

BOOK REVIEWS

John B. Hattendorf (ed.). *Maritime History, Volume I: The Age of Discovery*. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing, 1996. xv + 331 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, suggested readings, index. US \$29.50, paper; ISBN 0-89464-834-9.

Some instructors who teach undergraduate courses on the age of exploration have long complained about the lack of a suitable textbook. *The Age of Discovery*, which contains selected lectures from a National Endowment for the Humanities-sponsored summer institute at Brown University in 1992 edited by John B. Hattendorf, currently Ernest J. King Professor of Maritime History at the Naval War College in Newport, RI, is on one level planned to fill this need. As a volume in Krieger's imaginative "Open Forum Series," it is also designed "to summarize the latest interpretations in this field" and to introduce "students to the wider literature." Measured against these two objectives the book has decidedly mixed success, serving much better as a text than as an introduction to the most important debates. Moreover, the degree to which the latter goal is met is related to the particular author involved.

As a narrative, the book does a reasonable job of touching many of the high points. The opening section — three chapters on "The Late Medieval Background" by Richard W. Unger of the University of British Columbia — is especially useful, particularly the chapters on navigation and ship types. It is also nice to have a lengthy section on "Portuguese Expansion," a subject often poorly-treated in general surveys. The contributions here come mostly from Charles Verlinden, with a single chapter by George Winius. A third set of chapters by Felipe Fernández-Armesto, William D. Phillips, Jr., and Carla Rahn Phillips, focus on "Spain and the Conquest of the Atlantic," while a final segment by Tony Ryan on "The World Encompassed" examines primarily the British and French contributions. Although it is somewhat disappointing that smaller European maritime powers, such as the Netherlands, are for the most part

ignored, this merely reflects the fact that no book of this sort can possibly treat all potential topics. More disturbing, however, is the solidly Eurocentric perspective: after all the work in recent years by maritime scholars sensitive to non-European contributions, the sort of myopia suggested by the volume's title is very much to be regretted.

Unfortunately, the book is much less successful at introducing students to the main debates in specialized fields than in providing a broad survey. Without question the two most solid sections in this regard are those on "The Late Medieval Background" and "Spain and the Conquest of the Atlantic." Unger's prose is always a delight, and his chapters here are no exception. The debates are clearly articulated, and a brief, but well chosen, selection of recommended readings will quickly take even neophytes to the heart of the various issues. Similarly, the five chapters on Spain, which collectively comprise the largest part of the book, provide a good overview of current debates, although since more of the relevant literature is in languages other than English, it is likely that a higher proportion of students will find some difficulty in consulting it.

It is necessary, however, to be much more critical of the other two sections. While Tony Ryan, who was given by far the broadest remit, does deal fairly effectively with some of the historiographic debates, his list of suggested readings is heavily weighted toward older — and not necessarily more readable — studies. But the Verlinden and Winius chapters on Portugal for the most part not only ignore the debates but also provide little guidance on the current literature. To be fair, Winius does append a reasonable one-paragraph discussion of the secondary sources. But in four chapters Verlinden provides a list of selected readings only for the one on cartography, arguably the least central of his topics.

On balance, *The Age of Discovery* can be a useful introductory text in university-level maritime history courses or general surveys if

used with care. But despite its good intentions, it falls far short of being an adequate introduction even to all the obvious topics, let alone those that fall outside the limited remit given the various authors. Instructors who adopt it — or students who discover it on their own — need to be aware of this shortcoming in order to avoid walking away with a misplaced confidence that they comprehend the most important debates. *The Age of Discovery* ought more appropriately to be viewed as the first leg in a much more complex intellectual voyage.

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Paul Butel, Ph. Loupes, J. Pontet (eds.). *Bulletin du Centre d'histoire des espaces atlantiques*, no.7. Talence: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine, 1995 [Esplanade des Antilles, Domaine universitaire, 33405 Talence CEDEX, France]. 231 pp., tables, figures, maps. 100 FFr, paper; ISBN 2-85892-223-3.

This scholarly annual publishes articles about the history of life on any ocean, not only the Atlantic; witness Geneviève Bouchon's survey herein of trade and society around the Indian Ocean at the time the Portuguese first sailed on it in the years before and after 1500. (183-97) The *Bulletin* has a natural tendency, however, to focus on enterprise at Bordeaux, where the three editors are university professors. Among the most substantial of the thirteen pieces presented here are three detailed studies of Bordeaux merchant groups in the seventeenth century, especially the numerous Dutchmen and other foreigners. They are the fruit of research in notarial and other records at Bordeaux, and one of them (by Bernard Gautier) also touches on the foreign merchants at Rouen. The three authors have tried to draw general conclusions about the currents of trade and the rising and falling of foreign merchant interests at Bordeaux, but all offer enough of their findings — names and facts — to interest serious students of French trade and traders. Two shorter articles deal with individual firms at Bordeaux (Cayrou and Castaing) in the period *circa* 1750-1900, in which the Castaing family were interesting for

their mixed race, French and black West Indian.

The trading regions immediately to the south and north of Bordeaux, but in widely different periods, are the subjects of three other articles. The best is about eighteenth-century trade between Aquitaine and Spanish Navarre, centred on the town of Pamplune. Excellent maps (the only maps in this volume) show the currents of trade out of Spanish Navarre. Most of this trade in early modern times was by routes across the Pyrenees to the French port of Bayonne, which makes this article a welcome addition to the meagre history of Bayonne trade presently accessible. The other two articles in this group are much shorter: an interesting study of the Spanish Basques on the Atlantic in the sixteenth century is based on archival research in Spain, but is only a tantalizing twelve pages long; and another on mutual social assistance in the Charente-inférieure, 1850-1845, is no more than a summary in three pages.

On the subject of overseas enterprise, always present in the *Bulletin*, the longest article tells a detailed story of nineteenth-century French investments in Venezuela, especially in its short-lived mint, 1885-90. The story is set in the period of Ferdinand de Lesseps' work on the Panama Canal when French businessmen were drawn to invest more and more in Latin America. Two other articles concern war and trade, one raising questions about the effects of the British blockade in the Napoleonic wars, the other — unfortunately without notes or references of any kind — surveying the French system of convoys in the eighteenth-century wars.

Twelve of the thirteen authors cite their sources, and some offer useful comments on them. However, the principal editor (and founder) of the *Bulletin*, Paul Butel, has contributed an article, *Archives d'entreprise et histoire du négoce*, in which he reports on the progress of studies in French overseas trade. He directs attention especially to work on such family firms as Schroder, Schyler, Cruse and some of the brandy merchants.

Nearly all of the work in this volume concerns maritime business enterprise. At the same time, much of the research behind this work is inevitably genealogical, as most early modern business was done by family firms whose social history is usually more accessible

than their trade. Used in this way, genealogical studies are a welcome trend, especially where business records are lacking and consequently the few firms whose records do survive may figure too prominently in history books. Where this is the case, a more accurate picture of trading circles may be sketched by tracing the evolution and activities of merchant families, using the few whose papers have survived only as examples.

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Bôrje Karlsson, *et al.* (eds.). *Sjöhistorisk Årskrift för Åland, 1994-95*. Mariehamn: Ålands Nautical Club r.f., Stiftelsen Ålands Sjöfartsmuseum, 1995. 191 pp., photographs, maps. 100 F1M, paper; ISSN 0788-799X.

This publication is the yearbook of the Åland Maritime Museum. It contains nine articles as well as the annual reports of the Ålands Nautical Club, the Åland Maritime Museum, and the *Pommern* Museum. A special section includes a tribute to Dr. Basil Greenhill, a great friend of Åland and Finland on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday.

Two articles describe the 1930s voyages of *Pommern* and *Ponape* in the grain trade from Australia. One is based on the diary of a seventeen-year old boy, the other on the memoirs of *Ponape's* and *Pommern's* cook. Though each describes different activities in Erikson's barques, together they reveal something about life at sea in sail of nearly sixty years ago.

Two other articles feature shipwrecks. The first tells of the destruction of the schooner *Kruse* by a drifting mine in the Åland Skerries in November 1918. The other tells of the steamer *Bore Fs* three foundering as well as salvages and of her service in the Russian Imperial Navy during World War I. The author was a passenger in *Bore I* on the third sinking in 1950, and managed to wake his cabin mate by dipping the latter's hand in the rising water.

One article focuses on the Seafarers Inn at Rodhamn, a shelter for shipping in stormy weather. The inn's recorded history began in 1758, but archival sources suggest that some form of inn may have existed a hundred years

earlier. The advent of the steamer reduced Rodhamn's importance, and the inn eventually closed in 1940.

The Tsarist regime's efforts to Russify the Finnish pilotage service in the years before World War I are examined in one essay, supported by three pages of documentation. Finnish pilots staged a mass resignation in 1912 as part of a campaign passive resistance against a hateful and corrupt regime. The Tsarist authorities responded by trying to replace the Finnish pilots with Russians whose only experience had been in the Caspian Sea.

Other contributions include discussion of the construction of steel vessels in Åland, which was rare enough to be unusual, and the experiences of T. Danielsson during four voyages completed during World War II. Danielsson had signed on as mess boy in *SS Yrsa* in October 1939, carrying paper from Sweden to New York. His last voyage ended with the German occupation of Bergen. He was also a spectator to the destruction of the German cruiser *Königsberg* by the British Fleet Air Arm.

Additional chapters cover the 1994 activities of the Ålands Nautical Club and the Maritime Museum. The 1994 report of the *Pommern* Museum includes reference to the progress that has been made in sewing the upper topgallant and stay sails.

The Yearbook will have special appeal to anyone with particular interest in the nautical history of the Ålands Islands. All articles and reports are followed by excellent summaries in English, which make the material in the Yearbook accessible to a broad audience.

Daniel G. Harris
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Walter Asmus, Andreas Kunz, Ingwer E. Mommensen. *Atlas zur Verkehrsgeschichte Schleswig-Holsteins im 19. Jahrhundert*. Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Schleswig-Holsteins, Band 25; Neumunster: Wachholtz Verlag, 1995. 92 pp., maps. 45 DM, cloth; ISBN 3-529-02925-4.

The isthmus linking Germany with the peninsula of Denmark (Jutland) formerly consisted of the counties Schleswig in the north and Holstein in

the south, both belonging to the Danish kingdom. War in 1848 led eventually to a Danish withdrawal from the counties in 1864; from 1866 they were incorporated into the German empire and called the province of Schleswig-Holstein. After World War I the northern part of Schleswig rejoined Denmark.

The region was situated on the crossroads of traffic north and south by land and transport from the Baltic in the east to North Sea harbours in the west and back. As a result, it possessed great strategic and commercial importance. Then, during the period 1777-1784, the Danish government constructed the so-called Eider Canal, a waterway based mainly on pre-existing rivers. In 1895 the Germans opened the North-East Sea Canal which partly used the same course but was directed southward to the Elbe estuary, closer to Hamburg. The new canal not only had much greater capacity (3000 vs. 400 tons) but was also both a response and a reinforcement to the emerging hegemony in overseas transport of this principal port. Maps 6 to 12 and 36 in the *Atlas zur Verkehrsgeschichte Schleswig-Holsteins im 19. Jahrhundert* show this pattern very clearly. A contrary development is discerned in Maps 3 to 5, showing the expansion of the network of post-roads. By the 1830s Hamburg was like a spider in a thin radial web and nearly all traffic to and from the north had to pass the town.

The road function was only partly substituted by railroads, as maps 19 to 29 show. Numerous connections were completed and, since many avoided Hamburg, the main port lost its exclusive pivot role in rail traffic soon after 1867. The post-road and railroad density grew enormously in the years 1880-1914, proving that many towns in this region could be supplied by and ship goods by the nearest old port. But what also can be deduced from the *Atlas* is that the whole northern Schleswig-Holstein region suffered from a selection process in which most of the old sea ports diminished in importance in favour of Kiel, Altona, Lubeck and above all Hamburg. This reflects the southward trend of industrial economic power and that a process that Europeans call "Jutlandisation" was already at work. Despite some early industrialisation, Schleswig-Holstein tended to agrarian specialisation and the exportation of cattle and dairy

products through the small old ports.

The authors of the *Atlas* have tried to visualise the nineteenth-century transport history of a crossroads region in Northern Europe by depicting changes and developments in networks, quantities of shipped goods and commercial town functions. They claim they were the first to do this completely by computer through a cartographic program called THEMAK2. No doubt their efforts have been very successful. Most mono-thematic maps are very easy to read and to compare with one another, thanks to the decision to print some of them four on one page. Moreover the themes are aggregated so that developments in roads, rail and waterways can also be seen in one view. The sources include, among others, Danish and Prussian statistical tables from 1777 (Eider Canal) and 1832 (post-roads) and nineteenth-century topographical and thematic maps. The figures were not meant to be used for a 1995 atlas but the added tables show such an accuracy that the writers cannot have been very wrong in transfiguring them into maps. The volume could be an example for other thematic atlases to come and on transport history in particular.

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Rainer Lagoni, Hellmuth St. Seidenfus, Hans J. Teuteberg. *Nord-Ostsee-Kanal 1895-1995*. Neumiinster: Wachholtz Verlag, 1995. 428 pp., maps, colour endjacket map, illustrations, photographs (b+w, colour), figures, tables, bibliography, index. DM 78, cloth; ISBN 3-529-05319-8.

In 1995 the German ministry of traffic published a festschrift commemorating the centenary of the Nord-Ostsee-Kanal (NOK), better known worldwide as the Kiel Canal. The canal, originally named the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Kanal until it was renamed after World War I, is the busiest artificial waterway in the world, linking the Baltic with the North Sea. Stretching from Kiel to Brunsbüttel on the Elbe estuary, the NOK is roughly 100 kilometres long, considerably shorter than the Suez Canal (161 kilometres), and a bit longer than the Panama Canal (82 kilometres). Since its opening in June 1895, about five million ships have transitted the NOK, thus avoiding the

voyage around Denmark and saving about 250 sea miles. Cutting through Schleswig-Holstein, the NOK was not the first of its kind in that region, but the only one with lasting national and perhaps international importance.

Fourteen authors of high reputation were asked to describe the canal's history, from predecessors in earlier centuries to the canal debates in the context of German unification in the nineteenth century, dealing with the technical construction and modernization, analysing the economic importance and success, discussing questions of constitutional and international law, looking into military and naval aspects, describing the canal administration and ending with ecological questions, town and demographic developments in the canal area. The result is an impressive volume which leaves few points untouched. Personally, I would have liked a chapter on the propaganda made for the canal by means of press and literary products, of paintings, of arts and craft objects or souvenir articles. Building the canal was a matter of national prestige for imperial Germany and much ado was made about it.

Two points deserve special mention. When the Kiel Canal was first under construction the engineers, politicians and naval circles thought that the projected width of 66.7 m on the water level and 22 m on the canal bottom would be sufficient to allow the quick passage of naval vessels between Kiel and the North Sea. But within thirteen years, warship evolution from armoured cruisers to battleships of the Dreadnought-class made these expectations obsolete. Between 1908 and 1914 the enlargement to widths of 102.5 m (44 m on the bottom) was carried out according to the new requirements at the costs at 242 million goldmarks compared to 156 million goldmarks which construction of the canal in the 1880s and 1890s had cost. Although the battleship SMS *Kaiser* made a trial voyage through the canal in July 1914 just before the war began, the military benefit proved minimal.

Indeed, Michael Salewski argues in his paper that despite primarily naval oriented arguments in favour of building the canal, the waterway's importance to sea power had vanished long before World War I began. It is even questionable whether the canal ever possessed more than marginal value because no naval

power ever behaved the way German naval leaders anticipated. England, for example, opted for a distant blockade of the North Sea and never attempted a close blockade of the canal in the Elbe estuary.

While many workers and contractors profited enormously during the construction years the NOK failed economically to produce positive results. After a short prosperous period, business figures remained in the red after 1914. Even a second enlargement in the 1960s did not improve the situation very much. Today the Federal Republic of Germany subsidizes the NOK with 170 million marks yearly while the income amounts to 37 million marks. The cost of using the NOK is too high, especially while the price for fuel remains relatively low. Most of the coastal and container feeder shipping takes the longer route around Skagen. Its present importance for other purposes is demonstrated by the 1994 figures. Roughly a third of the 62,000 vessels passing the canal were pleasure boats.

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Gordon H. Boyce. *Information, Mediation and Institutional Development: The Rise of Large-scale Enterprise in British Shipping, 1870-1919*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995. xi + 346 pp., tables, appendix, bibliography, index. US \$79.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7190-3847-2. Distributed in Canada and the United States by St. Martin's Press, N Y.

It had always seemed to me somehow paradoxical that Great Britain, a country where modern business history had originated (including a large number of shipping firm histories) with the so-called "Liverpool School" led by Francis E. Hyde, nevertheless lacked a comprehensive business history of the shipping industry as a whole. Gordon Boyce attempts to fill this gap. As well, he offers more food for thought to the critics of the Chandlerian paradigm in business history. In this sense, the outcome cannot be more conclusive: shipping industry, one of the few flourishing British industries during 1870-1914, owed its success not to the creation of large-scale vertical-integrated managerial firms, but to a more flexible structure, characterized by

specialized enterprises, usually family owned, linked with contracting networks built up by trust, interpersonal knowledge and reputation. Such networks, and particularly the importance attached to trust, appear to have been fashionable in the shipping industry, according to this book and other recent works devoted to Britain, Greece or Spain.

Boyce divides his book into three parts devoted, respectively, to the historic development of the shipping industry, its organization and finance, and its management and entrepreneurial practices. The first part, comprising half the book, begins with a discussion of the changing environment within the industry, with particular attention to technical change, markets and the role of the state. In this regard, Boyce has overlooked several important works, such as those of Sarah Palmer. In chapters 2 and 3 Boyce proceeds to explain the origins of capital and investors in British shipping, showing the formation of networks in each type of shipping firm. Then follow three chapters which analyse the consolidation process of the years 1880-1900, the recession of the first decade of the twentieth century, and the formation of large shipping groups (holding companies) during 1911-1920 which resulted in the formation of a "loose oligopoly" in the industry. Boyce adheres to a traditional periodization (that of Sturme), carrying out a systematic analysis of the mergers and acquisitions in those years. He argues that the main aim for the acquiring firm was to consolidate existing operations while avoiding competition or supporting diversification.

The second part offers the somewhat novel perspective of conferences as cooperative arrangements among shipowners and between shipowners and merchants. Boyce also addresses the relationship between shipping firms and other activities, though he considers only evidence from the shipbuilding industry and the Furness group, and not other activities such as insurance, shipbroking, shipping agencies and so on. His conclusion is clearly anti-Chandlerian, echoing an argument already developed by Simon Ville: by means of long-term agreements, interlocking directorship and other intermediate contracting arrangements, shipowners reduced transaction costs without the need for vertical integration. In chapter 9 Boyce offers a particu-

larly brilliant challenge to the Williamson-Chandler paradigm: he argues that M and U-forms may be adequate structures for manufacturing, but in service industries where information is highly client-specific, "holding companies allowed units some contracting autonomy to preserve subsidiaries' reputations, client information and other specialized knowledge." (199) To Boyce, the holding companies of the first two decades of this century resemble the networks of the nineteenth century. As was the case with those networks, holdings also constituted an internal capital market and acted as financial intermediaries for the group.

In the third part, Boyce shows how shipowners invested in management by employing three models based on interpersonal knowledge: what he calls protector-protégé relationship, network ties, and trustee links. By these means they were able to "build personal trust and reduce the scope for opportunism on the part of managers." (268) Boyce also addresses the debate on the role of entrepreneurship in British economic decline. In contrast to Chandler and Lazonick, Boyce states that, for shipowners, to invest in social and political connections was by no means irrational but a fruitful source of clients and information. In his closing chapter, Boyce offers both a summation and a reflection on the near future. Here Boyce seems to reinforce Payne's thesis, asserting that business failure is a problem of the interwar period, not of the years before 1914. The problem then becomes one of explaining the factors which caused that decline. Boyce suggests that the answer rests in the inertia of the networks to crucial environmental changes taking place during the interwar years as well as after 1945, when other competitors, such as the Greeks, who were also based on networks, were emerging. This begs the question, was this "environment" not the main cause of British shipping success, rather than a particular pattern of business organization? In other words, what is the true relevance of business structures and management practices in economic development? Boyce himself is quite aware of this problem, which clearly exceeds the scope of his book. What some economists have called "the microfoundations of macroeconomic competitiveness" is a question that is still far

from being resolved.

Boyce uses some of the existing literature on the theory of the firm and industry's structure, although it is by no means clear that it always can be depicted as "principal-agent theory," as he states repeatedly (why not the broader "economics of information"?). This theory seems appropriate to some of his analysis but, in order to explain the boundaries of shipping firms, the main implication of that theory is asymmetric information, something that is also taken into account by transaction cost economics, as Boyce explicitly recognizes. (176-77) Nevertheless, he also emphasizes the role of knowledge and inter- and intra-firm learning, the importance of social and cultural elements in shaping rules and institutional rigidities and inertia, aspects which have been extensively developed by evolutionary (competence) theory. This, however, is a minor point in a *very well* done work, well supported by primary evidence, and highly recommended to all scholars interested in British business history in general, and in maritime business history in particular.

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T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds.). *Glasgow. Volume I: Beginnings to 1830*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995. xii + 435 p., maps, illustrations, tables, glossary, index. US \$90, cloth; ISBN 0-7190-3691-7. Distributed in Canada and the United States by St. Martin's Press, NY.

In an academic environment in which research funds are increasingly limited, and networking, interdisciplinary studies and inter-institutional initiatives are very much *de rigueur*. Collaborative projects have emerged as an effective means of attracting grants, pooling resources and thereby producing large scale, multi-faceted histories. Examples drawn from the maritime field illustrate this point; thus, the Atlantic Canada, Channel Islands, and Maritime History of Devon projects have all brought together the specialist knowledge of an array of contributors to yield substantial, wide-ranging volumes. The first of a three-volume study, *Glasgow: Beginnings to 1830* is not just another

of these collaborative works, it is an example of the genre at its best.

In order to succeed, the directors of such projects need to combine three principal ingredients: appropriate subject areas; contributors willing to provide original studies in their specialised fields; and an editorial policy which allows the authors a fair degree of latitude in the treatment of their topics, but ensures that these specialised studies are placed in proper contexts and, most importantly, that the various chapters gel to form a coherent volume. All these objectives are achieved in this study. It comprises an introductory overview of Glasgow's evolution from medieval times to the early industrial era, followed by eleven chapters, the first two of which survey the development of the burgh and its economic and political interests down to c1740. This provides a substantial platform upon *which are placed more detailed accounts of* Glasgow's physical growth, and the commercial, political, industrial, social and intellectual life of the city in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A concluding chapter brings these various strands together and considers the paradoxical situation of the early nineteenth century in which Glasgow's wealth-creating capacity was expanding greatly while the social conditions of most of its inhabitants were rapidly deteriorating. The resolution of this "urban crisis" will presumably form a central theme of the second part of the trilogy.

This eminently sensible arrangement of material permits the examination of particular themes within a broad chronological framework. Naturally, maritime themes feature prominently, with experienced hands providing new insights into familiar topics. T.M. Devine, for instance, returns to Glasgow's tobacco trade, offering not only a useful historiographical survey, but also fresh thoughts on the efficiency of shipping and the roles of the banker and the smuggler in the trade, the impact on the business of the American Revolution, and the place of the capital generated by the tobacco merchants in the economic and industrial development of Glasgow and its region. This latter question is addressed more fully by R.H. Campbell who emphasises the evolutionary nature of Glasgow's industrialization, concluding that its reputation in the 1780-1830 period "as an industrial city was

not obtained by breaking from its commercial past but by building on it." (209) The trade of Glasgow before and after the "age of tobacco" is treated in separate contributions by Gordon Jackson. Here, the mundane, short sea business conducted coastwise, with Ireland, and with the Baltic and north west Europe, is afforded as much attention as the exotic, dynamic trans-Atlantic trades, while there are valuable and original examinations of the development and organisation of early steam shipping and ship-building companies on the Clyde.

An assembly of appropriate, well researched essays, this volume has further qualities. While each chapter effectively places Glasgow's experience in wider regional and national contexts, the volume amounts to more than the sum of its parts. This is to the great credit of the editors, whose "topping and tailing" of chapters, cross referencing and stylistic consistency results in a coherent, virtually seamless study. Accordingly, *Glasgow: Beginnings to 1830* is a highly readable and scholarly contribution to the field of urban history. From a maritime perspective, moreover, it enhances significantly the literature on the trade and shipping of British ports before the great age of steam.

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Bryan D. Hope. *A Curious Place: The Industrial History of Amlwch (1550-1950)*. Wrexham, Clwyd: Bridge Books, 1994. 176 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, figures, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. £17.95, cloth; ISBN 1-872424-36-8.

Amlwch is a tiny harbour on the northeast coast of the island of Anglesey. Visiting it today, it is hard to imagine it ever being used by ships, for it looks adequate only for fishing boats. Yet it was a key point in the quite extraordinary success of Thomas Williams, the country solicitor who broke the Bristol/Cornwall/South Wales axis to dominate the copper and allied trades in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

Hope's book is, however, much more than a re-telling or up-dating of that epic tale of enterprise told in John Harris' classic work, *77/e Copper King*. Following in the footsteps of the

late Aled Eames (who contributed a foreword), Hope has put in good work tracing the often obscure little ships that used the harbour at Amlwch. Perhaps more valuable is his intention, expressed in the book's sub-title, of providing a wider view of what happened in Amlwch. The variety of activities was remarkable: while some industries such as sulphur and vitriol production fitted naturally with each other and with the smelting of copper, others, such as tobacco processing, seem to bear little or no connection with anything else. It might also come as a surprise that a giant like Associated Octel operates a bromide extraction plant there and still produces significant quantities of sulphuric acid.

The book is very well produced, does not suffer from the delusion that we all know where Glendower Street is without needing a map, and generally reads well. "Generally" is subject to the stipulation that some descriptions of industrial processes are a bit laboured, and the explanation of sulphur production (38-39) is confusing in that sulphur dioxide and sulphur vapour are both referred to as "sulphur fumes." (The latter may be condensed to produce flowers of sulphur, while the former needs first to be reduced by passing it over hot coke. Both the practice and the chemistry are different.) While in this carping vein, it might be suggested that Appendix 3, a list of Amlwch inns and taverns, makes less contribution to human knowledge than does *The Good Beer Guide*, since it does not reveal which ones are still open.

The treatment of harbour administration is regrettably brief, but this reflects no discredit on the author, who has made the best of the pitiable amount of surviving information. To "pad out" the story, there is a great deal of information about Amlwch shipbuilding, which was of remarkable duration and extent considering the severe physical constraints of the place. Appendix 1 is a list of Amlwch-built ships from 1788 to the Great War: this is valuable, but this reviewer's toes curled at a note referring to the tonnages quoted as "weight." Presumably these are register tonnages, but if the author does not know, how shall we? Tonnage measurement changed a lot between 1788 and 1914.

The history of ports is an under-rated subject which has only recently begun to attract

the attention it merits. Naturally, the running has been made where there were funds to pay for research and inviting archives awaiting attention. Liverpool and London, Fremantle and...the list is not very long. Yet just as large ports were vital organs of industrialisation, so too were small ones like Amwlch, which provided essential materials — and the enterprise to do something with them. There are dozens of little ports like this around the British Isles, not all, admittedly, as interesting as Amwlch, but each with a story. Most have, at best, a tourist picture-booklet with unreliable anecdotal text. Hope has lifted Amwlch out of that league, and one hopes that his work will be imitated by devotees of other small ports.

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Linda Cooke Johnson. *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port 1074-1858*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995. xv + 440 pp., maps, tables, figures, illustrations, notes, bibliography, character list, index. US \$49.50, cloth; ISBN 0-8047-2294-3.

Shanghai today is the largest metropolitan city in China and the archetype of the modern dynamic port city. While much western attention, inevitably, is directed to wishful thinking about the future of Hong Kong, it is the boundless ambitions of Shanghai that hold the key to the economic development of China during at least the next twenty years or so. The historical grounds for this prediction can abundantly be found in Linda Cooke Johnson's fine new biography of the city.

Contrary to the traditional view that Shanghai, before the British chose it as a Treaty Port, was a mere fishing village, Johnson demonstrates that the city had enjoyed an almost thousand-year-old history as one of China's leading commercial and maritime centres. Basing herself on a meticulous reading of the many classical Chinese gazetteers and a host of other Chinese and western sources, she has reconstructed the many centuries of Shanghai's life as a richly-textured and multi-functional market and maritime community. Pivotal to Shanghai's success was its location: on the one

hand, in the midst of a fertile region producing cotton and rice; on the other hand, at the confluence of the Huangpu and Wosung Rivers near the latter's entrance into the mighty Yangzi. One is immediately reminded of the similar site and situation of Hamburg, on the confluence of the Bille and Alster rivers, close to the Elbe and the North Sea.

In assessing the meaning of Chinese Shanghai, Johnson rigorously challenges existing orthodoxies about the urbanization of China — and for that matter, the entire non-western world — and, more often than not, finds them wanting. Thus she demolishes the eurocentric myth of the fishing village origins of the city and, driving home the point, her incisive discussion of the extent and importance of traditional Chinese trade and entrepreneurial achievement provides the basis for her rejecting Murphey's thesis, that only the modern port cities of Asia, founded by westerners, could become the engines of economic growth, diversification and modernization. Although the velocity of change would have been less, she argues, Chinese Shanghai had enough in itself to be able to have made such a qualitative leap forward. Agricultural production stimulated by the large-scale importation of fertilizer, industrial production and nationwide marketing, all on the basis of an extensive and sophisticated transport (and, one may add, financial) infrastructure, by the early nineteenth century had become significant agents of economic expansion and change.

This view of Chinese Shanghai as modernizing agent cannot be sustained in isolation and, inevitably, Johnson also challenges the view of the city as separate from the rest of China — as an "other China." Indeed, as a number of authors of recent studies on Chinese cities have argued, many Chinese commercial centres were capable of more modern operations and developments than the orthodox pre/post-1842 dichotomy suggests. Here one could also point to the astonishing ability of the Chinese financial and monetary system to handle the torrent of opium imports that deluged China in the 1830s and which immediately led to Commissioner Lin's mission, the outbreak of the First Opium War, and the "opening" of Shanghai as a Treaty Port. Shanghai, in other words, must be seen as an integral part of China, and would remain so

during the first period of western settlement at Shanghai as well.

Finally, there is the question of, as Johnson puts it, "imperialism," that is, whether Shanghai acted as an oppressive primate city draining resources away from its hinterland for the benefit of the urban merchant élites. Although Johnson concludes not to have seen any clear evidence to support this allegation of Shanghai being a "colonial" city, I think that on this point the jury must still be out. Although there was often a mutually stimulating influence between city and countryside and between agriculture, industry and commerce, it is necessary to know much more about price formation, profit margins at each level of transactions and, especially, financial relationships before one can draw anything more than a tentative conclusion. The role of the opium trade, Johnson acknowledges, is also ambiguous.

