and which in some cases would result in major scandal and likely imprisonment." (p.2) Whiggish and naively optimistic about the present, Jarvis clearly has some learning to do before he passes judgment on the past.

Victoria Haworth finds in George Stephenson "Enginewright and Railway Promoter" a man not beyond reproach. His interlocking directorships of companies gave him opportunity to promote personal interests at the expense, she hints, of the development of the rail system in Britain. The rough and ready self-trained businessman is contrasted with his son, Robert, who was very much more the professional. What Haworth misses here is the opportunity to elucidate how the legal, technical and commercial context of engineering as a business changed between the two generations. She might take note of Williams' apposite comment that it is in the broader or comparative setting we move beyond the careers of individual businessmen to a larger understanding of the problematic issues of business ethics.

A fifth essay looks somewhat quirky beside the others, but I would still put Simon Dentith's "The Fraud in Literature" among the papers which make this a worthwhile collection. He approaches fraud as a literary critic and his comments on how it was treated in nineteenth-century fiction are informed by post-structuralist insights. Business historians (who tend to be of a neo-positivist stripe) are unlikely to be persuaded either of the value of novels or of the virtues of Dentith's analysis of these sources. I found the essay refreshing, however, since it engages with cultural values and expectations which surely go the heart of ethical questions. All considered, then, between the slight bindings of this publication there is some interesting work. One looks forward to seeing how it might develop in the hands of the more competent authors.

Valerie Burton
St. John's, Newfoundland

David VanderZwaag (ed.). *Canadian Oceanic Law and Policy*. Toronto and Vancouver: Butterworths, 1991. xxxiv + 546 pp., tables, maps, figures, index. \$120, cloth; ISBN 0-409-80664-1.

For over two decades Dalhousie University has given priority to ocean law and policy studies. Much of this effort has come from the Law School, reinforced by significant scholarship by associates of the Centre of Foreign Policy Studies, the School for Resource and Environmental Studies, the Marine Affairs Programme, and other ocean-related units of the University. Perhaps the chief catalyst for collective research initiatives in this field over the years has been Dalhousie Ocean Studies Programme (DOSP), whose members have been extremely active in several regions of the world, such as Southeast Asia and the Caribbean. In view of their continuing overseas commitments, it is good to see a major Dalhousie-directed contribution to the study of ocean law and policy issues in Canada, organized under the auspices of DOSP's successor, the Oceans Institute of Canada (OIC). It is fitting that the work has been edited by Professor VanderZwaag, whose own work (with Cindy Lamson) on Arctic Ocean law and policy has been consistently of the highest scholarly quality.

Since the end of the celebrated Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III) in 1982, the law-of-the-sea (i.e. "ocean law and policy") field has been relatively quiescent. Normal career rotation has ensured that the Canadian government's leading experts have moved on to fresh, if not greener, pastures. In certain contexts, not least the environmental, the UNCLOS "paradigm" has, in some meaningful ways, yielded to new frames of reference, such as the Rio ethos of the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). The end of the Cold War has brought realism to the hope for bold cooperative management in the Arctic Ocean. Tragically, the fishing community of Newfoundland in particular has suffered from a

calamitous collapse of cod stocks in adjacent and more distant waters, and put severe pressure on Canada's commitment to the 200-mile limit on national fishery jurisdiction. Yet the prospect of some degree of cooperative international fishery management in the Gulf of Maine and conceivably in the St. Pierre and Miquelon trans-boundary area seems to be improving. After years of delay, it now appears that a Canadian government-industry partnership will proceed to development of the Hibernia oil field offshore. New issues have surfaced at the national level, such as that of the special entitlement of Canada's aboriginal peoples to the resources of the sea. And now, rather suddenly, Canada must collect its wits and decide how to play its hand on certain law-of-the-sea matters as a signatory, but not yet a party, to the 1982 UN Convention, which will (finally) come into force for sixty or more ratifying states in November of this year. For these, and no doubt other, reasons, this compendium is timely.

This book of over five hundred pages, written by twenty-four contributors, consists of eighteen chapters and eight parts: living resources (by far the largest), non-renewable resources, shipping, the marine environment, aboriginal peoples, free trade and ocean resources, ocean boundaries and maritime strategy. Although chiefly oriented to Atlantic Canada, at least half of Canada's leading specialists in Canadian ocean law and policy are included in this impressive collection, and one welcomes in particular the introduction of several newcomers to the field. Each reader of this wide-ranging work will focus on matters of personal interest, but for my part the book's value lies above all in the new analysis provided in areas where existing Canadian law and policy is most clearly deficient, or at least subject to controversy. My own list would include: the issue of straddling stocks management on the Grand Banks (chapter by David VanderZwaag); the deficiencies in Canadian legislation for the protection of marine mammals (Susan Waters); the intractability of Canadian fishery enforcement problems (John

Lavers and Iain Stewart); the impact of deregulation on our ports policy (John Gratwick and Wade Elliott); the lack of an overall framework for protecting the quality of our marine environment (Ray Côté); the difficulty of securing international recognition of special aboriginal rights to marine resources (Mary Ellen Turpel); and the impact of the Canadian-US Free Trade Agreement (and now NAFTA) on the Canadian fishing industry (Ted McDorman). These are only a few of the chapters challenging the makers and shakers of Canadian ocean policy and legislation.

Few countries can produce collections of this quality over such a wide range of ocean law and policy concerns. This book should be on the shelves of all Canadian ocean-related officials, scholars and practitioners, and of non-Canadian counterparts seeking access to the best Canadian expertise.

Douglas M. Johnston
Victoria, British Columbia

Jeanette Greenfield. *China's Practice in the Law of the Sea*. Oxford: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press, 1992. xxiii + 321 pp., maps, select bibliography, appendices, tables, glossary, index. \$112.50, cloth; ISBN 0-19-825618-3.

The history and consciousness of China is that of a great land empire. The People's Republic of China (PRC) is the heir of that great *terra firma* empire. Despite a preoccupation with hinterland issues, a phenomenon well known in Canada, the PRC is centrally involved in the ocean politics of Asia as its extensive coastline borders both the East China Sea in Northeast Asia and the South China Sea in Southeast Asia. China's doors to the world are through its salt water ports.

Dr. Greenfield's book is one of a small number of texts which deals with China's ocean frontier and specifically with the statements and actions of the PRC on marine matters. For this reason alone, this book is an important contribution to the law of the sea

literature regarding East Asia.

However, the book is not designed for the casual reader or even one trying to acquire a sense of the future directions of PRC ocean law and policy. The title of the book is most apt. What has been presented is an essay on the *practices* (statements, laws and actions) of the PRC regarding various ocean issues. The approach is a tabulation of practices regarding: bays, straits, the territorial sea, continental shelf, fishing, economic zone, and the deep ocean floor — in short, a description of the activities of the PRC respecting the principal ocean zones and regimes. The contents and format of the book will be invaluable for researchers seeking to identify the position of the PRC on a given marine matter. This approach results, however, in a less-than-satisfying read since the author does little to provide a cohesiveness to the accumulation of disjointed sections.

The most sensitive ocean-related problem in Asia is the multi-state conflict over the Spratly Islands, a collection of microscopic islands, islets, reefs and low-tide elevations in the middle of the South China Sea. The PRC, Taiwan and Vietnam have claimed ownership of the entire Spratly Island chain. Malaysia, the Philippines and Brunei claim one or more of the isles. The sovereignty dispute is made complicated and militarily-dangerous by five of the six participants having troops stationed on a number of the isles. In 1988 the PRC and Vietnam engaged in a brief naval skirmish in the Spratlies area which resulted in loss of life.

Canada has a curious involvement in the Spratlies dispute. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is supporting a joint academic-government initiative which is attempting to bring the disputants together to manage the dispute so as to avoid direct conflict. The project run by the University of British Columbia and a division of the Indonesian Foreign Ministry has had a series of meetings commencing in 1989. (See, for instance, T.L. McDorman, "The South China Sea Islands Dispute in the 1990's: A New

Multilateral Process and Continuing Friction" *International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law* VIII, No. 2[1993], 263-285.) Needless to say, a key and enigmatic player in these informal discussions has been the PRC.

While recognizing that for the PRC island sovereignty issues have "been the subject of her most direct and immediate attention," (p. 17) Greenfield sheds little new light on the Spratlies issues. Mention is made of the innovative idea to declare the Spratlies a demilitarized area, but no attempt is made to evaluate the potential PRC response. No mention is made of the 1988 naval engagement with Vietnam — a curious omission. It reflects the narrow legal, non-evaluative focus of the book. Regarding the legal niceties of the Spratlies, Greenfield takes the view that China has "quite strong historical arguments" favouring its ownership claim, (p. 155)

Much of the material presented by the author as the practice of the PRC on law of the sea comes from the active role of the PRC at the U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea. The Conference completed its work in 1982 with the Law of the Sea Convention. The PRC, along with virtually all other states has signed the LOS Convention; notable non-signatories are Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States. In November 1994, the Law of the Sea Treaty will come into legal force for the over sixty ratifying states. The PRC is not one of the states which has ratified the Law of the Sea Treaty. Greenfield does not venture an opinion whether the PRC will or should become a party to the new Ocean Treaty. In a succinct introductory chapter that deals with the Chinese concept of law and the PRC's view of international law, Greenfield notes that the PRC is a strong adherent to consent as the principal basis of international legal obligation. As regards the Law of the Sea Convention, this would mean that the PRC would not feel obliged to comply with the obligations in the Treaty unless the PRC ratifies the Treaty.

While this review has focused on what is missing from *China's Practice In The Law of*

the Sea, this reflects the initial hope that a fulsome exploration of the law of the sea policy of the PRC was forthcoming. The book itself made no such promise. The treatise, however, is of unquestioned value, although primarily for researchers seeking specific instances of PRC state practice on selected marine matters.

Ted L. McDorman
Victoria, British Columbia

Howard White. *Raincoast Chronicles Fifteen. Stories and History of the B.C. Coast*. Harbour Publishing, Madeira Park, British Columbia, 1993. 80 pp. photographs, drawings. \$10.95 paper; ISBN 1-55017-091-0

Howard White created the *Raincoast Chronicles* series in 1972 and new issues arrive on the news stands at the rate of about one a year. Does anyone remember Trudeau's LIP (local initiative project) grants from the 1960s whereby entrepreneurs could develop unique projects? Howard White edited the *Peninsula Voice*, a local newspaper on the Sechelt Peninsula. A LIP grant allowed him to hire staff and change it to magazine format. He created the name "Raincoast" because the "Sunshine Coast" (northwest of Vancouver) is actually a temperate rain forest. "Visitors were mystified by six weeks of solid monsoons and we wanted to serve notice that we were going for the authentic image," says Howard White.

The fifteenth *Raincoast Chronicles* excels at contrast. It contains a range of characters and experiences such as only true life can provide. The collection of ten short stories is illustrated with fifty-two photographs and nine drawings. All photographs are black and white, captioned where necessary and are in varying states of clarity depending on their vintage. There is also a charming water colour of fishing boats by June Malaka on the cover.

Stories range from documentary to drama. "Voice from the Inlet" documents the installation of telephone lines under inlets and through dense coastal rain forests. High drama

is portrayed in "Grizzlies and Sasquatches" when a Bella Coola Indian guide is knocked over by a grizzly bear. "I lay there, never move. She step on my one shoulder little bit with one foot, and she step on the other shoulder with the other foot." His fellow hunter's first shot hit the bear "right high in the neck...blood drip all over my face and my chest. I can turn my head a little bit to watch." (p.3)

Other stories span periods from one day, to 5,000 years. "Visitors" is an account of a trip by row boat of a blind missionary and his deaf assistant to an isolated family while "Saturna" describes the inhabitants of Saturna Island from the Coastal Salish people to present-day resident, Dave Jack who relates "crusty and mischievous" tales.

At Shawnigan Lake in the 1920s, colonels retired from service in India strived to recreate the days of the British Raj. They wore tropical pith helmets to tennis parties and on regatta days, the attire was white flannel trousers while they danced to a string orchestra. In contrast is the protagonist in "One-armed Willy" — a "wild nineteen-year-old kid with a hook for a hand" who worked in a logging camp on the northern tip of Vancouver Island and loved practical jokes.

The tales also span the spectrum of telephone customs. On the Sunshine Coast "sometimes there were so many listeners that the transmission level fell and the callers had to shout to be heard." (p.35) For the British colonels in Shawnigan Lake, however, "honour forbade ever lifting the receiver to listen." (p.55)

Raincoast Chronicles is eminently entertaining. However, only one story has a list of references. Many are first-person or "as told to" reminiscences where references are not relevant. However, they would have been an asset to the story of providing telephone service up the coast from 1876 to 1971. It is puzzling that this opportunity is lost; an appendix with references would not have interfered with the entertainment. Most of the drawings are caricature in style and do not do

justice to the book.

The variety of stories assembled in the *Chronicles* ensures that everyone will find some that they enjoy. But this book will be of greatest interest to those (usually boaters) who have explored the islands and inlets of the BC coast. The fifteenth *Raincoast Chronicles* is certainly a delightful way to learn some history of the BC coast and a great deal about the foibles of human nature!

Suzanne Spohn
Lions Bay, British Columbia

Alan Haig-Brown. *Fishing for a Living*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1993. 200 pp., photographs, maps, figures. \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55017-093-7.

This is an easy-to-read, profusely illustrated book on presenting a well-balanced cross-section of the British Columbia fishing industry, including first-hand accounts from the men and women who crewed the boats or built them. The author was raised in Campbell River on Vancouver Island, where he had many opportunities to visit the fleet of trailers, seiners and fish-packers that made the small town their home port. His father, a recognized authority on angling, gave Alan an early schooling on the great outdoors. He learned to swim in the fast-flowing Campbell River, watching the salmon return each year to their spawning grounds. In 1960, at age eighteen, he married a local girl and was faced with the decision of making a living. There was then little choice; it was either logging or fishing. And so he went to work for his father-in-law, Herb Assu, a commercial fisherman with a seventy-seven foot seine boat, the *San Jose*.

Alan had a good instructor and soon learned the art of seining for salmon and herring. His earnings helped pay for a university education, which led to a career for a year as a teacher in the interior of British Columbia. But the lure and adventure of fishing was deep in his blood, so he returned

to the coast. Alan saw that the industry was changing. Many of the older boats were gone or replaced with new steel or aluminum hulls. The value of fish had changed dramatically as well: in 1960 herring sold for \$8.80 a ton; two decades later, roe-herring was selling for up to \$2500 a ton! And so in 1986 Alan began to research the story of the British Columbia fishing industry as it was, and as it was becoming. He contacted men like Charlie Clarke, the head skipper of Nelson Brothers Company, who had just retired. Clarke opened the doors by sending Alan to other well-known old-time fishermen (or "fishers," as Haig-Brown consistently prefers after the women he interviewed made clear that they did not like being called "fishermen") for their views and valued stories.

The book has about thirty short chapters. Some describe fishing operations. Thus, the opening chapter describes a "set," with illustrations showing a purse seine and how it operates. Another describes, with photos and text, record catches of herring up to 1500 tons in one net! It required fifty-four hours of steady work before the load was safely aboard thirteen seine boats. There are chapters on the early history of salmon fishing on the Fraser and the little two-man sail boats before the turn of the century that were towed out from the canneries by little steam tugs. These tugs also brought in the fish scows and the boats. Other chapters deal with the various shipyards that built the fishing boats. The Japanese started building their own boats out near Steveston in 1905 or earlier to supplement their income during the off-season. The fine quality of their vessels soon attracted the business of others.

Many of the fishers came from Norway as well as Adriatic source countries like Croatia. The rich ethnic mixture of Europeans, Japanese, and native Indians led to considerable racism within the fishing industry. The cannery operators were partly to blame for overt discriminatory practices. In the early history of the industry, local Indians were not allowed to own their own boats and

could not get a license. They used drag-seines which they pulled in by hand in the river estuaries. The canneries also played games to hold their best men from offering their services to competing canneries. Thus, some companies offered their men loans to build better boats. This more or less tied the men permanently to the company as they tried to pay off the loans. Older boats were given out to weaker fishers, while the worst boats were left for the Indians. It was a long time before these practices were abolished.

Haig-Brown also includes stories about the Japanese herring salteries that once existed around the Gulf Islands. The pilchard fishery, and how it faded away, is mentioned. So too is the story of the early halibut schooners that came to the North Pacific in 1888, and introduced the method of fishing with baited hooks on long-lines 250 fathoms in length. Old halibut steamers like the *Celestial Empire* and *Flamingo* are remembered.

Some attention is given to the problem of union organization, as well as to the so-called "Gumboot Navy," a unit of fishing boats that patrolled the British Columbia coast during World War II. A few shipwrecks are discussed, such as the *Kaare II*, *Nanceda*, *Key West II*, the *Northview*, and others.

To sum up, this book will be of interest to all British Columbians, and not just the fishers themselves. It revived many pleasant memories in this reviewer, who as a youth, often went to the old Campbell Avenue fish dock in Vancouver to watch the catch being unloaded. When the halibut (some of which were quite huge) were cleaned of their heads, eager bystanders would scramble to cut the delicious meat out from the cheeks, the most tasty morsels. I also recall going aboard the little Japanese shrimp boats in order to pick up the leftover shrimp as bait with which to fish for cod around the docks. That era, long gone, is resurrected in this handsome book.

