
This book is a tribute to the 580 wooden sailing ships and the men who built them during the period 1784-1910 in Westmorland County, New Brunswick. Westmorland County (in southeastern New Brunswick, straddling both the Bay of Fundy and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence) did not have as large a concentration of shipbuilding as Saint John, NB. It did however, have a significant output (580 of 7,750 vessels). The author provides short biographies of the most prominent builders (Christopher Boultenhouse, Robert Andrew Chapman, William Hickman, Edward Wood Ogden, Gideon Palmer, Henry Boultenhouse Purdy, and Joseph Salter). While the International Maritime Economic History Association published an edited version of Joseph Salter’s diary in 1996, the remainder of the names may be less familiar. But as the author points out, some builders built more intensely or had longer production runs than other more famous Saint John- area builders. I found this section particularly useful as my own research into an Albert County shipbuilder showed he had connections to some of these builders but I did not have the opportunity to conduct wider research. This book helps close that gap for me.

The list of all the vessels built in Westmorland County is a publishing first for the county. It includes all the salient particulars about the vessels (dimensions, port register, type of rig, original owners and reason for demise). Many of the vessels were never registered in larger ports like Saint John or Halifax, especially after the region obtained its own registries in Sackville, Dorchester and Moncton in the 1870s, a later period of revitalized, large-scale building for the region. This listing is significant because the Atlantic Shipping Project, in their *Ships and Seafarers of Atlantic Canada* CD-ROM database, excludes the smaller and later ports, thus missing an interesting trend in shipbuilding on the periphery of New Brunswick.

Armour also includes all known marine art and photos of these vessels. This is another first for the county, putting together a variety of source images in one place. Nor did the publishers scrimp, printing most of the portraits in colour.

The book will be most pleasing for those with an interest in local history, and should sell well in Westmorland County as it glorifies their golden period of shipbuilding. That endorsement aside, I found that the book left me wanting a better integration of its data into the larger body of knowledge provided by Eric Sager and Gerald Panting in *Maritime Capital: the Shipping Industry in Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914*, the pre-eminent economic analysis of shipping and shipbuilding in Atlantic Canada. For example, Armour’s book has a list of the total tonnage produced in New Brunswick compared to Atlantic Canada, but for some strange reason, there...
is not a separate column for Westmorland County or a discussion of whether or not the county conformed to general regional trends. Perhaps the author omitted this additional layer of detail and analysis because this book appears to be geared towards a general or local reader.

I also have two minor criticisms relating to geographic spatial awareness — the book lacks a map allowing the reader to identify the location of Westmorland County and its major centres. When discussing the location of the towns and villages where ship construction occurred, there is usually not a written description of the location under discussion. A non-local reader will require a separate, detailed map for cross-referencing when reading this book.

One minor historical point that was not clarified in this book is that Westmorland County was actually split in two in 1845 with the western bank of the Petitcodiac River becoming Albert County. The author has chosen to exclude the 69 vessels built on the west bank of Albert County prior to 1845, even though some of the names mentioned in this account (like Robert Russell of Moncton) also built in the earlier greater Westmorland County. Readers interested in a history of Albert County construction are invited to look at an online thesis by this reviewer at

The author has chosen to limit himself to a study of the primarily wooden sailing-era as indicated by the 1784-1910 timeframe in the title, although there is still a lively wooden fishing vessel construction industry in the county centered in Cap-Pele in the Leger yard. Nevertheless, Charles Armour has done researchers a great service in publishing this county-based history of wooden shipbuilding, something that has not happened for three or four decades. (Most other local histories focus on a major building center like Saint John or St Martins.) In the 1990s, the author assisted this reviewer with his UNB MA thesis research on Albert County shipbuilding in the same period. What he did not mention in the resources section of his book is that there is also an unpublished finding aid and index to all of the port registers of Atlantic Canada, with a listing of all of the microfilms at various archives (notably including Library and Archives Canada and The National Archives (former Public Record Office) in Britain). Such information is essential when following share ownership over many years, as the registers can get intermingled between new and older vessels. A serious student of Atlantic Canada shipbuilding should bear this second golden nugget in mind when researching the major and, more importantly, minor ports of Atlantic Canada.

Bradley Shoebottom, Fredericton, NB


The play and ballads about privateer-turned-pirate John Ward demonstrate that he captured the imagination of those who lived in the seventeenth century. His conversion to Islam — “turning Turk” in the parlance of the day — was in many ways more shocking
to his contemporaries than his many crimes at sea. Author Greg Bak believes Ward’s story has the power to captivate readers in our own day.

While Ward’s story is not “untold” as the book’s jacket boasts, it may require a retelling to the current generation. Without question, it is a compelling tale. Ward served in James I’s navy and led a large-scale desertion in 1603 that resulted in the stealing of a ship. His actions led him outside the boundaries of well-ordered English society and he sought to make his livelihood in the Mediterranean as a privateer for Ottoman powers and as a pirate. Most remarkably, he is given credit for convincing Barbary corsairs of the value of English square-rigged ships as opposed to their own traditional oared galleys. Ward’s skill and ruthlessness against his fellow Europeans earned him the ire of Christendom but did not prevent him from amassing a powerful fleet of Turks and Christians, as well as a personal fortune. The capture of the Venetian vessel, Reniera e Soderina, enabled him to live like a king, albeit one with a price on his head. Such was his infamy that his massive wealth could not buy a pardon from the always financially needy King James. That Ward managed to evade capture is a testament to his skill and luck: he ultimately succumbed to the plague rather than any machinations of his many European enemies.

Bak’s vivid book brings Ward to life. Presumably it is aimed at a general audience; Bak does not hesitate to “fill in the blanks” when the historical record is not forthcoming. This is most evident in Ward’s sketchy early life. Although it helps the “flow” of his account, the sparse references in the book make it difficult sometimes to know how reliable Bak’s information is. This is made even more problematic by the mythology that surrounds his subject. Ward had a compelling life which has been immortalized in a play and ballads. A pirate who seemingly rejects Christian Europe while embracing the Islamic religion and Ottoman culture is bound to inspire polarized opinions. Ward’s story seems hopelessly intertwined with vitriolic accounts by horrified Europeans. We should applaud Bak’s attempts to extricate Ward from his legend but at times he too seems besotted by his dynamic and colourful subject: “Lesser nations might vomit forth regional bandits; England spawned a villain who menaced the commerce of three continents.” (p.192)

Most disturbing is the author’s tendency to make a number of sweeping statements. Often Bak adopts the popular perception of events and institutions which is either incorrect or requires a more nuanced explanation. This tendency is most evident in his development of the context in which Ward lived. He writes of Henry VIII’s “Protestantism” which is problematic given the Act of Six Articles and the king’s theological conservatism of later years. Bak asserts that the Anglo-Spanish war was “rooted in religious prejudice” (p.32) when commercial rivalries seem closer to the mark. That Philip II of Spain was Elizabeth I’s “sworn enemy” throughout the 1560s and beyond shows that he does not appreciate the complex and changing relationship between these former in-laws. (p. 12)

We might also question his assertion that it was Elizabeth’s subjects who called out for military action against Spain. (p32) No doubt many cringed at wartime taxation and tackling the might of the great Spanish empire while others sought to prosper. Another questionable statement is that Queen Elizabeth I rejected traditional naval actions in favour of privateering. (p.33) This is not the case. Defensive actions such as the one in 1588 were very traditional naval campaigns. She did, however, hope to pay for her considerable debts — naval and otherwise — from her privateers. This era was hardly the “dawn of English
privateering” (p.22), and the management of the war extended well beyond Robert Cecil. (p.30)

Bak claims that Ward obtained the rank of captain as “a recognition of his valuable skills.” (p.24) While this was true in Ward’s case, it would have been useful to tell readers that numerous captains of the period required position and pedigree to give “good governance” to a ship. Admiralty records are full of men who had little experience at sea and were accorded the rank “captain” because of their connections or ownership of the vessels. There were a few men like Ward who rose up from humble backgrounds to make their fortune through skill and audacity; they were not the norm and this is a testament to Ward’s abilities.

Bak readily acknowledges that to reconstruct Ward’s early life “we need to fall back on the social history of the lower orders.” (p.22) Yet Bak seems to be ignorant of the historiography of common seafarers. He asserts that it is impossible to write the story of lesser-known seamen. His bibliography reveals he has not used a number of works which would have enhanced his understanding. For instance, Hair and Alsop’s work on the Guinea seamen is based on wills and demonstrates that Bak’s assertion that tracking “individual members within this population is hopeless” is false. (p.14)

Despite these criticisms, Bak’s book is a very readable one. Particularly interesting is the “AfterWard” which traces the development of Ward’s reputation after his death. This chapter would have been strengthened if Bak had included Ward’s treatment by more recent historians. Even with these weaknesses, readers will be intrigued by Bak’s telling of John Ward’s infamous adventures.

Cheryl Fury
Grand Bay-Westfield, New Brunswick

The Northern Mariner/Le marin du nord
The book highlights the modern shipping era, the development from engine operator to ship’s engineer developments, national, regional and local institutions, education and training, careers and unions. It is written as a matter of course from the German perspective but lacks comparison with similar developments in the rest of the world. Some of the articles have a very personal or local subject; they will hardly attract large crowds. Every now and then the authors loose themselves in a very detailed piece on technology.

*Dampfer, Diesel und Turbine* is not only about marine engineering; it also offers an insight in German history. For anyone with a keen interest in two centuries of marine engineering in all its aspects, this is a book you can sink your teeth into.

Jacob Bart Hak
Leiden, The Netherlands


Justin Camarata, an award-winning ship model builder, combines an engineering background with a wealth of primarily self-taught model shipbuilding skills to produce superb static, or display-type ship models, including his magnificent fully framed, planked and rigged model of the Continental Frigate Confederacy. Feeling that his ambitions were no longer being satisfied and wanting to take that step beyond the standard presentation model, he did so by experimenting with his first waterline diorama, *Make Ready the Jib Topsails*, and in doing so produced a piece of three-dimensional art in a realistic sea setting. Rarely considered even by top builders, the experience gained in this field of ship model building took him into a fulfilling aspect of model building where a model of a sailing vessel is set into a realistic sea with accurately portrayed wave and wind action. He went on to document the processes involved, in-depth, in this superb book.

While the few books available on waterline dioramas, most written by some of the world’s top miniaturists, describe techniques pertaining to very small scale models, this book is aimed at the individual already working in the larger scales. It therefore makes the change from static model building and display to diorama far easier, presenting a logical and detailed base from which to explore the techniques involved.

Superbly produced by Seawatch Books, with excellent photography to support the text, the main body of the comprises eight chapters: “Conception and Planning,” “Hulls,” “Rigging,” “Sails,” “Water – the Real Thing,” “Water – the Model,” “Figures,” and “Presentation,” followed by a portfolio highlighting the work of many of the leading creators of marine dioramas.

Just as with static models, regardless of how the concept for the model originated, planning for the final presentation of a model in a diorama setting must occur early in the process and to ensure that the model(s) will not only fit and look good in a complimentary display case, but will deliver the original conceptualised idea. Using simple cardboard mock-ups, including paper sails, Camarata experiments with possible settings by moving the mock-ups around to obtain the best perspective for presentation of the finished model(s) in the display case.

Waterline hulls can represent a considerable time saving. The creation of a hull, a large task in a fully framed and
planked model that includes the full structure, is reduced to what will be seen when set into the sea. In many cases, the waterline hull can be produced from a solid, or built-up wood block, accurately carved and finished to the required specifications. Rigging will depend on the scale chosen for the model; if it is at a small scale, the rigging will likely be twisted up with very fine wire with simulated blocks, etc. with the techniques discussed in the relevant chapter. A larger scale model will use appropriately scaled line, blocks and fittings with which most builders will already be familiar.

Chapter 4, which deals with sails, moves into procedures rarely seen, or used, on static models. Camarata does a superb job of presenting interesting approaches to creating, painting and setting the sails realistically using a variety of materials ranging from fine papers to fabric, depending on scale. Photographs of his work in the book confirm his mastery of the techniques.