The second half of the book deals in a refreshing way with the coming of the British and the establishment of the Treaty Port at Shanghai. A separate chapter sheds much new light on the "Small Swords" rebellion and offers a thorough re-interpretation of the creation of the Foreign Inspectorate of customs. Johnson argues strongly that its origins must be sought above all in the continuation of traditional Chinese policies, even if the Europeans saw it differently and despite the fact that the future course of events would confirm that the westerners were a different kettle of fish from the outsiders who had previously been encapsulated into Chinese tributary systems. Johnson vividly describes the new British and other western sectors and she meticulously discusses the growth of the new sectors of trade and shipping in Shanghai. Her main argument, that the lines of continuity into the semi-colonial period should be taken at least as seriously as the introduction of those new elements, is convincing and it is all the more pertinent with the recent emergence of China as an economic and maritime power.

I would, however, have liked more discussion of the statistics of trade. (219-220) Taken from the *North China Herald*, they differ markedly from those given, for example, by S.W. Williams in his *The Chinese Commercial Guide* (1863 edition, reprint Taipei, 1966, 198). These variations are all the more important as it

is during this period that the full impact of Shanghai's incorporation into the western commercial and shipping world began to be felt. Maritime historians would surely also have liked more discussion about the impact of the new merchant steamers, especially those of the Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company, in the opium trade of Shanghai (see, for instance, the tantalizing map on p. 249 showing the offices of the P&O Steamship Line [*sic*], Jardine, Matheson & Co., and Sassoon).

Generally, this is a work written from above, functional and institutional; officials and regulations are more important than individuals and business operations. But this is a mere quibble. Johnson has written a splendid biography of Shanghai through the *longue durée* of almost a millennium. Her book is a first-class study which belongs in the library of all who are interested in Chinese, commercial, urban and port city history.

Frank Broeze
Nedlands, Western Australia

Joan Rusted. *Tolerable Good Anchorage: A Capsule History of St. John's, Newfoundland*. St. John's, NF: Creative Publishers, 1995. xi + 96 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, bibliography. \$8.95, US \$6.95, paper; ISBN 1-895387-57-4.

This book was written to provide an overview of information, especially for visiting tourists to Newfoundland, on the history of St. John's.

The book is organized into five chapters. The first outlines the city's origins in the sixteenth century as a safe port of haven for the international European fishing fleet on the banks off Newfoundland's east coast. The chapter also sketches the story of English-French rivalry for control of the fishery up to the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763. As well, there is a summary of Newfoundland's constitutional history from the days of the naval governors in the eighteenth century to confederation with Canada in 1949.

Rusted then focuses on St. John's itself. The second chapter provides a military history of the city from the perspective of the various fortifications installed there, from the eighteenth

century to as recently as World War II, when measures were taken to defend St. John's and North America against German attack. The third chapter has brief vignettes on the city's historic landmarks and sites, its architectural heritage, and the harbour, with a short account of the port's role as a service station of the North Atlantic. The fourth chapter contains some St. John's material in its description of local fisheries and the whales which can be found off the coast for sight seers. The last chapter, entitled "Newfoundland Trivia," is a collection of historic fact on various subjects, including St. John's.

As an attempt to provide a capsule history of St. John's, the book is not completely successful. Greater emphasis should have been given to a number of aspects of the city's development, including the role of the port. This reviewer felt, for example, that something should have been said to identify and describe the individuals who helped make that history. The social interaction between sailors visiting the port and the local populace should certainly have been discussed, as also the economic role of the port of St. John's to outport Newfoundland. Nevertheless, for visitors to the city, *Tolerable Good Anchorage* makes a good introduction to the history of both St. John's and Newfoundland.

Melvin Baker
St. John's, Newfoundland

Rosalind Power. *Fort Amherst: St. John's Nearest Outport*. St. John's, NF: Jespersion Press, 1995. 159 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs, figures, endnotes, appendices. \$13.95, paper; ISBN 0-921692-69-2.

The passage from the sea into the harbour of St. John's is so constricted that, as long as anyone can remember, it has been known simply as "The Narrows." For over three centuries, the waterway has been guarded by a series of increasingly elaborate batteries and fortifications which, for reasons of geography, were concentrated on the south side of The Narrows. The defences were known by various names, but it was the tower built in the 1770s at the seaward end of The Narrows and named after General

Sir Jeffery Amherst, who commanded the Ordnance Department at the time, which eventually gave a name to the community that gradually formed around them in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Over the centuries, Fort Amherst played several roles — as well as a defence installation, it was important as a lightkeeping station, as a small but determined fishing outport, and increasingly as a component of the adjacent port of St. John's. Author Rosalind Power addresses each of these roles in turn, but as is often the case with such local histories, her particular mission is to keep alive the memory of the community in which she grew up. She does not intend it to be a scholarly treatment of Fort Amherst, though she uses primary sources and oral testimony to support her secondary and newspaper sources. It is, rather, a labour of love, for the community has disappeared, a casualty of the growth and expansion of St. John's. Its appeal will therefore be greatest among those readers who recognize themselves or their families in the narrative.

The book is organized into four chapters. The history of the military installations and of the lighthouse dominate the first two chapters, while the emergence and evolution of the community in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries dominate the last two. Despite its proximity to St. John's, Fort Amherst was accessible only by water or by difficult foot paths. It was this isolation which allegedly gave Fort Amherst its "outport" character, and when that isolation ended in the 1950s with the completion of the road linking Fort Amherst to the rest of St. John's, the community's fate was sealed.

The book is predominantly an anecdotal one. Thus, we are provided detailed descriptions of numerous drowning accidents, boat and ship mishaps, and so on. As vivid as such vignettes may be, they are like picture postcards, colourful but revealing little about Fort Amherst as a community. Such incidents tell us nothing about the background or the context of the people who settled in Fort Amherst. Where did they come from? What was their background? Why did they choose to settle there? Did the military installations or the lighthouse serve as magnets or did fishermen settle there because better locations were no longer available? Though

"fishermen were curing fish on the south side of The Narrows as early as the 1830s, settlement did not take place until the early 1900s. (135) This means that as a *community*, Fort Amherst lasted barely two generations. How vigorous an identity can there have been in so ephemeral a community? This question, or the larger one of where Fort Amherst fits into the larger Newfoundland context, or how its origins, development and demise compares with other communities, is not asked. In the end, *Fort Amherst: St. John's Nearest Outport* provides us with glimpses of an unusual place where people worked and lived, but its character as a community distinct from St. John's remains elusive.

Olaf Uwe Janzen
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Garry Cranford and Ray Hillier. *Potheads & Drumhoops: A Folk History of New Harbour*. Rev. ed.; St. John's, NF: Flanker Press, 1983, 1995. 70 pp., photographs, illustrations. \$9.95, paper; ISBN 0-9698767-2-6.

Garry Cranford and Ed Janes. *From Cod to Crab: Stories & History of Hant's Harbour*. St. John's, NF: Flanker Press, 1995. xiv + 210 pp., photographs, illustrations, appendices, \$12.95, paper; ISBN 0-9698767-1-8.

For the past four centuries the cod fishery provided the backbone of the Newfoundland economy. The province's recent fishery crisis and ensuing cod moratorium have changed the situation considerably. Many recognize that, should the fishery return, it will likely be very different from that carried out in the past. Possibly for this reason, accounts of the older Newfoundland way of life seem more popular than ever. (Although *Potheads and Drumhoops* written prior to the moratorium, it has been updated and reissued.) Those who remember how things were might, in this manner, preserve the past for future generations. One useful approach is a community history. This is exactly what Garry Cranford, in collaboration with Ray Hillier and Ed Janes, have done in *Potheads and Drumhoops: A Folk History of New Harbour* and *From Cod to Crab: Stories and History of*

Hant's Harbour. Each examines the histories and traditions of a particular community in Trinity Bay, supplemented by the recollections of older residents.

I have some concerns about both works. Professional historians will find little of interest, at least in terms of providing answers that hitherto have eluded scholars to some questions. These works are a straightforward description of events and do not take the form of a scientific study. In addition, the various aspects of community life often seem thrown together on the basis of whatever could be "dug up." There is little that is systematic in the way the diverse topics are arranged in each text. For readers unfamiliar with Newfoundland geography there is the added frustration of not having a map included with either book. The publishers should take note, in the event that subsequent editions of the books are released.

With these caveats in mind, the works are generally enjoyable and valuable additions to Newfoundland community histories. Both texts reflect, as only books written by Newfoundlanders could, the sense of angst and longing for better times accompanying the loss of the fishery. This sense of displacement is most vividly reflected in the late Ray Hillier's piece "The Home" in *Potheads and Drumhoops*. Although not about the fishery itself, it does capture the sorrow of losing everything one holds dear. There is ample treatment of the negative aspects of Newfoundland history in each book, such as disasters at sea and economic depressions. Yet this only reinforces the image of Newfoundlanders as a resilient and hardy people. The Cranford and Janes' book takes its title from the ability of Hant's Harbour residents to overcome adversity by moving into a new type of fishery. Indeed, this model has been adopted in many areas of the province and thus the implications are not confined to just one community. Aside from being entertaining reads, these books bring a definite message of hope to the residents of their subject towns and the entire province.

Both books are touching reminders of the pride Newfoundlanders feel for a vanishing way of life. Yet they never become mired in self-pity, and both books point with hope toward the future of their communities. If anything, the appearance of such histories can only serve to

strengthen the love for their home and the conviction that it will continue to thrive in the future. As a Newfoundlander, I commend Mr. Cranford and his co-authors for these fine efforts.

David Clarke
St. John's, Newfoundland

C. Keith Wilbur. *Tall Ships of the World: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1st ed.; Old Saybrook, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 1995. vi + 98 pp., illustrations, maps, sources on sail training, selected maritime museums list, bibliography, index. US \$14.95, paper; ISBN 1-56440-748-9.

Keith Wilbur is a retired physician who served in the US Navy during World War II; he is both author and illustrator of several titles in the "Illustrated Living History" series, including *Pirates and Patriots of the Revolution* and *Home Building and Woodworking in Colonial America*. *Tall Ships* was originally published in 1986 and is aimed at younger readers, particularly those interested in crewing on board sail training ships. For this reason, its scope is broad rather than deep.

The book is illustrated by 300 delightful pen-and-ink sketches, encompassing such items as binnacles, chronometers, chip- and harpoon-logs, harness-casks, magnetic- and gyro-compass, sheath-knives, speaking trumpet, sail-maker's tools, sextants and the non-slip whaling shoes used in the mid-nineteenth century by flensers when cutting in a whale.

Wilbur's account opens by encapsulating the development of the North American sailing ship, starting with the Baltimore clipper, and successively describing the transatlantic packets of the mid-1800s, the extreme clippers which succeeded them, and finally the massive 5000-ton steel-hulled, wire-rigged, sailing ships in mercantile use at the turn of the century. He explains how the classic square-rigger was rigged, and how it was sailed using wind power alone, with clear descriptions and sketches of such things as points of sail, prevailing winds in various parts of the world, and various methods used to measure the speed and determine the ship's position. Other topics include the names of watches, marking of the lead-line, how time

is reckoned by the bell, comments about life aboard, who the "idlers" were, sailmaking, the apprentice system, and so on.

The disaster that overtook the *Franklin* is retold; indeed, Wilbur does not gloss over the fact that sailing ships, even today, are still at the mercy of an unforgiving wind and sea. He recounts the loss of the *Kobenhavn* in 1921 and more recently that of the *Marques* in 1984.

The history of the Sail Training Association, and the "Tall Ship Races" in which many of the training ships compete, receive special attention, including a double page spread illustrating and giving details of many of the Class A Sail Training ships currently in service. Another useful feature is an up-to-date list of Maritime Museums in the United States, giving address, opening dates and hours, together with a short description of their primary focus. All this and more would make *Tall Ships* an acceptable gift for the younger sailor.

John H. Harland
Kelowna, British Columbia

Michael Hadley. *God's Little Ships: A History of the Columbia Coast Mission*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1995. xx + 308 pp., end-maps, photographs, appendix, notes on sources, select bibliography, index. \$28.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55017-133-X.

God's Little Ships is a welcome addition to the literature on maritime missions. Author Michael Hadley sets out not only to recount the history of the Columbia Coast Mission (CCM) but to assess its role and value in serving the communities along the 20,000 square mile coastline of British Columbia. During its lifetime (1904-1982) the mission owned twenty sea-going vessels and latterly a number of lightweight aircraft.

The work of the CCM is interesting for several reasons. In the first place it was not simply a maritime mission. Pastoral, medical and social support was provided for the logging communities and native villagers as well as for the fishers and seafarers. Secondly, it was very much a twentieth-century organization (though it bore many resemblances to earlier maritime missions). Thirdly, the very nature of the work, concerned especially with medical aid and social

welfare to predominantly land-based communities, meant that it was eventually going to work itself out of existence. It is within this overall context that Hadley explores the work of the CCM.

In his assessment, Hadley examines the nature of the major personalities and their relationships with mission staff and the wider community. He also investigates some of the tensions within the organization between concerns with evangelism and social welfare, church authorities and mission staff, male attitudes and female workers, paternalism and native independence. Such difficulties are balanced by an assessment of the contribution of the clergy, crew, nurses and doctors who overcame great obstacles to provide very practical help and support to a diverse and dispersed population.

While not as comprehensive and thorough as Ronald Rompkey's work on Wilfred Grenfell and the International Grenfell Association, Hadley's book offers some interesting insights into the development of an organization which is relatively little known outside British Columbia. There are, however, some surprising omissions. No real attempt is made to set the CCM within the wider context of the maritime mission movement, nor is there any reference to important studies such as Roald Kverndal's *Seamen's Missions: Their Origin and Early Growth*. The work of many other contemporary researchers, such as Alain Cabantous, Alston Kennerley and Robert Miller, also receive no mention. There is little about early influences upon the development of the CCM other than a few general comments about the International Grenfell Association and the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen. Unlike these *independent* organisations, however, the CCM was run on parochial lines with authority and control ultimately in the hands of the Anglican Church of Canada. In this sense the work had much in common with the structure of the (High Church) St Andrew's Waterside Church Mission and the (more broadly-based) Missions to Seamen, though there is no attempt to explore links here. There are also constant references to the influence of the "Social Gospel," both on the founder, John Antle, and on the work generally, but this is a general observation on the practical nature of the work rather than a sustained attempt to explore

the theological implications.

Part of the problem faced by Hadley in assessing the origins and development of the CCM is the by now familiar difficulty of accessing suitable archive materials. Many documents have been lost, destroyed or are simply inaccessible, and extant documents tend on the whole to be merely brief factual reports with very little in the way of personal reflection. Hadley's task, therefore, was that of collecting material from diverse locations and trying to put the jigsaw together with many missing pieces and only a very hazy idea of the what the picture might be. He has, however, succeeded admirably in making the story lively and interesting — and, most important of all, available to a wider audience.

Stephen Friend
York, Yorkshire

Robert Cunningham. *Bluenose Coasting: A Tradition Lost*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1995. 119 pp., illustrations, photographs, appendices, index. \$7.95, paper; ISBN 0-88999-595-8.

This book is not so much a work of history as a collection of stories, anecdotes, and factoids dealing in varying degrees with the development of Atlantic Canada's coasting trade, especially along the Bay of Fundy. The author outlines his approach quite clearly when he states at the outset that the saga of Bluenose coasting "should shun dry statistics, take time to chat with a few salty characters and carry a deck-load of local anecdotes over its main cargo of fact." (17) Consistent with that approach, Cunningham provides no citations, no bibliography, and little in the way of appendices or an index. He takes an idiosyncratic view of the coasting trade that encompasses both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, covers steam as well as sail, and includes such tangential activities as motorized ferry transport, tug boating, and lumber rafting.

Much of the text is based on the recollections of Captain J. Randall Merriam (b. 1909) of Port Grenville, NS, who worked under sail aboard a succession of East Coast coasting schooners as seaman and skipper from 1924 to 1932, and later served in steam as captain of numerous regional coastal vessels. "Rand" Merriam's related experiences are interspersed

with the author's ruminations on a variety of topics, extending from Fundy folklore, humour, and local history to Canadian small craft development and the building and operation of large commercial schooners.

Some readers will be put off by Cunningham's use of language, which ranges from the quaintly archaic to the imaginatively metaphorical. The text is replete with "taunting" sea gulls, "winsome" waves, and "jealous" seas. These tortured figures of speech reach a climax of sorts with a description (12) of the Minas Basin as "a sea of marshmallow-flecked chocolate milk."

More serious than his style are Cunningham's factual errors, some of which should have been caught at the copy-editing stage. These include calling the Pilgrim ship *Mayflower* a ketch, (7) placing Gloucester, Massachusetts in the state of Maine, (64) labelling a tern schooner a staysail schooner, (4) confusing cutters with sloops and pinkies with other double-ended craft, (81, 84) and attaching the caption "a four-masted pinky schooner" to what is obviously a drawing of a Labrador whaler. (59) There are also some fanciful theories and questionable statements advanced without the benefit of hard evidence. The North American pinky, for example, is given a European origin, (82) while the decade of the 1880s is selected as the Bay of Fundy's "busiest" coasting period. (37) No basis is provided for either of these curious claims.

Flawed history is one thing; outright mythology is another. Sadly, the author insists on repeating two venerable maritime fables that stubbornly endure despite periodic debunking: the supposed invention of the schooner rig at Gloucester in 1713 by one Captain Robinson and the baseless tale of Scotsman Henry Sinclair's settlement of Nova Scotia a century before Columbus, which Cunningham uses to make the preposterous assertion (13) that the first provincial ship was built at Advocate Harbour on the Minas Channel in 1398. Both of these canards were effectively dismissed by reputable historians like Howard I. Chapelle and Samuel E. Morison more than a generation ago; nothing is served by reviving them.

In spite of its glaring imperfections, Cunningham's small book is not without some merit. It contains interesting minutiae on the business aspects of nineteenth-century Fundy

coasting as well as some useful detail relating to the construction of three-masted schooners. The book's chief contribution, however, is its indirect presentation of the career of coasterman Rand Merriam, and it is a shame that more was not done along this line. There is a critical need to record the lives of the last wind-ship sailors of Atlantic Canada before their passing. There is also a need for a comprehensive history of the region's coastal trade in the age of sail. Despite the promise of its title, *Bluenose Coasting* is not that book.

Wayne M. O'Leary
Orono, Maine

Joan E. Roué. *A Spirit Deep Within: Naval Architect W.J. Roué and the Bluenose Story*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1995. x + 104 pp., illustrations, photographs, appendix, sources. \$7.95, paper; ISBN 0-88999-561-3.

In 1994 it was announced that because of serious rot in the hull of *Bluenose II* she would be too expensive to repair and would be paid off. She was laid up and work was begun stripping her gear. Some Nova Scotians were extremely upset. Many seafarers believed she could be restored to a seagoing condition for less expenditure than estimated. Fortunately, the Federal Government decided that she would be a star attraction in Halifax Harbour for the G-7 Summit to be held in June 1995. Money was raised from government and private sources and Snyder's Shipyard in Lunenburg was commissioned to make her seaworthy again.

Except for her interior (which is that of a yacht), *Bluenose II* is a perfect replica of the famous fishing schooner *Bluenose*, launched in Lunenburg in 1921. This vessel took part in races with American schooners for the International Fishermen's Trophy, winning four and losing one. In 1929 she was commemorated on a fifty-cent stamp, considered to be one of the most outstanding Canadian stamps. In 1937 she again appeared, this time on the Canadian dime where it remains to this day. In short, Canadians have a strong awareness of, and attach powerful meaning to, *Bluenose* as a symbol of this country's nautical heritage.

Bluenose and many others were designed by

the Canadian pioneer in naval architecture, W.J. Roué, many of whose yachts and schooners are still sailing and are well respected in North American waters. We are fortunate that Roué's great granddaughter, Joan Roué, has gathered the pertinent events and accomplishments which formed his life. *A Spirit Deep Within* is well laid out, with clear, easy-to-read printing, excellent photographs and neat, informative drawings. We quickly learn that Roué was a humble man who did not feel that he had accomplished anything extraordinary. Yet he was arguably Canada's greatest designer of wooden vessels.

The author includes an article Roué wrote in 1923 for the *Halifax Herald* entitled "How Bluenose Was Designed." It begins with a brief discussion of the origin of schooners and an outline of their design evolution. This leads into an explanation of how, in 1920, it was decided that it would be a good thing for Nova Scotia to have a race between vessels of the Banking Fleet, the prize to be the Herald and Mail Trophy Cup. The championship was won by the bowsprited *Delawanna* over the no-bowsprit *Knockabout-types* out of Lunenburg. Shortly afterwards an International Fishermen's Trophy was put up for competition between Canadians and Americans. The Americans entered *Esperanto* and won the first race.

As we had no vessels measuring up to the *Esperanto* type, Roué was asked to produce a new vessel of a different design to match the Gloucesterman. The first requirement, however, was that the vessel would have to be a paying proposition, either fishing or freighting. Roué then described in outline the mathematics he used in calculating the sail area and the distribution of displacement, that is the length, width and shape of the hull. The result was the *Bluenose* design, a combination of the Gloucester and Nova Scotian vessels, having the depth of the former and the breadth of the latter. The aim was not to win races but to produce better and safer fishing vessels with the same displacement as was the usual practice. Racing rules were established on this basis.

This description is followed by one of the most interesting and important sections of the book, a copy of the specifications of the original *Bluenose* as prepared by Roué. These have never

appeared before. *A Spirit Deep Within* concludes with descriptions of a small sailboat, the *Roué 20*, and the *Bluenose Class* of small yachts. The appendices include a long list of Roué designs.

Joan Roué has provided us with a work that fills an important gap in Canada's maritime history. It should be in the library of everyone interested in ships and the sea.

L.B. Jenson
Queensland, Nova Scotia

Robert B. Townsend (intro. and ed.). *Tales from the Great Lakes. Based on C.H.J. Snider's "Schooner Days"*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995. 203 pp., illustrations, photographs. Cdn \$16.99, US \$15, £9.50, paper; ISBN 1-55002-234-2.

Charles Henry Jeremiah Snider (1879-1971) was a "renaissance man" of the Great Lakes maritime scene. His early years were spent beneath the canvas of Toronto's busy waterfront. He worked the schooners during the heyday of the lakes sail trade, then went on to become a prominent war correspondent, yachtsman, historian, artist, researcher, photographer and model-builder. But above all Snider was a writer. His prodigious research skills spawned at least nine books on the early years of lakes marine history. Perhaps his greatest contribution to the history of the Great Lakes in the age of sail was his column "Schooner Days," written for the *Telegram* from 1931 to 1956. In it, he related 1,303 separate anecdotes about Great Lakes commercial sailing. These stories were not mere adjuncts to research. Written at his famous desk - assembled from the bones of "two and twenty vessels of renown" — they reflected as well Snider's own first-hand experiences as a sailor and those of his many friends and acquaintances. For decades researchers and historians have passed the columns around and shared them. With the publication of *Tales From the Great Lakes*, a fraction, at least, are now easily available.

The fifty-odd columns which sailor and editor Robert Townsend has distilled from this treasure trove are loving sketches of the lake schooners, their people and their history. Concentrating on the varied trade of the Canadian shore of Lake Ontario, the writings bring to life

the little scow-hulled "stonehookers" that lugged thousands of cords of building stone from Lake Ontario's bed to the builders of Victorian Toronto, and the large "timber-droughers" hauling tons of squared logs to the timber market. They relate the lives — and often the deaths — of the big "fore and afters" and their bigger sisters, as well as the affairs of those who sailed them.

Snider wrote history like a novelist. His tales stimulate the imagination and touch upon the heroic, the historic, the amazing and the poignant. One can almost see little Amanda Quick, alone at the helm of the seven-man cargo schooner that bore her name, crossing the wide lake with her father as lone crewman. One can picture young Joey Edwards, discerning the songs of angels while nestled within his father's ice-hardened coat. One can almost hear the popping of the doomed *Belle Sheridan's* canvas as she fought out a losing battle with a lake gale. Snider's stories are often vivid and yet historically accurate — often rambling and yet intensely interesting.

Robert Townsend's involvement in the book extends beyond the introduction and editing of Snider's columns. He adds nearly twenty interesting explanatory selections of his own, concentrating on geographic and historic topics. Often these are only obliquely related to the Snider columns, and the reader may not immediately realize that the several variations in typeface throughout the text indicate shifts from Snider's writings to Townsend's more prosaic ones to Townsend's comments on Snider's works.

Despite its immense value to the historian, *Tales From the Great Lakes* is a book for reading. Ships and sailors famous, infamous and obscure, pass through its pages in a steady procession so colourful that even the most jaded researcher may lay down his pen and read on. The comic-book colours on the cover, the many typographical errors, the unfortunate lack of an index and the often disappointingly small reproductions of Snider's artwork and photos should deter neither historian nor pleasure-reader from this significant book. One can only hope that this is only the first of many collections of Snider's memorable "Schooner Days" columns.

David D. Swayze
Mt. Pleasant, Michigan

Mark Bourrie. *Ninety Fathoms Down: Canadian Stories of The Great Lakes*. Toronto: Hounslow Press, 1995. xxiv + 183 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, bibliography and notes. \$17.99, US \$15.75, £10, paper; ISBN 0-88882-182-4.

Journalist Mark Bourrie's *Ninety Fathoms Down* is an interesting collection of stories about the maritime history of the Canadian Great Lakes spanning the years from seventeenth-century Jesuit missions on Georgian Bay to the controversy surrounding recent explorations of the wreck of the *Edmund Fitzgerald*. The intent is to dispel the myth of Ontario as a static province, to provide a maritime history of the Canadian side of the Great Lakes, and to document the evolution and shaping of a real culture based on the Canadian experience on the Great Lakes.

Ninety Fathoms Down contains fourteen chapters, most devoted to a shipwreck and the vessel(s) and main characters involved. Included are the story of a vessel used by the Jesuits in the 1640s to visit native settlements along the shores of Georgian Bay, the story of the *Griffin*, chapters on the *Nancy*, *Atlantic*, *Speedy* and *Plowboy*, *Mary Ward* and *Waubuno*, *Asia*, *Algoma*, *Marquette* and *Bessemer No. 2*, the storm of 1913, *Inker man* and *Cer isoles*, *Nor onic*, and the *Edmund Fitzgerald*. The stories are familiar ones to Great Lakes maritime historians on both sides of the border but by retelling them in one volume, Bourrie adds considerably to their value and gives readers a feeling for the maritime culture of the Great Lakes he is trying to document.

Each chapter tells the story of the disaster or near disaster with an emphasis on the people involved and the people affected by the tragedy. Bourrie is not reluctant to place blame on owners or masters who may have pushed the limits of their vessels or refused to acknowledge the gravity of the situation or the raw power of wind and water. On occasion, however, his speculation stretches the limits of the available evidence. In the case of the *Marquette* and *Bessemer No. 2*, there were no survivors, yet Bourrie's recreation of the events sounds very much like a first-hand account. It makes for good reading but not good history. The story of the steamer *Atlantic*, sunk in a collision on Lake

Erie with the propeller *Ogdensburg* in 1852 is still in the news due to the recent controversy between the Canadian government and an American company over ownership of the vessel and its contents. The author details the claims of the California firm Mar Dive without acknowledging the significant role of Mike Fletcher, a Canadian who has worked for years to see that the *Atlantic* is treated as a part of Canadian cultural heritage. In the chapter on the *Noronic* Bourrie overstates the importance of the tragedy in the decline of passenger vessels on the Great Lakes. Economic considerations such as the competition from railroads and, more important, the widespread use of the automobile were more critical factors in the decline.

Bourrie's interest in Canadian Great Lakes maritime history stems from a personal connection to family members who worked and died on the lakes and from years spent living in many of the port cities along the Canadian shores of the Great Lakes. The tragedies have touched him and have influenced his approach to the subject. For example, he points out that the impact of the storm of 1913 on families was far greater than the death toll of more than 240 might suggest because in several cases more than one person from the same family was employed on the lost vessels. The home communities of these sailors, closely linked to maritime life, were hard hit by the tragedy, often involving several generations of the extended family. The biographical information on captains, owners, crew, and family members of victims provides a human dimension to each story and is one of the real strengths of the book.

Bourrie relies on well-known secondary sources as well as primary sources available in archives and museums in Canada. The illustrations are useful, though the poor quality of the photographs reproduced here is a disappointment. There are a few annoying mis-spellings of the name of a vessel and of an author's, but these are minor shortcomings. Overall, this is an informative and very enjoyable book to read. Academic historians will not find much new here, but the stories, presented as a collection, give the reader an introduction to some of the major themes in the maritime history and culture of the Canadian Great Lakes. Museums, archives, and libraries within the US and Cana-

dian Great Lakes region should add this volume to their collections.

Robert Graham
Bowling Green, Ohio

George W. Hilton. *Eastland: Legacy of the Titanic*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995. xix + 364 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, figures, tables, appendices, notes, index. US \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-8047-2291-9.

The loss of the steamer *Titanic* in April 1912 needs no introduction to anyone even remotely interested in maritime history. As far as Great Lakes historians are concerned, the same can be said for the capsizing of the steamer *Eastland* in Chicago in July 1915. Both tragedies have been well documented, but now, apparently for the first time, George Hilton attempts to tie the two events together. By and large, he succeeds.

His book is a combination history of the *Eastland* and a very detailed analysis of the tragedy that claimed over 800 lives. The prologue chronicles the loss of the *Titanic* and the legislation that it spawned to improve safety at sea, especially the La Follete Seamen's Act, signed by President Wilson in March 1915. Next follow three chapters that detail the history of the *Eastland* and the companies that owned and operated her from the time she was ordered in 1902 until the day of her disaster. Hilton analyzes her design, problems, and operations with special attention to the gradual alterations that changed her from an overnight boat to a day excursion steamer. Two chapters chronicle the vessel's capsizing and the immediate aftermath; two more trace the legal actions that moved through the courts for over two decades. The final chapter gives the vessel's history after being rebuilt as the US Naval Training vessel *Wilmette*. A brief epilogue concludes the narration.

Hilton has also provided four appendices. One is an extensive evaluation of the *Eastland*, presented at a 1916 trial by Dr. Herbert Sadler, a respected naval architect. It is followed by reflections upon Sadler's testimony by three present-day naval architects. Another lengthy appendix lists all of the victims and the cemeteries in which they are buried. There are detailed footnotes and a useful index, while

throughout, the volume is well illustrated with photographs, drawings, etc.

No one can accuse Hilton of failing to consult a wide variety of sources, past and present. He has used original documents, printed matter and work by present-day Great Lakes historians. While there is no bibliography, it is evident that he covered most bases. One notable exception is a modest book, *An Ancient Mariner Recollects*, which is a memoir by Captain Merwin Stone who sailed the *Eastland* during her middle years. For the most part the book reads very well, though the going gets a bit tedious when Hilton gets into technical theory of ship construction or legal details of the trials. By and large, the errors are few and trivial.

Almost a hundred years have passed since *Eastland* was launched and more than eighty have passed since she capsized, yet Great Lakes historians are still sharply divided. Some believe that she was truly a left-handed monkey wrench. Hilton provides ample documentation to support this theory: she was the only major passenger ship constructed by her builder or drafted by her designer; she failed to make her designed speed during her first season; her first winter was spent back at her builder's yard undergoing major changes; during her thirteen seasons of operation she sailed for five different owners, all of whom went out of business as soon as they sold *Eastland*; she had several well-documented "close calls," all related to stability, thus earning her a bad reputation with the travelling public; her capsizing resulted in the most fatalities ever recorded in the maritime history of the Lakes. Yet another school argues that *Eastland* was a fine, albeit an unlucky, vessel, and Hilton is careful to provide ample arguments for this viewpoint. Thus, all of her captains testified that she was a good and safe boat, and the steamboat inspectors concurred in this year after year.

