

BOOK REVIEWS

Nicholas Lambert, (ed.). *The Submarine Service, 1900-1918*. (Navy Records Society Vol. 142) Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate Publishing for the Navy Records Society, 2001. xliv + 397 pp., tables, bibliography, index, €75.00, cloth; ISBN 0-7546-0294-X.

The 166 documents in this collection provide a fascinating insight into the origins and development of the Royal Navy's submarine service until the end of the First World War. The editor, whose recently published *Sir John Fisher's Naval Revolution* examines much the same period, argues in his introduction that the early history of submarines in the Royal Navy has been misunderstood by most historians because of an impression that the Admiralty was technologically conservative with respect to their possibilities, and that pre-war planners failed to anticipate the awful effectiveness of submarines as a commerce destroyer. The selected documents demonstrate convincingly that the actual history of the subject is more complex, and far more interesting, than this.

The editor notes, and then provides documents to demonstrate, that the Royal Navy followed developments in submarine technology very carefully indeed. Though understandably cautious about a new technology that threatened to undermine an approach to naval warfare they understood, senior officers were more interested in whether the technology available allowed practical operational employment. As soon as designs demonstrated sufficient maturity to warrant attention, the Admiralty invested serious sums into developing an RN capability. From this point, which occurred at the chronologically convenient date of 1900, the issue rapidly became not whether, but what type of submarines to develop.

The debates in these documents reflect the same issues that contemporary readers will find in professional military journals debating today's 'Revolution in Military Affairs.' RN officers and senior policy makers were alive to

most of the uses submarines have been ultimately adapted to from a very early date. The overarching problem was at what point could a warfare concept be translated into a practical weapon of war. This question continually arose as submarines evolved, and most of the debates in the documents reflect either optimists or pessimists regarding some particular aspect of submarine development.

One example, well documented in this collection, is salutary. Before and, to a lesser extent during, the First World War a significant lobby in the RN and the Admiralty advocated the use of submarines in support of the Grand Fleet's battleships. Submarines of this type, known as 'Fleet submarines', would give the Grand Fleet an enormous advantage in an engagement with an enemy fleet because of the potential devastation that torpedoes could wreak. This concept, reasonable enough in its premise, was undermined by technological challenges that were simply not surmountable at the time. The primary requirement for a Fleet submarine was sufficient speed to operate in coordination with the Grand Fleet. Unfortunately for proponents of Fleet submarines, engine technology of the day was inadequate to the task. The only possible way to provide the power required was to introduce steam engines into submarines. Opponents of this move argued that steam-driven submarines, which took at least 15 minutes to dive, would be highly vulnerable. Ultimately, the pessimists would be proven correct, but the debate consumed years and sidetracked the development of other types. The siren call of Fleet submarines was so powerful that the RN did invest considerable resources into developing and launching a small fleet of steam submarines, the 'K' class.

The collection is broken into 7 parts. The first two deal with early submarine developments, then the impact of the submarine on strategic thought, followed by Fleet submarines, and the reappraisal of submarine policy by the Admiralty in 1913-1914. The last

two parts briefly review some wartime experiences. Each section provides a wealth of evidence that the Admiralty was not so much technologically conservative as pragmatic. The dynamic tension between naval officers and businessmen – a condition which appears to have been as tangible in the early days of submarines as it is today – is well documented, with some very pointed criticism of business practices outlined in several of the selections. The effort of the Admiralty and policy makers to anticipate the impact of the submarine is also well illustrated, with the prescient (Lord Fisher) and the less clairvoyant (Winston Churchill!) set out side by side debating the potential of the submarine as a commerce destroyer. The section on the war is relatively short – about 100 pages – but filled with interesting material. The reality of wartime service proved substantially different in many details, although the overall impact of submarines followed the general outline of many aspects of pre-war planning.

The editor has provided a short biographical appendix, a very useful resource given the wide variety of characters encountered in the collection. There is also a list of the first officers in the submarine service and a table comparing the strength of the RN submarine service in 1914 with that of 1918. There are no diagrams or line drawings of submarines, which is perhaps unfortunate as during the early evolution of the submarines many design changes occurred rapidly, and illustrations would have assisted in understanding these. Fortunately, there have been a number of recent publications that have illustrations that demonstrate the design points under discussion in this collection. Finally, the editing of the text in the collection is quite good, with only one significant typo noted – document 101 is dated 1914, but context strongly suggests this should be 1913.

Document collections of this nature are not for casual readers, and the nature of some of the documents in this volume will challenge those unused to naval technology and bureaucracy. For those interested, however, this

book is fascinating reading, both for the period itself, and for an insight into the challenge of translating warfare concepts into practical weapons of war.

Doug McLean
Ottawa, Ontario

David C. Powell *A Fascination for Fish: Adventures of an Underwater Pioneer*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001. 352 pp., index, \$29.95, cloth: ISBN 0520223667.

At first glance at the title and jacket cover showing the author in diving gear, one would think this book is about an underwater explorer like Jacques Cousteau. However, this autobiography of David Powell recounts the career of the aquarist who created the world famous "forest of kelp" display at the Monterey Bay Aquarium. David Powell tells the story of his life's work, and thereby a history of the development of public aquariums in California during the last half century.

Unlike Jacques Cousteau who brought marine biology to the layman through films and television, David Powell brought people into eye-to-eye contact with real, living marine organisms. Both underwater pioneers sought to promote a sense of caring about the ocean, a public stewardship of the sea. But they differed in their methods. Cousteau believed it was unethical to hold fish captive in tanks, calling them "fish prisons". Powell recognized the human need for direct contact with nature and especially animals, noting the popularity of pets. His boyhood fascination with fish led to a career in collecting exotic specimens and building aquaria for their display. A curate is one responsible for the care of souls, and David Powell saw this as his purpose as curator of exhibits at Marineland of the Pacific, Sea World, the Steinhart Aquarium and finally the Monterey Bay Aquarium.

The author describes the enormous effort it takes to collect a marine fish from its

native habitat, where the survival of the catch is paramount. Methods vary from handnetting small, tropical fish while diving to handlining dangerous sharks from a speedboat. Once caught, the next task is transporting the animal back to a tank on land without harming it. There is great adventure in collection expeditions to far regions of the world's ocean. Much of the book is devoted to recounting the excitement of fishing for a trophy catch, not for mounting but rather for public display.