The chapters “Water - The Real Thing” and “Water - the Model” present the best material I have seen regarding hull-generated waves, along with a variety of materials and techniques used to create the desired action in a modelled seaway. He begins by drawing on Lord Kelvin's mathematical formulas of the late 1800s regarding bow waves, using a reference point rather than a hull, and developed further by Edward Froude to reflect wave generation of real hulls. Camarata explains the matter further, illustrating it with superb photographs of vessels underway. He indicates that this aspect is somewhat technical, and takes some study to understand, but it is time well spent.

To appear realistic, a diorama requires figures. Camarata takes the standard approach of using a wire armature on which to fill out the figure, using a number of media, and posing the figures as required for best effect.

Chapter 8, “Presentation,” which was conceptualized in Chapter 1, has the completed model set into its sea, ready for the display case. Case design is vital to present, frame and protect the model, with not competing with it. Case construction is well covered, as is studio photography using film and digital cameras, with interesting photographic possibilities that combine the model and various backdrops.

The builder's portfolio section illustrates the work of some of the finest contemporary dioramists: McNarry, McCaffery, Hitchcock, Reed, Moore, Hunnisett, Ronnberg Jr., Pruneau, Britten, Santos, Dick and, justifiably, Camarata.

This book is highly recommended to those who either already have or are considering waterline dioramas as an extension or continuation of their ship model work, or to simply understand the processes involved. It would also be of interest to two-dimensional artists portraying realistic wave action of a vessel underway.

Roger Cole
Scarborough, Ontario.


The first three pages of Eric Jay Dolin’s book, *Leviathan: The History of Whaling in America*, are filled with former reviewers’ accolades. Randall Reeves, reviewing for *Marine Mammal Science* believed it to be “an excellent overview of the history of whaling.” Timothy Runyan remarked in *Sea History* that Dolin’s book was “a riveting story and one that invites discussion
of the history of human predation in the world’s oceans.” Nathaniel Philbrick perhaps provided the work its best review when he wrote that it was “the best history of American whaling in a generation.” Is Dolin’s work deserving of such high praise? The answer is a simple, but emphatic, yes. *Leviathan* is one of the most fascinating, best-researched, easily readable and expertly indexed books that I have ever had the pleasure to read.

Dolin’s study documents the rise and the fall of the whaling industry in the United States from 1614 to 1924. He argues that the whaling industry fuelled not only people’s whale-oil lamps, but also the growth of the colonial, and later the American, economy. He further suggests that studies on the triangular trade and the cod trade have overshadowed the importance of whaling to the formation and the growth of America. *Leviathan* attempts to highlight the importance of whaling, both economically and socially, to the people of the United States, and the book succeeds.

Although this is the best study of whaling since Gordon Jackson’s seminal work, *The British Whaling Trade*, was released in the mid-1970s, there are parts of Dolin’s book that are clearly better than others. In the acknowledgements, the author states that he originally conceived the project as an examination of whaling in North America’s colonial period, but his agent suggested he extend the time period study to encompass the whole of American whaling. That Dolin’s interests lie in the colonial period of American history are clearly evidenced by the sheer amount of detail found in the colonial section of his work. This section of the book is superb and deals not only with the formation of whaling stations, whaling ships, and whaling towns, but also with the people who went whaling in the colonial period, both Native and white. Although the quality of his work does not diminish, Dolin’s discussion of the “Golden Age of Whaling, 1775-1860,” becomes slightly mired in anecdote and thus loses the broader perspective of the previous section. This trend toward telling stories rather than marshalling detail to illuminate broad themes continues throughout the rest of the book.

Another slight problem with *Leviathan* is its lack of comparative context. Dolin’s work focussed on the American whaling trade, but to better understand the staggering accomplishments and innovations of American whalers, it would have been nice if he had provided some comparative information on the successes and failures of other countries. The lack of this information, however, does not necessarily hamper the work.

Dolin might also have discussed indigenous participation in the whaling trade in more depth. In the colonial period, he included Native American whalers, but in the chapters on whaling in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, he turned a blind eye to indigenous whalemen. There is a brief mention of native Hawaiians who worked on American whale ships, but this passing reference did not include the other Polynesian peoples—Maori, Samoan, and Tahitian—who plied the oceans in Yankee ships in search of whales. Not only did Polynesian peoples serve on whaleships in the nineteenth century, but also Native Americans continued to crew the whalers. This, perhaps, is the most glaring omission in Dolin’s work.

With those few criticisms aside, *Leviathan* is a gem. Each chapter is a pleasure to read. Pictures from various whaling museums and newspapers enhance each chapter’s visual appeal, while all the information contained within the chapter is meticulously end-noted. Dolin has clearly written a masterpiece. Ever since the publication of *Leviathan*, Dolin has been receiving awards and countless praise for
this outstanding book. All of these accolades have been highly deserved.

Kelly Chaves,
Fredericton, New Brunswick


In 1853, Commodore Perry and the U.S. fleet arrived at Nagasaki in northwestern Japan with the purpose of opening trade talks. Signing the Treaty of Kanagawa the following year signalled the end of Japan’s policy of isolation and Nagasaki became the best known of the ports opened to the West. It was also the site of Japan’s first Naval Academy and was where Aberdeenshire-born Thomas Blake Glover arrived in September 1859 to establish a trading business and shipping agency.

Michael Gardiner works in the Department of English and Comparative Studies at Warwick University. His previous publications include *The Cultural Roots of British Devolution, Modern Scottish Culture* and *From Trocchi to Trainspotting: Scottish Critical Theory since 1960*. His collection of short stories, *Escalator*, was published in 2006 and the title story was short listed for the Scotsman and Orange Short Story Award. *At the Edge of Empire*, however, was probably his most challenging project since he makes the point that “Glover research” is a relatively new field.

Glover was born in Fraserburgh in 1838, the fifth son of a former Royal Navy officer. He joined Jardine Matheson in 1857 and, like each of his brothers, travelled to the Far East. After settling in Nagasaki, he prospered in the turbulent world of international trade while contributing to Japan’s modernization. The established feudal system was turning into a class system, and he imported British weapons to support samurai rebels in toppling their military leader and restoring the Emperor to his throne. With the arrival of national political stability, Glover brokered the building of the Japanese Imperial Navy’s first great ships in Aberdeen and helped Nagasaki develop as the centre of Japan’s shipbuilding industry. He introduced trawl fishing, organized coal mining, and imported the first steam locomotive. The origin of the modern Mitsubishi Company dates from its acquisition of Glover’s mining interests.

The first serious book-length account in English of the entrepreneurial Glover’s fifty years in Japan was a translation by a long-term resident of Nagasaki, Brian Burke-Gaffney, of *Hana to Shimo: Gurabaki no Hitobito* in 1989. The second was Alexander McKay’s *Scottish Samurai* in 1993. While fifteen years seems a relatively short gap between McKay’s and Gardiner’s books on Glover’s legacy, Gardiner’s sources include material only recently discovered in Japan. In 2001, the most complete biography was written by Naito Hatsuho but it has yet to be translated into English. Alan Spence has recently published a novelisation of Glover’s life entitled *The Pure Land*.

*At the Edge of Empire* describes the complex social and business structure of Japan in the latter half of the nineteenth century through the eyes of Glover, one of the founding fathers of modern Japan. Gardiner argues that it was only after Perry’s arrival in Nagasaki that risk-takers were encouraged to develop their financial ambitions. Therefore, Glover’s good fortune in turning himself into Japan’s first major industrialist was to be in the right place at exactly the right time — during the Meiji Restoration of the 1860s. The author credits
Glover, with whom he clearly sympathises, as being one of the few foreigners to realize that the problems of money and power which once troubled the old rulers of Japan were no longer an issue. Instead, the new rulers were trying to modernize the country but were still being treated as part of Europe’s own informal empire.

Although this thought-provoking view of Anglo-Japanese relations is primarily aimed at maritime and economic historians, it would also be enjoyed by general readers of far-eastern history. For instance, Gardiner examines Glover’s relationship with his wife Tsuru, whom he married in 1867, and dispels the popular image of the couple being the inspiration for Madame Butterfly and Pinkerton to the author John Luther Long and, later, Puccini. The author does have a disconcerting habit, however, of digressing in mid-chapter with controversial modern socio-political comment.

As the first person to introduce western technology to his adopted country, Glover is revered as a national hero in Japan and was the first non-Japanese to be presented with the Order of the Rising Sun. When he died in Tokyo in 1911, aged 73, his ashes were interred in Nagasaki’s Sakamoto International Cemetery, an illustration of how Japan went from isolation to having an international cemetery in just 57 years. Glover’s house in Nagasaki, built in 1863, is the oldest western-style building in Japan and is the centerpiece of Glover Garden, Western Japan’s top tourist attraction with almost two million visitors each year. Glover has even appeared in the character of a Scottish arms merchant in animé.

This recognition is in contrast to his profile in Scotland, which is virtually non-existent. An official list of “Famous Scots” wrongly refers to him as “Sir” Thomas. There is one hopeful sign in the current plan to rebuild his childhood home in Fraserburgh as a tourist attraction at a cost of £350,000. Glover would also be pleased that since 2008 his legacy has been acknowledged by the investment house Aberdeen Asset Management’s sponsorship of the Thomas Blake Glover scholarship. Managed through the Japan Society of Scotland, this is intended to fund travel to Japan and the study of the Japanese language.

Michael Clark
London, UK


The process of colonialism fundamentally consists of the state dispossessing Native peoples of their lands and resources and divesting them of their cultural heritage, autonomy, and traditional subsistence lifeways. In North America, we often think of this process as occurring primarily on land, as Native peoples were marginalized and concentrated on reservations while settler communities transformed Native landscapes under new property regimes. In this brilliant and eloquent study of law and colonialism, University of British Columbia professor Douglas C. Harris shows us that, in British Columbia, the sea and the fisheries were central to European conquest as the colonial state asserted its sovereignty by eliminating the customary rights of Native fishers and consolidating its legal hold over maritime resources. Harris, the author of *Fish, Law, and Colonialism*, deftly shows us how law, more than military power, was used to transfer control of
British Columbia’s fishery resources from Native communities to state authorities.

*Landing Native Fisheries* is framed by the story of Domanic Charlie, a Squamish hereditary chief, who was arrested by Canadian fisheries managers in 1925 for gaffing a chum salmon in the Capilano River where it ran through the Squamish Indian Reserve. Domanic Charlie, like other coastal peoples, came from a culture whose stability, wealth, and subsistence were derived primarily from the traditional salmon economy. The Indian reserves that were created in British Columbia were small, fragmentary, and hopelessly inadequate for sustaining Native populations according to their traditional ways. Despite this, there was hope for Native fishers in British Columbia: the small Indian land reserves at least provided them access to fisheries resources. In fact, Harris shows how government officials rationalized the inadequate land reserves on the basis that British Columbia Natives were maritime peoples who took their living from the sea rather than the land. The reserves that emerged were constructed with access to fisheries in mind, showing, in Harris’s words, that “land followed fish” in the making of British Columbia Indian policy.

Two early reserve commissioners tried to protect Native fishing rights on reserve lands by setting aside exclusive Native fisheries. Their actions, according to Harris, were consistent with the recognition given to aboriginal fishing rights by the Douglas Treaties of the 1850s (as well as the modern Canadian Constitution). Those commissioners, as Harris so skillfully explains, were not so much granting Native fishers rights as they were simply recognizing already existing aboriginal rights to the fishery.

Exclusive aboriginal fisheries were seen by opponents as conflicting with the time-honoured Anglo-American tradition of a “common-property” fishery. Passed down from the Magna Carta, citizens enjoyed the “public right to fish.” Harris shows how this common property doctrine was part of the consolidation of the modern nation state as local customs and control over land and resources gave way to state authority. It was the state, ultimately, that granted the common right to fish to its citizens and therefore, its proponents argued, government officials had no right to grant “exclusive fisheries” to Native peoples “that were contrary to the public’s rights to fish” (p.79). The federal Department of Fisheries led the charge against exclusive Native fisheries reserves, arguing that “Fishing rights in public waters cannot be made exclusive excepting under the express sanction of Parliament, and…Indians are entitled to use the public fisheries only on the same conditions as white men, subject to the *Fisheries Act* and Fishery Regulations” (p.82).