A. C. (Fred) Rogers
Qualicum Beach, British Columbia

Homer Stevens and Rolf Knight. *A Life in Fishing*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1992. 255 pp., photographs. \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55017-070-8.

This book succeeds in doing two useful but difficult things. It gives a clear picture of a complex West Coast industry and how 7000 workers and fishermen welded themselves into a strong, militant union. It also shows how an incorruptible but very knowledgeable man and his comrades made such an unlikely development possible.

The setting highlights some of the complexities: a long, rugged coastline, often with severe storms and currents; a huge variety of marine life, from giant halibut to tiny shrimp; ever-changing vessels and gear to capture and transport those creatures; a mish-mash of fishing seasons, defined both by natural law and man-made laws; the many ways of marketing the catch; and, of key importance, the ceaseless struggle to win a better standard of life from conservative employers and reactionary governments. It took years, for example, to obtain even such an elementary right as workers' compensation. Moreover, the industry itself, subject to federal and provincial jurisdictions, is not wholly in Canadian hands.

Raised in a family where fishing was the way of life, in a polyglot community located near the mouth of the Fraser River and influenced by the CCF (later the NDP) party, the thirteen-year old Homer Stevens took his leaky boat out to begin his career among men described by an uncle as "a bunch of Reds... but pretty good people." That was in 1936. Within ten years, Stevens had won the respect of his co-workers and had become well-versed in the ways that the fishing industry functioned. He was named as an organizer. He did much to help to bond such disparate groups as gill-netters, seiners, tendermen and cannery workers (mostly women) into a militant union determined to win better conditions. Some of these people had been driven unnaturally apart by court decisions that had the effect of defining some fishermen as "co-adventurers"

(i.e., small, independent businessmen) while others were declared "real" workers. Such rulings did not survive very long, clever ploys though they were.

A potentially more serious attack came with the anti-communist mania that swept into Canada from the United States in the early 1950s. Stevens had never concealed his political views, and became a prime target for the right wing, whose aim was to drive a wedge between the far left and the rest of the fishermen. Cool heads, steady hands and Stevens' sensible policies won the day. These were needed once again in 1967-68, when the union lost a major strike. When the union rejected an injunction to call off the strike, a court order imposed a fine on the union of \$107,000 and a year in jail for Stevens and union president Steve Stavenes for "contempt of court." Stevens and Stavenes served their sentences and the union survived. Finally, by the end of the 1980s, it was time for Stevens' retirement, though with no regrets and the strong conviction on Stevens' part that, given the chance, he would do it all again.

John Stanton
Calabogie, Ontario

Manuel do Carmo Gomes. *Predictions under Uncertainty: Fish Assemblages and Food Webs on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland*. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1993. xiii + 202 pp., tables, maps, figures, appendices, bibliography. \$24.95, paper; ISBN 0-919666-81-7.

The author chooses as an epigraph for this study the delightfully wise and witty remark attributed to King Alphonso X of Castile and Leon that "if the Almighty had consulted me before embarking on creation, I should have recommended something simpler." Given our own largely ineffectual efforts to comprehend the consequences of human exploitation upon the fertility, growth and abundance of particular members of multi-specied communities of marine animals, one might wish that King

Alphonso had been consulted. Since he was not, the necessity arises for books like this one that seek to answer certain very large questions that perennially plague fisheries managers who seek to comprehend the population dynamics of commercially important fish species and to make correct predictions touching stock size, allowable catches and the like.

To an appreciable degree this is a book for specialists; or, at any rate, for readers who will not be unduly alarmed by casual reference to such matters as multivariate analysis, community matrices, press perturbations, Monte Carlo methods, agglomerative algorithms of cluster analysis, and the like. That is to say, the true value of this book as a significant contribution to knowledge will be better appreciated by one having some knowledge of statistical mathematics than by one who has difficulty with the formula for solving a simple quadratic.

Nevertheless, even to the non-mathematical amateur who may have a modest interest in natural history, there is much here to capture the attention. There is, for example, the intriguing concept of "community studies" as applied to certain zoogeographic divisions of the Grand Bank each characterized by homogeneous groupings of species; and the equally intriguing question of whether such groupings indicate functional interdependence or merely common affinity for particular depths or particular conditions of oceanographic circulation. There is the absolutely fascinating matter of the complex of food webs that involve so many thousands of predator-prey interactions: and arising from this there is the critically important question for fisheries managers of the extent to which such interactions influence the growth rates and ultimate stock size of particular species. And lastly, there is the conclusion, almost stunning in its implications for those wishing to give the colour of scientific certainty to mathematical stock assessments, that accurate long term predictions are very difficult, if at all possible, because "we are usually uncertain

about what are the major determinants of species growth rates and because of natural variation in population parameters".

In the end we are left with the inference that, doomed to uncertainty, fisheries managers can do no better, at least for the present, than to choose an adaptive strategy for the making of predictions of stock size, allowable catches and the like. This simply means that there is no known best single species or systems model, but only ones that must be continuously reassessed and adapted to new knowledge, or new assumptions predicated upon the best knowledge available. And even if our biological knowledge were to be complete, this would still be true; since we would still be dealing with environmental variables responsive to natural forces that would be both uncontrollable and unpredictable.

This book then, does not give definitive answers; but it is a most valuable work for all that. For scientists and those fully initiated into the statistical mysteries it addresses a number of perennially thorny questions in a fresh and incisive fashion; for fisheries managers it is a valuable reminder of the healthy scepticism with which all existing mathematical models of ecosystem dynamics should be treated; For the general reader, it offers a fascinating glimpse into the fantastically intricate interactions of numerous species of marine life forms inhabiting the Grand Bank of Newfoundland.

Leslie Harris
St. John's, Newfoundland

Steven Katona, Valerie Rough and David Richardson. *A Field Guide to Whales, Porpoises and Seals from Cape Cod to Newfoundland*. 4th ed.; Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993. xix + 316 pp., maps, figures, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$15.95, paper; ISBN 1-56098-333-7.

This *Field Guide* will be a hit with the growing number of whale watchers and with any-

one with a general interest in marine mammals and who is lucky enough to live in or visit this region of high marine mammal diversity and abundance.

Whales and seals are described in comprehensive introductions which provide information on evolutionary history, basic body features and behavioral characteristics. The interactions between marine mammals and humans — whaling history, mortality due to fishing gear, increasing chemical pollution and the influence of expanding ship traffic on cetaceans — are also presented. Finally, more positive marine mammal/human interactions are encouraged by tips against sea sickness and hints for photographers who want to observe whales and seals.

Detailed descriptions of each species follow the introductions. These contain information on field marks, behaviour, reproductive data, population status and the best times for encountering the species in the different areas. Numerous pictures display species' typical characteristics and coloration, or certain types of behaviour. Moreover, Latin and, in some cases, common names are explained. A separate section introduces readers to three non-mammalian "bonus" species frequently encountered during whale- or seal-watching tours: the basking shark, the sunfish and the leatherback turtle.

The guide includes several useful appendices. One describes major prey species of marine mammals, such as herring or capelin. A second compiles whale and seal watching tours in North America, with addresses and details such as opening times and number of trips per day. The last appendix, an extensive bibliography, provides easy access to references for each species described in the guide. Films, videos and records are also listed.

Earlier editions of this book were already good. The new edition is improved again in several ways. Maps are graphically enhanced and new data on population levels and conservation are included. The number and quality of the photographs has increased considerably, making it much easier to visualize important

field marks. Finally, new data are included in the book. For instance, the bearded seal, a recent sighting in the area, has been added to the list of species described in the guide.

This field guide provides basic information on the biology of marine mammals in easily understood terms. It has the potential to turn a complete layman into somebody with sound knowledge of marine mammals. While it focuses on the area from Cape Cod to Newfoundland, it is valuable and helpful for anybody interested in marine mammals. It also provides essential information for successful and enjoyable whale and seal watching tours. The novice whale or seal watcher can become familiar with the field marks of the species in an effortless and pleasant way. To make the book more practical, a summary of the most important fieldmarks of each species at the end of the book would be helpful. The table of field marks for seals is one step in this direction. A brief section at the end of the book compiling the most obvious fieldmarks and illustrated by photographs for quick and easy reference would also make the book more valuable. Nevertheless, between two covers, it is the best comprehensive guide to marine mammals for the Northwest Atlantic.

Christoph Richter and Jon Lien
St. John's, Newfoundland

John Frye. *Los Otros: Columbus and the Three Who Made His Enterprise of the Indies Succeed*. Lewiston, NY & Queenston, ON: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992. vii + 117 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index. US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7734-9169-9.

In 1492 the monarchs of Spain, having agreed to support Columbus' Enterprise of the Indies, directed Martin Alonso Pinzon, an influential merchant and ship owner in the small Atlantic port of Palos, to discharge an obligation to them by supplying ships to Columbus. Possibly this imposition was to punish Martin Alonso for poaching in Portuguese territory and was intended to pacify King João of Portugal.

In any event, it does not follow, *pro forma*, that ships and men were readied because Isabel and Fernando ordered it. One Pinzonista believed the monarchs never expected the order to go beyond paper; it was common in the Spanish Empire for orders to be obeyed but not carried out. There were too many easy dodges, too many legitimate excuses for Pinzon to avoid or delay complying with the wishes of the monarchs.

However, in this instance Martin Alonso Pinzon complied because — for his own reasons — he believed in the enterprise. For years he had traded to the lands adjoining the Atlantic waters, led illegal trading ventures into Portuguese territory on the West African coast, and on several occasions become involved in skirmishes with the Portuguese, including the Four Years War. It is also alleged that on a trip to Italy he had visited the Vatican where he discussed with a knowledgeable friend the geography of the west Atlantic and returned from the Papal Library to Palos with charts of western seas and islands. In short, Martin Alonso not only believed in Columbus' vision, but also (in contrast to Columbus) was a man with a long and successful history in Palos: a man who knew the seamen, ship owners and carpenters of Palos, Moguer and Huelva; had led risky but successful money making trading expeditions. More to the point, he was a man who had debts to call in.

After preparations in Palos and on the epoch making voyage itself, Martin Alonso, who commanded the *Pinta*, remained a dominant figure. While he stood behind Columbus in the increasingly tense later stages of the voyage, he continually ran ahead and out of the control of the Captain-General in the enterprise of discovery. This irritated Columbus, who consequently had very little and nothing good to say about Martin Alonso. The two others who supported Columbus, the commander of the *Nina*, Vincent Yanez Pinzon, and Martin Alonso's younger brother and owner of the *Santa Maria*, Juan de la Costa, have much less substance in Frye's

account. Only later, after the 1492 voyage, do they emerge as important in the realm of discovery and map-making, and their role then is not directly connected with Columbus. The exception to this is that both the younger Pinzon and de la Costa are strongly defended in the incidents surrounding the grounding and break up of the *Santa Maria* off the north coast of Hispaniola on Christmas Eve 1492. Indeed, Frye's account of this wreck raises questions about Columbus' conduct as a commander of the *Santa Maria*.

John Frye's essay is short, imaginative, speculative, and stimulating. His emphasis on the nuts and bolts of the pre-voyage logistic support mounted in Palos is a fundamental and realistic note. In documenting the events which he imagines had to take place Frye necessarily has to turn to the *Pleitos*, the record of litigation between 1508 and 1564 in which the heirs of Columbus sought to secure their claims related to the discovery of America and in which the Pinzon heirs came forward with counter claims. Samuel Eliot Morison considered the testimony in these records as "self serving" and "rehearsed." However, the same reservations need be expressed about other key documentation for the period, namely Columbus' *Diario* and correspondence, which fail to address the supporting role of *Los Otros* and most often puts them in a highly unfavourable light. Frye does not prove his case but he clearly establishes that his case is important and does it while providing a good read with many imaginative critical insights.

David McGinnis
Calgary, Alberta

A. N. Porter (ed.). *The Atlas of British Overseas Expansion*. London: Routledge and New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991. x + 279 pp., maps, references and suggested reading, index. US \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-13-051988-X.

Designed primarily as an undergraduate teaching aid, Porter's atlas is meant to plug a

gap in the available literature. Arguing that a sense of place, distance and movement is particularly vital for students of imperial history, the editor notes the absence of readily accessible modern cartographical supports for the field. This handy volume is Porter's response. Thus, almost 140 maps, augmented by explanatory essays, are offered here at a relatively moderate price. Spanning the kaleidoscopic imperial experience in all its global complexity, the atlas moves chronologically from fifteenth-century Bristol through myriad phases of formal and informal empire-building to a snapshot of the Commonwealth after the Falklands War. Thematically, it keeps pace with recent trends in imperial historiography. Thus, it surveys the traditional empire of trade, politics and power, while also charting technological, demographic, urban and administrative dimensions of the imperial enterprise. In conception, therefore, this is a well-rounded, up-to-date and potentially valuable work. But is this self-imposed roving commission successfully executed? Opinions will vary.

Specialists, no doubt, will carp that their particular interests find no expression in the book. Yet, judged by any reasonable standard, the compilers deserve high praise not only for the number, but also for the variety and originality of the maps provided. Thus, but for Porter's efforts, we would search in vain for modern charts of British missionary endeavour round the globe. This said, however, it must also be noted that, with depth and range balanced against cost and availability, the market equation dictated the use of black and white cartography. While aesthetically disappointing, the time-honoured conventions of this style need entail no sacrifice of clarity when carefully employed. In this instance, however, a number of the maps require some refinements where intersecting diagonals or broken dashes crowd the page, confuse the eye and leave the reader asking for an adjustment of scale. Consider, for example, the rather too compact depiction of African exploration from 1856 to 1890 (p. 79) or the

"crabbed nebula" illustrating eighteenth-century Pacific voyages (pp. 58-9). As for principles of selection, one can heartily applaud the inclusion of city plans while questioning why Delhi appears but the commercially vital Bombay does not. Similarly, one wonders why Winnipeg is mapped while the older and strategically significant Halifax is neglected.

Considering the text, it is largely successful within the compass of its properly limited ambition. Supporting the maps, relevant passages are closely wedded with appropriate illustrations so that frequent page-turning is happily unnecessary. Expert contributors introduce contemporary debates briefly and point to further sources. Still, the text is rather too bald to serve all the needs of students who will need one of many standard surveys to supplement their reading.

Whether instructors will favour this atlas over Christopher Bayly's lush *Atlas of the British Empire* (Facts on File, 1989) remains to be seen. Where Porter's collection has range and depth, Bayly's offers a smaller number of beautifully executed, full-colour maps. In any event, libraries and collectors will want copies of both works; together they go a long way towards charting the physical realities of empire for the fledgling historian.

James G. Greenlee
Comer Brook, Newfoundland

A.G.E. Jones. *Polar Portraits: Collected Papers*. Whitby, UK: Caedmon of Whitby, 1992 [order from: Caedmon of Whitby, "Headlands," 128 Upgang Lane, Whitby, North Yorkshire YO21 3JJ]. 428 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, tables, index. £17.50, paper; ISBN 0-905355-37-7.

This eclectic miscellany is the product of a small English specialty publishing house. It reproduces fifty papers originally published in various specialty journals between 1950 and 1985. They were photocopied, not reset; this result in a lack of uniformity of type size and formatting, though this does not detract from

their inherent interest. Jones is the author of *Antarctica Observed* and *Ships Employed in the South Seas Trade* and has spent half a century mining neglected and obscure print sources, to unearth the stories of a variety of explorers. Rather than concentrating on major figures whose work has been exhaustively examined by others, he focuses on "the small unexamined fringes of the subject."

What follows will give some idea of the varied nature of the topics covered. "Second in Command: Armitage of the *Discovery*" describes the career of A. B. Armitage, who served with Scott's 1903 expedition. Like Ernest Shackleton, he was a merchant seaman rather than a naval officer, and it seems Scott was never perfectly comfortable with either of them for that reason. "Two Naval Medical Explorers" describes the careers of naval surgeons Edward Atkinson and Murray Levick. "John Biscoe's Voyage Around the World 1830-33" is well illustrated with maps and sketches by Roger Finch. "First into the Ross Sea" raises the possibility that Samuel Harvey in the barque *Venus* was the first to enter the Ross Sea, in 1831, not Sir James Clark Ross. "The Dangerous Voyage of Captain Thomas James 1631-32" is of particular Canadian interest; it describes the sufferings of men attempting to traverse the Northwest Passage. They overwintered in James Bay in improvised huts. Dr John Rae, who later discovered the fate of the Franklin expedition, visited the site in 1833, and his journal mentions the presence of huts, presumably those built by James and his party, two centuries earlier.