Successfully collecting the fish is only the first step. Each specimen to be held in an aquarium requires an artificial habitat very similar to its natural environment, or that animal will quickly die in captivity. Powell tells the story of how he eventually learned to keep large, open-ocean sharks in tanks. The usual cruising behaviour of blue sharks is disrupted when they encounter tank walls, forcing the fish to turn constantly. Powell's talent for discovering the unique requirements of each species, and then designing a suitable aquarium led to many "first-in-captivity" accomplishments.

The aquarium must be built not only to support life, but also to display the animal to an interested public. The aquarist must understand the natural behaviour of the animal, and create a tank which allows the animal to display this complex behaviour in captivity. Animals which are not provided with social interaction may suffer. And unhappy fish make poor displays. In this respect aquariums play dual roles in both public education and science. It took the author years of trial and error to finally create functioning "realities" of the sea, i.e. microcosms of the big sea itself. The crown jewel was the Kelp Forest exhibit at the Monterey Bay Aquarium opened in 1984. How was it possible to recreate this lush marine ecosystem in an enormous, glass-walled tank? Powell recounts the philanthropy of David and Lucile Packard, the creative engineering of the aquarist team, and new construction materials required to make this marvel a reality.

The book includes black and white photographs taken by the author of many fishes

(from Cortez angelfish to the great white shark) he collected in the field and displayed in aquariums. Common names and scientific names of the species are provided, and the book has a useful subject index. I recommend this book for anyone curious about the behind-the-scenes world of public aquariums. The chronology of David Powell's career as he learned by doing is fun reading for anyone with an interest in aquariums, both large and small.

Joe Wroblewski
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Ian B. Hart, *Pesca: A History of the Pioneer Modern Whaling Company in the Antarctic*. Salcombe, Devon, UK: Aidan Ellis, 2001. xi + 548 pp., maps, tables, charts, photographs, plates, diagrams, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. \$45.00, cloth; ISBN 0-85628-299-5

The business of whaling entered the twentieth century facing diminishing whale stocks and receding markets for whale oil. To stay in business whalers had to hunt farther afield to bring in fewer whales that fetched a lower return. The industry was kept afloat for the better part of the century by Svend Foyn's revolution in whaling technology and later refinements, by bold penetration of the Antarctic's marine largesse, and by the development of hydrogenation, a processing method that made whale oil valuable as the prime ingredient in margarine and soap. Two wars aided in whale oil sales.

Ironically, it had been a last-gasp quest for right whales that opened up the Antarctic to the excessive exploitation of blue, fin, humpback and sei whales. Carl Anton Larsen, a Norwegian sealer and whaler, led the way. The story of his exploits in Antarctic exploration, his pioneering in shore whaling from the Island of South Georgia, and the operation's survival for more than fifty years is told by Ian Hart in a remarkably detailed chronology titled *Pesca*.

"The story of Pesca," Hart writes, "exemplified modern whaling in the Antarctic; the initial success, high hopes and vast profits founded on the slaughter of the whalebone whales, which culminated in its decline in the 1960's and final collapse."

The author, who joined a three-man team sent to South Georgia in 1992 for the purpose of establishing a whaling museum, served as curator and archivist there for four years. His passion for tracing the history of Pesca, whose station was manned year-round on that frigid, storm-lashed island, is reflected in his attention to the myriad of details of the company's and the station's history.

Compana Argentina de Pesca Sociedad Anonima of Buenos Aires (Pesca, for short) was launched in 1904 at C. A. Larsen's urging following his harrowing experiences as captain of the Swedish Nordenskjöld expedition's ship *Antarctic*. The Argentine government had sent a rescue ship to the stranded expedition which carried with it an Argentine naval officer. At the tumultuous reception when the ship arrived back in Buenos Aires, Larsen urged Argentina to invest in southern whaling. He had not been able to inspire his fellow Norwegians to pioneer so far from home.

The result was an Argentine whaling company's founding a whaling station on South Georgia, a dependency of the British-held Falkland Islands. It was named Grytviken (Pot Cove) for the many seal-oil rendering pots left there by 19th-century sealers.

The British and Argentine dispute over claims to the islands would dog the company's operations. In 1982, long after shore whaling had ended there, the Argentine navy landed on South Georgia prior to the invasion of the Falklands. Argentine Rear-Admiral Destefani claimed Argentina's rights in part because of her being the first occupant of the islands when, on 16 November 1904, the Argentine whaling company had started operations there.

The Argentine whaling company maintained its station on the island of South Georgia continuously for almost 60 years while

Britain, through the Falkland Islands government, imposed leases and whaling regulations and collected duties and taxes. Norway benefited financially by supplying most of the materiel, most of the managers, and men who numbered at times 300 station workers and ships' crews.

The economic considerations in maintaining a shore-based whaling station in a hostile environment so far from sources of manpower, supplies, fuel, and markets were worrisome. Even so, four more shore whaling stations were established on South Georgia by British and Norwegian interests following Larsen's lead. None of these would match Pesca's ability to survive.

Although conservation measures were embodied in the South Georgia leases, increased hunting reduced the catch. As the few right whales and large numbers of humpback whales began to disappear near shore, the older, smaller and less powerful steam whalers were hard-pressed to chase and tow in the faster blue and aback whales that teemed in the Southern Ocean. The arrival of floating factories with modern catchers ushered in an era of exploitation that, despite efforts at regulation, decimated the whale stocks while at the same time the market for oil fell. Shore-based Pesca survived partly through the supplementary exploitation of elephant seals for oil.

Ian Hart has chronicled the Argentine whaling company's history in great detail, and documented it with the instincts of an archivist. Researchers will no doubt value this book's detailed information embodied in the Appendix' twenty-eight tables: lists, for instance, of the many jobs performed on the whaling station and at sea, of the gunners employed between 1904-1962, a fleet list, catch and production figures, company financial statements, right whale catches and the value of right whale baleen, to name only some.

The book could have benefited from closer attention to editing, particularly for the quality of the six maps which are very difficult to read, and are not listed in the front with other

illustrative material. Of the 207 photographs used, the quality of many is reduced by their necessarily small size. To correct what appears to be an inadvertent slip, the International Whaling Commission's 1986 ban on whaling was the moratorium. More recently, in 1994, the IWC approved a sanctuary banning the killing of whales within the Southern Ocean.