It is highly ironic that the Anglo American “common-property” fishery—which sounds so egalitarian and communal—allowed individuals and corporations to plunder the fisheries for individual gain, while Native fishers distributed the benefits of their “exclusive” fishing rights to collective networks of kin and clan. The right to fish, in Native communities, was not about the right of individuals to profit but about the right of First Nations to continue to exist. And yet, that right would become gradually more circumscribed by state power as the Fisheries department increasingly confined, controlled, regulated, and limited the “Indian Food Fishery.” As the economic and political power of commercial fishers and non-Indian sports fishermen grew in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, so did the arguments against aboriginal fishing rights. Law shifted with the changing tides to the point where Domanic Charlie could no longer legally gaff a salmon for his dinner.
“unless he used a sport fisher’s hook and line” (p.4).

By 1925, as Harris shows, the Indian food fishery was no longer an exclusive right on Indian reserves—the Department of “Fisheries was successful in denying the recognition of Native fishing rights and confining the food fisheries” (p.186). Moreover, fisheries managers had opened up the fisheries to non-Indians, making it increasingly hard for First Nations’ peoples to survive as either commercial or subsistence fishers.

_Landing Native Fisheries_ is not only well-written, but it is handsome and user-friendly, containing numerous excellent maps, charts, and photographs. Perhaps the best thing about this book, however, is that it matters. It is amazingly relevant to the ongoing struggles of First Nations in British Columbia to claim their full aboriginal rights to the fisheries. The book will no doubt have a wide readership among civil servants and First Nations lawyers who want to understand current-day litigation in a broader historical and legal context. It will also appeal to historians, geographers, and legal scholars trying to understand more completely the process of colonization in North America and beyond.

Considering the contemporary implications of his work, it is a testament to Harris’s outstanding scholarship that his arguments—such as his contention that the creation of Indian reserves in the nineteenth-century “followed the identification of important fishing grounds, establishing a nexus between land and fish that should be recognized and restored”—are made on the basis extensive research rather than reductionist ideological commitments (p.196). After reading this excellent book, it would be impossible for any fair reader, of no matter what political stripe, to deny that Domanic Charlie did not have the legal right to gaff that chum salmon in the Capilano River in 1925—or that the fisheries were not absolutely central to the construction of Indian reserves as well as to the consolidation of the modern Canadian nation-state. Readers can only hope that Harris, with his keen ability to interpret arcane legal cases for a lay audience, will continue his story beyond 1925.

David Arnold
Richland, Washington


This edition of _The Northern Mariner_ features a companion review of Dr. David Parsons’ book, _The Best Small-boat Seamen In The Navy_, containing his description of the men in the early Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve (RNR). It is a highly personal narrative of those recruited into the Newfoundland Division of the RNR, who they were, how they were trained and how they responded to the call in 1914, with a multitude of men’s photos and individual tales. It only briefly covers the organization of the RNR, the reason for its formation, and its eventual demise once the Admiralty would no longer provide their share of its funding in 1922 and the Newfoundland government could not. It is very much a people book, full of the stories of individuals from St. John’s to St. Anthony, concentrating on wartime exploits to quite an extent.

This book is a different kettle of fish entirely, yet it serves as a complementary volume to Parson’s history. Dr. Hunter is a social historian at Memorial
University, and examines the Newfoundland RNR from a much more academic viewpoint. This is a history of an organization in the context of its social role in its community and its affect thereon. The text is only 168 pages, but it is meticulously supported by some 58 pages of reference notes and an extensive bibliography. There are also many tables ranging from population vs. recruitment percentages to pay scales and training hours. The author carefully assesses the reasons for the Admiralty’s often reluctant agreement to encourage the formation of a local RNR in Newfoundland, requiring the local government to contribute the raw material — men and sites for training facilities — and assist with its financing. He briefly examines other similar plans elsewhere in the wider Empire, particularly in Canada, where the reasons for creating a Naval Reserve were completely different, had minimal impact on their communities — and did not really take shape in a sustained effort until 1913. The point is well made that from 1900 to 1914 the RNR in Newfoundland contributed to the economy by providing very necessary, or at least desirable, off-season employment for fishermen, and through local contracts in St. John’s to supply the drill ship HMS Calypso. It was a rather unique operation compared to similar efforts in Canada and elsewhere, where the only potential advantage of the RNR was generating a very small supply of trained seamen. In Newfoundland, by contrast, it provided a social “net” that in itself had little to do with the protection of Empire and preparation for war.

In the U.K., the Newfoundland Naval Reserve was the subject of considerably divided opinion, even controversy, among the Admiralty (who were being asked to finance what was seen as an off-season employment plan of dubious naval benefit), the Colonial Office (who were encouraging, but largely for political reasons, that is to cultivate tangible ties between the Motherland and a self-governing dominion), the Treasury (who anticipated and were concerned about Newfoundland’s ability to keep up its the financial commitment), and the Newfoundland government (who, as suspected by the Admiralty, itself chronically short of discretionary budget, desperately wanted such an infusion of wages and supply purchases in St. John’s and the out-ports purely for financial reasons). For an initial force of only 50 men projected to expand to a maximum of 600, the Newfoundland RNR scheme caused quite an inordinate amount of bureaucratic and political to-ing and fro-ing, as evidenced by the considerable paper trail Dr. Hunter has unearthed.

One quite remarkable aspect, which the author rightly highlights, is how progressive – modern, in our terms – was the agreement reached between the Newfoundland and British authorities for the terms of service for the men recruited. Members who completed the full required training of 28 days per year, received an annual retainer above and beyond their regular pay. The regular pay compared favourably with the RN seamen’s, and there was also a pension granted to qualified seamen after 20 years of service. If the winter training cruises in RN ships ran late, the Newfoundlanders were to be brought home for their fishing season; and there were courses given in writing and reading for those who were illiterate. Most recruits were Protestant, largely Anglican, and hailed from the outports (part of the stated aim of the whole exercise) although a sampling of the recruits in the 1902-1914 period revealed that 13 percent of the men were from St. John’s and some men who were Catholics. Interestingly, there were few from the west coast, called the French Shore, largely the result of the Royal Navy’s
role there enforcing ancient French treaty fishing rights along that shore, to the annoyance of local Newfoundlanders who as a result apparently had no interest in naval service no matter how generous the terms.

Unlike the formation of naval reserves in Canada, and to quite an extent in other dominions, the creation of Newfoundland’s naval reserves represented a not-inconsiderable political initiative for a truly “imperial” military organization and, for fishermen and others, a substantial financial benefit within a credit- and money-short economy. It is in these broader dimensions where Dr. Hunter’s tale differs from Dr. Parsons’, and what makes Dr. Hunter’s volume a valuable expansion of an important Newfoundland story. The Newfoundland RNR ended in 1922. Since the organization had been founded to provide seamen for wartime mobilization of the fleet, and the First World War had been fought “to end all wars,” both the Admiralty and the Newfoundland government were unwilling to pay for a service presumed to be no longer necessary. Despite the Newfoundland RNR’s valiant and very useful services during the First World War — Parsons’ tale — other imperatives undercut the impetus that had previously existed in Newfoundland and the U.K. for the island dominion’s very distinctive naval reserve organization.

It is as much a story of maritime influence as a naval one, and an unusual one at that.

Fraser M. McKee
Toronto, Ontario

The spirit of David K. Brown, distinguished naval architect and prolific author of exceptional naval books, permeates this edition of Warship. D. K. Brown died in Bath, Somerset, on 15 April 2008, a great loss to the naval history community. In nine books he has described, with the unique perspective of a practicing naval architect, the development of the ships of the Royal Navy from the earliest introduction of steam to the end of the Second World War; while in numerous articles in Warship and other publications, he has continued the story into the modern era. (In fact, no issue of Warship has ever been without a contribution from DKB). In this issue he has an article on Weather and Warship casualties 1934-1944. Brown was very proud of the fact that, unlike all other major navies, no British destroyer-type ship had been lost to weather conditions alone.

He also has an item in the “Note” section; one of his books (on Second World War Atlantic escort vessels) is reviewed and he reviews a book by Norman Goodwin on the Castle- Class corvettes. The introduction to the issue starts with tributes by the editor and six of his colleagues, fellow naval architects and historians. The issue also includes an obituary by Alec Douglas for CNRS member Daniel G. Harris, who died in November 2007. Harris was recognized for his biography of Swedish naval architect Fredrik af Chapman as well as a personal memoir of his experiences as a British assistant naval attaché in Sweden during the Second World War.

Warship 2009 pursues a number of themes typical of past issues. In the field of the development of warship types there are three articles. “The RN and Evolution of the True Submarine” by Jon Wise describes the RN’s experimentation with hydrogen-peroxide-fueled submarines. This rather volatile type of propulsion was made unnecessary by the advent of nuclear power.
“Italian Fast Coastal Forces” by Enrico Cernuschi and Vincent P. O’Hara is the continuation of a piece that appeared in a previous issue. It covers the period 1934-86 and includes their record in combat during the war. “The Soviet Light Cruisers of the Kirov class” by Vladimir Yakubov and Richard Worth describes the first major ships designed and built for the Soviet Navy. The inexperienced Soviet naval architects turned to the Italian Ansaldo company for guidance, despite ideological differences with Mussolini’s regime. With the recent release of much previously classified information, a lot of detailed information on Soviet ships is now available. Warship International is also running a series of articles on Soviet cruisers, including the Kirovs.

Two articles deal with Imperial Japanese Navy battleships. The circumstances surrounding the loss of the battleship Mutsu, which blew up and sank on 8 June 1943 while at anchor in Hiroshima Bay, is examined by Mike Williams. While the hasty official enquiry tended to blame sabotage by a discontented crewman, the author concludes that an engine room fire that spread to the magazine was a more likely cause. In another article, Hans Lengerer offers a detailed description of the conversion of the battleships Ise and Hyuga to hybrid battleship-carriers. This was considered necessary to compensate partially for carrier losses at the Battle of Midway. The plan was to construct a hangar to carry 22 carrier-type aircraft intended to be launched by catapults and then recovered by a conventional aircraft carrier in company. In the event, due to shortage of aircraft, when the ships were ready only a smaller number of float planes were carried and when the two ships participated in the Battle of Cape Engano in October 1944, no aircraft were embarked. The plans and illustration by Manfred Pasch are exceptionally detailed and clear and give a good idea of how the system was supposed to work. Two articles focus on the nineteenth-century Royal Navy. “Fuelling the Victorian Steam Navy” by Bob Wilson deals with a little-examined subject, the logistical problems of the age of coal-fired steam ships; while Colin Jones compares the turret ships Monarch and Captain and discusses the errors that led to the loss by capsizing of the latter. Dealing with a later period, “A Shipyard at War: John Brown, Clydebank 1914-18” by Ian Johnston details the warship production of that famous yard during the First World War, with particular reference to the battlecruiser HMS Repulse which was begun and completed in record time.

On a lighter note, there is an account of the sail training ship Jadran which was completed for the Royal Yugoslav Navy in 1933, and subsequently served under several flags. She was practically destroyed at the end of the Second World War but was salvaged, rebuilt and still sails under the flag of Montenegro, though Croatia wants her back (Jadran is Croat for Adriatic). This was contributed by Dr. Zvonimir Freivogel.

Regular features include: a review of the progress of world navies during 2008; Warship Notes (short contributions on a variety of subject) and book reviews of no less than 31 books on naval history published during late 2007 and in 2008. Finally, Warship Gallery features photographs taken by Mr. B.P. Purches who served in motor minesweepers in the North Sea and the Mediterranean in the Second World War.

Warship annuals contain detailed articles of a very high standard. Taken all together they are a veritable encyclopedia of naval knowledge.

Douglas Maginley
Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia

The key to the content of this book is in the words of the subtitle: “The Complete Story...” Herein is both fact and fantasy, the account of O’Brian’s fictional *Surprise* in both words and pictures, alongside the narrative (and more pictures) of the real naval frigate which O’Brian used as a starting point and inspiration. Many readers, like me, may not have been aware that there was an actual HMS *Surprise*. I was sufficiently caught off guard to bring to mind C. Northcote Parkinson’s *The Life and Times of Horatio Hornblower*, by which I was horribly suckered as a very young man. This time, I used the resources of a maritime library to assure myself that HMS *Surprise* and her commander were mentioned in works of history before Patrick O’Brian was born.