All in all, George Hilton has produced what should become the definitive work on the *Eastland*, one that treats the ship and her disaster fairly. This book therefore belongs in every library of Great Lakes history, and, because of its interesting link with the *Titanic*, it should appeal to saltwater historians as well.

David T. Glick
Lakeside, Ohio

C.W. Hunt. *Whisky and Ice: The Saga of Ben Kerr, Canada's Most Daring Rumrunner*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995. 193 pp., photographs, notes, selected bibliography. \$16.99, paper; ISBN 1-55002-249-0.

Although nominally the biography of a Lake Ontario rum runner, this book is more of an abbreviated history of the prohibition years of the 1920s on both sides of Lake Ontario. There is information on political events, smugglers, bootleggers and gangsters in northern New York and southern Ontario, sometimes in considerable detail. Yet there are so few references to smuggling and allied activities elsewhere on the Great Lakes and the East Coast that the author's claim to have written about "Canada's most daring rum runner" is difficult to justify.

John Benjamin Kerr, born in 1884, opened a motor boat repair and storage business on the waterfront of Hamilton, Ontario in 1910. By 1916 he had expanded into the rental and construction of fast motor boats. After World War I he had difficulty making a living and so, when prohibition began in the United States in 1920, he began to supplement his income by smuggling beer and hard liquor (mainly rye whisky) across Lake Ontario into northern New York.

At first, crossing Lake Ontario could be done with impunity. As a result, Kerr was operating three motor boats by 1929, the largest equipped with a steel-sheathed hull for use in ice in the winter. However, late in 1924, the US Coast Guard began to station fast, armed patrol boats on the Great Lakes, and in May 1925, Kerr and his largest boat were captured. The boat was seized and he forfeited his bail when he failed to appear for his American trial. Nevertheless, he resumed carrying beer and liquor to the American side of the lake in 1926 and although a \$5,000 reward was offered for information leading to his arrest, he managed to avoid capture using a new steel-sheathed cruiser with a speed of forty miles an hour. When he was next arrested, it was in 1926 as a result of several deaths in both Ontario and northern New York caused by denatured and/or methyl alcohol. A number of men believed to have been responsible for importing and distributing the alcohol in Ontario were arrested and charged with manslaughter and smuggling. Kerr was

among the suspects but because of delays in bringing the case to trial, the manslaughter charge against him was dismissed.

Much of Kerr's earlier smuggling activities was linked with a Hamilton bootlegger named Rocco Perri. However, relations between them had become strained by 1925. Although Kerr continued running beer and other alcoholic beverages into northern New York state, by about 1927 or 1928 he was only supplying two American bootleggers at the eastern end of Lake Ontario and avoiding places controlled by Canadian and American gangsters. At about the same time, he discontinued his practice of starting his trips from Whitby and other nearby communities. Instead, he began using an isolated cottage at Presqu'île Bay, Ontario to store beer before carrying it across the lake. In late February 1929 his boat was sunk in the ice and both Kerr and his assistant drowned.

Author C. W. Hunt acquired most of his information on the career of Ben Kerr from newspaper reports and interviews with individuals who knew or worked with him; references to these are listed in the "Notes" at the end of the text. However, Hunt does not give any sources for his background material on the growth of American federal and state anti-smuggling organizations, on events leading to the end of prohibition in Ontario in 1927, on the investigations of the Canadian Department of Customs and Excise by a Parliamentary committee and a Royal Commission in 1926 and 1927, or on the strengthening of the American Customs Preventive Service in 1927. While this unreferenced material is generally accurate, it includes some errors and/or distortion of facts.

Descriptions of rum running vessels and US Coast Guard patrol boats are scattered through the text.

David J. McDougall
Lachine, Quebec

Larry Turner and John de Visser. *Rideau*. Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1995. 120 pp., colour photographs, map, note on sources, bibliography. \$35, US \$28, cloth; ISBN 1-55046-136-2.

The Rideau canal has captured the imagination of historians, sportspersons and vacationers for

over a century. It has also established patterns of settlement and economic development along its shores that underpin the historical and contemporary themes of life in southeastern Ontario. It is this array of events and experiences that Turner and de Visser attempt to evoke through words and pictures in *Rideau*.

The book is a small, general work that joins an eclectic and comfortable narrative by Larry Turner with a similarly diverse collection of photographs by John de Visser. It is not a work for those who are searching for a clearly developed historical or social study. Nor does it provide a coherent image of the canal and the many settlements or points of interest along its banks. Rather, it follows the Rideau from Kingston to Ottawa at a selective pace, merging images that depict everything from the nineteenth-century engineering and design achievements represented by the canal, through the compelling natural geography of diverse environments and ecosystems, to the people who continue to live within the knowledge and traditions of the waterway that have been passed on through generations.

While ample attention is paid to the "anchor cities" of Kingston and Ottawa and to the basic historical facts of the construction of the canal, there is little that is new in these chapters. They are, however, overshadowed by the explorations of stops along the way as the journey north unfolds. Indeed, the power of the Rideau to reflect and alter the patterns of colonial thinking, to change both human and natural landscape and environment, and to support different forms of human relationships, is more apparent in the discussions of Bedford Mills, Smiths Falls or Burritt's Rapids. It is in the largely anecdotal and informal descriptions of these villages and less well known points of interest that the impact of time and change so integral to the Rideau is truly discerned by the reader.

The photographs are well presented, powerful and varied. If on occasion they prompt the reader to question whether there is a connection between the text and the images presented in support of it, they nevertheless contribute to the breadth and enjoyment of the work. The chapter on Perth, for example, is full of information and stories that invite illustration; yet the photographs present quite different perspectives on the

community. A map of the Rideau system is reproduced at the end of the text, and might have been more informative and useful had it been placed at the beginning of the work, redrawn and simplified to emphasize the progress of the narrative.

The organization of the book often leaves the reader wondering whether the author and the photographer planned the work in tandem, or whether they had independent notions of their project. Indeed, in some senses this is two works in one volume. The first is a compendium of descriptions, stories, facts, anecdotes and recollections that range across more than 150 years of experience. The second is a collection of images that show the Rideau canal in its many aspects and colours, from the almost abstract through the natural and the human.

In a more formal study this might suggest a structural criticism. In *Rideau*, the diversity of text and photographs leads more to a sense of the immense possibilities of a thoughtful journey along the canal. This book is a pleasant reminder to those who know the region well, and a useful guide for those who wish to explore it with a view to seeing the past in the present, and the present in the past.

Kathryn Bindon
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

William W. Mowbray. *Powerboat Racing on the Chesapeake*. Centreville, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1995. xii + 116 pp., photographs, figures, tables, appendix, index. US \$16.95, paper; ISBN 0-87033-473-5.

When asked his reasons for going racing, one of the drivers interviewed for this book by William Mowbray replied simply: "Why? Because I enjoy it." The same might be said of Mowbray's own purpose in writing this fond examination of a sport with deep regional roots, as he claims to have missed only three or four weekends in some fifty years of following races.

As he says in the first chapter, the Chesapeake is well known for its watercraft, and many important works have been written chronicling the boats, watermen and maritime traditions of this unique region. Mention the Chesapeake to anyone with even a passing knowledge

of maritime history, and they will likely associate the Bay with skipjacks, or oystering, or deadrise boats. What may not spring to mind as readily, however, are Jersey Speed Skiffs and 2.5 litre modified hydroplanes.

Powerboat Racing on the Chesapeake sets out to redress this oversight. In seven plainly but engagingly written chapters, Mowbray explores the sport's early years, races in the Chesapeake area, well-known drivers, the role of families, mechanics and designers, the risks and dangers of the sport, racing's effect on the boating industry, and finally what the future holds for an increasingly expensive and regulated pastime. For those with local knowledge or interest, the most useful part of the book may be an appendix which lists Chesapeake Bay area drivers, their boats and the classes in which they competed.

Chapter 5 is a candid look at the sport's dangers. Skeeter Johnson, one of the leading drivers in the area, says, "You have to be a little crazy to drive a race boat," and admits that many of his racing friends and fellow drivers have been killed by the sport. As someone with a limited experience of powerboat racing, I found several aspects of the sport interesting. Women have competed since the 1920s, some with notable success, and the rules of the sport make no distinction as to the sex of the driver. Wood still has a key role to play in boat construction, and top boats use composite construction of sitka spruce, plywood and epoxy. Powerboat racing is clearly a family sport, too, often with several generations involved as drivers, mechanics, pit crew and officials.

The last chapter deals with the sport's future, and the effect of increasing costs and regulation. The financing needed to enter the sport increases each year, and it is becoming difficult to find locations for race courses. The sport receives little media attention, and little sponsorship except at the top level of unlimited hydroplane racing. Nonetheless, Mowbray says of racing, "once it grabs you, it never lets go."

Powerboat Racing on the Chesapeake is an accessible and entertaining look at a part of the maritime world not often considered by the mainstream historical community. This is regrettable, for powerboat racing has been the source of a great deal of technical development in

hulls, engines and equipment. Beyond that, however, the sport also attracts a deep and loyal following, and is an excellent example of maritime popular culture in action. William Mowbray is to be congratulated for producing this enjoyable and well-researched introduction to his favourite sport.

John Summers
Etobicoke, Ontario

Mark Finnan. *Oak Island Secrets*. Halifax: Formac Publishing, 1995. viii + 177 pp., maps, figures, photographs, bibliography. \$16.95, paper; ISBN 0-88780-312-1.

"One day in 1795, on Oak Island in Nova Scotia's Mahone Bay, Daniel McInnis, a young settler from New England, discovered an oak tree with a block and tackle suspended from it. The discovery was immediately associated with the treasure of the pirate, Captain Kidd, and a hunt was initiated which has since intrigued, fascinated, frustrated and killed treasure hunters for two hundred years. It is by now a familiar story, as the hunt has provided inspiration for innumerable writers over the years, ranging from serious scholars to those vainly trying to promote eccentric theories."

With these words, readers of *The Northern Mariner* were introduced to another review of a recent book on Oak Island (*TNM/LMN* January 1996); indeed, in the past four years there have been reviews of no less than four books, all on the same topic (see also July 1992 and October 1994). In each instance, the main historical content differs only in detail and individual emphasis from that in R. V. Harris' *The Oak Island Mystery* of 1958. However, while the several authors agree that, at some time in the past, a deposit of major significance was secreted in the honeycomb of tunnels and caverns underlying Oak Island, each has his or her own theory as to the identity of the depositor, or depositors.

Mark Finnan is no exception and having noted the number of Freemasons involved since the early days of the treasure hunt, he attempts, through association with the Templars, Earl Sinclair of Orkney, Francis Bacon and others to develop a theory that, whatever its nature, the deposit is something of particular importance to

that organization. In fact, he makes quite a neat job of the matter, tying in the masonic symbolism of signs found on the island with selected historical fact and legend, to offer one of the more convincing theories to date.

It is therefore rather unfortunate that the author, like many of his predecessors, did not pay more attention to local history in his haste to complete his project by 1995, the bicentennial year of the treasure hunt. Had he done so, he might have avoided a number of questionable conclusions. As an example, he notes that the traditions of Masonry were carried to the New World in the early days of settlement. However, he has failed to note that, as a military establishment, Nova Scotia would have had a higher-than-average concentration of Freemasons among its early grantees. As a result, the author reads some deep meaning into the quite reasonable number of their descendants who have been associated with the Oak Island mystery.

Finnan would also have done well to avoid unfounded statements such as his contention that Franklin D. Roosevelt had little to lose when he invested in Bowdoin's 1909 attempt to reach the treasure. In fact, the young FDR's sole income at this time was his salary as a lawyer's clerk and a modest allowance controlled by his dominating mother, a tie he desperately hoped to break by achieving financial independence. Hence his investment of his wife's money in Bowdoin's venture.

Readers will find Finnan's up-to-date report on the current status of the treasure hunt the most useful portion of his book. The chapters on Sir Francis Bacon, Sir William Alexander and the secrets of Freemasonry are quite interesting, as is his conclusion. However, just as many scholars are unwilling to accept Frederick Pohl's reconstruction of Earl Sinclair's voyage to North America in 1398 because he was a science fiction writer, Finnan's almost acceptable theory may be relegated to similar status, because of his belief in the supernatural. It would certainly have seemed a lot more credible, had he left out any mention of clairvoyant dreams and psychic insights.

Robin H. Wyllie
East LaHave, Nova Scotia

Robert D. Ballard, with Spencer Dunmore. *Exploring the Lusitania: Probing the Mysteries of the Sinking That Changed History*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1995 and Toronto: Madison Press, 1995. 227 pp., photographs (b+w, colour), figures, maps, colour plates, chronology, bibliography, index. £20, \$54, cloth; ISBN 0-297-81314-5.

Robert D. Ballard. *The Discovery of the Titanic*. Rev. ed.; Toronto: Madison Press, 1987, 1995. 288 pp., photographs, figures, colour plates, index. \$16.99, paper; ISBN 0-14-024883-8.

Dr. Ballard is one of the few modern marine explorers who has made himself known to the general public — primarily because of his exploration of the *Titanic*. He's gone on to find other famous ships: *Bismarck*; the Japanese and American vessels lost off Guadalcanal; ancient wrecks in the Mediterranean; and most recently, that of the Royal Mail Ship (RMS) *Lusitania*. Very definitely aimed at the mass market are the two volumes reviewed here.

The Discovery of the Titanic was first issued in 1987, and then again in 1989 "new and updated," followed by the smaller format 1995 copyright reviewed here. The primary update to the latter two versions is the addition of a new epilogue ("1989" and "1995" respectively) to each. Although this new information, primarily summaries of subsequent expeditions to the wreck, certainly is an update, it does not, in this reviewer's opinion, constitute a "new edition" in the usual sense of the term. If you already have one of the first two issues, do not bother to buy this latest. Indeed, the third has suffered the removal of a few illustrations — mostly of smaller items in the debris field, as well as the fine drawing of *Titanic's* break-up and descent.

However, the fault-finding above should not be allowed to distract from the fact that on the whole, *Discovery of the Titanic* is an admirable book. The illustrations are superior, and the paintings by Ken Marshall, showing the wreck as it appears today, are clear and informative. The text avoids controversy in its description of the sinking, and is mostly neutral when dealing with the failure of Captain Lord of the *Californian* to respond to *Titanic's* rockets. All-in-all, it is a factual and straightforward account.

Exploring the Lusitania, like the original version of *The Discovery of the Titanic*, is a magnificent book. Filled with photographs, period illustrations, and more of Marshall's superb paintings, the reader gets a feel for the stupendous size of the ship, and the horrendous loss of life when she sank. The state of the wreck today is also depicted very well: the various paintings show clearly the now misshapen hull and tangles of netting that make exploring this wreck so difficult. Any diver will be fascinated by the underwater photography in what are obviously very poor conditions.

The text is detailed and well written — one suspects a major contribution from co-author Dunmore, and perhaps the occasional appearance of "smoke stack" instead of "funnel" shows Ballard's hands at the keyboard. Being intended for a more general audience, one is not surprised by the absence of footnotes, but this does make it difficult to distinguish between true oral history and the authors' elaborations. There are many places where first-person accounts are woven into what is almost the text of a novel. It makes for interesting reading, but it is difficult to discern fact from characterization.

Lusitania sank not by accident, but by torpedo — she is perhaps the most famous victim of the submarine. Ballard and Dunmore provide a very brief summary of the naval war between Britain and Germany, and a cursory explanation of Germany's decision to adopt unrestricted submarine warfare. The authors also underscore the fact that *Lusitania* and her sister *Mauretania* were designed to be readily converted to armed merchant cruisers, yet they do not appear to understand the role of such ships in the naval warfare of that era. Although these two large and fast ships were much more valuable as liners, the many merchant ships taken over by the Royal Navy as auxiliary cruisers played an important part in maintaining control of the sea lanes. On the other hand, Ballard and Dunmore's description of submarine tactics, and the voyage of *U-20*, are well done, and the lay reader will come away with a good understanding of what happened.

The actual sinking of *Lusitania* has always been surrounded by mystery — why did she sink so quickly, and what were the British trying to hide? The authors do a very good job in laying

these two tales to rest. The examination of the wreck and subsequent analysis show that it was not the detonation of some mythical ammunition which caused her loss, but the explosion of coal dust in nearly empty bunkers which caused her to sink after only one torpedo hit. Her master, Captain Turner, is treated fairly in their discussion of his decision to remain so close to that fatal headland. These sensible conclusions are a fitting end to an excellent book.

William Schleihau
Pierrefonds, Québec

Marian Binkley. *Risks, Dangers, and Rewards in the Nova Scotia Offshore Fishery*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. xiii + 192 pp., illustrations, map, tables, glossary, sources, index. \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-1313-2.

This is the second book-length outcome of a major study of the Nova Scotia offshore fishery, carried out by Marian Binkley and her associates in the late 1980s. The first, *Voices From Off Shore: Narratives of Risk and Danger in the Nova Scotian Deep-Sea Fishery* (see *TNMJLMN*, January 1995), presented in-depth interview material with various members of the fishing community and their families. This volume presents the more formal "findings" — statistical analysis of formal interviews and other data; close comparisons with similar studies; an examination of government policies; and so on.

The introductory section of the book provides an account of the research methods used in the study and then reviews related literature. The study is embedded not only in the growing body of studies on the conditions facing offshore workers, but in the more general labour process literature. Binkley includes a history of offshore fishers in the context of the formal structures of government and other agencies in Nova Scotia, before describing the current structure of the fishery. To this she adds a description of the main technologies and practices of the fishery *before proceeding to the main focus of the book*.

This consists mainly of the detailed analysis of the data collected in the formal interviews and surveys, supported, in places, with quotations taken from the informal interviews. How-

ever, interestingly, she begins with a chapter on the "social context," i.e. how offshore fishers relate to their wives, children and community and what the consequences of the offshore schedule and lifestyle are for those who have — or try to have — close relationships with them. This chapter, which is *not* based on statistical data, is resonant with unanswered questions and consequences for the rest of the book. Unfortunately, Binkley does not return to this material to incorporate it with her other material.

What Binkley does do is present and analyse her data on job satisfaction, economic and non-economic aspects of the job, safety concerns and the procedures for dealing with different kinds of accidents, fishers' health practices and health risk behaviours, and levels of satisfaction and awareness of health and safety issues in detail and with a good deal of statistical sophistication. The book concludes with a very brief indication of what steps could be taken to make offshore fishing safer and with an even briefer note about the drastic — and possibly terminal — change in the industry brought about by the moratorium on fishing northern cod in 1992 and subsequent further restrictions on fishing in Atlantic Canadian waters.

Marian Binkley has performed a valuable service in both carrying out the research and in presenting this competent, professional account of the results. Her book makes a valuable addition to our understanding of the particular health and safety hazards faced by offshore fishers. But, somehow, the reader never quite breaks through to really understanding exactly what it is that offshore fishers do encounter, why they do it and what it really means to them and their communities. I wish that this book had been published simultaneously with and more closely connected with the earlier work. We need the first-hand voices of the other book and the minute statistical analysis of this volume *together*, in order to understand, at a much more profound level than this book on its own allows, what it is that leads men into such a dangerous occupation in such a dangerous environment; *how they understand and deal with the inherent danger of their lives*.

A fishing vessel is a complex operation and it is probably asking too much that an academic observer should get all the details right, but this

book contains too many disconcerting errors. For example, a transducer (31 and glossary) is not a kind of depthfinder. It is simply the means whereby a signal is conducted to an instrument. Most boats have several transducers fixed inside or outside the hull or on the superstructure for measuring speed, depth or wind. In this case, the transducer is fastened to the net so that the depth finder can record the height of the net above the sea bottom. As a detail it is not important, but readers should be confident that the author can interpret the complex world of the sea correctly.

Marilyn Porter
St. John's, Newfoundland

Jôn Th. Thôr. *British Trawlers and Iceland 1919-1976*. Fiskeri- og Sofartsmuseet Studiereserie 6; Esbjerg, Denmark: Fiskeri- og Sofartsmuseet, Saltvandsakvariet, 1995. 269 pp., tables, figures, maps, photographs, appendices, references, sources. DKr 250, paper; ISBN 87-87453-82-7.

While this book relates to a specific conflict of interest between two countries over fisheries resources, it has a much wider importance in that this conflict was to form a major milestone in the development of the International Law of the Sea (ILOS); indeed it was something of a trigger mechanism in bringing in the revised regime of the ILOS in the 1970s; and in turn this was the culmination of a series of events which began with the development of steam trawling in Britain in the late nineteenth century.

With the fisheries around her coasts being Iceland's major resource, it is apposite that the Icelandic experience be specifically put in perspective and analysed by a native of the country; and this book makes the author's doctoral dissertation available to the public. Among other things, it reflects an important modern development in international affairs — that a small country in an isolated location can set its vital interests on the global stage and be heard. From being a Danish colonial dependency with very limited say in the control of the fisheries, Iceland from the late nineteenth century was able progressively to move to political independence and to an increasing measure of authority over the resource, although progress was very slow until after World War II. How-

ever, when matters came to a head there was entrenched positions and bitterness on both British and Icelandic sides. Now that two decades have passed, there is a better opportunity to formulate an objective view of the conflict.

The book begins by detailing previous research on the topic, by setting the scene in summarising the fish resources in their environmental context, and by discussing the development of British trawling at Iceland previous to 1919. The second part of the book discusses the continued build-up of fishing effort on Icelandic grounds in the inter-war years; although there was some decrease in catch rates, the author concludes that by the end of the period the level of exploitation was not over-taxing the resource base. The importance of the Icelandic grounds to British trawling interests, including the preference given to them over other high latitude grounds, is well shown. The third part of the book gives a good summary and analysis of the changing situation after World War II when there was a rapid build-up in fishing effort by the British, Icelanders and others which led to increasingly serious signs of overfishing appearing from the mid-1950s. In the face of this Iceland achieved successive extensions to her fisheries limit, culminating with the decisive advance to fifty miles in 1972. This was done in face of objections from Britain and other countries, of trade sanctions, and (in the three "cod wars") of displays of British naval strength. The successful advance to the fifty-mile limit covered almost the entire continental shelf, and sounded a knell of doom for British distant-water trawling not just at Iceland but around the whole North Atlantic. There is the recognition at the end that extensions of catch limits did not solve all the problems of managing the resource, and that Iceland still has a big problem in enforcing effective conservation. The book closes with a summing up in a brief conclusion, and a short excursus on the importance of the fisheries to the leading British trawling port of Hull.

Some improvements might have been made to the work by paying more attention to some aspects of the broader context, and to certain details. The great upsurge in the British market for trawl-caught fish which made Icelandic grounds a magnet could have been made clearer.

The importance of the Keflavik base for NATO in the context of the Cold War is (if anything) understated. The statement at the start that Iceland is a "typical coastal state" is vague and indeed questionable; and the quality of some of the map and photographic illustrations is indifferent. However this is a sound and competent scholarly work, and an important contribution to modern fisheries history.

James Coull
Aberdeen, Scotland

Peter B. Doeringer and David G. Terkla. *Troubled Waters: Economic Structure, Regulatory Reform, and Fisheries Trade*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995. xiv + 206 pp., figures, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, indices. \$50 (\$60 in Europe), £39, cloth; ISBN 0-8020-0683-3. \$17.95 (\$21.50 in Europe), £14, paper; ISBN 0-8020-7639-4.

This is a timely work with a potential to illuminate some dark corners of serious public policy issues that have emerged from the collapse of groundfish stocks throughout the Northwest Atlantic, and from the consequently depressed state of a large segment of the fishing industry.

We cannot, of course, anticipate complete enlightenment since the authors are economists and the goal of their study does not extend beyond the limits of their discipline. That is to say, the work focuses upon the economic structures of the fishing industry in New England and Atlantic Canada, which, in turn, entails examination of such matters as regulatory and industrial policies, labour structures, productivity, income distribution, economic institutions, and international trade. Nevertheless, the work is quite accessible to the average lay reader, partly because of lucidity of style, and partly because the more dense discussions involving analytics and econometrics are set apart in appendices which the uninitiated may safely ignore. Even so, these are presented in simple language and will be comprehensible to all but those who are ignorant of the language and basic concepts of the dismal science. Even without those appendices, the work offers a clear overview of the economic nature of the Northwest Atlantic fisheries and a solid introduction to the econ-

omic forces at play in the industry.

This reviewer is particularly pleased with the recognition that much of the debate centring upon economic concepts such as Maximum Sustainable Yield (MSY), Maximum Economic Yield (MEY), and Open Access Equilibrium (OA) remains academic simply because fish biologists and biostatisticians have neither mastered the science of fish population assessment nor discovered the crystal ball that will allow accurate prediction of population changes resulting from varying combinations of human effort and natural variability. Equally to be noted with approbation is the acknowledgement, if only inferential, that the most elegant econometric formulation will sometimes founder upon the reefs of politically and socially driven distributional goals; while, by the same token, the most economically sound management strategy will fail because neither harvesters nor processors will play by the rules the economists lay down, but, rather, by rules of their own which sometimes smack more of piracy than of economics.

This, of course, points to an inescapable difficulty with this study or any other of like nature. The harvesting, processing, and marketing of fish takes place in a world where the political and social dynamic, to say nothing of the totally unpredictable environmental dynamic of the ecosystem, often disrupts the mathematical exactitude of the best analytical models or the most elegant econometric equations. But while recognition of this may alert us to the necessity of taking the puristically derived prescription of the economist *cum grano salis*, it in no wise invalidates the general findings of economists who, like the authors of the work under review, indicate awareness of those limitations.

Indeed, we can say that in the case before us we have a most excellent introduction to a complex subject; a most useful collection of statistical compilations; a sophisticated, if somewhat simplified analysis of market forces and of conditions for trade; a valuable introduction to the manner in which both the harvesting and processing sectors of the industry are capitalized; a particularly useful discussion of differing Canadian and American approaches to regulatory control and to general management; and an examination of the ways in which differing forms

of industrial structure impact upon markets and price in a very competitive environment.

Most particularly, the study addresses the issue of institutional failure and the fact that this can be fully as significant as market factors in determining economic performance. Moreover, the authors see clearly the effect of political and social constraints that impede institutional reform in communities that are largely dependent upon fishery resources for survival. In this context, it is, perhaps, unfortunate that in conducting their Canadian fieldwork they relied largely upon Nova Scotian examples and drew exclusively upon the resources of Nova Scotian informants, as both the text and the bibliography make clear. Readers should be aware that Nova Scotia equals Atlantic Canada does not make a valid equation.

But that caveat apart, this is a good book to be highly recommended to those who make, or take a decided interest in the making of, public policy touching our fishing industries. Clearly, our past efforts have been less than spectacularly successful. We can and must do better: for the sake of our coastal fishing communities; for the general economic well-being of the region; and, last but not least, for the survival of natural fish populations and appropriate biodiversity within our ecosystem. To the end of developing informed public policy we must equip ourselves with adequate knowledge, not only of the physical and biological processes at work within our oceans, but as well with the economic processes that inform our role as ultimate predator in a natural system. Here, in very palatable form, is such knowledge which, as all who run may read, is the foundation of wisdom.

Leslie Harris
St. John's, Newfoundland

Kent Blades. *Net Destruction: The Death of Atlantic Canada's Fishery*. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1995. viii + 184 pp., maps, figures, photographs, bibliography. \$17.95, paper; ISBN 1-55109-097-X.

Atlantic Canada's groundfish fishery collapse has been the worst blow ever to fall on this region and one might suppose that the federal government has made a thorough study of the

causes of this disaster. In reality, there has been no independent general examination of the issue since the Harris Report of 1990 (two years *before* the first fishery closed) and that was restricted to but one of the fifty officially-recognized stocks, albeit the largest.

Instead, we must look to personal comments and the rival proposals of special-interest groups. This book, perhaps the most useful such contribution to date, represents the views of Kent Blades, a sometime journalist, municipal councillor, teacher and resident of that quintessential Nova Scotian fishing town, Clark's Harbour. It covers fisheries biology and the recent history of the industry. The meat of the book, however, is a broad-ranging review of all that has gone wrong with Atlantic Canadian groundfish management since the 1970s. Each of the usual suspects is dragged out and examined: environmental change, excess fleet capacity, destructive fishing technology, corporate greed, misguided federal policies and all. None of this will be new to anyone who has followed the continual *mêlée* swirling around the Nova Scotian fisheries but it may shock other readers.

Unfortunately, while *Net Destruction* is a remarkable achievement for an independent author working without government support, it can only be seen as a powerful broadside fired into this debate-cum-battle, being too erroneous and one-sided to have much other value. Few of its paragraphs would escape the critique of specialists — a photograph captioned "the trawl is towed by the gallows" that actually shows a herring seine being hauled over a powerblock is but the most glaring of hundreds of errors. As a less obvious example: Blades devotes some pages to the inter-university Ocean Production Enhancement Network of 1988-94, which he regards as an example of scientists being drawn into the agenda of the fishing corporations. It would be more accurate to say that the corporations were sucked into the universities' agenda and received very little return for the millions they invested.

Indeed, this book is not a dispassionate examination of the groundfish disaster, nor even the "exposé" that its author promises. Rather, it is an extended "op-ed" article, filled with special pleading for a pre-conceived cause. In amassing his evidence, Blades has delved into the primary

science literature and even beyond, into the "grey" documentation of research committees. It is an admirable effort. However, as is all too common, he made no effort to evaluate the items found, nor to balance professional opinions. Instead, he simply quotes those papers that purport to bolster his case.

Net Destruction has the hallmarks of being written as a personal catharsis, not an attempt to inform. It rambles through the material, shading in each idea but moving on before firmly circumscribing anything. The reader is left without a clear idea even of what the author *thinks* caused the catastrophe. Blades does offer a proposal for avoiding future recurrences, though it is founded in the dubious notion that small-boat fishermen are inherently more inclined towards resource conservation than are corporate executives. Thus, while he advocates management through government/industry co-operation (surely the only road forward), the author would confine industry participation to small-boat fishermen — a bizarre idea. He would bolster this biased form of co-management with restrictions on all forms of fishing technology, save only his preferred hook-and-line, which would be freed even of catch quotas. Such a regime may be the dream of every longline fisherman but, far from avoiding future disasters, it is a recipe for on-going resource depletion.

Blades ends by calling for the so-necessary public inquiry. Since it is unlikely that Ottawa will subject itself to such critical examination, we must be content with public debate. If his book provokes rebuttals from writers with a deeper knowledge of the fisheries, the truth may emerge and we will owe Blades a debt beyond count. In the interim, readers who delve into *Net Destruction* would be well advised to take care amidst the smoke and mirrors.

Trevor Kenchington
Musquodoboit Harbour, Nova Scotia

John Feltham. *Sealing Steamers*. St. John's, NF: Harry Cuff, 1995. viii + 186 pp., map, photographs. \$14.95, paper; ISBN 0-921191-98-7.

John Feltham, born into a family which for five generations was part of the seal fishery, has in this small volume collected the biographies of

twenty of the best-known sealing vessels from the total of more than eighty which worked in the industry at one time or another. Seventeen of his subjects are the old "wooden walls," including some which suffered famous disasters, such as the *Newfoundland*, which lost seventy-eight men when they became separated from the vessel by a blizzard in 1914, and the *Southern Cross*, which disappeared without a trace in the same storm. Three of his subjects, *Nascopie*, *Ungava*, and *Imogene*, are later steel vessels.