Few could have this author's personal appreciation of the living and working conditions at a whaling station at the edge of the Antarctic. Hart's understanding of Captain C. A. Larsen's concerns for the well-being of the men who worked for him is evident in his reporting on the station's food, medical care, pastoral counselling and church services, sporting events, plays, movies, and a library.

Photos convey the impact that Southern Ocean whaling had on whales and men. One shows a shoreline white with whale bones. Another is a contemporary scene of Grytviken's collapsing cinema next to the still-standing church. A man walks almost headlong into the wind. A third taken during whaling shows a funeral at the whalers' cemetery where a total of sixty-three workers, mostly Norwegian, ultimately were buried.

Joan Goddard
Victoria, BC

Leif M. Bjørkelund og E. H. Kongshavn. *Våre gamle Skip. Skipshistorisk billedbok for Haugesund, Kopervik og Skudeneshavn*. Second Edition. Stavanger: Lokalhistorisk Stiftelse 1996. 544 pp., photographs, notes, sources, bibliography, glossary indices. ISBN 82-91559-02-3

This is one of those books with little scholarly merit that will, however, be gladly used by academics as well as ship lovers for reference. Two historians with a professional maritime background have collected all relevant data about the fleets of three towns – Haugesund, Kopervik and Skudeneshavn – in North

Rogaland on the Norwegian west coast. They have confined themselves to sailing vessels and steamships. A further book will cover motorships. Most ship biographies include a photograph of the vessel.

A short overview (9 pages) by E. H. Kongshavn covers the development of the high-seas fleet of North-Rogaland up to 1971 when the last steamship was sent to a scrapyard. In Haugesund, the most important of the three towns, about 700 merchant steamers were registered over a 99 year's period. These vessels belonged to about 140 shipping companies. It is easy to imagine the impact of shipping on a community as big as Haugesund with two major ports (Bergen and Stavanger) near by. But this story will be told in another book.

Because this publication is intended to lay the groundwork for a lengthy maritime history of the region, which is planned for the near future, we will have to wait for the meat to be added to this skeleton.

Lars U. Scholl
Bremen, Germany

Julian Thompson, *The Royal Marines. From Sea Soldiers to a Special Force*. London: Pan Books, 2001. xv + 701 pp., photographs, appendices, glossary, maps, bibliography, index. UK £ 10 ISBN 0-330-37702-7.

In his short prologue for this book Julian Thompson describes his approach as 'history with attitude'. He explains that rather than providing a complete history of the British Royal Marines he has attempted to identify the key events and defining moments that have determined the nature of the Corps today. This is realistic as it would be difficult to provide in one volume a comprehensive history of an organisation that claims its origins back to 1664 and has been involved in every major British conflict since that time. As a former Royal Marine, retiring at the rank of Major General, Thompson has a wealth of experience that both

informs his work and self-consciously influences the conclusions that he draws.

The ancestry of the Royal Marines can be traced back to a meeting of the Privy Council in October 1664 when King Charles II directed that 1200 soldiers should be raised and prepared for sea service with His Majesty's Fleets. In Part One of this book Thompson briefly charts the history of the Royal Marines prior to the twentieth century. The trials, tribulations and triumphs of the Corps are addressed in a highly accessible manner. Inevitably military encounters figure prominently in this account although social issues are also addressed. Indeed, the poor social standing of the average marine officer compared to his naval and army counterparts underlies a central theme of this book. With poor pay and conditions and limited promotion prospects service in the marines was often limited to those officers who could not afford to purchase a commission in the army. Initially various 'marine' regiments had been raised on an ad hoc basis usually under the auspices of the army. From 1755 they benefited from a permanent establishment under Admiralty control however the marines, known from 1802 as the Royal Marines, were not an elite fighting organisation. Despite distinguished service in a range of conflicts the marines primary duties were enforcing discipline onboard ships, acting as snipers in the close range naval battles of the day and forming ad hoc landing parties when required. Later in the nineteenth century they added the role of manning guns on major warships.

Thompson charts the development of the Royal Marines from their role as sea soldiers' onboard ship to their current status as elite troops specifically trained and organised for amphibious operations. As such the majority of the book is devoted to the twentieth century. Thompson provides an eminently readable account of the various actions in both world wars and a variety of lesser conflicts. In addition to the more obvious actions such as the 1918 raid on Zeebrugge and amphibious operations in World War Two, he also investigates lesser know

activities such as the military intervention in Russia at the end of World War One. This includes an examination of the events surrounding the mutiny by men of the Royal Marines at Murmansk. Throughout Thompson seeks to demonstrate the faltering evolution of the marines from 'sea soldiers' without an obvious role to a special force' devoted primarily to amphibious operations, but capable of operating in all environments. Thompson's approval of this end result, if not always of the progress achieved towards it, provides his history with the 'attitude' that we were promised.

The book is supported by a combination of historical evidence and the personal recollections of those involved in the events that are described. As such Thompson achieves a delicate balance between serious history and general interest that should endear this book to a wide variety of readers. The author is able to bring the topic alive providing insight at both the highest strategic level and also from the perspective of the individual marine on the ground. The book is particularly effective when it examines the role of the Royal Marines since 1945 and it details their role in a variety of conflicts including amphibious raiding during the Korean War, a major opposed landing during the 1956 Suez Crisis and imperial policing 'east of Suez'. Inevitably, Thompson's account of the 1982 Falklands conflict is of particular interest, given his key role during that conflict as the brigadier commanding 3 Commando Brigade. In his final chapter Thompson examines the future of the Royal Marines, noting with satisfaction that at last the expeditionary role that they now support has become a top priority for British defence policy.

Despite his disclaimer in the prologue, Julian Thompson provides an excellent single volume history of the Royal Marines. Supported by good collection of photographic plates and some very useful campaign maps this book is a must for any serious student of British military or maritime strategy and history. It should also appeal to any general reader with an interest in

the history of what is now one of the world's elite fighting organizations.

Ian Speller
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Richard Hill. *Lewin of Greenwich: The Authorised Biography of Admiral of the Fleet Lord Lewin.* London: Cassell & Co, 2000, 443 pp., photographs, notes, index, £ 25, US \$ 39.95; cloth, ISBN 0-304-35329-9.

