

BOOK REVIEWS

Graeme J. Milne (ed.). *New Researchers '97: Papers presented at the fifth annual New Researchers in Maritime History Conference*. Liverpool: Centre for Port and Maritime History, 1997 [orders to: NMGM Enterprises 127 Dale Street, Liverpool L69 3LA, England]. viii + 93 pp., tables, maps, illustrations, appendices. £2 (+ £1 s+h), spiral-bound; no ISBN.

In his editor's preface, Graeme Milne explains that the papers appearing in this publication were read in 1997 during an annual conference of new researchers. Sponsored by the Centre for Port and Maritime History (a joint endeavour by the University of Liverpool and the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside), and held at Liverpool, this meeting offered a platform for one Dutch, one Italian, and seven British scholars, most of whom were undertaking their first major work in maritime history. Milne notes that not all of the participants were young since mature individuals retiring from careers in other areas increasingly are entering the field. He also points out that the papers were not refereed by other scholars. But Milne observes that his volume "places the results of current and recent research in the public domain for discussion and feedback, and it does so quickly." [v]

Three articles in *New Contributions '97* were of particular interest to this reader. One is No J. van Loo's discussion of the role of Dutch privateering during the first stages (1568-1609) of the Dutch revolt from Spain. Van Loo, a graduate student at the University of Leiden, defines four distinct phases of this campaign. In general, he argues that the objective of the privateers shifted from the strategic defense of the emerging Dutch Republic to an effort to enrich the owners of privateers. The final era van Loo discusses (1604-1609) featured a massive influx of English ships following the outlawing of privateering in England.

Neil Ashcroft, a former solicitor and now a doctoral candidate at the University of Hull, contributes an insightful paper entitled "British trade with the Confederacy during the American

Civil War." Ashcroft's subject is British commerce with ports in Mexico and the Caribbean which were transshipment points for the Confederacy. This focus is a welcome departure from the more usual treatment of the blockade from a US continental viewpoint. Ashcroft demonstrates that the value of the North's blockade was to create a bottleneck that restricted most oceanic access to the mainland to specialized steam ships. Those vessels had far less carrying capacity than the sailing ships used on the trans-Atlantic trade routes.

Roger Mumby-Croft, another graduate student from the University of Hull, was a commercial fishermen for a quarter of a century. His experiences, as well as solid research in the sources, are revealed in a graphic account of working conditions on United Kingdom fishing trawlers during the 1950-1970 era. The high rates of mortality, injury, and illness suffered by British fishermen are contrasted with the experiences of their Scandinavian and German counterparts. Fishermen from the latter countries worked under much safer conditions.

The remaining papers presented in this volume cover a broad range of other subjects, including the international regulation of Danube River shipping, the Royal Navy's presence in Manila Bay during the Spanish-American War, shipping company posters, scurvy and cholera outbreaks in the Royal Navy, and the uncertain competence of British masters and mates in the nineteenth century.

Graeme Milne and his associates at the Centre for Port and Maritime History deserve congratulations for their encouragement of new members of the maritime history guild. Based upon the work appearing in *New Scholars '97* these individuals are being well trained by their British, Dutch, and Italian mentors. For graybeards such as this reviewer, it is heartening to realize that a promising new group of maritime historians is standing in the wings.

Dean C. Allard
Arlington, Virginia

Uwe Schnall and Ursula Feldkamp (eds.). *Deutsches Schiffahrtsarchiv XIX* (1996). Hamburg: Ernst Kabel Verlag for the Deutsches Schiffahrtmuseum, 1996. 422 pp., photographs, tables, illustrations, figures (incl. end jacket), maps. DM 46, paper; ISBN 3-8225-0396-7.

The breadth and depth of the subject we call maritime history could not be more clearly demonstrated than it is by this very well produced annual publication for 1996 of the Deutsches Schiffahrtmuseum in Bremerhaven. The various papers cover the centuries and geographical locations, from the Indian Ocean in classical times with "The Factual Description of a Sea Route to India and Ceylon" derived from the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* of the late first century A.D. (a paper printed in English) to, at the other end of the scale in time and subject, Wolfgang Rudolf's report on the manufacture of auxiliary engines for fishing boats and small trading vessels in north Germany between 1903 and 1945.

In between on the time scale are papers on, among other subjects, fishing and whaling, the lives of a steel four-masted barque and of an icebreaker, polar and ocean exploration, and ferry transport. There are papers on the fishing boats of the upper Main river and a most interesting piece on Samish sewn boat building. Three papers on different aspects of maritime social history include one dealing with the practice of making "maiden voyage" or "first visit" presentations to new vessels, a form of salutation which has developed widely in recent years. The papers are by no means of exclusively German interest, and they are not a closed source to those unable to read German since each paper has what is usually a very comprehensive English-language summary.

With a publication in this scale — there are seventeen papers, all fully referenced, some with long bibliographies and all adequately illustrated — a reviewer can but commend the scholarship, editorial skill, and organisation which enables a relatively small museum to produce it. This is the nineteenth of these Bremerhaven publications and together they must provide a very valuable research resource.

Basil Greenhill
Saltash, Cornwall

Steve Humphries. *The Call of the Sea: Britain's Maritime Past 1900-1960*. London: BBC Books, 1997. 192 pp., photographs, illustrations, suggested reading, index. £16.99, cloth; ISBN 0-563-38722-X.

Steve Humphries is a well-known oral historian who has produced a number of life-history books, including *Hooligans or Rebels, A Century of Childhood*, and *A Secret World of Sex*. He is currently Vice-President of the Oral History Society and recently became director of an independent production company, Testimony Films, which specializes in oral history documentaries. To the company's credit are three major documentary series for the BBC — *A Labour of Love, Forbidden Britain*, and *A Man's World*. Books have also been produced to accompany the documentaries. To this list must now be added *Call of the Sea* and the television series which it accompanies.

Through oral testimony, both provide a glimpse at Britain's maritime past. They show how Britain, as an island, has always had strong links with the sea, and consequently the sea and all it evokes is an integral part of our society and its culture. They therefore look at many of Britain's maritime traditions including the Royal Navy, Merchant Navy, fishing industry, and sea-rescue services. They present the testimony of those whose voices have not always been heard, those below-deck crews, for example, who were involved in mutinies, women mariners, and those who went against tradition and convention and entered a life at sea.

Sadly, what *Call of the Sea* recalls is the gradual decline of Britain's sea power in the latter half of this century. It does this by actually detailing the very lives of those whose skills and way of life are waning: Scots herring girls who could gut thirty or forty fish a minute, for example, or trawler deck hands who would work for days without sleep in very rough waters. It also looks quite interestingly at a less publicized, perhaps darker, side of life at sea and explores the unconventional delights of life ashore in foreign lands, and the rebellions against overbearing, or incompetent officers at sea. Through such accounts we see how, since the end of World War II, Britain has lost most of its sea power, and that this decline and erosion was deep-rooted and foreseeable long before the 1950s. The concern now is

with the impact this will have on an island nation and its maritime communities at sea and ashore.

By definition the book presents a cursory glimpse of the subject. I would like to have seen a little more reflection and analysis, but perhaps when such projects are rushed through production, this is understandable. Certainly it is well edited, and the illustrations, which are integrated throughout the text, are a handsome addition, telling a story in their own right. Generally, of course, the voices speak for themselves and we should be thankful that they have been recorded before they are lost forever.

Chris Howard Bailey
Portsmouth, England

Hugh Richard Slotten. *Patronage, Practice, and the Culture of American Science: Alexander Dallas Bache and the U.S. Coast Survey*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994. xi + 228 pp., illustrations, notes, index. US \$49.95, cloth; ISBN 0-521-43395-9.

During my formal education many years ago, I was informed that the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey was to be regarded as a giant in precise surveying. No one explained why. This book about the second superintendent of the US Coast Survey goes far to explain the rise to such prominence, which occurred in the mid 1800s.

Alexander Dallas Bache was the great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin. It therefore comes as no surprise that he had connections to many political giants of his day, that he was indoctrinated in a sense of loyalty to family and country, and that he was committed to public service, intellectual self-improvement and social elitism. Moreover, he was educated at the US Military Academy at West Point where he received probably the best scientific education then available in his country. The Academy wanted to produce officers as enlightened men of science, so Bache gained a solid background in many forms of science and graduated first in his class. After two years, he resigned from the Corps of Engineers and accepted a professorship of chemistry and natural philosophy at University of Philadelphia. From this position, he became a leader in the scientific community in the United States. Within seven years, he was elected president of Girard College

and spent two years in Europe studying educational institutions. After another seven years, and in at least partial consequence of a campaign by the scientific community and his political friends in his behalf, he was appointed superintendent of the Coast Survey, succeeding the first superintendent, Ferdinand Hassler.

Congress had established the Coast Survey in 1807 to chart the country's coastline. Hassler had been doing this slowly because he insisted in connecting the hydrography through to a high precision triangulation network. Hassler had run afoul with the Treasury Department concerning his expenses and general operation, with the result that his ambitious vision remained unrealized. Nevertheless, it paved the way for Bache's success. Bache not only smoothed the Treasury's ruffled feathers but was able to expand his budget to gargantuan proportions compared to the government's other scientific branches. It certainly helped that he used his budget wisely to sponsor consulting services by the outside scientific community.

Chapters 1 and 2 of the book examine the values and commitments that guided Bache's scientific work. The elitist convictions and moral concerns of his family and friends in Philadelphia were especially important to his development. Chapters 3 and 4 discuss the early history of the Coast Survey and Bache's efforts to gain control when Hassler died. The next three chapters examine the major themes in the history of the Coast Survey using detailed archival sources. Chapter 5 explores Bache's strategies to gain support and maintain control, Chapter 6 explores the role of the Coast Survey as a source of patronage and Chapter 7 examines the social practices Bache developed.

The text includes few technical details, but there are several interesting reproductions of early charts, etchings and early photographs. I am uncertain if it is Slotten's or his sources' error but he quotes the accuracy of the baseline for triangulation networks as ± 0.02 inches in a baseline of six miles. Modern survey error analysis shows that this is totally over-optimistic by a hundred-fold. Perhaps it is just as well that Slotten stays away from technicalities.

David Gray
Ottawa, Ontario

Alan Russett. *George Chambers 1803-1840 His Life and Work. The Sailor's Eye and the Artist's Hand.* Woodbridge, Suffolk and Wappingers' Falls, NY: Antique Collectors' Club, 1996. 216 pp., illustrations (b+w & colour plates), appendices, bibliography, index. US \$89.95, cloth; ISBN 1-85149-233-X.

The lack of reliable scholarly monographs on British marine artists is often felt by connoisseurs and those working professionally in the field of marine painting. It is quite clear that the reproduction of individual paintings as illustrations of historical texts does not throw enough light on the place a painting has in an artist's *œuvre*. As a result, and with the exception of short entrances in dictionaries or cursory remarks in other publications, little is known about George Chambers, whose works both in oil and watercolour are of remarkable quality. A biographical memoir by John Watkins, a close friend of Chambers, published immediately after the painter's death, was the starting point for this book by Alan Russett. The author rightly points out that Chamber undeservedly achieved neither the high profile of some of his contemporaries during his lifetime nor attribution of his rightful place in the art history of his period and of British marine painting.

Born in Whitby the son of an ordinary seaman, Chambers lacked the opportunity to receive an academic education as a painter. After moving to London he worked hard to improve his style and technical skills. He met people who took an interest in his work as a marine painter and introduced him to influential personalities. Eventually he even enjoyed royal patronage. Besides early works as a panorama and theatrical painter his *œuvre* falls into three principal categories: the works from nature depicting sea and sky, ships and people; river-side scenes; and naval engagements for which he is probably best known.

His whole career is meticulously described by Russett, who uses biographical data and individual paintings to outline the life and work of this neglected painter. Very skillfully he combines the biographical narrative with an assessment of Chambers' achievements as a marine artist. His language is free of any jargon that could be difficult to understand or would impinge on the pleasure of reading the text. Lavishly illustrated, the book allows the reader to look at

many paintings and compare them with the author's interpretation. At times, the quotations from Watkins' memoir were too long; often interrupting the modern narrative. Nevertheless, this book should appeal to those who love to have nineteenth-century marine art presented in a convincing and pleasant way.

Lars U. Scholl
Bremerhaven, Germany

Jamie Benidickson. *Idleness, Water, and a Canoe: Reflections on Paddling for Pleasure.* Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1997. xii + 299 pp., photographs, notes, index. \$55, £41, cloth; ISBN 0-8020-0945-X. \$17.95, £13, paper; ISBN 0-8020-7910-5. Distributed in Europe by Marston Books Services, Abingdon, Oxon.

It must be tough to be a canoe (or a beaver or a hockey player, for that matter). After all, life as a national symbol is not easy. The hours are long, the expectations high, and everyone is convinced that they know what you mean. It is a good thing that the canoe's carrying capacity is legendary, for this slim craft has often been freighted with a heck of a lot of metaphorical baggage. It helps to remember as you read this book that sometimes, a canoe is just a canoe. In *Idleness, Water and a Canoe: Reflections on Paddling for Pleasure*, Ottawa law professor Jamie Benidickson explores some of the meanings the canoe has assumed in Canadian life and culture.

He traces its progress through advertising images of strength, vitality and cleanliness, follows its use as a metaphor by many political figures, of whom Pierre Trudeau is only the most recent, and examines the beneficial effects of canoeing on its participants. Other chapters address the evolution of the form and construction of the canoe itself, the use and/or appropriation of native designs and metaphors, preparations for canoe trips, women and the wilderness, and canoeing's relationship to the environmental movement.

Benidickson has clearly done his homework for this book. The end notes are detailed and useful, the book is well indexed, and the subject is quite obviously one close to the author's heart. The subject is also close to Canada's heart, and the appearance of any significant work on the

canoe should be an important event, for like most national symbols, the canoe is too often mentioned glibly and taken for granted, and too little studied in depth. There is a real need to not give our national symbols a free ride, but to try and understand just what role they have played in our regional and national life, and how they came to occupy such a place. Unfortunately, this is not the book to do it.

Part of the problem lies in the author's own ambitions for the book, most clearly expressed in the last paragraph of the text: "can anything be confidently asserted about paddling for pleasure, an activity that is more likely taken for granted by participants...than treated as a subject worthy of penetrating analysis?...perhaps these pages have raised a number of intriguing — possibly even important — themes and questions." [256] That seems an awfully modest place to arrive after leading the reader through so many pages of text. While it may be acceptable for a journal article, perhaps, or a preliminary exploration of a topic, should it really take a whole book to reach such a non-conclusion?

Too often, Benidickson takes the words of railway brochure copywriters and outdoor education advocates at face value. The health and spiritual benefits of contact with the wilderness through canoeing are endlessly reiterated by a parade of quotations from camp councillors, clergy and government officials. These opinions are too seldom analysed by the author for what other meanings they might reveal. The English poet Rupert Brooke, who saw in the Canadian wilderness "only pools of water and lumps of earth" [56] is far outnumbered here by enthusiastic pantheists, muscular campers and adherents of the pathetic fallacy. There is clearly something going on that would be worth exploring further, but Benidickson, with few exceptions, refrains from analysis. To be fair, he does occasionally reject purely anecdotal evidence of canoeing's transformative power and call for more study. It is unfortunate that he did not seize the opportunity to do so in this book.

But perhaps that is placing too high an expectation on a book that is, after all, subtitled as a "reflection." One could have wished for more of Benidickson's own reflections upon those whom he quotes so frequently, but then that may be the task of the next volume. *Idleness, Water and a*

Canoe certainly attests to how important a field of study this could be.

John Summers
Etobicoke, Ontario

Robert J.C. Mowat. *The Logboats of Scotland*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1996. ix + 166 pp., illustrations, photographs, tables, bibliography, index. £24, US \$40, paper; ISBN 1-900188-11-2. Distributed in North America by The David Brown Book Company, Oakville, CT.

This book represents the first volume on Scottish logboats to be published in 130 years. It clearly documents the logboats excavated in Scotland largely from the Victorian era to the present, and presents an explanation of the criteria used for identification and classification of the boats and related archaeological finds. The latter section presents an analysis of the logboats and artifacts documented in a "Gazeteer" and brings together the principal sources of research in the field.

A logboat can be basically classified as a boat of over three metres in length, shaped from a single log from which the bark and sapwood have been removed. It also has fittings such as thwarts, ribs and stabilizers and can take several forms: canoe, punt, dissimilar and/or box. They are found in or near a watercourse, often in association with other marine artifacts such as oars and paddles. [2]

Logboats are of a very simple design requiring only rudimentary tools and limited technological skills to construct. Despite their simplicity they were well suited to the long western coastline of Scotland with all its sea lochs and islands, to say nothing of the huge number of inland lochs and rivers. The book discusses the distribution of logboat finds and relates them to the availability of wood for boat building. The author also outlines various methods of determining the age of each of the logboats and relates this to the multiplicity of artifacts found in many of the sites, discussing the significance of each.

The main section of the book is the "Gazeteer of Logboat Discoveries," which documents location, history of the discovery, construction, dimensions and previous research. These data are clearly set out and will be a prime reference for readers. The material is complimented with

photographs and drawings of the logboats, and enlivened by nineteenth-century illustrations of the discoveries and their locations.

The next chapter on related artifact finds is similarly organised, providing a quick and valuable reference source. It is evident from these two chapters that the author has researched every available source, both published and unpublished, and has followed up recent research. He is, in many instances, able to give a balanced judgement of the documented evidence and access the nature of these fascinating finds which include wooden bowls, paddles, log coffins, oars, and troughs.

The synthesis and analysis section gives a range of tables including comparisons for logboat preservation in specific areas of Scotland, lengths of boats, and sizes of oars and paddles. The analysis details the geographical distribution and history of discovery of artifacts and boats, weighing up the merits of the Victorian antiquaries who initiated these studies. It is to be especially welcomed that the author introduces data from similar European logboat sites and compares them with the Scottish evidence.

In his conclusion, Mowat argues for continued work on the subject and the importance of logboats in "wetland archaeology." The author expresses his wish that he has demonstrated the significance of logboats and that their importance will be recognised through his study. Given the detail and accessibility of information presented in this monograph, Robert Mowat has succeeded in his principal objective. The work is a well-researched volume, clearly laid out and balanced with excellent data tables and useful illustrations.

For anyone requiring a reference work on this subject, Mowat has provided the material in a very clear and accessible manner, backed up by an excellent bibliography. Although aimed at the specialist reader, the volume will help broaden the knowledge of those whose prime interest is maritime studies in the historical era. The book is a valuable contribution to maritime studies in that it adds a concise work on the material culture of the prehistoric period and, for the first time, brings together all available sources into one volume.

John F. Edwards
Aberdeen, Scotland

Jenny Sarrazin and André van Holk. *Schopper und Zillen: Eine Einführung in den traditionellen Holzschiffbau im Gebiet der deutschen Donau*. Hamburg: Ernst Kabel for the Deutsches Schifffahrtsmuseum, 1996. 205 pp., photographs, maps, illustrations, figures, bibliography. DM 98, cloth; ISBN 3-8225-0334-7.

For years the researchers of the Deutsches Schifffahrtsmuseum in Bremerhaven have investigated traditional German inland navigation, folk boat-building and the movement of timber. In the course of this work they have developed a complete inventory of boat types and of boatbuilders' workshops. They have also found documentation for old and still surviving boats and ships. All this has been described and published either as monograph or specialist mono-thematic articles. One such work is *Schopper und Zillen*, published in 1996. The two authors are talented, well-trained researchers connected with the museum.

The focus of the book is clearly identified in its title. *Schopper* refers, in the terminology of the Danube waterside, to a shipwright specializing in building boats and ships caulked with moss. This was grouted into pre-cut slits between the staves, which were tightened with slats fastened to the skin by metal clamps. Such a solution, known as early as the first- and second-century era of Roman colonization, was employed elsewhere in Europe as well. It was, for instance, used in the construction of the cog ships in the Middle Ages. In the Danube region this method of caulking persisted into the modern era, in particular in the *Zille-type* watercraft of the upper Danube, the subject of the main part of the book.

In their Introduction, the authors explain the peculiar character of shipping on the upper, German part of the Danube. This is followed by five chapters which deal with various aspects of the construction, employment, and handling of the *Zille* river boats. The second chapter, for instance, presents a history of the development, with variants, of the vessel type, and identifies those boats traditionally called *Zille* which still exist in the Danube waterside (mainly in the region of Ulm). Here we learn that there is no agreement on the origin of the name *Zille* — in old Latin sources it appears as *navicilla*. Nor is there agreement about the Slavonic character of the vessel. Its main characteristics are a flat

bottom, flush planking of sides and a block stem. In some variants there is a block stern as well. The third and fourth chapters discuss the construction of the *Zille* boats, with descriptions of the riverside workshops in which they were built. Explanations are provided of the building technique and methods of caulking the hulls. Thus, to caulk the bottom, the craft was lifted almost to the vertical position (*Schoppen*). One of the most important tools in this operation was the *Schopper*, a wooden caulking chisel. Sometimes special clamps called *Schopperklammern* were used to assist in pressing down the moss used as caulking material. Inevitably, perhaps, the construction yards became known as *Schopperplatz* while the people who specialized in this kind of work were known as *Schopper*. Other chapters describe the various ways in which the *Zille* boats were employed — for fishing, transporting people and goods, gravel excavation, recreation, and occasionally during the waterside festivals. Here we also learn about the technique of driving and steering the *Zille* boats. The book concludes with a list of the extensive literature on the subject.

The strengths of *Schopper und Zillen* are the full usage that has been made of all available materials, the huge number of illustrations, including archival materials, the detailed description of the last *Zille* boats as well as of some vessels that bear a close resemblance to *Zillen*. Together these make the book a valuable documentary record, while the descriptions, comments and analyses make it one of the most important research efforts on shipwright studies to appear in Europe during the last few years. If there is a weakness, it is the lack of an English summary or picture captions.

Jerzy Litwin
Gdansk, Poland

R.H. Barnes. *Sea Hunters of Indonesia: Fishers and Weavers of Lamalera*. Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1996. xxii + 467 pp., maps, photographs, figures, tables, appendices, notes, sources, indices. £50, US \$98, Cdn \$135, cloth; ISBN 0-19-828070-X.

Barnes begins with a short monograph [35-149] summarizing the social anthropology of a distinc-

tive Indonesian maritime community, proceeding then to deal in exemplary detail with the maritime adaptation which makes it so distinctive. Lamalera is situated on the southern coast of Lembata, the main island lying between Flores and Pantar/Alor. Tradition tells of an ancestral party coming to the place by sea and asserting dominance over inland cultivators there by dint of arms. Lamalera is a maritime settlement oriented to hunting sharks, turtles, manta rays, and sea mammals. This is the sole Indonesian community steadily engaged in a hunt which includes the big-toothed killer and sperm whales.

The greater part of the book describes the traditional culture, artifacts and technics, practical arts and supporting ritual. Lamalera women weave and resist-dye cloths which feature importantly in their inland trading. Men are fully occupied with seafaring and the work connected with their longboats — building and rebuilding the complex hulls, weaving the sail squares, obtaining the materials, and seeing to ritual and technical preparations for the hunt.