"Scott's Transport 1911-12," originally published in *Polarboken* in 1977, is a careful analysis of Scott's use of dogs, ponies, motor sledges and skis. Jones is a man of definite opinions, and shares the view of others, that Scott committed major errors of organization. Thus, Jones maintains that Scott had a nasty propensity to hurl blame for the expedition's failures in all directions except towards its leader, for Scott tended to "make up his mind in advance and was not prepared to change it in the light of events." While other explorers

found dogs extremely useful, it appears that Scott's sled-dogs died because they were underfed. The Siberian ponies were plucky enough but had problems keeping their footing in the soft snow, even when fitted with improvised snowshoes. Carsten Borchgrevinck had demonstrated the usefulness of skis in 1900, and of course skis enabled Amundsen's party to reach the pole first. Tryggve Gran, a Norwegian member of Scott's expedition, had purchased skis in Oslo, but Scott's ambivalence about their usefulness is revealed in his journal. The motor sledges were to a significant extent designed by Scott himself, but proved unsatisfactory in the Antarctic conditions. Jones argues that Scott's training in the machine shop in HMS *Vernon* gave him the self-confidence to tackle this technical matter, but his lack of practical experience in engineering resulted in his getting in over his head.

Ernest Shackleton's men had the greatest confidence in their leader. "Shackleton's Amazing Rescue 1916" describes the explorer's heroic trip across South Georgia to the whaling station at Stromness, and the saga of his four attempts to rescue the party left on Elephant Island.

In short, this collection of articles will fascinate all who are interested in polar exploration.

John H. Harland
Kelowna, British Columbia

Tom and Cordelia Stamp. *James Cook Maritime Scientist*. Whitby, UK: Caedmon of Whitby, 1978, reprinted 1993. xiv + 159 pp., illustrations, photographs, chronology, appendices, bibliography, index. £6,50, paper; ISBN 0-905355-04-0.

This compact narrative on the life of James Cook is a skilfully composed, smoothly written story meant to give us the man who was Cook all by himself, devoid of any outside distractions such as close associates or friends. Wherever possible the authors have attempted to accentuate Cook's uncanny worth

as a human being, seafarer, self-taught scientist and leader *par excellence*. They have made maximum use of their locale, inviting the reader to a fascinating "walkabout" through the areas of Great Ayton, Staithes and Whitby, all the time emphasizing the enormous influence these places and their residents must have had on young James. The Stamps clearly feel an immense pride in the relationship they share with Cook through their city of Whitby, Yorkshire.

It must be stated that no other book has been as complete as this one about James Cook's early years and thus a gap has been filled, and filled capably. Cook's father receives credit for being such a hard-working, God-fearing and humble man. The Stamps picture father and son on solitary walks along the trails surrounding Ayreholm Farm. Great ideas must have ripened in young James' mind, for such walks were never the wanderings of lesser spirits.

Young James learned to eat the coarsest of foods and ate it all, thus putting him on the path of an extraordinary digestion all his life. The Stamps believe that this would have offered Cook an early insight into scurvy, the bane of seamen before the nineteenth century and a sickness which Cook later took great pride in having defeated after thorough personal study, mainly from nature. It was indeed one of his greatest achievements.

The Stamps highlight Cook's emergence as a searching, knowledge-hungry, tireless youngster, who wished to rise at any price from an ordinary station in life to one of quiet, useful and above all blessed prominence. His Quaker upbringing, his fearless and persistent nature brought him good contacts and several benefactors of note who clearly recognized the youth's rich talents: Lord Stokkowe of Great Ayton, the Sandersons of Staithes, the Walkers of Whitby and later the Royal Navy Captains Palliser and Simcoe. Their trust stimulated Cook immensely. Thus, under the Walkers, Cook became seriously involved with shipping and navigation in particular, and his later choice of

exploration vessels was shaped by his early and proven knowledge of the flat-bottomed colliers (cats), so superbly built in the ship-yards of the small city "by the German Sea." He had sailed them for many years, he knew their sturdiness and great manoeuvrability.

As far as Cook's naval career is concerned the Stamps rely heavily — by their own admission — on the superb writings of Rev. George Young (1836). They cleverly lift "Cook the Man" out of the journals while smartly spelling off serious passages with witty quotes which are never boring. In the final pages the Stamps also explore Cook's credentials as a marine scientist. Here they should have considered elaborating on the presence of two famous shipmates, the botanist Joseph Banks and the naturalist Dr. Solander. Evaluation of their sterling work would have strengthened this discussion. Moreover, the journal references to events after Cook's arrival on the northwest coast of North America (Cape Flattery, March 1778) suddenly become incoherent and confusing.

Overall, the Stamps have turned out a very creditable book, painting the picture of Cook's youth, his growing years, his naval career, his incredible achievements, his horrendous death, very well indeed. They create the impression in the reader of having spent many hours in the presence of a majestic human being: the seaman's seaman. The book is therefore warmly recommended.

Hendrik (Hank) J. Barendregt
Langley, British Columbia

Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston (eds.). *From Maps to Metaphors: The Pacific World of George Vancouver*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993. viii + 355 pp., illustrations, maps. \$39.95, hard cover; ISBN 0-7748-0470-X

This is a collection of fourteen of the thirty five contributions to the 1992 Vancouver Conference on Exploration and Discovery. They cover a much broader subject range than the subtitle suggests. Five are about

Vancouver, five have no connection with him, while the rest fall between. Taken together, they provide a broad study of Pacific history, including the aboriginal history of the Canadian west coast.

On the Vancouver voyage we have papers by Andrew David on survey methods, Alun Davies on chronometers, Alan Frost on the political factors which led to Vancouver's voyage, W. Kaye Lamb on the Menzies journal, and Glyndwr Williams on theoretical geography. The technical papers by David and Davies reflect the usual competence of the authors and are particularly useful to those interested in how things were done. Frost's paper is a well-researched and thorough exposition of the convolutions of British trade and imperialism which gave the eighteenth century much of its Pacific political history. Frost insists that the first Nootka convention in 1790 established "British control over half a continent." (p.104) That convention stopped war preparations but it settled nothing. Under the third convention in 1794, it was agreed that neither Britain nor Spain would set up a permanent establishment or claim any right of sovereignty. The Lamb and Williams papers cast light on their respective subjects; the editors were wise to include them.

Aboriginal history and culture are the subjects of papers by Christon Archer on the manipulation of the natives by the Spanish, Yvonne Marshall on the interrelationships among the native communities, the late Indian historian Louis Miranda on the first contact of the Squamish nation with Vancouver, and Victoria Wyatt on the reflection of white contact in Indian art. Archer summarizes the history of Spanish expeditions to the Northwest Coast, then describes the volatile relationship between the Spanish at the Nootka outpost and the Mowachaht. He shows how the Spanish manipulated the Indians to gain their support in the Nootka dispute with Britain, and how Maquinna in turn manipulated the Spanish and others to gain control of the lucrative sea otter trade. The score was: Maquinna 1, Spain 0. Marshall makes a brave

attempt to sort out family and political relationships among the Indian communities in the eighteenth century. All she has to go on are the Eurocentric observations of white reporters. European alliances were expressed in dynastic marriages, and the reporters tried to fit their observations into such a pattern. The confederacy Marshall postulates probably did not exist; Archer describes the continual but fluctuating feuds between the various bands. The question of the Eurocentric observer is explored by Howe, whose paper we shall come to.

There is obviously nothing Eurocentric in Miranda's paper, presented by Chief Philip Joe. It reflects the pride of his nation, the goodwill his people so often express towards the whites of our day, and the recognition that both groups will and must live together in the future. Native oral history is valuable, and can be reliable in a number of cases. But as a friendly word of caution to Chief Joe, I would point out that some of the stories are highly portable. Vancouver did not meet his ancestors at Squamish in an island with skeleton trees stretching skyward; he came in a ship's boat. Also, the paper gives Nanaimo as the setting for the story of Indians believing that white men had wooden feet. My first encounter with the story was among the Nuu-chah-nulth on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

It is impossible to give adequate space in this review to fourteen presentations. I can only mention Wyatt's analysis of the reflections of white themes in Indian art in the nineteenth century, which does not do her justice. This leaves us with the broad Pacific, with treatments by Ben Finney on Cook's discovery of Polynesia, James Gibson on Russian exploration, K.D. Howe on the intellectual discovery of Polynesia, David Mackay on *Terra Australis*, and Anne Salmond on the abduction of two Maoris to Norfolk Island, where they were treated as honoured guests and returned to their home when it was learned that they did not know how to dress flax. The two related topics of Finney and Howe make a number of valid points. Finney

shows how Cook discerned the linguistic and cultural similarities within the Polynesian triangle, which the aboriginal people did not know of themselves, and which many whites did not believe. Howe, as mentioned, develops the theme of Europeans trying to make native Polynesian societies fit a familiar pattern. They had to be like the Greeks, or someone; they could not be just Polynesians. Gibson reminds us of the Russian presence in the Pacific, and explains why they appeared to outsiders as dilatory. Mackay, in similar vein to Finney and Howe, describes how the received wisdom of the existence of a vast southern continent influenced exploration and politics in the Pacific, but in my view he carries his own *Burden of Terra Australis* (his title) in trying to make his case that explorers and even fur traders until 1840 were always seeking the image of that presumed continent.

It is gratifying to see a good book well printed and bound, this one to the design of George Vaitkunas.

John Kendrick
Vancouver, British Columbia

Robert L. Richards. *Dr. John Rae*. Whitby: Caedmon of Whitby, 1985 [128, Uppang Lane, Whitby, North Yorkshire, YO21 3JJ, England], xxii + 231 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. £10.50 (+£1 shipping), paper; ISBN 0-905355-29-6.

Ian Bunyan, Jenni Calder, Dale Idiens, and Bryce Wilson. *No Ordinary Journey: John Rae, Arctic Explorer 1813-1893*. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland and Kingston & Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993. x + 116 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, appendices. \$42.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-1106-7 (in Scotland, 0-948636-39-4). \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-7735-1107-5 (in Scotland, 0-948636-38-6).

In August 1993 an international expedition announced it was planning to recover the remains of a thirty-foot keel with ribs

attached from a site on Prince of Wales Land in the Canadian arctic. The find reported by a local Inuit is believed to be connected with Sir John Franklin's ill-fated last voyage. By coincidence that year also marked the centenary of the death of John Rae who, in 1854, also as a result of Inuit contacts, was the first person to provide definite evidence that misfortune had befallen the crews of HMS *Erebus* and *Terror* several years earlier.

Initially Rae signed on in 1833 as a ship's surgeon for a round trip to Hudson Bay. Later he became a full-time member of staff with the Hudson's Bay Company in whose service he travelled extensively in northern latitudes. Between 1844 and 1854 he is recorded as having journeyed 6,555 miles on foot, 6,700 miles by boat and in the course of four expeditions surveyed 1,765 miles of hitherto unmapped land and coastline.

To Rae these were "ordinary journeys" conducted in the normal course of his employment. Unlike the formal well-equipped expeditions mounted by the Royal Navy in its quest to find the north west passage, Rae relied on small teams comprised of one or two Europeans and half-breed Indians supported by Inuit interpreters which lived off the land, and at times wintered in snow houses. Despite their lack of fresh vegetables, unlike their naval counterparts, rarely did they suffer from scurvy.

The late Dr. Richards produced a very readable account of Rae's life and the controversies that subsequently may have been responsible for him not receiving the recognition in his lifetime to which he felt entitled. Dismissed as a "fur trader" he was denied the knighthood that others enjoyed for less effort. Honoured by the Royal Geographical Society where he lectured on his work and a regular contributor to scientific journals on aspects of polar flora and fauna Rae nevertheless antagonised an influential element of The Establishment — the Admiralty. Frequently he was critical of what he regarded as the spendthrift manner in which the Board approached polar exploration, having himself demon-

strated how much could be achieved by travelling light and living off the land. Rae abhorred the reliance placed on tents, heavy clothing and conventional stores to say nothing of the rigid discipline that he considered had no place when combatting nature. Furthermore Rae was the subject of ill-informed criticism because he did not personally follow up the information supplied to him by Inuit regarding the final resting place of Franklin's men. As Richards shows this emanated from armchair critics with no idea of true circumstances and the naval lobby jealous that despite so much effort the Royal Navy had failed to achieve its objective.

To celebrate Rae's assured place in the history of Arctic exploration the National Museums of Scotland has issued a commemorative volume, *No Ordinary Journey*, to accompany exhibitions arranged by NMS and the Orkney Museum Service to mark his life and achievements. A similar display is on show in Canada. Within the limited space available the authors afford the reader a comprehensive picture of the efforts made in the nineteenth century to survey and map Canada's northern frontier. What makes the book outstanding is the choice and quality of its illustrations. All too often original prints are reproduced in sombre black and white but here, to take one example, a well known lithograph of HMS *Investigator* trapped in pack ice is stunning in its original colour. There are many more including colour reproductions placed alongside modern photographs of the same sites, all adding to the enjoyment of the work. A series of maps, albeit of a small scale, are of high quality with the routes of various expeditions picked out in colour.

A minor quibble is the incorrect statement that the recently married Sir James Clark Ross declined to accept the leadership of the expedition, subsequently lead by Franklin, because he was still fatigued after his successful voyage to Antarctica. In fact, he refused because he had given his father-in-law an undertaking not to engage in further hazardous exploration. In the event, as a matter

of honour, he did return to the Arctic in command of one of the parties sent to search for his colleague. Although most of the authoritative works about the Franklin expedition are out of print it is also to be regretted that the authors failed to provide a reading list for those who will be encouraged by this book to learn more about this important period in the history of the opening up of northern Canada.

Each book is recommended in its own right but taken together they make a major contribution towards the rehabilitation of John Rae and the part he played in the course of his twenty-three years with the Hudson's Bay Company to bring to a wider public the way of life and culture of the Inuit, a people he admired and who in return respected him.

Norman Hurst
Coulson, Surrey

Trevor H. Levere. *Science and the Canadian Arctic; A Century of Exploration, 1818-1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. xiv + 438 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs, index. US \$64.95, cloth; ISBN 0-521-41933-6.

Science and the Canadian Arctic is a history of scientific exploration, from John Ross to Vilhjalmur Stefansson, in what is now the Canadian Arctic. Yet it is no earnest plod down the decades, with one expedition after another remorselessly ticked off. Levere does cover a lot of expeditions, concentrating on the scientific ones, so that, for example, Sir John Richardson is given a welcome amount of space and Peary is barely mentioned. Yet the book is far from being a duty read.

The book has a certain Victorian amplitude; Levere paints on a broad canvas but he is always willing to pause for the vivid quotation and the moving or humorous anecdote. Like a Victorian novel, in fact, *Science and the Canadian Arctic* gains its dramatic force from its emphasis on relationships: between organizations such as the Royal Society, the Admiralty and the Hudson's Bay Company;

between the theory and the practice of science; between the professionals and the amateurs; between the circumpolar nations; between science and empire (science and sovereignty, in modern terms); between scientists and their instruments.

Indeed, scientific instruments seem to be a particular interest of Levere's. His lucid exposition of these instruments and their purposes and of the continual refinements in their design and manufacture will be very welcome to those of us accustomed to thinking of their role in Arctic exploration as no more than bewildering bits of baggage that tended to get smashed or freeze to people's fingers. The author's emphasis on scientific instruments is not just the riding of a hobby-horse. As he reminds us, the Baconian belief in the value of observation is central to modern science; science would be greatly impoverished, were it limited to what can be observed by our un-amplified senses. Levere's emphasis on relationships gives his book a liveliness and complexity which enables readers to enter imaginatively into his view of the sciences as "an enterprise impossible to complete," (p. 241) in which "whether it be through refining or extending past observations, or moving to new questions requiring new data, scientists will always be engaged in an unfinished quest." (p. 426) The book is about one century of the "unfinished quest" in one part of the world, yet it provides the layperson with a new understanding of the scientific enterprise in general — an enterprise certainly noble and at times heroic, yet conducted by men with differing motives and capacities in response to personal, cultural and political imperatives.

The book also offers a new view of Arctic history to set beside the traditional one with its bias towards the heroic and what might be called the post-modern one, in which the heroes become fools. It is refreshing to see them instead as men of science.

While *Science and the Canadian Arctic* is in general an impressive display of wide and well-integrated scholarship, it has to be said that Levere is not as at home with the history

of the Hudson's Bay Company as he is with the rest of his material. This shows in small ways, which I will refrain from pointing out specifically and, more importantly, in what seemed to me his difficulty in fitting the Company into the whole structure of the book as deftly as he does all its other components. Thus, when he discusses the Royal Society and seventeenth-century science and exploration, I kept expecting the Company (founded in 1670 and with close links to the Society) to appear. Instead, the connection between the Company and the Society is not actually mentioned, and only briefly, at that, (p.191)

I mention this not to criticize Levere, who has done his best with an unfamiliar field and who has made good use of the recent work by Debra Lindsay on the Company and the Smithsonian, but, strange as it may seem, to praise him. The history of the Hudson's Bay Company is a major part of our national history, yet it has tended to remain isolated almost as a form of regional history. Scholars brave enough to drag it into the mainstream are to be congratulated.

The book is interestingly and copiously illustrated, and the map printed on the inside cover is an optician's delight. It is a pity that there is no bibliography to gather together Levere's wide reading in a convenient form.

Anne Morton
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Hervé Coutau-Bégarie (éd.). *L'Évolution de la Pensée Navale III*. Paris: Centre d'analyse politique comparée, 1993 [order from: Fondation pour les études de défense nationale, Hôtel National des Invalides, 75007 Paris]. 231 pp., illustrations, tables. 100 FFr, paper; ISSN 0291-4654.