Admiral of the Fleet Lord Lewin, Chief of the Defence Staff during the Falklands War, died of cancer at age 78 in 1999. During his terminal illness he commissioned Richard Hill to write this "authorised biography" and taped extensive notes for him. Rear-Admiral Hill was a fortunate choice. A particularly lucid writer, he is the editor of *The Naval Review*, and was already the author of several books on naval topics. More importantly, he could draw on long experience on the naval staff and first-hand knowledge of the workings of the UK's Ministry of Defence. This detailed understanding of many of the policy issues described give him a real advantage since official records will not be available for study for several decades. Moreover, Hill is well known both to Admiral Lewin's naval contemporaries and the generation who served under him. A list of some 50 individuals who gave interviews and a further 100 who corresponded with Hill and/or provided material reads like a catalogue of the "great and good" of Britain's defence establishment.

Your reviewer had several fleeting encounters with Admiral Lewin. He had enormous presence, tremendous recall about people he had met previously and an ability to project genuine interest in whomever he was talking to. I saw this warm interest and magnetism communicated to Canadian sailors. Small wonder that this extraordinary leader was so well liked and respected in the Royal Navy. The author traces the development of the "Lewin style" and shows how it was based on building

trust. But the engaging personality belonged to an ambitious and driving person. His style was suited to his time and belied steely determination. As a Vice-Admiral Lewin told an officer joining his staff "don't forget, it's all done by goodwill". Hill points out that Lewin was a consummate networker whose secret of success was reaching out to the right people. As he rose in the defence hierarchy he worked hard at establishing strong working relationships and trust with his counterparts in the other services. Like Prime Minister Thatcher, with whom he established that relationship during the Falklands War, Lewin came from a lower middle class background. He entered the Navy in 1939, had a very active war and stood out early in his career as particularly bright and effective. As a senior officer he was able to argue his case with unusual clarity and persuasiveness

"In history, context is everything" and Hill chose to set Lord Lewin's story very firmly in the context of events. A particular strength of this book is the author's skill in reducing complex policy and weapons development issues to essential details and presenting them coherently without losing the readers. Much of Lewin's career after 1953 was a progression through seven successively more responsible appointments in Whitehall punctuated by sea (and, as he neared the top, senior shore) appointments. These years occupy three-quarters of the book and the result is as much a lucid and authoritative description of the major developments which shaped the evolution of the Royal Navy over three decades as a chronicle of Lewin's life. Although the fact is not emphasized this was a period of steady retrenchment and readjustment. The narrative demonstrates that the Royal Navy was flexible and adept at adjusting and that Lewin and others fought hard to preserve a balance of capabilities. Hill also shows how the Navy adapted to a changing strategic environment by making the most of its NATO maritime role and by preserving and renewing its ballistic missile submarine force. During his successive Whitehall appointments Terence Lewin was

involved in many key issues. These included changes to the officer structure, the development of the successful *Leander* class frigates, the decision to press ahead with the Sea Harrier vertical take-off and landing aircraft, British air defence missiles, and winning government approval to move in step with the USN in upgrading to the D-5 Trident deterrent missile.

Lewin was Chief of the Defence Staff for three years and had taken advantage of the painful "Nott Review" of defence policy to strengthen his position as the principal military advisor to the government. It was in this just-enhanced role that he was to carry out his key part in the Falklands War in 1982. Lewin was in New Zealand when the Argentineans occupied the Falklands. The early decisions to re-take the islands were taken without him. During the long flight back Lewin reflected on how the lack of clear government objectives had contributed to the Suez fiasco in 1956. He was determined to press for clear thinking about the British aim and succeeded. The chapter on the Falklands episode, based on interviews with Lewin and other senior players, provides a fascinating look at politico-military relations at the top and how issues like declaring an "Exclusion Zone" around the Falklands evolved. Richard Hill deals fully with the decision to attack the Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano*.

The author has included a lot in his 400 pages. He sketches in Lewin's happy marriage and as a naval officer he writes knowingly about how naval wives face the "grey mistress syndrome, the priority that the service takes in the mind of the dedicated spouse". As is to be expected in an "authorised biography" Richard Hill's tone is up-beat throughout. At times the reader wonders whether some problems have not been glossed over. A positive glow comes through the input Admiral Hill received from his contemporaries. At the same time the chapter on Lewin's command of an aircraft carrier deals frankly with operational problems and how they were faced. Lewin built his reputation on winning support and was not known for caustic comments. Having said this, the author did

include, without supporting, muted criticism of Lewin by one of his correspondents. He speculates whether Lewin as Chief of the Defence staff fought hard enough for the Navy during the difficult Defence Review of 1981. Richard Hill describes the span of Admiral Lewin's career as "revolutionary years in the history of the Royal Navy". (p. 9). This authoritative and well-organised study is recommended as a study of that era and the story of an outstanding leader.

Jan Drent
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Jak P. Mailman Showell, *U-Boats at War: Landings on Hostile Shores*, Naval Institute Press: Annapolis, Md., 2000. 160 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, notes, US\$36.95 cloth: ISBN 1-55750-864-X.

Few myths of the Second World War are more compelling – and durable – than that of U-boats landing personnel on enemy shores. Along the littoral of the Atlantic Ocean, from Wales in a great arc across the northern and western shores down to the Carribean and beyond, stories abound of German crews and spies coming ashore. In most cases the Germans were content (so it seems) to dance with the local girls and see a film. Others came ashore for more nefarious reasons, as spies and saboteurs. These stories would all be simple urban legends if it were not for the fact that there is more than a basis of truth in the rumours, and Showell's latest book ought to lay to rest the persistent myths of landings for purely social reasons.

U-Boats at War: Landings on Hostile Shores is the sum total of Showell's knowledge of the subject, based on his through familiarity with logs and interviews at the U-boot-Archiv in Cuxhaven. Showell, as many will know, has written several solid books on the U-boat war. And so although his books fit into the genre of popular history and lack proper documentation, we can be reasonably certain that he has a good

handle on the subject. Perhaps not surprisingly, all of the landings he recounts seem to have had serious military purposes, typically landing agents but also the frequenting of neutral or isolated stretches of shoreline for operational purposes. No social calls in the book, except perhaps for the last chapter.