Eight chapters are devoted to the boats and their crews. For the most part, the material is a comprehensive synthesis of documented information and terminology with observational detail from the author's several short visits. These began in 1970 and were capped by a drop-in visit in 1995, the body of the fieldwork being done in nine months (in 1979 and 1982) using the national language Bahasa Indonesia. Some effort is made to take account of acculturative change in quite recent times, but Barnes is at greater pains to set his study within the region and its recorded past. This he does by devoting special chapters to regional history, the maritime environment, and the importance of contacts through whaling with Timor and the early commercial development of Pacific marine resources. Throughout, there are ample references in the Notes [377-402] to documentary sources and pertinent anecdotal stuff.

The seven appendices compile in a series of tables and lists most of the hard and linguistic data a reader might want to have at hand, from kin terms to marine and useful plant species, boat measurements, and even clues to identifying (from sail patterns) the twenty-nine Lamalera boats which were working in 1979! As one might expect, the References are inclusive. I think no one will fault the author for sending a book out

ill-provisioned.

The book's strongest contribution is to our knowledge of the ancient arts of seamanship vanishing now from the southwestern Pacific as they did a fair century ago from the northeastern. There is a wealth of detail on such technics as planking, strengthening, and rigging the boats, on the tools and weapons used, and design features, all meant to satisfy future archaeologists wishing to trace the detailed history and early spread of the sea hunter's art on what will eventually have to be a global scale. Technically, the whalers' boats need to meet standards of seaworthiness under stress which the more elegant war canoes or even the great long-distance outriggers of the Pacific do not. Beyond this, the book will be valued as a major source on the Savu Sea region, one of those small-world encyclopedias which throw a special light on the rest of our knowledge.

George Park
Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island

Richard MacCullagh. *The Irish Currach Folk*. Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1993. 192 pp., photographs, figures, illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. £18.99, US \$38, cloth; ISBN 0-86327-341-6. Distributed in North America by Dufour Editions, Chester Springs, PA.

The Irish currach is one of the world's most distinctive vernacular watercraft. At first glance, this new book, with its title and a stunning colour jacket-photo of four boatmen with their currachs, appears to offer a welcome, in-depth look at these fascinating small boats and their owners, possibly within historical and cultural contexts. But appearances can be deceiving, and that is certainly the case here. Rather than presenting a tightly focused study of Irish boatmen and their currachs, it seeks to tell the nine-thousand-year story of the "currach folk" from the first landing of people on Irish soil through to the twentieth century.

What follows are twenty-five chapters that, among other things, try to support the author's hypothesis that people in currachs played a major role in the exploration and settlement of the coastal regions of the eastern North Atlantic. The sheer number and variety of topics addressed are astonishing, including the development of European watercraft and subsequent voyaging in the

Mediterranean, the North Sea, the North Atlantic and elsewhere, the settlement of Ireland, early Spanish connections with Ireland, the origin and evolution of the currach, the voyage of Brendan and tales of Atlantis, the establishment of Irish monasteries, British migrations to Brittany, early voyages to Iceland and Greenland, the distribution, variation, and use of currachs in the west coast of Ireland in this century, recent threats to the continuity of traditional culture on the islands of the west of Ireland, a 1963 voyage in a currach to mark the 1,400th anniversary of Colm Cille's mission to Iona, currach racing in the twentieth century, and the depiction of currachs in Rob Flaherty's film *Man of Aran*. All chapters are disturbingly brief — most are under seven pages — and connections between them are often difficult to grasp. One receives the impression that the author has merely unpacked a seabag full of all the miscellaneous information about currachs and other aspects of Irish history and culture he has accumulated over the years, without bothering to expend sufficient energy reviewing the scholarly literature, developing the themes that have attracted his attention, and constructing a coherent and compelling study.

In nearly every case, reading each chapter is like sailing into a dense fog bank of sweeping speculations, unsubstantiated "facts," superficial analysis, and jarring omissions and discontinuities. Pertinent scholarship is largely ignored as the author reaches one dubious conclusion after another about such things as the origin and diffusion of the currach, and the exploration and settlement of the North Atlantic region. In addition, he fails to explain adequately the book's central concept, that of an Irish currach folk. For example, he does not reveal why one aspect of material culture — the currach — should be the defining cultural attribute of a people who, he maintains, are responsible for the exploration and settlement of much of the North Atlantic region. These are all very significant shortcomings.

To be fair, the book does have some redeeming features. For example, the author's descriptions of his own experiences with inhabitants of islands off the coast of northwestern Ireland — currachmen and their families — are quite strong. Although somewhat romanticized and quite brief, they are well-observed accounts of aspects of life in the islands during the mid-twentieth century.

(It is a pity that MacCullagh did not focus his book here instead of on subjects about which he is obviously vastly less capable of handling.) Also noteworthy is an appendix containing useful empirical data about contemporary currachs, including scale drawings recorded in the field. Here as well as elsewhere in the book, there are a number of outstanding documentary photographs of currachs in use along the Irish coast. However, since most of the images are not properly identified as to date, place, subject, photographer, and source, their value to researchers is limited.

In the final analysis, this odd book has precious little to offer. While responsibility for the many deficiencies of *The Irish Currach Folk* must be assigned to the author, some — and by no means an insubstantial amount — must also be assigned to the editors who miserably failed to pay proper attention to the book's focus, internal organization, accuracy, and relationship to existing literature.

David A. Taylor
Washington, DC

Albrecht Sauer. *Das 'Seebuch': Das älteste erhaltene Seehandbuch und die Navigation in Nordwesteuropa [The 'Seebuch'. The oldest surviving sea instruction and late medieval navigation in north-western Europe]*. Hamburg: Ernst Kabel for the Deutsches Schifffahrtsmuseum, 1996. 256 pp., photoplates (b+w, colour), illustrations, figures, bibliography. DM 78, cloth; ISBN 3-8225-0395-9.

This study of piloting in northwestern Europe in the late fifteenth century is based on a well-known Low German manuscript found in Hamburg known as the *Seebuch* (Sea-book). Brought to us by the Bremerhaven seafaring museum, it confirms the reputation for solid scholarship that German researchers enjoy in the field of medieval shipbuilding and navigation. Illustrated, indexed and supported by 1,300 notes and 650 titles, the text is clear and compact. Albrecht Sauer has delivered an important contribution to the history of sailing.

While previous study of watermarks has dated the manuscript itself to 1470, Sauer establishes that its fourteen chapters arose in three different periods and regions. The oldest chapters

trace to fourteenth-century Brittany and represent a pure northwestern European tradition. The middle stratum arises from early fifteenth-century Hanseatic knowledge and its style is already more syncretic. The youngest chapters transmit both Dutch and Breton information, presented in a Mediterranean style.

To understand the author's periodisation is to enter the world of medieval piloting. In contrast to mariners in the Mediterranean, a sea without tide or current and whose routes traversed an open, unfathomable sea, mariners in the restless Atlantic waters remained within a "sea-view" or two of the coast upon the continental shelf where they "treaded their way" by sounding. The advent of the compass allowed these mariners to record the moon's position when sail-defying tidal streams turned or when high water opened the approaches to a port.

Yet compasses were not always the precise instruments they were to become. The oldest stratum of the *Seebuch* refers to a 16-point compass, the later passages to a 32-point instrument. The early readings also contain a variable element of error for the lunar positions at high tide — the sow's ear that lets Sauer craft his silk purse. By measuring the error for each port, from Gibraltar to Flanders, he finds the greatest accuracy in Brittany. This analysis, confirmed by other indices, leads him to place the origin of the oldest chapters in the monastery of Saint-Mathieu near Conquet. If there is a weakness, it is in explaining why the oldest Atlantic sea instruction should derive from a Breton cloister. Reference to French studies by J. Bernard, H. Touchard or J. Kerhervé of the Bordeaux wine convoy to England and Flanders, all absent from the bibliography, would have shown that the convoy's pilotage, insurance and customs were controlled by the dukes of Brittany and administered by a chamberlain who was also, in the fifteenth century, the abbot of Saint-Mathieu.

In the book's second half, the pilot's art is examined. After debunking the myths of the "Dutchman's log" and certain Norse artifacts, Sauer transports us to the medieval pilot's side by copiously citing the *Seebuch*. Even more elemental than the compass is the sound, allowing the pilot to find his road, called the *trade* (trade winds? to tread?), by a combination of depths and sea-floor characteristics such as the pebbles and

shells that adhere to a lump of tallow upon the sound. Distant landfalls and landmarks are indelibly named and described. Entering port, we squint with the pilot to line up steeples, streets and trees to pass safely within a "bow-shot" of reefs and bars.

While the author shows how north-western piloting differed from that of the Mediterranean, he leaves the reader to draw corollaries related to the trans-Atlantic extension of European sail a generation later. If Mediterranean conditions led to the portolan, the astrolabe and other instruments of pelagic navigation, northwestern European seas could not have been conquered without first mastering the art of sounding and predicting tidal flows. Lacking this art, southern Europeans were handicapped in waters such as the gulf and estuary of the St. Lawrence. True, learning to pilot in new seas was the task of generations, which helps explain why Hydrography figured in the first university curriculum in Canada in the seventeenth century. Yet once of age, St. Lawrence piloting reflected much of the tradition contained in the *Seebuch*.

Brad Loewen
Québec, Québec

Peter Firstbrook. *The Voyage of the Matthew: John Cabot and the Discovery of North America*. London: BBC Books and Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1997. 192 pp., photographs (b+w, colour), illustrations, maps, side-bars, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. £17.99, Cdn \$35, cloth; ISBN 0-563-38764-5 (BBC), 0-7710-3121-1 (M&S).

The publication of this book commemorates the five hundred-year anniversary of the arrival of John Cabot in North America, an event marked by academic conferences, civic celebrations, First Nations' demonstrations, and the trans-Atlantic voyage of a replica of Cabot's fifteenth-century sailing vessel, the *Matthew*. Published by BBC Press, it serves as a companion to the six-part documentary series also produced by the author, Peter Firstbrook, a trained oceanographer with a personal interest in sailing and ship restoration. The book is largely what one might expect from a BBC edition; full-colour reproductions of paintings and contemporary maps strive to recre-

ate Cabot's world while photographs of the new *Matthew*, in its various stages of design and construction or under sail with its appropriately-attired crew and cast of actors, put the reader on board for the historic voyage. Stylized side bars provide a slightly more detailed examination of topics relevant to late-medieval maritime exploration, including the role of Marco Polo, climatic change and the array of diseases that afflicted, and were communicated by, European sailors. The inclusion in the Appendices of translations of the original documents from the London archives and contemporary quotations detailing Cabot's enterprise lends a historical flavour to the text, but this book is in no way a work of history.

Firstbrook's greatest service is that he provides the reader with a general outline of what historians know about Cabot's expeditions. Like his contemporary Christopher Columbus, John Cabot (a.k.a. Giovanni Cabotto) was born in Genoa and spent time in Venice before seeking employment at the Spanish court. He eventually found his way to the port of Bristol, England and set sail on a western course for Cathay in 1497 under the patronage of the first of the Tudor monarchs, Henry VII. The North American continent interrupted Cabot's journey and the *Matthew*'s landfall is recognized (for ceremonial reasons, at least) as Bonavista, Newfoundland. Firstbrook is among those who maintain that Cabot explored coastal Labrador and then the Gulf of St. Lawrence before returning to a hero's welcome in England where Henry VII granted him a royal pension and sufficient sponsorship to outfit five ships for a second voyage. He set out again in May 1498, and though at least one of his ships returned due to bad weather, the core of the expedition was never heard from again.

Historians have speculated upon the fate of Cabot's second enterprise and Firstbrook shows he is more than eager to do the same. For instance, he echoes Ian Wilson's fanciful theory in *John Cabot and the Matthew* (reviewed in the July 1997 issue of *TNM/LMN*), that Cabot not only reached North America but succeeded in mapping the entire eastern seaboard, only to fall victim to Isabella and Ferdinand's henchman, Alonso de Hojeda, somewhere in the Gulf of Mexico. The Spanish court — satisfied to keep the English from impinging upon its claims in the "New World" and loath to jeopardize the impend-

ing marriage of Catherine of Aragon to the son of English king Henry VII, Arthur — suppressed the news. As proof of the Bristol maritime achievements in North America, Firstbrook holds up a recently-discovered map by Spanish cartographer Juan de la Cosa (*c.* 1500) which implies that Spaniards may have encountered English mariners in the Gulf of Mexico. [136-45] This is heady stuff that reads much like the script to a Leonard Nimoy episode of "In Search of..." It sets the mind to wonder, but it certainly does not qualify as the "meticulously researched" historical work described on the dust jacket.

Historians, and medievalists in particular, will be further disappointed by Firstbrook's efforts to place Cabot in his social, cultural and technological context. The confusion over what constituted the medieval ship known as a hulk is minor. [60, 63] More serious is the author's reliance upon dated assessments of late-medieval society as wholly debauched, illiterate and immobile. In Chapter 1, entitled "Cabot's World," Firstbrook's preoccupation with accounts of ubiquitous monastic crime, wild Vatican orgies, and whoring nuns [24-5] makes for a colourful read, but is not representative of the vitality of the period or the complex role the Roman church played in medieval society. Firstbrook's characterization of the late-medieval world serves his greater purpose which is to recognize the discoveries of the 1490s as a watershed in European, if not world history, when "Europe emerged as if from a chrysalis from the intellectual gloom of the Middle Ages..." [147] Cabot's central role in this metamorphosis is made clear, for he captained what Firstbrook refers to as "the most important ship in the English language." [I I]

Like the modern *Matthew* — equipped with state-of-the-art navigational equipment and diesel engine in order to meet its rigorous public relations' commitments as much as to avoid the tempests and ice-bergs of the North Atlantic — Firstbrook's text is all too able to navigate a straight course of historical convenience. While this attractive edition will undoubtedly entice a wide readership, it is unfortunate that it does not do more to bring its popular audience to a clearer understanding of the past.

David G. Sylvester
Langley, British Columbia

Cabot The Discovery of a New World. St. John's, NF: Media Touch, 1997 [P.O. Box 1592, St. John's, NF A1C 5P3; <http://www.meditouch.com>]. CD-ROM text, images, and music. Minimum requirements: IBM PC or compatible, 486DX-33, CD-ROM, 8 Mb RAM, 256 colours, 8-bit sound card, Windows 3.1. Recommended set-up: Pentium 66 or higher, 4X CD-ROM, 16 Mb RAM, 16-bit colour or higher, Windows 95. \$39.95, retail version; \$79.95, educational version (includes study modules and Teacher's Manual).

The box of this CD-ROM boasts that it contains over 300 screens of information, graphics and interactivity. The CD also includes some "Cabot Games." Installation is relatively easy and can be done under Windows 3.1 or Windows 95. It runs fairly quickly on any PC including 486s and does not necessitate a high resolution.

Relying heavily on graphics, the main program contains information presented in byte-sized amounts. One can learn a little about Cabot's life, his voyages, and the *Matthew*. Yet this is the only well-developed section to include a video session (of questions and answers with Dr. Peter Pope). The section on "Navigation and Exploration" contains brief biographies of four explorers and a map gallery, but the latter is somewhat disappointing since it only contains stylized low-resolution sketches, outlines or misidentified maps. The picture of what is supposed to be the Juan de la Cosa map, for instance, is a photograph of the 1860 Jomard Copy. The closeup is a rough sketch based on Harrisse's outline and includes his mistakes (Harrisse thought a hole in the map's leather was an island). The reference section, with many short text files that can be searched, printed or saved, is well written and contains a large amount of information on Cabot and his era.

This multimedia attempt at creating a Cabot CD-ROM is an interesting project at best. I must admit, however, that the overall presentation can be disconcerting, and one can easily get lost. Like many other CDs, this one does not respect human-interface guidelines and imposes its own peculiar logic and navigational structure. For instance, the main program does not minimize, nor does it show up in the task bar. Once one has spent some time figuring out these specifics, usage is relatively easy.

The purpose of this CD-ROM is to make what little information there is on the Cabot voyages accessible to a wide, varied, but un-specialised audience. It certainly is not a reference work for scholars, nor is it a useful tool for serious history buffs. Nevertheless the Cabot CD-ROM is an interesting attempt at making history come alive, and should prove popular with students. Teachers will appreciate the multi-disciplinary approach because it gives young history students a better grasp of the subject matter through tangible and practical information.

The games are the single greatest disappointment, for they seem at times to be a cross between a Cabotian pacman game and an artificial intelligence program. Their purpose is not always clear, nor is it intuitive. One could suppose they were added to make the subject matter more palatable to a younger audience, but I am not convinced that it will be a success since it does not measure up to commercial simulation games in complexity or attractiveness.

Marc Cormier
Toronto, Ontario

Jacob M. Price. *The Atlantic Frontier of the Thirteen American Colonies and States: Essays in Eighteenth Century Commercial and Social History*. Collected Studies Series; Aldershot, Hamps. & Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996. xii + 270 pp., tables, index. US \$79.95, cloth; ISBN 0-86078-586-6

There has never been a finer economic historian of colonial America than Jacob Price. His command of economic theory has always been rigorous but lucid; his research has been exhaustive yet broad; and the questions he has posed have been precise but never petty. He has pieced together the story of business ventures, submitted broad hypotheses to quantitative tests, carried his analysis across international boundaries, and dealt in a wide variety of problems with a virtuosity that has left most of his historical generation in awe. For practical reasons, most early modern historians have chosen to focus on limited regions, periods, and branches of business. Price has always seemed to operate like a team — researching large collections, mastering several national histories, and covering spans of time that

would challenge most other scholars.

The Atlantic Frontier is a collection of seven of Price's previously published articles. All deal with the American colonies and their place within the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century North Atlantic economy. The first is a wide-ranging piece on "The Transatlantic Economy" that assesses the merits of different models for understanding the economic history of early North America. This is followed by a remarkable comparative study of colonial seaports, which offers a persuasive argument for why certain towns developed while others did not. Two rather more technical papers extend our knowledge of the gross value of the transatlantic trade between Great Britain and the colonies back to 1740 and measure the export value of colonial shipping at the eve of the American Revolution. The financing of the slave trade and of the plantation economies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is treated in Chapter Five, and the question of "Who Cared about the Colonies" during the half-century leading up to the Revolution is analyzed quantitatively in Chapter Six. The final piece is a detailed study of public finance in Maryland, which traces the post-revolutionary attempts of the state to claim the assets it had deposited in the Bank of England during the colonial period.

Although none of the articles are particularly hard to find in their originally published form, the cumulative effect of reading them at once is to remind us that the economic life of early modern North American colonies might "face east" [ix] as well as west. American historians' obsession with westward expansion makes some sense in the study of the country's history after 1783, but surely Price is right that before 1775 colonial businessmen worried much more about credit, market conditions, and politics in the Old World across the sea than in the New World across the Appalachians. The great strength of Price's work has been to recognize that the full resolution to most historical problems in which the colonial merchants were involved requires conceptualizing them in transatlantic terms and researching their answers in archives both in Europe and America. Early modern merchants thought internationally, and Jacob Price "thinks like a merchant."

Daniel Vickers
St. John's, Newfoundland

Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch (eds.), *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996. vii + 329 pp., tables, figures, chapter notes, select bibliography, index. US \$47.50, cloth; ISBN 1-55553-242-X; US \$16.95, paper; ISBN 1-55553-243-8.

The title offers no adequate indication of the aim and content of the ten essays assembled in this volume. Most of the essays are not confined to European migrations *per se* but concern nineteenth- and early twentieth-century mass migrations to the Americas. Some attention is also paid to Asia, Australia, and Africa. The aim of the editors is to promote the globalization of migration studies, that is, "to perceive international mobility as part of a world system in which labor moves among dependent peripheries and dominant cores." [4] In other words, individual decisions to migrate ought to be viewed within a framework of long-range, global, socio-economic, and gender patterns. Indeed, in some of the essays, European migrants appear incidental to the aim of directing migration studies towards the identification of systems and structures linking local and global levels.

The book is divided into three parts — "Migration Systems," "Leaving Home," and "Approaches to Acculturation." Dirk Hoerder sets the agenda in the first part with a sweeping survey of changing networks of interconnected migration systems in the Atlantic economies from the thirteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. His real concern is with labor migrations anywhere as a function of colonial and imperialist economic systems. In an essay first published in 1989, J. Jackson and Leslie Page Moch recommend an interdisciplinary systems approach to the issues connecting migration with European industrialization and urbanization. Walter Nugent suggests systemic linkages between European population, labor, and land structures on the one hand and sex ratios, numbers, and destinations of European migrants worldwide on the other hand. Donna Gabaccia's objective is to trace the transitions among America's immigrants from female minority to female majority. She looks at the entire gender spectrum of American arrivals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Part II, "Leaving Home," consists of contrib-

butions on topics ranging from European familial, landholding, and labor systems as determinants of migration patterns to labor migrations of Germans and Poles in the nineteenth century. Most impressive is Steve Hochstadt's meticulous documentation of how socio-economic changes in rural and urban Germany triggered the need to migrate to seek work. Testing the framework of a global system/dependency model, Ewa Morawska reexamines labor migrations from partitioned Poland to western Europe — mostly Germany — and the United States as part of the circular exchange of capital and labor within the expanding Atlantic world economic system. Defining migrations anytime anywhere as part of the redistribution of the labor force, Moch views migrations as embedded in the family, landholding, and production systems. She looks for links between temporary European migrations before 1914 and patterns of permanent relocation in Europe and overseas in a world of proliferating migration systems.

Part III opens with an encyclopedic survey-type model of factors conditioning the acculturation of migrants as an ongoing process in countries of origin and destination by Hoerder. He argues that acculturation is structured by such factors as the destination economy, society, and political system. The next two essays apply this argument in case studies. In what she calls "divergent analysis," Nancy Green compares the different adaptations of eastern European Jewish migrants in New York, London, and Paris. The book concludes with Samuel Baily's application of a similar comparative analysis, originally published in 1983, to the differential adjustment of Italian immigrants in New York and Buenos Aires, 1870-1914.

Ironically, it is not the essays arguing the methodological advantages of systems perspectives that yield the most convincing findings but the clearly defined historical case studies by Hochstadt, Morawska, Green, and Baily. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to share the optimism of the editors that the systems approach can solve all problems in migration studies. Moch's denial that the perspective of labor migration and acculturation as collective processes relegates individual migrants to the role of "helpless automatons" is like trying to square a circle. Questionable are also claims that this book contains the first compelling critique of migration as a function of

modernization, that it brought to light the existence of pre-industrial migration systems, and that permanent settlement was a minority phenomenon for Europeans who moved to the new worlds between 1840 and 1914.

All in all, this collection of essays combines provocative perspectives with some impressive research. The essays demonstrate that migration is a complex process. They deserve a place in the scholarly debates to come.

Gerhard P. Bassler
St. John's, Newfoundland

Peter Allington and Basil Greenhill. *The First Atlantic Liners: Seamanship in the Age of Paddle Wheel, Sail and Screw*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1997. vii +167 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, maps, bibliography, index. £35, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-668-X. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This is, quite simply, an extraordinary work — wholly embracing yet far surpassing what both main title and subtitle promise. Combining the remarkable professional competencies of a distinguished maritime historian, noted for his expertise in the nineteenth-century transition from sail to steam, with those of a master mariner with years of experience in all aspects of sail has resulted in a meticulous, wide-ranging, and impressively authoritative consideration of design, construction, and operation of those early vessels that were intended for oceanic voyaging under both sail and steam power.