For the most part, Feltham's data has been culled from Newfoundland newspapers, mainly from St. John's but also including less common sources such as the *Harbour Grace Standard*. Since nineteenth-century newspapers tended to publish little more than verbatim assembly reports and the doings of the Queen, this task is not as easy as it sounds. But Feltham has been tenacious, and, as the author of *Bonavista Bay Revisited* (1992), he has an eye for local history. It is important to note, however, that he has not ignored the main source for such material, *Chafe's Sealing Book* (1923 and later editions), though on the whole the author has not consulted many modern works which attempt to place sealing in a larger context. To that extent his work must be categorized as basically undigested raw data, often offered as direct quotes from the newspapers he has consulted. The result thus rather resembles the work of L.G. Chafe himself as more resource than analysis.

In his final "requiem," (166-9) however, Feltham offers some reflection on the tragedies that have been associated with sealing, meaning in this context not the loss of life in the disasters large and small, but the loss to Newfoundland of an important part of its cultural (and of course economic) heritage. His is neither defence nor critique of sealing and sealers, but he is certainly correct in noting that the story, so full of hardship and adventure, has little significance for today's youth, and society can only be the poorer as a result. The final tragedy, as Feltham clearly knows, is the simple fact that seals and fish and men are related in Newfoundland's past, present, and future, and somewhere along the line it all went very badly wrong.

Briton C. Busch
Hamilton, New York

Arthur G. Credland. *The Hull Whaling Trade: An Arctic Enterprise*. Beverley, East Yorks.: Hutton Press, 1995. 155 pp., figures, photographs, illustrations, maps, appendices, suggested readings. £10.95, paper; ISBN 1-872167-73-X.

Hull investors, captains and ordinary seamen, or "whalers," played a leading role in the development of the British Northern whale fishery. Throughout the early participation years of the seventeenth century and during the struggle to wrestle control of the Arctic enterprise away from the Dutch in the late 1700s, Hull dominated the British trade. Hull was also the last English port to fit out a Northern whaler before giving way to Scottish entrepreneurs in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In this publication, Arthur G. Credland does full justice to Hull's rich whaling heritage and, as Keeper of Maritime History, to that city's magnificent repository of this legacy, the Town Docks Museum, with its outstanding collection of documents, paintings, and artifacts.

A short introduction which traces the origins of European commercial whaling sets the stage for the three chapters (chapters 1, 3 and 8) which provide a chronology of Hull whaling between the early 1700s and the late nineteenth century, "The Final Phase." The remaining chapters are thematic in nature, dealing with the tools of the trade, the products, principally whalebone and oil, owners, and the vessels and the men who crewed them. Two chapters, "The Eskimo and the Whaling Trade" and "Sperm Whales: Melville and Moby Dick," do not fit as comfortably in the overall narrative, while the final chapter, "The Polar Tradition," would have been better placed at the beginning or incorporated into the introduction. A brief "conclusion" would also have enhanced the value and usefulness of this book considerably.

Credland is at his very best when he focuses on Hull specifically and his use of the Museum's whaling and other maritime collections is both impressive and pleasing. Hutton Press is to be commended for the high quality reproduction of more than a hundred illustrations, some in colour. Nine appendices which offer facts and figures on vessels, personnel, and numerous other aspects of Hull's involvement in the Arctic whaling industry effectively support

the main text. The "Further Reading" section, however, is incomplete and somewhat disappointing in its brevity. All in all, though, *The Hull Whaling Trade* provides not only an informative and entertaining overview of Hull's involvement in Northern whaling, but perhaps more importantly, it serves as a useful guide to the extensive whaling and maritime holdings of the world-class Town Docks Museum, Hull.

Chesley W. Sanger
St. John's, Newfoundland

Rhys Richards. *Murihiku Re-Viewed: A revised history of Southern New Zealand from 1804 to 1844*. Wellington, NZ: Lithographic Services, 1995 [P.O. Box 38138, Wellington, New Zealand]. 152 pp., maps, bibliography, appendices, index. NZ \$29.95 (+ NZ \$15 second-class air post), paper; ISBN 0-473-02837-9.

In the wake of Captain Cook's famous visit to Dusky Sound in 1773, a growing number of seafarers visited New Zealand before organised colonisation began in 1848. In southern New Zealand, "Murihiku," the home of many Maori communities, was visited by European naval personnel, sealing gangs, and whaling crews, some of whom chose to make New Zealand their permanent home. *Murihiku Re-Viewed* explores the complex relationship between the visiting *pakeha* seafarers and local Maori, whose livelihood also came, to a significant extent, from the sea. By examining the cultural exchange between the two groups, Richards provides a fresh interpretation of history of southern New Zealand between 1804 and 1844.

Murihiku Re-Viewed builds upon the pioneering work of early New Zealand historian Robert McNab, and provides more of the "Maori side" of the story than was attempted by McNab. Scant written records exist for these formative years in the history of bicultural southern New Zealand, but the author explains that some exciting new material has come to light. Using an interesting variety of contemporary narratives, Richards tells the story of the decimation of the New Zealand seal rookeries by the sealers, and the transition from sealing and trading to shore whaling in the 1830s. He shows how the successes of the shore whaling stations encouraged

former sealers and whalers to establish permanent settlements and small farms. He examines the reciprocal relationship between the Pakeha newcomers and local Maori, arguing that the influence of sealers and whalers upon the cultural life of pre-colonial New Zealand was a considerable one, yet it did not overshadow "the enduring cultural strengths and values of the Murihiku Maori." (72) Jointly they shaped the cultural life of Southern New Zealand.

As a contribution to maritime studies *Murihiku Re-Viewed* lets us glimpse the lives of seafaring folk who saw a chance to work or settle in what was to them a new and unexplored land. It tells the story of their lives on land rather than at sea for the most part, although it does include interesting descriptions of the technique of "bay whaling" from ships at anchor. Richards also comments on the success of the Murihiku Maori in exploiting ocean resources and on their proven abilities as seafarers. He raises the important point that there may have been more of a working partnership between Europeans and southern Maori involved in sealing and whaling than the fragmentary evidence confirms.

Richards patterns his presentation of the primary evidence consciously on McNab, who included long passages from the sources lightly edited. A strength of *Murihiku Re-Viewed* is the extensive set of appendices, drawn from contemporary newspapers and journals, which illustrate the contact between Maori and Europeans. Within the text, Richards' use of the McNab method of presenting the primary evidence is perhaps less successful; some of the longer excerpts can distract the reader from his argument.

Richards believes that the *post-pakeha*, pre-colonial history of southern New Zealand needs to be "reinterpreted afresh." He provides a selective but sympathetic picture of a Maori community changed forever by European seafarers who anchored their ships along the southern coastline. He also depicts, with equal sensitivity, the first attempts by Europeans to enter into a viable social and cultural partnership with local Maori, first for the sake of successful maritime trade, but later to enable them to make southern New Zealand their permanent home.

Marian Hutchinson
Auckland, New Zealand

Lionel Casson. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Princeton University Press, 1971; rev. ed., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. xxviii + 470 pp., tables, illustrations, figures, glossaries, indices, addenda and corrigenda. US \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-8018-5130-0.

This book is a reprint of Lionel Casson's classic work on ships and seafaring in the ancient Mediterranean, with the addition of references to the work of the last ten years. Originally published in 1971, it was reprinted in paperback with addenda and corrigenda in 1986. This 1995 reprint from Johns Hopkins University Press has corrected a number of minor errors and misprints in the main text, which were listed in the corrigenda of the 1986 reprint. Apart from this the main text is substantially that of the 1971 printing. The revised and enlarged addenda and corrigenda incorporate new material published from 1986 up to 1995, together with some material omitted from the first edition. In using this new reprint the reader needs to switch back and forth between the main text and the addenda. Items in the addenda are referenced back to the main text, but not unfortunately *vice versa*. For someone generally familiar with the subject matter, it would be most effective to read the addenda first, and note where the information and opinions in the main text have been modified by more recent work and discoveries.

First published twenty-five years ago, this book remains one of the best overall reviews of the development of ancient naval and merchant vessels in the Mediterranean from prehistoric times to the Roman period. Subjects covered include construction methods, propulsion by oars and sails, rigging, manning and crew sizes, harbours, trading patterns, and much useful information on the size, carrying capacity and speed of various types of vessel. The new material in the addenda and corrigenda includes references to the work of Morrison, Coates, Shaw, Rankov *et al* on the Athenian trireme, to the recent publications of Basch on ancient Mediterranean shipping, to Parker's exhaustive list of known ancient shipwrecks (over 1200!), and to Steffy's publication on the interpretation of wooden shipwrecks. Recent significant publications by other authors are also noted and dis-

cussed. One of the attractions of the book has always been Casson's use of all available source material, including archaeological, epigraphical, literary, and representations from reliefs, tomb paintings, mosaics and coins, to build up his synthesis and overall picture. There is a convenient glossary of nautical terms for non-specialists and a second extensive and most useful glossary of Greek and Latin nautical terminology. For anyone using epigraphical or original literary sources this is invaluable. Many nautical terms are quite rare in the surviving material and are not easily found in standard dictionaries. The illustrations are the same as those in the 1971 edition but they are not as sharp and clear as in the original. The printing in this reprint is clear and comfortable to read.

Notwithstanding its age, this book can still be thoroughly recommended for the serious amateur student, and remains a useful and convenient reference for scholars working in this and related fields. In spite of the immense amount of detail, much of it in the very extensive footnotes, the text is lucid, well arranged and easy to read. At its published price, it is a very good buy for new readers. For scholars working in related fields who want to keep up to date on the latest work on shipping in the ancient Mediterranean, it would be useful. For specialists who own the original or the 1986 reprint and who have kept up to date in the field, its purchase would be a small luxury rather than a necessity.

R.J.O. Millar
Vancouver, British Columbia

George F. Hourani; rev. & expanded by John Carswell. *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951, 1995. xvii + 189 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, figures, chapter notes, bibliography, index. US \$14.95, paper; ISBN 0-691-00032-8.

When it appeared from Princeton in 1951 Hourani's book was a product of a particular, largely European, scholarly tradition. It was copiously documented, close to its sources, and wholly descriptive. For years it has been regarded as the standard work for its topic. It

covered the routes, ships, and navigation of the Arabs in the Indian Ocean from the time before Islam up to the tenth century. Both the original, and a new edition in 1963 from Beirut, have long been out of print. Hourani died in 1984.

On the face of it then a new edition is much to be welcomed. The question is whether the editor, John Carswell, has gone about his task in the best way possible. He has chosen to preserve Hourani's text intact and to add at the end copious emendations, revisions, and general comments from several modern scholars. The result can be immensely frustrating. As I read the text I constantly had to refer to the material at the back of the book to see if anything new had been added. At the least, a marker in the original text would have enabled me to know that I needed to check the back as well. There are problems as well with the new comments. Some duplicate each other, some are short essays on whole sections of the text, and some are very minor amendments. For example, the text on pp. 79-82 deals with East Africa, but there are five different notes referring to these pages, and some of them overlap.

As one would expect, Hourani's text has been superseded in many areas either totally or in part by new research. The notion that the lateen sail originated with the Arabs is now questioned. Sections on East Africa, the Indus Valley, and astronomy are all really now of only antiquarian interest. In 1996 we know much more about the locations of Punt, and of Ophir; Hourani was wildly astray on both of them.

Hourani's achievement in 1951 was a major one, but it is doing his memory no service to reissue his work in this way, for it shows rather cruelly how dated it is. His text is now forty-four years old, and in my opinion is not of such major importance that it needed to be treated as some sacred object that could not be tampered with. It would have been preferable had Carswell used all the important new material contained in the notes to produce a totally rewritten text, one which was up to date and also more reader-friendly than Hourani's rather pedestrian original. As it is, we have a book which is both confusing and frustrating for the reader.

M.N. Pearson
Lismore, Australia

John D. Fudge. *Cargoes, Embargoes, and Emissaries: The Commercial and Political Interaction of England and the German Hanse, 1450-1510*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995. xx + 265 pp., maps, figures, charts, appendices, tables, glossary, bibliography, index. \$60, £39 (\$67, Europe), cloth; ISBN 0-8020-0559-4.

After a foreword by Ian Blanchard of the University of Edinburgh, which broadly sketches in European developments, the author's own preface explains that his purpose is to address aspects of Anglo-Hanseatic trade and diplomacy not covered in great detail in T.H. Lloyd's recent major study *England and the German Hanse, 1157-1611* (Cambridge, 1991). The pivotal events of 1450-1510 began with the seizure of the salt fleet off the Isle of Wight in May 1449, an act of naked piracy condoned by the English Crown. Nearly half the ships belonged to the Hanse, so heavy losses naturally embittered diplomatic relations and remained a source of enmity for two decades. From this point on, as Fudge shows, the Hanse's relations with England accentuated commercial and political divisions within the federation itself, above all between Danzig, Lttbeck and Cologne. Nevertheless the Hanse remained vital to English exports since its merchants handled large quantities of woollen cloth, providing an essential link between English manufactures and the markets of northern Europe. The Hanse imported a wide variety of commodities, but most notably wood and the by-products of the lumber industry, which were in fairly constant demand in England. After 1461 Edward IV frequently supported the Hanse, but in 1468 war broke out over the seizure of English ships in the Sound. At this point English diplomacy succeeded in splitting the league, with Cologne-based merchants continuing to trade with London while Anglo-Baltic trade in general was suspended. The Treaty of Utrecht brought hostilities to an end in 1474. However, the dispute had enhanced the importance of the low countries for both English and Hanseatic trade, a development that continued with the rise of Antwerp as Europe's greatest entrepôt after 1488.

Hanseatic diplomacy vis-à-vis the English Crown fell to another low ebb in the early

1490s, although cordial economic relations between the Hansards and the denizen merchants, at least in southern England, allowed the resumption of normal trade. Increasingly, however, it was concentrated on London and the Steelyard, to the detriment of formerly thriving outports such as Hull, Boston, Colchester and Ipswich. The Hanse could not remain immune from the damaging effects of the Tudor-Habsburg trade wars consequent on the accession of Henry VII in 1485, and in 1493 trade to the Low Countries was suspended as a result of the Yorkist conspiracies fostered by the dowager duchess Margaret of Burgundy. The resulting disruptions were not brought to an end until 1504, when Henry VII promoted a parliamentary statute which effectively defined and confirmed the Hanse's legal status in England, thereby granting the Steelyard merchants their long-sought guarantee. Fudge ends his study with the outbreak of the Dano-Wendish war of 1510, which once again played havoc with commercial traffic and affected both English and Hanseatic trade. Even so, Hanse merchants were still accounting for one third of the cloth export trade and at least as much of the foreign import trade. After sixty difficult years, at the outset of the reign of Henry VIII, the Hanse collectively remained an essential component in the overseas commerce of London, by now incomparably the greatest mercantile centre in the realm.

Fudge handles the complex and detailed interaction between diplomacy and trade with clarity. He paints a subtle picture of the constantly changing economic pattern of exports and imports, as various Hanse towns made contact with the English outports of the east coast and shifted their commodities from one to another. His conclusion, that the Hanse survived as a substantial factor in English trade, is undoubtedly important. Thorough research is apparent in the footnotes and appendices, which offer tables and graphs, and a small collection of documents printed at the end illuminates the type of sources used. But Fudge points also to the increased availability of major archives in eastern Europe, particularly in Tallinn, Liibeck, Bremen, and Gdansk. The collapse of communism offers us the opportunity to transform our knowledge of many aspects of Hanseatic history, as a new generation of scholars mines these

riches. Meanwhile Fudge has produced a valuable monograph on a tumultuous period of commercial development.

Pauline Croft
London, England

W.F.J. Mörzer Bruyns. *The Cross-Staff: History and Development of a Navigational Instrument*. Zutphen, The Netherlands: Walburg Pers for the Vereeniging Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam, 1994. 127 pp., illustrations, photographs (b+w, colour), figures, appendices, bibliography, references, index, fl 89-, US \$49, paper; ISBN 90-6011-907-X.

This handsome Dutch publication is essentially a descriptive and analytic catalogue of the ninety-five known cross-staffs surviving from the early modern period: the earliest abandoned by Claes Andriesz on Nova Zembla in the winter of 1597 (and not recovered until 1876), the latest manufactured in Amsterdam in 1805. This simple navigational instrument remained in use for several centuries and Bruyns' examination of the material, iconographic and documentary evidence indicates that the cross-staff was by no means entirely replaced by the back-staff in the eighteenth century. In fact, it continued in use even after the introduction of the quadrant and octant in mid-century. The main attraction of the instrument was its relatively low cost; navigational texts of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries gave instructions for fabrication by the mariner himself.

By way of background, Bruyns offers incisive essays on aspects of the history of this instrument, nicely illustrated from a range of sources. He puts the development of the navigational cross-staff, c. 1500, within the context of the history of astronomical navigation 1500 to 1800. His review of the literature acknowledges that C.A. Davids' *Zeewezen en wetense hap* (1986) already establishes the importance of the Netherlands as a centre for production but, as Bruyns quite fairly claims, his is the first study to use the surviving staffs themselves as a source. He explains the use of the instrument clearly, discussing common observational errors and making some suggestions about the origins of the instrument and its various names

("Jacob's staff etc.) His analysis of diffusion shows that the Dutch moved rapidly into standardized production of this instrument in the seventeenth century. It is no accident, then, that over ninety percent of surviving cross-staffs are of Dutch origin. A comparison of surviving examples and written sources clarifies the history of technical improvements to the instrument. The Netherlands was the main centre of innovation in this respect and, as Bruyns argues, this probably accounts for its predominance as a centre of production.

The checklist of instruments reports the maker (if known), assigns a probable date and records the inscription of mottoes, instrument numbers and graduated scales, besides reporting condition, metrical data, provenance and relevant publications. The catalogue is illustrated with sample inscriptions from the corpus of staffs and is followed by appendices providing biographies of known makers, documented costs of cross-staffs 1576-1804, purchases of cross-staffs by the Dutch East India Company 1728-1748, instrument numbers on surviving staffs, some comparative metrical data, and stamp patterns on staffs made by the Van Keulens of Amsterdam.

It seems historically appropriate that a Dutch scholar should have created this meticulous work and shared it with the wider world by publishing his research in English. His own research makes it clear that the Netherlands has long been an exporter of technical expertise. This is a valuable monograph, of interest for the history of navigation, the history of technology and, finally, as a model for the historical integration of written records, pictorial evidence and material culture. Would that we had a source like this for each of the humble objects that have changed the course of history, in this case quite literally.

Peter Pope
St. John's, Newfoundland

Hallyburton Stretton. *Columbus: Rival to King Ferdinand*. Baléares, Spain: The author, 1995 [Dr. H. Stretton, Apartado 10, Es Castell, Menorca, Baléares 07720, Spain]. 40 pp., maps.

To say that Christopher Columbus has been the focus of intense speculation is an understatement.

ment. This publication, another attempt at explaining the "mysteries" of Columbus's origins is, as the author explains, a translation of a work by Juan Cerda published circa 1967. The first striking thing about the book is its rather unusual shape, which seeks to recreate the longitudinal shape of Toscanelli's famous map of the Atlantic showing Japan and Spain opposite each other. Stretton also explains he has added two more chapters at the end of the book. The title is self explanatory; the general purpose of the book would seem to be to prove that Columbus is really a relative of King Ferdinand and in that respect a potential rival. However, once the author has tried to convince us of the blood relationship, the general direction of the book is more focused on proving Columbus is from the Baléares.

It would be easy for most people to dismiss the book as just another work trying to identify Columbus as being of another nationality than what is commonly believed. This genre, if it is one, has already been followed to "prove" Columbus was French, Jewish, or Greek. However, Juan Cerda and Stretton do try their best to present us with correlations, deductions, and speculations in favour of their theory.

The first objective tries to challenge the Italian and Genoese theories. This section unfortunately relies on the lack of evidence as evidence of proof. By the fifth chapter, Columbus is claimed to be the illegitimate son of Carlos Prince of Viana whose relation to King Ferdinand is not in question. Yet the link between the Prince and Columbus, so central to his work, does not amount to more than speculation, most of which is based on the plausible resemblance between the name Columbus and that of Margarita Colom, the mother of this mysterious child. It is also hard to see what actual rivalry the title of the work refers to, if there was any to begin with. Among the weakest attempts in identifying Columbus as being from Mallorca is one which deals with the linguistic origin of letters used in the Admiral's signatures. The other, which is from Stretton himself, explains the naming of the continent as having been done within the context of some pro-Italian conspiracy, thus proving Columbus was not Italian.

This work contributes little to solving the mystery of Columbus; it does however raise

more questions than it answers and in that respect may have some value for certain scholars of the Columbian dynasty. The author unfortunately doesn't use any footnotes, nor does he have a bibliography and that seriously undermines the usefulness of the work.

Marc A. Cormier
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John Cummins. *Francis Drake: The Lives of a Hero*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1995. xv + 348 pp., maps, illustrations, b+w plates, notes, bibliography, index. £20, cloth; ISBN 0-297-81566-0.

When reviewing John Sugden's *Sir Francis Drake* for this journal (I, No. 4, p.58) I posed the question, "Is there a need for yet another account of Drake's life?" It seemed to me at that time, borne out by Sugden's seven-page bibliography, that little more could be said on a subject so well documented. On being asked to consider this latest publication I discovered to my surprise that amongst my circle of acquaintances, all knew *of* Drake, but none knew anything *about* him. From this it appears there is, after all, a need to remind the public at large of the achievements of this mariner *extraordinaire* who perfected his skills in the cross channel trade, and was a cartographer, circumnavigator, slaver, amphibious forces commander, and privateer as well as sponsor of a civil engineering project. The four hundredth anniversary of his death is a convenient time to be reminded of his contribution to naval history.

For the student the raw material of Drake's voyaging is readily accessible in numerous volumes published over the years by the Hakluyt Society, one of the sources used by John Cummins. Where the present volume scores lies in the fact that the author is a former university teacher of Spanish. Not only does he draw on British sources but through his familiarity with Spanish archives he is able to present an authentic view of events from the other side. The reader becomes privy to the sometimes exaggerated reports by local officials taken by surprise by audacious amphibious landings that outflanked fixed defences; the reactions to reports that Drake and his squadron are proceeding

northwards settlement by settlement along the Pacific coast of South America; and bewilderment as to his next step. We come to appreciate the difficulties experienced by governments when trying to control their servants in a world devoid of speedy communications.

Traditionally the life of a ship's captain or the leader of an expedition is a lonely one. It must have been particularly difficult in Elizabethan times when the vessels were so confined. This could account in some measure for the friction that developed on numerous occasions between Drake and his crewmen and in particular his relationship with his seconds in command. Whether it was the living conditions or fear of the unknown that caused mutterings amongst his crews, on several occasions Drake thought it necessary to stage formal ceremonies at which he demanded oaths of loyalty from his followers. Certainly his earlier voyages were the most successful, partly because of the element of surprise and because luck was with him. The final expedition was dogged with problems. From intelligence obtained at Elizabeth's court the Spanish knew in advance of the intentions of the fleet commanded jointly by Hawkins and Drake. Due to inadequate planning the fleet sought to effect landings against freshly strengthened land targets in what proved to be the rainy season. The Commanders could not always agree and both succumbed to the rigours of the 1595 voyage, Hawkins dying aged 62 years in November 1595 and Drake, in his early fifties, two months later.

Cummins rounds off his enthralling account with two chapters devoted to the Drake legend as perpetuated in Spanish and English literature. For all his ferocity Drake was remembered by his opponents for his consideration to prisoners, in particular any ladies who fell into his hands. Yet to this day the name of *El Draque* is invoked to bring small children to heel. So far as the English are concerned he sleeps still, awaiting to be summoned by a warning tattoo beaten on his drum, preserved at his former home, Buckland. Read this book and keep Drake's achievements alive.

Norman Hurst
Coulson, Surrey

David F. Marley. *Pirates and Privateers of the Americas*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1995. xiii + 458 pp., end-maps, b+w plates, select bibliography, index. US \$60, cloth; ISBN 0-87436-751-4.

Jan Rogozinski. *Pirates! Brigands, Buccaneers, and Privateers in Fact, Fiction, and Legend*. New York: Facts on File, 1995. xvi + 398 pp., photographs, illustrations, selected bibliography, index. US \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-8160-2761-7.

The amount of material produced on piracy in recent years is such that the appearance of two similar books on the subject at almost the same time would hardly merit comment if it were not that this pair were so much alike. Both are dictionaries of piracy, the word "Pirates" screams out in large letters from their covers in brightest red ink, and Howard Pyle's 1905 painting, "Attack on a Galleon," graces each of the dust jackets.

Jan Rogozinski's is the more ambitious undertaking. The subtitle of his *Pirates!* proclaims the coverage is comprehensive, including "Brigands, Buccaneers, and Privateers in Fact, Fiction, and Legend." The fiction and legend portions are, without doubt, the most valuable segments of the work. They contain material on pirate novels and films that is simply unavailable in other collections. In addition to data on marauders from the beginning of recorded history to the present, the book includes information on almost any geographical location or article of human manufacture that can be remotely linked to piracy. The alphabetical arrangement runs from *Abbott and Costello Meet Captain Kidd* to "Yo-Ho-Ho" and beyond. Interspersed among the expected materials are dozens of minimally relevant entries such as "Alexander the Great," "*Terry and the Pirates*," and "swearing." Cross-references abound. Readers hoping to discover the meaning of the term "Wooden Leg" are referred to "Peg Leg" where they learn among other things that it is a "prosthetic" device. Those interested in "Sexuality, Pirate" are advised to check "Homosexuality; Women, Treatment of." The many cursory biographies of North African marauders provide little useful information. Few of the thousands of entries carry citations, making it difficult or impossible to

locate sources. The bibliography includes only books in English that are easily obtained. The vast periodical literature on piracy is ignored.

David Marley is more helpful to those using his *Pirates and Privateers of the Americas* for research. He lists sources at the end of each entry, though his citations lack page numbers. His dictionary is largely biographical, but there are entries for "ducat," "guardacostas," "corsair" and other terms connected with piracy in one way or another. The skimpy prefatory material contains no clue to the criteria for including or omitting data. The only introductory information is a two-page summary covering the vast subject of seventeenth-century piracy in the Americas and a half-page note on the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar. The same note also explains the "exasperating...eccentricity among the English" that led to "such bizarre datings as '19 January 1654/55,' which in reality meant 19 January 1655 (O.S.), or 29 January 1655 (New Style)." (xi)

One feature of Marley's work that gives it a measure of usefulness beyond that of the numerous pirate directories already available is its roster of Spanish, French, and Dutch marauders, a large number of whom can be found neither in Rogozinski (despite his claim to comprehensive coverage) nor in the works of most others who have written in English of pirates and buccaneers. Still, Marley's collection of pirates in the Americas is hardly complete. Blackbeard is not to be found under either surname or sobriquet, nor is there any mention of a good many familiar Britons who raided and ransacked in the Western Hemisphere. The failure to include some of these men is explained by the absence of Daniel Defoe's *General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates* from the citations and bibliography. The author's intent in ignoring Defoe, if done by design rather than ineptitude, requires at the very least a note of explanation.

Both books contain the predictable selection of contemporary woodcuts and engravings that appear in every illustrated book on pirates, but Rogozinski includes a wondrous array of movie stills. *Among the crew* of film-star buccaneers pictured are the likes of Errol Flynn, Douglas Fairbanks, Charles Laughton, Gene Kelly, Bob Hope, Tyrone Power, Judy Garland, and Robin

Williams, all swashbuckling across the screen in full Hollywood-style pirate accoutrement.

B.R. Burg
Hyderabad, India

Jo Stanley (ed.). *Bold In Her Breeches: Women Pirates Across the Ages*. London: Pandora (HarperCollins), 1995. xvii + 283 pp., b+w plates, suggested reading, index. £14.99, Cdn \$28.95, US \$24, cloth; ISBN 0-04-440892-7.

Rapacious, violent, daring, transgressors, female pirates topped the decks of ships from the mild Mediterranean, to the coastal ports rimming the Atlantic basin, to the black depths of oceans east and west. Women stood in bold relief against waves of male culture which threatened to de-emphasize, if not drown out entirely, their presence. In a broad 2,500 year sweep from the military strategist/pirate queen Artemesia in 480 BC through the pirate culture of the late twentieth century, this collaborative effort, led by Jo Stanley, seeks to reconstruct the role of women who commanded and participated in the worlds of piracy. The protagonists of the book came at times from landed wealth and followed a lineage's tradition to the sea, but most were working class women who, like their male counterparts, sought freedom, money, or adventure. Unlike their brethren, however, they also went to follow their husbands and lovers, to live out lesbian lifestyles, to find relief from land-locked restrictions of female protocol. As they did so they altered the contested terrain of gender.

The authors structure their work in three parts, drawing upon major classics of pirate life as well as more obscure and scarce sources. They also draw heavily upon more contemporary work of M.J. Peterson, David Mitchell, Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, finding in them a hidden seascape of potential clues, intuitions and guesses. They argue that we need not simply include women's stories in historical narratives, but fundamentally reconceptualize the enterprise of piracy itself, giving male and female agency equality in the equation.

The *project is thus* simultaneously three distinct but interrelated undertakings. Firstly, it attempts to locate women as historical actors, recovering their presence in the predominantly

male pirate culture, as tars, as sex-workers, as fences, as caretakers of the bodies of male pirates and in piracy more broadly. Secondly, the project examines the literary constructions of the "female pirate" as a trope which animates work from chapbook writers, novelists, filmmakers, and professional historians. These tropes have often served an ideological function, simultaneously titillating male obsession with wild women and in the end restoring these outlaws to their proper domestic roles. Thirdly, it is an essay about methodology and research, about the difficulty of recovering women's lives in a male-dominated culture that has been deaf and blind to their contributions. Few written records left by the pirates themselves has enabled the authors to use contemporary feminist, literary, and sociological theory, to recover their subjects in extant male authored texts.

The work represents a significant and challenging contribution to maritime history, an attempt to revise the sights, smells, sounds, and desires of these fascinating female subjects and recast our conceptions of female power and self-activity, and by inference male piracy as well. Some limitations, however, must be noted. The work relies heavily upon the recordings of only ten women. The serious limitation of sources, fully acknowledged by the authors, nonetheless compromises some of the broader conclusions as to the extent of female participation in pirate culture and also raises doubts about the utility of more contemporary theoretical interventions.

The authors are most persuasive when they contextualize their subjects in the material cultures of women rather than in twentieth century psychologies, which derive from decidedly bourgeois experience. Men may in fact fear castration, and women in breeches may in fact represent that threat, but such theoretical structures must be fitted to the past through actual evidence not only by fiat as transference. Consequently, the authors' implied purpose of reimagining the enterprise of piracy falls somewhat short of its intended goal. Yet in fleshing out the lives of these female leaders, rebels, survivors, they point to problems and areas that cry out for fuller historical exploration.

Cornell Womack
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

David Hancock. *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. xxiii + 477 pp., illustrations, maps, figures, tables, photographs, appendices, sources, index. US \$59.95, cloth; ISBN 0-521-47430-2.