In fact, there have been nine sailing vessels named *Surprise* or *Surprize* in the Royal Navy. The one in question began its career as a French nine-pounder frigate, *L’Unité*, launched at Le Havre in 1794. In the French navy, *L’Unité*, with only 28 guns, was larger than a corvette but too small for a frigate. Taken by HMS *Inconstant* in April 1796, the vessel was brought into the Royal Navy as a frigate, classed as a fifth rate. In January 1798 she was established with 34 guns, mostly nine-pounders, but the following month was re-armed with 40 guns, all 18- and 32-pounder carronades. The name was changed to avoid confusion with *Unité*, another French vessel taken about the same time. Documents spell the new name both as *Surprise* and *Surprize*; Lavery and Hunt consistently use the former, as did O’Brian, except when quoting a document that names it otherwise.

*Surprise* saw service in the Mediterranean, the North Atlantic, and the West Indies. The frigate engaged in convoy duty, diplomatic errands, and cruising for prizes under several commanding officers. But the real *Surprise*’s greatest claim to fame was the re-taking of HMS *Hermione* commanded by Captain Hugh Pigot, called by Lavery “one of the worst captains in the navy.” After a number of episodes of lethal misjudgment and injustice in 1797, the crew mutinied, slaughtered Pigot and nine officers, and later donated the vessel to the Spanish navy, then at war with Britain. Captain Edward Hamilton of the *Surprise* (who had had discipline problems of his own) personally led a cutting-out expedition with the frigate’s six boats and recaptured *Hermione* in the fortified harbor of Puerto Caballo, Venezuela. Hamilton and 103 men, many of whom did not arrive until late in the fight, attacked *Hermione* with about 400 Spanish aboard, and prevailed. Spanish losses were 119 killed and 231 captured (97 of whom were wounded). None of the *Surprises* were killed, and only thirteen wounded, including Captain Hamilton.

Author Lavery wrote the history of the real *Surprise* in some detail, including discussion of its design, and adding for comparison, a chapter on the history of the fictional vessel. Author/artist Hunt contributed chapters on reconstructing the appearance of the frigate and the sequence of artwork he did for the covers of the Patrick O’Brian novels, and wrote the picture captions.

The book is in coffee-table format, with most illustrations presented large and in full colour. Most readers will enjoy seeing Hunt’s paintings in large size and uncropped, or at least less cropped than on the covers of the books. The colour reproduction values appear to be closer to
the original paintings than the book covers, at least for the paperback versions, which are noticeably darker. Also, Hunt has painted episodes in the career of the real *Surprise*. Many other illustrations demonstrate Hunt’s search for authentic detail. Here are the British dockyard plans of *Surprise* and one of her sister ships, *La Tourterelle*, along with great reconstructed drawings of the real *Surprise* and its boats, as well as the fictional *Surprise*. Karl Heinz Marquardt drew these latter, in a style similar to the drawings in the *Anatomy of the Ship* series, although with fewer detail drawings.

Lavery makes a few technical lapses — hawse pieces are parallel to the stem, not the keel (p.48), the bowsprit did not project more than 50 feet beyond the bow unless considered with the jibboom (p.49), the royals were on the main and fore masts as opposed to the main and mizzen (p.58). He appears to refer to Capt. Hamilton as Edwards once (p.83), perhaps thinking of the commander of HMS *Pandora*, with a similar attitude towards discipline. Saying that standing officers were “of lower deck origin, without the speech and manners appropriate to commissioned officers” (p.44) sounds like a class judgment, and calling slaves on a slave ship “passengers” (p.77) is a poor choice of words, even if they are also qualified as “unfortunate.”

In general, though, the book is very well-crafted. Lavery’s chapters are well-written. His tour of the vessel is very helpful, and his narrative of the vessel’s history is clear and accurate. He explains Aubrey’s catharpins (p.59) for any O’Brien reader who is still fuzzy on that point. The appendices (chronology, crew list, masts, yards and stores, maintenance history, armaments) are very useful. Hunt’s painstaking labour to get things right in his artwork is made obvious, and his description of the back-and-forth with O’Brien in making the cover art for the novels is fascinating. Best of all, the artwork is wonderful.

Nathan R. Lipfert
Woolwich, Maine


The six lengthy and authoritative papers in this collection describe how selected naval engagements between 1759 and 1945 were conducted. The authors are all recognized experts in the era they dissect. The editor, Doug McLean, has linked the essays with well-crafted introductions (termed “interludes”) which deftly establish the background of each naval action. The scholarship behind these papers is truly impressive. The Robin Bass Studio of Toronto, the publisher, has maintained the high production standards of its earlier titles on naval topics. The many maps by Christopher Johnson are models of clarity which enhance the text. They are real “added value” because they help clarify narratives dense with facts describing complex situations. Well-chosen photographs, unfortunately not in a glossy format, contemporary engravings, attractive and clear drawings lifted from L.B. Jensen’s *Tin Hats, Seaboots & Oilskins* are scattered through the text. Robin Bass has used an inviting large soft cover format which handles easily.

The opening chapter by Donald Graves is about the role of British seapower in the siege of Quebec in 1759. While much has already been published about this
campaign, Graves’ study is outstanding. This enormous amphibious operation involved 13,500 officers and seaman plus 2,100 marines in 49 warships — one-fifth of the Royal Navy. This force was supported by 140 merchant vessels taken up from trade — 20,000 tons chartered in Britain plus a further 6000 tons from the American colonies. Graves underlines that amphibious assaults are among the most difficult of naval operations. Success came, he writes, because by 1759 the British, having learned painful lessons during the earlier decades of that century which saw so many wars, now for the first time had a workable amphibious warfare doctrine. Between them, the warships and merchant vessels off Quebec had enough boats to lift 3,319 troops ashore without reloading. These craft included special flat-bottomed boats intended for landing operations. The famously successful landings below the Plains of Abraham were achieved using 36 small craft of which 31 were such flat-bottomed boats. Graves sketches in the nautical challenges involved in operating sailing vessels off Quebec, basing his text on studying the log books of the assault fleet as well as modern hydrographic publications. Tidal currents and the prevailing westerly winds were formidable obstacles overcome by good seamanship.

The next two chapters cover frigate engagements during the War of 1812. As it happened, both occurred early in 1815 after the combatants had agreed in Ghent on a treaty to end the war. These papers are by Andrew Lambert, the well-known British naval historian, and by William Dudley, former Head of the Historical Research Branch of US Navy’s Historical Center. Lambert’s paper describes how one of the three powerful U.S. 44-gun super frigates, USS President, was captured off Sandy Hook in late January 1815 by the well-handled British frigate HMS Endymion. This chapter is a masterful summary both of the British blockade of the US eastern seaboard and of how the Royal Navy responded to the threat posed by the heavy American frigates. This was done both by cutting down old 74-gun battlehips by one deck to become super frigates termed “razees” and by re-arming with heavier guns the very fast frigate Endymion (which had been build in Britain as a copy of a French prize). Lambert summarizes how both sides used intelligence and the differing frigate fighting tactics of the opposing navies. Both of the 1812 chapters discuss the captains of the opposing frigates. The Royal Navy had by then been fighting the French for decades and could draw on the pool of hardened professional fighting naval officers described so well in the Patrick O’Brian novels. The British sea-going commanders were younger than their USN opponents. Captain George Douglas, at age 27 the senior of the British frigate captains was defeated by a 37-year-old Captain Charles Stewart of the USS Constitution, a more powerful ship than the two British warships combined. The celebrated American hero, Captain Stephen Decatur of USS President was 36 when he was bested by the 27-year-old Captain Henry Hope of Endymion who had been commanding frigates since the age of 22. Hope’s superior was Rear Admiral Henry Hotham, (described by Lambert on page 97 as “one of the brightest stars among the British junior Flag Officers”) had twenty years of experience fighting the French.

Three of the chapters cover Second World War actions. A piece by Michael Whitby, the DND naval historian, is a brilliant analysis of British-German destroyer night encounters in the channel starting in 1940 and culminating in an action off Isle de Batz on 9 June 1944. This is a truly rewarding study because Whitby describes how night-fighting tactics were developed, the role of improved radar performance, and how Bletchley Park was
feeding de-encrypted tactical reports by German destroyers to British operational headquarters virtually in real time. These many details are based on exhaustive use of contemporary records, interviews with participants or their descendents, and reflection. One of the issues dissected is internal disagreements in the RN about whether torpedoes or gunfire would be more effective in night encounters against enemy destroyers.

Whitby has written elsewhere about how practising destroyer tactics, including manoeuvring at speed in the particularly demanding night encounter tactics of the time, dominated the tiny pre-war RCN. In the 1944 night actions DeWolf, Rayner, and Stubbs, along with other officers who had learned their trade in peacetime, were handling powerful tribal-class destroyers against the Germans.

The remaining two chapters cover anti-submarine engagements in the final 18 months of the war. Doug McLean describes the intense three-day battle around two west-bound convoys against 20 U-boats in September 1943. This action saw the first use by the Germans of homing torpedoes intended as escort killers and happened during the brief period that submarines with enhanced anti-aircraft armament were attempting to remain on the surface when attacked by aircraft. McLean describes fully the complex factors behind the dispositions of both sides and the technologies involved. By this stage of the war the allies had finally allocated sufficient long-range aircraft to cover the air gap, Liberators flying from Iceland and Newfoundland. Poor visibility, however, greatly reduced their effectiveness on two of the days of the battle. It is noteworthy that one of the convoys included an organic air capability in the form of three Swordfish biplanes in Merchant Aircraft Carrier Empire McAlpine. These aircraft were equipped with rockets and depth bombs.

One of the many virtues of this detailed account is the manner in which McLean describes how the tactical situation was confusing for both sides. He makes good use of the vivid report of proceedings written by the Senior Escort Commander, Commander Martin James Evans, RN. The chapter concludes with a useful summary of the lessons drawn from the battle by both sides.

The final paper is by Malcolm Llewellyn-Jones who, like Doug McLean, is a former naval officer who has earned his doctorate and has done extensive research and writing on anti-submarine warfare. His immediate topic is the allied efforts to locate, track, and destroy U-247 which sailed from Norway in May 1944, eventually reached Brest and was subsequently hunted to destruction in the channel. Like McLean’s paper, this one tells a much broader story in the process of tracing individual operations. Drawing on careful analysis, Llewellyn-Jones has reconstructed successive allied searches by shore- and carrier-based aircraft, the operations by surface ships, and the intelligence on which all of these attempts to locate the U-boat were based. His description of the interplay between the analysis done by the Admiralty’s operational intelligence centre and the area headquarters which organized searches is compelling. The maps by Christopher Johnson overlaying aircraft and surface search areas on U-247’s track are brilliant and the narrative describing these several searches could hardly be improved. This is a story set in the waters around the U.K. but Llewellyn-Jones has been careful to cite the many Canadians who flew in various RAF Coastal Command aircraft — and the occasional American aircraft involved. The story of U-247 ends with a successful search in rock- and wreck-strewn waters off Cornwall by Canadian frigates, in particular by HMCS St. John. This recently-
commissioned warship exemplifies how the RCN had matured into an effective ASW navy. She was commanded by a determined and skillful seaman, Lt. Commander W. Stacey, RCNR.

All in all, this chapter is a very instructive study of the difficulties which underlie searching for submarines in tricky in-shore waters, the limitations of aircraft against submerged submarines, and the limitations of trying to react in real time to reports from sea by the allied command centres of the time. It is interesting to again encounter Commander Martin Evans in this chapter. Having played such a prominent role as a sea-going tactical commander in the convoy battle described by McLean, Evans was now in charge of anti-submarine operations in the key area headquarters in Plymouth. A navigation specialist, Evans had served in Malta earlier in the war as staff officer, operations. He typifies the seasoned professionals whose experience was so important in the grinding anti-submarine war. Llewellyn-Jones’ detailed study ends abruptly with the destruction of U-247 and there is no summary to draw together the many key points.