Director of England's National Maritime Museum for many years, Basil Greenhill has written extensively in nineteenth-century maritime subjects, his most recent related work being a study, with Ann Giffard, of *Steam, Politics, and Patronage: The Transformation of the Royal Navy, 1815-1854* (1994), preceded by his extensive contributions to *The Advent of Steam: The Merchant Steamship Before 1900* (1993). His own rich collection of contemporary photographs, upon which he has drawn extensively for *The First Atlantic Liners*, is complemented by Peter Allington's clear and abundant diagrams; there are also numerous contemporary paintings and photographs from other sources for which the authors provide informative captions that call the

reader's attention to detailed matters of vessel and machinery design as well as intricate problems in rigging vessels that operated under sail and steam, whether together or separately.

The text, at times daunting for all but the expert sailor, goes into formidable detail about matters of rigging and sail handling, so that notwithstanding the helpful and abundant diagrams and other illustrative material, the casual reader may find this work too much of a good thing. Of course, the detailed discussions of paddlewheels, engines, boilers, and vessel hulls may be comparably intimidating to others; in any case, much of the authoritative quality of this book rests on the copious use of contemporary technical discussions through which the authors effectively establish the historical context of their subject, with all the confusion and disagreement that swirled about such striking innovation in the maritime world.

The one early oceangoing steamer that provides the focus for the book is the quite successful *Great Western*, the paddlewheeler that, along with the much smaller *Sirius*, proved in 1838 the feasibility of transatlantic steam travel by steaming from the British Isles to New York. Through a meticulous analysis of that vessel's log entries the authors present the considerable problems of a sail-assisted paddle steamship at sea, and by useful comparisons with other steamships of the era, notably the iron-hulled, screw-propelled *Great Britain* (1843), they clearly establish their argument for the operational and economic limitations of the steam paddlewheeler as a viable form of seagoing commercial enterprise. This point, in fact, is central to their assessment of early oceangoing steam; one may hope that other maritime scholars will answer their final questions as to what motivated investors and entrepreneurs who embarked on such risky ventures from the 1830s through the 1850s, especially before the compound reciprocating steam engine made marine steam propulsion at least comparative with sail.

In a magisterial work such as this there always will be quibbles over what was left out or received less (or more) emphasis than one would prefer. For example, the discussion of boiler design [58-59] makes a proper distinction between "flue" and "tubular" boilers, but treats both designs in terms of hot gases from the furnace

heating the surrounding water in order to produce steam. What is omitted here is the "watertube" boiler design, so popular in naval circles in the 1850s and thereafter, where the water flows through tubes that are surrounded by the hot gases. Some readers also might like more of a comparative study of British and American steamship designs than is evident here, where American naval vessels receive only an occasional mention, and American merchant steamers hardly appear at all in any of the discussion. This, after all, was a period of intense examination of steam propulsion experiments on both sides of the Atlantic, as the perusal of contemporary newspapers and scientific periodicals will quickly reveal.

Quibbles aside, *The First Atlantic Liners* is a splendid accomplishment. Henceforth, no account of oceangoing maritime enterprise during this era can afford to ignore this work; any examination of seagoing steam will be enriched by consulting, and even pondering, its contents.

Edward W. Sloan
Farmington, Connecticut

W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Ma'yer (eds.). *Glasgow, Volume 11: 1830 to 1912*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996. xi + 532 pp., tables, figures, maps, photographs, chapter notes. US \$89.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7190-3692-5. Distributed in North America by St. Martin's Press, New York, NY.

This is the second substantial volume of the new three-volume history of Glasgow (the first volume, edited by T. M. Devine and G. Jackson, was reviewed by David Starkey in the July 1996 issue of *TNM/LMN*, pp. 55-56) and covers the period in which the city rose to become the Second City of the British Empire. It is more a work of urban than of maritime history, but since it makes high — and justifiable — claims for Glasgow as a port and a centre of trade and industry it seems reasonable to review it in that light.

The production of such a work is a most difficult task: for any one scholar to master the sources and the techniques to cover all aspects of such a story would take a lifetime or more, and research grants do not last that long. Yet to compile a multi-author work involves problems of achieving continuity and completeness while

avoiding duplication. This volume contains an introduction and thirteen contributions which may be grouped as construction, trade and industry; demographics; the social problems which Glasgow suffered and finally their partial solution by an extraordinary degree of municipalisation. But local patriotism is sometimes a little too evident: Liverpudians' life expectancy in the 1840s was even lower than Glaswegians' and Liverpool's municipal investment in addressing the problem was larger, earlier and proportionately more successful. This may have resulted partly from the Scottish Poor Law, which was surely devised to encourage racist English jokes about Scots' meanness.

This may be thought a reviewer's personal foible, but the book contains much about engineering, as it should when treating one of the world's great engineering manufacturing centres. It has, however, almost nothing about professional engineers or their work. Whatever did the members of the Institution of Shipbuilding & Engineering in Scotland talk about at their meetings? Did Rankine's professed aim of uniting theoretical and practical engineering contribute to the success of local marine engine builders? How important was the Denny Tank in turning hull design from craft into science, and in the phenomenal success of Clydeside shipbuilding? Not only do we not get the answers, but we even find the term "engineer" misused to mean "engineering production worker." This is sad, because Glasgow made a great contribution to professional engineering.

Readers of this journal will obviously be most interested in the sections "Trade, Commerce and Finance" by Gordon Jackson and Charles Munn and "The Industries of Glasgow" by John Butt. Both are excellent pieces, though Butt more than once refers to hydraulic presses of 12,000 or so tons capacity, and at times it seemed that just such a tool had been used to make these two contributions fit into the allotted space. Together they number under ninety pages, which seems rather to underplay the principal sources of the wealth of the city.

This would be perfectly understandable if there were genuine pressure on space, but presumably there was not, as some elements in the other contributions are repeated. The appalling living conditions of the poor are described at

varying length in sections 4, 9, 10 and 11, temperance makes several appearances and even the excessive softness of Loch Katrine water for safe delivery through lead pipes appears twice. Now that references re-number automatically it would have been a simple matter to replace the repetitions with cross-references. That, after all, is what one does with a monograph when repetitions are discovered in different chapters written a year apart.

The book is well printed and bound as a first-stop reference book whose usefulness will last many years should be. Reproduction of the plates is less good, but they are perfectly intelligible for the purposes for which they are included. Non-Glaswegians would probably appreciate a fold-out map tipped into the back cover, but publishers hate them. The referencing is generous, but a general bibliography would also have been useful.

That is a considerable list of gripes, and conveys an unduly bleak impression. This book presents the results of a phenomenal amount of research conducted over many years, and constitutes the fullest and clearest picture yet available of any British port city in this extremely complex period. Underlying it are databases which promise further additions to knowledge not just of Glasgow itself but of all the multifarious things which happened in it. Coming from a city whose historical problems are very similar to Glasgow's and whose history is just as complex, I only wish that such a work were available here. It is not perfect, and when scholars in Liverpool and elsewhere tackle the task they may do things differently, but they will certainly look closely at this history of Britain's Second (and don't you forget it) City.

Adrian Jarvis
Liverpool, England

R.A. Cage. *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty—Burrell & Son of Glasgow, 1850-1939. A History of Ownership, Finance, and Profit*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997. x + 213 pp., appendices, bibliography, index. US \$69.50, cloth; ISBN 0-313-30346-0.

This is an unusual and unsatisfying book. It is unusual in that its appendices exceed its text by more than four times and it is unsatisfying in that

it leaves totally unanswered a range of questions relevant to tramp shipping. It claims to have three objectives, namely, to present "the most comprehensive database of tramp shipping," to give a detailed history of Burrell & Son, one of the largest British tramp ship owners, and finally to demonstrate the value of material in public archives. How far does it succeed?

The first objective is not hard to achieve, in that very little has been written on the history or operation of a particular tramp shipping firm or the industry as a whole. This remains one of the great under-researched areas in maritime history, unlike the large liner firms. Thus Cage's immense appendix stretching to about 170 pages should be highly welcomed. However the appendices are of a particular kind. They list the ships owned and managed by Burrell and give a breakdown of technical data on dimensions, hull materials, engine or rig type, and details of ownership, that is the various shareholders and how they altered over time. The largest single appendix is vaguely reminiscent of the fleet lists drawn up in the UK by the World Ship Society combined with transcriptions of the ship registers. It is a useful source but would be even more accessible if it were available in an electronic form, about which the author makes no mention. There is also a list of all the puffers built by Burrells at their Hamilton Hill shipyard between 1875 and 1898 with details of construction and ownership, which will delight puffer fans everywhere.

The "detailed history" of Burrells deals only with ship construction, finance and ownership: important areas in their own right, but sadly saying nothing on operations. The author's explanation of this lacuna is that none of the internal records of the firm have survived and hence virtually nothing can be said about this. Yet since he has the names and registered numbers of the ships managed by Burrell it would have been relatively easy to access the crew agreements; these would at least have provided details of routes worked, crews, and possibly cargoes. If Cage's intent was to demonstrate the value of material in public archives, then this was not necessary, as it is not in dispute. In any case, in the final analysis, the result is what can only be described as a very one-sided study.

What is indisputable about the Burrells is that they made a vast amount of money when

they sold their fleet during World War I. There was no secret in explaining this, since ships which they had bought pre-war for between £40,000 to £42,000 each were sold for about £ 145,000 each. As about two dozen ships were involved the capital gain was enormous. What is more uncertain, and more intriguing, is how profitable Burrells were in operating their fleet. Cage is convinced there were lucrative returns. This is based on the indirect evidence of mortgages being repaid, particularly between 1885 and 1899. However this could be explained by the Burrells increasing the equity base of their companies by bringing in more outside shareholding. He does not discuss this. Nevertheless, if it was a profitable operation how does Cage explain this, particularly in a period of relatively depressed freight rates?

He offers five factors, though without explicit prioritisation or weighting: the routes worked in Asia and the Pacific being less competitive than elsewhere; a new, modern and therefore efficient fleet; an excellent network of agents; standard ship design allowing close operational scrutiny; and the use of cheap Chinese labour. Sadly there is no evidence or argument to back up most of these points. No evidence of the routes worked is presented, nor any evidence of or arguments why these should be lacking in competition. He does not demonstrate how far or why a modern fleet was more productive, though it seems intuitively likely. Some explanation of why and how their network of agents was superior to that of others would have been welcomed given recent work on network theory and agent and principal theory, but nothing is offered. Expansion of the Burrells methods of monitoring and control would have been valuable given current interest in management techniques, springing largely from Chandler's work, but no explanation is forthcoming. There is no discussion of how much cheaper were Asiatic crews than European, or what proportion of total costs were made up by labour costs, and thus how significant this feature was. This is just one example of how this book fails to address important questions. Overall it seems a missed opportunity.

John Armstrong
Ealing, London

Dag Bakka, Jr.. *Shipping through the Ages: Leif Höegh and Co., 1927-1997*. Oslo: Leif Höegh and Co., 1997 [order from: the Norsk

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Norway]. 304 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, fleet list, index, select bibliography. NOK 300, cloth; ISBN 82-91258-07-4.

There is a tradition in Scandinavia to commemorate important business anniversaries by sponsoring a history of the firm in question. *Shipping through the Ages* is such a book, commissioned to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Leif Höegh, the founder, and the seventieth anniversary of his firm. As readers will immediately appreciate, there are inherent problems in such projects, not least the obvious conflict of interest, which even the most hands-off approach can never completely conquer. Nonetheless, the tradition makes Scandinavian shipping firms the best documented in the world, if not always the best analyzed.

Dag Bakka, Jr., is a veteran of this type of endeavour, having written previous volumes on Wilh. Wilhelmsen and Helmer Staabo and Co., among others. And, on one level at least, he is one of the best. Bakka is a supremely gifted narrative historian who tells often complex stories well. He also understands the shipping business superficially, which is to say that he is good on the ships and open to suggestions about the decision-making rationales. The result in this case is a book that is meticulous in all the trivial details and unlikely to offend any of the firm's "friends" with controversial analyses. This, of course, is just what the company is paying for.

Leif Höegh clearly paid well. While I have no idea how Bakka was compensated for his efforts, Höegh spared no expense when it came to producing the volume. Indeed, it is one of the handsomest of this genre that I have seen. There are a plethora of photographs, many in colour and fewer than might be expected of the vanity variety. The graphics enhance the text and are exceptionally well done.

But if this is a handsome book that likely satisfied the firm, what about readers and reviewers? Here the results are more mixed. For those who like ship lists, this study contains one of the best-documented that I have seen. On the other hand, the biggest failing, as might be expected, is

in the analysis. Take the shipping crisis of the 1970s and early 1980s as an example. We know that Höegh weathered this era well, despite the death of the founder just as the downturn began. One of the things I most looked forward to was an explanation of how the firm managed to do this while more visible Norwegian shipowners, such as Reksten, eventually went bankrupt. The answer, according to Bakka, is that the firm managed to combine "wet" and "dry" cargoes and thereby achieved a much higher utilization than many other firms. As well, the company had a number of guaranteed and quite lucrative tanker contracts, which helped to carry it into 1976. The problems with these types of argument are two-fold. First, nowhere does Bakka demonstrate that this balancing act occurred, let alone that Höegh performed it any better than its competitors; and second, while many large Norwegian firms had similarly balanced fleets (Reksten was unusual in his total reliance on tankers) and long-term contracts with oil companies, most did much less well. In short, the explanation is asserted rather than proved.

Even worse is the discussion of the last fifteen years, where there is almost no analysis at all. While I accept that it would have been difficult to get very much historical perspective, Bakka seems content merely to repeat what the firm's executives told him. Or at least this is what I would surmise from reading the book, since one of the glaring weaknesses is the total absence of notes or citations. To be charitable, I expect that this is because the sources were internal to the firm and hence would not be available to the average reader. My response is that this is precisely why we need references in this type of book, so that the reader has some way of evaluating the credibility of the sources. Bakka and Höegh have let us down in this respect.

On balance, however, I think this is a useful book, albeit one that has to be used with a good deal of caution. Certainly the skeleton of Leif Höegh and Co. is laid out for shipping historians. What we need now is for an independent scholar to put some flesh on the bones and some soul in its innards. This important Norwegian shipping firm deserves such a treatment.

Lewis R. Fischer
St. John's, Newfoundland

Okechukwu C. Iheduru. *The Political Economy of International Shipping in Developing Countries*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996. 300 pp., figures, tables, appendices, notes, references, index. US \$39.50, cloth; ISBN 0-87413-552-4.

This is an important addition to the considerable literature on the attempts by the developing countries to secure a New International Economic Order (NIEO). First, it is one of the few major studies on shipping in the context of the political economy of North-South relations, and the first scholarly study of West and Central Africa. Second, by adopting an "eclectic" approach, [32] based essentially on Alexander Gerschenkron's late industrialization theory, the author has challenged mainstream political economy. Third, the collection of data, reflected in the range of sources, is impressive, if not intimidating; the analysis is sophisticated, and the language readable but not pedestrian. The author takes pains to explain or define his concepts.

The book deals with the background to, and reasons for the failure of, the New International Maritime Order (NIMO), an attempt by the Developing Maritime Nations (DMNs) to break the stranglehold of the Traditional Maritime Nations (TMNs) of Europe, North America and Japan on their shipping trade. Buoyed up by the 1974 UN Code for Liner Shipping, these nations embarked on "maritime nationalism" and "maritime regionalism" to achieve the NIMO. By the mid-1980s, all their efforts had been thwarted by various factors which are exhaustively analyzed in this book.

Dr. Iheduru convincingly demonstrates the inadequacy of existing explanations for the failure of the NIMO: the "Recalcitrant Rich North" argument; the lack of unity among the DMNs; and the "badly flawed bargaining tactics and strategy" of advocates of NIEO and NIMO. They are, he argues, "at best, statements of fact...but [they] fall short of theory-building, particularly because different writers emphasize different variables." [29] His approach is to "examine all the relevant variables simultaneously,...[and to ensure] that the systemic, regional, national and individual levels of analysis are given adequate prominence." [32]

The book has seven chapters. The first situates the study in the global context, reviews

the relevant literature, and provides a theoretical framework and justification for the study. The next three chapters focus on the dimensions of the structure of the global and regional shipping trades, and on local and international efforts to achieve NIMO. Inter-regional maritime competition, which undid the maritime regionalism that the states of the West and Central Africa region espoused, is critically examined in chapter 5, while the domestic contexts of maritime policies, which complement the external or international dimension of the problem, are discussed exhaustively in the sixth chapter. Chapter 7 summarizes and concludes the work with reflections on the political economy of North-South relations and merchant fleet development.

This book clearly demonstrates the utter failure of the quest for NIMO, leading to a worsening of maritime dependency. This is attributed to a combination of "the technological changes in world shipping, the distribution of structural power in the world shipping industry, competing nationalism's among the developing maritime nations, and the state-society interactions involved in the formulation and implementation of the various shipping policies in the DMNs." [78] Significantly, the study compares the failure of this region with the success of Southeast Asia. The critical difference, it is argued, is that while South Korea and Singapore employed virtually the same strategies to foster a "nurture capitalism," the Africans "used state intervention to engage in personal accumulation and patronage politics," even discouraging the emergence of an indigenous merchant class of capitalists which might later threaten the political order! [220] Thus, while the author deprecates monocausal explanations, he emphasises internal initiative. He recommends that the government should redirect its efforts to facilitate "the emergence of genuine national capitalism for this is the name of the game as far as shipping is concerned." [238] His panacea of a "good mix between economic nationalism and market capitalism, like those practiced in Southeast Asia" is further acknowledged as "an admission of the importance of the role of agency in overcoming, or, at least, ameliorating, structural impediments to the developing countries' participation in the world economy." [240]

However, it appears that the author is not bothered by the political cost of creating indige-

nous capitalism, as is evident in South Korea. Second, it is surprising that no reference is made to French neo-colonialism, a real stumbling block to meaningful regional co-operation in West Africa. Then there are the inevitable errors. The inference from Table 2-2 [71] regarding the world average ought to be nine and not six percent. Table 4-2 [129] covers the period 1974-94 whereas the sources are 1986 publications. A number of sources cited in the text (e.g. Puchala, 1992 [150]) have no entry in the references. Spelling mistakes occur, mainly in the references.

Nevertheless, on the whole, this book fills a critical gap in the literature and shall remain for long an important reference text. The rich collection of data, the depth of analysis and an appeal to diverse disciplines make it a highly recommended text in the field of maritime studies.

Ayodeji Olukolu
Lagos, Nigeria

Michael North. *From the North Sea to the Baltic: Essays in Commercial Monetary and Agrarian History, 1500-1800*. Collected Studies Series; Aldershot, Hamps. & Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996. xxii + 278 pp., maps, tables, illustrations, index. US \$89.95, cloth; ISBN 0-86078-600-5.

Now and then some productive and creative historians are invited to put their various papers, articles, essays, lectures and so on together for a compilation of their intellectual efforts. Indeed, if their work is of good quality and if the products of their scientific striving are published in obscure, hard to find journals or proceedings that have an action radius confined to the number of participants, the reader will be utterly pleased to have all the articles at hand in just one volume. Michael North, known to most of us as an expert on maritime, economic (or commercial and monetary), and agrarian history, was presented the opportunity to publish a selection of his articles in such a volume. And of course the distinguished historian accepted the invitation, and carefully selected nineteen essays on varying topics that all had something to do with the history of the Baltic and North Sea.

The contents of the collection vary from trade to and from the Baltic and the decline of the Dutch economy in the eighteenth century, to the

European rice trade, from *Geldumlauf* in Prussia to banking and credit in Northern Germany. This is a very wide range of subjects indeed. Most of the articles were published in *Festschrifte*, some in well-respected journals such as the *Journal of European Economic History*. For those hesitating to purchase this *pièce de résistance* because of its price, in favour of sticking to the old and fumbled xeroxes, the advertisement that three essays are published in English for the first time must take away all doubts. Who on earth wants to miss an article on "the export of timber and timber by-products," "Hamburg as the most English city" and "wage labour versus corvée labour"?

Yet the enthusiastic reader who is eager to learn about these premières will soon develop a feeling of *déjà-vu*, having already seen the "try-outs." For instance, the article on the export of timber is more or less identical to another article published in Yrjö Kaukiainen (ed.), *The Baltic as a Trade Road* (Kotka, 1989), an article, moreover, to which reference is made in footnote 2. The article also shows some slight resemblance with his "Waldwarenhandel und -Produktion" in J. M. van Winter (ed.), *The Interactions of Amsterdam and Antwerp with the Baltic Region* (Leiden, 1983). The article presents an overview of the export of timber to Western Europe. That timber was exported in large quantities to Western Europe, in particular to the Netherlands, is obvious. Whether this trade was profitable is, on the other hand, a more difficult question to answer because the proof is not only poor but, more importantly, is also atypical. The rates of profitability during the first Anglo-Dutch war (1652-1654) cannot be used in general or even as indications of a certain level of profitability. The Dutch navy and Dutch merchant marine lost more than a thousand ships to the English. Wood became scarce and precious to the Dutch.

The second article, first published in English, concerns Hamburg, the continent's most English city (apart from Rotterdam, which was known as "Little London"). The article provides readers with a good impression of what was imported and exported through the port of Hamburg on the basis of various available statistical material, but it remains a mystery why the city was a most English city. A title such as "import and export of Hamburg in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" would have been more appropriate.

These articles are characteristic of the others in this book; all have, more or less, the same intellectual format — statistical data concerning this or that trade accompanied by an explanation or interpretation of the material. In fact, the articles are a perfect example of old economic history. Nevertheless, some historians may find the collection useful. As for the way the collection of papers is presented, the cheapest solution was sought and found. The articles in their various original styles and format have simply been photocopied and assembled, without even being provided with new pagination. Quite apart from the intellectual value of the papers by North, the only real advantage of this volume is that it looks much better on your bookshelf and it takes less room than a pile of stained xeroxes.

Paul C. van Royen
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Daniels Vickers (ed.). *Marine Resources and Human Societies in the North Atlantic Since 1500: Papers Presented at the conference entitled "Marine Resources and Human Societies in the North Atlantic Since 1500," October 20-22, 1995.* ISER Conference Paper Number 5; St. John's, NF: The Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1997. vi + 473 pp., figures, maps, tables. \$25, spiral-bound; ISSN 1997/02/100.

In the understanding of the resources of the North Atlantic and the societies dependent on them, the hard events of recent decades have prompted not a few reassessments. In Canada, and especially in Newfoundland, the near-euphoria which accompanied the extension of the fisheries limit in 1977 was in danger of being accompanied by an attitude that the big problems in the fisheries were a thing of the past; but subsequent experience has been traumatic rather than merely sobering. This volume is praiseworthy in adding a valuable historical overview to the reassessments; arguably the modern debate on resource management and resource allocation has paid inadequate attention to past experience. While the conference on which the book is based was funded by Canadian sources and the book is from a Canadian perspective, it also includes case studies from Iceland and Norway; and it also takes the liberty under this

title of including one useful parallel study from British Columbia. The work is divided into five sections: the first is the editor's introduction, and the others are: fishing effort 1500-1996; traditional ecological knowledge; marine property rights in history; and community, political economy and fisheries policy. The importance of the cod in the resources discussed is clear in that it is written into the titles of four of the papers, and figures prominently in six of the others; and Newfoundland appropriately also is central to the study. While the objective is a review of a period covering half a millennium, the great part of the discussion focuses on the 19th and 20th centuries, when there is much more detailed information.