This splendid biography of twenty-three interconnected London "associates" in the Atlantic trades is innovative in method, comprehensive in scope, and insightful in relation to existing literature. The linked "circles" of successful merchants were also ship-owners, planters, slavers, land-owners, and government contractors. The associates began as poor, ambitious "outsiders" from Scotland, Ireland, or the English provinces who worked in trading houses of Glasgow or London, or sojourned in North America, the West Indies, Europe, or India.

The shipping and trading activities described in chapter 4 will be of special interest to readers of *The Northern Mariner*. The associates sponsored 456 voyages in the forty years after 1745 and had as many as twenty-nine ships afloat at once. Multilateral voyages were common for their 127 plantation supply voyages and 120 slaving voyages. Attention to details, careful monitoring of agents and factors chosen from relatives and neighbours, and ownership of plantations and a slaving station all helped maintain full cargoes and relatively short loading times. These merchants moved readily from wholesaling on commission to direct investment in trade, plantations, and slaves.

The associates owned 9,000 colonial acres in 1750, and 130,000 by 1775. Purchase, foreclosure, or marriage added West Indian sugar plantations that proved highly profitable for these absentees. Managed by relatives or counting house juniors, these plantations were given adequate capital, labour, informed advice, and innovative technologies to produce surprising rates of return. From careful examination of surviving crop accounts and trading records it is evident that Sir Alexander Grant (1705-72) received at least twenty-nine per cent annual return from his Jamaica plantations. On the other hand, the exploitation of British Florida proved a disaster because of poor soil, lack of direct experience, and inadequate transport

facilities.

Six of the associates bought the Bance Island slaving station at the mouth of the Sierra Leone River in 1748. This initiative, exploited for decades without apparent qualms, was their most lucrative shipping and trading venture. The fort employed as many as thirty-five white and 142 African workers in buying and selling nearly 13,000 slaves.

Government contracts during the Seven Years' War proved very profitable for those associates who became involved. In 1755 John Sargent II (1714-91) and one partner acquired the contract for mail packets to the West Indies. Unlike William Dummer's bankrupting earlier experience, these contractors made a seventy per cent return on their initial outlay plus whatever came from trading without customs searches. As a government contractor, Richard Oswald (1705-84) entirely outclassed the others when he and a partner became commissaries to supply bread and bread wagons for the British and Hessian troops in Europe after 1756. Using ingredients stockpiled from Deventer to Braunschweig, Oswald delivered some five million loaves of bread to as many as 100,000 troops. He emerged from the war a very wealthy man, even if the last government repayments were not made until twenty years after his death.

Hancock investigates the debts and investments of the associates; private loans were more important than bank loans in building their businesses and most married late, after accumulating considerable capital. Long term holdings in East India or Bank of England stocks were political and social investments; shorter term positions were, for most associates, a relatively safe place to hold money until more profitable opportunities arose. The urge to "improve" agriculture, roads, bridges, and even the lives of penitent prostitutes, were all part of improving oneself. English and Scottish landed estates were not regarded as economic investments; land in Britain was acquired for social advancement. Becoming a gentleman also involved membership in London's Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and a seat in Parliament. Hancock's rich description and analysis of the country houses, gardens, and well-recorded art collections of leading members of the associates is a delightful examination of

ambitious "self-fashioning." Unfortunately, the book's muddy and monochromatic photographs do no justice to the discussion.

Hancock reopens many questions in this challenging *tour de force*. His merchants did not follow the generally-accepted route to success in London, they defied assumptions about the profitability of absentee sugar planting, and they grew rich through opportunities provided by Georgian war and empire. We will need more studies like this to learn if these citizens of the British world were too successful to be typical. Hancock has provided a new, demanding, and rewarding model for group biography.

Ian K. Steele
London, Ontario

Aingeru Zabala Uriarte. *Mundo urbano y actividad mercantU Bilbao J 700-1810*. Bilbao: Artes Graficas Rontegui, S.A.L., 1994 [Bilbao Bizkaia Kutxa, Plaza de Espana, 1-48001 Bilbao, Spain]. 793 pp., tables, sources, appendices, paper; ISBN 84-8056-093-2.

This is a detailed and exhaustive — and, sometimes, exhausting — analysis of the mercantile activities of Viscaya during the latter part of the eighteenth century. The centre of all commercial activity was the regional capital, Bilbao. Author Zabala Uriarte analyses Bilbao's roles as an international market and as a vital internal and peripheral market for Spain as well. The book concentrates its attention on the life of the peoples and entrepreneurial society of Bilbao, describing their daily political and commercial engagements through a close examination of the records and activities of the *Boisa de Bilbao*. The text is accompanied by a myriad of tables with a wide array of numerical compilations, calculations and statistics — data compiled and analysed for the past twenty years by the author.

The volume is divided into five sections. The first provides the historical context for the century that is analysed in the subsequent sections. We are provided with an assessment of Spanish politics in the late 1600s, and of the political and economic implications of the succession of King Carlos II. We learn about the succession's repercussions throughout Spain and many other European countries, repercussions

such as the War of 1700 and how it shaped the entire trade of Viscaya. Preponderance is given to the trade with France and Holland, relations with Germany and Austria, as well as the commercial and smuggling activities into and through Bilbao. Trade in iron, wool, cod, whale and tobacco are discussed in detail.

The second section describes the commercial activity of Bilbao during the years in which local customs policies were reformed (1715-1733) in an attempt to promote the growth and expansion of trading aimed not only at various areas within the North Atlantic region but also at the southern Spanish provinces in Andalusia. The third section is devoted to the years that were a commercial heyday for Bilbao (1733-1765). Interspersed with the analysis of the era is discussion of problems with England and France as well as relations with other important European trading ports and how their growing importance affected the trade balance in the region. The fourth section concentrates on the years of Bilbao's decline and on the particular difficulties Bilbao faced from contraband and privateering. The impact of American independence is dealt with, as well as the commercial repercussions for commodities brought to Bilbao from the Spanish territories in the Americas. The section also includes a very detailed analysis of all imports and exports and how, through Bilbao, commercial lanes were extended to North America, the Baltic Region, and many other northern European ports. The final section describes the life and business activities of the peoples of Bilbao. It stratifies the different sectors of the economy and differentiates between foreigners economically active in Bilbao and native bilbainos and their entrepreneurial roles. Towards the end, there is a description of eight important "performers" in the life of Bilbao during eighteenth century.

As a compendium of historic economic statistics the book provides an astonishing wealth of detailed information. However, while there is a brief list of sources and references at the end of each section, the author does not provide proper references to support the analysis and on which the many and definitive tables and statistics on Bilbao's dynamic mercantile activities are presumably based. For instance, through the analysis of imports and exports, Zabala Uriarte

provides an array of tables describing the total ships registered per year in Bilbao as well as many diverse commercial activities. Canadian maritime and economic historians will be particularly interested in the discussion on the trade in cod, and the commercial patterns that ensued, involving Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New England. Geographically, the book therefore presents an excellent historic panorama of all economic activities undertaken between the port of Bilbao and a wide variety of specific communities throughout the North Atlantic maritime world. It is therefore much to be regretted that the book includes no maps to illustrate the trading routes and trading ports mentioned throughout the study. Readers must rely instead either on their own good geographic knowledge or on an accompanying atlas.

Nevertheless, and apart from the slight burden of having to cope with the many tables and historical summations, the text is engaging and straightforward. Zabala Uriarte is therefore to be commended for having produced such a fine study of an eighteenth century commercial community and of the commodities which linked it to other parts of Spain and the North Atlantic maritime world.

Ricardo A. Carreras
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Eric Krause, Carol Corbin, William O'Shea (eds.). *Aspects of Louisbourg: Essays on the History of an Eighteenth-Century French Community in North America Published to Commemorate the 275th Anniversary of the Founding of Louisbourg*. Sydney, NS: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1995. vii + 322 pp., illustrations, photographs, figures, tables, maps. \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-92033-676-0.

History today is generally written for increasingly segmented audiences. The most significant of the so-called popular historians are really the true professionals because they craft their narratives to appeal to the largest number of people and thereby earn their living through writing. Scholars increasingly discuss among themselves detailed sub-topics within larger fields of knowledge. Public historians prepare reports seldom known for their literary grace but which instead

are written with a practicality intended to fulfil contracts for specific purposes.

This collection of essays on eighteenth-century Cape Breton during the French regime is exceptional in attempting to break these bounds. While most of the authors were once employed as public historians, much of their work did reach academic audiences through scholarly journals. In some instances, though, the editors have had to edit reports due to the limitations of space. The book opens with an introductory piece by Fortress of Louisbourg historian A. J. B. Johnson on the urban evolution of Louisbourg. This is then followed by contributions organized under the themes of military, social, economic, and preservation history. The result is unusual for a university press publication, since much of the book can be read or sampled by the general public. Yet the book is unlikely to appeal to the specialist.

Johnson's introductory essay attempts to convey the broad outlines of Louisbourg's development, but without asking the essential questions. Was Louisbourg primarily town or fortress? How did imperial exigencies influence its urban and suburban features? What effects did the colonial connection have on social classes in the community? In opening the section on military history, archaeologist Bruce Fry is more concerned with larger issues as they relate to the study of fortifications, but the piece is really more comprehensive than its title implies. While two articles by Allan Greer examine soldier's revolts in 1744 and 1750, there is no study related to naval matters. This is an odd omission considering the importance of navies to Louisbourg's existence.

The social history of Louisbourg is revealed through Kenneth Donovan's article on families. However, two other essays dealing with population and gardens are superficial. The section devoted to economics is much more substantial, although at times it is overburdened with statistics, while B. A. Balcom's study of the cod fishery has been badly edited. Donald Chard looks at trade with New England and Christopher Moore brings to light the nature of the resident merchant community. In arguing that residents controlled virtually all Cape Breton's fishing industry, Moore appears to forget that Louisbourg was a base for larger deep-sea

operations.

In the concluding section on preservation history, another essay by A. J. B. Johnson examines several attempts to commemorate Louisbourg between 1895 and 1940. Other articles look at marine archaeology and archival collections. This means that the collection as a whole is very eclectic. However, as *Aspects of Louisbourg* is forecast as the first in a series, it is hoped that some of the *lacunae* will be filled in through future volumes.

Terry Crowley
Guelph, Ontario

James Pritchard. *Anatomy of a Naval Disaster: The 1746 French Expedition to North America*. Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. xxvi + 322 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-1325-6.

There can be few major campaigns of the eighteenth century which have been more thoroughly forgotten than the 1746 French expedition to Canada, resurrected here by James Pritchard. As he shows, what little is said about it in standard histories is mostly wrong. There was not much glory to attract an older generation of naval historians; neither for the French, since the expedition was an unqualified disaster, nor for the British, who tried but failed to intercept it. Moreover, for reasons which Pritchard explores, there were no subsequent recriminations in France, such as followed other unhappy naval campaigns (for example after the Battle of the Saintes). On the contrary, the whole affair was rapidly swept under the carpet, to the extent, it seems, of suppressing or destroying official reports.

In spite of this handicap, Pritchard has uncovered primary sources in four countries which allow him to tell the story of the expedition in great detail. Conceived as a riposte to the capture of Louisbourg in 1745, it was really driven less by strategic considerations than by the personal calculations of the comte de Maurepas, the Minister of Marine, who needed a success to bolster his family's position in court politics. The commander-in-chief, the Due d'Enville, owed his appointment to the fact that

he was Maurepas' cousin, and that at thirty-six, he was less than half the age of any other officer of suitable rank. Unfortunately his sea experience was limited to a few cruises in Mediterranean galleys, and he had apparently never set foot in a sailing ship before. D'Enville was also largely lacking in force of character or powers of command — though not so much so as his second-in-command, who was so overwhelmed by his situation when the Duke died, that he tried (unsuccessfully) to kill himself. This left the force in the hands of the Marquis de La Jonquière, an officer of courage and experience. By then, however, the expedition had disintegrated beyond recovery. Badly organised, very badly victualled, overcrowded and sickly even before it began a particularly long Atlantic passage, the squadron had arrived off Nova Scotia without adequate charts or pilots, and was soon scattered by gales and fog. Two-thirds of the ships eventually made their destination, Chebuctou (Halifax) but were gripped by then by the sickness which Pritchard diagnoses as a combination of scurvy, typhus and typhoid and which destroyed what military effectiveness remained. On the voyage home want of food and water reduced one ship to cannibalism. Three ships of the line, several transports, and at least six thousand soldiers and sailors were lost.

This was the largest naval effort made by the French navy during this war. What makes it especially interesting for the historian, and justifies the luxuriant detail in which Pritchard tells its story, is what it shows us about the institutional and political context of naval history. It illustrates particularly vividly the difference between an effective navy and a collection of warships. Such unspectacular but literally vital matters as an organisation capable of keeping tally of its stores, of calculating what size and number of transports would be needed to carry a given number of troops, of buying victuals of good quality and packing them with care, were essential for long-range operations. Navigating in remote and dangerous waters, keeping company in fog and foul weather, were tests of seamanship and resolution. For all its fine ships, the French navy disastrously failed these tests of practical capability in real war.

This is an important book, even if it is in a

sense about a non-event, because it demonstrates with unusual clarity the range and complexity of the skills and capacities needed to make an effective navy. Though the British Navy figures only in the margins of the story, few books have done more to reveal the factors underlying British naval success in the eighteenth century.

N. A. M. Rodger
London, England

Eric Grove (ed.). *Great Battles of the Royal Navy As Commemorated in the Gunroom, Britannia Royal Naval College, Dartmouth*. London: Arms & Armour Press, 1994. 256 pp., photographs, maps, illustrations, appendices, index. £25, cloth; ISBN 1-85409-184-0. Distributed by Sterling Publishing, New York.

As the most consistently successful naval force in world history, the Royal Navy and its forbears have long, hard-won and illustrious traditions of victory and service to Great Britain and the Crown. Those traditions continue to be a living force within the Royal Navy, and the high esteem in which those traditions are held is nowhere better demonstrated than on the walls of The Britannia Royal Naval College at Dartmouth, the officer-training school of the Navy. The paintings that grace the walls of the magnificent Senior Gunroom, at the west end of the College, celebrate some of the greatest commanders and the most glorious and epic battles in the history of the Royal Navy, from the victory of Alfred the Great over the Danes in 897 to the bombardment of Acre by Vice Admiral Sir Robert Stopford in 1840. Those paintings provide the heart of the book reviewed here.

Great Battles of the Royal Navy is closely modelled on *Great Battles of the British Army as Commemorated in the Sandhurst Companies* by David Chandler (ed.). The production of a companion volume for the Royal Navy did, however, pose some problems, mainly those of selection. The divisions at The Britannia Royal Naval College are named after admirals, not engagements. The paintings in the Senior Gunroom provided an obvious solution to this dilemma. Yet to have limited the book to the thirty-two naval battles commemorated there

would have meant also limiting its appeal, particularly as the Army volume includes much modern material. It was therefore decided to eliminate some of the earlier battles and to include some twentieth-century engagements. The obvious candidates were the Falkland Islands (1914), Jutland, the River Plate, Taranto, Matapan, North Cape, and the Falklands (1982). The choice of which admiral to place by each victory was governed by the idiosyncratic approach of the Gunroom. Attributing Copenhagen to Nelson and Basque Roads to Cochrane would mean that Taranto should go to the officer in operational command, not the Commander-in-Chief, Cunningham, who gets his own battle in any event.

At the core of the book are individual chapters on the twenty-five battles that have been selected for inclusion, each written by a recognized authority in the field, such as Colin Martin on The Armada, Ruddock Mackay on Quiberon Bay, Gerald Jordan on Trafalgar, Jon Sumida on the Falkland Islands, and Geoffrey Till on North Cape. Averaging a little over eight pages each, the chapters can hardly do justice to the detail and complexity of their respective battles. Still, the authors have done a fine job of setting out the strategic background, describing the main events of the engagements, and assessing the consequences. The chapters are of a uniformly high quality and — in so far as I can determine — accurate. Each chapter is illustrated with strategic and tactical battle maps, engravings, and prints, as well as some rather good colour reproductions of paintings on the subject from the collection of the National Maritime Museum or the walls of the Senior Gunroom itself.

The core chapters are complemented by a general introduction, in which Eric Grove provides a quick sketch of British naval history, and by two appendices. The first, "The Other Battles," gives short, one-paragraph accounts of the battles commemorated in the Senior Gunroom but which are not given their own chapter in this book. The second presents the history of officer training in the Royal Navy, with particular emphasis on the history and role of The Britannia Royal Naval College.

Not all will agree with the particular selection of battles chosen for chapter-length treatment. Nevertheless, the book will delight all

with an interest in the men and the ships of the Royal Navy and in the great naval engagements of the past millennium.

G. Edward Reed
Ottawa, Ontario

Sheldon S. Cohen. *Yankee Sailors in British Gaols: Prisoners of War at Forton and Mill, 1777-1783*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses for the University of Delaware Press, 1995. 278 pp., maps, illustrations, figures, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. US \$35, cloth; ISBN 0-87413-564-8.

The problems of the rights and proper treatment of prisoners of war, surfacing most recently in Europe in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, make the themes in this book particularly timely. Its subject is the approximately 3,000 Americans who were held prisoner in Great Britain during the war for American independence, the great majority in two prisons, Forton near Portsmouth and Mill near Plymouth. Most were seamen, taken in merchant ships or privateers. They were regarded by British authorities as rebels in arms, sometimes even pirates, with the result that their status as prisoners of war was not officially recognised until March 1782. The system of exchanging prisoners could hardly operate smoothly in such a climate and often collapsed logistically. Escape attempts were therefore numerous. They recall World War II films of similar escapes from prison camps. Prisoners dug tunnels, with varying success; dressed up as British guards or visitors and walked through the gates, sometimes successfully; bribed the guards and occasionally had help from Britons who sympathised with the American cause and were willing to assist escapees and work for the relief and release of prisoners, for humanitarian as well as political motives. Notable among these were Rev. Thomas Wren at Portsmouth and Deacon Robert Heath at Plymouth, both dissenting ministers. The authorities' views meant that prisoners' treatment was often harsh. Yet though there were well-founded complaints about poor and insufficient food, prisoners seem to have been better fed than British soldiers, and they were better treated and enjoyed better health at these two depots than in

the overcrowded prison ships. Where ill treatment occurred it was usually the response of the local officials and guards to those seen as rebels, disruptive and disrespectful of authority.

Sheldon Cohen gives a convincing picture of life in these prisons, dominated by concern with food, clothing and health, by the occasional casual brutalities and humiliations of the local authorities, by punishments for infringement of prison regulations, by boredom and a pre-occupation with exchange or escape. He has drawn on a wide range of sources, including the diaries and recollections of prisoners, often located in less familiar local history collections. The detailed bibliography is thus most helpful and supplemented by a useful map, manuscript plans of the prisons, and portraits of some of the main protagonists mentioned in the text. He is less successful in his attempts to illustrate how prisoners exemplified New World culture and the role they played in the struggle for American freedom. The characteristics shown by American prisoners, including patriotism, non-cooperation or hostility to the authorities, and a natural desire to escape, were not specifically American but are common to prisoners of war at all times. Nor can it be claimed that prisoners played a major role in achieving US freedom once they became prisoners. They did not tie down large numbers of British troops to guard them, since this was the task of the local militia regiments. Nor did they, by their large numbers, cause a drain on Britain's food resources, thereby compelling Britain to sue for peace, as Napoleon hoped would happen between 1803 and 1815. Like all prisoners they were out of the active conflict, and this contributed to their frustration. So they deserve credit for maintaining their spirits and for not yielding to threats and temptations to enter British service; only 116 did so between 1781 and 1783, the majority British born. Their treatment increased bitter anti-British feeling and certain natural xenophobic nationalism.

Overall, then, this is an informative study, interesting for its exploration of an area largely neglected in war and maritime studies and which deserves to be better known.

Patricia K. Crimmin
Egham, Surrey

Patrick O'Brian. *Men-of-War: Life in Nelson's Navy*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995. 95 pp., illustrations (b+w, colour), figures, index. Cdn \$29.99, US \$23, cloth; ISBN 0-393-03858-0. Distributed in Canada by Penguin Books Canada.

Patrick O'Brian is the eighty-two year old grand master of the sailing navy genre novel. More than any other writer working in the field — and there are several — O'Brian has established himself as the most evident successor to the mantle of C.S. Forester. In his Aubrey and Maturin characters and their adventures, O'Brian conjures the Napoleonic world of Europe so vividly that he satisfies Rafael Sabatini's dictum that a historical novelist must be as at ease with his chosen time setting as he is with his own. To detractors of O'Brian, the Irishman's picture is sometimes far too complete, while identification of the reader with the principal characters — a goal of most genre writers — can sometimes be a difficult process for a reader less able to comprehend the world of late Georgian England.

O'Brian's small tome on Nelson's Royal Navy, written originally in 1974, suffers from a touch of the same "just-between-us-chaps" assumptions as do the novels; much background knowledge on the reader's part is assumed, and there is no dissection of the Royal Navy of 1805, but rather a warm description of a beloved possession. John Masefield, Poet Laureate and a one-time square rig man, published an earlier, more reserved work, and O'Brian does present, as Masefield did, an overview of the basic elements of the form and operation of the sailing navy sufficient to allow the layman to enjoy the fictional adventures of Aubrey and Maturin from a not entirely ignorant position. As a factual handbook to prepare for such genre reading, or as a student's quick guide to the Royal Navy at the time, the little work is invaluable. O'Brian's chapter breakdowns discuss the ships, guns, the ship's company, life at sea — and songs, a warm and human aspect of the sailor's life not usually part of historian's treatments, and perhaps a reflection of O'Brian's Celtic soul that he would include it. Nicely selected illustrations in colour and black and white compliment the text, and benefit from O'Brian's unpretentious captions.

In the end, this lack of pretension is per-

haps this little book's most appealing quality; whether describing the rating system for ships, the life of a midshipman, or the sequence for firing the great guns, O'Brian's writing has the feel of an informed chat over a pint at the local with a kindly uncle in a tweed cap. For those seeking the more austere discussions of wooden ships and iron men, many more detailed volumes are available such as Rodger and Lavery; but for an avuncular tour of a beloved subject by a man who is its effortless master, *Men-Of-War* meets every requirement. It belongs on the bookshelf of anyone who makes armchair voyages with Hornblower, Aubrey, and Mainwaring.

Victor Suthren
Ottawa, Ontario

Thomas Cochrane; Tom Pocock (Intro.). *The Autobiography of a Seaman, Volume I*. London: Constable Publishers, 1995. xxxv + 428 pp. £16.95, cloth; ISBN 0-09-475080-7.

Thomas Cochrane, Lord Dundonald, was one of the truly memorable Royal Navy characters of the age of Nelson, whose exploits are considered the inspiration for the *Hornblower* series. The reissue of this 1861 classic is most welcome.

Cochrane's Scottish family was noble but poor, and he entered the navy as a poor midshipman. His talents brought quick promotion, but regrettably he possessed a sharp tongue and an inability to play politics, so that any slight or injury, real or imagined, produced unending bitterness. The entire memoir is suffused with barely suppressed rage at the unfair treatment received from petty and conniving superiors. A sign of this comes in the "family history" section, where we learn of several notable ancestors who served kings and society in Scotland with nary a hint of thanks or profit, until sympathetic readers must conclude that the Cochrane males, splendid fellows all, carry some unfortunate genetic trait which excites the irrational hostility of lesser beings in their orbit. In the case of this particular Cochrane, however, one suspects that brilliance afloat was balanced by clumsiness ashore. Nelson would have sympathized.

Rising to command the *Speedy* sloop, he capped his first cruise with a daring single ship action, capturing the Spanish *El Gamo*, a frigate

three times her size. This astonishing feat was not rewarded, as he expected, by recognition and promotion for himself and his deserving officers, and so began a lifetime of resentment against the Admiralty, and Lord St. Vincent in particular. From then on his career was shaky: the Admiralty doled out assignments in old ships on dull stations, and Cochrane responded by getting elected to Parliament as a reforming Whig. As an MP he set up as a critic of naval administration, hardly the way to win friends in the Admiralty. An unexpected result, however, was an appointment to command the *Impérieuse*, a fine frigate on the Mediterranean station. One suspects the Admiralty thought this a good way to get him out of the country.

The exploits of the *Impérieuse* will be the highlight of the book for many. Cochrane excelled at detached duty, and his harrying of the enemy coasts, commando raids, capture of coastal shipping, occupying strongpoints and defending them against counter attack, all make riveting reading. Characteristically, Cochrane exaggerates slightly when he claims that he prevented "by means of a single frigate the march of an army into the Mediterranean provinces of Spain." (287) He later expanded on this to the Admiralty, advising the despatch of 20,000 men to occupy islands off the French Biscay coast. Such a force, "protected by a few ships," would have tied down so many troops "that it would have been impossible for the enemy to detach armies to the Spanish peninsula; had this policy been pursued, the Peninsular War...and its millions of National Debt, would never have been heard of." (364) This is certainly a glowing view of the glorious and cheap possibilities of naval power, but the modern reader might share the Admiralty's scepticism.

The Mediterranean exploits did bring one further assignment, with a career-ending sequel: the attack on some French line-of-battle ships bottled up in the Basque Roads. Cochrane's flare for this sort of special operation was tapped, and he developed a scheme for an attack using fire-ships, actually floating bombs. Twenty of these would disrupt and terrify the French ships at anchor, and allow Lord Gambier's blockading fleet to mop up all the survivors. Cochrane was leap-frogged over the heads of more senior officers for this command, which only added to

his burdens then and later. Sadly, the attack only partially succeeded: the fireships were poorly handled, only four reaching the enemy. Even then several French ships were driven aground, sitting ducks for the British fleet, except Gambier lacked the nerve to send it in through narrow waters for the kill. Cochrane actually engaged French ships with his frigate to shame the fleet into activity, but received only token assistance. The result was that most of the French ships were refloated and escaped destruction. Enraged by this supine performance, Cochrane subsequently opposed a Vote of Thanks to Gambier, which eventually resulted in a court martial at the latter's request. That proceeding saw the navy supporting the Admiral and repudiating Cochrane's assessment of Basque Roads.

Clearly Cochrane had gone beyond the bounds, and further naval employment would be decades away. The second volume of the memoir will deal with his implication in a financial scandal, probably as a victim, removal from the list of officers, and subsequent service with the naval forces of Chile, Brazil, and Greece, before a return to England and vindication.

From such a memoir it is difficult to extract the true individual. Cochrane clearly excelled as a frigate captain on detached service. His exploits rightfully are the stuff of legend. Why did higher commands elude him? There are hints: could someone so thin-skinned and impetuous, so intolerant of disagreement, have blended diverse personalities into a harmonious squadron? Could someone who thought that a few frigates, supporting 20,000 troops, could have prevented Napoleon's Spanish designs, be trusted with the large strategic picture? Even in his crusade to reform naval abuses, there is a shallowness apparent: he singled out practices which came across his field of vision, such as prize money chicanery, medical care for seamen, and the usual diatribes of serving officers against supposed dockyard corruption. Yet nothing indicates that he was aware of the very complex work being done by various commissions of enquiry on the subject of naval reform, particularly by Lord Barham. A true hero at sea he was, but ashore one must sympathize somewhat with the superior officers who wondered at his capacity for statesmanlike team leadership. In all facets, however, *The Autobiography of a Sea-*

man is a classic first hand account of naval life in the glory days of sail.

Paul Webb
London, Ontario

Craig L. Symonds. *The Naval Institute Historical Atlas of the U.S. Navy*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. xiii + 241 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs, index. Cdn \$55.95, US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-606-X. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This is an illustrated collection of ninety-four maps by William J. Clipson, accompanied by text and illustrations. While the maps are adequate and the text is good, the volume does not completely satisfy.

The principal fault lies with Craig Symonds' desire to produce "an atlas of American naval warfare" comparable to *The West Point Atlas of American Wars* by Vincent Esposito (ed.). Like Symonds, I, too, have long treasured, and always found useful, my copies of Esposito's atlas. But three things must be kept in mind. *The West Point Atlas* was first published in 1959 and the state of graphics design has progressed a great deal since then. Yet, while Clipson's cartography is crisp and colourful, I expected something more elaborate, more "state-of-the-art." Esposito's work was a substantial, two-volume effort that, in the case of the two World Wars, covered not only American operations but also those of their allies in Europe and Asia. Symonds' text and maps are squeezed into one, relatively thin volume and you will not find any maps or discussion about British operations off Norway in 1940 or in the Mediterranean in 1940-1941, though the battles of Trafalgar and Jutland do rate a map. Esposito's atlas covered ground warfare; Symonds' atlas covers conflict at sea, which simply does not lend itself as readily to display on maps or charts.

If Symonds' design for the work was over-ambitious, the execution occasionally falters as well. Many of the illustrations are too dark or grainy. The photo of "Russian missiles in Cuba," for example, has to be the worst. (205) There were troubling errors in some of the text and maps. On Map 9, "The Quasi-War, 1798-1800,"

Martinique is shown as a French possession at a time when the British occupied the island. The text and the map illustrating Britain's 1814 raid up the Chesapeake Bay do not discuss or display the squadron that worked its way up the Potomac River as far as Alexandria, Virginia, and forced that city to pay tribute to avoid destruction.

Nevertheless, there is much to appreciate in Symonds' volume. While nautical cartography may not lend itself as readily to graphic display, the maps and charts in *The Naval Institute Historical Atlas of the U.S. Navy* are well chosen, illustrative, and informative. The narrative is far stronger than Esposito's, as it should be since Craig Symonds is a far better historian. And the work is indexed, which *The West Point Atlas* (at least, my old edition) was not. Moreover, the price of the volume is not too steep. I imagine that a two-volume edition with state-of-the-art colour graphics would cost far, far more. The newly revised first volume of *The West Point Atlas* costs \$75.

And the ultimate test of an atlas is the utilitarian. In every one of the several occasions that I have found myself referring to it, I discovered the map or display I sought, supported by a strong narrative. Symonds, who has published several other historical atlases, has mastered the difficult art of the synopsis — discussing adequately wide-ranging and often complex topics in a limited space.

Thus, despite the shortcomings of *The Naval Institute Historical Atlas of the U.S. Navy*, I consider it a reasonably priced, handsome, and useful work. It has found a home on my shelf of reference works.

Michael A. Palmer
Greenville, North Carolina

Thomas Boaz. *Guns for Cotton: England Arms the Confederacy*. Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1996. ix + 86 pp., illustrations, photographs, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. US \$9.95, paper; ISBN 1-57249-004-7.

It is a notable achievement for an author to set his sights in a book's introduction and then continually hit the bull's eye in the following chapters. In his short monograph, *Guns for*

Cotton: England Arms the Confederacy, Thomas Boaz has accomplished that difficult feat. Boaz provides a broad-strokes introduction to the complexities of the Confederacy's logistical accomplishments in Great Britain and the evolution of blockade-running activity on the south-east coast of North America during the US Civil War (1861-1865).

After introducing the reader to the resourceful Confederate purchasing officers in England, such as Caleb Huse and James D. Bulloch, the author smoothly explains how these agents capitalized on the sympathy of British manufacturers. Boaz also explains the fiscal alliance between the cash-poor Confederate government and the firm of John Fraser & Co. He explores how, once the supplies were safely in port, the organizational genius General Josiah Gorgas used these supplies, along with those produced in the Confederacy, in fuelling the war effort. Not surprisingly, while enjoying Boaz's text, the reader may experience thoughts of Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With The Wind* and the roguish Rhett Butler.