What the book reveals is a curious mixture of skilled seamanship and astonishing incompetence. In virtually all instances, the landings of agents were – as the title of chapter one on landings in Ireland indicates – fiascos. Only two agents got ashore in Ireland early in the war: one was promptly arrested and the other lived well for a while and accomplished nothing until he too was captured. Two other attempts failed: one when the agent about to be landed dropped dead in the U-boat as it waited offshore. Landings in Iceland, Canada and the US fared no better. The eight agents (mostly native Icelanders) put ashore in Iceland were all quickly captured, as was the bungling agent Janowski, landed on the Gaspé Peninsula of Canada in November 1942. The Janowski story, familiar to Canadians, speaks to the bungling incompetence of the Abwehr and its agents. Janowski arrived on a remote beach, stumbled into a small local hotel in the wee hours of morning reeking of diesel fuel and personal filth from weeks at sea, smoking Belgian cigarettes, paid for his room in out of date Canadian currency and enquired about the next train for Montreal. The other agent landed on a lonely stretch of New Brunswick coastline fared better: he got to Montreal and lived – so legend has it – in a whorehouse until his money ran out before surrendering. The eleven agents landed in the US did not fare so well: most of them were executed. Showell tells the story of these clandestine operations almost entirely from the German side, recounting the details of the passage, the problems of inshore navigation and getting the men ashore.

The balance of the book – about two thirds of it – covers landings along the barren coast of the Sahara, in the Canary islands, and the Arctic, the role of Spain in providing

refuelling and repair facilities, and the establishment of weather stations across the Arctic, including the station on the tip of Labrador. The book ends with the use of submarines – specifically in this example U-722 – to ferry relief supplies to garrisons trapped in the west of France after August 1944, and the scuttling of some 50 U-boats in Geltringer Bay at the end of the war: an account which seems to be included because it deals with U-boats and their crews working off a beach and because there was good photographic coverage of the event. The evident fraternizing of the U-boat crews with the local German population is therefore the only evidence of the social side of landings on "hostile" shores: not quite what the legends in Allied countries have in mind.

The inclusion of the Geltringer Bay story points to the curious and at times eclectic nature of this work of popular history. While the text and most photographs are interesting and useful, one has to wonder at times at the choices made. Most of the photos in the "Introduction" – eleven of twelve – illustrate the area where two agents landed on the English Channel coast from a fishing boat! Perhaps they would have come from a U-boat had one been available. Curious. And the author clearly spent some time exploring possible landing sites in the Canary Island, and who would not given the chance! But the resulting photos, as good as they are, add little to the book. Strangely, there are no comparable shots of the rugged and heavily forested north coast of the Bay of Fundy, or even of the rather most accessible - if perhaps equally remote - southern coastline of the Gaspé, or Iceland for that matter. And then there is the extensive, and really quite interesting, photographic record of the scuttling at Geltringer Bay: operations on a shore made hostile, one supposes, because Germany had capitulated (although the occupying forces had not yet arrived, so this incident took place on the 'soon to be' hostile shores).

In fairness, Showell did include many genuine documentary photos. Canadians will be interested in the photographic record of the

landing of the weather station in Labrador, complete with the U-boat lying placidly inshore and sentries with machine guns posted on rocky promontories. The other Arctic expeditions seemed to have left a photographic record, and where there was none specific to use Showell fills in with relevant generic shots of the types of dinghy used, bathing on deck in the warm waters of the souther climes and the like.

In short, apart from licence to include 'other neat stuff', this is an interesting and useful addition to any library on the Second World War, or any that still gets pestered by those enduring legends about German sailors coming ashore to flirt with the local girls. Clearly, Germany's U-boats were busy probing the bays and coves of the North Atlantic and Showell has produced a useful reference.

Marc Milner
Fredericton, New Brunswick

Bernard Edwards. *Beware Raiders! German Surface Raiders in the Second World War*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2001. 216 pp., photographs, 2 maps, bibliography, index. Cloth; ISBN: 1- 55750-210-2. Canadian distributor Vanwell, St. Catharines, ON.

Despite its sub-title, this is a straight forward history of only two Kriegsmarine surface ship raiders, in the years 1940 to 1943, the heavy cruiser *Admiral Hipper* and the disguised merchant ship raider *Pinguin*. By far the largest and best armed, *Hipper* with her eight 8" guns and twelve 4.1" was only modestly successful in six war forays, although she did succeed in mauling some ships of three convoys in the Atlantic and Arctic. *Pinguin*, the fast ex-cargo liner *Kandelfels*, also known as *Hilfskreuzer 33*, was spectacularly more successful. She made but one almost year-long cruise and with the raider *Atlantis* was the most successful of these elusive disguised raiders, with 28 ships sunk for 136,600 tons to *Atlantis's* 22 ships of some 146,000 tons.

Perhaps because Edwards was himself an ex-Merchant Marine Master, he is obviously more sympathetic with quiet, more affable, easy going Kapitän-sur-Zee Ernst Krüder of *Pinguin*. He had been in the German Navies since 1915 and the author notes that Krüder usually hunted for survivors of his sunken ships and was concerned for them. He is quite disparaging of the colder, more hard-hearted (toward his prisoners at least) Kapitän Wilhelm Meisel of *Hipper* who often steamed off with no concern for survivors. This assessment of the captains shows in his narration and gives the reader an impression of bias, although he does allow that the German heavy units were deplorably restricted in their use by political pressures from Berlin and less than aggressive captains, probably attributable thereto.

Pinguin departed Germany in June, 1940, roamed the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, catching and sinking merchantmen, laid mines off Australia (which claimed 5 more vessels), and in the Antarctic seized a whole Norwegian whaling fleet including two factory ships, a supply ship and 12 whalers, similar to those that entered the RCN as *Star XVI* and the *Süderoys*. Of the ships she caught, 5 were captured and sent successfully back to Germany, including the two factory ships, plus 11 of the whalers. *Pinguin* was eventually to be sunk in the northern Indian Ocean when intercepted by HMS *Cornwall*. She went down fighting with the loss of 341 crew, including Krüder.