Although the degree of over-exploitation of the resource has been in the latest phase uniquely catastrophic, the four papers in the second section make it clear that the state of the stocks has always been a matter of concern for fishing interests; and although the evidence is admittedly partial there are indications that over-exploitation was possible before the second half of the 20th century, at least at the local level. It becomes clear that there was fairly intense debate about the state of fish stocks through the 19th century, although in a situation in which the major concerns were with the health of trade and the persistence of widespread poverty.

There is a challenging atmosphere about the two papers in the third section, which suggest that marine scientists have been prone to under-estimate traditional wisdom and lore in relation to fish stocks, and that management systems need to acknowledge local differences and needs more. This also links with the opinion of Peter Pope in the previous section that marine biologists have seriously underestimated historical catches. In this section a joint paper by a marine scientist and two sociologists is the longest in the book: as well as showing the continuing debate on how far the cod is a "cosmopolitan vagrant" and how far a local inhabitant in the ocean, it also shows the tension which persisted between local communities and government over gear and other innovations, which were officially encouraged as a means to increase production and as remedy for inadequate incomes.

The fourth section of three papers dealing with property rights focuses on a matter that has come powerfully to the fore in the last twenty-

five years, with the general establishment of national fishing zones and the abandonment of the former general freedom of fishing. The paper by Dennis Clarke in this section is particularly telling in its analysis of the dilemmas of fisheries management of Atlantic Canada in focussing on the conflict between ITQ-based and community-based management — a conflict which reflects the opposition between economic efficiency and social needs. Also forceful for Atlantic Canada is the paper by Philip Saunders, which points to the way in which developments in both international and national law were antithetical to both individual and community claims to marine tenure.

The fifth section consists of four case studies which highlight various aspects of the situation, along with a thought-provoking analysis by Sean Cadigan on the complexities of developments of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, when capitalist interests and government policies complicated the debate on the ecological effects of gear innovations.

The book is perhaps light on issues of fisheries policy, although these have been so much debated in other contexts that the concentration on other issues can be justified. A main value of the work is that it is in effect a timely appeal not to forget the lessons of history, and to respect folk wisdom and community values which are in danger of being inadequately appreciated in analysis based on systems and models.

James Coull
Aberdeen, Scotland

Irene Martin. *Legacy and Testament: The Story of Columbia River Gillnetters*. Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1994. xiv + 184 pp., photographs, maps, illustrations, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. US \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-87422-109-9.

A freelance writer, historical researcher, and member of a successful commercial fishing partnership based in the State of Washington, Irene Martin has produced a book that provides an affectionate and a well-researched, personalized look at a commercial fishery, technological innovations and local adaptations, and a way of life dear to the author's own heart. *Legacy and Testament* is a wonderfully detailed, unique

historical account of the lifeways of the commercial gillnetters of one of the historic centres of North America's Pacific Northwest salmon fishery: the Columbia River. At the core of the story Martin tells is the drift gillnet, the development of which in the latter nineteenth century drove the commercial gillnet fishery and social-political organization of fishing people on the Columbia for a century. In drift gillnetting, fishers ply a tidal river, on either the incoming or receding tide, with a wall of floating, weighted netting that entangles fish by their gills. This technique was the major commercial salmon-fishing technique used along much of the Pacific Coast.

Reflecting this emphasis on "the net that catches the fish" is Martin's explicit structuring of the book around the skills and decision-making abilities of the individuals who created and operated drift gillnets in specific locales. The opening chapter on the local history of salmon-fishing gear is followed by chapters on the cast of characters who innovated with drift gillnetting technology; on the "making" of net men; on the business and technology of preparing the Columbia River bottom for "drifts"; and the skill, experience, and social etiquette required to successfully set drifts in a complex physical and legal environment. Final chapters, on contemporary jurisdictional disputes and ethical issues in Northwest Coast salmon fisheries, complete the picture. Her personal involvement in the fisheries is briefly relayed in the prologue and epilogue.

Irene Martin's connection to the salmon fishing industry is as interesting as the stories and photographs in her book. Among other things, she has fished with her husband for several decades on the Columbia River, Willapa Bay, and Bristol Bay, Alaska. I learned of her historical research in 1989, when she contacted me about my own research into Canada's Pacific Coast salmon fisheries. She had just completed a contract archival research job sorting and inventorying the Columbia River Packers Association (Bumble Bee Seafoods) Collection for the Columbia River Maritime Museum. "I am currently involved in writing the script for a program and slide-tape on this subject," she wrote, and "my long-term research plans involve a book on drift rights on the Columbia, a form of territoriality among gillnetters that has a long history..." She has

successfully realized these goals, and more, for she recently published *Beach of Heaven, A History of Wahkiakum County* (WSU Press, 1997).

In preparing *Legacy and Testament* the author employed oral interviews dating back to the 1950s, genealogies, industry and government publications, fictional and non-fictional accounts, and archival records. While the narrative is often rambling and the essential involvement of Native Americans in the commercial salmon fisheries of the state conspicuously absent, the book's details of fishing techniques and the lives of individual fishers are extremely informative. The photographs are exceptionally interesting, and the glossary, endnotes, and bibliography go far beyond what one would normally expect of a work of local history. In sum, this is a highly-informative, thoughtful, local study of an important commercial fishery. Anyone with an interest in marine history would profit from reading it.

Dianne Newell
Vancouver, British Columbia

Leslie Leyland Fields. *The Entangling Net: Alaska's Commercial Fishing Women Tell Their Lives*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997. ix + 156 pp., maps, photographs. US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 0-252-02220-3; US \$16.95, paper; ISBN 0-252-06565-4.

The Entangling Net is an "insider" book. The author began fishing when she married — knowing that marriage into a fishing family would entail her own active involvement in the set gillnetting fishery on Kodiak island in Alaska. For eighteen years she worked alongside her husband and other family members to catch Pacific salmon as they came close inshore. But still she puzzled about why, in her words, "women go to sea, choosing to live with three men in a space often little bigger than a closet? Why do they risk their lives, their health in this occupation? Why do some leave children and spouses behind, sacrificing the stability of the ground beneath, the certainty of friendships and home? And not least, Was anyone's story like mine?" [7-8] And so she set out to explore her own experience as recorded in her journals, and the experience of twenty-five other women active in the Alaskan fishery, as recorded in interviews the

author conducted and transcribed.

While the selection of the other women is as serendipitous as such oral histories are apt to be — depending on the availability and willingness of the women — Fields has managed to bring together a wide and representative range of women of all ages and backgrounds and involved in different kinds of fisheries, and in different capacities — as crews in small family boats, as crew on larger boats and as skippers in their own right. The author's own involvement in and knowledge of the fishery, together with her passionate desire to answer her research question has granted her quite exceptional material. Clearly the women she interviewed could trust her, and the result is thoughtful, detailed and honest descriptions of their lives, their struggles and triumphs and their own analysis.

Fields has combined her own writings and her later analysis of them with extracts from the interviews, grouped under broad topics. These topics themselves represent a form of analysis, presenting what the author has decided are the key components of a "career" in the Alaskan fishery. So the chapters deal with how the women got into the fishery, the kind of work they did, the sexist attitudes and harassment they faced, the experience of becoming a skipper, the dangers they encountered and the factors that led women to stay in the fishery or to leave it. In each case, the reader is given some lively and fascinating accounts by the women, as well as the authors own analysis and response to the material.

This is an enormously successful formula and has resulted in one of the most satisfying books of its kind. The author has been careful not to overload the text with technical details (although I would have welcomed further technical details in an appendix). She has provided maps, although I found that some of the place names are missing. She has also provided photographs of nearly all the women interviewed in the book, mostly against fishing backgrounds, which provide information in themselves.

I have one small criticism. The reader becomes fascinated by the women as they appear in the text, but because of the way in which the book is arranged, one tends to lose the thread of particular lives. It would be very useful to extend the "Notes on the Fishers" section to provide more thorough biographical detail. But this is a small

criticism of a sound and satisfying book that will make a valuable addition to our gradually accumulating knowledge about women active in the fisheries of the world.

Marilyn Porter
St. John's, Newfoundland

Ron Formisano. *The Great Lobster War*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997. 150 pp., maps, figures, photographs, index. US \$35, cloth; ISBN 1-55849-052-3; US \$14.95, paper; ISBN 1-55849-071-X.

The title is an ironic description of events in the summers of 1956 and '57, when about four thousand Maine lobster fishermen tied up their boats, refusing to fish for the prices being offered by wholesale dealers. The tie-ups, initiated and coordinated by the Maine Lobsterman's Association (MLA), were not notably successful: in the end, the lobster catchers (we are informed by the author that this is the locally preferred term) went back to work with no clear improvement in prices, which continued to be set by the dealers.

The leadership was meticulous about insisting that the MLA was an association, not a union, and the work stoppage was a tie-up and not a strike. Their reasons soon become clear. On the day the 1957 tie-up ended, officials of the US Department of Justice arrived in Maine and began to interview lobstermen and dealers. Two months later, the Government of the United States brought indictments against the MLA and its leader for conspiracy to fix prices in "unreasonable restraint of...trade and commerce." [47] Similar indictments were brought against seven wholesale lobster dealers in the Portland area. The charges were laid under the Sherman Anti-trust Act, passed by the US Congress in 1890 in an attempt to mitigate some of the excesses of nineteenth-century monopolistic capitalism.

In the first two chapters of *The Great Lobster War*, Ron Formisano sketches these events and briefly locates them in the history of the lobster fishery in Maine. Most of the rest of the book is devoted to a step-by-step account of the trial, drawn from transcripts, newspaper files, and conversations with surviving participants. It is a serious story but, as the author himself says, it is also "a drama of charm, humor and irony," [4]

and he tells it well. Clear and concise descriptions of people and places make the narrative lively and immediate; capsule biographies and brief historical sketches locate the events in a larger context.

The lobstermen's trial ended in incongruous cheerfulness. The jury found them guilty and the judge imposed nominal fines which he immediately remitted. Defendants and prosecution team exchanged smiles, handshakes, jokes and compliments. Later, the dealers were also found guilty and given nominal fines which they, unlike the fishermen, were required to pay. But there is no doubt about who won the war. A permanent injunction was issued prohibiting the MLA from engaging in work stoppages and efforts to establish prices. No such injunction was brought against the dealers.

The story is very local, but the conflicts are pretty well archetypical in modern industrial societies: capital *vs.* worker, government *vs.* citizen, urban *vs.* rural, individualism *vs.* collectivism, law *vs.* justice. The book will be of interest to people with connections to the Maine coast, and to those looking for comparisons with other examples of resistance among small commodity producers. I doubt, however, that it leaves us with much in the way of lessons for the future. In an Epilogue, Formisano paints a depressingly predictable picture of developments over the forty years since the trial: mechanization, massive increases in fishing effort, ineffectual conservation lobbies, and unbridled competition on the lobster fishing grounds, with trap-buoys being cut, boats rammed, and guns brandished.

For some readers, though, the book may provide another sort of insight. In the Introduction, the author says that the story he is about to tell is "about a group whose values are both strongly and explicitly individualist, yet deeply, but implicitly, cooperative and communal." [4] This is a contradiction that I, as a neighbour, have long noticed and puzzled over as being pervasive in US fiction and popular culture generally. This book has not explained the paradox for me, but perhaps that is because Formisano attributes these conflicting values narrowly to his lobstermen: their story may be more generically American than he thinks.

Gordon Inglis
St. John's, Newfoundland

Sebastian Junger. *The Perfect Storm: A True Story of Men Against the Sea*. New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997. xii + 227 pp., map. US \$23.95, Cdn \$29.99, cloth; ISBN 0-393-04016-X.

Underlying the wealth produced by the fisheries and behind all of the statistics of catches, the studies of fish biology and the rest of the city-dwellers understanding of commercial fishing lies an awful truth: deepwater fisheries kill a higher percentage of their workforce than do any other industries. In this remarkable book, Sebastian Junger approaches this horrific subject through an account of the Gloucester swordfish longliner *Andrea Gail*, which disappeared without trace somewhere off Sable Island during the "Storm of the Century" in October 1991. Junger chooses to be absolutely factual (to the extent of using one format for comments he recorded after the event and another for remembered dialogue reported to him) and this gives his book a stark and brutal reality. Since nothing is known of what really happened to the *Andrea Gail*, however, the refusal to invent detail makes her story, and that of the six men who died with her, too short to do them justice. Junger thus fills it out with accounts of other people caught in that same fearful storm, of the widows and children left behind, of container ships damaged, yachts abandoned and a helicopter lost while returning from a rescue mission. The *Gold Bond Conveyor* makes an appearance, standing by a yacht while hauling gypsum south from Halifax — her own doom, with that of her entire crew, in another storm two years later is appended. Junger also provides comparative evidence from fishing boats which narrowly survived other storms and thus builds a reasonable impression of what happened to the *Andrea Gail* and her crew — right down to their sensations as they use up the last air trapped in the inverted hull.

Those who want to understand how it feels to die when a rogue wave flips an 80-foot steel boat end for end, will find this book taking them as close to that knowledge as anything can, short of direct experience. It will certainly take its readers a lot closer than most will find comfortable. Life involves more than simply its ending, however, and Junger succeeds brilliantly in explaining what drives men to spend most of their

working lives far out to sea and how they (and the women and children in their lives) cope with their brief periods ashore. The reader is spared nothing of the hard-living, hard-drinking life of the deck-hand on an offshore fishing boat.

Yet this is no trivialized, "tabloid" treatment. If it deals with the darker sides of the fisherman's lot, without offering a balanced account of the good times, there is nothing sensationalized or exaggerated. Indeed, it would be hard to exaggerate the description of the storm itself, when oceanographic data buoys recorded hundred-foot waves and 100-knot winds. Junger does not even clutter his tale with superlatives; the bare facts are quite sufficient.

The overall effect is riveting and chilling but somehow the connection with the men who died fails. This reader was left with sympathy for the survivors but throughout the book the dead appear not just as doomed but already as no more than statistics. Perhaps absolute realism cannot build such a connection with people who left few records (and none at all of their last days) or maybe even Junger shied away from close empathy with the characters in his story who had once been living men but whom his writing could only kill all over again.

That aside, this book is a superb sea story for those not afraid to face sometimes-brutal reality. It says much about human experience on the ocean and to that degree is timeless; as much about life (and death) under sail or on a modern warship as about experiences on a swordfish boat. It is very highly recommended.

Trevor Kenchington
Musquodoboit Harbour, Nova Scotia

A.J. McCarthy. *Bay of Chaleur Forgotten Treasures*. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1997. xi + 147 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, sources. \$16.95, paper; ISBN 1-55109-185-2.

The author of this book of "true stories of ghost ships and wrecks, rum running and buried treasure, murders and robberies, war heroes and spies" has taken his title from *Treasure trove in Gaspé and the Baie des Chaleurs* by Margaret G. Mac Whirter which, first published in 1919, has been reprinted at least five times.

The introduction to this book outlines the

early history of the south coast of the Baie des Chaleurs in and near Nipisguit Bay and includes a small map of the part of the coast between Belledune and Miscou island showing the location of "buried treasure, ship wrecks, train wrecks, and airplane crashes." Many of these incidents either took place or had their origin in or near Bathurst, New Brunswick at the head of Nipisguit Bay but only about a quarter of the text is concerned with maritime events. An article on Joseph Cunard and the vessels he built at Bathurst has been extracted almost entirely from Elizabeth Manny's essay on shipbuilding at Bathurst and, although it includes the names of later ship builders, none of the names of vessels built after Cunard's business failure are mentioned. There are accounts from local newspapers as early as the 1830s of storms and shipwrecks. Without any substantiating evidence, a violent storm near Shippigan on 21-22 August 1857 is ascribed to an earthquake-generated "tsunami." Other articles are concerned with tugboats and "hard hat" diving in Bathurst harbour and the capture of the German U-boat captain Wolfgang Heyda at Grande Anse near Caraquet after escaping from a prisoner-of-war camp at Bowmanville, Ontario.

No book on the Baie des Chaleurs would be complete without some reference to the legend of the "Phantom Ship." The earliest version, probably from sometime in the early years of the 1800s, was the appearance in the bay of a square-rigged ship whose crew appeared to be going about their regular duties although the vessel seemed to be on fire. Over the years a number of somewhat similar events have been reported, not all of which have included the appearance of a "phantom ship." According to the author of this book, these events are associated with a "fire storm" and are followed by violent gales. The meaning of "fire storm" as a meteorological phenomenon is unknown to the reviewer but because the "phantom ships" appear before a storm they are probably mirages of vessels much farther out at sea. For his own reasons the author has included in his treatment of "phantom ships" a report of a three-masted schooner (probably a rum runner) trapped in floating ice in the Baie des Chaleurs in May 1924. The story, taken from *Treasure Trove in Gaspé and the Baie des Chaleurs*, concerns the wreck of the barque *Colbourne*, near Port Daniel in 1838, but McCarthy misnames the vessel the

Lady Colbourne and in one place describes it as a schooner.

This book may appeal to those interested in violent deaths and mystical occurrences in and near Bathurst but it has little to recommend it to anyone with an interest in maritime studies.

David J. McDougall
Lachine, Québec

Jukka Eenilä and Marja Pelanne (eds.); Juha Rouhiala (trans.). *Nautica Fennica 1997: Suomen merimuseu/The Maritime Museum of Finland Annual Report 1997*. Helsinki: National Board of Antiquities and The Finnish Association for Maritime History, 1997 [orders: The Maritime Museum of Finland, Hylkysari, 00570 Helsinki, Finland]. 86 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, maps. FIM 80, paper; ISBN 951-616-014-X.

This offering from the Maritime Museum of Finland, ostensibly an annual report, has a somewhat broader range as it covers more than the museum's activities of the previous year. The thematic focus of this year's report is marine archaeology and includes several short reports on museum sponsored research projects written by different authors. The attraction of the book is that it provides, to English readers, information on recent underwater work in Finland.

For a small work, this is a surprisingly well-produced and illustrated book, on good paper, with few typographical errors. The format is bilingual with each original Finish article followed by an English translation. As might be expected, some of the translation is a little ragged and difficult to understand although the essential meaning does come through. Presumably as an economic measure, illustrations are only included in the Finish sections albeit with an English translation of the figure legend. Somewhat annoyingly, no figure references appear in the English sections which requires some flipping back and forth to fully appreciate the articles. As well, although notes are placed at the end of the English sections, full bibliographic references are found only at the end of the Finish articles.

The first three articles are by far the most substantive in that they provide detailed summaries of past research projects. Of these, the first

one on shipwrecks and archives remains the most useful from a research perspective. Its author provides some excellent information on archival sources and record locations to be found in the various national, provincial and local archives of Sweden and Finland that bear on eighteenth-century shipwrecks. Documents, such as administrative, judicial, and auction records can provide useful information regarding sizes and types of vessels, cargoes and other relevant material that can lead to the location and identification of shipwrecks. The author also outlines methods of narrowing down and focussing archival research to make searches more efficient and productive. He then goes on to case studies where archival information was instrumental in the identification of two shipwrecks.

Two articles deal with ceramics recovered from underwater sites. The first describes the isolated discovery of medieval ceramics from a natural harbour in the Hiittinen Archipelago. A description of the objects is followed by a discussion of the implications for trade, settlement and warfare. The second paper describes a small collection of Meissen porcelain recovered from a Russian merchant vessel that foundered in 1747. Besides a description of the finds, the article delves into some of the history surrounding a few of the key personages involved with the factory, and explains the styles, motifs and painting techniques employed by the factory. Also highlighted is the important contribution that objects from precisely dated shipwrecks can make in refining the dating of such things as stylistic change, maker's marks and so forth.

The remainder of the book conforms somewhat more to an annual report style. Three articles summarize recent underwater work involving the museum: one details several inspection dives carried out on underwater sites during the past year and including a discussion of proposed marine parks; another describes side scan sonar work and underwater archaeological investigations in one of the Finnish provinces; the last discusses a cooperative project with Estonia to chart and compile a register of sunken vessels. The book closes with short annual reports of both the Maritime Museum of Finland and the Finnish Association for Maritime History.

This book may have limited appeal and value as the articles do not provide in-depth descrip-

tions and analyses of the various projects described. In fairness, this is not the goal, nor should it be, of annual reports. The merit of this work is that it brings up-to-date information on recent projects as well as outlines the scope of work and research interests of a maritime museum with an active research program. As such, it succeeds admirably. Readers interested in further information can contact the museum or researchers directly. Marine archaeologists and possibly some material culture researchers will gain the most from this book but perhaps it is better suited as a reference work for institutional libraries.

R. James Ringer
Ottawa, Ontario

William Barron. *Old Whaling Days*. 3rd ed., 1895; "Conway Classics," London: Conway Maritime Press, 1996. viii + 211 pp., appendix. £7.99, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-695-7. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The Arctic whaling trade in the middle of the last century was a most difficult business. The intense cold, wandering icebergs, and sudden storms, combined with all the usual hazards of whaling, made the trade a by-word for danger and hardship. This book, written by a seventeen-year participant in the industry, captures well the many hazards of the trade.

When a ship arrived on the whaling grounds, a close watch had to be kept at all times, not just for whales and icebergs, but for any slight changes in the light or wind that foretold a change in the weather. Sudden storms and even lesser winds could start the ice moving and place the ship in extreme danger. If the ice moved slowly, there was time to get out of the way, or at least to saw a dock in the ice to shelter the vessel. But if the ice moved quickly, there might be no time, and the ship could be pinched by the ice and stove in. The crew of such vessels were usually rescued by another whaling ship, but if none were in sight, they might have to winter ashore, sometimes, with the Eskimo.

Barron was interested in the Eskimo people and took the trouble to learn their language. He went hunting with them and occasionally joined in their traditional dances. He describes their way

of life in some detail, and records encounters with Eskimos who had never seen Europeans before, and were amazed by their guns and "large kayak" (ship).

While Barron was never shipwrecked himself, the Arctic left its mark on him. He was once attacked and bitten by a polar bear. On another occasion, he was about to throw a harpoon when he was swept overboard by the flick of a whale's tail. Unconscious when he was pulled from the water, his frozen clothing had to be cut away. His life then hung in the balance for six weeks, before the ship's doctor was able to pull him through.

William Barron was active during a period of great transition in the trade, when sailing ships and hand-held harpoons were giving way to steam-powered vessels and harpoon guns. He was fully aware of the changes taking place, and constantly reflects on the advantages of steam power over sail, the new methods over the old. Yet he was also aware of what was being lost. For instance, the subtle changes in light and sound that foretold weather changes were far easier to recognize from a sailing ship than from a noisy, smokey steamer. Perhaps inadvertently, he also foreshadowed the demise of the trade from over-fishing, when he gave mention at one point to the fact that fifty-two competing ships were visible from the masthead.