_Fighting at Sea_ is an unusual collection which provides a very high quality of analysis of the interplay of factors behind successful defeat in individual engagements and protracted operations. Its six compelling papers are written in clear styles but each requires careful reading. This is a nicely produced and rewarding book but it is not popular history. Highly recommended for those interested in understanding the “whys” behind encounters at sea.

Jan Drent
Victoria, B.C.


Peter Padfield has completed his trilogy regarding the role of the maritime world in promoting the development and evolution of the modern Western world, of democracy and of our free market economies. The previous two volumes in the series are 1999’s _Maritime Supremacy and the Opening of the Western Mind: Naval Campaigns that Shaped the Modern World, 1588 – 1782_; and, 2003’s _Maritime Power and the Struggle for Freedom: Naval Campaigns that Shaped the Modern World 1788 – 1851_. The first volume deals with England’s struggle with Imperial Spain, the Dutch Republic, and then the eighteenth-century wars with France. The second picks up the story with the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars at the end of the eighteenth and turn of the nineteenth century. This volume covers the Victorian era, the eclipse of France as a serious naval power and the growth of “aspirant” powers to replace Great Britain such as Japan, the United States and, critically, Germany. It concludes with some thoughts as to what the three-volume narrative and analysis has demonstrated and what it might mean for the future.

The book opens, after a brief introduction, with a series of short chapters that cover off the major naval campaigns of the nineteenth century – the Crimean War (Anglo-French naval power permitted the campaign in the first place), the American Civil War and the Indian Mutiny.

Succeeding these chapters is a
discussion of what British maritime dominance meant. First and foremost, Royal Navy dominance permitted the unfettered expansion and development of British trade and commerce. Incidentally, it permitted similar expansion and development of the trade and commerce of other powers (e.g. America and France). Additional benefits to the Western world included charting and surveying of coasts for the benefit of all, the support of scientific expeditions of all kinds (most famously Darwin’s trip aboard HMS Beagle), the elimination of piracy, and the suppression of the slave trade on both sides of Africa. Finally, British ideas and mores were widely disseminated, with perhaps a little more controversy (e.g. sports, government, probity in public affairs, professional civil service, and law). These are not minor matters.

Padfield freely admits that this interpretation of events is certainly Anglo-centric and other nations saw much of what Britain did as simple self-interest. There is as much truth in their version, and Britain certainly tarnished her democratic and liberal credentials on a regular basis. Nevertheless, the basic positive attributes remain broadly true and important in the overarching narrative of the West’s dominance of the globe.

Britain’s global dominance, certainly from the perspective of the present, was unlikely to prevail forever. The history of much of the twentieth century is, of course, how this dominance ended and how Britain, like the Dutch before them, reverted to perhaps the more appropriate status of a significant nation state on the edge of Europe, with, at most, a limited power in the wider world. Simple demographics and natural resource endowments ensured this outcome.

The narrative then covers the early developments of the three nations that would seek to overthrow British naval dominance towards the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Britain was deprived of its position first by Germany, then by Japan and the United States. The latter, of course, is essentially in its own class at present, but the former two were similar in terms of scale to Britain and both played critical roles in knocking Britain off its perch, albeit at tremendous cost to themselves.

The heart of the book, after the relatively swift opening chapters, covers how these three countries developed their naval power, followed by a number of chapters on the First World War, fewer on the Second World War and a summary chapter on the Cold War and beyond to the present. The narrative chapters on the two world wars are sound and take full advantage of recent scholarship, reinforced by the author’s trademark trenchant opinions on controversial or disputable matters. For example, in assessing Jutland, Padfield unambiguously concludes that the fundamental cause of the destruction of six British warships (three battlecruisers and three armoured cruisers) was sloppy ammunition handling practices and cordite that was unstable and of poor quality. The role of armour is deprecated, although not all will agree with that assessment. In terms of the question of who won, Padfield is equally firm – material terms, Germany; tactical abilities were a draw (both had excellent and weak tactical aspects in their management of the engagement); strategic, Britain. Not many would disagree with that.

Padfield’s conclusion is essentially a development of the earlier themes he introduced in the first two books. While the rise of the Western world was a positive thing for the populations involved (Padfield attributes it to trade and commerce the rule of law, government limitations, transparency, and freedom of expression), he perceives the current world structure as
untenable and on a downward track. His view is that the developing world wants what the West has without any of these underlying factors securely in place. He notes that achieving what we have achieved has been the result of centuries of evolution, not a few decades, and seriously questions the availability of the necessary resources to deliver the standard of living sought. Padfield arrives at the rather gloomy conclusion that in defending what we have, much might be lost and that everyone will be less well off as a result. The role of naval forces in this struggle will be pivotal, but not in the same benign way that the Royal Navy achieved the Pax Britannica two hundred years ago, ushering in a period of unprecedented prosperity; a prosperity shared by all in the West, and to a degree, by those elsewhere as well.

The book includes a very limited selection of maps and battle diagrams, and an assortment of illustrative photographs, most of which are well known from other volumes. A pair of photographs of the German battleship, and Admiral Scheer’s flagship, SMS Friedrich der Grosse and Admiral Jellicoe’s HMS Iron Duke are particularly well chosen. The former is at anchor in a tranquil port, with nary a ripple on the water. The latter, at sea in dirty weather with spray reaching the top of “B” turret, symbolises, for this reader, the strategic outcome of Jutland. The notes are, for the most part, simple references. There are, however, a goodly number of illuminating comments on controversial matters that add much to the point in question. The notes are worth dipping into. Finally, a quick word on the bibliography: it is select, unannotated, and hence brief. There is limited reference to primary sources, unsurprising in a work of this nature. Padfield has made good use of secondary works, including material from all eras under study. There is little here for the professional historian, but for the amateur there are many old friends.

Padfield will not be to everyone’s taste. For my part, I have no hesitation whatsoever in recommending his book and the message he imparts. The book is the fruit of a lifetime of reflection and analysis and a worthy monument to its writer.

Ian Yeates
Regina, Saskatchewan


Claire Parham’s The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project: An Oral History of the Greatest Construction Show on Earth is a timely publication, not only because it coincides with the fiftieth anniversary of the Seaway, a project virtually ignored over the past half-century by the public and scholars alike, but also because it effectively captures, before they are lost, the voices and experiences of those who experienced the Seaway project firsthand.

This is the story of the workers — 22,000 in total — who toiled on the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. Hailed as one of the greatest engineering achievements of the twentieth century, it indeed lives up to its billing as the “greatest construction show on earth” and is the largest power and navigation project ever constructed by two nations. The $1.2 billion project was completed cooperatively by Canada and the United States between 1954 and 1959. It featured the widening and dredging of channels and concomitant taming of rapids, the construction of seven
locks and an international power dam, and the flooding of thousands of acres of land which necessitated the relocation of thousands of people, numerous communities, and many miles of transportation networks.

An instructor at Sienna College in New York, Parham was raised and educated in the St. Lawrence area and has previously written about the region. This familiarity is evident as she weaves together the stories of those involved in the creation of the Seaway. As the subtitle suggests, the sources employed here are oral interviews with 53 American and Canadian workers and their wives, supplemented by newspaper articles and monthly construction reports. In order to find interviewees, Parham publicly advertised that she was seeking former workers, and then found others through the initial respondents.

The first chapter is a political history of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project penned by the author. The next six chapters are thematic: the project from a design and mechanical perspective; personal, educational, and work histories; daily work lives; construction dilemmas; leisure time for workers and families; the experiences of the wives. A concluding chapter discusses why the project remains so vivid in the memories of those who participated while touching on the issue of why it has never gained national and international recognition.

The bulk of the book consists of individual recollections; sometime a few lines, sometimes several paragraphs. The oral testimony is organized within chapters by naming each respondent at the beginning of his or her recollections. The author has linked the personal accounts with short texts that introduce topics and provide seques between topics. At the beginning of the monograph the author has supplied short biographies of each of the persons who were interviewed. Overall, Parham has done a strong job of selecting and crafting the various interview responses into a flowing narrative that includes useful commentary and factual information. There are a few points, however, that are repetitious. Given the technical nature of the subject, and the large amount of technical data in the book, there are relatively few factual mistakes.

The selection of interviewees is skewed towards men from the American side, but that is largely excusable on pragmatic and logistical grounds. These considerations also explain the generally heavier emphasis on the American perspective, even though a greater portion of the Seaway lies in, and was built by, Canada. Parham interviewed different types and levels of workers, and the inclusion of their wives provides an extremely interesting perspective.

The middle chapters relating the day-to-day experiences of those involved in the St. Lawrence project are the most interesting, ranging from details about installing concrete forms to what workers did after their shift was finished. Equally intriguing are the mixed and varying experiences of the guest and permanent residents of the Seaway area between 1954 and 1959. The interviews are vivid when describing the unforgettable impressions that the thousands of workers who came into the area to live and work for several years — and some stayed permanently — had on the local inhabitants. One of the more noteworthy findings is that although a number of those interviewed talk about mistakes, shortcuts, oversights, etc., the workers generally tend to speak of the project in very positive terms. At the same time, the book is very engaging when revealing that people have differences of opinion about similar and shared experiences.

The St. Lawrence Seaway and
**Power Project** is strongest as regional, labour, social, cultural and gender history. It would likely appeal to a popular audience, and could serve as supplement to academic studies. Although the political and diplomatic aspect is not Parham’s focus, she does a creditable job in her background history of the project, with a few exceptions. In particular, she echoes other accounts by portraying the 1954 agreement to build the Seaway as the natural outcome of smooth bilateral relations; in fact, Canada only reluctantly acquiesced to American participation. Granted, Parham relies on secondary sources for this chapter rather than primary source research, so the problem lies with the incompleteness of information in the secondary literature.

This is a well-crafted oral history that makes a strong contribution to filling a gap in the historiography of an important and under-examined subject.

Daniel Macfarlane
Ottawa, Ontario


This magnificently researched volume is very much a contribution to the Canadian Navy’s 100th anniversary. Although it only touches the history of the Canadian navy peripherally, it puts into the public record an important aspect of the naval history of pre-confederation Newfoundland that became part of Canada’s naval traditions in 1949. David Parsons and his son have recorded what must be a majority of the names and many of the activities of those Newfoundlanders who served in the Newfoundland Division of Britain’s Royal Naval Reserve (RNR) until its disbandment in 1922. There is a table that names the 192 men who died while on naval service in the First World War, as well as lists of those who went to the U.K. in the initial drafts in 1914 and 1915 for service, and those who earned awards. These tables include the men’s service numbers (sometimes more than one if they later joined the Royal Newfoundland Regiment or other RN services) and their town of origin. This all will enormously valuable to those with an interest in Newfoundland’s connection with the two navies.

It all began when the RN, pressed at home with the growing might of navies of competing European powers, was looking to the self-governing colonies to do more for their own defence rather than relying solely on British squadrons. At first, in 1900, there was an appeal from the governor to local fishermen and other seamen to participate during the off-season winter months in a training “cruise” south in an RN cruiser, usually an elderly vessel, for a couple of months. This initiative aimed at providing a small “ready Reserve” of local seamen. Some of these stalwarts returned year after year. In 1902, the governor, on behalf of the Newfoundland government, agreed to help finance the establishment of a more permanent local reserve, if the Admiralty would also contribute funds and provide for the training of 600 men. The Admiralty agreed, and sent out an obsolete steam-and-sail screw corvette, **HMS Calypso** (although Parsons refers to her as a cruiser) for use as a floating, stationery drill hall in St. John’s. The Division never looked back from that beginning until financial woes in the early 1920s brought the organization to an end.

In peacetime, reservists signed on for five years, although most of them could not complete that requirement, which
included 28 days of drill a year, and one cruise with an RN ship during the five-year engagement. The men received one shilling and one pence a day when on the drill ship and one third of that amount when at sea. Local magistrates received $2 for each new recruit attested. In 1900-1901, 101 men sailed on the training cruise, and that figure remained more or less stable on cruises in following years; the strength of the division reached some 552 personnel by 1909. The governor ensured there was an official interest in the operation of the plan, and even provided return warrants if the cruise ran late and men were required home for the fishing season. The book offers many small vignettes of these early days, as well as many photos. Regattas were held in and around St. John’s, especially if an RN ship or squadron was visiting. It is intriguing to note that even during the First World War Newfoundland Reserves could still opt out after their five-year commitment. Many returned to the colony and joined the other RNR — the Royal Newfoundland Regiment — in many cases to die at Beaumont-Hamel in France on 1 July 1916.