Hipper's role, like that of other German surface warships, was to create havoc and concern on convoy routes - hence the frequent allocation of the R Class battleships to them in the early days. The Germans were not prepared to become engaged in any battles with enemy warships of anything like their size. In her first foray, in December, 1940, she was held off a convoy by an aggressive corvette that made smoke and charged *Hipper*, saved fortunately by the timely arrival of two RN cruisers. The German warship's next foray was exactly what was intended. She intercepted two convoys off West Africa and sank eight ships and damaged

two more. She retired to Kiel, then to north Norway, had a not very edifying battle against Russian convoy JW-51A on 1 January 1943, where she sank the destroyer *Achates* and shared in the destruction of the minesweeper *Bramble* and retired from the war.

Edwards tells his tales of both ships without serious attempt to place words in the mouths of his characters as was the case in J.H. Brennecke's 1954 book on *Penguin, Ghost Cruiser HK33* (Wm. Kimber). However, as the two ships had no connection with each other, his interweaving of chapters is a bit distracting, although it does follow the chronological progress of the war. He sets the scenes for each involvement with a few useful paragraphs, and one can follow the purposes of each ship's voyaging. It is a useful book to fill in the history shelf of these two German commerce war ships in great detail. There are innumerable other books on the German surface warships' employment in total; two others on the merchant raiders of broader scope, covering all these ships, are A.K. Muggenthaler's *German Raiders of World War II* (Robert Hale, London, 1978), and Paul Schmalenbach's *German Raiders* (Patrick Stephens, Cambridge, 1977).

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William W. Taylor and C. Paola Ferreri, (eds.), *Great Lakes Fisheries Policy and Management: A Binational Perspective*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999. xi + 551 pp., maps, tables, charts, figures, bibliography. US\$49.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87-01348-33.

For years, the study of Great Lakes fisheries by maritime historians seriously lagged behind scholarship on North America's East and West Coast fisheries. This trend was partly attributable to the manner in which various disciplines looked to the continent's oceanic coasts as crucibles of American and Canadian

national development; obviously, as the scholarly record indicates, there was much to be culled from these venues. But the revisionist perspectives of environmental history have given new emphasis to the vastly overlooked maritime history of the Great Lakes region.

The early twentieth century travel writer Webb Waldron saw the region's maritime activity as part of a "devouring" temperament, and the Great Lakes were, in many ways, America's most industrial seas. At the heart of this consumptive enterprise were extractive industries and natural bounty that flowed through, and out of, this maritime milieu—iron ore, grain, timber, and, of course, fish. *Great Lakes Fisheries Policy and Management* has much to contribute to this new trend, but it is not a collection of essays written by historians. Its contributors are fisheries scientists, fisheries managers, and policy makers. However, historians will find much of interest in this book. Historical issues and materials receive extensive treatment and show that fisheries management and policy is, or ought to be, closely wedded to fisheries history. Such a paradigm was recently put forward in Diane Newell's and Rosemary Ommer's, *Fishing Places, Fishing People*, and Taylor and Ferreri's collection similarly shows what each of these individual and collective pursuits stand to gain—to the benefit of fisheries resources—through interdisciplinary dialogue. Taylor and Ferreri organize this collection in five parts: 1) "Historical Perspectives;" 2) "Current Issues Facing Fishery Management;" 3) "Allocation of Fishery Resources;" 4) "Case Studies," and 5) "Outlook for the Future." Some historical themes are broadly shared among these sections and the book's eighteen chapters, while others are more singularly contained.

Not surprisingly, the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 (creating the International Joint Commission), the Convention on Great Lakes Fisheries in 1954 (creating the Great Lakes Fishery Commission) and the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement of 1972 are conspicuously referenced and interpreted in numerous areas of this volume. A number of essays, particularly

Margaret Ross Dochoda's on management authority, delineate the complex history that has afflicted this large freshwater system governed by eight states, one province, and two federal governments.

Historians will be aided by the manner in which the essays correlate issues such as non-indigenous species, habitat, stock depletion and restoration, and resource allocation with the inter jurisdictional management systems that painstakingly and, sometimes tenuously, evolved over the course of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The most sustained historical narrative of *Great Lakes Fisheries Policy and Management* actually occurs in the essays comprising the section entitled "Allocation of Fishery Resources." The fragmented legacy of managing Great Lakes fisheries has not only been a dilemma simply of negotiating territorial lines in the tight confines of the "Inland Seas," but is also a series of historically contested relations among various fisheries stakeholder groups and their claims to the resource. Since the mid-twentieth century, when non-indigenous species such as alewives and smelt began dominating the biomass of the Great Lakes and sea lamprey practically eradicated the most important commercial species, the politics of fishing has only intensified. Within this historic context, two landmark policy/management actions unfolded: Great Lakes jurisdictions began favoring recreational fisheries over commercial fisheries and Native Americans began re-asserting their treaty fishing rights.

James Bence and Kelley Smith provide an historical overview of the recreational fishery and Russel Brown, Mark Ebener, and Tom Gorenflo do the same for the commercial fishery. In limited space, the later authors clearly present the vessels, harvesting technologies, and policies of the Great Lakes commercial fishing industry from the late nineteenth century to the present. Concerted sport fishing on the open waters of the Great Lakes began in the 1960s and precipitated the introduction of new boat types to the region, new fishing methods, the transformation of this

regional maritime landscape, and profound economic re-configuration. Although a shorter history, this account has been sorely lacking and Bence and Kelley remark on the need for more careful accumulation of historical documentation for future interpretation. Both of these essays stand alongside the chapter on forage base allocation, an important juxtaposition since commercial fishers turned to these species (bloater, alewife, smelt) when others declined in the 1960s and sport fishers relied on these to sustain stocked lake trout and introduced Pacific salmon.

As a resource for historical research, this collection is best used by starting with these three essays and the volume's introductory essay on the Great Lakes ecosystem. Chapters on lake trout, lake sturgeon, Pacific salmon, alewife, walleye, and yellow perch may strike certain readers as being overly specific and burdensome due to their scientific orientation. But compared to much of fisheries science and management research, these essays are quite accessible and a prerequisite for fully understanding the implications of biological invasions caused by human activity over the past two centuries. Furthermore, these essays provide background on the dynamics of fish communities, a necessary consideration for fisheries history and its human factors focus. Maritime researchers who approach Great Lakes fisheries from a humanistic and social scientific perspective will find the extensive bibliographies that are attached to these essays to be very useful. Overall, this volume comprehensively orients its readership to fundamental issues of fisheries environment and human decision-making. It, along with Margaret Beattie Bogue's recently completed history of Great Lakes commercial fishing, provides along over-due foundation upon which the region's future fisheries history can be written.