Whether negotiating ice floes near the island of Disco, or dancing late into the night with Eskimo maidens, Barron was fully alive to the grandeur of his surroundings. Here he describes the light falling on distant icebergs: "The wonderful beauty of these crystal cliffs never appears to greater advantage than when clothed by the midnight sun with all the splendid colours of twilight glittering in the brilliant heavens, [the icebergs] seeming in the distance like masses of burnished metal or solid flame." [75]

There is an appendix which gives a brief history of the ship on which Barron began his career, and later rose to command. He also provides lists of whaling vessels that operated from Hull, plus a dictionary of Arctic whaling terms. All this makes the reprint of *Old Whaling Days* a worthy addition to the publisher's "Conway Classic" series, and at a very reasonable price.

Mark Howard
Melbourne, Australia

Madelene Ferguson Allen. *Wake of the Invercauld. Shipwrecked in the sub-Antarctic: A great-granddaughter's pilgrimage.* Auckland, NZ: Exisle Publishing and Montréal and Kingston, London, Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997. 256 pp., illustrations, maps, figures, colour photographs, bibliography, index. Cdn \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-908988-02-8 (Exisle), 0-7735-1688-3 (MQUP).

At its simplest this is the story of the author's successful efforts to test the truthfulness of the account written by Robert Holding, her great-grandfather, sixty years after the event, of the twelve months he spent as a castaway on the remote sub-antarctic Auckland Islands, nearly three hundred miles south of New Zealand. To achieve her purpose Allen, a resident of rural Quebec, conducted a vigorous research programme that took her to Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and the Auckland Islands, where she was able, with the help of the manuscript, to retrace her ancestor's movements.

This is the bare skeleton of a complex and absorbing book which interweaves two exciting stories that are one hundred and thirty years apart. The core event is the loss of the new Aberdeen clipper *Invercauld* in May 1864 on the lethal west coast of the main island of the group. This classic example of a lee shore shipwreck on a dark night is described in Holding's account with great intensity and detail, despite the passing of sixty years. His narrative then deals with the struggle to survive in a hostile environment with little more than the clothes worn at the instant of the wreck. Confronted by immense physical problems made worse by the sub-antarctic winter and divided by serious personal conflicts, nineteen castaways, led by Holding, fought their way to the calmer eastern shores of the island where they found the ruins of an earlier, abandoned settlement. By August only Holding and two other survivors were left. They were able to reach a small inshore island where they built, from turf and timber, a hut in which they sheltered until their rescue in May of 1865.

The second story is that of the author's equally determined effort, despite many obstacles, physical and human, to fill in the historical background of the manuscript, first seen by her in 1984, and to visit and explore the actual scene of

the events it describes. The latter proved the more difficult, since the Aucklands, a New Zealand possession, are a strictly protected nature reserve, accessible only to a few privileged visitors. Allen's successful persuasion of the authorities to allow her a ten day visit at her own expense aboard an officially approved vessel is one of the highlights of this book.

With an eighty-foot steel ketch as a base, Allen's party had seven days at the islands in December 1993, much of that time being spent ashore retracing Holding's steps. It is here that the technique of running two narratives with alternating passages is most successful. The reader has a sensation of moving in two time periods simultaneously, an illusion helped by the unchanging physical nature of these islands.

The elaborate design of the book with sepia graphics on most pages, some of which seriously interrupt the flow of the text, may attract criticism from readers, but this is a matter of personal taste. The photographs, however, are brilliant. Sailors will be taken aback by a glaring error in nautical terminology on page fifty-eight, probably the result of a lapse in proof-reading. These, however, are minor blemishes which do not diminish the appeal of this splendid and enthusiastic book to a wide variety of readers. The sea is always present in both narratives and maritime historians will find much to interest them, including Holding's evocation of the perils of mid-nineteenth century seafaring, particularly his vividly realistic description of the moments leading up to the wreck, during which discipline and authority vanished and panic took over, the captain and the mates shouting impossible orders to the helpless crew. It is also a first-hand account of human survival in extreme conditions and as such is a great adventure tale. Conservationists will applaud the account of New Zealand's policy concerning the preservation of this unique wilderness area. Finally, this work has an interest for the general reader, being a first-class travel book which leaves one with a positive sense of familiarity with an extremely isolated and little known part of the world. It is compelling reading and highly recommended.

John Bach
Coal Point, NSW, Australia

Alan Gurney. *Below the Convergence: Voyages Toward Antarctica 1699-1839*. New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997. ix + 315 pp., illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. US \$27.50, Cdn \$35, cloth; ISBN 0-393-03949-8. Distributed in Canada for Penguin Books Canada by Canbook Distribution Services.

Alan Gurney is a yacht designer and photographer from the Isle of Islay and has lectured on *Linblad Explorer* trips to both polar regions. Coming from that home of magnificent malts, well versed in the ways of small craft, and accustomed to lecturing to interested but not necessarily academic audiences, he has written a distinctive, well-informed survey of early antarctic exploration that reads in a brisk easy manner.

He first sets his stage. The Southern Ocean surrounding the Antarctic continent is unique in not having any coastlines to define its farthest extremities. Its meeting with the neighbouring oceans is called "the convergence." The ocean traveller's transit is clearly marked by a pronounced drop in the air temperature. From Edmund Halley's first dip "below the convergence" to the beginning of the period of serious national expeditions in the late 1830s, all voyagers were confronted with four basic challenges, each of which are discussed in a separate chapter. They were: first, the need to determine what was in the southern seas; second, the problems of navigation including determining longitude; third, scurvy, and finally the character of the area. Halley, the astronomer of comet fame, was the first to venture into the area. In a vessel only sixty-four feet long with a displacement of about sixty tons, he traversed the Atlantic mapping the change of magnetic variation. In late January 1700 Halley crossed the convergence and commented on the cold "scarce tollerable to us used to warmer Climates." [80] He stayed in the region for perhaps two weeks. The next explorer, almost seventy years later, was James Cook.

Gurney spends a chapter discussing Cook the man, thus giving context for a second chapter on Cook's second voyage which destroyed Dalrymple's theories. In a book of twelve chapters this attention paid Cook, given his tremendous achievements is an appropriate balance. The most immediate legacy of Cook's third voyage was the opening of the fur trade with China. After Cook

further discoveries were the outcome of economic and political competition, which are well synthesized here. The search for new sealing grounds led hunters, balancing risks against potential profits, ever further south. Imperial adventures also led Russia to launch an antarctic expedition. Its leader, Bellingshausen, became the second navigator to circumnavigate Antarctica. Bellingshausen went where Cook had not, and became the first to sight the antarctic continent at what is now known as the Finibus Ice Shelf. Unfortunately his reports were buried and lost to view in Russian officialdom. The only English translation of his journal, was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1945, and is hard to find. Very soon after Bellingshausen's discovery, a British naval expedition in a chartered whaling vessel, following up a whaling master's discovery, charted the South Shetland Islands, and found the strait separating them from the continent.

Gurney accords James Weddell the same status of James Cook — two chapters. His furthest south penetration, and the discovery of the Weddell Sea justify the space. Weddell was followed by John Briscoe, the third captain to circumnavigate the continent. He was fortunate that his employer, the London whaling firm Samuel Enderby then in its third and final generation, supported his geographic work at the cost of lost profits. A final chapter on the whalers Kemp and Balleny brings the voyages of discovery of his period to a close.

Gurney is not afraid to express his opinions. They include a distaste for Sir John Barrow, support for Beaglehole's assessment of the Forsters, and a willingness to take potshots at Americans. He also takes time to provide interesting and tangentially related trivia in footnotes. Thus we learn that a daughter of the Enderby family, Briscoe's employers, was the mother of General Gordon killed at Khartoum and of the ultimate fate of the skin of the Weddell seal that led to the identification of the species. Gurney clearly understands the limitations of single volume histories, and has met them well. This is a good book for anyone with an interest in early voyages of antarctic exploration.

William Glover
London, Ontario

Gert Lange (ed.). *Sonne, Sturm und weisse Finsternis: Die Chronik der ostdeutschen Antarktisforschung*. Hamburg: Ernst Kabel for the Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum, 1996. 295 pp., photographs (b+w, colour), maps, illustrations, figures, index. DM 68, cloth; ISBN 3-8225-0385-1.

On opening this volume, I could not help thinking of Luc Marie Bayle's delightful book *La Voyage de la Nouvelle Incomprise* (Editions Ozanne, 1953), his personal story of French Antarctic endeavours immediately after World War II, told and illustrated in his inimitable sagacious yet humorous way. One of his drawings shows the Antarctic as a vast big round cheese with many nations trying to secure wedges of the said cheese for themselves. In this "Chronicle of East German Antarctic Investigations," Gert Lange gives us the story of one or two of those wedges between the years 1959 and 1996, wedges not claimed by East Germany but by the USSR on whose logistical support the East German scientists depended.

The co-operation between the East Germans and Russians shines through the forty-two contemporary accounts which, very wisely, have not been adjusted to present-day political conditions. Participants of the expeditions, be they scientists, technicians, medical doctors or cooks, speak directly to the reader, rather than hiding away from the tensions caused by mental strain or differences in national customs, as when, for instance, the Russians overindulged at times in vodka. The overwhelming tone of these accounts is that of comradeship in a battle against nature, with temperatures down to -80°C, blizzards and crevasses. Technical break-downs, dramatic rescue missions by Russian pilots, a dreadful fire at an isolated station all come to life in these pages as does the painstaking hard work carried out by scientists of many different disciplines and government branches. It might not be amiss to mention here that the very first observation of the by-now-infamous ozone hole was made by East German scientists. The book closes, most encouragingly, with a chapter on the "Great Clean-up." The garbage left by these expeditions — in all just about 800 tons of it — was removed from the Antarctic after many consultations on international levels and with the financial support of the German government.

While German participation in polar research was quite extensive until the outbreak of World War II, such activities were split up, like the country itself, during the post-war era between the West German Alfred Wegener Institute at Bremerhaven and its East German equivalent at Potsdam. Both institutions pursued their own separate priorities, so much so that after the collapse of the East German government, there were fears that their polar research programme might be abolished. Fortunately the West Germans had concentrated their efforts on the maritime surroundings of the Antarctic, while the East Germans, with their own scientific programmes integrated with the Russian expeditions, gave their attention to continental problems, generating thereby a rich harvest of scientific knowledge. Since the work programmes of the two institutions complimented each other so well, it was decided to join the two. As a result, nothing of the East German efforts has been lost.

As one who grew up with popular books written by Antarctic explorers such as Scott, Shackleton, Charcot, de Gerlache, Drygalski, Mawson, Filchner and many others, I am intrigued by the difference of approach, questioning and goals of contemporary polar investigators. It has been said that the "heroic" age of polar exploration has gone forever since the geographical exploration of the Antarctic continent has largely been completed. The very word "explorer" has sunk into oblivion. Explorers might be extinct as a species but scientific work in the Antarctic still needs heroic efforts to get done as this book shows. For this reason I would strongly recommend an English translation of the *Chronik*; as a popularly written book and like no other recent book to my knowledge, it shows the new approach to polar research. It would fit in well with those by earlier explorers and authors and provide a measure of continuity of human endeavour.

The Antarctic continent can tell us what is wrong in our dealings with the Earth and this is what present-day scientists, the successor to earlier explorers, are trying to learn about — yes, those same scientists, the high priests of modern society, whose work we so quickly blame for many of the problems besetting our planet.

Neils Jannasch
Tantallon, Nova Scotia

Doug Gray. *R.M.S. Nascopie: Ship of the North*. Ottawa: Golden Dog Press, 1997. iv + 112 pp., photographs, maps, illustrations, references, acknowledgments. \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-919614-70-1. Distributed by Prologue Inc., Québec.

Few ships have played as significant a role in Canadian history than the Hudson's Bay Company's *Nascopie*. Built in 1911 specifically for service in the North, *Nascopie* outlived many of her peers in a fascinating and important career that lasted until 1947 when the ship struck an uncharted reef and was lost. During those years, *Nascopie* supplied HBC posts along the shores of Hudson Bay, Labrador and the Strait, the eastern Arctic. She served, as the book jacket concisely puts it, as a "lifeline, mail ship, office, medical clinic court house and love boat," the last a reference to the ship's occasional delivery of brides to the far flung northern outposts of the HBC's commercial empire.

In addition to these duties, *Nascopie* also worked as a sealer, freighted supplies to Russia during World War I, and saw service as well in the north during World War II. Her exploits, and those of her masters and crew, the most famous of whom, Thomas Smellie, have been recounted in part, notably in Roland Wild's *Arctic Command: The Story of Smellie of the Nascopie* (Ryerson Press, 1955). However, the complete story of the ship has not been told until now.

In a detailed, loving account, Doug Gray recounts *Nascopie's* career, with chapters explaining how the Arctic environment and the HBC's unique corporate culture shaped the ship's design and construction. These introductory chapters are particularly important, placing the ship into context. The detailed discussion in the chapter on navigating in the North, the concept of operations for the ship, and the "Technical Interlude: Designing *Nascopie*" are worth the price of the book alone.

The other delightful aspect of the book is Gray's down-home style and the ability to tell a good tale which, he forthrightly admits in the introduction, is a "great sea story about a great ship." [iv] There are no footnotes, but the sources are noted in the back, save those which Gray also notes in the introduction were "something I picked up in the Coast Guard 10 or 15 years ago." [iv] He goes on to say that this probably won't

impress "scholarly types," but I disagree. *R.M.S. Nascopie: Ship of the North* is a small but impressive tome and a worthy addition to the library of anyone interested in the North, the HBC or just a plain, well-told tale. A number of photographs flesh out the story, including some delightful cartoons, a few well-selected maps, and two appendices, one listing the ship's masters and the other the characteristics of the HBC and the government's ships that relate to *Nascopie's* story.

James P. Delgado
Vancouver, British Columbia

James Delgado. *Made for the Ice: A Report on the Wreck of the Hudson's Bay Company Ship Baymaud, ex-Polarskibet Maud (1917-1930)*. Vancouver: Vancouver Maritime Museum and Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia, 1997. 32 pp., figures, photographs, maps, sources. \$12, paper; ISBN 0-9695010-4-8.

Named after the Queen of Norway, Roald Amundsen's *Maud* was launched at Asker on 7 June 1917. Christening her with a block of ice, Amundsen said: "You are made for ice. You shall spend your best years in the ice and you shall do your work in the ice." [7] James Delgado's *Made for the Ice* contains an account of what has befallen *Maud* in the eighty years since her launching, a report on her condition as determined by dives in which he took part in 1995 and 1996, and recommendations for her future. It is a story in which the powerful forces of ice and money — too much ice and too little money — played and continue to play major roles.

Modelled after Nansen's *Fram*, *Maud* was built to drift in the ice towards the North Pole while serving as a scientific research station. Although her scientific and geographic accomplishments were impressive, ice conditions and lack of funds bedevilled *Maud's* years with Amundsen. In 1925 the Hudson's Bay Company bought her from Amundsen's creditors and refitted her as a Western Arctic supply ship. Named the *Baymaud*, she served in the Western Arctic in 1926 and 1927. Her deep draft, however, made her unsuitable for this work. In the summer of 1927 she was moored at Cambridge Bay as a floating warehouse, machine shop and wireless station. By 1930 a small leak was be-

coming more serious. It was suggested that she be put on the beach to continue in operation as a warehouse and wireless station. Perhaps this was not possible, or not considered worth doing. At any rate, *Baymaud* sank at her moorings, probably in the winter of 1930-1931.

And there she remains, a partially submerged wreck, battered by vicissitudes both man-made and natural. In 1990 the Hudson's Bay Company sold her for a dollar to the municipality of Asker. The intention was to raise the ship and return her to her home country for restoration and permanent display. A diving inspection in 1990 concluded that salvage was practicable but should be done within ten years because of the destructive action of the ice working on the ship. In 1993, Asker received a Canadian Cultural Properties Export permit to return *Maud* to Norway. Some time later Asker's rights to the ship were transferred to Tromsø. The people of Cambridge Bay, however, are not happy at the prospect of losing a significant local landmark and a potential source of tourism revenue. The eventual fate of *Maud* is now being reconsidered, hence the 1995 and 1996 dives under the leadership of James Delgado of the Vancouver Maritime Museum.

Made for the Ice provides a thorough description of the wreck site and condition of *Maud*, illustrated with photographs and plans. Delgado makes it clear that *Maud*'s importance goes beyond the sentimental and patriotic. Modelled, with improvements, on *Fram*, just as *St. Roch* was modelled with improvements on her, she is the middle link in a chain of three great modern polar ships. *Fram* is preserved in Oslo, *St. Roch* in Vancouver. The only other polar exploration vessels surviving as museum ships are *Gjoa* in Norway, *Hero* in the United States and *Discovery* in Scotland. As two-dimensional plans are no substitute for the three-dimensional ship, *Maud* is a crucial source, a "wooden archive" if you like, for the history of polar exploration.

Delgado concludes with a set of options for *Maud*'s future. She can be left as she is, in which case she will eventually settle beneath the water and be accessible only to divers. She can be stabilized as a wreck in Cambridge Bay. She can be recovered and restored for preservation as a floating or dry-land display, or portions of the ship can be recovered for dry-land display. In presenting these options Delgado never loses

sight of the fact that *Maud* is a ship of international importance, to which both Norway and Canada have valid claims. (In fact, he is so fair to Norway that he identifies the great Swede, A.E. Nordenskiöld, as Norwegian. [7])

Made for the Ice belongs in polar libraries for its documentation both of a famous ship and of a maritime heritage site of international significance. For Canadians, it raises questions that go beyond this one ship. Much of our maritime and architectural heritage is in our north and Arctic. Can tourism make the preservation of such sites economically feasible? And should it be expected to? In the meantime, the ice keeps working on *Maud*. Delgado gives a rough estimate of two to five years before there is a major hull collapse.

Anne Morton
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Ian A. Miller. *Voyages Into Eternity*. Bishop Auckland, Durham: Pentland Press, 1997. 308 pp., photographs, appendices, bibliography. £17.50, cloth; ISBN 1-85821-446-7.

There are two reasons for writing an autobiography. One is personal: perhaps a form of self-affirmation for the writer, but chiefly to leave a record for descendants and family. As someone who comprehends very clearly his origins and culture as a lowland Scot, Ian Miller has succeeded admirably in achieving this objective. He has provided his descendants with an understanding of their ancestry and connections and an account of his own eventful life, and while I am sure that his grandchildren will find the book interesting, the story will be even more fascinating to future generations. The other reason for an autobiography, by people who have been involved in great events, is to clarify and interpret those events for posterity in general. In this regard, the important events with which Miller was concerned were not affairs of state, nor those which make newspaper headlines, but the highly technical advances in navigation and oceanography which have occurred since World War II.

Miller served his apprenticeship pre-war in the Bank Line and then had an eventful and dangerous war, spending most of it at sea and surviving the sinking, by enemy action, of two ships: the tanker *Inverlane* and the cargo ship

Cedarbank. A Master Mariner at war's end, he was hired by the Crown Agents for the colonies and sent to Iraq which in those days was under British "protection," with its oil industry and ports firmly under British control. He served as pilot, harbour master and, on occasion, as Commanding Officer of the Iraqi Royal Yacht. Correctly sensing future trouble in the region and with a young family requiring schooling, he joined the Canadian Hydrographic Service in the fifties. From being a senior "burra sahib" with servants, cars and launches at his command, he now found himself, as a junior hydrographer, toting instruments and tripods up hills on bar'en St. Lawrence Gulf islands. However, ability always tells and he was soon involved in early precise electronic navigation surveying systems. This led to co-operation with the Decca Company which was installing navigational "chains" in Canada and, in association with the Bendix Corporation, in the United States. In due course he joined Bendix and rose to high executive positions in that organization and its subsidiaries. He was involved with "Project Caesar," the installation of the underwater passive detection system which played such a large role in the tracking of Soviet submarines during the Cold War; with the development of the Optimum Ship Routing system, which provides best tracks for shipping derived from past and present weather factors; with oceanographic and environmental studies in the Gulf of Mexico and even with "Project Mohole," an unsuccessful attempt to drill through the earth's crust to the mantle.

The reader tracing his way through these technological events will find that they are mixed in with descriptions of the author's family's weddings, jobs, visits, travels, houses, cars and so on. However, the book is more than just a family memoir and we learn the reasons for the success (or failure) of a number of scientific projects, much in the news at the time. For my part, I most enjoyed his account of voyages across the Pacific on his first ship, a typical tramp, and the free-wheeling life in the Gulf in the years just after the war. It was an interesting life, one that is well described. His great-grandchildren will be grateful.

C. Douglas Maginley
Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia

Briton C. Busch and Barry M. Gough (eds.), *Fur Traders from New England: The Boston Men in the North Pacific, 1787-1800. The Narratives of William Dane Phelps, William Sturgis and James Gilchrist Swan.* Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark, 1997. 137 pp., appendices, bibliography, index. US \$29.50, cloth; ISBN 0-87062-261-7.

Fur Traders from New England is a deceptive title, evoking as it does the image of Rocky Mountain traders like Nathaniel Wyeth and others of the 1830s. But well before Wyeth and his counterparts there was another — and perhaps more important — Boston-based fur trade: the trade for the pelts of sea otters from the cold waters of the Pacific Northwest, pelts that were a key item in the China trade that helped to open New England and the United States to the global economic community. This slim volume contains edited narratives of early participants in that Boston-North Pacific-China trade.

The primary manuscript reproduced in this work is "Solid Men of Boston in the Northwest," long recognized by maritime and fur trade historians as one the most reliable of the accounts of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Northwest coast trade. Written by the Boston sea captain and historian William Dane Phelps, this document provides first-hand evidence of the interlocking trade between New England and China in metal goods, furs, sandalwood and spice. The great advantage of Phelps' account is that he was a player in the great global game and thus offers more than just an interpretive view of one of the more intriguing trading patterns of the era.

Three other primary documents serve as appendices to the Phelps text, all of them attributed to William Sturgis of Boston who, like Phelps, was involved both as a mariner and as a merchant in the Northwest fur trade. The first of these is a reprint of a lecture on the trade given by Sturgis to the Mercantile Library Association of Boston in 1846. While of lesser value as an historical document than the Phelps account, the Sturgis lecture provides a concise look at a mid-nineteenth century New England perspective on "the Oregon Question" — the question of whether Britain or the United States should control the "Oregon Country," generally acceded to include the bulk of the Columbia basin. It will come as no surprise to readers familiar with the Oregon

controversy that Sturgis attributed the blame for the failure to arrive at a peaceful settlement by 1846 directly to the New Englanders' chief rivals in the northern fur trade: the Hudson's Bay Company. The two remaining appendices from Sturgis, while less instructive in terms of international power politics, are very useful historical documents for those interested in the Northwest trade. They include: first, a summary of the number of vessels employed in the Northwest trade, the quantity of fur collected, and price of furs and other articles in the Canton market for the years 1799 to 1802; and, second, a listing of American vessels engaged in the Northwest trade up to 1808. Each of these documents is invaluable as a source of data not otherwise widely available.

The co-editors of *Fur Traders from New England* have amply annotated each of the four documents with footnotes that are nearly as valuable as the texts themselves and have provided the reader with a succinct but instructive introduction that places the documents in both the context of their time and place and the context of current scholarship. While this small book should not be allowed to stand on its own as a source for the period and the process, when it is combined with other works such as James Gibson's *Boston Ships, Otter Skins, and China Goods* it becomes an extremely valuable addition to the literature of the North American fur trade.