When the call for recruits went out in the summer of 1914 the response was immediate, and passenger liners were shortly calling in at St. John’s to take an initial group of Newfoundland Reserves for service with the RN, followed by more every year thereafter. In the words of the title, these hardy ex-fisherman (in most cases) proved to be the most competent of small-boat handlers, particularly in the sea boarding service of the 10th Cruiser Squadron that stopped and searched merchant vessels north and west of the British Isles to enforce the maritime blockade against Germany. They also served in many other places and roles: Gallipoli, the Dover Barrage, and in the armed trawler service that greatly expanded through the war for anti-submarine and minesweeping duties. More than a few Newfoundland reservists ended up in Canadian warships when Ottawa, on several occasions, called on the Admiralty for the loan of expert seamen.

This book deserves to be on the reference shelf of any historian of the Canadian navy, and of the Royal Navy in the era of the First World War.

Fraser M. McKee
Toronto, Ontario


Ned Jordan’s early life of poverty, an abusive father and an abused mother made him ripe for membership in the Society of United Irishmen and participation in the disastrous rebellion of 1798. Imprisoned by the Crown for treason and sedition, Ned escapes the noose by turning King’s Evidence. Fearing reprisals by the men to whom he had sworn an oath of loyalty, he moves to Cork, changes his name to O’Carroll and briefly finds happiness by marrying Margaret Morran. Once members of the Brotherhood catch up with him, he runs for his life, stowing away with his family on board a ship bound for
New York. He is discovered by the ship’s crew and put to work as a deck hand to pay for their passage. He discovers a liking for ship-board life and begins to dream of a having a ship of his own.

Arriving destitute in New York, he is befriended by the leader of one of the many “Gangs of New York” who offers him employment. Margaret is delighted that they will have decent lodgings and money for food but her contentment is soon dashed as Ned runs afoul of his murderous employer and they are once more on the run. This time they take ship for Quebec.

But Quebec has no streets of gold and for five years the now-abusive son of an abusive father ekes out a living as a fisherman. Hearing tales of the fortunes to be made in the burgeoning city of Halifax, he coerces his wife to accompany him to Halifax in 1808.

By now, Jordan is a man grown hard and driven, “accustomed for years to living on the verge of starvation, Jordan has altogether lost any sense of shame about making promises he could not keep — ethical considerations were a luxury afforded only to the wealthy.” He strikes up an arrangement with the prosperous Halifax chandlers, Jonathon and John Tremaine, to exchange a fictitious cargo of fish in a warehouse in the Gaspé, for a loan of money to build a fishing schooner. Once the schooner is built he is sure his fortunes will change for the better. But fate is unkind. His favourite daughter is injured in an accident and under protest from the long-suffering Margaret, he moves the family to Gaspé to start construction of a schooner named for his daughters, the Three Sisters.

On completion of the vessel, Jordan sails her to Halifax, where he learns that his fictitious cargo of fish is to be seized for non-payment of outstanding debts to the Tremaines. In order to salvage their investment, the Tremaines agree to give Jordan the necessary supplies to allow him to return to the Gaspé to pick up the “cargo.” To ensure that he does, the Tremaines send a young sea captain by the name of John Stairs with instructions to execute the bill of sale and take possession of the vessel should Jordan abscond. Stairs then recruits a crew consisting of two Halifax sailors, Tom Heath and Ben Mathews and a quick-tempered Irishman, John Kelly.

Jordan knows that the odds of him keeping his ship are slim and that Stairs does not trust him. He resents the attention Stairs pays to his ill-treated family. And it is becoming evident by his behaviour that Kelly is unbalanced. At Gaspé, Stairs learns that there is no cargo of fish and makes Jordan sign over the bill of sale and takes command of the Three Sisters to return to Halifax. Jordan is incensed as all his dreams are dashed. He wants to stay in the Gaspé but Margaret pleads with Stairs to take her back to Halifax and Jordan reluctantly accompanies them. Stairs purchases a cargo of fish and on 10 September 1809 they set sail for Halifax. Three days out, Stairs and Heath are looking at a chart in his cabin, when Jordan armed with a pistol, aims and fires. The bullet meant for Stairs kills Heath instead. On deck, Stairs confronts Jordan only to find a dying Matthews lying on the deck. In the ensuing fight, Jordan is aided by Kelly and, inexplicably, his ill-treated wife. Stairs, facing certain death at Jordan’s hands, jumps overboard. Once more captain of his own vessel, Jordan yells at Kelly, “Turn her around! We’re bound for Newfoundland — the law will never find us there.” Jordan had crossed the line into piracy.

Luckily, Stairs is saved from a watery grave by a New England fishing schooner which returns to Boston where Stairs reports Jordan’s act of piracy to the British consul. Meanwhile, the Three
Sisters has docked at Bay Bulls, Newfoundland, where Jordan finds a new crew to sail to Ireland with the cargo of salt cod. Kelly disappears, only to be arrested later for his part in the crime.

Jordan’s plan ends when the Three Sisters is run down and boarded by a Royal Navy schooner. Jordan, his wife and crew are taken into custody and to Halifax, where they are charged with murder and piracy. In 1809 Halifax, the unusual combination of murder and piracy generate a great deal of public interest in the upcoming trial. Many prominent citizens of Halifax played a role in the events including Sir George Provost, lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia, Chief Justice Sampson Blowers, and the attorney general, Richard Uniacke.

On 13 September 1809, the trial opens and witnesses, including Stairs and the members of Jordan’s crew, are called. After a trial of several days, fortune finally smiles on Margaret Jordan. Saved by testimony that she was influenced by her brutish husband, she is found not guilty and released. She eventually returns to Ireland with her children and disappears.

Edward Jordan is found guilty and condemned to hang. On 23 November 1809 he is led to the gallows and executed. His body is then hung from a gibbet on Point Pleasant’s Black Rock Beach as a warning to others. John Kelly, arrested in Newfoundland and brought to Halifax for trial, is found guilty of piracy, but pardoned on the grounds of insanity. Ms. Peirce’s story of Ned Jordan reads like that staple of nineteenth-century pulp fiction, the “penny dreadful” — complete with a book cover sporting a human skull. Her prose is at times somewhat lurid and played for effect, “Jordan gave the deck hand his death with four crunching blows to the skull. Blood rained out like a burst water pipe”... (p.100) and “where shards of glass sparkled in the pools of Heath’s congealed blood...” (p.102). Peirce admits in the author’s note and acknowledgments “that many characters and events in this book are purely and necessarily fictional.” Although I cannot recommend Pirate Rebel for the serious reader of maritime history, I can recommend it for a younger audience or as a light summer read. Preteens who enjoy adventure stories with a little blood and thunder will get a taste of life in the early nineteenth-century Maritimes.

Ross Wilson
Ottawa, Ontario


Impressment enabled the British navy to man its fleets prior to the modern era. This medieval institution coerced men into military service for centuries. Historians such as Denver Brunsman and N.A.M. Rodger have examined impressment from the perspective of naval administrators and officers. They maintain that it was a necessary evil, a regrettable but regulated business that provided listless men with career paths while temporizing the floating bulwarks that defended an island nation. Other scholars, such as Jesse Lemisch and Marcus Rediker, have studied impressment from workers’ perspectives. They argue that taking men off port streets by force and making them perform military duties for years on end was akin to slavery. Nicholas Rogers contributes to the later camp with his latest book, The Press Gang.

Rogers examines impressment resistance among British subjects between
1739 and 1815. After an introduction in which the author takes Rodger to task for providing an “incomplete” portrait of impressment, Rogers discusses the extent to which civilians were able to use the British legal system to oppose this naval institution. (p.13) Vessel-owning merchants had the most time and money to bring suit against naval officers for confiscating their seamen. But, according to Rogers, workers were able to “work the system” of legal loopholes that existed in the form of various exemptions from the press. (p.35) Maritime labourers exploited these loopholes by posing as masters, mates, and apprentices, and by enlisting in local militias. Seafarers also had family members sue them for debts, which got them off warships and into court. Rogers then quantifies resistance to impressment in England over the course of the eighteenth century in order to evaluate the pervasiveness of this opposition. He researched the Admiralty Solicitor’s letters and naval officers’ internal communications, and he found evidence of 602 “affrays and riots.” (p.39) He calculates that “one in four” impressment affrays resulted in “a death or serious injury.” (p.48) The frequency of violent opposition decreased, however, by the end of the century. The “number of heavy casualties dropped to 11 per cent” of the affrays during the 1790s, down from a high water mark of 43.5 per cent. (p.53) Rogers then spotlights two large ports that maintained particularly deep pools of maritime labour, Bristol and Liverpool. He finds that riots, lawsuits, and the popularity of privateering constrained the press in both ports. Liverpool riots were particularly violent, however, with “66 serious acts of violence” as opposed to 36 in Bristol. (p.73) Such violence was principally due to the fact that the navy pressed more men from Liverpool than most other ports in England. Rogers then moves his analysis to Caribbean and North American waters. He finds that “the intractability of the manning problem” in these waters was principally due to the fact that “the local imperatives of commerce did not easily square with the imperatives of war.” (p.85) Colonial merchants wanted convoys and safe shipping lanes, but they detested the fact that the navy had to press their workers to make this happen. At the end of the book, Rogers interrogates the extent to which labourers who resisted impressment during the French Wars were patriotic. He argues that recalcitrant seamen exhibited “loyalty to family and plebian self-respect, especially if it was colored by new notions of citizenship propagated in radical circles.” (p.118) Resisting the press was, therefore, not necessarily an anti-war statement.

The great strength of this book is Rogers’ ability to link impressment, which only a small demographic can define and discuss, to larger social issues. For example, he discusses resistance to military service in order to challenge the assertions of historians who have studied nationalism. While Linda Colley has argued that the Napoleonic Wars promoted patriotic military service among workers, Rogers maintains that workers’ opposition to press gangs complicates these matters. (pp.105, 111) He also challenges the assertion of Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker that impressment fostered international solidarity among diverse maritime labourers. For Rogers, “little space opened up for amicable relations between people of different cultures, let alone the cultivation of wider solidarities” on board warships. (p.100) Connecting seafarers to wider social issues such as nationalism and working-class solidarity reinforces the fact that the sea matters. Whether or not one agrees with Rogers, academics interested in naval history and the history of maritime labourers will find broad implications for their own research in this book.

Having said this, Rogers could
have made more of an effort to compare and contrast naval impressment in the United Kingdom and the colonies. The British navy did, after all, press men around the world. Rogers includes accounts of impressment in the Caribbean and North American mainland colonies in a single chapter. The bulk of the book focuses on England. The Canadian provinces and the colonies beyond the Atlantic Ocean are completely ignored. A systematic effort to compare the nature of impressment and its opposition as it occurred around the globe would have enabled readers to discern universal and particular qualities associated with popular resistance to this institution. Nevertheless, Rogers has done much to illuminate the ways in which human agency constrained the expansion of coercive, government-sponsored military conscription throughout much of the British Atlantic World. He is to be applauded for refusing to yield the human spirit to ubiquitous structural forces associated with legal, political, and military institutions such as impressment.

Christopher P. Magra
Northridge, California


Historians around the North Sea have a long tradition for cooperation, building international bridges within the field of maritime history. The North Sea History Association and its forerunner, the North Sea Society, have contributed greatly to this tradition, having successfully hosted nine conferences on the maritime history of the region. Papers were subsequently published in conference proceedings and the most recent volume contains papers presented at the eighth North Sea History conference held in Bremerhaven in 2005. The topic of the volume is Crisis and Transition in the maritime sectors during the period from 1790 to 1940.