The object of this book, like the series of which it forms a part, is "to break with a single vision [of naval thought] dominated by only Anglo-Saxon authors" and bring to light the work of lesser known thinkers of other nations. This volume features extended essays

on the Roman Empire, eighteenth-century France, Italy in the nineteenth century, Russia in the twentieth century, and Argentina. There is also a translation of an article on tactical command by S.O. Makarov, the brilliant Russian admiral killed in the Russo-Japanese war, ably interpreted by Canada's David R. Jones, and a previously unpublished study of French tactical treatises of the eighteenth and nineteenth century written by Admiral Gabriel Darrieus in 1910.

The emphasis in these essays is on extensive quotation from the thinkers, and bibliography. This is, in the words of the editor, an "Archaeology of Naval Thought," an assembly "of materials for history to be written." (p.7) He is too modest. There is plenty of analysis, not least in the editor's own helpful introduction. Especially prominent is the effort to rescue the French theorists of the eighteenth century from Raoul Castex's enduring denunciation of them in 1911 as ivory tower geometers whose obsession with symmetrical manoeuvres ignored the ultimate importance of combat. The essays by Hubert Granier and François Caron suggest that Castex took the writers out of the context of the times: the enormous difficulties of effectively controlling fleets of sail, and the frequent need, given the disadvantage at which France usually fought at sea, to manoeuvre adroitly to avoid superior forces. Yet the authors admit that Castex was partly right. The point is driven home by exaggeration to the opposite extreme in Admiral Darrieus' study, which inflated the eighteenth century authors' references to aggressive, big-ship squadron warfare to promote a Mahanian policy for France.

Also analytical is Jurgen Rohwer's presentation of sources from recently opened Russian archives on the Soviet swings in 1921-41 from a big-ship, Blue Water policy, to small ship coast defence and back to big ships. The result, as Rohwer demonstrates in fresh detail, was that Mahanian elements of Tsarist policy, together with some prominent veterans of the Imperial fleet and their protégés, endured the shifts and purges to win renewed influence on

the eve of World War II.

Successful as the volume is in highlighting little known writers outside of the "Anglo-Saxon" sphere, its greater achievement is to show that these thinkers were engaged in an international dialogue in which the British and Americans had a prominent place. There is material that suggests the mutual influence of the French genius for naval science and theory and the British gift for practice in the eighteenth century. Mahan's global impact and the interplay of his ideas with the *Jeune Ecole* is well documented, as are the common threads with which most of the thinkers featured in these essays grappled: how best to adopt changing technology in the face of the particular geographic, political and economic circumstances of each nation. In this connection, I hope that the editor does not see the "Anglo-Saxons" as too much of a monolith. The essays on Italy and Argentina, two smaller powers with long coastlines, evoked the experience of Canada, Australia and New Zealand since 1870, as the effectiveness of British protection and the usefulness of Admiralty advice came into question.

Jean Pages, who translated five of the essays, is to be congratulated. The published texts are in a clear French that, in its flashes of irony and humour, undoubtedly captures the spirit of the original languages.

Roger Sarty
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John B. Hattendorf, R.J.B. Knight, A.W.H. Pearsall, N.A.M. Rodger and Geoffrey Till (eds.). *British Naval Documents 1204-1960*. Aldershot, Hants, and Brookfield, VT: Scolar Press for the Navy Records Society, 1993. xviii + 1192 pp., frontispiece, maps, abbreviations, glossary, list of sources, bibliography, indices. US \$109.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85967-947-0.

This is the centenary volume of the Navy Records Society. The aim of the editors was to produce a representative yet comprehensive

collection of documents on the development of British naval history which would serve both as an introduction to the beginner and as a basis for further enquiry by the more expert.

The clever organization of the volume, the careful selection of its contents and its very professional execution make this a most useful and valuable contribution to the history of British seapower. The volume is organized in seven chronological parts, each with a general introduction and extensive reference notes to the most critical and recent sources. In turn, each part is divided into five themes (Policy and Strategy; Tactics and Operations; Administration; Material and Weapons; and Personnel) with an overview and edited primary sources. For instance, Part V examines major developments in the Royal Navy during the period 1714-1815, with documents arranged according to the five themes. The editors have successfully overcome the challenge to flow and continuity, producing a functional resource for all levels of interest and experience. The breadth of subjects addressed by the documents also satisfies the eclectic requirements of "new" military history enthusiasts.

Enhancing *British Naval Documents 1204-1960* is a List of Sources which identifies the location and file information of the 535 documents quoted. Also included is an extensive glossary of nautical words and phrases found throughout the documents, an essential addendum to a work covering seven centuries with many changes and variations in naval and nautical terminology. Equally important and useful is the comprehensive Subject Index, where entries are dated as well as cross-referenced for ease of finding.

The theme that emerges out of the documents is the adaption of the British navy as an instrument of national policy to constantly changing internal and external circumstances: political, economic, social, and technical. A naval organization existed prior to 1204 but the editors cite the dearth of documentation as the reason for beginning at that date. Early sources such as "Libelle of Englyshe Polycye"

(ca 1436) suggest that the British navy evolved from the threefold need to keep the kingdom secure, encourage trade, and command the "Narrow Seas." The documents develop this theme beginning with England's early competition with France, which provided the stimulus to develop sea-power, through to World War II. The evolution from a small island state to the world's preeminent maritime power and then decline was both a challenging and difficult process where cost and complexity increased with the march of responsibility and technology. The editors have achieved excellent balance in selecting documents to represent this history.

The great appeal of *British Naval Documents 1204-1960* is that it presents the contemporary viewpoint of persons at all levels involved with the entire spectrum of day to day as well as long term problems concerned with building and maintaining Britain's naval power. The volume explores with equal diligence the failures and successes, defeats as well as victories. The organization enables the generalist to follow an overview while the specialist can trace specific developments chronologically in pertinent sections through the successive parts. For example, under the Personnel heading the perennial problem of fleet manning can be traced from 1315 in documents citing a shortage of archers to 1888 when armourers for new weaponry was the problem. Similarly, the subjects of enlistment, conditions of service, discipline and impressment could be examined in the personal letters and official papers presented.

British Naval Documents 1204-1960 is a scholarly and exceptionally well executed historical reference work with wide appeal in the long tradition of excellence of the Navy Records Society. While expensive, it represents an excellent investment in a book of enduring value that serious students of British naval history and university libraries should not be without.

Wilf Lund
Victoria, British Columbia

Richard Harding. *Amphibious Warfare in the Eighteenth Century: The British Expedition to the West Indies, 1740-1742*. Royal Historical Society Studies in History, No. 62; Woodbridge, UK and Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, for the Royal Historical Society 1991. x + 248 pp., illustrations, appendices (tables, maps), select bibliography, index. £35, US \$70, cloth; ISBN 0-86193-218-8.

"Gripping" is an adjective seldom used to describe a book with maps but no pictures and, on average, with three or four footnotes per page. Yet it is a fair description of this study of amphibious warfare based on the failed British expedition to the West Indies in the 1740s. Derived from the author's 1985 PhD thesis for London University, the book examines four subjects: the political decision to declare war on Spain in 1739, the expedition to Cartagena; following that failure, the attempts on Guantanamo and Panama, and finally the place of amphibious warfare within a larger general strategic appreciation of war.

In discussing the move to war and the circumstances and action of the West Indies expedition, Harding directly challenges many of the accepted conclusions relating to those events. He notes that the hitherto accepted accounts have been based largely on the pioneering work of Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, *The Navy in the War of 1739-48*, which was published in 1920. Harding points out that this work was in fact completed before 1914 and was shaped within the context of the then-current debate of the role of the navy within imperial defence and of the need for naval reform. Harding maintains that Richmond's "didactic approach to history can no longer be accepted." (p.13) Harding also acknowledges the difficulties under which Richmond worked, by comparison with the modern researcher. Today there is much greater access to the collections of the Public Record Office, many private collections are more readily available, and travel to other archives is both more common and much easier. Harding's broadly based research

conclusively shows that "the sources upon which historians have usually relied for descriptions of the expeditions of 1740-42 are extremely unreliable and consequently the conclusions drawn from them are misleading." (p. 150) The principal difficulty is that Vernon's account, which was the basis of many analyses, including both Richmond's as well as Basil Williams' interpretation of the political events of the period, was highly selective and omitted anything which reflected credit on Major General Wentworth, the army commander, or discredit upon himself. Vernon is also responsible for the belief that the political leaders were vacillating and not equal to the task of organizing the expedition properly. Harding raises the standard of the historiography of this campaign to new levels, as had Richmond's in his day and which Harding has now replaced. Harding's direct writing style with which he presents his new material gives the narrative that gripping quality which compels one to read on.

The last chapter offers a stimulating discussion of the place of amphibious warfare within the larger framework of war in the eighteenth century. Harding reviews the developments of fortifications that Vernon did not recognize and which contributed to the West Indies failure. He also explores the relationship between the army and the navy in amphibious operations, by which he means operations where the army remains dependent on the sea for its support. Harding argues that the organization of the West Indies expedition remained the basis for future planning, concluding that it was not the plan that failed but the individuals, and possibly the command structure. What was clearly necessary was an understanding by one of the service commanders of the other's difficulties and problems, and an ability to work with another service. None of this was in evidence in the West Indies expedition. Indeed, amphibious operations were probably more complicated than was properly understood at the time. In that context, Harding's suggestion, that "in the eighteenth century unified command was

unnecessary and dangerous" (p. 165) is fair. However, the implication that it is acceptable in the post-industrial age, without elaborating improved staff procedures and better understanding of other services, is less sound.

In sum, Harding's work offers not only an indispensable account of the West Indies expedition but also an important contribution to the history and discussion of amphibious warfare. It is unfortunate that this book will probably be limited to library collections. Only price precludes the recommendation, "mandatory for all eighteenth-century and military historians."

William Glover
Nepean, Ontario

Marjorie Hubbell Gibson. *H.M.S. Somerset, 1746-1778: The Life and Times of an Eighteenth Century British Man-O-War and her Impact on North America*. Cotuit, MA: Abbey Gate House, 1992 [order from the author at: Box 1404 Cotuit, MA 02635]. 252 pp. illustrations. US \$19 plus shipping; available to universities, libraries, museums and bookshops at US \$12 plus shipping.

This is a small yet important contribution to the maritime history of North America and British naval history. The *Somerset* had a busy career in the east coast waters of North America, playing a role in British blockade and amphibious operations during the Seven Years' War and the War of the American Revolution. She was laid down in Chatham in 1746, and her construction and armament is discussed in this book. The author weaves a social and political context into the account, and explains why the *Somerset* was sent to North America and to the Mediterranean. She has also researched painstakingly the construction and modification of this 3rd-rate, 64-gun vessel, thereby adding to our understanding of the history of shipbuilding in this era. Her sources are principally the relevant Admiralty records and Massachusetts State Archives documents.

As with HMS *Warspite* of yesteryear, HMS *Somerset* always seemed to be in or near the action. She patrolled off Louisbourg in Boscawen's fleet, chasing unknown ships of the French fleet, and she entered Louisbourg harbour with the victorious British squadron. In 1759 she worked her way up the St. Lawrence to the Isle of Coudres, and later came to the river narrows at Quebec at the time of the French surrender. A quiet and varied time followed, and in the 1770s the *Somerset* again saw particular service. In April 1775 she played important relief work for the British army exhausted after the Battles of Lexington and Concord. In November 1779 she was wrecked on Cape Cod during a storm, and has been the subject of an interesting salvage history.

As a line of historical work, writing ship history is a significant calling. New insight is gained about finance and construction, armament and stores, instructions and missions, etc. The story of the *Somerset* was well worth recovering from the dusty files. Not least in importance it will contribute better to our understanding of the problems of British men-of-war operating in these difficult waters.

Barry Gough
Waterloo, Ontario

Christopher D. Hall. *British Strategy in the Napoleonic War 1803-1815*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1992. xiii + 239 pp., maps, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$59.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7190-3606-2. Distributed in Canada and the USA by St. Martin's Press, New York.

The opening chapters of this book address particular themes — manpower, money, politics, strategic options — which form the background for those which examine the responses of ministries from Addington to Liverpool. For Hall the heroes of these years are not the military commanders, but the neglected politicians who planned the strategy and provided the means to achieve success. He describes

the pressures and constraints under which they operated and argues they have been unjustly blamed for mistakes not of their making, in events frequently out of their control. Britain's imperial commitments, dependence on trade, limited population and resources are clearly explained and every advantage Britain enjoyed matched by its corresponding disadvantage. He examines the problems facing Cabinets, in making vital decisions with inadequate information, using Foreign Office archives and ministers' private papers, to illustrate Britain's difficulties, in persuading European powers that their interests and those of Britain agreed, or in coping with rivalries which threatened joint operations. Hall is equally at home in tracing domestic constraints, the lack of resources and, a vital factor in this period, the force of patronage and political influence in the appointment of commanders. Nor does he ignore the crucial factor of logistics when considering the effectiveness of operations or commenting on Cabinet plans. All this is expertly done and very readable.

Thus, although Napoleon was not totally prepared for war in 1803, his invasion plans still posed a real threat to Britain, preventing overseas expeditions and concentrating resources on home defence. Addington's seeming strategic lethargy is thus convincingly explained. Hall redeems that undramatic minister from earlier charges of inefficiency and claims that his government laid the foundations on which Pitt built the Third Coalition. For Pitt's strategy, on returning to office in 1804, underwent a change from that of the 1790s. The emphasis was no longer on the capture of French colonies. British resources were now too stretched to conquer and garrison Caribbean islands. Rather, Pitt's efforts were directed to the formation of a coalition against French hegemony. The great importance placed on this is illustrated by his willingness, in the last resort, to surrender Malta to secure a Russian alliance. Pitt's failure prompted his immediate successors to pursue more purely British interests. Yet it was only

by defeating Napoleon in Europe and on land that the war could be won. Portland, Perceval and Liverpool, Pitt's true successors, recognised this strategy and from 1808 committed Britain to it. So the elimination of remaining French bases, in the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean, by 1810, initiated no change in a European-centred strategy. It was prompted by enemy preoccupations elsewhere and carried out by forces as small as was compatible with success. Britain's major thrust was in Spain, yet the importance of the Western Mediterranean and the Baltic could not be ignored and domestic and imperial defence still needed to be taken into account.

While there is little that is new in Hall's material, or in parts of his interpretation, he presents his argument cogently and clearly. He considers the judgements of some earlier historians as too facile or uninformed or prejudiced — for example, in taking Wellington's complaints of shortages in the Peninsular too literally — quoting supportive documentary evidence to prove his case while trying, himself, not to fall into the trap of judging from hindsight. This is a salutary test for any historian and Dr. Hall passes it. There is little mention here of the effects of economic warfare on the later stages of the war, and a conclusion which discussed this would have been appropriate, since the book ends abruptly. The appendices are interesting, though comparative figures for other years, if available, would have made them more useful. But an admirable range of sources is listed in the comprehensive bibliography and the book is a notable addition to the series "War, Armed Forces and Society." Hall makes the tangled strategic options as exciting to read about as the battles which formed part of them and places the maritime history of the period in a wider context which will prove valuable to the professional historian and the general reader.

P.K. Crimmin
Englefield Green, Surrey, England

Barbara A. Lynch and John E. Vajda (rev.). *United States Naval History: A Bibliography*. 7th ed., Naval History Bibliographies, No. 1; Washington: Naval Historical Center, 1993. viii + 173 pp., index. US \$6.50, paper; ISBN 0-945274-12-2.

This is a revision of the sixth edition, issued in 1972. It is not a comprehensive bibliography of US naval history, nor does it pretend to be. As Dean Allard, Director of Naval History for the US, points out in his foreword, this is a selective bibliography that strives to present major works in the field, journal articles as well as monographs, anthologies and other bibliographies. The selection was not limited to works specifically on the US Navy but includes works in others fields, such as British or Japanese naval history, and general campaign — i.e., largely army — histories, that have something substantial to say about the American naval experience. The revision includes not only new works since 1972, but also some additions of earlier works omitted in the previous edition. All of the references are from open and, for the most part, easily accessible sources.

The bibliography is organized in a combination of chronology and theme. It begins with general works and chronologies, followed by pictorial histories. Most listings fall under two broad headings, Naval History by Period, starting with the American Revolution and finishing in 1991, and Special Subjects. The naval history entries are, in rum, subdivided into thematic headings. World War II, for example, contains listings for general works, Atlantic and Pacific theatres and biography. Titles which fall into more than one category are repeated where appropriate. The volume ends with sections on US Coast Guard history, biographies, biographical listings and registers, periodicals, bibliographies and research aids, and an author index.

The bibliography also indicates clearly where the interest of American scholars lies. Not surprisingly, the sections on the Revolution and the War of 1812, the Civil War and

World War II are the largest. Non-American works do creep into these sections, but they tend to be familiar stalwarts. Canadians will find the late Admiral H.F. Pullen's *The Shannon and the Chesapeake*, published in 1970, in the War of 1812 section. Yet it seems that those who have toiled on the War of 1812 on this side of the border since 1970 have done so in obscurity. So, too, have historians of twentieth century naval history. This is particularly noticeable in the World War II Atlantic section, an area in which recent Canadian publishing has added greatly to our understanding of a common campaign: there is, after all, an Atlantic coastline north of Maine. This is, perhaps, more by way of observation than criticism: all collections involve choice, and the focus here is evident.