The softbound book is printed on acid-free paper with a perfect binding. Along with an introduction, an appendix of imports, an epilogue, and a conclusion, the author has divided his work into nine chapters. There is a nice selection of thirty-one illustrations, including political cartoons, portraits, facsimiles, and a map. Unlike many introductory volumes of this nature, this book includes a very brief section on further resources, endnotes, a bibliography, and a complete index.

My complaints with the book are very few. Because the monograph is an introduction to the subject, the author should have commissioned a simple map to illustrate the geographic relationship of the key islands of the West Indies, the British Isles, and the Confederate coastline. Boaz appropriately provides detailed accounts on the large quantities of arms, munitions, and rations rushed through the Union blockade. He does not provide the rate of consumption of these imports by the rebel brigades in the field. A brief chapter on this facet would have reinforced Boaz's theme of how critical the European "pipeline" was to the South's war efforts. Finally, two sources not found in the bibliography that would have enhanced Boaz's work are

Richard Todd's *Confederate Finance* (Athens, GA, 1954) and, better still, Douglas Ball's *Financial Failure and Confederate Defeat* (Urbana, IL, 1991).

In conclusion, I would strongly recommend this entertaining little book to all acquisitions librarians responsible for a *Civil War* collection and to all readers with even a passing interest in the subject.

Benjamin Trask
Newport News, Virginia

Chester G. Hearn. *The Capture of New Orleans, 1862*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. 292 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, figures, appendix, bibliography, index. US \$26.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8071-1945-8.

This is a comprehensive, well written and admirably illustrated narrative of the fall of New Orleans. Hearn argues that the Confederate defeat stemmed from the failure of the government in Richmond to take the threat posed by the Union fleet seriously, until too late. For this he blames both Jefferson Davis and Secretary of the Navy Stephen Mallory, along with both Secretaries of the Army. Initially the defence of the city was entrusted to an aged and inefficient officer. After he was replaced, defence measures were plagued by poor army-navy command liaison and the fact that every time the state of Louisiana raised effective armed forces they were whisked away to fight elsewhere. Davis and Mallory were convinced that the only threat to the city came from the north, down the Mississippi River, rather than up from the sea. When the local naval commander, who had been sent north to Vicksburg, returned without orders to meet the Union attack, he was summarily dismissed, despite his local knowledge and success in earlier operations on the river. His replacement proved inefficient, ignorant and lethargic. Hearn absolves General Lovell, the Confederate commander, of all blame for the defeat. The result was decided above all by the determination and resolve of Admiral Farragut, exploiting the strategic blindness of the political leaders in Richmond.

The book is less satisfactory in handling the context of the campaign. Hearn does not address

the critical issue, whether ships could engage forts. This was the major problem for contemporary naval thought. James Bradford's *Captains of the Old Steam Navy* (Naval Institute Press, 1986) revealed the interest of most pre-war American naval officers in this issue, and their conviction that well-handled steam ships could pass fortifications, so long as they were not forced to stand and fight it out. This point had been drawn from their experience, particularly from the experience of the British and French in the Crimean and Chinese wars. Hearn's handling of David Porter's mortar flotilla is simply incredible. He implies that mortars were army weapons and had never been mounted aboard ships before. In fact Porter has seen what British ship-mounted mortars had done to Fort Kinburn in southern Russia in 1855; it was on this basis that he claimed that they would demolish the forts in forty-eight hours.

Rowena Reed's brilliant *Combined Operations in the Civil War* (Naval Institute Press, 1978) has also been ignored. Reed's book is the basis of any assessment of Union strategy, and while she chose not to devote much space to the operation, her book demonstrated that Farragut's attack, arriving off New Orleans without the army, allowed the Confederates to strip the city of all military stores. These were critical to the continued defence of the Mississippi region, many ending up at Vicksburg. Hearn assesses the Confederate heart burning and enquiries, but does not develop the strategic consequences of the defeat.

Similarly the naval forces involved, on both sides, have not been examined in depth. As a result Hearn misses one of the most telling ironies of the campaign. The core of Admiral Farragut's fleet, the *Hartford* class sloops, had been built just before the war specifically to enter shallow southern harbours, to protect the slave states from British attack. As Chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, Stephen Mallory had played a large part in ensuring these ships were built. Without them Farragut would not have had the necessary firepower to pass the forts — his frigate, the *Colorado*, was too deep to enter the river. Failure to consult either Donald Canney's exemplary design history of the Civil War Navy or William Still's work on Confederate ironclads and shipbuilding

is to be regretted. They are critical to any appreciation of the naval operations of the war.

On balance this is a useful addition to the maritime aspects of the American Civil War, the illustrations are well chosen, and the maps particularly useful, but the context is limited. This deprives both the book and the events it describes so well, of their true significance.

Andrew D. Lambert
London, England

Mark Russell Shulman. *Navalism and the Emergence of American Sea Power 1882-1893*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. x + 239 pp., photographs, notes, select bibliography, index. US \$39.95, Cdn \$55.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-766-X. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Historians traditionally trace the origins of the New (US) Navy to the 1890s, citing Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Tracy's *Annual Report* for 1890 and the publication of Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783* (1890) as the key events in naval revival. Mark Shulman argues that the rise of navalism was already well underway in the previous decade. His thesis is reminiscent of that propounded by Robert Seager in "Ten Years before Mahan: The Unofficial Case for the New Navy," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 40 (1953). Indeed, Shulman argues that the 1880s were *the* crucial decade: "the first major American peacetime military build-up (1882-1893) created a new navy that inevitably and irreversibly reshaped the nation's role in world affairs." (1) To support his contention, Shulman employs a far wider variety of sources than did Seager, thereby expanding and adding texture to the argument.

Most naval and diplomatic historians see the Spanish-American War as the event which propelled the United States onto the international stage and led to the construction of a battleship navy. Organizing his work thematically rather than chronologically, Shulman demonstrates that popular and naval leaders had reached a consensus concerning such goals several years earlier, though many political leaders lagged behind. During the 1880s navalists such as Theodore Roosevelt, James Russell Soley, and Alfred

Thayer Mahan were determined to build American seapower into a tool for achieving the nation's rise to preeminence.

By analysing congressional debates on naval construction bills, Shulman traces the shifts in naval strategy during the period 1882 and 1885. Leaders who were still committed to the traditional strategy of coastal defence and commerce raiding soon abandoned it, first for a strategy based purely on commerce raiding, then shifting within five years to an even more aggressive battle-oriented strategy. During the next half decade new ships were designed to prosecute the new strategy. By 1893 "all the proto-typical ships of the new navy were already secured." (138) Henceforth naval construction would focus on battleships designed for fleet-to-fleet combat with the imperial powers of Europe.

Shifting to an examination of public opinion, Shulman shows how the reinterpretation of the War of 1812 by historians prepared the general population for the triumph of navalism during the 1890s. At the same time reforms of the service by William Chandler and Benjamin Franklin Tracy positioned it to take advantage of popular support when it developed. Some of Shulman's most interesting sections describe the shift in the way naval officers viewed serving in the Pacific and the people they encountered there and the "selling of the navy," though most of the popular magazine articles and books he cites were published during the 1890s, not during the years indicated by his title.

This is a finely nuanced thought-provoking study which should be read by individuals seeking the roots not just of the modern navy but also of popular conceptions of America's place in the world and of the ways in which popular culture influences government policy.

James C. Bradford
Montgomery, Alabama

Andrew A. Wiest. *Passchendaele and the Royal Navy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995. xxv + 193 pp., maps, photographs, appendix, select bibliography, index. US \$55, cloth; ISBN 0-313-29048-2.

Early in World War I Germany occupied part of the Belgian coast, including several strategically

placed ports which were converted to submarine and destroyer bases. By 1917 these threatened Britain's war effort. The Admiralty had long pressed to eliminate these bases through an offensive in Flanders, an operation also favoured by Field Marshal Sir John Haig although for different reasons. Together First Sea Lord John Jellicoe and Haig persuaded a reluctant Lloyd George to agree to a Flanders offensive, including an amphibious landing on the coast and a land offensive against Ypres, the former dependent upon success in the latter. Despite the careful planning that followed, the amphibious landing never took place. Like the Flanders offensive it died in the mud of Passchendaele.

Wiest takes the revisionist view that the Admiralty and the Royal Navy played a greater role in Third Ypres than previously understood. He does so convincingly by establishing important connections between Admiralty concerns and the evolution of planning for a Flanders offensive. Wiest considers the subsequent Flanders campaign as "ill-conceived, unrealistic, and in some cases poorly executed." (xxi) During the summer and autumn of 1917 between 240,000 and 400,000 British and dominion soldiers lost their lives in the sodden fields of Flanders; the Germans lost between 260,000 and 300,000 men. To this day the Battle of Passchendaele remains one of the most controversial episodes in British military history. Its dismal failure is also directly linked to the destruction of Haig's reputation after the war. Wiest goes a long way to restoring that reputation by showing how integral naval requirements were to the process leading up to that dismal enterprise. But he is less convincing as an apologist for Haig's unflinching commitment to the offensive after the campaign had stalled in the mud of Passchendaele.

Wiest also makes the point, rather obliquely, that the soldiers and sailors sometimes did learn from their mistakes. The preparations for the landing and coastal operation demonstrated that the navy and army had learned the lessons of Gallipoli and the need for careful and rehearsed planning. The inclusion of tanks in the landing was imaginative and showed the extent to which commanders were ready to embrace the new technology. One finds similar innovation and caution at Third Ypres where perhaps

the lessons of the Somme were most in evidence. General Herbert Plumer favoured a slow and deliberate advance, preceded by massive *artillery bombardments and creeping barrages*, where each gain was consolidated and new infantry tactics exploited enemy weaknesses.

Wiest sees the Flanders operation as achieving great results, preventing the Germans from launching another bloodletting on a beleaguered French army and contributing to the eventual wearing down of the Central Powers. Here he seems to have accepted a Haig-like view of war as attrition. Others would question whether Passchendaele achieved so much, given the terrible cost in human lives and the fact that the Germans were still resilient enough to launch another major offensive in the spring of 1918.

Wiest faced a daunting task in unravelling the complex process that led to Passchendaele. He has succeeded well in showing the interplay between naval and military concerns and how the outcome was affected by the personalities and agendas of the key players. Wiest has drawn heavily upon documentary evidence to make his case while acknowledging the contribution of other writers in the field. Where he disagrees — and he does on several occasions — he argues persuasively for his own interpretation supported by documentary and other evidence.

Wiest should have followed his earlier inclinations and omitted some of the material included in this volume. The detail on the progress of the war is important to the telling of the story but the memoirs of soldiers and excerpts from war poetry belong more appropriately in the specialized studies from which most were gleaned.

This is an important work and recommended for any one interested in planning related to the British effort in World War I. This study shows the extent to which naval concerns influenced military planning on the Western Front. It also shows how well the services could work together on as complex a plan as the amphibious landing in Flanders, an indication, perhaps, of what could be achieved in a future war under somewhat similar circumstances.

David Facey-Crowther
St. John's, Newfoundland

Mark H. Goldberg. *The Shipping Board's "Agency Ships" Part I: The "Sub Boats"*. Kings Point, NY: American Merchant Marine Museum, 1994. xii + 401 pp., photographs, figures, appendices, bibliography. US \$24.95 (+ \$2.50 s&h), paper; ISBN 1-879180-01-10. Distributed by North American Maritime Books, 828 Park Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21201.

As an historian of American submarine design and construction, I approached Mark Goldberg's work with great anticipation. Familiar with Electric Boat Company's manufacture of submarines, I eagerly dove into this encyclopedia of information about the 150 cargo ships built during World War I by Electric Boat's subsidiary, the Submarine Boat Corporation, and the United States Shipping Board. For my effort, I discovered a work with two distinct personalities. Goldberg has written a remarkably complete reference book of enormous utility. At the same time he has seasoned this important collection of useful information with truly simplistic and mediocre history.

Not unlike the Navy's multi-volume classic, *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships*, "Sub Boats" provides readers with excellent biographies of the vessels manufactured under the supervision of the Submarine Boat Corporation. The ship narratives are arranged numerically according to the hull number assigned by the shipyard and each story employs a simple chronological scheme. In most cases providing a remarkably complete cradle-to-grave account, Goldberg demonstrates an admirable thoroughness in discovering every possible detail from name changes to the vessels' various owners/operators to the particular breaking yard used to scrap each ship at the end of its useful life. This is the kind of complete reference in which scholars and interested amateurs alike will rejoice.

While Goldberg's agreeable style and exhaustive research is useful and rewarding, the paucity of source notes for his biographies is very frustrating. Any scholar or interested amateur who comes to this book will want to follow up the author's narratives with further investigation into the history of a favourite ship. Save for the standard secondary publications found in the short bibliography, Goldberg does not provide adequate notes either to check the

accuracy of his information or to permit the reader to seek more. Must we assume that all the primary sources he used for this book rest in the files of Record Group 32 at the National Archives in Washington, DC? Readers of *The "Sub Boats"* need this type of information and Goldberg, as the author of a reference book, must provide it.

These considerations aside, the primary problem with this work rests not with the excellent biographies, but in the historical introduction. Readers informed about World War I will no doubt find the author's assertion that Austria dragged an "unwilling Germany" into war in the summer of 1914 very amusing. While criticizing an aggressive turn-of-the-century American foreign policy that did not provide for a strong merchant marine, Goldberg briefly explored neither that deficiency nor the amazing recovery of the steel industry and shipyards after 1917. In his analysis of the Submarine Boat Corporation's construction claims at the end of the Great War, the author accuses the company of lying to the Shipping Board and demanding over \$1 million more than it deserved. Given my experience with Electric Boat practices during these years, this statement has a ring of truth. Unfortunately, Goldberg provides documentary evidence to suggest only suspicion. At one point, the author himself furnishes the best reason for analytical restraint and complete source references in any historical work. In his discussion of the credit historically given to Theodore Ferris for the design of fabricated ships, Goldberg suggests that historians have missed the design contributions of many shipyards and companies critical to construction. In an unfortunate outburst, he calls his opponents on this issue "cantankerous 'believers' and the occasional 'blowhard'." While insisting that his discussion of the matter rests upon a systematic effort to correct erroneous information, Goldberg provides no sources to support his own assertions.

In the end, those interested in the history of American merchant ships will have to navigate their way carefully through the introduction's historical minefield before reaching the safety of the well-crafted "Sub Boat" biographies.

Gary E. Weir
Washington, DC

Julie H. Ferguson. *Through a Canadian Perspective: The Story of the Canadian Submarine Service*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995. xvi + 364 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$36.99, US \$32.50, £22, cloth; ISBN 1-55002-217-2.

There is nothing straightforward about the history of submarines in Canada. From their unexpected introduction into the RCN in 1914 to their uncertain fate today, Canadian submarines and submariners have struggled against the capricious winds of fate. This well-written book details their story, from a sympathetic, perhaps sometimes too sympathetic, perspective. Drawing upon research in archives and extensive interviews, the author writes about all aspects of Canadian submarine history.

The strongest point of the book is without a doubt the study of submariners from 1914 until the end of World War II, with a few individuals discussed in some detail after 1945 as well. The wartime career of nearly every Canadian officer who served in submarines in both World Wars is covered in a series of mini-histories adding up to about half the book. The few exceptions result from the author's inability to find sufficient records or, more importantly, someone to interview to flesh out a sparse service record. Interview material is put to good use in the often remarkable stories of young Canadians serving in mainly British submarines. These fascinating little episodes provide excellent insight into the type of individual attracted to submarine service. The variety of employment seen by these men allows the author a frequent opportunity to point out the varied ways in which submarines can usefully be employed. Canada's almost-as-frequent failure to make good use of submarines is also highlighted.

The rest of the book is focused on a general history of Canadian submarine activities and Canadian naval policy from a submarine perspective. This aspect of the book reflects the uneven history of submarines in Canada. The acquisition of Canada's first two submarines by the province of British Columbia is very well covered, as are the activities of these two boats. After World War I Canada failed to maintain submarines in the Fleet for very long. Conse-

quently, the interwar portion of this book is also quite brief. The RCN consistently opposed the initiation of a submarine service in World War II, providing a focus for the author's irritation with "surface oriented" naval officers. The post-war efforts to re-introduce submarines into Canada's navy occupies the last third of the book. This portion is an apparently endless cycle of hope, followed by disillusion and finally the implementation of the minimal possible solution. The most dramatic examples of this cycle are, of course, the two brushes Canada has had with acquiring nuclear submarines in the early 1960s and the better-known failure in the 1980s. Extensive interviews help illuminate some of the less well known aspects of these events, although significant details remain hidden behind Cabinet confidence and other obstacles to full discussion.

Along the way Ferguson provides a guided tour of an *Oberon* class submarine and an account of a "typical" Canadian submariner's experience during the intense submarine commanding officers qualification course run by the Royal Navy known as *Perisher*. These vignettes are well written and easy to follow, crafted with the non-expert in mind. As with the many short histories of individual submariners, these insights into submarine service offer a useful perspective into these unusual craft and the men who operate them.

If there is any fault with the book, it is the decidedly pro-submarine perspective. There are a number of lines such as "The surface [warship] mentality prevailed." (250) A clear discussion of the varying strengths and weaknesses of all naval platforms may have provided a better backdrop to this book rather than the consistent assertion that submarines are the most important platform of all. There is no doubt that there are situations where submarines are vital, but not in all cases. Deciding what mix of maritime platforms is required for a naval force is a difficult process, demanding the reconciliation of conflicting national requirements, inevitably with fewer resources than planners would like. The author seems aware of the complexities involved, but her continuous promotion of submarines as the best maritime platform and her use of emotional arguments to belittle those who did not support submarines wholeheartedly

betray her as an advocate rather than an analyst. Thus, she talks of the "apprehension in the hearts of some of the senior officers [who] feared that submarines were superseding surface vessels in importance." (251) In the end the argument in favour of submarines loses weight because alternatives are never thoroughly discussed. This book provides an interesting, even fascinating, story that is strong on narrative but is sometimes weak in analysis.

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Peter Padfield. *War Beneath the Sea: Submarine Conflict 1939-1945*. London: John Murray, 1995. xvi + 560 pp., maps, figures, photographs, chronology, appendices, references and notes, bibliography, index. £25, cloth; ISBN 0-7195-5168-4.

Few nautical themes seem to capture the imagination more readily than submarines. Whether German U-boats in the Atlantic, Japanese "suicide subs" in the Pacific, Italian and British human torpedoes and "chariots" in Mediterranean and Norwegian waters, these craft and their stalwart crew radiate an aura of manly adventure, daring, intrigue and rugged glory. The literature on the subject, ranging from pulp to punditry, is enormous. Though historians now understand submarine warfare during World War II very well indeed, the popular market for "new startling material" appears far from sated.

In heralding Padfield's work as "a new interpretation with startling insights" revealing "for the first time" what has lain concealed from public view until now, the publisher seems to target this market. The book's merit actually lies elsewhere. Though not a piece of original archival research, its achievement lies in drawing effectively from a wealth of published material — potboilers among them — in order to highlight the salient features, key personalities and representative actions in the principal theaters of naval war. Padfield's masterful omnibus treatment is a handsome contribution to naval lore.

Analytical, fair-minded, and with an eye to a memorable yarn, Padfield set himself the task of recounting the major campaigns of the major submarine navies — German, American, British

and Japanese — discussing other nations' submarines where especially revealing. He aimed at illumining "the decisive and the typical as well as the heroic, to catch mood and feeling as well as follow the strategic, tactical and technological developments." (vii) He has succeeded. Writing vivid expository prose, with good atmosphere and graphic anecdotes, he has provided a thoughtful, informative work offering the general reader just what is necessary to understand a broad and complex theme.

No senior leaders escape Padfield's wide-ranging critique; rooted in hide-bound attitudes and unhistorical understanding of their trade, few of them are found to have been sufficiently visionary to have exerted effective leadership. The author's colourful stage is populated by a bevy of "colonel blimps" from all nations, out of touch, ineffectual — and sometimes dangerous to their own forces. Blinkered by narrow intellectual and cultural horizons, navies on both sides of the firing line neglected the past and committed themselves to errors that might have been foreseen. He documents such problems as, for example, American and Japanese neglect of convoys, British and American rejection of *guerre de course*, German and Japanese neglect of cryptointelligence, and everyone's ubiquitous torpedo failures. The German navy, of course, is hardest hit, for it "suffered from the irrationality of a martial culture, the values of the Prussian military parodied in the Nazi state." (39) Always colourfully incisive, Padfield excoriates with flair. Thus "the tunnel vision" of Bomber Harris fostered "Bomber Command's obsessive, unscientific, indeed lunatic conviction" (151) that saturation bombing of German cities would let the RAF win the war on its own. Only the Canadian navy, whose exploits in convoy escort against the U-boat encompass little more than a paragraph, comes out unscathed. But then, Padfield consulted not a single work of Canadian scholarship.

Every submarine force had its aces, and Padfield is generous in highlighting those qualities that made them a special band of brothers: "aggression, determination, imperturbability in attack, and painstaking attention to training." (14) Passages that read like a fast-paced novel demonstrate these virtues. But Padfield also recounts that each force also had its war crimi-

nais who murdered survivors of the ships they had sunk: Dudley "Massacre" Morton of the US Navy's *Wahoo* and the butcher Tatsunoke Ariizumi of *I 8* did not survive the war; Anthony Meirs of the RN's *Tor bay* (who actually reported having gunned down Germans in the water with intent) ultimately received the Victoria Cross, was knighted and eventually reached the rank of vice-admiral; Heinz Eck of U-852 faced a British court martial at war's end for similar action, and was executed by a British firing squad.

Recycling well-known stories, and some lesser-known ones, Padfield offers its target audience a pleasurable read. He emphasizes the importance — both for naval officers and planners — of studying history and knowing it well.

Michael L. Hadley
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Roy Conyers Nesbit. *The Strike Wings: Special Anti-Shipping Squadrons 1942-45*. 1984; reissued, London: HMSO, 1995. 288 pp., photographs, figures, appendices, bibliography, sources. £14.99, paper; ISBN 0-11-772687-7.

Max Schoenfeld. *Stalking the U-Boat: USAAF Offensive Antisubmarine Operations in World War II*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995. xii + 231 pp., photographs, maps, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$37.50, cloth; ISBN 1-56098-403-1.

These two books throw welcome light on the role of land-based aircraft in maritime warfare during World War II. *The Strike Wings* is a popular account of Coastal Command's anti-shipping operations between 1942 and 1945, while *Stalking the U-Boat* examines anti-submarine operations in 1943 by four US Army Air Force Liberator squadrons based on the Eastern side of the Atlantic.

Lack of suitable aircraft seriously restricted the RAF's anti-shipping efforts until late 1942. Sufficient Bristol Beaufighter anti-flak and torpedo bomber variants then became available to form the first Strike Wing, just as the capable new Mark XV torpedo came into production. Early operations were directed against German convoys moving along the Dutch coast; later

they reached the Norwegian coast. The story has a Canadian dimension because the RCAF's 404 Squadron — the Buffalos — re-equipped with Beaufighters in September 1942. The squadron originally provided anti-flak suppression for torpedo bombers and then played a key role in developing the use of rocket projectiles as anti-shipping weapons. The Strike Wings supported the Normandy landings before returning in growing numbers to anti-shipping operations with tactics which allowed attacks by night as well as by day. These seriously disrupted iron ore shipments down the Norwegian coast which had such strategic significance. By the end of the war the Strike Wings consisted of nine squadrons. Compared with mighty Bomber Command, their strength was much smaller — 176 aircraft versus 2145 — but in two years of operation they had sunk 300,000 tons of shipping, about seven percent of the German shipping lost from all causes.

The author of *The Strike Wings*, Roy Nesbit, served in Coastal Command as an air navigator. He is also an experienced writer of aviation history. He therefore writes with an easy command of technical details. Moreover, the book is illustrated with excellent dramatic photographs showing attacks being pressed home in the face of intense flak and particularly clear chartlets showing attacks. Nesbit interviewed many Strike Wings survivors and studied both allied and German records thoroughly. His narrative therefore has an immediate quality, packed with action that moves in staccato style from one incident to the next.

What the book lacks are insights into how operational readiness was achieved and whether certain squadrons achieved better results or why. Moreover, the style is rich in clichés: Canadians are "eager if boisterous" and "tough, forthcoming and rather unruly." (167) The closing weeks of the war became a "time of retribution" against U-boats in the Kattegat and Skagerrak because a German submarine was "something to be killed without mercy, like a vicious shark." (237) The familiar stereotypes are also there: gallant Polish fighter pilots fill radio nets with excited traffic in an incomprehensible language, Yanks flying marvellous aircraft in huge formations chatter among themselves threatening the security of a strike, and so on.

Generally, then, *The Strike Wings* is an exciting but not analytical read, filled with vignettes about individuals which should therefore appeal to Strike Wings survivors and those looking for the "feel" of wartime flying.

In *Stalking the U-Boat*, Max Schoenfeld sets out to examine the US Army Air Force Anti-Submarine Air Command, established in September 1942. The USAAF Anti-Submarine Air Command reflected belief in strategic or "offensive ASW," the notion that the best way to defeat the U-boats was to "hunt out hostile submarines wherever they might be." (2) However, the Anti-Submarine Air Command existed for barely a year before it was disbanded in a trade-off with the US Navy. The Navy agreed to abandon plans for its own strategic bombers in the Pacific, and in return took over the US Army Air Force's ASW aircraft.

Despite its brief life and the little attention it has received until now, the Anti-Submarine Air Command was innovative and important. Its Liberators were the first such aircraft with centimetric radar to operate from the UK. Schoenfeld also touches on the dogged insistence of the RAF on giving absolute priority to strategic bombing in the allocation of new aircraft and radars. He is more circumspect in describing how the Anti-Submarine Command also became "something of an unloved child" within the US Army Air Force because its demands for aircraft competed with strategic bombing. This was in spite of an allocation of resources that heavily favoured bombing. For 1943 as a whole probably a little more than ten percent of all of the 6,400 Liberators produced would be allocated to ASW, with the bulk of the rest going to strategic bombing. (164)

Clearly the US Liberators were very effective in their task. Unfortunately the author does not analyse in detail the reasons for their success, though we are told that the first aircrews included many pre-war aviators while the second group to deploy had accumulated experience while flying out of Newfoundland. Schoenfeld also narrows his focus considerably by concentrating on the four squadrons which saw the most action. They flew out of Southern England and French Morocco in 1943. While their activities were only fifteen per cent of all of the USAAF's operational anti-submarine hours, they

accounted for seventy-one per cent of its attacks on U-boats. (161) They were particularly active during Coastal Command's Bay Offensive in July 1943, sinking a third of the U-boats destroyed.

What is disappointing about this focus is that Schoenfeld does not place the operations of the US squadrons in the wider context of Allied efforts to win the Battle of the Atlantic. He describes events through a nationalistic single service prism instead. The US Air Force had originally planned to base Liberators in North Africa because American forces had landed there in November 1942. Instead, Winston Churchill intervened to have the first Liberators operate from British bases, thereby relieving a "serious strain within the British political-military establishment." (5) Faced with the dilemma of allocating resources between strategic bombing and anti-submarine operations, the RAF, according to Schoenfeld, chose "to allocate a minimum of RAF resources and a maximum of other people's resources to the war at sea. This was the AAFAC's great attractiveness in British eyes." (165) Elsewhere he is scathing about Admiral King and the US Navy, arguably with more justification. Schoenfeld does not weigh the merits of "offensive" ASW or speculate whether a different employment of available Liberators — or different allocations of Liberator production — might have reduced merchant ship sinkings. Nor does he speculate about the Bay of Biscay Offensive itself. In the end, the book presents interesting details about little-known operations by US Army Air Force Liberators, but from a single service and narrowly American perspective.

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Christina J.M. Goulter. *A Forgotten Offensive: Royal Air Force Coastal Command's Anti-Shipping Campaign, 1940-1945*. London: Frank Cass, 1995. xxx + 366 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, tables, index. US \$47.50, cloth; ISBN 0-7146-4617-2. Distributed by International Specialized Book Services, Portland, OR.

The object of naval warfare, Julian Corbett wrote in 1922, is the control of maritime com-

munications. This was to be achieved through the capture or destruction of enemy shipping. "Such capture or destruction," espoused Corbett, "is the penalty which we impose upon our enemy for attempting to use the communications for which he does not hold control."

During World War II, Corbett's maxim was tested in various anti-shipping campaigns. Two of these, the Battle of the Atlantic and the US submarine offensive against Japan, have deservedly received the lion's share of the attention from historians. Secondary campaigns, in theatres such as the English Channel, the Mediterranean and the southwest Pacific, have not garnered the same attention. More importantly, the quality of their historiography has been limited by the fact that it has generally remained characterized by the narrative, drum-and-bugle style of military history. In contrast, the major campaigns, particularly the Battle of the Atlantic, have proved a fruitful subject for more comprehensive approaches that encompass research in areas such as intelligence, technology and economics. In *A Forgotten Offensive*, Christina Goulter presents an example of how such approaches can be applied to a secondary campaign with excellent results.

Goulter, a New Zealander and daughter of an anti-shipping veteran, studies the RAF Coastal Command's anti-shipping offensive against Germany's maritime communications in northwest Europe. The campaign had a terrible beginning as Coastal Command was poorly equipped and had to relearn lessons that had been forgotten or ignored since the Great War - Goulter argues that the creation of the RAF was largely responsible for the loss of maritime air expertise. In 1940, just six ships were sunk against the loss of 158 aircraft. Success came with better training, modern aircraft like the Beaufighter and Mosquito, and the development of effective tactics that exploited a deadly new weapon, the rocket projectile. In 1944, Coastal Command sank 170 ships with minimal losses. By the end of the war, German merchant ships seldom dared to leave port during daylight.

There are few aspects of this campaign that are not addressed. For instance, Goulter not only analyses the formulation of tactics in detail but describes their dissemination as well — something usually ignored by historians. She gives

proper place to the importance of intelligence, but redresses the recent emphasis toward sigint by emphasising the role played by all forms of intelligence. Thus, agents in occupied countries provided the locations of coastal flak positions while the study of wave patterns from aerial photographs enabled analysts to determine the speed of convoys. This information enabled interceptions to be planned away from danger areas. Goulter does not forget people and studies the personnel selection process, relations between crew members and the impact of high casualties upon morale. The author also has a firm grasp of technology and a knack for explaining it in an easily understood way.

Perhaps the most valuable aspect of this work is its study of how the anti-shipping offensive was planned and the impact it had on Germany. Coastal Command worked closely with the Ministry of Economic Warfare, which used intelligence estimates of German shipping strength and economic production to analyse the offensive's day-to-day effectiveness. From this, specific cargoes could be targeted. Goulter also shows how the work of the MEW, whose assessments were quite accurate when matched against German records, helped stymie Bomber Command's attempts to grab Coastal Command resources for its own strategic bombing offensive.

Goulter evaluates the success of the campaigns by analysing German economic and naval records. She concludes that direct results were mixed but that the offensive had an important impact, forcing Germany to divert manpower and resources away from other operational theatres to defend its shipping. Interestingly, this is the same verdict that some historians assign to the British strategic bomber campaign.