The volume is chronologically structured and split into four sections. In the first section, two papers address crises caused by war. The papers cover the period from ca. 1790 to 1825, and ask how European wars influenced maritime trade. In the case of Hamburg, Marzagalli convincingly demonstrates that war did not automatically cause a crisis for merchants, who were often able to transfer trade to neutrals. Similarly, in the Norwegian case, presented by Nilsen, war did not automatically translate into economic crisis. In the early part of the European wars, Norwegians profited from neutrality. Massive disruptions came, however, after 1807 when Norwegians were directly involved in the Napoleonic War and problems continued long after the return of peace in 1814.

The second section focuses on crises caused by technological change between 1860 and 1913. Railways, steamships and telegraphs certainly changed the rules of the game in the maritime business, and they contributed to a decline in transportation costs during this period. In a paper on Britain, Armstrong and Fenton discuss the coastal traders’ response to the emerging competition from railways. In a Dutch case, Gaastra traces the transition from crisis to growth in shipping from 1860 to 1913, and Neutsch analyses the emergence of new infrastructural systems in Northern Europe during this period. Kaukiainen adds an important aspect to the issue of change in the nineteenth-century maritime industry, when arguing that free
trade policies were also important drivers behind the decline in transportation costs. In other words, technological changes were not alone in forming the transport system.

The third section is on crises and economic downturn in the interwar period. In his paper on the German fishing sector, Heidbrink argues the perceived crisis of the German fishing sector was in fact a return to the normal after the First World War. The perceived crisis was used by the fishing industry to advance political industry interests. Siemon analyses the social history of seamen during the Great Depression, and the interwar development of Norwegian shipping forms the topic of a paper by Tenold.

Finally, the volume contains a section of papers by young researchers in the field of maritime history. These papers are not directly related to the topic of the conference. All of them, however, focus on significant changes in the maritime history of the North Sea area, and they clearly demonstrate that a strong new cohort of researchers is entering the stock of maritime historians. Daly presents novel dendro-chronological methods in an analysis of maritime contacts in the North Sea region before 1500 and Serruys analyzes the city of Antwerp’s attempts to maintain its standing as a large European centre of trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Wilcox presents new findings on the apprenticed labour force in the British fisheries between 1850 and 1914 and Rack takes the reader on three German polar expeditions in the early decades of the twentieth century. Finally, Moeyes analyses the development of Dutch shipping and shipbuilding from 1900-40, using an interesting approach to map business networks.

The title of the conference was “Crisis and Response,” but the editors have broadened the title of the book to “Crisis and Transition.” This change indicates the difficulties encountered both by the presenters and editors in defining the concept of crisis. As stated in the editors’ introduction, the word crisis is commonly used by historians to draw attention to their own work, but a clear concept of what constitutes a crisis is rarely presented. Unfortunately, this volume does not develop or apply any clear crisis concept either. In fact, only one paper within the volume specifically attempts to formally define a crisis. This is Tenold’s paper, which establishes a framework for the analysis for shipping market crises, by comparing the development of the Norwegian merchant marine in 1928-39 and 1976-87. Tenold clearly documents the 1930s to be a period of expansion in Norwegian shipping. Quantitative industry indicators (data sets on vessel lay-up rates, average fleet age and size and number of company entries to and exits from the shipping sector) convincingly show that the 1930s was a time of new opportunities for Norwegian ship-owners. Norwegians successfully grasped these opportunities, establishing a global stronghold in the highly important tanker sector. Tenold shows that the label crisis fits better on the period 1976-87, when the number of Norwegian shipping companies was drastically reduced and the Norwegian fleet dwindled markedly. By the use of strong industry indicators, comparisons across time periods can yield a better understanding of the concept of economic crises. Tenold shows that this can be done.

The editors have done an excellent job editing the conference papers into an interesting book. Conference proceedings always contain numerous perspectives and the coverage of an extended time period and a large region adds to this complexity. While never succeeding in formally defining a crisis, the authors and editors clearly raise important questions. Hence, the volume is a significant contribution to maritime history in Northern Europe.
Maritime history certainly abounds with examples of crises, but the discipline as such is not in a state of crisis.

René Taudal Poulsen
Esbjerg, Denmark


At the intersection of the disciplines of maritime history and marine biology exists the History of Marine Animal Populations (HMAP) research program of the Census of Marine Life (CoML) project. CoML is a grandly-envisioned scheme to explore three massive questions (What lived in the oceans? What lives in the oceans? What will live in the oceans?) over a ten-year period, beginning in the year 2000. The approximately 2,000 researchers around the world who have been working on this are now anticipating the conclusion, the First Census of Marine Life in 2010. Public awareness and publication of results are lagging behind a bit, and reviews of such publications are, of course, behind that.

In October 2005, the HMAP project held a conference at Kolding, Denmark, entitled “Oceans Past: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the History of Marine Animal Populations.” About half-way through the project, the conference provided a venue for researchers from the natural sciences and the humanities to meet and discuss their findings. Participants presented 75 papers. In 2007, some of these papers were published as “History of marine animal populations and their exploitation in northern Europe” in a Special Issue of *Fisheries Research* (Vol. 87, nos 2-3) edited by B. R. MacKenzie and H. O. Ojaveer.

The subject of this review is a book presenting ten more papers revised for publication. The authors are archaeologists, oceanographers, biologists, ecologists, historians and social scientists from the U.S.A., the U.K., Russia, Canada, Australia, and Denmark. The subjects are as diverse as the origins of the common periwinkle, social conflict in the Florida sponge fishery, the use of restaurant menus to track marine animal populations, the decline of the Cape Cod alewife fishery, mapping historic fishing grounds in the Gulf of Maine, the rapid decline of the Pacific right whale under fisheries pressure, sperm whaling grounds, sperm whale catch and encounter rates, the political history of the concept of maximum sustained yield, and a review of Russian and Scandinavian scientists who attempted to obtain fisheries data from historical sources in the nineteenth century.

The use of menus is particularly interesting, producing data about the destruction of stocks of marine animals that, in some instances, have left behind no data on “boat price” or wholesale price, and little other information. Glenn A. Jones, author of “‘Quite the Choicest Protein Dish’: The Costs of Consuming Seafood in American Restaurants, 1850-2006” found archived collections of menus and bills of fare totaling more than 200,000 items across the United States. Of these, about five percent (10,000 menus) contained the necessary nuggets of information — a specific date, prices of individual items, and restaurant location. Dining establishments that appeared to be at the upper and lower ends of the social spectrum were eliminated to limit extremes in price unrelated to wholesale cost. Jones used prices from menus to explore the rise in popularity among the dining public and later species
endangerment of canvas-back ducks and abalones, and also explored the situation regarding lobsters (for which more catch data is available, and which have not been endangered). Carefully normalizing the dollar values to the Consumer Price Index and its pre-1913 equivalent, the author showed how the food prices of these species exceeded the economy-wide inflation rate, indicating rising popularity meeting decreasing stocks.

“Sperm Whale Catches and Encounter Rates during the 19th and 20th Centuries: An Apparent Paradox,” by Tim D. Smith, Randall R. Reeves, Elizabeth A. Josephson, Judith N. Lund and Hal Whitehead, reached somewhat less satisfying conclusions, although not for want of trying. The paradox is that twentieth-century catches of sperm whales on the Japan and Galápagos Grounds greatly exceeded the nineteenth-century catches there, even though both catches and sightings of sperm had peaked there in the mid-nineteenth century and then declined markedly. The authors revisited the collection of all the data, and second-guessed all the assumptions underlying the paradox. They did not come up with an answer. They believe it possible that the North Pacific whales hunted in the twentieth century came from populations not hunted in the nineteenth century. They have ruled out statistical error in the twentieth-century catch figures, and nearly ruled it out in the nineteenth-century figures. Need for further research in certain areas was pointed out — hunting loss or struck-and-lost rates, change in behaviour of whales or whalers, and whale population structure. It is certainly not surprising that the complex oceanic systems of the Pacific should temporarily defeat researchers working with nineteenth- and mid-twentieth-century data. The math of Appendix 2 may also defeat some readers, but I encourage everyone to read to the end.

Perhaps I have led a sheltered life, but it is highly engaging to read a discussion of a quantifiable paradox coefficient.

The papers published here are well supported with explanatory bits at the beginning and end of the book, for general understanding. Editing is well done and typos are minimal. The volume is generally well-illustrated, though some maps are too small. All the illustrations are in black and white, but where the originals were in colour, they can be viewed on a website noted in the picture captions.

Altogether, this is an inspiring and earnest attempt to find answers to historical questions that really matter. Delving into other disciplines for help in arriving at those answers should be something that historians are used to. If some of the answers are vague or ambiguous, that should just stimulate further study.

Nathan Lipfert
Bath, Maine


Whittles Publishing of Scotland appears to be successfully creating a niche market for itself where the personal testimony of seafarers’ lives and experiences is concerned. Escape to the Sea tells the story of Tom Sullivan, the orphaned son of Irish immigrant parents. Like so many of his
contemporaries, he chose seafaring as the only possible escape from a “miserable” existence, in his case as a tailor’s apprentice in mid-nineteenth century London. Such was the influence of the sea on his life that he was determined to record his story, one impetus being his attempt to encourage a new generation to follow in his footsteps. He was in his late sixties when he wrote his memoirs, originally titled At Sea under Canvas Fifty Years Ago, and this book is his story, with careful and sympathetic editing by his great grandson.

In contrast, Mariner’s Voyage is the second volume of a trilogy narrated by Jonathan Caridia, a semi-autobiographical account of seafaring during the 1950s-1970s, British shipping’s “golden age.” Through the character of Jonathan Caridia, the author provides a detailed account of a young, newly qualified navigating officer and his subsequent development, promotions and varied experiences across a range of trades and a variety of crews.

As one would expect, both books offer interesting insights into the everyday lives of seafarers, but a century apart. Despite a sometime romantic public perception, life at sea is far from glamorous and both books remind us that, whatever the developments in shipping and seafaring over the last two centuries, many aspects of the day-to-day seafarers’ experience do not change. The ship itself is a demanding workplace, even in the mid-twentieth century when safety measures at sea were far more developed than during the Victorian period, and the dangers facing the seafarer is reflected in both accounts. Yet no matter how hard or hazardous life at sea was, and remains, there is also much excitement and camaraderie which, it appears, remain timeless attractions of this particular career, especially for many young people. Both authors find themselves visiting exotic places and seeing things which, even in the mid-twentieth century, most people could only imagine, while also providing us with glimpses of some of the significant world events of their time. Thus, Tom Sullivan witnesses first-hand the lives of freed slaves in post-Civil War America while also visiting many of the former slave ports on the east African coast. In Jonathan Caridia’s case, it is the post-Second World War world which provides the backdrop, with visits to communist ports and those of Japan illuminating the story.

While the two accounts belong to different periods of history, both men also held different positions within the merchant navy hierarchy and thus provide unique outlooks on their respective maritime worlds. Tom Sullivan’s account is a rare gem, a hand-written account by an educated and literate able bodied seaman, albeit one who retired from the sea to follow a successful non-maritime career ashore. While the “otherness” of the seafarer is often cited as being universal, the reality, as expressed in Sullivan’s account, is that most seafarers did not spend their entire working lives at sea, and that seafaring was only one career option. Thus, we read of his attempt to try his hand at working on the building of the Severn Tunnel between Wales and England for, as he notes, it had “nothing to do with the sea, but it just shows what a variety of jobs a seaman will tackle.” Yet the allure of the sea always appears too great for a young man, with employment not the only issue. As is often the case for someone with the sea in his blood, the adventure of the sea is tempting — Sullivan enjoyed his trip to Quebec and so found another ship which sailed there — while the look of certain ships again proved enough to entice him to seek work on them. As with all such accounts, we get to know Tom Sullivan as a seafarer but also as a person with all his strengths and weaknesses. He can be stubborn, heroic, humorous, cunning but also sympathetic, as shown in his concern for the wife of a captain who was
ill and who Sullivan felt should not have made the voyage from Falmouth to Dublin in the first place. While his account of life and work aboard ship is informative, and his experiences of the exotic provide interesting episodes, it is his description of life on shore which this reviewer found particularly interesting. On the one hand they remind us of the time when Britain was at the centre of world trade with, among others, the south Wales ports of Cardiff and Newport prominent, and the sea routes he follows make interesting comparison with those of the modern seafarer. On a practical level, we see clearly that reaching port was not necessarily a welcome experience. Certainly Sullivan’s story draws attention to the need for the seafarer to be wary and attentive at all times if he was not to fall foul of the machinations of others. The immediate vicinity of the port was no place for the naïve or faint-hearted!