John L. Allen
Storrs, Connecticut

Frank L. Fox. *A Distant Storm: The Four Days' Battle of 1666*. Rotherfield, E. Sussex: Jean Boudriot Publications, 1997. xiii + 425 pp., illustrations (incl. colour plates), figures, end maps, appendices, notes, sources, index. £60, US \$100, cloth; ISBN 0-948864-29-X.

On 1 June (Old Style) 1666, in what is known as the Second Anglo-Dutch war, 1664-1667, a large English fleet met a larger Dutch fleet in battle off the mouth of the Thames River; during the next four days the opposing warships pounded one another until the English withdrew. Thus ended the longest, largest, and perhaps the bloodiest naval engagement fought at sea during the age of sail. Yet very little followed from this enormous contest whose results were reversed less than

eight weeks later. No clearer example exists of the ambiguous nature of naval victory. *A Distant Storm* is the first detailed study of the battle.

This tremendous encounter has always been a bit of a puzzle to naval historians for it resulted in an English defeat owing chiefly to English acceptance of wholly inaccurate intelligence reports that a French fleet was approaching to join the Dutch. This caused King Charles II and his council of war to send the co-commander of the English fleet, Prince Rupert, down the Channel with twenty ships to intercept the French, leaving his associate co-commander, General George Monck, 1st Duke of Albemarle, with an inferior fleet to face the Dutch. Why the English intelligence was so bad, and the nature of French intentions towards England are but two of the mysteries that the author attempts to clear up in his reexamination of the Four Days' Battle.

The author is already known for his *Great Ships: The Battle Fleet of King Charles II*, published in 1980. In this new monograph, he presents a careful look at the events and decisions leading up to the Four Days' Battle and a detailed reconstruction of the complex manoeuvrings during the tremendous encounter itself. Though arranged into nineteen chapters followed by thirteen appendices, the author organized the book's contents into roughly equal parts dealing with first, the political and naval contexts of the period, and second, the strategy and tactics of the battle. The latter section is clearly the focus of the author's attention; it is devoted chiefly to reconciling often conflicting evidence, and elaborating upon the complex tactics involved during the long course of the struggle.

Not surprising in light of his publisher's reputation, *A Distant Storm* is lavishly illustrated with three hundred reproductions of paintings, including twenty-two colour plates, maps and drawings. This is just as well; for while the author's study of the battle is exhaustive, his contextual treatment of the Second Anglo-Dutch War is ordinary. It is written without reference to any of the major works concerning either the international diplomacy of the period or the Restoration and Dutch navies that have appeared during the last score of years. Works by Israel, Jones, Capp, Davies, and Bruijn are conspicuous by their absence. The author is also not adverse to employing annoying anachronisms. Thus, Louis

XIV's France is described as a "protototalitarian" state as repressive as any modern dictatorship in comparison to the "quasi-democratic" Dutch. He has conveniently forgotten the Dutch mob that tore Jan de Will and his brother to pieces in 1672 and the England of Judge Jeffreys and the Bloody Assize. It appears that the book is primarily intended for those who admire fine editions that are strongest on visual attractiveness.

James Pritchard
Kingston, Ontario

Nicholas Tracy. *Nelson's Battles: The Art of Victory in the Age of Sail*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. 224 pp., illustrations, maps, figures, appendices (incl. further readings), index. US \$39.95, Cdn \$55.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-621-3. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

There is little doubt that the name of Horatio Nelson will forever be associated with victories — Cape St. Vincent (1797), The Nile (1799), Copenhagen (1801), and Trafalgar (1805). There have, however, been very few good single-volume treatments in recent years of Nelson's strategy and tactics and the background to them, the exception being Geoffrey Bennett's *The Battle of Trafalgar* (1977). With *Nelson's Battles*, Nicholas Tracy fills that gap in the literature. Drawing on his own wide-ranging studies of naval warfare in the Age of Sail and on the work of other authorities, such as Corbett, Creswell, Lavery, and Tunstall, Tracy sets Nelson's great victories within the context of 150 years of developments in ship construction, signalling, tactical and strategic thinking, and training and morale factors. As such, the volume is a great and very useful work of synthesis.

The volume comprises six parts of unequal length: "Nelson and Sea Power," "Guns, Ships and Battle Tactics," "Cape St Vincent and The Nile," "Copenhagen," "Trafalgar," and an epilogue which examines the consequences of Trafalgar and assesses "The Nelson Legacy." The first two parts, some forty per cent of the text, are devoted to a description and analysis of what is essentially the vital background to Nelson's great victories — Nelson's own early career, British naval strategy, the development of the ship of the line, signals

and instructions, and the evolution of naval tactics. Typical of Tracy's approach to and handling of this material is a skilful if orthodox summary of British naval strategy. It was the contending strategic requirements of counter-invasion work, mercantile and colonial interests, the need to obtain naval stores, and economic injury to the enemy that Nelson served and that his battles supported. Tracy, rightly in my view, sets those requirements in their proper context.

The treatment of Nelson's battles in Parts III, IV and V does not present any new facts, not because Tracy's accounts are in any way unsound or incomplete, but rather because there is so very little new to tell. Nelson has a well-earned reputation for impetuosity, dynamic leadership, and tactical innovation. However, as Tracy stresses, Nelson's tactics were based as much upon a careful and successful assimilation of the lessons that had been learned by the Royal Navy and by Nelson himself from earlier battles as upon innovation. It was really Nelson's leadership style, his innate ability to take the measure of the enemy, and his willingness to engage the enemy that defined the "Nelson Touch." The value of the volume lies precisely in its setting of Nelson's great victories within their technical, tactical and temporal contexts and in the way it shows the special, perhaps unique contribution that was made by Nelson himself. Tracy is also undoubtedly correct when he argues, in the epilogue, that the Royal Navy faltered when it attempted to formalize Nelson's tactics, while abandoning Nelson's essential humanity and leadership style.

The text is profusely illustrated throughout with finely reproduced contemporary drawings, engravings and paintings — some well known, others less so and all, unfortunately, in black and white — and a host of track charts that would appear to have been especially commissioned for the volume. There is a brief but excellent list of suggestions for further reading and a detailed index, which I found to be particularly helpful. David Brown has contributed a thoughtful introduction. All in all, this well-written and carefully researched study will be of great interest and value, whether serving naval officer or student of naval warfare in the Age of Sail.

G. Edward Reed
Ottawa, Ontario

Dean King, with John B. Hattendorf (eds.). *Every Man Will Do His Duty: An Anthology of First-hand Accounts from the Age of Nelson 1793-1815*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997. xxxvii + 425 pp., illustrations, figures, maps, selected bibliography, index. US \$27.50, Cdn \$38.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8050-4608-9. Canadian distributor, Fitzhenry & Whiteside, Markham, ON.

This is a thoroughly enjoyable volume of maritime memoirs from the classic age of sailing warships. The selections range from the officers on the quarterdeck down to the Ordinary Seaman on the main gun deck. The real interest here is the view from "the sharp end" of naval life in a dangerous war: feelings of men going into battle, personal friendships and animosities, vignettes of life on rare shore leaves, conditions of daily service, all the ingredients which usually escape naval histories concentrating on grand strategy, tactics, and the lives of great leaders. There are no undiscovered accounts here; all the selections have been published before, as the editors cheerfully admit. Indeed, many readers will undoubtedly recognize several selections from the Navy Records Society volumes, the memoirs of Lord Cochrane, and snippets published in other general works. The real joy of this book is that so many poignant memoirs are gathered together so handily.

It is not a "scholarly" work. Introductory and follow-up commentary is supplied, but often in a chatty tone (Cochrane is described as "one of the fightingest captains" in the Navy), and the background information is sometimes inaccurate. The opening section tells us that in 1793 the British fleet totaled 115 vessels, including seventy-five ships-of-the-line. [3] This is quite bizarre, as the numbers were closer to over ninety Line of Battle ships and over 170 frigates, not to mention smaller craft. We are assured further on [169] that at Trafalgar Nelson wore his "honorary medals," while one always assumed he actually wore the real ones. Clearly there is more of King than Hattendorf in the editing. Those issues, however, are of little importance, because this book is a celebration of shipboard life, and readers will look elsewhere for academic verities.

There are twenty-two selections, nine for the Wars of the French Revolution, seven for the Napoleonic phase, and five for the War of 1812. Each one is worth reading, and designating

favourites is a very subjective exercise. The drama of famous battles is present in Dillon's eyewitness account of the Glorious First of June of 1794, and in Robinson's report of Trafalgar as seen from the lower deck of *Victory*. Samuel Leech recounts the loss of HMS *Macedonian* to USS *United States* in 1812 in gripping detail. The real human pain and suffering depicted here, hardened sailors weeping at the loss of friends, is a useful reminder that glory had a nasty price.

It is perhaps the memoirs of the unsung lower deck which are the most poignant. Particularly touching and amusing at the same time are the writings of Jacob Nagle. Reproduced with every imaginable error of spelling and grammar, they still impress one with the man's indomitable spirit, resourcefulness and fighting skills. An American who had served in the US Navy and the Royal Navy and deserted from both, he was finally tracked down in London and reinstated in the RN. His life ashore, in pubs, with poor girls prostituting themselves to support their mothers, strangers helping him avoid the press gangs, all give a very non-Hornblower view of how naval life was perceived by the lower decks. Nagle would never be an ultra-loyal captain's servant worshipping the deck his gentleman-hero walked on. In the same vein, but more humourous, is the tale of "The Noted Pimp of Lisbon." Samuel Gardner, albeit a future Commander, had a fine eye for dialect and character, and his descriptions of characters on his ship cannot fail to amuse.

Lord Cochrane appears in an excerpt telling how his little *Speedy* of fourteen guns battled and captured the Spanish *El Gamo* of thirty-two guns, a very exciting and very Hornblowerish action. The selection on the death of Nelson by the surgeon Dr. Beatty is doubtless familiar to all students of this period, as it has been quoted numerous times. Yet it holds its fascination and is a welcome inclusion.

The editors have included some items not strictly naval: the Battle of St. Vincent is described by an army officer who was a passenger on a warship; and the Battle of Corunna is described by a young officer who was ashore assisting in the embarkation of troops. Another future Admiral, George Jackson, tells a rivetting story of escapes from various French prisoner of war camps and jails from 1809-1812. While not "oceanic" in subject matter, such selections do

remind us that all naval life did not necessarily occur on board ship.

Several selections deal with the War of 1812, and while this is probably partly to attract American buyers (Captain Porter's cruise on the west coast of South America gets fifty pages!) the choices are apt. One is from an American privateer, one is an American victory (*Macedonian* and *United States*) and one a British victory (HMS *Phoebe* and USS *Essex*) which, we are assured, was the result of unprincipled British conduct.

There are other stories here, and those briefly mentioned have far more of interest than can ever be described in a short review. All, of course, are from English-speaking peoples, and one regrets somewhat that a French or Spanish selection is lacking. Still, that was not the editors' intention, and the work is not much harmed by the omission. Anyone interested in this "golden age of sail" will be pleased to possess this book.

Paul Webb
London, Ontario

Faye Margaret Kert. *Prizes and Prejudice: Privateering and Naval Prize in Atlantic Canada in the War of 1812*. "Research in Maritime History," No. 11; St. John's, NF: International Maritime Economic History Association, 1997. viii + 253 pp., illustrations, tables, bibliography. US \$15, paper; ISBN 0-9681288-1-5.

Faye Kert has written the definitive study of the economic, political, and social impact of privateering and naval prize in Atlantic Canada during the War of 1812. Much of this is based on records of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax which document prize-making by both privateers and the Royal Navy.

Kert begins with a brief introduction of the origins and evolution of privateering, as well as a useful review of the historiography of War of 1812 privateering. She then discusses in turn the causes of the war, the evolution of prize law and its interpretation by the admiralty courts of both Britain and the United States, the practice of privateering during the war, how both British and American naval vessels applied prize-making, and the economic impact of prizes and privateering. Seven extensive appendices include a list of prize cases appearing before the Vice-Admiralty

Court at Halifax during 1812-1815, the standing interrogatories concerning prizes, and lists of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick letter of marque vessels and Royal Navy vessels and their prizes. An extensive bibliography completes the study.

By 1812 prize-making and privateering were important weapons of war at sea. Kert describes the War of 1812 as "declared by the unprepared and fought by the unwilling for reasons that remain unexplained." Inconclusive militarily, the war nonetheless merits study from an economic viewpoint as a war against trade. Not only an important turning point in the mercantile relationship between Great Britain and the United States, the war was the last major international conflict in which privateering played a significant role.

Kert concludes that US privateers were more numerous, larger, and more heavily armed than their Canadian counterparts. Provincial privateer captures were usually of smaller vessels with less valuable cargoes. Nonetheless privateering remained popular throughout the conflict and the Halifax Vice-Admiralty Court heard more than six hundred cases (including vessels captured by the Royal Navy). The mere presence of these vessels along the coasts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia helped compensate for the lack of Royal Navy vessels there, particularly at the beginning of the war. Most of the vessels condemned were later sold at auction and contributed to the commercial life of the Atlantic provinces. Kert concludes that investors in privateering came primarily from the merchant class rather than the political or social élite, and contrary to the quasi-pirate stereotype, privateersmen of Atlantic Canada tended to be "well capitalized, law-abiding, business-like, generally well-behaved, and moderately successful."

Owners of private armed vessels had little difficulty securing crews during the war. As in the United States, privateering in Canada was much more popular than naval service, largely because of better wages and working conditions. Privateersmen from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia also preferred cooperation to competition, supporting one another's activities and often sharing the financial rewards. While the war brought financial ruin to the New England maritime industry and even prompted talk of separation from the United States, the security afforded by the Royal Navy brought unprecedented pro-

sperity to the Canadian Atlantic provinces.

Kert's assertion that the War of 1812 was the last conflict in which commerce raiding played a major role ignores the US Civil War and World Wars I and II. One might also disagree with her statement that "in two and a half years of war, the United States developed a small but potent navy capable of meeting, and even defeating, Royal Navy ships." Apart from victories on inland lakes Erie and Champlain — admittedly of great strategic importance in the conflict — US Navy victories at sea were largely limited to the first months of the war. These points aside, Kert's study is a valuable addition to our understanding of the War of 1812. It will not need to be done again.

Spencer C. Tucker
Lexington, Virginia

James C. Bradford (ed.). *Quarterdeck and Bridge: Two Centuries of American Naval Leaders*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xviii + 455 pp., illustrations, photographs, index. US \$42.50, Cdn \$60.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-073-8. US \$22.95, Cdn \$31.95, paper; ISBN 0-55750-096-7. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Quarterdeck and Bridge is a series of biographical sketches of twenty highly prominent officers of the United States Navy from Esek Hopkins in the 1770s to Elmo Zumwalt in the 1970s. Fourteen of the essays are reprinted, with varying degrees of revision, from three earlier volumes edited by James Bradford and published by the Naval Institute Press: *Command under Sail: Makers of the American Naval Tradition, 1775-1850* (1985); *Captains of the Old Steam Navy: Makers of the American Naval Tradition, 1840-1880* (1986); and *Admirals of the New Steel Navy: Makers of the American Naval Tradition, 1880-1930* (1990). Six sketches — those of World War II and Cold War naval leaders — are new to the present volume, presumably drawn from essays prepared for a fourth volume of *Makers of the American Naval Tradition* which has never appeared.

The authors' research and writing strategies vary. Robert Seager II distilled his book-length biography of Alfred Thayer Mahan into a highly condensed interpretative essay. Others, for whom William N. Still writing on David Glasgow

Farragut may stand as representative, supplemented the work of earlier comprehensive biographers with significant archival research of their own. John F. Wukovits was content to rely on the existing scholarship for the factual basis of his brief life of William F. Halsey and focused instead on providing an unblinking critical assessment of his subject's great strengths and equally spectacular weaknesses as a combat leader. Would-be readers awaiting David Alan Rosenberg's long-promised biography of Arleigh Burke will find here an extended precis of the larger unpublished work, a precis based entirely on the author's own intensive research.

Essays in *Quarterdeck and Bridge* will be especially useful for readers who are not necessarily interested in digesting a book-length biography — though these sketches may well awaken a desire to know more — but who want greater depth of detail than is provided by the bare-bones sketches in reference works such as the *Dictionary of American Biography*. The trick will be in arranging the encounter between this potential audience and *Quarterdeck and Bridge*. Scholars are well aware of this and the other three Bradford volumes. But the more significant audience — the non-specialist reader or the college or university student looking for a succinct but content-rich overview of, say, the life of Robert F. Stockton — will be likely to discover Harold D. Langley's essay on his subject only in those libraries with electronic catalogs which provide subject or keyword access at the individual chapter or essay level to the contents of multiple-topic volumes such as *Quarterdeck and Bridge*.

Is *Quarterdeck and Bridge* more than just a series of excellent individual biographical essays gathered between the covers of one volume? In his preface editor Bradford is rather taciturn about his larger purpose. He quotes Admiral James Calvert — "Important as ships are, naval history is made by men" — as "words [that] speak to the purpose of this book" and says the volume's essays trace the US Navy's history from the American Revolution to the post-Cold War present. "They tell the Navy's story through the lives of the officers who forged its traditions and stand today as the models against whom the leaders of tomorrow will be measured." [xiii] Whether any overarching insights can be teased from this two-hundred year biographical pan-

orama is, at least in this reviewer's opinion, doubtful. The editor worked with volunteer contributors, many of whom had to be cajoled into participation. He did not set a rigidly enforced agenda that required each author to address, with respect his or her subject, a prescribed list of questions about the officer's life and naval career. The project had no budget which would have permitted bringing the authors together for an intensive collective discussion of the draft essays that might have identified broader themes that could have been highlighted in post-conference revisions. *Quarterdeck and Bridge's* essays are uniformly well researched, deftly written, and unfailingly interesting, but collectively they sail as a loosely coordinated task force.

Christopher McKee
Iowa City, Iowa

William Laird Clowes. *The Royal Navy: A History from the Earliest Times to 1900*. 7 vols., London, 1897; repr. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xxiv + 698 pp., illustrations, tables, appendix, index. Each volume, US \$29.95, Cdn \$41.95, paper; ISBN 1-86176-010-8 (Vol. I), 1-86176-011-6 (II), 1-86176-012-4 (III), 1-86176-013-2 (IV), 1-86176-014-0 (V), 1-86176-015-9 (VI), 1-86176-016-7 (VII). Distributed in Canada by Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Reviewing an author who is already dead is a unique experience. The reviewer is allowed a certain freedom, knowing that the risk of a negative review creating a blood feud, or at the very least, a controversy, is slight. That said, the obvious question to be asked is whether the work itself has legitimately outlived its author and the material worth reprinting. In this case the answer is a resounding "yes." This seven-volume sweep of British naval history takes its readers from the pre-Roman invasion to the end of the nineteenth century, where new technologies seemed to ensure that naval power remained the most important military tool in the strategic/foreign policy process of the truly great nations. The collection is not only the best general reference work of its type, but it also reappears at an opportune time in the development of the field of naval history and still manages to raise some interesting questions. That it is also affordable enough to be owned by

every serious maritime scholar is an added bonus.

No matter how much things change they always seem to stay the same. In the general preface to his collection, William Laird Clowes makes much of the fact that Britain's naval history was being neglected by contemporary historians as a major field of study. Not only was naval history, with its close relationship to Imperial history, being ignored as the world moved towards a new century, but a deliberate attempt was underway to marginalize the field. University departments did not support such work, and students were seen as being deprived of the glory that was British naval history. Almost one hundred years later, the same fears and perceptions pervade the naval history community in Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Recent works edited by John Hattendorf (in the one case assisted by James Goldrick), including *Mahan is Not Enough*, *Ubu Sumis?*, and *Doing Naval History*, have been useful platforms from which the maritime history community has indulged in navel gazing, the better to try to identify why it is that naval history is an endangered species as a profession. The inability to attract first-rate young scholars, to maintain chairs, to obtain funding and to command attention, are all chords of discontent with which Clowes would immediately identify. This leads to the first interesting question raised by the republication of the work: has naval history always been a marginal subject, even at the best of times? Clowes answer is, of course, "no."

The second issue that is raised by the depth and breadth of the work, and which is connected to the first, is one of approach and methodology. Very few of the historians practicing in the field of "naval history" today would be capable of reproducing Clowes' achievement. That inability is not simply the consequence of stingy presses, ignorant editors or the lack of material. Rather, the movement of naval historians over the last forty years into primarily narrow technological niches, battle history or biography, in the search for the great weapon, the great battle or the great man, has caused the profession to marginalize itself. It has been poised precariously on the edge of mediocrity and irrelevance, which is something which Clowes would not allow his history to become. There are two reasons for this change.

One is the uniqueness of the Royal Navy and

its role in the development of the British Empire. Clowes understood clearly the linkage between the navy and the Empire. One did not exist without the other, so to study the two as separate entities was nonsensical. Since the end of World War II, the refusal to consider imperial history as a legitimate field of study, the unwarranted emphasis on armies and their roles on the continent during both world wars, and narrow agendas of nationalistic historians have all combined to lead historians foolishly to attempt to separate the navy from the empire. Worse, national studies have attempted to explain the development of their own nations and navies as phenomena not linked to the empire and the Royal Navy in any meaningful way. Thus, naval history dealing with the period before 1950 has not matured as a sensible and understandable field of study in Canada, New Zealand and Australia, because of the historians' refusal to accept the realities faced by those dominions with regard to naval power and empire. A close reading of Clowes would provide some contextual background. More importantly, it might also spark a realization that the study of British history is a study of maritime power and empire and, in consequence, that no former part of that institution can escape that historical fact. Clowes' naval history is full of material linking the British Navy to British society as a whole. Area studies, military-industrial complex discussions, foreign policy planning, strategic and alliance concerns, and party politics are all found in the work. Such has not always been the case with subsequent works which have attempted to analyze a nation's naval history.

Indeed, in the United States, with its naval traditions and system firmly tied to the history of the Royal Navy, naval history has, for the most part, moved away from the Mahanian holism, which Clowes so readily accepted and endorsed. That lack of breadth and depth has hurt the profession and thus it has not been able to join the flow of mainstream historical studies in North America. Failing to go beyond great man biography, usually for self-serving service reasons, and to embrace the methodological and conceptual advances made in the study of history generally in the 1970s and '80s, naval history in the United States after World War II (with a few notable exceptions) has moved increasingly towards a study of technology. Such a statistical approach

was recognised by Clowes, who rejected following the path of historians such as William James (*The Naval History of Great Britain*, six vols.), as being too narrow and unsophisticated a methodology to demonstrate the importance of naval history to a society as a whole. Clowes asks the reader to take an intellectual perspective, not an engineer's, on the needs of and reasons for the uses of maritime power. Those lessons would be usefully revisited by practitioners of the black art today, if there is to be any hope of broadening the appeal of maritime history. Certainly, approaching naval history as intellectual history or as social-economic history would do much to rekindle interest in the field.

Reading the picture of the role of the British Navy in the development of Britain as a nation, as painted by William Laird Clowes, will prove a useful exercise for any historian. And that is what makes it good "maritime" history. It is vital at this juncture in the development of maritime history to have such examples brought back into the light once more. Indeed, the works of Corbett, Knox, Laughton, the Colombs, Richmond, Tunstall, Graham, Schurman, could all be re-examined. Even if many of these voices have been lost once, that is no reason why they should be ignored again as the field advances. Indeed, in the era of alliance restructuring and multi-lateral negotiation, the guidance of such works will be invaluable for perpetuating the discipline. For those reasons the publisher is much to be commended for choosing to mark the centennial of Clowes' magisterial study by making it available once again, and in an affordable paperback edition for everyone to utilize and enjoy.