A rather more interesting aspect — for this reviewer at least — of one section is what it says about American interest in the Battle of the Atlantic. In a 173-page bibliography, the Atlantic section runs to just short of two pages, and much of that could be described as "filler." In addition to various British and German monographs, the section lists Carlo D'Este's three excellent campaign histories of Sicily, Anzio and Normandy. These have much to say about the nature of amphibious warfare, but they could hardly be counted as naval histories. In the end only four (Abbazia, Gannon, Gibson and Waters) of the twenty-one titles listed in this section actually deal with the US Navy in the Atlantic war. S.E. Morison's two volumes on the Atlantic from his larger study of the US Navy during the war are, it is true, listed under general works on World War II. But the poverty of that section speaks volumes for the American neglect of their Atlantic war. The Pacific section, in contrast, runs to eight pages and is filled with substantive monographs.

No doubt scholars in other fields will find points of contention and interest in the selections and strengths evident here, but such is the fate of any bibliography. They are both references and documents in themselves. They are also, like this one, a very useful research

tool: though not the final word, it is an excellent place to start.

Marc Milner
Fredericton, New Brunswick

Spencer C. Tucker. *The Jeffersonian Gunboat Navy*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993. xv + 265 pp., figures, tables, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87249-849-2. Distributed in Canada by Scholarly Book Services, Toronto, ON.

In this interesting and comprehensive work, Professor Spencer Tucker offers the first detailed examination of the infamous gunboat navy constructed by the United States during the period 1801-1812. In a move that has often been criticised by "blue water" naval historians, the American government built, in preference to larger ocean-going warships, some one hundred and seventy small gunboats, each equipped with one or two large-calibre long guns, to guard the coastal and interior waters of the United States.

Tucker delineates the political origins of the Jeffersonian gunboat programmes, provides an analysis and discussion of the construction, equipment and armament of this early nineteenth-century "mosquito fleet," and records its service during the War of 1812. He notes that gunboats were not new craft in American service. The United States had in fact employed them since the Revolutionary War. Indeed, in North America, both France and Great Britain made frequent use of this type of warship during the colonial struggles of the early and middle eighteenth century. Tucker discusses both the positive and negative aspects of the gunboat policy and attributes the programme to Jefferson's awareness that the young republic was unwilling to support a stronger, ocean-going navy.

The excellent technical discussion of these "wretched" little craft is enhanced by good illustrations, line drafts and plans of the vessels' interiors; a separate appendix sum-

marizes each vessel's service record.

But this book is far more than a guide for model ship builders. Tucker discusses in detail the difficult service on board these small vessels and the problems this created for commanders. Dissatisfaction led to a more frequent rate of desertion from the gunboat navy than from larger American warships, and it is an irony that some deserters from the Royal Navy who joined the US Navy hoping to obtain a better quality of life, tried to desert back after serving on board these cramped coastal craft. Tucker discusses the careers of those (very few) American naval officers who gained distinction in the gunboat service and points out that, no matter what their professional opinion, most of the American naval commanders who gained prominence during the War of 1812 experienced at least one stretch in the gunboat navy.

Tucker provides a yeoman service for students of the War of 1812, for he devotes six chapters to the service of the gunboat navy during that war — one for each major theatre. Naval historians of that conflict — notably William James, Alfred Thayer Mahan, and Theodore Roosevelt — usually overlooked or gave short shrift to the doings of these small vessels. Jefferson's little warships served everywhere during the war, from Lake Ontario to the Gulf of Mexico, and it is Tucker's fundamental conclusion that, with the exception of the Gulf, they were too small to be effective.

Based on hitherto unexamined primary sources, particularly from the National Archives, *The Jeffersonian Gunboat Navy* is a work of first-class scholarship that will appeal to many American and Canadian readers — from those interested in the construction of small sailing warships to academic historians. It is written in a clear style that is, thankfully, largely free of jargon, and it advances our knowledge of an overlooked chapter in the naval history of this continent.

Donald E. Graves
Ottawa, Ontario

George E. Buker. *Blockaders, Refugees, & Contrabands: Civil War on Florida's Gulf Coast, 1861-1865*. Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1993. ix + 236 pp., photographs, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8173-0682-X.

With more scholarly attention currently being focused on the naval aspects of the Civil War, the forgotten — or neglected — story of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron has now become available thanks to George E. Buker and the University of Alabama Press.

Buker, a retired naval officer, author of histories of Jacksonville and St. Augustine and professor emeritus of history at Jacksonville University, has carefully examined the record of the Squadron, assigned to the relatively uninhabited Florida coast from St. Andrew Bay on the west to Cape Florida on the east, concluding it was "the most neglected of the blockade squadrons by the federal government." Nevertheless, he argues, while engaging in no major actions, it performed stellar service for the Union and became a significant thorn in the side of the Confederate war effort.

The Florida Gulf Coast area harboured a sizeable number of Southern refugees from Confederate policies (especially disaffected conscripts), Union sympathizers (or at least non-sympathizers with the Confederacy), deserters and contrabands (runaway slaves) who made contact with and received aid from the Union blockaders. As a result, anti-Confederate guerrilla forces were formed; valuable salt works were put out of commission; and south Florida cattle herds were denied to the Confederates, who had become hard pressed for beef after the Federals seized control of the Mississippi in 1863 and choked off the South's supply of western beef cattle.

Finally, naval crews, the regular U.S. Second Florida Cavalry, and the Second Infantry Regiment, United Colored Troops were formed from the myriad peoples shepherded by the East Gulf Blockading Squad-

ron. Florida thus moved from irregular resistance to outright civil war within its borders, a brush fire on the western Florida frontier which the Confederate military could neither contain nor extinguish.

Buker has approached his multifarious subject beginning with the formation of the naval blockade and moving through the East Gulf Blockading Squadron's transformation into an important factor in sustaining anti-Confederate resistance in Florida, pausing along the way for more specialized chapter descriptions of notable persons and events in the story. He concludes his study with a comparison of the military situation on the state's two coasts, pointing out that the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron missed a golden opportunity to inflict damage on the Confederate cause as their East Gulf compatriots managed to do.

Buker's appendices of extant muster rolls and other personnel listings contain valuable (if necessarily incomplete) information, and his bibliography will serve as a handy guide for students wishing to pursue the subject of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron further. The only notable weakness of the book is that some of the place references in the text are not on the accompanying maps. For a non-Floridian this represents an annoying problem.

This book deserves a place in every naval, maritime and Civil War collection.

James M. Morris
Newport News, Virginia

Robert Gardiner (ed.). *Warship 1993*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1993. 256 pp., photographs, figures, tables, notes & sources with each chapter, index. £25, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-624-8.

In the editorial of the 1992 edition of this popular naval annual, Robert Gardiner informed readers that a major format change might be in the offing for the 1993 edition. Instead of its usual eclectic assortment of articles, he hinted that each issue of this

annual would be devoted to specific topics. However, most readers who responded to this trial balloon objected to the proposed new format, and he has wisely decided to retain its traditional format for now.

The twelve feature articles in this volume's first section cover topics and ship types as diverse as sailing ships and nuclear submarines, radar to bizarre proposals for the deployment of aircraft at sea. Ten of the contributors should be familiar to most of us, but even the two newcomers, David Miller and Peter Wright, are established authors and researchers. As usual Gardiner's editorial manages to tie most of the articles together, noting that we tend to neglect the dozens of impractical ideas and the few good ones in favour of the innovations which were actually adopted. He also reminds us that historical events often cast very long shadows, noting that one of the chief reasons that the Royal Navy still eschews the use of aluminum in its warships stems from its 1940 investigation of the wreck of the *Admiral Graf Spee*.

All twelve articles are finely crafted, topical and informative. Each is complemented by well-chosen illustrations, maps, tables, line drawings, and usually by photographs. About the only technical criticism that can be voiced is that the scale of the drawings is not always clearly indicated. The scope and breadth of material covered in this volume is very impressive, ranging from Andrew Lambert's look at the building of the *Dalhousie* in India during the 1850s through to the building and early retirement of the US Navy's nuclear submarine *Triton*. For the most part, with the glaring exception of Wright's assertion that the German armoured ships — or pocket-battleships — were designed after Hitler's 1933 "seizure of power," they are remarkably error-free.

Most of the essays offer unique perspectives on their subjects, such as the British 343 mm (13.5 inch) armed dreadnoughts, the French *contre-torpilleurs* of 1922, and Japanese A/A destroyers of World War II. Two articles discuss British "R" submarines of

1917, and the Japanese midget submarines of World War II. Layman and McLaughlin examines some of the more bizarre methods for the launching and recovery of aircraft from ships proposed in our century. D.K. Brown offers a very critical look at the Royal Navy's failure to pursue some of the technological advances made during World War I. The US Navy's *New Ironsides* is the subject of a very detailed essay. The career of the Kriegsmarine's *Admiral Scheer* is covered in another, though much less original, article. There is also an essay which discusses the efforts of British Naval Intelligence to uncover the secrets of German naval radar by a thorough investigation of the wreck of the *Admiral GrafSpee* in 1940.

The first part of the Review Section is devoted to Warship Notes; its contents are as diverse as the those of the main text. The first of its five entries discusses the 2750 IHP engines which powered World War II corvettes. The second note is by far the most thought provoking, because it details the voyage and cargo of one of the last German U-boats to depart from the almost defeated Third Reich. Its cargo included various metals, drugs, new German military equipment and ten cases of uranium oxide U-235! The next one discusses the co-relation between seakeeping and added weight, while the fourth outlines the career of a RN officer. The last is a photographic essay on the participants of the recent Battle of the Atlantic Review. The last two parts of this section consist of reviews of key books published on naval history within the year, and naval developments of 1993.

In short, *Warship 1993* offers something for almost every taste, and deserves to be looked at by anyone with an interest in virtually every facet of naval history. Gardiner has once again presented us with a work worthy of exploration, and he has whetted our appetite for the 1994 edition.

Peter K.H. Mispelkamp
Pointe Claire, Québec

C.I. Hamilton. *Anglo-French Naval Rivalry 1840-1870*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. xiii + 359 pp., appendix of tables, select bibliography, index. \$90, cloth; ISBN 0-19-820261-X.

This ambitious book is about the naval rivalries of the great powers who fought a war in alliance in the middle of the selected frame of reference. It has material on strategy, building, personnel, foreign policy and, above all, the challenges of a changing technological age. It has some great merits. The amount of material on building policies, personnel and actual ship construction is impressive. Indeed, anyone wanting to write on almost any aspect of Anglo-French building programmes in the selected period will henceforth need to consult this book. The way that the French and British acted and reacted on each other in naval affairs is set out in some detail and at various levels. The research in archives, relevant literature and in private papers is extensive. Thus the volume has real value in the sense that it traverses all the sea lanes of naval historical exploration and has added a few shoals to light up the comprehensive chart. Hamilton is thoughtful about his material; almost ruminatory. The exposition is very valuable where it purports to evaluate Admiralty and *Ministre de Marine* perceptions of where they stood on the scale of comparative practical efficiency. It is matériel history applied with a careful hand to a matériel age. Diligence in this matter shines out of every page.

But every page is costly — the price is one only libraries and reviewers can afford. Then there is the problem of focusing the argument. What purports to contain the *raison d'être*, chapter four, is sandwiched between discursions on 'Diplomacy' and 'Personnel.' This is worth a mention because what might be called the 'impulsive forces' of these navies needs to be set out much more clearly. The Royal Navy was an Imperial Navy with world-wide responsibilities. The French navy, on the other hand, had world reach without world stance. Hamilton refers to such writers

as Gerald Graham, Brian Tunstall, James Phinney Baxter, Theodore Ropp and even John Charles Ready Colomb without allowing it to transpire that he understands their approaches to Imperial naval problems. For instance there was a whole problem because of the need for coal, the location of coal stocks and the changing efficiency of boilers. Naval Imperialism had matériel ramifications. These were matters not crucial for French military planners. In other words the French treated their navy almost as another army. The British never had that luxury, if luxury it was. The Royal Navy always viewed theory with suspicion because its purposes have so often been at variance with each other. Thus, condemned by fate to over-arching, often incompatible planning, the Service has been disproportionately vulnerable to attacks (invasion scares).

One of the most interesting characteristics of the period chosen by Hamilton for explanation is the fact that French land superiority was generally assumed, and British defensive stance clear. Neither the devastating nature of the Prussian articulated moloch nor the push to cover the map with the deep colours of European nations in what became known as imperialism had been revealed. Britain was not seen to be seriously challenged. Was it not the nature of this pre-scramble period of relative calm that made it possible for the Admiralty Board to view disjointed Anglo-French rivalries with some equanimity? This whole scenario whereby France rendered British naval planners nervous seems to want some of the salty pragmatism of the quarter deck and the Admiralty board room.

When a good deal of information is offered the reader it seems to demand numerical schemes and methods. Yet it is the qualitative rather than the quantitative approach that seems to be the casualty here. Still, it may be that the comparative method itself has something to answer for: French and British navies may not look much like apples and oranges, but perhaps they are just as resistant to the comparative method. This book is rich

in helpful information, but its message is diminished because the selected Anglo-French pattern does not stand the strain of comparison to explain British building policies.

Donald M. Schurman
Kingston, Ontario

Michael Epkenhans. *Die wilhelminische Flottenrüstung 1908-1914; Weltmachtstreben, industrieller Fortschritt, soziale Integration*. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1991. xi + 488 pp., bibliography, tables, figures, index. DM 88, cloth; ISBN 3-486-55880-3.

In my review of Gary E. Weir's *Building the Kaiser's Navy: the Imperial Naval Office and German Industry in the von Tirpitz Era, 1890-1919* (TNM/LMN, October 1992), I mentioned a number of standard works on the Tirpitz era whose ranks I regarded Weir as having joined. I had the temerity to suggest by way of introduction: "These and other major studies provide such daunting variety and detail that one might incline to the view that the 'Kaiser's Navy' has been done. Such is not the case." Well, such is again not the case. Michael Epkenhans takes a zoom-lens to a crucial six-year period within Weir's purview and brings an intense intellectual rigour to bear on his themes. Weir cannot be faulted for not having known Epkenhans' book, for the dynamics of publication, advertising and distribution cause researchers (and reviewers) considerable delay. In any event these are two quite different and complementary studies.

Epkenhans analyses the crucial issue of the build-up of Wilhelmine Germany's naval armaments during the years 1906-1914. He investigates the complex interrelationships and tensions between the often conflicting claims of internal power politics and external relations, between the Imperial Naval Office and German shipbuilders, between parliament and populace, and between the demands of continental and naval strategy. Linking all these with Machiavellian intensity is Admiral von Tirpitz, whose single-minded, sometimes

blinker, pursuit of maritime prestige and *Weltpolitik* for Germany brought Europe to the edge of war. Meticulously researched and minutely argued, this illuminating revised doctoral dissertation offers a wealth of important detail. Master of his field, and especially noteworthy for his command of previously unknown industrial archival sources, the author has broken entirely new ground.

A well-balanced study, it sheds light on a number of critical issues. Not the least of these are the propensity of citizens to regard armaments as the expression of national pride, identity and purpose (what he calls *Ausriistungsnationalismus*), and the firmly held popular belief of the day that Germany had to be defended against foreign aggressors. When linked with the dependency of shipbuilders upon naval contracts, with a tendency to absolutize the state, and with what Epkenhans sees as the characteristically German "political will to encourage and support a viable private armaments industry," (p. 414) it all made for a volatile mix. Epkenhans tenaciously pursues the interweavings of all his themes. His study ultimately reveals the outbreak of war in 1914 as the result of momentous developments triggered by Germany's aggressive and offense-oriented fleet building policies of 1897-98. This is hardly a surprise. But in the positivistic tradition of historiography, his uncompromising precision in documenting and analysing the deeply-layered stages in the march of the military-industrial complex leaves no room for doubt. Thus he definitively lays to rest a theory still held in some circles that Germany's participation in the naval arms race was a defensive enterprise. Germany's responsibility for the root cause of the war, what Germans call the *Ur-Katastrophe*, is considerable. Epkenhans avoids polemic, for his sole aim is understanding and explanation.

Earnest to a fault, Epkenhans makes no concessions to general readers who might be attracted by his fascinating theme. This is a scholarly work for scholars; only fluent readers of German will manage the text with any comfort, and only those among them who

really need to know will likely persevere. His lapses into *Professorendeutsch* frequently take the appetite away. And that is a shame, for the book constitutes a major building-block in our understanding of the period. It is a welcome reference work; the index and bibliography are very good. Photographs would have enhanced its appeal. The publisher has produced a handsome volume: quality paper, attractive print, well-bound and sturdy.

Michael L. Hadley
Victoria, British Columbia

Jan S. Breemer. *The Burden of Trafalgar: Decisive Battle and Naval Strategic Expectations on the Eve of the First World War*. Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1993; Newport Paper #6. vi + 45 pp., notes. Paper; available on request from: The Dean of Naval Warfare Studies (Code 3), Naval War College, 686 Cushing Road, Newport, RI 02841-1207, USA.