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Paul R. Schratz, *Submarine Commander: A Story of World War II and Korea*, Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000. xii + 322 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, index. US\$18.00, paper; ISBN 0-8131-0988-4.

Paul Schratz's opinionated memoirs covering his years as a U.S. Navy submarine officer during the Second World and Korean Wars combine the best and worst of military reminiscences. They are a valuable source of information about U.S. submarine operations but they are also frequently self-serving and aggrandizing.

A 1939 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, Schratz was posted to the submarine branch at New London, Connecticut in December 1941. He qualified for service in a mere six months and the book provides many fascinating glimpses of early submarine training schedules and routines.

Following a brief stint in the Atlantic, the author saw action in the Pacific starting in 1943 as either the third officer or the executive officer aboard several Fleet-class submarines. Schratz served in four boats during the war and three in the postwar period, finally commanding *Burrfish* in 1948 and *Pickarel*, a new Guppy-class boat in 1950. Schratz provides lucid explanations of the equipment and difficulty of life aboard a submarine as well as of the tactics of stealth, attack, and survival. But in so doing he reveals little not already covered in the existing historiography.

His narrative also serves as a moving testimonial to the many brave men with whom he served. The death of one close friend, an event Schratz witnessed, severely shook him. This keenly felt loss and his long separation from his wife and small children prompted his own private, and ultimately successful, war against melancholy and psychological exhaustion. In recalling the actions in which he participated, Schratz's prose is understated yet conveys the terror of undersea warfare. "For those without experience", he writes, "a good depth charge attack offers a unique form of punishment...One is prey to every dark possibility...It can be

emotionally shattering" [71-2].

Schratz comments on many features of the U. S. submarine war. He credits the American boats' devastating night surface attacks on Japanese shipping to the submarines being fitted with outstanding surface search radar. His description of the dangers of floating mines in the Yellow Sea and of the effectiveness of Japanese patrol aircraft radar detectors are interesting but not especially illuminating. Like many other American submarine officers in the first 18 months of the Pacific War, Schratz provides a biting eye-witness indictment of the Bureau of Naval Ordnance for its shocking failure to address the deficiencies with its torpedo magnetic exploders. One wishes, however, that he had spent more time discussing Japanese ASW tactics.

A self-confessed "nonconformist," Schratz saves most of his venom for, O.C. Robbins, his hated captain aboard *Sterlet*, whose name he actually uses only once. The apparently delinquent Robbins remains voiceless and faceless and Schratz might have been more introspective about this difficult relationship. After all, he baldly admits that, as executive officer, he considered relieving Robbins and assuming command himself! This might have been in keeping with his robust personality, though it is far from certain it would have been in the best interests of the crew.

Schratz also exaggerates his role in the Ultra food-chain. Having used his connections to participate on a B-29 raid over Japan, he claims that "as a recipient of highly classified Ultra intelligence information I was forbidden to overfly enemy territory. Given the gravity of even using the word at the time, this was a serious offense" [173]. While Ultra-derived information was distributed widely to US submarines while on war patrols, the source of the information was not revealed. It is not for nothing Ultra remained the greatest secret of the war! All Schratz, a mere XO, would have known was that the intelligence was extremely accurate, not that Japanese merchant shipping (MARU) codes had been broken.

The book is also overlong - a reflection of the inflated ego of the writer. There are simply too many tales of macho hijinks which give the memoirs an adolescent flavour. Also of note are his frequent descriptions of shore leaves and postings across the Pacific and in postwar Japan, though often these are expressed in language condescending towards non-Americans.

Nearly half the book, perhaps the most useful part, is devoted to the period 1945-1950. After the outbreak of the Korean War, Schratz's *Pickrel* patrolled the Formosa Straits to warn of any Communist moves against Formosa and, in August, carried out photo-reconnaissance duties in mine-filled Korean waters. Schratz describes the latter operation as "the first venture of an American submarine into the waters of an armed enemy since the conclusion of World War II" [298].

Desolate upon leaving the submarine service in 1950, he states "nothing equals the unforgettable romance of independent command" [313]. Schratz loved his submarines and his calling and this is obvious on every page; but he also seems to have craved attention, as much of this book attests.

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C. Snelling Robinson, *200, 000 Miles Aboard the Destroyer Cotten*. Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1999. xiii+328 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, glossary, index, bibliography, US \$35.00, cloth; ISBN 0-87338-645-0.

After a long career in Chicago real estate, C. Snelling Robinson retired to North Carolina. In common with so many other retired veterans, Robinson wrote his memoirs. It took him eight years to complete his task, but the result, *200,000 Miles Aboard the Destroyer Cotten*, was worth it.

Many books have been written about "Big Ships" such as battleships and aircraft

carriers; many books have been written about submarines and PT Boats. But *Cotton* was one of the "little ships," a Fletcher-class destroyer that was commonly-encountered but often unsung in the US Navy of World War Two. Robinson served aboard *Cotten* during all of its World War Two service. He was part of the pre-commissioning crew in 1943 and was still part of *Cotten's* crew at the final surrender of the Japanese in Tokyo Bay in 1945. Thus, Robinson was uniquely positioned to write a narrative of that combines his own World War Two service with *Cotten's* own service record.

This book fills an important niche. *Cotton* was one of the ships so essential to a fleet, but the type of ship often overlooked in battle histories. Without the destroyers and light cruisers, and all the auxiliary ships of a fleet, nothing would be accomplished. And, as a newly-minted Ensign in the U. S. Naval Reserve fresh from Harvard University, Robinson was in a fine spot to observe the business of the ship. Often Robinson was the immediate connection between the ship's enlisted crew and more senior officers.

The book is frequently written in the tone of a successful businessman looking back at a long-ago period of his life. As such, it lacks a bit of the freshness and vitality of a youthful contemporary memoir. That, however, is balanced by the perspective of maturity from which Robinson penned his words. He frequently sounds a bit pedagogical in his approach; he explains his duties in almost a professional-manner. However, for the reader unfamiliar with the concepts of which he speaks (astral navigation, for example) this approach yields rewards in clarity of explanation.