Greg Kennedy
Kingston, Ontario

William N. Still, Jr. (ed.). *The Queenstown Patrol, 1917: The Diary of Commander Joseph Knefler Taussig, U.S. Navy*. Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1996. xii + 208 pp., photographs, end-map, notes. US \$10 (& 2.50 s+h), paper; ISBN 1-884733-07-7.

In April 1917 the United States declared war on Germany. Less than a month later, a division of destroyers arrived in Queenstown (now Cobh), Ireland, the first American warships to be de-

ployed in the war zone. Joseph K. Taussig, a forty-year-old US Navy officer with twenty-two years' service experience, commanded the destroyers. Taussig recorded the event; indeed, he kept a diary through most of his naval career which lasted through World War II.

Historians often call World War I the forgotten war, particularly when referring to American participation in it. They have neglected the navy side, though an abundance of unpublished, first-hand, personal papers on US naval activities in the war lies in repositories scattered throughout the United States. The "Queenstown Patrol" diary of (then) Commander (later Vice Admiral) Taussig is one of those previously unpublished manuscripts. Retired history professor and former Director of the Program in Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology at East Carolina University in Greenville, North Carolina, William N. Still, Jr. edited the diary section that Taussig kept during his six months on the Queenstown patrol.

Taussig chronicles the operations of the six, sometimes eight, destroyers under his authority, especially the USS *Wadsworth*, the flagship directly under his command. He recounts how well American destroyers fared in their fight against the submarine enemy during the first months of US belligerency. He comments on the weakness inherent in the "area patrol" tactics employed by the British against submarines when he first arrived in Ireland. He remarks several times on the success of convoying as the most effective method of fighting the submarine. He even suffered the embarrassing consequences of friendly fire: "I was sure it was a submarine, sounded general quarters, and ordered the forecastle gun to commence firing." They had fired on the British Patrol Boat P-14!

Interspersed throughout the diary are Taussig's caustic remarks on the war. Thus he remarked: "It seems too bad that not even hospital ships are immune from attack anymore...practically all the international and humane laws have gone by the board so far as the Germans are concerned." Regarding the poor communication in the Navy Department he exclaimed: What can we expect? "Our Navy Department is absolutely unorganized so far as its duty in connection with carrying on a war is concerned."

Taussig details his activities on shore and his conferences with Vice Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly,

who commanded anti-submarine operations in the Irish Sea and all warships (including American) in that command. He also leaves his impressions of liberty and recreation as well as of the Irish and Ireland. Great Britain had put its clocks ahead one hour in the summer as a war measure, but "some of the Irish people are very indignant about it and refuse to set the clocks ahead." The Irish are "fond of Americans, but despise the English." One afternoon he strolled through the Irish countryside and observed: "The vegetable gardens seemed to be flourishing, there were fields of young wheat or oats or rye, lots of cattle and plenty of chickens, ducks, etc., to be seen. There were no signs of the country being at war, except perhaps an abnormal lot of uniforms."

Taussig describes everyday life in the British Isles during wartime, including First Sea Lord, Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, playing with his small children, and Admiral Bayly and Vice Admiral William S. Sims, commander of US Navy forces in European waters, washing and drying dishes in Bayly's kitchen. Taussig also vents his anger over the habit of too many American officers hanging out at the Yacht Club bar, and relates several clashes between Irish males and US bluejackets.

The diary includes orders, telegrams, personal letters and newspaper clippings. It also offers the earliest glimpses of American naval participation in coalition warfare. After completion of his Queenstown tour, Taussig summed up his feelings toward Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly and the Royal Navy on Thanksgiving Day 29 November 1917: "It has been a pleasure to serve under him directly...There has not been the slightest sign of friction. Our relations have always been cordial. The cooperation between the two navies has been intimate and successful."

Taussig displayed a clear, detailed, albeit sometimes informal or colloquial writing style in his war diary; he stands out as an uncommonly observant diarist. As J.R. Stark, US Navy Rear Admiral and President of the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island remarked in the foreword to *The Queenstown Patrol*, "Taussig must have been good company." His diary is absorbing. One would hope that eventually the rest of it might be published.

David Pierce Beatty
Sackville, New Brunswick

Peter Dickens; Eric Grove (intro.). *Narvik; Battles in the Fjords*. "Classics of Naval Literature." London, 1974; Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. xxii + 184 pp., maps, figures, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$32.95, Cdn \$45.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-744-9. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The two engagements that took place in the confined waters of Narvik's fjords in 1940 have received scant attention from most naval historians and students. Few writers see these battles as having much significance in determining the course or outcome of World War II. Fortunately, at least one author and publisher decided differently. Published as a volume in the *Sea Battles in Close Up* series, Dickens' work was hailed as the definitive book on its subject when it first appeared in 1974. It is this reputation which explains why the Naval Institute Press decided to reprint this work.

The only major change from the original work is the addition of a new introduction by Eric Grove. He presents an invaluable but brief biography of Dickens, and discusses the consequences of the two battles waged in the frigid waters off Narvik's frozen shores in April 1940. Grove concedes that the Royal Navy's hard-won victories at Narvik did not prevent the success of Hitler's brazen strike against Norway. However, he also poses the question of what might have happened had the Kriegsmarine not lost ten valuable, modern destroyers in these battles. This edition also bears the dedication that Dickens had originally intended to use.

Because of its excellent appendices, this edition dispenses with the practice of inserting technical notes in the manuscript. The text is also supported by a good number of photographs and maps. While the former are very pertinent, it is unfortunate that the publisher decided against printing them on the usual high quality, coated paper stock. The maps are very useful and well presented. A surprising oversight is the failure to provide a suggested reading list of modern titles to compliment Dickens' original bibliography. The only real disappointment is the continued lack of drawings of the various ships that played a key role in these battles.

The scope of the information that Dickens was able to present was quite staggering, and on

this basis alone his work deserves to be read. He discusses intelligence failures on both sides, and the interference of shore-based commanders with the plans and intentions of the commanders on the spot. His text provides in-depth coverage on the Kriegsmarine's inexcusable failure to test completely the magnetic torpedoes issued to its U-boats. This failure negated the major technical advantage enjoyed by the Kriegsmarine's destroyers — the ability to angle their torpedo tubes in response to sudden changes of course by the target. By itself, this testing failure explains the overwhelming margin of British victory in these battles. Otherwise, the Royal Navy's gamble to use the battleship *Warspite* in the restricted waters of the fjords during the Second Battle of Narvik could have been disastrous. About the only weakness in the text is that the author simply could not discuss the German invasion of Norway in more detail.

Anyone wishing to take up Dickens' gauntlet and rewrite the story of these two often overlooked battles will be hard-pressed to do so without first consulting this work. This is particularly true since many of Dickens' interview subjects have long since joined their former shipmates.

Peter K.H. Mispelkamp
Pointe Claire, Québec

Joseph H. Alexander. *Storm Landings: Epic Amphibious Battles in the Central Pacific*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. xv + 242 pp., photographs, maps, figures, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. US \$28.95, Cdn \$40.50, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-032-0. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This is an operational history of seven amphibious campaigns that occurred in the Central Pacific during World War II — Tarawa, Saipan, Guam, Tinian, Peleliu, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa — and of the planning for a culminating amphibious assault, "Olympic" (the invasion of the Japanese Home Island of Kyushu), that fortunately did not take place. These operations were chosen for particular study because they constituted large-scale invasions conducted in the face of strong enemy opposition that were self-sustaining and were protected by US Navy task forces. Collectively,

they represented the ultimate test of wartime amphibious doctrine. By analysing these landings, the author demonstrates the US Navy's increasing competence in this highly-complex form of combat during the final year of the war.

Joseph Alexander is a retired US Marine Corps colonel and prize-winning author of *Utmost Savagery* (Naval Institute Press, 1995), a detailed account of the Marines' costly November 1943 fight to seize Tarawa Atoll. He is a person who is therefore well suited to examine twentieth-century amphibious warfare and brings this familiarity to *Storm Landings*. Just as importantly, his writing style is both lucid in its descriptive detail and supple in its narrative flow.

In preparing *Storm Landings*, Alexander avoided gathering his facts simply by reading and analyzing the many secondary accounts now available. Instead, he sought out original documentation, including wartime operation plans and action reports. One of his most fruitful sources proved to be the files of material originally assembled by Jeter Isely and Philip Crowl for their path-breaking history *The U.S. Marines and Amphibious War* (Princeton University Press, 1951), which now repose in the US Marine Corps Historical Center at the Washington Navy Yard. He also was fortunate enough to have interviewed a number of veterans of the landings. And because he sought information on the battles from the Japanese perspective as well, Alexander had portions of several volumes of the *Senshi Soshō* (the Japanese war history series) translated for his use. As a result, the reader is treated to a fresh and engaging look at island combat in the Pacific.

Specialists will discover a few factual mistakes apparently caused by the author's dependence on unreliable secondary sources for some of his information. Thus, Admiral Yamamoto was not sent to a watery grave; [24] rather, the plane in which he was flying crashed on Bougainville. Similarly, the author's account of the disagreement between Admiral King and Admiral Nimitz over the proposed invasion of the Marianas [63–66] is a highly simplified one that inaccurately reflects the points at issue. On another matter, Alexander would have had a better understanding of just why Dick Conolly [74] proved to be such an innovative and successful amphibious commander had he read the biographical chapter on Conolly in Stephen Howarth's *Men Of War:*

Great Naval Leaders of World War II (St. Martin's Press, 1993).

Such minor details aside, however, Joseph Alexander's concise volume is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of warfare in the Pacific. It deserves to find a wide readership among both military historians and the public at large.

Jeffrey G. Barlow
Manassas, Virginia

Norman Edward Rourke. *War Comes to Alaska: The Dutch Harbor Attack, June 3–4, 1942*. Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1997. xiv + 166 pp., photographs, figures, maps, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$12.95, paper; ISBN 1-57249-028-4.

In many ways this book on the Dutch Harbor attacks of June 1942 is a frustrating read. Certainly the Japanese air assaults on that isolated American outpost, launched to coincide with the very much larger Japanese offensive against Midway Island in the central Pacific, are the stuff of considerable drama: a forlorn outpost expecting invasion by an implacable and ferociously successful foe with little hope of quick assistance, is relieved instead to find that the enemy has opted only to batter it with aerial bombs. Unfortunately, *War Comes to Alaska*, plagued by poor organization and lacking much context, does little to illustrate that story.

The problems become quickly apparent in the foreword with Norman Edward Rourke's contention that knowledge of the Aleutian campaign has been injured by a concerted American government effort at the time to cover up the danger posed to the United States by the Japanese presence in the Aleutians. Based on my own doctoral research into Canadian-American cooperation in the Aleutians in World War II, I think that I can safely say that there was no cover up. Indeed, President Franklin Roosevelt mentioned the Aleutians prominently in a number of 1942 press conferences, and any reading of American and Canadian newspapers of the day will amply demonstrate Rourke's error. Moreover, public opinion surveys undertaken after June 1942 reveal that a great many Americans were well aware of the war in the Aleutians (most could find Alaska and the Aleutians on a world map; con-

versely, far fewer could locate Hawaii). The fact that many World War II histories fail to mention the Aleutian campaign at all is likely the product of the fact that many people doubt that the Aleutian campaign had any great significance (an arguable point), rather than that there has been any great cover up of the "truth."

One might argue, in fact, that this book does little to uncover the truth about the Dutch Harbor air raids. Although Rourke rather laudably has incorporated first-person accounts (some of which are very interesting) from both American and Japanese participants, the book's organization leaves much to be desired. The descriptions tend to jump about with little apparent logic, and some of them badly need the services of a good editor and annotator. On the other hand, the maps and photographs are often quite informative and interesting. Oddly, Rourke includes a multi-page excerpt from primary Japanese sources without providing a useful context for that material, and given that this is a book obviously directed at a popular American audience, it seems quite odd that those Japanese documents are not translated.

On a strictly nationalist note, Canadian readers will note unhappily that the Canadian army prisoners of war held in Japan after 1942 are wrongly identified as having been captured at Singapore rather than at Hong Kong. In short, if one wishes to understand the origins and development of the Aleutian campaign, I am afraid that this book will do little to aid that quest. I would recommend as a good beginning Fern Chandonnet's edited collection of essays, *Alaska at War: The Forgotten War Remembered* (1995), and especially its rather extensive bibliography.

Galen Roger Perras
Calgary, Alberta

Kenneth Poolman. *The Winning Edge: Naval Technology in Action, 1939-1945*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. xii + 235 pp., photographs, figures, maps, notes, select bibliography, index. US \$32.95, Cdn \$45.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-687-6. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

In this relatively short account of "Naval Technology in Action" in World War II, Kenneth Poolman aims "to describe in lay terms the devel-

opment of the most important weapons that dominated naval warfare from 1939 to 1945, and their employment in action." [xii] Unfortunately, either the author or the publisher failed to allow sufficient space to give the topic a full treatment, though it can serve as a useful introduction to the subject for those interested in the history of naval technology (though the price might give all but the dedicated specialist pause).

That there is much that is useful in this work is undeniable, such as descriptions of welding and its impact on ship construction, an excellent diagram of the display on earlier versions of RDF (later called radar), another of schnorkel, a very good account of the war against the magnetic mine, and the US Navy's use of radar in the Pacific. Other examples include the author's descriptions of German dive bombing techniques, problems with the fragile undercarriage of the Seafire (the carrier version of the Spitfire), and the extreme means adopted by kamikaze pilots to avoid radar detection in their missions of self-destruction. Yet readers would be well-advised, when encountering the technical descriptions of these systems, to have a specialized dictionary at hand, though is it really necessary to know what a "valve heterodyne receiver" is to understand how asdic (now known as sonar) operated? Similarly, does one have to understand the meaning of such expressions as "thermionic silica valves" or "copper lavaratory spheres" to follow the author's description of early radar? Thankfully, Poolman only resorts to such technical language occasionally; for the most part, his work is accessible to the lay reader.

Generally, however, the author focuses not on naval technology but on the operations in which it played out its role, though these are not studied in great detail. Rather, such engagements as the hunt for the *Bismarck*, the U-boat wolf packs, the attack on Taranto, the carrier action at Midway, and the struggle for Guadalcanal tend to receive centre stage, with naval technology playing a secondary supporting role. That may well reflect historical reality, but those interested in the ebb and flow of scientific and technological development would probably wish to see more in the way of analysis of such issues. At least Poolman treats naval technology with an open-mindedness and sophistication often lacking in such accounts; one will not find exaggerated

claims here that a given device, such as radar, won the war or defeated the enemy in a particular campaign or battle. Instead, the operational focus which constrains the amount of space that could be allocated to the technology itself tends to place it in its proper perspective — how it was used is more important than its technical specifications.

A few errors have slipped in. The Type XXI U-boat was not in fact introduced at the same time as schnorkel [94] but a year later, when the war was almost over. And to harp on a somewhat minor point, Doenitz's orders to cease operations were issued on 4 May 1945, not 4 March.

To conclude, interested readers will find much of value in *The Winning Edge*, but the book serves largely as an opening into the subject, and an expensive one at that. Though the author can hardly be blamed for this, prospective buyers should be warned of the manner in which the book's length and certainly its price leave its potential only partially fulfilled.

William Rawlings
Ottawa, Ontario

Kathleen Broome Williams. *Secret Weapon: U.S. High-Frequency Direction Finding in the Battle of the Atlantic*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xix + 289 pp., illustrations, figures, maps, photographs, tables, notes, bibliography, index. US \$35, Cdn \$48.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-935-2. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This is the story of the ship-borne high-frequency radio direction finding equipment used by US Navy anti-submarine groups in the offensive against the U-boats in 1943-1945. Such technology was of enormous importance because it provided warships with their only means of detecting enemy submarines beyond the very limited range of sonar and radar. Properly trained direction-finder operators could discriminate ground-wave signals, indicating that the U-boat was within fifty or sixty kilometers, and provide an accurate bearing. That was enough for a fast warship to search in the right direction and at least force the submarine to submerge and lose contact with a convoy. If two or more Allied ships with direction-finding equipment were present, they could triangulate the position of the

U-boat for a concerted hunt.

British and Canadian warships began to achieve results with British-built sets in 1942. The author shows how the good performance of the first Royal Canadian Navy warship to be fitted with the equipment, the destroyer HMCS *Restigouche*, impressed American commanders engaged in the Battle of the Atlantic and helped promote the direction-finding program within the US Navy.

The most interesting aspect of the story is that the US programme, unlike those for sonar and radar, did not feature collaboration with the British. Rather, the Americans chose equipment that had been developed by French engineers from the Paris laboratory of International Telephone and Telegraph, the first multinational electronics corporation. The author has drawn on the records of ITT and the memoirs of the French personnel to describe pioneering French work in radio navigation during the 1920s and '30s, and the hair-raising story of how the ITT team escaped the German occupation in 1940 to make their way to the United States. The author makes much of the fact that British and US security authorities, fearing the French group had been planted by the Germans, tried to limit ITT's access to essential information and facilities. However, her own account of how the well-connected engineers and executives were able to make the necessary contacts in the vast, free-wheeling and ill-coordinated mobilization of the US electronics industry belies her suggestion that security concerns seriously hindered the work.

The book effectively integrates the history of technology and industry with the tactical history of the Battle of the Atlantic. Ship-borne direction-finding is well-placed in the context of other intelligence-gathering, weapons and tactical developments in the Battle of the Atlantic, and in the context of US equipment development and production. Sometimes, however, the thematic treatment of the rich material creates difficulties. There is a good deal of repetition. In some cases key events and people are not properly introduced until after we have encountered them three or four times. Anyone who has done research in Washington will be sympathetic. The diffuse nature of the American organization for equipment development and production is fully reflected in the records of the many overlapping agencies. The

greatest strength of this book is its firm foundation in these large, scattered and difficult collections.

Roger Sarty
Ottawa, Ontario

George R. Lindsey (ed.). *No Day Long Enough: Canadian Science in World War II*. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1997. xi + 274 pp., photographs, background readings, abbreviations. \$28 (+ GST), paper; ISBN 0-919769-65-9.

This book is a collection of some fifty brief essays intended to illustrate the vast contribution of Canadian science to the allied victory in World War II. There is an impressive diversity of topics, including vignettes on the National Research Council, radar, weapons and ammunition, medical research, chemical and biological warfare, operational research and the nuclear program. Most of the authors are wartime scientists, who provide recollections of their wartime work.

Unfortunately, too many too brief essays, with an average length of only three pages, provide little information of any historical value. What is provided is a deliberate attempt to recast the myth of Canadian wartime scientific achievement against what is perceived as an assault by "revisionist historians," whom the members of the book's committee admit they do not admire. In the introduction historians are condemned because their "research into affairs more than about 50 years old can only be based on archival records, usually offering poor testimony to the atmosphere of the time." [4] However, as any competent historians could have informed the book's editorial committee, memories of events more than half a century old are far more suspect than a careful reading of historical documents. This work is a classic reconfirmation of the axiom about the dangers of relying solely on uncritical selective memory to write history.

As a result, for those interested in learning about Canada's scientific contribution to the naval war, this work provides nothing new and is filled not so much with gross inaccuracies, but gross sins of omission. The best example of this is the account of naval radar research during the war. The technically successful, but operationally

next-to-useless SW 1 C radar is not mentioned. This set was the principal ship-based radar from late 1941 to the end of 1942. Nor is there mention of the two major naval shortwave radar projects that completely failed, the American/ Canadian hybrid RX/U and the all-Canadian RX/C. Given that the RCN was relying on these sets to end its grave deficiencies in centimetric radar during a crucial period in the Battle of the Atlantic, this is a serious oversight. Also not mentioned is the Canadian version of the ASV Mark II radar, which played a vital role in convoy defence before shorter wavelength aircraft sets became available. Instead, attention is given to the development of the type 268 radar, a set built for and under the supervision of the British Admiralty. The set was a technological triumph, but it was ready too late to see extensive service in the war. The RCN refused to use the type 268, having already abandoned unreliable Canadian radar for American equipment like the SU 3-centimetre set.

Most of the rest of the section on the scientific contribution to the RCN is excerpted from much earlier works, principally Wilfrid Eggleston's 1950 publication, *Scientists at War*. Not only is this not original, but it ignores the much more extensive accounts in Zimmerman's *Great Naval Battle of Ottawa*, and the various works by Milner.

Overall this work provides little new information and what is provided is uncritically presented. By ignoring the work of historians who have written on the scientific war, a golden opportunity has been missed to add to an impressive body of historical writing that is not in the least bit revisionary. After all, historians are well aware that the principal "atmosphere of the time" was the desire to defeat the Axis powers. That sometimes Canadian efforts to contribute to the scientific war failed is a fact, not a matter of revisionary opinion. What is subject to interpretation is the causes for these failures, which were, more often than not, outside of the control of and beyond the knowledge of the scientists. For it can only be by performance in battle that the success or failure of a new weapon system can be judged in times of war.

David Zimmerman
Victoria, British Columbia

Clay Blair. *Hitler's U-Boat War: The Hunters, 1939-1942*. New York: Random House, 1996 xxxi + 809 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, indices. US \$40, Cdn \$56, cloth; ISBN 0-394-58839-8.

Clay Blair, a former US Navy submariner, is best known as the author of *Silent Victory*, an account of the American submarine war against Japan in the Pacific. In this book and a forthcoming second volume he tells the story of the German U-boat war in the Atlantic in a style aimed at both a scholarly and a popular audience. Unfortunately the lack of footnotes seriously undermines its claim of being an authoritative and definitive history (the bibliography will appear in the second volume but until then is available on Random House's web-site).

It is impossible to do justice to the scope of this book in a brief review, for it is clearly the product of a massive amount of research. Blair describes the U-boat war in a level of detail as yet unattempted by historians: virtually every U-boat patrol is included and the more notable patrols and convoy battles are described in depth. The roles of air power, shipbuilding, code-breaking, and technological advances are thoroughly discussed; the descriptions of German torpedo defects and Allied radar development are particularly well done. Though the detail is sometimes overwhelming, even specialists will find something new here. Continuing the trend of recent historiography of the Battle of the Atlantic, Blair has made an effort to accord the Royal Canadian Navy its proper place in the story and is familiar with the work of Canadian historians. For example, this is one of the few accounts that acknowledges that the main blow of Operation Drumbeat fell in Canadian not American waters. Most historians have treated Drumbeat, the surprise U-boat attack in the western hemisphere in January 1942, exclusively as an attack on American shipping. On the other hand, repeated references to Canadian escorts as "green" or "inexperienced" leave the reader sometimes wondering whether he is really just painting all Canadian warships with the same brush.

If there is an underlying thesis in the book, it is that the threat posed by German U-boats has been overemphasized by German propagandists and Allied historians — hardly an original argu-

ment. In making it he sometimes goes too far, claiming that the U-boat war was a draw until the end of 1941. The numbers, however, suggest a German victory to that date: forty-nine U-boats lost in exchange for twenty-eight Allied warships and 1,124 merchant ships of 5.3 million tons.