There is little to fault with Goulter's work. Some might find the style too "academic" and there are a few minor errors. Just as Julian Corbett would have applauded Coastal Command's offensive against German shipping as an important element of the strategy to defeat Germany, he also, as a historian, would have applauded Goulter for her excellent contribution to the maritime history of World War II.

Michael Whitby
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Ray Sturtivant with Mick Burrow. *Fleet Air Arm Aircraft 1939 to 1945*. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Air-Britain (Historians) Ltd., 1995 [5 Bradley Road, Upper Norwood, London SE 19 3NT]. 512 pp., photographs, index. £36, £24 to members [+10% for surface mail overseas], hardcover; ISBN 0-85130-232-7.

A.J. Smithers. *Taranto 1940: Prelude to Pearl Harbor*. London and Annapolis, MD: Leo Cooper and Naval Institute Press, 1995. x + 150 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$24.95; Cdn \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-878-X. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The Battle of Britain and the feats of Bomber Command have dominated the story of British aviation between 1939 and 1945. Two new works, however, remind us that Britannia's air war also had a substantial maritime dimension. This, of course, should come as no surprise, given the seaborne commitments of a then still global empire. Even so, it is worth recalling that, its passion for the battleship notwithstanding, the Royal Navy was the first to have a recognizable aircraft carrier in commission, this in 1915. By 1939, six such vessels were in service. Granted, most were as antiquated as the flimsy kites they carried. Still, they held the line until a modernized and larger Fleet Air Arm blossomed under the pressure of prolonged war. While never a match for the US Pacific Fleet with its Essex class carriers, the Royal Navy's ability to project air power grew considerably. Moreover, if no titanic clash such as Midway marked its history, nevertheless the Fleet Air Arm had its dramatic moments.

One such episode was the aerial assault on the Italian fleet at Taranto in November 1940. A.J. Smithers chronicles this event in his slim but elegantly produced offering. Best known for his numerous works on military history, Smithers has plunged into the sources with evident enthusiasm in this, his first major foray into naval matters. Consulting British and Italian official records, he has also made excellent use of obituaries, memoirs, as well as interviews with surviving aircrew. All give depth and colour to his analysis of the raid. Along the way, Smithers challenges several points in official accounts,

while his immersion in the mood and perspective of the first year of the war leads him pointedly to observe that "Whoever was responsible for the grotesque expression 'phoney war' can have known little enough about what was happening at, over, or under the sea." (64) Recapturing the reality of the small-scale but often deadly actions which punctuated that uneasy period, Smithers underscores the logic that precipitated the raid. Eschewing fleet actions, but in most respects locally superior to the Royal Navy, the Italian navy menaced Britain's entire position in the Mediterranean. A preemptive strike of some sort made perfect Nelsonian sense. The air raid on Taranto was the result.

Given the general strength of the book, it is unfortunate that the style is somewhat uneven. At his best, Smithers can deftly describe "Swordfishes dancing like mosquitoes round a pressure lamp" (99) as the nimble biplanes dodged searchlights and tracers over their target. On the other hand, the "Boy's Own" tone of some passages will grate on more modern sensibilities. A more serious problem arises from the subtitle, "Prelude to Pearl Harbor," Simply put, the promise implicit here is not fulfilled. Despite a lengthy retrospective glance at the history of naval aviation to 1940, no direct attention is given to any conclusions Yamamoto or others might have drawn from Taranto. A bald, one-page appendix purporting to compare the British attack with that on Pearl Harbor does nothing of the kind. In the end, any connection between the events remains purely intuitive. Yet, while disappointing in some respects, the book is quite satisfying in others. Thus, Smithers' attention to biographical detail pays large dividends as he describes an action in which the human factor outweighed technological considerations. All told, he succeeds in his main purpose of making a dramatic moment in the history of the Fleet Air Arm vividly accessible to the general reader.

By contrast, Sturtivant's compilation will appeal to a much narrower audience. This reference work is the fruit of what must have been obsessional research. Thousands of entries record, by serial number, the individual aircraft of myriad types that comprised the Fleet Air Arm from 1939 to 1945. By sheer volume, the book conveys the scale and wide-ranging functions of British naval aviation during the period.

Where possible, each entry is accompanied by the service record of the particular machine, including aircrew, squadron affiliations, damage reports and sundry other details. Impressive in its way, the book is nevertheless poorly laid out, difficult to use and cannot stand alone. A more precise, fuller table of contents and a more detailed, broader index would greatly enhance its handiness. Thus, if one did not know that Fairey produced the Fulmar fighter, one would have to leaf through the tome, page by page, to locate references to that lesser-known aircraft. Reconstructing the Taranto raid, even with the help of Smithers, would be laborious indeed. Brief descriptions of the numerous aircraft and their subtypes would not have gone amiss. Nor would a list of the carriers available to the fleet have been unwelcome or out of place. In short, one requires considerable prior knowledge to make much of this reference work. Recognizing this need, the author steers the reader to companion volumes. But such is the expense of each that it is likely that only libraries and specialist collectors will avail themselves of the invitation.

Much can be gleaned by reading between the lines of Sturtivant's book. Thus, the dry statistics slowly drive home the appalling rates of death by accident both in training and on station. They also illustrate the general superiority of purpose-built American carrier aircraft, with their stronger undercarriages, over adaptations of RAF makes for naval service. No doubt, the veteran and the specialist will find much more as they peruse this massive source. Whatever the case, it will share space with Smithers' work in the growing chronicles of the once formidable Fleet Air Arm.

James G. Greenlee
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Peter Charlton and Michael Whitby (eds.); Leo Pettipas (ed. emeritus). *"Certified Serviceable": Swordfish to Sea King. The Technical Story of Canadian Naval Aviation by Those Who Made It So*. Ottawa: CNATH [Canadian Naval Aviation Technical History] Book Project, 1995. \$59.95, cloth; ISBN 0-9699595-0-8.

The idea for this book was originally conceived by Captain Rolfe Monteith, RCN (Ret'd), a

distinguished naval engineer who believed that the technical history of Canadian naval aviation had been ignored. This work seeks to redress that omission. More than 300 serving and retired naval personnel and their civilian colleagues submitted first-hand accounts of their experiences. To flesh out the anecdotes, some primary documents held at the Directorate of History, Department of National Defence in Ottawa were consulted.

The book consists of twenty chapters. The first six trace the development of Canadian naval aviation from 1943 until 1968, paying particular attention to the historical context and procurement issues. Chapters seven through eighteen are thematic in nature, covering such topics as avionics, the operational support trades, training, the naval reserves, the experimental squadron, and life at HMCS *Shearwater*, the navy's principal naval air station. The last two chapters briefly examine the history of maritime air in the Canadian Armed Forces since 1968, and its recent role in the Gulf War.

Not surprisingly, the strength of the book are those chapters that focus on the technical aspects of Canadian naval aviation. Especially noteworthy is the account of Squadron VX 10, the RCN's test and development squadron, in the evolution of the haul-down and rapid-securing system (Beartrap), which allowed the navy to operate heavy, all-weather anti-submarine helicopters from small warships. This was one of the most important innovations in Canadian naval history. More remarkable still, was the fact that the RCN was able to accomplish this feat with limited funds, inadequate facilities and few personnel — a recurring theme in the post-war navy. The reader is regaled with numerous accounts of the ingenuity of the officers and men who kept the navy's aircraft flying long after they had left service in other navies. On the lighter side, the book is filled with humorous accounts of flying incidents and life at the naval air station and aboard the carriers.

The two principal editors, Peter Charlton and Michael Whitby, have done a superb job in selecting photographs, many from private collections. Equally impressive are the detailed appendices, organizational charts, figures, and maps. This book will serve as a useful reference guide, particularly when scholars come to examine the

post-war record of the Canadian navy.

This is a well-written work by individuals who understand the complexities of naval aviation. I strongly recommend it to expert and general readers alike.

Shawn Cafferky
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Michael Simpson (ed.); with the assistance of John Somerville. *The Somerville Papers: Selections from the Private and Official Correspondence of Admiral of the Fleet Sir James Somerville, G.C.B., G.B.E., D.S.O.* Navy Records Series, Vol. 134; Aldershot, Hants, and Brookfield, VT: Scolar Press for the Navy Records Society, 1995. xxv + 696 pp., frontispiece, documents and sources, index. US \$84.95, cloth; ISBN 1-85928-207-5.

Michael Simpson has provided historians interested in the Royal Navy and its operations in World War II with a very useful set of documents with the publication of the Somerville Papers. This collection provides the reader with valuable insights into five of the most important facets of Britain's naval operations in the war: the evacuation of Dunkirk; the decision to attack French naval units in 1940 (and the resulting effects on British naval strategy); the operations of Force H in the Mediterranean from June 1940 to January 1942; the operation of the British Eastern Fleet in the Indian Ocean after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor; and, the diplomatic/strategic efforts of the British Admiralty Delegation to Washington in the last year of the war. The documents paint a clear and captivating picture of the command concerns in each of these five cases. Some of the central themes that run through the collection are: the role of a naval commander; British carrier operations; and the interaction between operational commanders and higher commands. Also, quick personal insights into other important officers, such as Pound, Mountbatten, Fraser, Phillips, King, Cunningham and others are very useful.

The section on Somerville's pre-war and Dunkirk activities is dealt with quickly, and it is in the section on Force H and its activities that the reader is exposed to the day-to-day operational and strategic concerns that faced Somer-

ville in this difficult command. The attack on the French naval forces, the development and importance of RN carrier operations in the Med., convoy responsibilities and the ferrying of aircraft to Malta, conflicts with the Admiralty in London, the sinking of the Bismarck, and the constant loss of ships to other operations and commands are all nicely brought to life through this collection. British carrier operations and their success under Somerville are a central theme of the section. His fears about the lack of preparation and experience in Force Z, particularly of Admiral Sir T.S.V. Phillips and his staff, are an ominous foreshadowing of the well-known disaster in 1942. Yet the documents surrounding the episode are also a useful instructional tool as to how decisions about command were made and what the effects of making bad decisions on faulty criteria could be. The insights into those carrier operations provide a useful benchmark for the section on the Eastern Fleet and the lack of success achieved by British carriers under the same man who fought them so well, against great odds, in the Med. In the Pacific section, the lack of modern carrier aircraft, untrained crews, unfit ships, a lack of continuity in the Fleet's order of battle, and the need to formulate a blue-ocean carrier doctrine almost from scratch, all plagued the Eastern Fleet. The limitations these technological deficiencies imposed on Somerville, as well as the secondary nature of the theatre, are well documented and extremely useful for anyone interested in British naval operations in the Pacific. Also, how the relationship between Somerville and SACSEA commander, Admiral of the Fleet Earl Mountbatten, evolved tells the reader much about how that theatre was run. The final section on Washington and the British Admiralty delegation is useful for the study of alliance cooperation, or the lack thereof, and the continuing problems British and American planners had in working together at the strategic level.

The construction of the book is also very sound. The documents are well chosen, the introductions to the various sections are useful and informative, providing a necessary and useful context. Additional information about ships, people and events are provided, making the collection very easy to utilize. All in all, even at the price of US \$85, this is a collection

that anyone writing on British naval operations in World War II must read, as they will be well served by the effort.

Greg Kennedy
Kingston, Ontario

Patrick Salmon (ed.). *Britain and Norway in the Second World War*. London: HMSO, 1995. xx + 259 pp., chapter notes, tables, index. £35, cloth; ISBN 0-11-7012342-7.

This slim volume tackles one of the most overlooked aspects of the history of World War II. It illuminates the process through which Norway and England gradually overcame their mutual distrust and became stalwart allies united in a common cause. This work consists of the papers presented in a 1991 colloquium organized by the British Committee for the History of the Second World War. Since Patrick Salmon has written extensively on Scandinavian history, few can quibble with the decision to entrust him with the position of editor. All but one of the papers printed in this work are the product of original research, and were presented for the first time at the 1991 colloquium.

The twenty-five papers that comprise the text are unevenly distributed over the five main sections of the work. All but one of these chapters have a synopsis of the roundtable discussion that followed each session. They are arranged in a chronological-thematic basis, with growing emphasis on Allied-Norwegian cooperation. A strong point of the text is the inclusion of brief biographies of all the contributors to this volume. Salmon has also provided a detailed map of the Scandinavian Europe and a table of frequently encountered Allied, German, and Norwegian acronyms. The preface and introduction are well crafted and clearly define the focus of the text.

Each chapter focuses clearly on one of the main topics. The first examines the evolution of British-Norwegian relations throughout the period of the "Phoney War" to the German invasion in April 1940. The second details the evolution of the alliance forged after Hitler's unexpected northern strike. Allied intelligence operations and relations with the Norwegian resistance movement form the subject of the third set

of essays. The fourth continues that theme, but concentrates on Special Operations conducted in Norway. The last section examines the final year of the war, with a special emphasis on Allied relations after the Soviets began to liberate Northern Norway. It also includes one paper that discusses the impact of World War II on post-war Norwegian foreign policy.

Most of the papers are thought-provoking, and some of them force the reader to reconsider historical preconceptions. For example, the introduction reminds us that some Norwegian leaders saw Britain as a greater threat to Norwegian neutrality than Hitler's Germany. Overall, the contributions manage to cover almost every aspect of British-Norwegian relations, and combined operations. The work of the Norwegian "ship watchers" and the successful attacks on Norway's heavy water resources are very well covered in the text. Unfortunately, this is not the case with all topics. Two areas that did not receive their due are the *Altmark* incident, and the British decision to implement Operation Wilfrid — the mining of Norway's territorial waters without Norwegian consent to impede German iron-ore imports.

Wilfrid's legacy helps to explain the great tension that existed between Britain and Norway in the first days of their forced alliance. Their relations also suffered, but to a much lesser extent than British-Free French relations, by the perceived need of the junior partner to assert itself against the larger power occasionally. By 1942, British-Norwegians had reached a state of relative calm and co-operation, with the possible exception of one key issue — planning for the eventual liberation of Norway. This issue was to cause some tension between the Western Allies and the Norwegian government in exile, especially after the Red Army began to push the German Army out of Northern Norway.

Overall, this volume makes a significant contribution to its topic, and the question of small-big power relations in turbulent times. It is a valuable addition to our knowledge of World War II and one can only hope that it will stimulate the appearance of works on German-Norwegian relations in this period.

Peter K.H. Mispelkamp
Pointe Claire, Québec

John Bunker. *Heroes in Dungarees: The Story of the American Merchant Marine in World War II*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, xiv + 369 pp., photographs, maps, appendices, notes, index. US \$32.95, Cdn \$45.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-093-2. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The dust-jacket describes this book as "the most complete study of the wartime merchant marine ever published." If true, then a wealth of material remains to be researched and recorded. Interesting as it is, the book gives but a cursory examination of the involvement of American merchant shipping in the conflict.

The author, an American journalist who served in the engine-room during the war, relied upon archival records of the Merchant Marine Naval Armed Guard, augmented by newspaper reports and personal interviews. The latter are colourful and gripping. Some are second-hand and as such, subject to distortion in transmission. Nevertheless, the book can still be rewarding for its readers, presenting as it does, for a change, an American perception of the war at sea.

Naturally, the Battle of the Atlantic occupies most of the book. Bunker divides his material in the generally accepted two phases. The first covers the period culminating in the devastating losses in the winter of 1942-43. The second covers the dramatic turn-around, beginning in the summer of 1943. The factors which influenced the change in fortunes are only briefly mentioned. Special treatment is rightly afforded the ill-fated convoys HX-229 and SC-122 with particular emphasis placed upon the American ships lost. Russia- and Malta-bound convoys are dealt with in the same manner, as is the nightmare bombing of Bari Harbour on 2 December 1943.

Much has been written on all these well-known events. Not as well publicized is the successful U-boat campaign waged on the largely undefended US eastern seaboard and the tanker lanes in the Caribbean in 1942. Bunker provides valuable glimpses into both of these theatres of war. An equally important inclusion is the role played by American merchant shipping in the various Pacific Island campaigns.

Some statistics are provided. For example, the reader is informed that a total of 733 US-

flagged merchant ships were sunk with a loss of 6,000 crew members. Readers are also reminded that US shipyards built 5,304 ships of various types between January 1942 and September 1945. This remarkable achievement not only compensated for the high losses but also played a vital role in important invasions. An equally noteworthy success was the accelerated training provided for civilian volunteers who manned the vessels. The manpower requirements of the US Merchant Marine mushroomed from 55,000 in pre-war days to a total of 160,000 in 1944. Statistics such as these, however, are ultimately of less importance than the many accounts of courage, bravery and suffering that have been chronicled. These experiences, while not unique to the US Merchant Marine, vouch for the deserving title of "heroes," notwithstanding the better pay and improved shipboard conditions on American ships.

A useful appendix to this book is the list of all US-flagged merchant ships lost during the war. For this reviewer, this list could have been improved by being more specific in providing the location of each sinking instead of vague references such as the "North West Atlantic" or the "Caribbean." An additional list of US-owned ships sailing under Panamanian registry would have completed the picture. The glossary of nautical terms will be helpful to some readers. Others may find it pedantic. The few maps that are included are equally rudimentary.

On the whole, by providing an American perception of the war at sea, this book is a valuable complement to John Slader's *The Fourth Service: Merchantmen at War 1939-45*, which examines the British merchant marine experience during the war, and Mike Parker's *Running the Gauntlet*, which looks at the Canadian experience.

Gregory P. Pritchard
Blue Rocks, Nova Scotia

Paul Kemp. *Friend or Foe: Friendly Fire at Sea 1939-1945*. London: Leo Cooper, 1995. ix + 198 pp., photographs, sources notes, bibliography, index. £18.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-385-0.

The striking photograph on the jacket of this book shows a World War II naval gunner stand-

ing by an anti-aircraft ship's gun. Beside him is a large notice-board which reads: "You are to open fire without orders on all aircraft presumed hostile. The bridge will ring the cease-fire bell if you are mistaken." The terse message can be translated into the more blunt "Shoot first and ask questions afterwards" or "If in doubt, fire." It epitomizes well the phenomenon known as "friendly fire," the subject matter of the book.

We are reminded in the first chapter by the author, a distinguished British naval historian, that friendly fire is as old as warfare itself and has been a factor since the first cavemen went into action with clubs and stones. The term is used to describe a bizarre human affliction — wartime incidents where both participants were from the same side. It has many variations, such as self-inflicted losses, own goals, amicide, amicicide, fratricide, blue on blue. The author has settled for "friendly fire," an inoffensive euphemism that seems now to have been adopted on both sides of the Atlantic. Kemp describes over a hundred such incidents in his book as well as the results of courts martial and boards of inquiry. His findings are based on archival material from American, British, Dutch, French, German, Italian and Russian sources and on interviews with surviving participants.

The actions listed in the book are neatly arranged by type: ships vs ships; aircraft vs ships; ships vs aircraft; ships vs submarines; aircraft vs submarines; submarines vs submarines. The author takes great care to distinguish between those actions that could be classified as misfortunes or hazards of war and those — many, perhaps all — that could have been avoided had cooler heads prevailed and correct recognition procedures setup and followed. Heat of the battle, he points out, is a lame excuse for acts of friendly fire, an argument where fine lines can be drawn and when any notions about caution can be overridden by operational necessity. There is also a chapter on "self-inflicted losses" — another infuriating oddity of the war at sea — caused by malfunctioning weapons, usually torpedoes that suddenly reverse course after being fired, thereby causing the ship that fired them to sink or suffer heavy damage. This happened to the cruiser HMS *Trinidad* on the Murmansk run in 1942 and to the American submarine *Tang* in the Pacific in 1944.

One aspect of friendly fire is that it has really only made its mark in the twentieth century. Although there had been incidents before 1900, the problem has become acute and exacerbated since the introduction of new weapons and more sophisticated killing technology, such as radar, guided missiles, and "smart" bombs. As a result, the sheer lethal firepower and generally the speed at which everything moves on the battlefield, together with vastly extended ranges of weapons that can now reach well beyond the visible horizon, have greatly increased the likelihood of mistakes.

The literature and material on the subject of friendly fire is the product of recent times. It has been traditionally shrouded in secrecy and research into the subject has been frustrated by lack of records or deliberate concealment by those in authority or occasionally because the participants agreed to remain silent. In our own times, due to pressure from the public and the press, such secrecy is no longer possible and many documents which had been classified have now been released and are available for study.

Paul Kemp has produced a very readable, informative, important and timely book that will appeal equally to the general reader and to the specialist. It is illustrated with sixteen pages of good black-and-white photographs, most of them never before reproduced. There are ample source notes, bibliography and an index. By all logic, his book should be made compulsory reading in all military and naval training establishments and staff colleges.

George Q. Parnell
Kirkland, Québec

Lisle A. Rose. *The Ship That Held the Line: The USS Hornet and the First Year of the Pacific War*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. viii + 309 pp., photographs, figure, notes, bibliography, index. US \$34.95, Cdn \$48.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-729-5. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Warship histories often suffer from two problems. Either they are first person descriptions by former sailors which, while interesting, suffer from a lack of historical perspective and context. Or they are hagiographic accounts, omitting the

unpleasantries of ship-borne life and the errors that often afflict militaries at war. I am pleased to say that Lisle Rose's history of the first USS *Hornet* suffers from neither problem.

An historian who has written about the origins of the Cold War as well as Richard Byrd's Antarctic explorations, Rose also served in the US Navy during the 1950s before going on to college. This experience, coupled with his academic training, has served him well. His book is a fascinating description of the life and death of one of America's first and, thanks to the Doolittle Raid, most famous aircraft carriers. Launched in December 1940, *Hornet* fought at Midway before meeting its end in the bitter struggle for Guadalcanal.

But as Rose makes clear, the records of both the *Hornet* and some of its crew were not always distinguished. At Midway the ship lost its entire Torpedo Group (only one aviator survived) in a pointless and badly coordinated attack on the Japanese carriers, a loss Rose blames on shoddy American tactics and poor command and control. Once the battle was over, key officers were transferred or removed from command. But *Hornet's* real trials lay ahead. Sent to support the Marines on Guadalcanal, a battle that would cost the navy many ships sunk or damaged, including the carriers *Wasp* (sunk), *Enterprise* and *Saratoga* (damaged), the *Hornet* found itself involved in a confusing and often bloody mêlée in the narrow waters of the southwest Pacific. After some narrow escapes, the ship's luck could not last. On 26 October 1942, the *Hornet*, struck by numerous bombs and torpedoes, sank off the island of Santa Cruz, most of its crew surviving the onslaught that sent their ship to the ocean bottom.

Making skilful use of a variety of records, including naval action reports, desk logs, photographs, interviews with surviving crew members, and secondary sources, Rose provides readers with a thoughtful and thought provoking account of the life of a carrier in the first year of a war that the US Navy was not always well prepared to fight. Primarily a battleship fleet before 1941, the US Navy had to fight a far different campaign after Pearl Harbor than it had anticipated. Far more complex, tactically and strategically, carrier warfare, with its emphasis on boldness, ingenuity and technological prowess, was par-

ticularly well suited for the newer breed of American sailors that survived the war's bloody first year. Many ships, like the *Hornet*, were not so lucky, but their successors would benefit greatly from the early mistakes.

I have but two quibbles with this book. The first is an absence of maps that would have better aided the description of the battles in the south Pacific. The second concerns a factual error on page 48. Some 130,000 (not 30,000) troops surrendered at Singapore in 1942; it was a disaster of monumental proportion.

Galen Roger Perras
Fairfax, Virginia

John F. Wukovits. *Devotion to Duty: A Biography of Admiral Clifton A.F. Sprague*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. xx + 273 pp., maps, photographs, figures, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$35, Cdn \$48.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-944-1. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Rear Admiral C.A.F. Sprague "wrote the most glorious page in American Naval History" when he tactically out-manoeuvred the main Japanese battle force in its surprise attack on his escort carriers and supporting ships at Leyte Gulf on 25 October 1944. These were the words (206) conveyed to Sprague by an embarrassed Admiral William F. Halsey, Jr., the third Fleet commander largely responsible for having failed to protect the Philippines invasion armada with his own powerful force of fast carriers. That Halsey was guilty was the opinion of Sprague, his biographer John Wukovits, this reviewer, and a host of other historians who have examined this last — and highly controversial — surface naval battle in history.

Without Sprague's singular achievement, a biography would never have been written, for his career was otherwise unremarkable. With this book, in fact, the last biography of an American admiral in the Pacific War has probably been written. And a good one it is. Well researched, written and illustrated, the life story of this fairly early naval aviator ("wings" earned in 1921) reveals a leader of high integrity and command ability who inspired many who served with him — subordinates, peers, and superiors

whose testimonials abound in the book. The results were "happy ships" under his command: Patrol Squadron 8 (1931-34), seaplane tenders *Patoka* and *Tangier* (1939-42), the second fast carrier named *Wasp* (1943-44), and his flagship escort carrier *Fanshaw Bay* (1944-45).

Nicknamed "Ziggy" at the US Naval Academy, Sprague had a roughly parallel career with three 1918 classmates whom the author follows for comparative purposes — Forrest Sherman, Thomas L. Sprague (no relation), and J.J. "Jocko" Clark who preceded Ziggy at Annapolis by a year but was later turned back for hazing, and who added the "o" to his nickname in World War II). A warm, humorous, yet quiet man with a "razor-sharp mind," Sprague "lacked a ruthless edge" (14-15) to fight for self-advancement, even to the point of remaining silent in the Leyte Gulf controversy. Hence the superficial treatments of him in histories of the battle — until now.

Sprague's brilliant tactics at Leyte, carefully reconstructed by Wukovits, were the culmination of long and successful combat experience. He convoyed merchantmen in a gunboat during World War I, engaged Japanese planes with the *Tangier* during the Pearl Harbor attack, coordinated antisubmarine operations in the Gulf of Mexico during a critical period of the Battle of the Atlantic (1942-43), captained the *Wasp* in the battle of the Philippine Sea, and as rear admiral used his "Taffy 3" escort carriers to support the landings at Morotai and Leyte.

The Japanese successfully lured Halsey away from the Seventh Fleet amphibious shipping in Leyte Gulf, enabling Admiral Takeo Kurita to slip into the Gulf with battleships, cruisers, and destroyers at dawn on October 25. Halsey and landing force commander Admiral Thomas Kinkaid did not communicate directly because of the lamentable divided command system. As soon as shells started falling around his ships, Sprague rose to the occasion, making "eight major decisions in the battle's first fourteen minutes." (149) Thereafter, through counterattacks by his small ships and poorly-armed planes, he bluffed Kurita into withdrawing, in the belief that he *was* facing Halsey's big ships. One escort carrier, two destroyers, and one destroyer escort had been sunk. Japan's first concerted kamikaze attack then sank a

second escort carrier. But the rest survived — along with Kinkaid's invasion ships.

A unique source for the author was Sprague's copy of historian C. Vann Woodward's *The Battle for Leyte Gulf* (1947), with the margins heavily and candidly annotated by Sprague. Wukovits did not consult the R.W. Bates papers at the Naval War College Library, nor did he have available Gerald E. Wheeler's biography *Kinkaid of the Seventh Fleet* (1995), which contains a critical (possibly spurious) allusion to Sprague's battle preparations (405) in a letter from those papers.

Sprague's career after Leyte was anticlimax, although his continuing escort carrier command at Iwo Jima and Okinawa deserves more than the few sentences in this biography. After heading naval aviation forces at the Bikini atomic bomb tests in 1946, Sprague held shore-side commands before retiring in 1951. He died four years later, silent to the end about the Leyte controversy. This fine volume is his monument.

Clark G. Reynolds
Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina

George B. Lucas. *Every Other Day: Letters From the Pacific*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. ix + 294 pp., photographs. US \$29.95, Cdn \$44.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-528-4. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This is a fictional version of a true story. All names except the editor's and his wife's have been changed and some scenarios altered. Some dates and explanatory phrases were added for clarity. Still, this book records what George Lucas saw, did and felt as a young US naval ensign during a two-year tour of duty from May 1943 to April 1945 in the Pacific theatre. Before sailing for the mid-Pacific, he promised his wife, Betty, he would try to write her "every other day." He kept his word quite well, writing 324 letters. She kept the letters. *Every Other Day* is an edited collection of the best of them.

Lucas met Betty Boyd at Penn State in September 1939 when she was an eighteen-year-old freshman. Lucas completed his B.S. botany degree in June 1940 and went to Louisiana State University on a research assistantship that fall.

At Christmas he and Betty secretly married, and she joined him at Baton Rouge in June 1941. He interrupted his graduate studies by enlisting in the US Navy in November 1942. He received his ensign's commission early in 1943, and drew his first assignment on a seagoing tug, the USS *Tern*. Lucas had never been to sea. Betty and he had been married less than three years; he did not see her again until twenty-four months later.

The *Tern* belonged to the Third Service Fleet and served the fighting ships, following the task force at a safe distance. After a landing had been completed, it dragged landing craft off the beach, and assisted disabled craft so they could be used again. From May 1943 to June 1944 *Tern* was stationed at Pearl Harbor, helping to prepare fighting ships for battle and performing picket duty at the Harbor's entrance. *Tern* left Pearl Harbor in July 1944, towing a supply barge to Eniwetok, a task force anchorage and staging area in the Marshall Islands.

Lucas' ship operated out of Eniwetok and Kwajalein atolls (in the Gilbert Islands). Its crew helped rearm, refuel, and reprovision ships until October 1944. In August 1944, they towed a large concrete ship loaded with fuel oil and drinking water to Manus Island in the Admiralty Islands, near New Guinea. Upon return to Eniwetok they towed some barges to Tarawa and worked there a week cleaning up debris left over from the Tarawa campaign. Lucas went ashore on Tarawa. He wrote "I saw the graveyards (white wooden crosses, many inscribed 'Unknown'). I was quite overcome — to see these sandy graves, on a coral island 5000 miles from home, of men my own age who died for some abstract entity which they could not even express in their own minds."

In October they towed a barge to the Palau Islands, then moved to Ulithi atoll, a secret US anchorage 300 miles south of Guam. Around Thanksgiving 1944 they towed a barge to Guam and another to Saipan in the Mariana Islands before returning to Palau, where Lucas stayed until he left the ship in April 1945 to return to "good ol' USA." He left the Navy in September.

Lucas completed his PhD at Louisiana State in July 1946, and accepted an assistant professorship in plant pathology at North Carolina State University that fall. They had a happy marriage. Sadly, Betty died of leukaemia in

November 1950. To allay his grief and ease some of the pain, Lucas, a few months after Betty's death, began to reread and edit his letters to her. That secret task occupied his spare time for more than forty years as he "built this hymn to her memory."

These letters tell of fortitude, loneliness, fatigue, exhaustion, sexual frustration, raging seasickness, horror, cruelty, casualties, exotic island cultures, and above all Lucas' love and longing for his young wife. Yet reading them leaves one wondering what is fact or fiction. The editor might have been wiser to print the letters as written and place the "changed scenarios" and "explanatory phrases" in brackets or footnotes. In doing so Lucas would have built a more enduring wreath to his wife's memory.

David Pierce Beatty
Sackville, New Brunswick

Mihir K. Roy. *War in the Indian Ocean*. New Delhi: Lancer Publications and South Godstone, Surrey, UK & Hartford, WI: Spantech & Lancer, 1995. xiv + 298 pp., photographs, maps, bibliography, index. Rs395, £17.95, US \$27.50, cloth; ISBN 1-897829-11-6.