Robinson relates his career aboard *Cotton* in a chronological manner. He relates ALL of *Cotten's* World War Two service. It is all here: Tarawa, narrations of combat in the Philippine Sea; the Battle of Leyte Gulf; Saipan; operations in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands; kamikaze attacks-both aircraft and midget submarines; the great South China Sea typhoon of December, 1944, the struggle for Iwo Jima; a

brief return stateside; and the final surrender in Tokyo Bay. Interspersed throughout are incidents of the human side of war - the drinking, encounters with the opposite gender, and many details of life aboard ship and its berthing stations. The narrative reads easily and will be enjoyed by a range of readers-those unfamiliar with the Pacific War to those expert in same.

Robinson includes several helpful factors in his narrative: the cover has a wonderfully-clear photograph of *Cotton*, thus obviating the need for a cutaway or sideview drawing; several maps, good photographs of life aboard ship and combat scenes; and in an appendix, a very good set of *Cotton's* specifications, which should satisfy the detail-oriented reader. A list of awards won by the crew is also included.

After his discharge from the Navy in 1946, Robinson joined some many other Second World War veterans in civilian life and enjoyed a long and (presumably) happy life. *Cotton*, however, was temporarily retired. When the Korean War broke out, the ship was brought out of retirement and placed back in service. *Cotton* saw an additional ten years of U. S. Navy service before it was decommissioned and placed in reserve in 1960. While it was annually inspected, its 1975 inspection revealed that it had deteriorated beyond economic repair. It was scrapped later that year-the fate of so many World War Two naval vessels of all nations. A small *Cotton* alumni association meets regularly to keep the memory of this little ship still alive. And, it must be added, so does C. Snelling Robinson's book. With so many of the real items gone for good, and the World War Two-era veterans passing on at an increased rate, the memory of one unsung-but nonetheless valuable ship is worth keeping. This book is recommended.

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Daniel V. Gallery. *Twenty Million Tons Under*

the Sea. Reprinted Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2001. 344 pp., photographs, appendices, bibliography. US\$18.95, paper, ISBN 1-55750-806-2.

Daniel Gallery's book, originally published in 1956 and considered by many to be a classic memoir on the war at sea, has been reprinted by Bluejacket Books with updated information and statistics on the Battle of the Atlantic. This book provides an overview of the Battle of the Atlantic in order to place the operational history of both U-505 and US S *Guadalcanal* - the subject of the author's narrative - in their proper historical context.

In June of 1944, U. S. Navy Task Group 22.3, a hunter-killer force commanded by then Captain Daniel Gallery to track down German U-boats, boarded and captured U-505 off the coast of Africa. This was the first time since 1815 that the United States Navy boarded and captured a foreign warship at sea. This extraordinary feat is described in gripping detail by Gallery himself, who chronicles the long and arduous battle against the German U-boat under difficult conditions. Based on interviews with survivors of U-505, war diaries, and personal correspondence with her two surviving commanders, Gallery provides a detailed operational history of the German submarine from the laying of her keel to her capture four years later on 4 June 1944. The operations of USS *Guadalcanal* from her commissioning onward, including the revolutionary use of night-flying and the sinking of U-68, are also covered in detail. The author has also chronicled the trials and tribulations of those who dedicated their lives to restoring U-505 as a permanent memorial to those American sailors who lost their lives at sea.

The story begins with a brief overview of the war to lay the groundwork for the battle of the Atlantic and the eventual capture of U-505. Gallery recounts his time as Commander of the U.S. Navy Fleet Air Base at Reykjavik, Iceland, in early 1942, where, according to the author, the idea was first hatched for the capture of a

German submarine following the surrender of U-570 to the British.

The real strength of the book are those chapters devoted to an examination of U-boat design and technology. Similarly, Gallery provides an excellent description of the ebb and flow of the war at sea and furnishes a first-rate account for the layman of what it was like for both hunter and hunted alike. That said, the author has taken poetic license when recounting conversations between crew members aboard U-505, incidents aboard the submarine and, in particular, the chapter that deals with Captain Cszzech's suicide in 1943.

Gallery's account of the final days of U-505 are somewhat troubling. According to the author "by May 31, Lange was in trouble. All those Naxos warnings the night before had prevented him from getting any charge in his battery during darkness. It was about to poop out on him - in broad daylight" [241]. While that may be the case, this was a full four days before the capture of U-505 and, as Gallery himself shows, the U-boat surfaced on several occasions during the next four days in order to recharge its batteries and re-circulate the air. The state of the U-boat's batteries had nothing to do with the outcome of the battle. As Gallery notes, "we both blundered along practically within hailing distance all night and stumbled over each other at noon the next day. When he submerged just in the nick of time at four bells of the mid-watch, Lange had a well charged battery, a good belly of fresh air, and had apparently shaken off the aircraft carrier which had been right on top of him a few days before" [244]. The outcome of the battle had more to do with luck and the fact that the Tenth Fleet had been plotting the movements of the submarine for some time. Nevertheless, shortly after the attack began USS *Chatelain* succeeded in forcing *U-505* to the surface where she was boarded and eventually brought under tow back to the United States.

Gallery suggests that the most significant thing to come from the capture of U-505 was that it saved Allied sailor's lives because it provided crucial technical information

on German submarines, acoustical torpedoes, and gave the Allies the ability to read German naval codes because the boarding party secured the current code books, cipher machine, and dispatches. What Gallery could not know was that the Allies already had the ability to read German signals and had been doing so, albeit with temporary blackouts, since 1941. The capture of U-505 came too late in the war to effect the outcome of the Battle of the Atlantic.

Following the war U-505 was to be scuttled. However, a determined effort on the part of a number of volunteers, including Gallery himself, ensured that the U-boat was restored and placed on display at Chicago's Museum of Science of Industry, where she serves as a naval museum and maritime memorial to those American sailors who lost their lives at sea.

Daniel Gallery's book should appeal to the lay reader. The real strength of the book lies in those chapters which outline the inner-workings of a German submarine. That said, it will be a difficult read for some. There are frequent and lengthy digressions throughout the book on a range of topics from the use of the atomic bomb, religion, and the morality of submarine warfare. More disturbing perhaps are the overdrawn cliches and colloquialisms through the manuscript which are anachronistic for today's reader. Despite these criticisms the book is not without merit - it is an interesting and informative first-hand account of the war at sea.

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