Blair is not without his share of axes to grind. National and service perspectives have shaped the historiography of the Battle of the Atlantic and this is no exception. The author is particularly harsh in his condemnation of British historians and others who have criticized Admiral Ernest King, Commander-in-Chief of the US Navy, for being unprepared to convoy merchant ships in American waters in early 1942. In the weakest part of the book, Blair denounces Churchill, Roosevelt, George Marshall (Chief of Staff of the US Army), and anyone else critical of King. Defending the US Navy against charges of inactivity, he argues that King took early steps to set up coastal convoys between Halifax and Boston and Halifax and Trinidad, although both of these routes used Canadian escorts and were not really American initiatives. Much of what is becoming known as "the convoy controversy" revolves around the allocation of US escorts. King's critics allege that he withdrew destroyers from the North Atlantic theatre in the spring of 1942 (reducing the US contribution from five of fourteen escort groups to one of eleven) for the Japanese war. In King's defence, Blair proves that many of the destroyers went to the US Atlantic Fleet and not the Pacific Ocean, where they served with the fleet or escorted troop convoys, a task which absorbed scores of destroyers. He argues that troop escort was as vital as the protection of merchant shipping and that British historians have not understood the US Navy policy of providing massive escort for troop convoys. One might argue, however, that the limited surface speed of the U-boats posed little risk to fast troop convoys which as a result required only a token escort (which was all the Royal Navy was willing to provide). Still, Blair has put the often overlooked troop convoys back into the Atlantic story and provided valuable data about the numbers and deployment of US destroyers.

Despite these shortcomings, specialists will find *Hitler's U-boat War* a valuable and thoroughly researched reference work, making the lack of footnotes all the more regrettable. For

price and size, however, those with a more casual interest in the Battle of the Atlantic will be better served by John Terraine's one-volume survey.

Robert Fisher
Nepean, Ontario

Philip Kaplan and Jack Currie. *Wolfpack: U-Boats At War 1939-1945*. London: Aurum Press, 1997. 240 pp., photographs (b+w, colour), illustrations, figures, maps, glossary, bibliography, index. £19.95, cloth; ISBN 1-85410-451-9.

Wolfpack is a notably well-researched book that goes a long way towards explaining why a particular mystique has grown around the German Navy's submarine service. Authors Kaplan and Currie are authoritative military historians who approach the subject of U-boats from a variety of angles — crews, strategy, vessels, equipment, operations — and so manage to add some fresh insights to the popular lore. Just as interesting is the account of how Allied naval and air forces gradually developed anti-submarine methods that defeated the U-boats in the end.

Kaplan and Currie concentrate mainly on World War II, but there is a brief preamble to provide historical perspective (where we encounter a rare lapse of historical accuracy when they assert that "the first offensive action came in 1801...in New York Harbor during the American War of Independence." [18]) They present a massive volume of details coherently by grouping them in logically-related chapters. Fittingly, the human element is placed first, examining the composition of typical U-boat crews. Among several eye-openers revealed by the authors is the fact that U-boat crews were not all volunteers. Unlike most other elite fighting formations, the U-bootwaffe included a large proportion of men who were conscripted into their demanding and dangerous specialty. However, once "in," they developed a tremendous unit pride, and served with extraordinary skill and tenacity.

It might be difficult even now, though, for a merchant mariner to share quite the same warm glow of admiration felt by numerous present-day fans of U-boat aces. After all, the "wolfpacks" preyed mostly on civilian tankers and freighters, and as the authors say of merchant ship sinkings, the U-boat commanders "simply wanted to find

them, torpedo them, and leave them and their cargoes at the bottom of the sea; if their crews went down with them, c'est la guerre." [58]

That they were superbly equipped for the job of ship-killing is well-catalogued in this book, greatly enhanced by the accompanying illustrations — 115 of them in colour, plus 130 black and white photographs. The photos that were taken during wartime patrols are particularly striking, conveying better than any words the grim service conditions and strength of character required of these implacable undersea-dogs.

The U-boats' construction and constant re-designs reflected numerous rapid advances discovered through battle experience and scientific developments. Weapons and convoy-hunting tactics were changed and improved continually to keep honing the effectiveness of what was potentially Hitler's most dangerous weapon. Prime Minister Winston Churchill himself later admitted, "The only thing that ever really frightened me during the war was the U-boat peril."

German submarines sank 2,603 Allied merchant ships and 175 naval vessels. They also took the lives of 30,246 merchant seamen — one out of every four who went to sea. Not that it was a one-sided slaughter. By war's end, the U-bootwaffe had lost 27,491 sailors killed, out of a total of 39,000 in action. One's only regret is that those brave and dedicated men could not have served in some nobler cause than Nazidom.

Sidney Allinson
Victoria, British Columbia

Jurgen Rohwer. *Allied Submarine Attacks of World War Two: European Theatre of Operations, 1939-1945*. London: Greenhill Books and Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. 252 pp., indices. US \$39.95, Cdn \$55.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-038-X. Canadian distributor for Greenhill Books, Black Cat Books, Cobourg, ON.

Whenever mention is made of submarine attacks in World War II, most think immediately of the savage battles between the Allies and German U-boats in the Atlantic, or US submarine efforts in the Pacific. This latest book by Jurgen Rohwer is an extensively researched assessment of an entirely different aspect of submarine warfare, the determined efforts of Allied submarines to de-

stroy Axis shipping. As the title indicates, almost all the attacks covered are near Europe, but there is one page that details the efforts of Soviet submarines against the Japanese in August 1945, in the short interval between the USSR's declaration of war and Japan's final defeat.

The book is structured to facilitate locating specific incidents. There are indices that allow individual ships, submarines or commanding officers to be looked up. The body of the book is divided geographically, starting with Arctic waters, then Norway, North Sea and Biscay, next the Baltic, followed by the Black Sea, the Mediterranean with the brief final chapter devoted to the Pacific. The preponderance of activity in the Mediterranean can perhaps be deduced by noting that almost half the book is set aside for the middle sea. However, as there are no statistical summaries, this assessment would be rather difficult to support based solely on the information provided as it is in the book, without further analysis.

Each chapter in the book proceeds chronologically through the attacks in each area with information provided in sixteen columns, often augmented by detailed footnotes at the bottom of the page. The information includes date and time of the start of the attack, nationality and name of the submarine, the intended target, and reported and actual results of the attack. As is to be expected, not all of the information is available for every event, but reasons for the absence of information or suggestions as to why the information has not come to light are usually included. The comprehensive effort of the author to determine all possible information about each attack is clear throughout the book, and his hope that all those noting errors or omissions will contact him is forthrightly stated in the introduction.

This book is not suitable for light reading, but it provides an ideal reference tool for those wishing to determine the details of specific actions. The lack of any summary tables or general analysis means that there is little here for general readers, but specialists should be delighted that Professor Rohwer has once again turned his formidable research talents to detailing the aspects of another portion of the naval history of World War II.

D.M. McLean
Orleans, Ontario

Roger Hayward. *The Fleet Air Arm in Camera, 1912-1996: Archive Photographs from the Public Record Office and the Fleet Air Arm Museum*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, in association with the Public Record Office, 1996. xii + 180 pp., photographs, index. £18.99, US \$33.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7509-1254-5. North American distributor, Books International Inc., Herndon, VA.

This sleek volume, in essence, is an evidentiary sampler. Its purpose is to entice readers into exploration of the apparently massive Fleet Air Arm photographic collection held by the Public Record Office. Published under the aegis of that institution, the book also includes images housed in the Fleet Air Arm Museum at Yeovilton. Altogether, some 240 beautifully reproduced photographs offer a snapshot history of the FAA from its first ventures in 1912 to the completion of the helicopter carrier HMS *Ocean* in 1996. Author Roger Hayward, while necessarily highly selective, has succeeded in capturing that multi-faceted history in a generally balanced and coherent way. Accordingly, few images stand completely alone. They are, instead, grouped into pictorial vignettes which follow a loosely chronological line. Subject matter, moreover, is appropriately diverse. Vessels, not surprisingly, hold pride of place. Striking, wide-angle views of *Furious* (1917), *Eagle* (1920) and *Ark Royal* (1960s) drive home, faster than mere words, the evolution from modified ship of the line to fully dedicated carrier. Here, an unstated but obvious subtheme is the Royal Navy's reliance on escort and light fleet carriers in contrast with the American and Japanese development of larger vessels before and during World War II. As for aircraft, Hayward is careful to represent not only the glamorous, but also some of the more exotic, if awkward-looking, types which saw service from the box-kite to the jet age. Similarly, maintenance units and land-based elements receive ample coverage. Thus, airfields from Gibraltar to Kai Tak form part of this visual record along with catapult systems, armoured cars and service bays. Given the limits of space available to him, Hayward has produced a well-rounded pictorial history of a complex and colourful subject.

The numerous photo essays are greatly enhanced by generally precise and well-phrased captions. Just occasionally, one or two of these

might benefit from more detail. Similarly, some crowded photographs might usefully have been enlarged. Thus, the shot of Columbo Harbour in 1942 [78] is described as portraying several specific ships, but the image is so small and the caption so vague that only an expert eye could distinguish one vessel from another. A few other photographs appear without precise dates, such as those of *Ark Royal*. [157-8] Fortunately, such problems are rare in an otherwise carefully documented book. There are, however, some curious omissions. Thus, crew and prominent individuals receive far less attention than equipment. Equally, it seems odd that no direct references to the much storied Taranto raid are made. Perhaps the author felt that episode to be so well covered elsewhere as to seem hackneyed in a work as original as this. In any event, it is greatly to his credit that Hayward presents the history of the FAA "warts and all." Accordingly, ill-starred ventures, such as the disastrous attack on the battlecruiser *Shamhorst*, stand alongside photo memorials to more successful undertakings. Brilliant technological innovations are recorded, but so too are notable flops, such as the scheme to transport paratroopers in claustrophobic one-man pods under the wings of a Fairey Barracuda! [97]

Taken as a whole, all that is truly lacking in this book is an adequate introduction. Far too much of the current one is given over to directions as how best to contact and use the PRO. This may serve the central purpose of those who produced the work but it does little to guide the merely curious potential buyer into the history behind the photographs which follow. The lack of reference to works which could augment contextual appreciation only compounds this problem. It remains, therefore, difficult to determine who the intended readership of this book might be.

James G. Greenlee
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Roderick Macdonald. *The Figurehead. A Story of Conflict and Loyalty at Sea in World War II*. Bishop Auckland, Durham The Pentland Press, 1993. xxi + 201 pp, maps, pen and ink illustrations, notes, index. £14.50, cloth; ISBN 1-85821-056-9.

This excellent small personal history of the early

war days, mostly describing the author's sixteen months in the rather out-dated destroyer *Fortune*, has two Canadian connections: *Fortune* in mid-war became HMCS *Saskatchewan*, and in awarding only three "Oscars" for contributions to winning the Battle of the Atlantic (in which he participated) the Admiral awards one to the Royal Canadian Navy "which overcame exceptional material and training deficiencies, and much stick from its American and British Allies.... until it was carrying the main burden of the mid-Atlantic war." [187] It is surely an unusually perceptive remark!

After joining the Royal Navy at seventeen in 1939 and his normal Big Ship training time, Macdonald was appointed to *Fortune* in October 1941 as an inexperienced Sub-Lieutenant. He had an exciting life in her for almost a year and a half, on some horrendous Mediterranean convoys, one of which from Alexandria was forced to turn back and during which her Engineer Officer was killed. From the Med she passed to the Indian Ocean for fleet support as the Japanese advanced, then convoying valuable freighters as an anti-submarine and anti-air escort between South Africa, Madagascar, Bombay and Ceylon — "a warrior for the working day."

Macdonald is a witty raconteur, hanging the tale on many stories of the ship's normal daily duties and her seamen, as he rose in responsibilities to navigator and even acting 1st Lieutenant, all without benefit of any courses except his basic Sub's courses. His main continuing concern was the ship's problems with a distinctly odd commanding officer — one who was withdrawn, morose, commanded "by the book" and therefore lacked any sensitivity or sympathy with the lives and difficulties of his officers and men under war conditions, and who exploded in wrath at every untoward event. The author attributes his appointment to the desperate shortage of command-qualified officers. When officers went off sick, no replacement could be requested — for several months the ship served with only two Lieutenants, a RIN Brahmin Sub Lieutenant, a worldly Surgeon Lieutenant medical officer, one warrant officer and the Chief Engine Room Artificer as engineer officer. When it was found the ship would only answer her helm in calm waters or by violent use of her screws, the captain refused even to ask for a diver's inspection of the rudder,

presumably in case higher command might suspect his ship was less than fully competent. It was only when she was almost run down while escorting the liner *Aquitania* that he consented, to find there was only the framework of a rudder left after a near-miss bombing had blown off the plating during her final duty in the Med.

Macdonald, later to be Chief of Staff to Commander Naval forces Southern Europe in NATO, and now Vice Admiral Sir Roderick Macdonald, Chieftain of the Isle of Skye and an acknowledged painter, coped both with his CO and a growing number of responsibilities, learning much, observing with humour his obviously favourite character, Jolly Jack, the naval backbone upon which all else eventually depended, and who he essentially commanded with wisdom and common sense.

Macdonald's story ends with his appointment elsewhere in February 1943. There are a few obvious spelling errors that should have been caught, but the story tells well of the hectic early days when all was too little, and funeral drill had a higher priority on Subs' courses than anti-submarine tactics or doctrine. Although the book runs to some two hundred pages, there is really only about two-thirds of that in text, for most of the pages are profusely and excellently illustrated by Macdonald's pen-and-ink sketches of ships, seamen, the harbours and activities. All this makes the book well worth the modest price.

Fraser M. McKee
Markdale, Ontario

Edwin E. Moïse. *Tonkin Gulf and the Escalation of the Vietnam War*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996. xx + 304 pp., maps, figures, notes, bibliography, index. US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8078-2300-7. Distributed in Canada by Scholarly Book Services, Toronto, ON.

Conspiracy theories, under the guise of seeking truth, more often dog proper historical analysis. What their proponents fail to appreciate is that any complex set of circumstances that is constructed to achieve a particular purpose would, in actual practice, prove far too difficult to organize and could easily be undone. The reverse is far more likely: a sequence of accidental events can

combine to create the most ghastly of mistakes. This is particularly true of naval warfare, with its myriad factors of men, machines and the environment. Clausewitz called it "friction," others, the "fog of war" or, less charitably, "Murphy's law."

And that is precisely the point of this book. During the night of 4 August 1964, the US Navy destroyers *Maddox* and *Turner Joy*, patrolling in the Tonkin Gulf some sixty miles off the North Vietnamese coast, reported that they were under attack by torpedo boats. Neither ship was damaged, but this was the second attack in as many days. Mere hours later, President Johnson ordered the first US airstrikes against North Vietnam. On 7 August, Congress passed the so-called Tonkin Gulf Resolution, giving the President authority to take "all necessary measures...to prevent further aggression." For over thirty years a debate has ensued: anti-war sympathizers charge that the attack was orchestrated as a pretext for American escalation in Vietnam, while supporters have stood by the legitimacy of the government's claim to the right of self defence. Volumes have been written to establish or debunk the conspiracy. Moïse is the first to wage into the fray with Murphy at his side.

On the basis of exhaustive research comprising recently declassified American documents, access for the first time to Vietnamese sources, and interviews with participants from both sides, Moïse concludes that the attack on *Maddox* and *Turner Joy* never happened. This is not to embark on an entirely new conspiracy purporting yet another US government cover-up. Rather, he contends that the original report was a genuine mistake. In the fog of war, the crews honestly believed that they had been attacked, when in reality no enemy were anywhere in the area. A half-million Vietnamese and 50,000 American lives later, this surely rates well up the list of ghastly mistakes.

Moïse candidly admits that relations between Washington and Hanoi had deteriorated to such an extent that if the reports from the Tonkin Gulf had not led to the US escalation, something else would have done so within a few months. Instead, "profoundly disturbed by the extent to which the appearance of this incident differed from its reality," [xii] he has found it instructive to dissect the human frailties, the limitations of technology, and the vagaries of weather and the sea that

combined to generate so powerful and lasting an illusion.

In so doing, he takes the reader on a fascinating tour inside the various layers of two nations on a collision course to war. Full chapters are devoted to US covert operations and thoughts of escalation in the summer of 1964, the institution of the Tonkin Gulf patrols, in-depth analysis of the incidents on each of 2 August (genuine) and 4 August (phantom), discussions of the evidence from the destroyers as well as from other sources (including "the problem of excited witnesses"), the immediate retaliation, and finally the inevitable further escalation.

Of particular interest to readers of this journal should be his analysis of the workings of a destroyer task unit of the mid-1960s United States Navy. On matters as diverse as abnormal atmospheric conditions, radar plotting and gun-laying, and tactics to counter patrol boat torpedo attacks, Moïse has done his research, and portrays it in accessible language. What transpires is a less than inspiring, but all too real, account of military (un)-preparedness.

This reviewer — not an avid student of the US involvement in Vietnam — must admit to having been perplexed over the years at how the world's most advanced and powerful navy could have been surprised by a Third World force, and that such a shallow pretext could set a cataclysm in motion. My curiosity now is satisfied. Moïse separates fact from fiction in an absorbing and entirely plausible account of what actually transpired in August 1964.

Richard H. Gimblett
Blackburn Hamlet, Ontario

Nick Barker. *Beyond Endurance: An Epic of Whitehall and the South Atlantic Conflict.* London: Leo Cooper, 1997. xviii + 254 pp., maps, photographs, index. £19.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-522-5.

Nick Barker commanded HMS *Endurance*, the Royal Navy's Antarctic survey ship and Britain's sole naval presence in the South Atlantic just prior to, and during, the Falkland Islands War. This book is more than just his remembrance of that period, it is also an exposition of his deeply held views as to who is at fault for having al-

lowed Britain to be caught by surprise by the Argentine invasion of the Falklands in April 1982.

More than anything, Barker blames John Notes 1981 Defence White Paper for giving the Argentine junta the green light to invade the Falkland Islands. In attempting to cut British defence expenditure, The White Paper bound the navy's role more tightly to the protection of NATO waterways than any previous defence statement. As a result a host of naval amphibious capabilities were cut and among the ships to be paid off was HMS *Endurance*.

Barker learned of this decision shortly after sailing back to England at the end of the 1980-81 season in the South Atlantic. Immediately, he began to lobby his superiors in an attempt to save his ship. As it became clear that such actions alone would not save what he affectionately calls the *Red Plum*, Barker engaged in a wider, and more dubious, lobbying campaign. In the course of this campaign he became involved with lobby groups and even met with the Opposition peer Lord Shackleton. At the time his actions sparked a great deal of controversy and undoubtedly they affected his career after the war. Much of this book is dedicated to defending his actions and to showing that those who believed he was actively conspiring against the government were wrong.

Nevertheless, the ultimate fate of his lobbying efforts had not been decided when, in the late fall 1981, Barker and the crew of the *Endurance* sailed back to the South Atlantic for another season of supporting the British presence in the Falkland Islands and the Antarctic. It was over the next several months that Barker came to the conclusion that some kind of military action by the Argentines against the Falklands was imminent. Although he sent back several warnings to London, none of these was taken seriously by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, which paid greater attention to the more upbeat reports of the British Embassy in Buenos Aires, headed by Anthony Williams. Barker attributes this indifference to his reporting in large measure to the fact that he had earlier angered Whitehall through his efforts to prevent the scrapping of *Endurance*.

When, in fact, the Argentines did capture the Falklands in April 1982, *Endurance* became the sole British presence in the South Atlantic. A cat-and-mouse game ensued as Barker and his crew

attempted to evade Argentine efforts to track and sink *Endurance*. The strength of the book lies in this section as Barker recounts the command and leadership difficulties of keeping a lonely station in such distant and foreboding waters. This meshes well with some of his earlier chapters which explained *Endurance's* work in the South Atlantic and the challenges which the crew constantly faced in this inhospitable environment.

The book could undeniably have done with tighter editing as many passages are confusingly written, reading more like a stream of consciousness than a structured argument. Nevertheless, I would recommend it for those with a general interest in the Royal Navy or the Falklands War.

Orest Babij
Kingston, Ontario

James P. Delgado. *Ghost Fleet: The Sunken Ships of Bikini Atoll*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996. x + 204 pp., maps, photographs (b+w, colour), figures, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. US\$31.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8248-1864-4; \$21.95, paper; ISBN 0-8248-1868-7.

It is a safe assumption that the readers of *TNM/LMN* have had the spectre of nuclear war hovering over them most of their lives. The mushroom cloud is an image familiar to us all — as is that bit of film where one engulfs a small fleet of ships. That was the atomic testing performed by the United States at Bikini Atoll, and in *Ghost Fleet* CNRS member James Delgado traces the story of those now abhorrent experiments.

Despite its subtitle, this is not a "diver's guide" to the wrecks at Bikini. It is primarily a history of the 1946 Operation CROSSROADS — the two explosions "Able" and "Baker" and the cancelled "Charlie." The mostly futile attempts at dealing with the radioactive hulks have been summarised, and the sad fate of the Bikini islanders has not been overlooked. Despite the emotionally sensitive nature of the material, the author has written a well-balanced account, one that will be enjoyed by the general public. Reference notes are unobtrusive, tucked away in the back, where they are available to the serious researcher, but where they are less likely to frighten off the average reader.

Once past the history, Delgado narrates his

experiences diving the wrecks. His descriptions will ring true to any diver, and make it easy to picture the carnage caused by the atomic blasts. Most of the ships Delgado visited rate only a few paragraphs — two of the most interesting, battleship *Arkansas* and carrier *Saratoga*, get the most space. The treatment of the latter, a famous veteran of the Pacific campaign, is particularly good. Loaded with aircraft and ordnance, she was about three hundred metres from the "Baker" blast — and the gallant vessel took almost eight hours before she finally sank. Now, battered and crumpled, she sits upright in about 180 feet of water.

The author spends some time contrasting the treatment given to the former enemy ships: the German *Prinz Eugen* (now upside-down in the shallows off Kwajalein) and the Japanese *Sakawa* and battleship *Nagato*. The *Prinz Eugen* seems to have been treated with respect.. The Japanese ships, however, arrived in Bikini with corpses still on board. Moreover, few test instruments were installed on them, and little scientific attention was paid to their sinking. Delgado makes the case that the presence of the Japanese ships was a symbolic gesture, and even goes so far as to say that their placing near the centre of the blasts was a "racist act." [154]

The illustrations are good: period photographs of the ships; views of the setup phases; the blasts themselves, and of course underwater views from the 1940s as well as today. It was undoubtably cost which precluded having more colour photographs. Sketches depict *Saratoga* and *Prinz Eugen* as they lie on the bottom.

Overall, this is a very good book. All that is missing is an appendix listing all the ships which were used as targets in the test, and their ultimate fates — over ninety ships were involved. Bikini Atoll is now opening up to the tourist — and having finished reading *Ghost Fleet*, this diver is now trying to figure out a means of squeezing his budget to be able to get there!

Safety note: the wrecks of Bikini Atoll lay at depths much deeper than those for which the "sports" diver is usually qualified. It must be stressed that anyone contemplating such a series of dives *must* be an experienced diver with the appropriate training, skills and equipment.

William Schleihauft
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