The overall theme of this brief study is that the distinction between public posture ("declaratory strategy") and war planning becomes confused in practice. The former is what is most discussed and becomes most likely to assume a reality that was never intended. This position is illustrated by examining "the legacy of Trafalgar" which, Jan Breemer believes, burdened both the British and German navies before and during World War I.

In Britain, the idea was pervasive that command of the sea would be gained by the victorious big battle. Naval planning became dominated by the Nelsonian problem, how to bring the enemy fleet to action. Admiralty war plans between 1905 and 1912 posited a blockade of the German coast aimed at bringing a frustrated High Sea Fleet out of port to seek battle. A second Trafalgar would result in the annihilation of the enemy and the consequent command of the sea by the Royal Navy. Two consequences of this concept was that navies were judged by numbers of battle-ships, which, in turn, led to the great Anglo-

German naval arms race and inattention to more mundane matters like the protection of merchant shipping and the introduction of a convoy system. This confirms what Arthur Marder said years ago, that the Royal Navy before World War I was "hypnotised by its past." Hence, when the war came in 1914, the navy, and the nation at large, remained wedded to the eighteenth-century idea, perpetuated by the American naval historian and theorist Alfred Thayer Mahan, that the essence of naval warfare was the battle, two fleets of capital ships battering each other to death. The inconclusive Battle of Jutland would destroy the myth of the Royal Navy's invincibility, part of the Trafalgar legend.

Bremer also points out that big fleet engagements do not guarantee the safety of commerce. Trafalgar spurred Napoleon's navy to turn to cruiser warfare, just as the bottling up of the German fleet after Jutland made unrestricted U-boat warfare "the only option" for the German navy, (p.27) We might add that between them, Jutland and the U-boat should have put an end to the idea of command of the sea decided by a big battle. Yet the battle fleet continued to dominate naval thinking between the wars to the detriment of the building of convoy escort vessels, submarines and aircraft carriers. It took the near-disasters of 1941-42 in the North Atlantic and the Far East to bring about a reconciliation of strategy, tactics and modern weapons technology.

This essay is based upon wide-reading in secondary and contemporary literature. Whether by oversight or intention, official sources have been disregarded. Surprisingly, the author does not mention the committee set up by the Admiralty in April 1912 "to consider the tactics employed by Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar" (Cd. 7120, 1913). Although it contains nothing new, Bremer's work provides a handy summary and introduction for the uninitiated to a topic that never seems to go away.

Gerald Jordan
Toronto, Ontario

Paul Kemp. *Convoy Protection: The Defence of Seaborne Trade*. London: Arms & Armour Press, 1993. 124 pp., tables, photographs, bibliography, index. Cdn \$34.95, US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 1-85409-037-2. Distributed in the USA by Sterling Publishing, New York NY.

When the merchantman *Glitra* was sunk by U-17 on 20 October, 1914, it signalled the start of Germany's unrestricted submarine attacks on shipping. By 1916, as many as fifty British merchant ships were being sunk every week, a grim factor that came closest to defeating Britain in World War I. Then-First Sea Lord Winston Churchill later admitted that the only thing "that really frightened me in the war was the U-Boat peril."

And no wonder, for as Paul Kemp documents in *Convoy Protection*, Britain at the time imported 80 per cent of wheat, 50 per cent of meat, and 100 percent of oil supplies. Yet Royal Navy strategists, obsessed with the tradition of offensive tactics, were slow to take effective ship protection measures. Astonishing as it now seems, over two years of slaughter at sea passed before re-introduction of a centuries-old method — convoys — began to save ships, and eventually defeated the U-boats. This apparent reluctance to introduce convoys to protect maritime trade is all the more surprising, considering a previous success record. The efficacy of convoys during the American and French Revolutionary wars led to the Compulsory Convoy Act of 1798 which empowered the Admiralty to enforce the convoy method on all ocean-going ships. Regrettably, the Act was repealed in 1872, a costly example of forgetting the lessons of history.

Kemp concentrates his study on the two world wars. To present the Royal Navy's long voyage towards the convoy system, he first provides a concise yet detailed account of the German U-boat's evolution and employment. British naval philosophy then seemed convinced that merchant ships were best protected by attacking U-boats directly, while leaving the intended victims pretty much to their own

devices. We learn of an array of new anti-submarine measures, weapons, and tactics: net barrages, minefields, depth-charges, faster destroyer, aircraft, and "Q" ship decoys. However, for all the expense and valour of these offensive efforts, only a total of 48 U-boats had been sunk by the end of January 1917. Far more German submarines would be sunk after introduction of defensive convoys in 1917. (Some indication of the prevailing conservatism then among professional officers elsewhere as well as the initial reluctance of the US Navy to adopt convoy tactics, despite proven effectiveness.) In the end, counter-measures by naval escorting vessels became so effective that a total of sixty-nine U-boats were sunk during 1918.

Twenty years later, Japan's failure to learn from this led eventually to the collapse of its economy in World War II, following the destruction of its entire merchant fleet by American submarines. There has been no costlier and complete example of how vulnerable unprotected and scattered merchant ships really are to a well-equipped and ruthless enemy. Within weeks after Pearl Harbor, USN submarines were hunting Japanese ships, though initial successes would have been more impressive but for the persistent failure of torpedo detonators. Once this technical fault was corrected, American boats began to sink an average of fifty Japanese cargo vessels a month — a "turkey shoot." Japan's reaction was again an aggressive single-minded emphasis on trying to tackle the undersea marauders directly while ignoring the need to protect commerce ships. The cost was empty wharfs in every Japanese port on V-J Day.

There seems something special about the submarine service of any nation, which lures a very special quality of sailor. Kemp describes several such spirited individuals in the US Navy, who fought a determined enemy and violent seas, many of them paying with their lives for the eventual total destruction of Japan's seaborne trade.

Good accompanying photographs portray commanders, equipment, and actual conditions

on both sides during these two crucial sea-war campaigns. One noticeable gap perhaps, is lack of any examination of the responses or contributions of the merchant shipping industry itself. Kemp presents the issue entirely from the naval perspective. Nevertheless, his book offers thoughtful historical indications, how even the most dazzling advances in combat technology may still not prevail if the basics of convoy protection are neglected.

Sidney Allinson
Victoria, British Columbia

Gilbert A.H. Gordon. *British Seapower and Procurement Between the Wars: A Reappraisal of Rearmament*. London: Macmillan, 1988 and Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1993. ix + 321 pp., bibliography, index, appendices. £29.50, US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87021-894-8.

There has long been a popular impression that "England slept" in the 1930s whilst the Axis powers prepared for war. This book sheds welcome new light on naval rearmament. It contends that in fact about as much was achieved as was possible given limitations in skilled manpower and armour plate and ordnance production capabilities. Gilbert Gordon asserts that allocating more resources to rearmament would have seriously damaged Britain's trading ability and crippled her economic staying power, which in itself had deterrent value.

Gordon bases his arguments on extensive research and interviews in 1979-80 with officers who had served in the Admiralty in the '30s. He offers many interesting insights and reminders of the vital role of industrial and economic factors in defence policies. The original impetus to rearm came in 1932, after Japan's aggression in Manchuria and China. Warship building and naval armaments capabilities nurtured by the pre-war competition with Imperial Germany and sustained between 1914 and 1918 had been run down in the years following the Armistice. By the mid-

'30s a lack of skilled workmen inhibited the labour-intensive process of renewing the fleet. The building of twenty 8,000-ton cargo ships was estimated to require the same amount of labour as a single 8,000-ton cruiser. Surprisingly, the peak year for orders of warship tonnage was 1937, not later. A third of the wartime battleships, half of the cruisers and over half of the fleet carriers were produced between 1936 and the outbreak of war.

Gordon's focus, however, is on the relationship between industrial capacity and seapower rather than on specific programmes. He describes how the government actively assisted naval contractors and how capacity was increased in peacetime. This happened against a backdrop of national economic strain and a sort of war-weary public and media amnesia about the growing danger that another conflict would occur. (62 per cent of the men polled late in 1937 said that they would not volunteer in another war.)

There are many threads in this book, including the government's structures for formulating policy and controlling expenditures, naval industries, procurement decisions, and key personalities. They are not always easy to follow and context is occasionally omitted. There are several case histories of factories and firms that received assistance. An overall survey of results, or how production from these sources fitted into total output, is not provided in all cases. The reader is also expected to be familiar with why specific classes of ships were significant. I found the book easier to understand when read as a companion piece to S.W. Roskill's *Naval Policy Between the Wars* (Collins, 1968 and 1976). In fact, Captain Roskill was among those interviewed by Gordon.

This book is also interesting from a Canadian perspective. The narrative helps us to understand the scale of British rearmament in the latter years of the decade when action was being urged on the Dominions. There are several accounts of initiatives both in the planning of defence and in providing practical support to industry which were eventually

copied in Canada. For example, schemes to provide funds to shipbuilders were very similar to the Canadian government's wartime capital assistance programme that helped to achieve such a prodigious expansion of shipbuilding capacity in this country.

British Seapower and Procurement Between the Wars convincingly demonstrates that the Admiralty pursued consistent and effective plans in expanding the naval industrial base and achieved its aims despite opposition. The author illuminates how policies were formulated within the government, and the interplay between personalities in this process. While the overall effect is arguably too much an uncritical apologia for government policies, G.A.H. Gordon provides a useful corrective to earlier histories which ignored the factors inhibiting rearmament. This is a rewarding and important book.

Jan Drent
Victoria, British Columbia

V.E. Tarrant. *King George V Class Battleships*. London: Arms and Armour Press, 1991. 371 pp., figures, maps, photographs, appendix, bibliography, index. £25, cloth; ISBN 1-85409-026-7.

This is the life history of the five *King George V* class battleships which served in the Royal Navy during World War II — ships familiar to many a Canadian matelot (among many others, *Prince of Wales'* radar officer when sunk was a sub-lieutenant of the Royal Canadian Navy Volunteer Reserve).

The *KGVs* were both the most modern RN capital ships in service during the war and the least impressive of the many battleships laid down by the combatant powers. Naval treaty restrictions established the limits: 35,000 tons (standard) displacement, 16" maximum gun calibre. The author provides a good general account in his opening chapter of the way in which the competing factors of armament, protection and speed had to be balanced to produce a viable ship that fell within

these limitations. Some of the design alternatives are briefly summarised (though plans and tables comparing the details are noticeably absent), followed by a description of the ships' technical characteristics.

A battleship's *raison d'être* is her big guns — the *KGVs* were armed with 14" guns, not the 15" or 16" guns of their peers. Tarrant attributes this to the more balanced design dictated by the treaty displacement. However, he ignores the diplomatic events of 1935 and 1936, when it looked as if the London Treaty would limit the calibre to a maximum of 14". In a rush, the Royal Navy committed itself to this size gun. When Italy and Japan failed to ratify the treaty, the limit reverted to 16". The United States used the delay to introduce the larger weapon with the *North Carolina* class; England could not, and so these ships were given their defining (to some, damning) characteristics. The *KGVs* managed ten guns instead of the more usual eight or nine, but the complexities inherent in the quadruple 14" turrets plagued the ships throughout their careers. Tarrant makes much of this in his book, stressing that these turrets could have been made to work correctly had the usual workups been done during peacetime and not at sea during the war.

The next nine chapters take us through a good summary of the wartime years, following the stories of the five battleships. All the major actions in which the ships participated are there in some detail: not just the battles of North Cape and the Denmark Straits, but various sorties against the *Tirpitz*, Operations "Torch" and "Husky," their service with the British Pacific Fleet (BPF), and numerous others. The information is comprehensive, and includes a list of the Japanese squadrons involved in the attack on Force Z. Outside of a few minor typos, the only real error this reviewer noted concerns *Duke of York* during her duel with *Scharnhorst*. Tarrant has her turning to port at 1900, when the plot clearly shows her turning to starboard. Throughout, the book is enlivened with quotations and anecdotes from the men who served in the

ships — thereby giving readers a bit of a feel for life in the "big ship" Royal Navy, right down to the New Year's Day menu in *Duke of York* after North Cape.

The book is generously illustrated with photographs — details of life on board, as well as the ships in their various wartime guises. Many of the photographs have not been frequently published. Unfortunately, the captions often simply repeat text found elsewhere in the book, and one very interesting shot of *Duke of York* wearing battle ensigns (probably the entry of the BPF into Tokyo Bay at the end of the war) has no caption at all. There are a few plans of the ships as completed, and a good view of the internals of the class, using *Prince of Wales* as an example. The maps of the various actions are quite good and easy to follow.

The dust jacket describes the book as "an exhaustive study of the main British battleships of the last war." This is not so. While it is a very good *operational* history of the class, technical details are lacking: additions and alterations are listed in the text, without being illustrated (there was a tremendous evolution in anti-aircraft armament and control during their lives); there are no detailed descriptions of their construction and structure — especially the weight-saving means taken during building; there could be many more detailed plans and tables. In particular, this reviewer missed a description of the way these ships influenced the subsequent *Lion* and *Vanguard* class battleships — the 1944 design of *Lion* was greatly affected by the wartime experiences of the *KGVs*. The ships' postwar lives are barely mentioned. They were not *entirely* idle between 1945 and 1949, when they were laid up in reserve. The decisions that led to their scrapping and the public controversy that attended it in the late 1950s are totally absent.

Dreadnought specialists are not likely to find anything new in this book. However, readers with more general interests in the World War II Royal Navy will find it worthy of consideration, if only because of the thor-

ough yet readable accounts of the major actions. The *King George V* class were far from being the best battleships afloat, but they did make an important contribution to the winning of the war at sea. This book is a fine testimonial to that fact.

William Schleihauf
Pierrefonds, Québec

John Hughes. *Port in a Storm: The Air Attacks on Liverpool and its Shipping in the Second World War*. Liverpool: National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside, 1993. x + 181 pp., maps, photographs, tables, appendices, notes, index. £11.95, paper; ISBN 0-9516129-6-4.

Unless one is thoroughly familiar with Liverpool and its suburbs, this disturbing book should be read like Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. It is not vital to the tale to know the location of Duke Street or Sandown Half-tide Dock. The story of the early wartime Luftwaffe raids on Merseyside — Liverpool and Bootle to the east, Birkenhead on the west bank — makes shocking, heart-rending reading. Yet one is often heartened by the self sacrifice, bravery and common sense of that elusive character, "the average man," in the face of quite unanticipated destruction.

Liverpool suffered major air raids on only a few occasions, each extending over several days, starting first in August 1940, a heavier one with considerable damage in December, and then their major trial over a week's span in May, 1941. Thereafter raids were only occasional, by few aircraft, and the 1944 flying bombs could not reach the city.

Merseyside was a major port for import and export of every conceivable class of goods. There were, for instance, 231 ocean-going ships in port at the beginning of the May raids. As well, it was headquarters for the Navy's Western Approaches command and many of its warships. Its closure would have been a disaster, for all other ports were already stretched to the limit. Hughes astutely

regards the cessation of bombing in May 1941 as a major German blunder. After a brief summary of some quite extensive damage in the winter of 1940, he passes on to cover in infinite detail the week of 1-8 May, day by day, terrible night by night. One is constantly amazed at the fortitude of Fire Watchers and fire-fighting parties, the police and soldiers sent to help, operating as bombs and incendiaries kept falling, coping with huge dock-side warehouses on fire, city centre buildings collapsing, no communications facilities working. In fact, readers soon realise that the bombs' initial destruction contributed the smaller part of the resultant damage. Broken fire mains, roads blocked by debris, an inability of those in command to direct incoming support fire pumps to the most needy sites, the huge fires, often fed by broken gas mains, spreading from one building to others nearby, the need to evacuate the now-homeless, all constituted the major part of the problem. When the raids ended — and they were all night attacks lasting not more than four hours — the days were just as bad. Rail lines to clear the docks of endangered cargoes, and even to bring in workers, were demolished. Records of firms were destroyed (and incidentally made it difficult for Hughes to piece together accurate details of much of the damage and casualties), and there were arguments about outside interference. Salvage vessels were sunk, and merchantmen settled to the bottom in their docks, most of which could only be reached through tidal lock gates, which themselves were often damaged as well. Vessels caught fire from blazing sheds alongside.

Hughes takes all the destruction casually, putting the whole in a macabre perspective: "Only five were killed when this large warehouse was demolished." Small touches of humour relieve the constant story of fire fighters facing hopeless conflagrations with only stirrup pumps or one hose connected to a salt water main that then failed due to ruptures caused by bombs elsewhere. In one delightful story, two cows, blown out of their stable in a city dairy at night, were then run

into by a bicycling policeman! This is offset by the huge explosion of the 7,600 ton ship *Malakand*, loaded with munitions, in Huskisson Dock, wrecking it to the extent that the section was filled in with rubble afterwards to serve as a storage yard.

About 4,000 were killed in these raids which, for the size of the city, was proportionately greater than in London. This book serves as both a memorial to a horrendous week, and as a cautionary tale for anyone who might be in some way responsible for another similar event.

The book itself contains few errors, though one was substantial. The excellent and detailed reference notes run out at 365, but there are 395 in the text! On the other hand, the Appendices on bomb loads, percentage hits on the intended target cities, and on casualties are excellent. Certainly, Hughes provides us with a fascinating, microscopic view, illustrated with fifty-two large photos and fifteen detailed maps. Much more can be learned from the text than I have been able to cover in this review.