Rahul Roy-Chaudhury. *Sea Power & Indian Security*. London: Brassey's, 1995. 217 pp. £29.95, cloth; ISBN 1-85753-050-0.

Vice-Admiral Roy's book provides the general reader with an excellent introduction to the history of the modern Indian navy.

Unfortunately, the book begins poorly. The first chapter, providing the historical context to the period before 1946, is riddled with inaccuracies ranging from the claim that the Great Wall of China was constructed in the fifteenth century to the statement that "Mozambique which is further south is served by the ports of Malawi." (13) I could cite other howlers, but this is an instance of poor editorial work.

More annoyingly, the author writes loosely of the existence of an Indian "polity" that had an understanding of maritime power before the coming of the Mughals. This is difficult to accept. For one thing, there was no such thing as an Indian state for over a thousand years before the coming of the Mughals. Moreover, the idea

of a standing navy as an agent of state power is a European concept which did not begin to take its modern shape until the seventeenth century. South Asia can lay proud claim to an ancient maritime heritage based on commercial activity, but not on naval power as it evolved in Europe.

The rest of the book is well worth reading. The second chapter covers the period 1946 to 1962 and provides a stimulating coverage of the naval mutiny at Bombay in 1946, the neglect of India's navy during the 1950s and '60s and the fiasco of naval participation in the Goa conflict. Roy does not pull his punches, castigating a number of leading Indian politicians and bureaucrats as well as the Western attitude towards India's defence concerns. In chapter three, he continues his attack on the "absence of any overall strategic perception" (92) amongst Indian decision makers, providing fascinating insights into the acquisition of aircraft carriers and submarines, and the debates about nuclear capability and the use of missiles. Chapter four is an excellent account of a little known episode: the role of the Mukti Bahini frogmen in liberating Bangladesh. Chapter five provides a detailed account and analysis of Indian naval operations during the 1971 war between India and Pakistan, during which the Indian Navy proved it had learned some vital lessons from previous years of neglect and misunderstanding of its role.

The final chapter is forward looking and Admiral Roy discusses what is now described as "comprehensive security." He raises the questions of new threats to security such as global warming, access to fresh water, coastal zone management, pollution and maritime boundary disputes. He also presents a strong argument for regional security cooperation, claiming that "India's maritime policy must hence necessarily identify policies for promoting regional cooperation." (280)

The book is an excellent addition to the small body of literature relating to maritime affairs in the Indian Ocean, notwithstanding some historical inaccuracies and a poorly presented bibliography.

Roy-Chaudhury's book begins with the same grandiose claims to naval power of various South Asian states. That grumble aside, this work is more the product of a scholar than Admiral Roy's, which is the work of the practi-

tioner — and no less valuable for that! Roy-Chaudhury is more concerned than Admiral Roy to plumb the depth of the official mind, and he seeks to analyze the changes that have occurred in Indian perceptions of the nature and utility of seapower. To do this he makes extensive use of primary materials.

The first chapter covers the period between 1945 and 1954 when the Navy languished: its links with Britain weakened, but the absence of any naval threat "decreased the navy's claim to a greater share of the defence budget." In contrast, the years 1954-1966 saw moves towards modernisation and expansion: the Pizey Expansion Plan; submarines and aircraft carriers; the breaking of ties with Britain, and the continuing failure of government to allocate adequate funds for the navy's ambitions. Then came the period 1966-1980, a vital period of consolidation for the Indian navy. Its lack of utility in the 1965 war with Pakistan, its much better performance in the 1971 war, and the Super Power rivalry which emerged in the Indian Ocean during these years were factors which began to improve the image of the Navy in India. Roy-Chaudhury's coverage of these years is excellent — on shifts in government thinking, of naval reorganization, and of the changing shape of the Indian Navy as it became an accepted part of national security perceptions. He then devotes a chapter to the expansion of the Indian Navy — on land and sea — and provides a stimulating Indian analysis of the surge in maritime rivalry across the Indian Ocean to the early 1990s, ending with the need of India to locate new sources of naval technology following the demise of the Soviet Union.

A smaller chapter looks at the role of India as a regional maritime power with specific reference to the Maldives and Sri Lanka interventions, and with an aside reflecting on the new relationship between air/land doctrines for an Indian "forward defence" posture. The final two chapters are well crafted accounts of the current state of Indian shipping and shipbuilding, and of trends in naval expenditure. The author notes how increased and more sustained expenditure in both areas signalled the arrival of naval issues as a permanent and important aspect of national security thinking.

A separate bibliography would have been welcome but overall this is an excellent and

thoughtful contribution to our understanding of the history and nature of the modern Indian Navy and the evolution of security thinking in India.

Kenneth McPherson
Perth, Australia

Chris Craig, *Call for Fire: Sea Combat in the Falklands and the Gulf War*. London: John Murray, 1995. xx + 300 pp., maps, figures, photographs, chronology, glossary, bibliography, index. £19.99, cloth; ISBN 0-7195-5453-5.

This volume provides useful insights into the Royal Navy's two most recent campaigns. Author Chris Craig served with distinction at sea in both the Falklands War and the Gulf War.

The first half of the book describes Craig's command of HMS *Alacrity*, a Type 21 frigate in the Falklands campaign. The Type 21s are a commercial design with steel hulls and aluminium superstructure — fast vessels with an adequate offensive armament but with second-rate anti-aircraft systems. Two of these ships were lost during the South Atlantic war. *Alacrity* was more fortunate, successfully transiting Falkland Sound in a pre-landing reconnaissance that proved the Sound had not been mined, and sinking the Argentinean transport *Ma de los Estados* while doing so. *Alacrity* did not take part in landings but spent this part of the war as a goal-keeper for the aircraft carrier *Invincible*. While on these duties the frigate suffered serious hull damage when Craig had to drive his ship too hard in heavy seas to keep up with his charge. The frigate's aluminium superstructure began to work its way apart from the steel hull. This is possibly the most significant disclosure in this part of the book. That the Type 21s developed structural damage during the Falklands War has been known for some time but the author gives a more detailed analysis of the problem than has appeared elsewhere. If these frigates could not survive heavy weather in the South Atlantic, do any of their NATO counterparts in the North Atlantic have similar problems?

Despite the structural damage, the frigate soon returned to the gun line, remaining there until the barrel of its 4.5 inch gun began to droop from excessive wear. The frigate was sent home

shortly before the end of the campaign. Some of this account comes from Craig's personal diary. Unfortunately we are given only snippets from this document. Too much of the book is a second-hand retelling of the war.

In the second half of the book Craig recounts his time as commander of the Royal Navy's task group in the Persian Gulf during the Gulf War. Here the Royal Navy played only a supporting role to the US Navy in operations against the Kuwaiti coast, supplying some of the minehunters and a portion of the anti-aircraft screen for the American battleships. In fact this part of the campaign was only a diversion as the Americans had no plans for amphibious landings, most of the coast being unfit for such operations. The success of this stratagem is still doubtful despite American claims to the contrary. Significantly Iraq's most effective action of the whole war was the mining of the northern Persian Gulf. Two large vessels, the amphibious assault ship USS *Tripoli* and the cruiser USS *Princeton*, were extensively damaged by mines.

The most revealing sections of this part of the book describe Craig's frustrations at being left in the dark by the Americans. The Gulf War was an American show with the "allies" along for their propaganda value. If they did any real fighting that was a bonus. The Royal Navy lost the allied turf war before it had begun by failing to send the aircraft carrier *Ark Royal* and a rear-admiral to command their squadron. A mere captain lacked the weight to be taken into the Americans' counsel. Craig was put in a position by his political superiors which Canadian commanders would recognize. He was responsible for the conduct of his ships and personnel but he had no control over their use (except to veto their employment). And given the pressure he was under from both home and the Americans, Craig could not refuse to follow a plan he had little part in developing.

As straightforward commentary on command of a single ship or a squadron, *Call for Fire* is a worthwhile contribution to the literature with the caveat that the author almost never says anything critical about any of his naval colleagues.

M. Stephen Salmon
Ottawa, Ontario

Kevin Don Hutchinson. *Operation Desert Shield /Desert Storm: Chronology and Fact Book*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995. xix + 269 pp., map, figures, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$69.50, cloth; ISBN 0-313-29606-5.

In 1994, Kevin Don Hutchinson produced a well-received "chronology and fact book" of World War II in the North Pacific (reviewed in *TNM/LMNIL*, No. 2). Now, hot on its heels, he has produced this volume on the Coalition effort to evict Saddam Hussein from occupied Kuwait.

In lavishing praise upon *Desert Shield/Desert Storm*, I can best summarize my feelings by echoing the words of our earlier reviewer: "Where was this book when I was preparing my manuscript?" It is difficult to overstate the value to a Gulf War researcher of a meticulously prepared, day-by-day unfolding of events, from mid-July 1990, when "Lt.Gen. Ayad Futayih al-Rawi, Commander, Republican Guard Forces Command...is ordered...to prepare to invade the country of Kuwait," (1) through 24 April 1991, when "I Marine Expeditionary Force is welcomed home." (147) But this can also be read as a narrative form not unlike a diary. The pages are filled with the minutiae of ship, brigade and squadron deployments and activities which can never all make it into a proper history, but in some ways together can provide a more accurate picture of the diverse elements it really takes to mount a massive military operation.

Another hundred pages of appendices lend substance to the text. There are eight of them, ranging from a glossary of terms and acronyms, through the Coalition and Iraqi orders of battle, to reverent lists of Coalition service people (yes, the roles of women as well as men are reflected in these pages) taken prisoner of war or killed in action. To me, the most valuable is a collection of short biographical sketches of "Key Personnel in the Persian Gulf War," including, for example, the captains of the Canadian Navy ships deployed each merit an entry. Similar treatment is given to Iraqi forces and across the thirty-one nations of the Coalition.

Indeed, *Desert Shield/Desert Storm* is not confined to the preponderant American role, but also illustrates the multinational flavour of the Coalition. The introduction, although short,

provides a useful context and clearly establishes what the book was intended to cover — and what it was not. This is an unequivocal compilation of known fact. If it could not be verified, it did not make the cut. Studiously ignored are any speculation about motives, lessons learned, significance of the operations, or any attempt to surmise and divine the unknown and classified.

There are limitations with this format. Despite the very well cross-referenced index, to search for a particular bit of information one really must already know the date on which it occurred. The author obviously relied on newspaper accounts or official unit reports. Without context, these can appear self-serving. The small-scale maps suffer from poor reproduction and are not helpful in placing the many obscure locales mentioned in the text. And no matter how complete, something inevitably will be missing. For instance, the section on Desert Shield (7 August 1990 to 16 January 1991) is weighted far more heavily to the American military build-up in Saudi Arabia than to the UN-sanctioned embargo in the contiguous waters. Then again, this may be what really transpired.

Quibbles aside, this is an invaluable reference tool. One looks forward to whatever subject Hutchinson next turns his energies.

Richard H. Gimblett
Blackburn Hamlet, Ontario

William duBarry Thomas. *Speed on the Ship! A Centennial History of The Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers 1893-1993*. Jersey City, NJ: The Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, 1993. xvi + 205 pp., illustrations, photographs, tables, appendices. US \$30 (SNAME members, US \$25), paper; ISBN 0-939773-13-9

This is a fascinating summary of a century of naval architectural history in North America, for SNAME has been at the core of development of the science and art of Naval Architecture and Marine Engineering since its inception.

Speed on the Ship collates in a single source an overview of technical developments in context with the historical backdrop of the time — political climate, significant individual contributions, and important discoveries made in the

scientific community. It is the story not only of SNAME but also of its members, their circumstances and their self-less contributions to the collective good resulting in the maritime industry as we know it today.

The author, William duBarry Thomas, was concerned that such an undertaking might "result in a dry chronicle of a century of solemn musing over damaged stability, longitudinal strength and those myriad other details that occupy the waking hours of any naval architect or marine engineer worth his salt." He need not have worried. Thomas brings history alive, using quotations, for instance, to give readers a first-hand appreciation of the thinking and the feelings of the time. His book is therefore certain to capture the attention of anyone with an interest in naval architecture or maritime engineering.

The book is arranged in chapters that represent logical historical divisions between significant historical periods, for the most part of between ten and twelve years. Each chapter opens with the political and historical context in which significant SNAME events, developments and accomplishments are placed. A synopsis of SNAME annual meetings provide readers with an appreciation of progress within the professions over the past century.

Thomas is especially successful at conveying the way in which many seemingly infinitesimal improvements, when considered over a one hundred year period, have become quite significant. It is particularly interesting to see just how right, or wrong in some cases, the very elite of the time were in assessing the technical challenges of ship technology, both naval and merchant marine. Interesting debates, some of which continue today, are identified. Thus, in 1895 sea-keeping versus initial stability was an issue; in 1924 there were those that felt that much could be learned through closer ties with the civil engineering community and the issue of empiricism versus theory in design was debated; welding was the theme of the 1937 meeting; in 1948 some considered the controllable pitch propeller when used with a gas turbine propulsion system to be a menace; and in the 1950s some members envisaged future application of computer-aided design with the assistance of "light pencils" to ship design.

Speed on the Ship not only highlights the

technological progress that has been made but clearly illustrates as well the political challenges which existed in the early years and which remain today. For example, the merchant marine industry has always had persistent funding shortfalls. Although the important value to American industry and to national security has been well recognized by highly influential individuals including a number of American presidents, this situation has never been satisfactorily resolved.

Speed on the Ship is recommended reading for anyone with an interest in naval architecture or marine engineering. Of related interest, an historical account of British naval architecture can be found in D.K. Brown, *A Century of Naval Construction. The History of the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors* (1983).

Ken B. Holt
Ottawa, Ontario

D.K. Brown (ed.). *The Design and Construction of British Warships 1939-1945: The Official Record - Vol. 1: Major Surface Warships*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1995. 159 pp., photographs, figures, tables, index. £25, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-673-6.

This is the first volume in a series that will deal with naval construction in Britain following World War I and culminating shortly after World War II. The focus here is "Major Surface Ships." Subsequent works will cover "Submarines, Escort and Coastal Forces" and "Amphibious Warfare Vessels and Auxiliaries." The editor is a retired and distinguished member of the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors (RCNC) so that this volume and, no doubt, those to follow are a tribute to the work of this body.

In the grander day of British shipbuilding — from about the middle of the last century until fairly recently — the RCNC was responsible for the design and construction of vessels for the Royal Navy. Initially it was recruited almost entirely from apprentices at the Schools in the Royal Dockyards. However, in the late 1930s recruitment was open to a very few from universities (this reviewer being one such). Certainly in its own estimation as well as that of others, the RCNC was seen as a *very* select body. Currently, with the many reorganisations in the

Admiralty and the Royal Navy, its identity has been somewhat obscured, but it still produces an annual journal. It is perhaps intriguing that the current badge of "the Corps" has as its main feature a rear view of a nuclear submarine.

The basis of this volume stems from the decision in 1945 by the Director of Naval Construction that all of his various Sections should record their design activities for the period — in this case dealing with battleships and battlecruisers, monitors, fleet, light, and escort carriers, cruisers, fast minelayers and destroyers.

As editor, D. K. Brown provides a short but informative introduction dealing with the major influences on warship design, as well as a brief review of stability and strength considerations. He also presents frequent and helpful notes throughout the text. Nevertheless, while massively informative, the book is *not* a "good read." Each vessel, or class, is dealt with in ponderous detail, with a wealth of technical information — dimensions, speed and propulsion, armour, armament, machinery, strength and stability. As well, and with appropriate frankness, criticisms of the vessel, its wartime performance and even the name of the RCNC member in charge of the design are all offered. The book is lavishly illustrated with many photographs, which are good, and reproductions of plans which are almost totally illegible.

Yet, for anyone seeking relevant comprehensive data, this book is probably invaluable. For the rest of us, it is worth noting the achievement of producing 330 major surface ships, with a surprising continuity of cruiser and destroyer building in the interwar period. Also worth noting is the reluctance of British shipbuilders to adopt the longitudinal construction desired by the RCNC, particularly to engage in extensive welding. Indeed, Sir Stanley Goodall (the prestigious Director of Naval Construction for most of the period) observed "with horror that at the end of the war one prominent destroyer builder thought he could return to rivetted construction."

Faced with this mass of technical detail one is loath to criticize, but one major error is a photo of *Ark Royal* being "manoeuvred into the Gladstone Dock, Liverpool." Clearly visible in letters some forty feet high are the words "Cammell Laird & Co Ltd" (where this reviewer began his working life). Clearly *Ark Royal* is

being manoeuvred into (or probably out of) the Yard's fitting out basin in Birkenhead.

In sum, this is a sound, if somewhat humdrum publication, not unlike the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors itself. Those wishing to enjoy the best of the estimable David K. Brown try his *A Century of Naval Construction* (1983) or *The Future British Surface Fleet* (1991).

S. Mathwin Davis
Kingston, Ontario

Robert F. Sumrall. *Sumner-Gearing-Class Destroyers: Their Design, Weapons, and Equipment*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995. x + 289 pp., photographs, tables, figures, illustrations, appendices, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. US \$59.95, Cdn \$83.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-786-4. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Michael C. Potter. *Electronic Greyhounds: The Spruance-Cow Destroyers*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995. xii + 285 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, tables, appendices, notes, glossary, index. US \$49.95, Cdn \$69.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-682-5. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

These wonderful books are a pleasure to study and review. The detail is impressive but in no way off-putting. They both are technical, but they do not intimidate. The politics of ship design and construction is very evident in both, and both relate pertinent operational activities. Coming from the Naval Institute Press, readers can expect fine products — they are.

In his introduction, Robert Sumrall describes his book as a study of the origins, development and evolution of a class of fleet destroyers over a period of forty years and through three wars. He takes us through the various arms-limiting treaties after World War I, explaining the effect these had on the numbers, size, range and armament of US Navy destroyers. Also of interest is the explanation of the Bureau system in the US Navy, and its influence on ship procurement.

The meat of this book, however, is the detail given concerning propulsion and auxiliary machinery, armament, information and control

systems. Sumrall carries these descriptions through the main variants — the Escort (DDE), Hunter-Killer (DDK), Radar Picket (DDR) - as well as the Fleet Rehabilitation and Modernization Programs. The US Navy's dedication to damage control was demonstrated by the heavy emphasis given to it in all these ships. Several excellent photographs provide outstanding examples of this.

These classes saw the beginning and development of many things that influenced improvements in anti-submarine warfare and air defence. The Drone Anti-submarine Helicopter — DASH —, the anti-aircraft guided missile, towed sonar, information systems, weapons control, etc., all led to greater things in later classes.

Our navy was clearly connected to these ships through NATO, of course, but as neighbours we became more like them in our communications, ASW doctrine, gunnery equipment, shared facilities and many, many exercises. We, in turn, would influence them in many ways including action information exchange and the use of helicopters in small ships.

Michael Potter's book about the *Spruance* class ships is of great interest, made more so by the author's intimate knowledge of the class. This was a time of change in maritime strategy and ship procurement, propulsion arguments, and objections to recently acquired escort classes. Out of all this, a critical path was established for a longstanding naval requirement for quiet, fast destroyers. Potter traces this path through the Cold War, including the Cuban Missile Crisis, the McNamara "Revolution," the Tonkin Gulf incident and the Vietnamese war. All was not sweetness and light!

Potter discusses the adoption by the US Navy of Total Package Procurement in 1965, as a major reform of defence contracting. This meant that the navy could select the ship design, and the shipyard would offer the lowest life-cycle cost including construction, manning, operation and spare parts. Shipbuilders saw advantages, too. A further attraction for the Navy was the opportunity to pursue innovation by going outside its in-house design staff.

In the event, after a longish competition among General Dynamics, Bath Iron Works, and Litton Industries, the latter company won out, and their subsidiary, Ingalls Shipbuilding in

Pascagoula, Mississippi, was contracted for the task in June 1970. USS *Spruance*, namesake and first-of-class, was "launched" in November 1973 and commissioned in September 1975. Thirty more followed. In their turn there followed the four of the *Kidd* class, and the more powerful derivatives, the *Ticonderoga* class of missile cruisers (with the AEGIS system) of twenty-seven ships.

The description of the ships in this book is excellent and in detail, as are the criticisms of them. Potter takes us through the decision-making processes with respect to propulsion machinery, electronics, weapons systems, sonar, helicopter usage, crew habitability, reammunitioning, storing, fuelling, etc. We also are told about a significant Canadian connection. According to Potter, the closest ancestor of the *Spruance* class is the *Iroquois* class. (41,42) He also reveals that the US Navy decision to go with gas turbine generators, because of their superior underwater noise characteristics, was "another decision influenced by the Canadian *Iroquois* design." (90) There are also several references to our helicopter haul-down system, and there is much evidence that our experience with *Iroquois* ships gave confidence to Litton project managers with respect to all-gas turbine propulsion and the use of controllable/reversible pitch propellers.

Potter includes a large section on the operations so far of this class and their derivatives, the *Ticonderogas*, including interesting discussions of the Vincennes incident. All of these illustrate the tremendously broad operational capabilities of these ships.

Potter summarizes his conclusions very well, poses interesting questions, and certainly justifies the sub-title of his book. To him, all the redundant space on board is justified for growth potential. It was there for the AEGIS system for the *Ticonderoga* class.

It remains only to add that Robert Sumrall is a noted model builder and collector, and his book contains all the detail any model builder might desire. The plans, drawings and photographs are excellent and well explained in both books, and both, particularly Potter's, have excellent indexes and notes. The books are certainly expensive, but they are well worth it. I would have loved to have had them at an

earlier age. They certainly might make one want to join the navy!

Ian A. Macpherson
Newport, Nova Scotia

Yogi Kaufman; photography by Steve and Yogi Kaufman. *City at Sea*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995. xxv + 168 pp., photographs (b+w, colour), figure. US \$39.95, Cdn \$62.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-457-1. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This book could well have been published as a special issue of the *National Geographic*. It is replete with magnificent photographs taken by the father and son team of Steve and Vice Admiral (Retired) Yogi Kaufman on board seven active carriers of the United States Navy. The *National Geographic* "look" is no accident as Steve Kaufman has completed many assignments for that well-known publisher.

The intent of this impressive large-format book is to document in words and images the life of a modern aircraft carrier and the crew who bring it to life. Oral vignettes of the experiences of a host of crew members who perform the hundreds of functions necessary for the operation of the carrier and its air wing are used to tell the story. These are prefaced by an explanation of the training undertaken by naval aviators and new ships's crews alike. The general working of a modern carrier is also provided as background in the form of an onboard tour as the authors complete their assignment.

The result is an engaging but not overly sophisticated image of the operation of these complex vessels and their air wings. What is commendable is the effort made to focus on the ship and its crew as much as on the weaponry and those responsible for delivering it. While most of the accompanying text is upbeat in nature, the downside is not glossed over: fatigue, the loneliness of long deployments, homesickness, flight deck danger, heat and noise are all well documented. However, the enduring image is that of the extraordinary human organization and leadership skills required to make this most complex of military machines perform to its potential.

The true attraction of the book is its some

170 colour photographs. They reflect all aspects of the ship's operations and are used to illustrate the stories of the crew from Captain to aircraft handler. The large format of the book is used to good effect and the publisher has resisted the temptation to run too many images. Most notable about the photographs apart from their technical excellence is the intense concentration they show on the faces of the crew members depicted in them, especially during operations on the flight deck. Moving images could not capture this human side of naval aviation nearly as well or enduringly.

City at Sea would make a fine gift to give or receive although, unless one is interested in the images, this is not likely the sort of book one would purchase for one's own library, especially at its scandalous price in Canadian funds. But it will provide, for those who acquire it a good snapshot of carrier operations in the US Navy in the first half of the 1990s.

Christopher J. Terry
Ottawa, Ontario

Philip Seymour. *Where the Hell is Africa? Memoirs of a Junior Naval Officer in the Mid-Twentieth Century*. Durham, UK: Pentland Press, 1995. xiv + 343 pp., photographs, illustrations, appendices. £19.50, cloth; ISBN 1-85821-300-2.

The sub-title of this memoir is more appropriate than the main title, which is a silly quote from a post-war navigation problem. For any regular force naval officer — RN or RCN — this tale will be a nostalgic review of a life that began for its author in May 1939 with his entry as a 13-year old Dartmouth cadet, and largely finishes with his retirement in 1959 as a Lieutenant Commander in the cut-backs of that period. While he includes philosophical reflections on both his personal contributions to the Service and to the Navy's successes in war and peace, this tale reads much like a personal memoir for his forty-four Dartmouth term-mates for their fiftieth anniversary which, one gathers, engendered it.

In fact, two conclusions arise, perhaps unfairly. The first is that those who entered the RN via Dartmouth "terms" constituted a rather self-satisfied privileged English public school

group, that the sense of self-satisfaction continued throughout their service, and that they felt that they quite properly were the best and should reasonably run the Navy. The second is that the Navy seemed to have a singular inability to match affairs with appropriate appointments, in particular "long course" officers (Seymour was a torpedo-anti-submarine specialist). The continuous moves and frequent violent changes in postings, often to jobs that were not enjoyed or even wanted by the appointees, could hardly have been good for the Navy's efficiency.

His life as a war-time cadet, midshipman, and sub-lieutenant followed a normal pattern from peace time, with a few war-time dangers and responsibilities thrown in: in a battleship, a cruiser (commanded by the RCN's Cdr. H.T.W. Grant), destroyers and eventually to the 38th MTB Flotilla that replaced the RCN's 29th when it was destroyed by fire at Ostend in February 1945. Similarly he followed normal appointments to destroyers, LSTs and then, as a TAS specialist, to a series of aircraft carriers which, with an Australian exchange appointment, rounded out an average career.

But rather too much of the tale is taken up with runs ashore, usually in a party vein, and with closely following the similar experiences of the term-mates from Dartmouth with whom he maintained contact. In fact there is a penultimate chapter that goes into their lives in tedious detail. One is reminded of Canada's Rear Admiral Nelson Hay's *Memories of a Mariner*, except that in reading the latter, one gains a sympathetic and accurate picture of Hay as a person and a successful naval officer — proud of his family connection to Mackenzie King, yet with great experience in the technicalities of his vocation. In this book that same sympathetic empathy does not develop. One simply grows weary of "my term-mate from Dartmouth..." and "We all piled into my ancient car for the party at the Governors."

Contemporaries will find much to which they can relate — in his post-war experiences, the varied ships and shipmates he encountered in the course of his career, even in understanding his sometimes patronising references to those not of the Dartmouth heritage (Naval Reserves as well as those promoted from the lower deck). He served as ordered, loyally and well, with

stints in the Far East, the Mediterranean, Australia, and in many ships. There are a few unimportant errors, and seven peculiar appendices.

In sum, the book covers a group of specific officers who were representative of a large cadre of the post-war officer complement. It fills a niche, but will not be for every maritime reader.

F.M. McKee
Markdale, Ontario

Celia L. Jones. *Navy Mixture*. Durham: Pentland Press, 1995. 183 pp., photographs. £14.95, cloth; ISBN 1-85821-292-8.

Navy Mixture is not so much a book as it is a long and tedious exercise in self-congratulation. The author, a very senior administrator in the British Admiralty, seems to have used the occasion of her retirement to write a book of thank you notes to herself (for doing a very, very good job) and to every person with whom she has ever worked. The work fails on every level imaginable. Lacking an introduction, we are left to guess at the author's motives for chronicling her thirty years as an administrator in the civil service. It certainly cannot be to present a first-hand account of how the British Admiralty responded to enormous post-war changes, since none are mentioned. During Mrs. Jones' career, the Navy dealt with the cessation of conscription, the admission of women, the introduction of corporate management techniques, shrinking budgets, and the rise and application of technology to virtually every aspect of seafaring. None of these issues are dealt with in any comprehensive fashion and only two (conscription and new management techniques) are mentioned at all.

Within the genre of military history, including service biographies, administrative practice is often overlooked. While the benefits of such studies may not be immediately obvious, administrative practices can be indicative of new approaches in military organization and philosophy. And, unlike the military operations, they offer rich evidence of the shifting relationship between the military and the society in which it operates.

Consider, for example, the end of conscription. Faced with competition from the civilian

workplace, the British military was compelled, for the first time, to offer training, pay and benefits commensurate with civil standards. Yet neither the methods by which the Navy determined an adequate level of pay, nor the effect of the increase on recruiting are discussed in *Navy Mixture*. Consider as well the Navy's decision to look to industry for new and innovative methods of administering a large organization. Once again, the competing industrial organization theories and the process by which the navy finally selected a new method of management are ignored by the author. More practically, the benefits, if any, of the revised administrative practices to servicemen and women remain unknown. What is included in the book, however, is the vignette of how, on a visit to a factory, Mrs. Jones accidentally picked up a confidential folder and took it away with her. She immediately phoned to explain what had happened and was congratulated for not having revealed any of the factory's secrets to anyone on the way home. Compared with what *Navy Mixture* could have revealed, this story seems trite.

Mrs. Jones' little book could be forgiven its appalling lack of analysis, had it been a good popular history with some insight into the experiences of the first women to reach a senior administrator's post. Indeed, the dust jacket assures us that, as "the only senior woman in a traditionally male environment, [the author] is able to relate her account from a singularly original perspective." Yet the author offers no comment on the concepts of equality, gendered hierarchical power structures, feminism and sexism. Despite a life time of drafting administrative and financial policy, no mention is made anywhere that for decades, women were paid at a substantially lower rate than men, that they did not receive the same allowances as men, that their terms of employment were substantially different and that the grounds for their dismissal were often based on gender as well as, or instead of, military philosophy.

For this reviewer, it remains a mystery why this book was ever published. Neither the theories of administrative practice nor the benefits they were to enable are analysed, and the "singular perspective" of the author (being a woman in a man's world) is completely ignored. In short, there is no reason to recommend this book

to anyone.

Barbara Winters
Victoria, British Columbia

Terrence Riley. *Ship's Doctor*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. 294 pp., photographs. US \$29.95, Cdn \$41.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-721-X. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The ship's doctor is a near-legendary figure about which, surprisingly, little has been written. While there is a large literature on nautical medicine, the actual life of the ship's doctor is not well chronicled (with the salient exception of "Doc" in Thomas Heggen's novel, *Mister Roberts*.)

With *Ship's Doctor* Terrence Riley therefore fills a gap. Riley is a current US Navy doctor, and his book is an in-depth look at what life was like for the Senior Medical Officer (SMO) aboard the USS *Forrestal* in the late 1980s. Riley had served in the USN in the late 1970s, became a reservist, and returned to active duty in 1988. The book is well-written and contains much information for the student of ship-board life. Virtually everybody in the ship's crew at some time has need of the service of the ship's medical unit, and it is in the sickbay that the full variety of life at sea becomes apparent.

As SMO, Riley saw it all — horrible injuries incurred on duty (thankfully fairly rare); drug abuse (also thankfully fairly rare); injuries occurring from shore leave brawls; men lost at sea; and a new concern — environmental issues, especially with regard to the disposal of medical waste. The last is an important one, for a ship the size of *Forrestal*, spending months at sea, could not help but generate a significant amount of potentially hazardous medical waste. Riley must have been one of the first to confront a problem likely to be of great concern in the future. Formerly, medical waste was simply dumped overboard, where it could (and frequently did) wash up on shore. In the 1980s, with environmental and health issues again prominent, that method quickly became unacceptable. Riley learned, to his dismay, that the old method was subject to immediate discipline, and it is informative to see how he resolved the