Fraser M. McKee
Markdale, Ontario

Michel Jacques (éd.). *La Marine française en Indochine de 1939 à 1955*. 5 vols; Vincennes, France: Service historique de la Marine, 1993. I: xi + 255 pp.; II: vii + 391 pp.; III: ix + 472 pp.; IV: ix + 412 pp.; V: vii + 414 pp., photographs, maps, tables, figures, appendices. FFr 90 (v. I), FFr 100 (v. 2), FFr 110 (v. III), FFr 110 (v. IV), FFr 110 (v. V), all paper-bound.

During the years 1939-1945, the French Asiatic fleet displayed a mixture of dash and stoic reconciliation to the circumstances of national defeat and the reality of an omnipresent Japanese colossus which threatened both the maintenance of the fleet itself and the survival of the colony under its protection. Under the dual intimidation of the Berlin-Tokyo Axis, the former pressuring Marshal

Henri Petain's unresisting regime, the latter glowering at the impotent French administrators in Hanoi, Indochina steadily slipped into the character of a vassal state of Japan.

Yet, despite this quasi-orphaned status and even as Japanese economic, military and diplomatic incursions eroded French authority, the French Asiatic fleet, older, outnumbered and outgunned, was able to deliver a significant if ultimately futile blow against the hitch-hiking aggression of Japan's sycophant, Thailand, in 1941 and to redeem in the epic battle of Koi-Chang a brief moment of honour that stood in stark contrast to the splendid battlefleet which rode at anchor in a state of "demobilization" in a half dozen ports around the world.

For too long, efforts to examine the role of the French Navy in Indochina during both the war years and the post-war years of the Vietnamese war of national liberation have been thwarted by limited access to appropriate archival collections. With the exception of the quality work of Jacques Mordal, whose book *Marine Indochine* drew on official documents, no collection of published documents existed allowing for such a study. With the lifting of most restrictions on World War II archives, the Service historique de la Marine reprinted the most significant collections currently available for one to examine the naval side of these tumultuous years in Southeast Asia.

La Marine française en Indochine: 1939-1955 is a solid, well-organized and comprehensive narrative of both the war years and what some call the first Indochina war. Arranged in a meticulous chronological fashion, this five-volume set concentrates in selective format on the actions and events in the following distribution: I: September 1939 — August 1945; II: August 1945 — December 1946; III: January 1947 - December 1949; IV: January 1950 - April 1953; V: April 1953 — May 1956. Each volume includes excellent narratives on various operations with parallel column citations to specific sources or documents, many high quality maps, tables, and photographs. An annex to each chapter

contains full-text reproductions of orders, after-action reports, battle summaries, orders or signals. While there is neither a general index nor particular volume indices, an excellent table of contents in each volume is of great assistance and citation is made to particular sources utilized with a full collation.

Among the more captivating treatments within this set is that detailing the Japanese aggression against Indochina, the Franco-Thai undeclared war of 1941, the appearance of Allied warships in Far Eastern waters in 1945, the restoration of French sovereignty and the initiation of combat operations by the Far Eastern Naval Flotilla in 1946. Throughout these columns a precise account is presented of organizational strengths, including commands and personnel. Specific ship movements, dispositions, engagements and other operations are likewise chronicled, as are pertinent activities of commercial shipping. The volumes also distinguish between operations and compositions of the Far Eastern naval division and the Indochina units, and narratives include conclusions drawn at the end of each time period on the effectiveness of operations conducted.

The user of this set will require a fluency in French. The set is highly detailed, filled with numerous tables of organization, ship postings, activities and a wealth of minor statistics, including aircraft losses for the time period. Given the significance of the Indochina conflict in the modern world and Asian history, any reader should be prepared for an avalanche of raw data which, on this subject at least, is unequalled except for the original files from which these documents are extracted. One would wish for a broader narrative encompassing the entire chronological horizon of this epoch and this reviewer would argue that Jacques Mordal's *Marine Indochine* can serve as a suitable companion if the user is so disposed.

Calvin Hines
Nacogdoches, Texas

Al Ross. *Anatomy of the Ship: The Escort Carrier Gambier Bay*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1993. 112 pp., photographs, figures, tables, sources. £20, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-613-2.

This addition to the *Anatomy of the Ship* series describes a member of the *Casablanca-class* escort aircraft carriers of World War II. Fifty of these ships were produced in 1943-44, of which five were lost in action. The subject of Al Ross's book, the *Gambier Bay*, was one of those unlucky five ships.

Ross follows the now-standard pattern of other books in this series. There is a brief introductory text section, containing the background of the *Casablanca-class* carriers, a table of the fifty carriers of this class produced, and a short service history of the carrier. This is justified, as *Gambier Bay* was in US Navy service for approximately ten months — from delivery in December 1943 to her sinking by Japanese naval gunfire on 25 October, 1944. The battle report of her captain describing *Gambier Bay's* sinking is included in full and provides a very detailed narrative of the carrier's end. Following the battle report, a short but detailed description of *Gambier Bay's* general arrangement, hull structure, machinery, catapult, radar gear, fire control equipment, searchlights, aircraft, armament, ship's boats, and camouflage as well as notes on sources is included.

Most of the book is devoted to photographs and drawings of the ship. The photograph section includes depictions of the hull under construction, the finished ship, action photographs, photographs of sister CVEs and details of the armament, radar antennae, and mast. Most of the photos come from the US National Archives. The detail photos are helpful — several illustrate *Gambier Bay's* camouflage scheme well. They also reveal the vagaries caused by wartime: *Gambier Bay's* complement of aircraft was relatively small (approximately eighteen FM-2 Wildcat fighters and twelve TBM-1C Avenger torpedo bombers), yet the photos show that the Wild-

cats carried more than one colour scheme.

The last section provides a full set of detailed drawings of the carrier. Virtually *everything* is shown: general arrangements of profile, flight deck, hull, transverse sections, upper deck, hangar deck, second deck, platform deck, tank top, double bottom, fore and aft details lead the list. Then follow constructional details of the draft, plan view, stem casting, plan view, rudder post, and other sections. The next sections are almost staggering in their detail: tower, radar platform, armaments, fittings, stanchions, ladders, watertight doors, reels, searchlights, ships' boats, lift rafts, and arresting gear, to name only a few. These provide many, many handy details useful to the ship modeller or maritime enthusiast. The drawings of the Wildcat and Avenger are accurate. Scales are noted on most drawings. Finally, the ship's camouflage pattern is shown in the last drawing and may be used in conjunction with the cover illustration in colour of the *Gambier Bay* at sea.

This book is highly recommended for the US Navy enthusiast, and student of World War II vessels and aircraft carriers in general. It would be especially helpful to a modeller, because of the detail contained therein, but can be enjoyed by a wide range of those interested in maritime topics.

Robert L. Shoop
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Robert D. Ballard, with Rick Archbold. *The Lost Ships of Guadalcanal*. Toronto: Viking/Madison Press, 1993. 228 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, appendix, bibliography, index. \$50, cloth; ISBN 0-670-85292-9.

Dr. Robert Ballard and his Canadian collaborator Rick Archbold have again joined modern technology to public curiosity in their continuing series of books for nautical necrophiles. This time, the folks that brought you the *Titanic* and the *Bismarck*, lying shattered on the ocean floor, bring you twelve warships,

American, Australian and Japanese, all scattered over a small corner of the Pacific Ocean — the few square miles between the islands of Tulagi, Savo and Guadalcanal. That stretch of water is Iron Bottom Sound. It is the World War II grave to almost fifty ships.

The question is — do we really need any more books on sunken ships? The answer to that question is "yes," at least as far as *The Lost Ships of Guadalcanal* is concerned. This book contains a great deal besides sunken warships. The largest portion of the book is a well-researched history of the entire Guadalcanal campaign, both on land and at sea. This campaign was, after all, a turning point in the Pacific war, a nail-chewing six months for those in charge of the operation and a very nasty six months for those who fought. The narrative portion of the book uses material from survivors and uses it with taste — none of the "Admiral Smith took another puff of his cigar and ordered his steward to bring another martini..." sort of writing.

The four battles fought in Iron Bottom Sound between August and November 1942 were nasty and vicious, and generally fought with cruisers and destroyers. They were also fought at night and at close range with little margin for error. The Japanese had some advantages — they were fully trained in night fighting, their "long lance" torpedoes were deadly and technologically years ahead of the American weapon. The Americans had radar — though some senior officers failed to use it. Air power was another American asset. But there was major failure on both sides. The authors are understandably critical of the leadership. However, Captain Roskill's comment that the critical reader should experience the strain of remaining alert for several successive nights after long and anxious days in the deadening, exhausting heat of the Solomon Islands' climate, bears some consideration. Among those who died, were two American admirals and one Japanese admiral.

In August 1992, fifty years after the events described in the book, a naval memorial was unveiled on Guadalcanal. This brought

a number of survivors, American, Australian and Japanese to the island. The young men of nineteen and twenty who fought the war were now elderly gentlemen in their late 60s or early 70s. For many, it was a first meeting with the former enemy, even as it brought back memories suppressed during the intervening years. It also caused *The Lost Ships of Guadalcanal* to be more than another book of sunken ships. The exposure of these long-ago sailors to the authors somehow helped bridge the gap between those who know war from what they've read and those who know war from having fought.

The book is lavishly illustrated with over 300 photographs, paintings and maps. Especially notable are wartime water colours by the late Commander Dwight Shepler, a US Navy war artist. Ken Marschall's underwater illustrations are sufficiently ominous, especially the pull-out illustrations of HMAS *Canberra* and USS *Quincy*. Photographs, 1940s and 1990s, abound. All in all, this is an interesting book to read, a worthwhile one to own.

David Fry
Toronto, Ontario

John Hayes. *Face the Music: A Sailor's Story*. Durham: Pentland Press, 1991. xvi + 239 pp., photographs. £14.95, cloth; ISBN 1-872795-05-6.

John Hayes has faced the music all his life. As a thirteen-year-old candidate for a cadetship, he denied to a member of the interview board that he could play Chopin, though his application had shown that he could play the piano. And why not? "Because," he answered, "there are too many sharps and flats in it." He thus establishes a rapport with his readers which he manages to retain successfully throughout this account of some forty years service in the Royal Navy.

The first chapter opens with a description of his boyhood and early education at the Dockyard School in Bermuda where his father had settled after World War I. Then, leaping

ahead some fifty years he goes over the same ground again when, as Admiral Second-in-Command of the Western Fleet, he returned to Bermuda in his flagship HMS *Tiger*. This fascinating picture of showing the flag in peacetime is told with a delicate touch, an eye for detail evoking in the old sailors amongst us a nostalgic sense of *déjà vu*.

There follow chapters on life at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, in the late 1920s and in the gunrooms of the fleet in the 1930s; both would be enlightening to a social historian, and both would probably frighten a present-day adolescent contemplating a service career. Thanks to changing attitudes and technology as well as to people like Hayes himself, however, the life of the subordinate officer today bears little resemblance to that which Hayes' generation experienced. The book is thus not just a recapitulation of where he went and what he did. The theme is change — in society, in technology and in the navy — which the author experienced throughout his four decades of service.

Occasional sub-themes also emerge. The real thrust of the early chapters, for example, is in their demonstration of the practical, hands-on approach to the training of naval officers in that period. Classroom instruction was supplemented by practical experience as a midshipman of the watch at sea and in harbour under an experienced officer. One learned to handle boats from a leading hand old enough to be one's father, and who, when he felt it necessary to teach his midshipman a lesson, acted the part of the stem parent without forgetting to address the young gentleman as "Sir." It was from men such as these that Hayes learned not only the art of the seaman, but the ways of the navy.

Following a period on the *America* and West Indies Station, Hayes specialized as a navigating officer. This was followed by two rather uneventful years in HMS *Fowey* on the Persian Gulf Patrol. No one was sorry, least of all Hayes, when that assignment came to an end and he was appointed second navigator and junior Cadet Training Officer in HMS

Vindictive. He might have looked forward to a regular round of training cruises and home leave, but that was not to be. War intervened, and Hayes again faced the music: a honeymoon interrupted by an urgent appointment to HMS *Cairo* as Navigating Officer.

Hayes' war was typical of most: long periods of crushing boredom and extreme discomfort interspersed with short flashes of intense excitement and extreme danger. It began in *Cairo* with convoy duty followed by an appointment to *Repulse*, shortly to be engaged in the search for *Bismarck*. Within the year *Repulse* and *Prince of Wales* were to be the victims of the disastrous encounter with Japanese aircraft in the South China Sea. The two chapters devoted to these events and the following chapters dealing with the fall of Singapore make fascinating reading. Although much of their substance has been reported elsewhere, Hayes' contributions are both interesting and revealing.

Evacuated at the eleventh hour, Hayes eventually made his way home to Liverpool, and there followed three years as Staff Officer Operations of the First Cruiser Squadron out of Scapa Flow. It was in this capacity that he was involved in the ill-fated convoy PQ17. His war ended in the Mediterranean where he served in a similar capacity ashore in Malta and afloat in HMS *Orion*, flagship of the Fifteenth Cruiser Squadron.

A varied peacetime career followed: staff appointments, cadet training, carrier service, promotion to captain in command of frigates in the South Atlantic, Deputy Director of Joint Plans in the Ministry of Defence then, as a rear-admiral, Naval Secretary to the First Lord of the Admiralty, finally appointment as Flag Officer Second-in-Command of the Western Fleet flying his vice-admiral's flag in HMS *Tiger*.

This, then, is an account of how one naval officer "faced the music" so to speak, and with considerable success. Still, it is much more than that. Hayes was a sensitive and perceptive naval officer, and he has developed his theme with care and skill. The

British social structure changed remarkably during the forty years of his naval service, and the social conditions of the navy changed with it. Britain's role in international affairs changed too, and the navy changed with it. Military technology changed, and the design of ships, armament, tactics and the training of officers and men changed with it. All this is reflected in *Face the Music*, and that is why this book is an interesting and useful contribution to British naval historiography.

C. B. Koester
Kingston, Ontario

Stuart E. Soward. *Hands to Flying Stations: A Recollective History of Canadian Naval Aviation, 1945-1954*. Victoria, BC: Neptune Developments, 1993. xviii + 340 pp., photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth; ISBN 0-9697229-0-7. Distributed by UBC Press, Vancouver.

As its subtitle suggests, Smart Soward's new book provides an overview of Canadian naval aviation as seen through the eyes of the participants. This first of a planned two-volume work concentrates on the formative years of the Royal Canadian Navy's Air Branch, 1943-1954. Soward relies extensively on oral interviews — more than 120 former aviators and ground crew — and some recently declassified records to paint a portrait of the trials and triumphs of the men who formed Canada's naval air branch. Much of the story is autobiographical as the author, an experienced pilot in the RCN, witnessed first-hand many of the events covered in the book. Some 200 photographs, many from private collections, complement the text most effectively.

Soward begins by tracing the RCN's bid to create a naval air branch during the latter stages of World War I. Unfortunately, post-war retrenchment and the lack of a clear-cut defence policy sealed the fate of the nascent service. Soward then chronicles the re-birth of Canadian naval aviation during World War II. During the war the Royal Canadian Navy

loaned personnel to man HMS *Nabob* and HMS *Puncher*, Royal Navy escort carriers on lend-lease from the United States. As Soward notes, two factors explain the re-birth of Canadian naval aviation: the desire of the Allies — and by implication the RCN — to close the mid-ocean air gap, and manpower shortages in the RN. Soward does not emphasize strongly enough, however, that the proposals to acquire carriers and create a separate naval air branch came at the insistence of senior Canadian naval officers. He implies that the RCN, as the junior service, responded to RN requests to man the two escort carriers. In fact, the request was orchestrated by senior Canadian naval officers through the Admiralty to ensure that the Canadian government would respond positively to the RN's request for assistance. The Canadian government's decision to man and then exchange the two escort carriers for two light fleet carriers for service in the Pacific theatre ensured the formal creation of the Royal Canadian Naval Air Service on 19 December, 1945.

The problems experienced by the naval air branch in the years immediately following the war are attributed to several factors, not the least of which is the problem of dual control — sharing of the naval air station with the RCAF. Soward, a harsh critic of the RCAF's attempts to kill naval aviation, notes "the RCAF was granted the funding, management and control of all naval air shore-based facilities and supporting air services, including such significant sections as air stores and major aircraft repairs and overhaul." (p. 58) Soward questions the wisdom of the RCN negotiating team for entering into such an agreement with the RCAF, especially since dual control of the Fleet Air Arm was a disastrous experiment. "That this arrangement was ever allowed to be repeated is incredible!" (p. 58) Later, however, he observes that "11% of the total naval complement [in 1950] was now composed of aviation personnel, indicated just how unrealistic it had been to assume that Naval Aviation could simultaneously meet the manning requirements of the

air station and the carrier, while being restricted to this percentage level." (p. 164) The latter interpretation is the generally accepted view. In 1945, just prior to the creation of the naval air branch it was decided that the peace-time strength of the RCN would be 10,000 ratings, all ranks, and that the air component would comprise 11 per cent of the total complement.

There are also troublesome minor errors. For example, Soward asserts that in April 1948 Acting Commodore H.N. Lay assumed the post of Assistant Chief of the Naval Staff (ACNS) (Plans) and (Air) "thereby providing for the first time, a degree of aviation background input to the Naval Board." (p. 110) Lay's penchant for naval aviation is well known and he certainly influenced Naval Board decisions much earlier than Soward acknowledges. Lay was the author of the seminal staff study that led to the creation of the Canadian naval air branch during World War II. He also served as the Commanding Officer of HMS *Nabob* before he assumed the post of Director of Plans (DOP) in December 1945, serving in that post until April 1948. Also disturbing is the number of grammatical errors. Readers are inundated with one-sentence paragraphs, misspelled words, and awkward sentence structure. Such errors should have been caught before the book went to print.

Despite these criticisms the book has important strengths. It will be a good read for anyone who wants to know what life was like during the formative years in the naval air branch. Soward regales the reader with numerous anecdotes of life at the naval air stations, aboard the carriers, flying incidents, training, ceremonial duties and the changing nature of the naval air branch itself. One anecdote in particular stands out. In 1953, during Exercise Mariner, fifty-two NATO aircraft had just launched from two USN carriers and HMCS *Magnificent* when fog descended upon the fleet. Ten aircraft managed to land aboard the carriers before the weather closed in completely. This left forty-two aircraft, including nine RCN aircraft,

airborne. The aircrews spent the better part of the afternoon circling the fleet waiting for the weather to clear. After four hours, and with no improvement expected in the weather, the decision was made to ditch the aircraft in the cold waters of the north Atlantic. As the aircraft proceeded to the ditching point the fog began to lift and immediately the order was given for all aircraft to return to the carriers. The pilots now faced several problems: low fuel reserves, poor visibility, pitching decks, and fading light. Fortunately, for all concerned, all forty-two aircraft managed to land aboard the carriers, (pp. 260-81)

This book fills an important gap in the literature and will be a welcome addition to the general enthusiasts' library.

Shawn Cafferky
Ottawa, Ontario

James P. Stevenson. *The Pentagon Paradox: The Development Of The F-18 Hornet*. Annapolis, MD.: Naval Institute Press, 1993. xiv + 445 pp., photographs, diagrams, figures, tables, bibliography, notes, appendices, index. Cdn \$34.95, US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-775-9. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This is a remarkable book and its publication was no doubt the source of concern, if not outrage, in the US Navy weapons procurement community and in the Department of Defense. In fact so strong are Stevenson's views that at least one attempt was reportedly made by USN officials connected with the F-18 programme to review his manuscript before it went to press.

The book is a critical examination of the process whereby the US Navy developed, put into service and allegedly attempted to fund the re-design of the F-18 Hornet fighter/attack aircraft without following due process. The discussion is placed in the context of a wider debate about the relative merits of "lightweight" fighters. A second and equally significant theme is the extent to which the

military bureaucracy, particularly that of the US Navy, successfully fended off the direction of the US Congress to adopt the same aircraft as the US Air Force (ultimately the General Dynamics F-16 Falcon) in its selection of a fighter to augment its fleet defence F-14 Tomcats.

The book traces the genesis of the F-18, presents a number of extensive analyses of its capability in comparison with its stable-mates and assesses the operational success of the aircraft during the 1991 Gulf War. The author's pro-lightweight leanings are quite apparent and he paints an unflattering picture of the process whereby the F-18 programme won out over the lightweight advocates. That battle aside, he also revisits the debate over the aircraft's performance capabilities and goes over the familiar ground of weight increases and attendant shortcomings in range and payload.

Stevenson consulted a wide range of sources in building his case: company and Department of Defense internal records; the published record of Congressional hearings into the development and acquisition of the F-18; interviews with many of the protagonists in the lightweight fighter/reformist camp; and reports in the aviation press and mass media. The result is a highly readable book on an aircraft programme which had its origins in a lightweight low-cost fighter for the USAF and which was transmuted into a heavier and substantially higher cost naval fighter/attack platform. It corroborates many of the revisionist assessments about the accomplishments of air power in the Gulf War and throws light on the nature of contemporary air-to-air combat and associated weaponry. It also illuminates the inter-service rivalries within the US military and the extent to which history may be rewritten and facts distorted in the pursuit of procurement goals.

Therein lies one of the book's limitations. It is not a dispassionate examination. It reflects a definite perspective and should be read with that caveat in mind. Much of the analysis of the relative merits of lightweight fighters is based on the performance of air-

craft employed during World War II, a period in which true lightweight programmes such as the Curtiss CW-21 and the Caudron 700 series were unsuccessful. One might also criticize the now dated nature of the last chapter in which Stevenson slips into the role of the crusading journalist in discussing the proposed development of the F-18E variant. Given the time-lines involved, books like this are not an effective means of influencing such processes. In the event, the approval for the development work was given and the first flight is to take place in 1995.

A Canadian reader may well wonder, after reading Stevenson's analysis of the shortcomings in the F-18 Hornet's capabilities, to what extent these issues were considerations when the F-18 was chosen over its single engined competitor, the F-16, for the Canadian Armed Forces some fourteen years ago. One might conclude that the F-18's twin engined configuration tipped the balance in its favour. Certainly a retrospective examination of the process in light of Stevenson's book would make a fascinating study. One can only hope that today's Canadian Hornet operators are not the unwitting victims of the Pentagon Paradox: "Benefits are inversely proportional to the promise."

Christopher Terry
Ottawa, Ontario

Gary Anderson. *Beyond Mahan: A Proposal for a U.S. Naval Strategy in the Twenty-First Century*. Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1993; Newport Paper #5. viii + 50 pp., notes, glossary. Paper; available on request from: The Dean of Naval Warfare Studies (Code 3), Naval War College, 686 Cushing Road, Newport, RI 02841-1207, USA.

The title of this thought-provoking monograph stems from the assumption that with the demise of the Soviet Union — or perhaps more to the point, the demise of Russia's will to employ its fleet aggressively — control of the seas as advocated by the prophet of Amer-

ican seapower, Alfred Thayer Mahan, is the unopposed inheritance of the USN. But the author cautions that the world is not necessarily a safer place, and, desires for a "peace dividend" notwithstanding, there lie in wait future adversaries who will refuse to accept the verdict of American predominance. How then should the superpower's naval forces posture themselves to continue to influence world affairs?

According to Anderson, in the absence of a high seas threat, "the difficulty... is in translating sea power into action capable of directly influencing events ashore." (p. 16) His treatise examines the four fundamental legs of the new American military strategy, expounded late in 1991 — forward presence, crisis response, strategic deterrence, and reconstitution — and offers suggestions for a decisive naval role in each. The thrust throughout is that continued reliance on the present "blue-water" force structure is inappropriate and the USN must shift to a "littoral" naval strategic focus, which can only be achieved through a closer wedding of the existing Navy-Marine Corps relationship.

Anderson's bias is evident: he is a serving Marine infantry officer concerned over the propensity of Congress to determine new force structures by employing the budgetary tool of "Desert Storm equivalents," a conflict in which amphibious warfare had little direct part. In fact, he argues, the Persian Gulf experience may not be the best guide for the future, since America's enemies may have learned their own lessons of the superpower's weaknesses: mine countermeasures, shallow-water anti-submarine operations, the integration of joint air operations, and reliance on nearby operating bases. Instead, for a more appropriate model, he reaches into America's own past to the Civil War, when the Union Navy, originally structured for blue-water operations against Great Britain, had to develop a new force capable of acquiring advanced bases for the Army by taking them from the enemy — a scenario not implausible in the present era of fewer overseas American bases.

The bulk of the monograph is given over to a technical discussion of the Navy-Marine Corps structural reorganization, both in composition and command, required to assure American predominance in the "littoral battle space control area" (LBCA). It makes for a compelling, if not easy, discussion — readers new to the jargon of political theory and military operations and command relationships should be warned that this is not the volume with which to enter the subject. The glossary helps, but not always (for example, the acronym for "Aircraft carrier battle group" is correctly defined as "CVBG," but appears annoyingly through the text as "CBVG").

Still, it is a worthwhile read. This is more than a partisan plea to stave the budgetary axe. It is a reasoned exposition of how naval power can remain a relevant influence on the course of the post-Cold War world. Anderson offers an appealing model for any armed forces facing restructuring, and not just of the world's policeman. One can only hope they will rise above petty interservice rivalries to assure they can reach "beyond Mahan."

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Edna Whelan. *The Helga Maria*. Whitby, UK: Caedmon of Whitby, 1992 [order from: Caedmon of Whitby, "Headlands," 128 Uppgang Lane, Whitby, North Yorkshire YO21 3JJ]. 120 pp., map, photographs, illustrations. £10.50, paper; ISBN 0-905355-39-3.

This is a relaxing little book by a very nice English lady who retired to the small North Sea seaport of Whitby in Yorkshire. There she came across the 65-foot former Danish fishing vessel *Helga Maria* and its colourful captain, Jack Lammiman. She went on a few short cruises, helped out on board and eventually became the chronicler of the voyage described in this book: an expedition to Jan Mayen Island.

When the world's Tall Ships go on their periodic peregrinations as a fleet (as in 1984

when they visited Halifax, Sydney and Québec), they always include a number of smaller craft, variously rigged, some privately owned, that qualify as training ships by chartering to various youth organizations. Such a one is the *Helga Maria*. Many of us dream of acquiring an interesting and significant vessel and making a modest living doing what rich yacht owners have to pay for: sailing about to interesting places and meeting interesting and like-minded people. Jack Lammiman did just that. A Master Mariner with a background of the Norwegian Merchant Marine, the British Royal Naval Reserve and long distance yacht delivery, he bought the oak-built purse seiner in 1984 and converted her to a schooner rigged motor-sailer. The former fish-hold became accommodation and soon enough sports-fishing and youth-group charters were coming in to keep the vessel operating.

When Mrs. Whelan came on the scene, the skipper had just conceived the idea of a voyage to honour the memories of the two Captains William Scoresby (father and son), arctic explorers and cartographers, whose fame, he believed, had been rather eclipsed by that other famous Whitby seaman, Captain James Cook. The first plan was to go to Greenland, but because of ice conditions that year (1991), Jan Mayen was chosen instead. To add spice to the voyage, because the season was getting on and the ship inspectors appeared to be delaying a final inspection (for which all was ready), they sailed without a safety-certificate. Except for one young man, the entire crew was over 60 and included a Brigadier's widow and an Anglican priest. How this unlikely bunch of scalawags evaded patrolling ships and aircraft (real or imagined), secretly replenished at sea and finally arrived at Jan Mayen with a bronze plaque commemorating the Scoresbys, I leave to the reader. Mrs. Whelan went along as far as the Shetlands. She thoroughly enjoyed all her time at sea and was able to complete her story of the voyage from the logbook and the accounts of the rest of the crew. To continue to avoid detection, on the return voyage they

changed the hull colour from white to black and finally arrived in triumph at Whitby, escorted by yachts and fishing boats. Eventually Captain Lammiman was charged and fined a modest sum: it was worth it!

Edna Whelan has a sense of history, a gift for historical description and a keen eye for natural beauty. Her book gave me great pleasure and made me determined to see Whitby next time I am in England. Perhaps the *Helga Maria* will be there too.

Douglas Maginley
Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia

Frank Mulville. *Schooner Integrity*. London: Seafarer Books, 1979, 1992. 169 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs. Cdn \$15.95, paper; ISBN 0-85036-425-6. Distributed in Canada by Nimbus Books, Halifax and in the United States by Sheridan House, Dobbs Ferry, NY.

The intriguing tale of the schooner *Integrity* begins with the author's solo trans-Atlantic voyage on his modest but sturdy ten-ton gaff-rigged cutter *Iskra* to Puerta Plata in the Dominican Republic in 1974, and his chance meeting with a man named Bill, who suggested that they voyage over to Turks Island, about a hundred miles to the north. It was during this short trip that Bill told Mulville about *Integrity* which, at that time, was lying at Turks in a derelict condition. In recounting his first glimpse of *Integrity* as she swung at anchor at Hawk's Nest, he describes how the unmistakable signs of her class, her polish, her sweet sheer, the lift and flare of her bow, the rounded contours of her stem, the dignity of her curving forefoot were all wasted to the ravages of the sea, a once-magnificent vessel now at the end of her resources.

Mulville fills us in with the fascinating and exciting story of the design, construction and career of the schooner *Integrity*, a story which embraces the personalities of her original owner, Waldo Howland, who once owned the Concordia Boat Yard in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, and her designer, Captain

Culler, who had built a replica in 1929 of Joshua Slocum's *Spray*. *Integrity* was built as Howland's personal yacht, and embodied much of *Spray* in her lines and construction, including her unique steering arrangement. Launched in 1962, the elegant fifty-two-foot, thirty-ton schooner had all the resources of the Concordia yard behind her. Few yachts were ever built with such loving attention to materials and detail. During her eight years under Howland's ownership, *Integrity* became a familiar sight in American East Coast waters, and so popular that copies of her were built in fibreglass in two sizes by other manufacturers.

In 1970 *Integrity* was sold to a charter company; after departing Moorhead City on a voyage to Grenada, she was overwhelmed by a Force Nine gale and damaged by a rogue wave some four hundred miles into the North Atlantic. The crew was rescued by a passing freighter and taken to Bermuda; *Integrity* was left a drifting, abandoned hulk at the mercy of the windswept ocean until she was found a month later by Geoffrey Hines in his yacht *Captain Cap*. Hines and his mate, Les Hummel, took her in tow to Turks Island with the intent of salvaging her. However, relations between Hines and Hummel deteriorated during the tow over salvage-related matters. Upon arriving at Turks Island, Hummel slipped the tow and veered the wreck off in a new direction. Only after local police cleared up the affair did *Integrity* arrive at her Hawk's Bay anchorage. A series of costly legal entanglements and long, fruitless negotiations ensued. These had not actually been settled when *Integrity* sank mysteriously at her mooring, at which point the Crown, whose property she had become after the sinking, sold her for one dollar. *Integrity* passed through several hands, losing her hardware in the process. When Mulville entered the picture, she belonged to Mr. Bamber who had bought her for a thousand dollars.

Mulville planned to tow her to Cat Island. While making her ready, he found, still on board, the bronze steering-wheel

"boss" nut that had connected *Integrity's* steering wheel to its shaft. The large and beautifully crafted "boss" nut was a simple reminder of the quality of excellence that had once been associated with the schooner. Recognizing it as an object that might be of sentimental value to someone, he placed the "boss" nut in a box for safe-keeping. In the end, the towing venture to Cat Island was not successful; *Integrity* sank near Turks Passage.

Months later, while cruising in *Iskra* through Scotland's Firth of Inverness, Mulville had an astonishing chance meeting with Waldo Howland. It was here that Howland would learn the complete story of *Integrity*. It was also here that Mulville was able to present to Howland and his wife the "boss" nut that he had retrieved from *Integrity*. One can only imagine the silent, sober reaction.

This is a particularly well-written tale by someone who knows ships and the sea, and how to write about both. It is a worthy book indeed, a touching tale and an intensely gripping narrative.

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Rob Mills. *Coastal Cruising Newfoundland*. St. John's, NF: Harry Cuff Publications, 1993. 170 pp., appendices. \$18.95 (+ \$4 p&h), spiral-bound; ISBN 0-921191-81-2.

The island portion of the province of Newfoundland, with 6000 miles of coastline and hundreds of bays, harbours, and coves, is a perfect destination for those seeking new cruising experiences. Rob Mills' stated purpose is to supplement the *Sailing Directions for Newfoundland* and the Cruising Club of America's *Cruising Guide to Newfoundland*. He accomplishes his goal by focusing on what cruising sailors need to know. The main part of the book is describes over 240 locations that anyone cruising the Newfoundland coast might find worth a visit. Mills also provides useful information such as a list of Marine Service Centres where a boat can be hauled

out and stored until the next sailing season, or the fact that Small Craft Warnings are not used in Newfoundland, as well as a list of the summer events around the island, like the Great Lobster Boil in Lewisporte.

The organisation is geographical, starting at Portugal Cove in Conception Bay and going counterclockwise around the island to St. John's. In each location a description is provided of the approach, the docking facilities and the anchoring areas. Mills very sensibly advises when the cruiser should seek local knowledge. Where appropriate, shore side facilities are indicated. Since many locations lack extensive provisioning facilities, the cruiser will have to plan provisioning stops well in advance. At several locations Mills suggest the fish processing plant as a source of water and ice. The state of each fish plant should be checked in advance as most of the plants may work only a few weeks each year in good times. Given the current state of the fishery, many plants are not operating at all.

Most of the descriptions are short, as might be expected in a book that covers all of Newfoundland in under 170 pages. For several areas Mills provides some local historical lore. However, allowances should be made for inaccuracies, and tolerant readers will keep in mind that this is not a history textbook.

There are some things which are missing here that are found in other cruising guides. Particularly irritating is the lack of sketch maps, aerial photos of the harbours, and colour pictures of marine and terrestrial wildlife. On the positive side, the book is mercifully free of advertising. The two are probably related. The book should probably have been printed on more durable paper stock, since cruising guides are usually exposed to the elements; it seems to me that the book will have to last several seasons if you are to make use of even half of it.

If you are planning to visit the island this book should be handy to your nav station.

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