In contrast to Tom Sullivan, the central character of Mariner’s Voyage has completed his cadetship and the book begins with his joining his first vessel as third navigating officer. The word which sums up the difference between the life of the seafarer during the mid-twentieth century as opposed to the mid-nineteenth century is “professionalism.” By the mid-twentieth century developments in shipping and ports, if only in terms of technology and the ship’s crew, on the one hand, and the introduction of measures to ensure the seafarer’s well being, and improved working and living conditions, on the other, meant that professional crews were the order of the day. We see Jonathan Caridia’s professional development and respect his willingness to develop his potential in his chosen career. This is not to decry the skills and competences of Tom Sullivan and his era, but seafaring certainly had changed by the mid-twentieth century. On the other hand, it is also the case that there were still incompetent officers and men at sea during the 1950s to 1970s whom Tom Sullivan would have recognised.

There may be concerns regarding the semi-autobiographical nature of Mariner’s Voyage. The advantage, as the author explains, is to provide an opportunity to portray events “which border still dangerously close to libel” while allowing the inclusion of events from other relevant sources. While this may be the case, the question is: where does the author draw the line where artistic licence is concerned and to what extent is this, therefore, a socio-historical account? Despite such misgivings, it must be emphasised that this does not detract from the portrayal of a seafarer’s life experience presented while, one can argue, what seafarer’s life story does not contain an element of imagination and exaggeration?

Both publications reflect the standard we have come to expect from Whittles Publishing, though there is an elementary inconsistency between the two volumes. While Escape to the Sea contains a detailed index and glossary (the latter being particularly useful and illuminating), the absence of both in Mariner’s Voyage is to be noted. Similarly, while the former work contains useful maps showing ports visited by Sullivan, their inclusion in the latter would have been a useful and attractive addition.

Both books contain a number of relevant and interesting illustrations. It is only to be expected that an account of life at sea in the mid-twentieth century should contain a larger number of photographs and this is to be commended. Indeed, for this reviewer, it is the photographs which draw attention to the huge changes which had taken place from the world Tom Sullivan knew and the mid-twentieth century seafarer’s world of Jonathan Caridia. Modern facilities from cabins for individual officers, to on-board libraries, on the one
hand, and technology beyond the wildest imaginings of the nineteenth-century AB, on the other, remind us of how far the seafarer’s world had changed — and continues to change.

The blurb on the back cover of one volume refers to “a working world unimaginable in the modern era” while the second volume mentions “a way of life overtaken by events.” In this respect, both volumes should be essential reading for the modern seafarer, the armchair enthusiast and those maritime historians interested in the everyday experiences of the ordinary seafarer and his world.

John Robert Evans
Caernarfon, Wales


In spite of war, piracy and legal and political uncertainties, English merchant shipping flourished between the mid-fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries. Yet, a seagoing ship was not only an expensive capital investment, it was, before marine insurance was known in the northern world, also the riskiest. Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice* knew the importance of cargo-spreading: “My ventures are not in one bottom trusted...Therefore my merchandise makes me not sad.”

Robin Ward holds a Ph.D. in history and an Offshore Yachtmaster’s Certificate. He has published papers on medieval freighting agreements and navigation and written a thesis on maritime passages in fourteenth-century English alliterative poetry. Motivated by a curiosity about how things were done at sea six hundred years ago, Ward has talked with a range of scholars, sailors, lawyers and boat-builders in preparing for this book.

In the Middle Ages, maritime law, navigation and trading were not yet separate occupations and until now, little was known of the personal lives, background or training of an English medieval shipmaster. Ward’s enthusiasm for his subject shines brightly as he explains the shipmaster’s role and responsibilities as a manager ashore and afloat, and examines his options in owning and trading with ships. He empathizes with the master who, having acquired a vessel and found sufficient cargo to earn a profitable freight, had to deal with the bureaucracy of arranging credit against the charter-party, fitting out and victualling his ship, and paying his crew for the outward voyage. This is not to mention abiding by the protocols covering relations with the merchant shippers who traveled with their cargoes and often acted as seafarers.

The first known code of maritime law, *Lex d’Oléron*, was a collection of sea customs compiled in the thirteenth century under the authority of Richard Cœur de Lion to govern the Gascon trade passing by the island of Oléron, which had been under English control for 220 years. With the increasing complexity of merchant shipping, Edward III set up a record of legal decisions in 1375, known as the Inquisition of Queenborough, to establish rules for contentious maritime issues. N.A.M. Rodger notes in his book *Safeguard of the Sea* (2001), that a law code is, in its nature, evidence for what people thought should happen rather than what actually did. Ward, however, argues that these codes and rules were accepted as current law among English seamen and in English courts and, unlike in the Navy, were responsible for the relaxed relationship at sea between shipmaster and servant.
Ward is fascinated by the development of navigation from the art of keeping close to the coast and fixing positions on landmarks in 1350 to a science in 1450 with the introduction of the magnetic compass and the hour-glass. The earliest surviving instruction manual on the techniques of medieval seamanship is Bourne’s Regiment for the Sea in 1574 and Ward overlooks the contribution of Prince Henry of Portugal, born in 1394. In Prince Henry the Navigator (2001) Russell credits him with creating Europe’s first maritime empire and Bethencourt, in his book Portuguese Oceanic Expansion 1400-1800 (2007) believes Henry’s interest in the science of marine cartography and an obsession with charting a way around western Africa, led to the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 and the beginning of the global Portuguese diaspora.

The economic historian might feel that the author could have said more about the effect on shipmasters of the important westward shift of the epicenter of maritime commerce in the late thirteenth century. For example, Stopford’s book, Maritime Economics (2009), blames the weakened economy of the Byzantine Empire for the movement of trade to the growing North West Europe while Allison, in his book Genoa and the Sea (2005), credits the arrival of the Genoese and Venetians in the North Sea for turning Bruges into the new maritime entrepôt monopolizing the English wool trade.

This entertaining product of detailed scholarship will fascinate readers of early history as it brings to life ship performance, navigation and seamanship. Maritime historians will appreciate Ward’s meticulous research, comprehensive appendices, transcriptions, translations and dissections of medieval legal texts and an index listing over 33 contemporary merchants. Early written agreements in merchant shipping are rare since in matters of trust the parties relied on their word being their bond, as they still do today, but the author has examined and organized a mound of multilingual medieval material, including parliamentary and court records. Excellent illustrations are coupled with photographs of important documents and those working in merchant shipping may be surprised at how many current documents are descended from ancient times. Five appendices contain the author’s translation and transcription of Oléron and Queenborough and a 16-page select bibliography includes readily accessible sources from European maritime nations in Dutch, French, German, Portuguese and Latin.

In Robin Ward’s world of the medieval shipmaster, contemporary commercial practices influenced the development of navigation, ship performance and seamanship and regulated relations between merchant, shipowner and crew. But, ever the yachtsman, Ward contends that a homeward passage before the wind, with the sun on his back, a hold full of wine and not another sail in sight, would amply compensate any shipmaster for all the harsh conditions he had faced.

Michael Clark
London, UK


A new volume in the University Press of Florida’s series New Perspectives on Maritime History and Nautical
Archaeology, this book provides detailed information on the types of coastal rescue craft that have been used by the United States Life-Saving Service (USLSS) and the United States Coast Guard (USCG) and their design histories. It traces the development of the design characteristics of these coastal rescue craft and how they have been utilized and improved, as well as how their design descendents today continue to be used in the humanitarian work of saving lives in peril on the sea.

More than technical and design history, this is also a highly readable narrative that provides information on key individuals in this development. Sumner I. Kimball is singled out as one of the federal government’s best career administrators of his time, and the individual most responsible for developing the U.S. Life-Saving Service into the highly effective life-saving organization that it became. Also lauded are Captains James Merryman and Charles McLellan of the Revenue Cutter Service for their significant impact on the designs of rescue craft selected by the USLSS for Service use.

McLellan played a key role in ushering in the modern age of coastal rescue craft by applying new engineering technology, the gasoline engine, to an established hull form developed through hard Service experience at the end of the nineteenth century. The authors argue that the development of the 34-foot and 36-foot motor lifeboats was the most important innovation in the history of American lifeboat design. Its self-righting features made it one of the best liked boats in the Coast Guard.

One interesting development covered is the Coast Guard’s adoption of the Army’s amphibious truck, the “DUKW,” as a motorized rescue craft that could be used by beachfront stations in place of their pulling surf-boat from 1944 to the early 1970s and the later replacement for the DUKW, the “LARC,” beginning in 1963. The LARC suffered from the same shortcomings as the DUKW, limited to use only under mild surf conditions, as well as material deterioration and maintenance problems, and it was retired from use by the early 1980s. During the 1970s a number of U.S. Navy air-cushioned vehicles (ACVs) were transferred to the Coast Guard and assigned as high-speed patrol and rescue craft but their higher maintenance requirements and lack of towing capability limited their usefulness.

Lieutenant Commander Robert Witter of the Coast Guard played a key role in the ultimate success of the 44-foot lifeboat design, one of the most successful boat designs in Coast Guard history. For the almost half-century the 44-foot lifeboats were in use they were highly praised for their ruggedness and surf capabilities. The final 44-foot Motor Lifeboat was retired in May 2009.

In the Coast Guard of the 1980s and 1990s, wooden- and fiberglass-hulled motor surfboats were replaced by a highly capable type of craft referred to as the rigid-hull inflatable boat (RHIB). The authors conclude with a discussion of the 47-foot motor lifeboat as the successor to the venerable 44-foot motor lifeboat. This was to be the first U.S. lifeboat design to incorporate multi-mission tasking such as law enforcement and military operations.

The authors conclude that the Coast Guard has generally been successful at incorporating newer technology into their rescue craft designs, such that the boats in use today provide much improved response times, operational radii, and protection for crew and survivors than the pulling/sailing boats of old.

In writing this book, Dr. Wilkinson, director emeritus of the Mariners’ Museum in Newport News, Virginia and Commander Dring, a retired
Navy reservist, utilized primary reference material, including original, official documents of the U.S. Life-Saving Service and U.S. Coast Guard contained in the National Archives, as well as the U.S. Coast Guard Historian’s Office, the Coast Guard Yard in Curtis Bay, Maryland and individual Coast Guard district offices. The authors have used photographic evidence where documents were not available. Filled with photographs and boat drawings, this book is a valuable historical reference book. Unfortunately, the boat design and construction data from the Coast Guard era after the late 1930s is almost nonexistent in the National Archives, and very few boat construction records from the Coast Guard’s Curtis Bay Yard could be found. This book, therefore, serves to “capture” and preserve this information for public and maritime historians.

While other books provide in-depth information on the history of the U.S. Life-Saving Service and the U.S. Coast Guard, none have provided complete information on probably the most important tools — the boats — that early surfmen and contemporary Coast Guardsmen employ in carrying out their rescue missions. Now, for the first time, detailed design histories, specifications, drawings and station assignment information for each type of coast rescue craft that has been used since the formal establishment of a federal lifesaving service in the mid-1800s is available. An enclosed CD provides complete specification information and plans, along with a tabular listing of all Life-Saving Service and Coast Guard stations and their boat assignments over the years of their operation to the current day.

This is an invaluable maritime historical reference work that fills a long-standing gap, and should be in the library of every maritime organization and every maritime historian interested in the U.S. Life-Saving Service or the U.S. Coast Guard. Many will benefit through the use of the information in this book.

C. Douglas Kroll
Palm Desert, California
Editorial Note – General index Volume XX.

Starting with the current Volume, XIX, page numbering of articles, research notes and book reviews is sequential through all four issues. Thus the following general index of this volume does not contain the issue number.

Editorial, index and conference announcement pages continued to be placed at the start and end of each issue, using Roman rather than Arabic numerals.

This aligns *The Northern Mariner/le marin du nord* more closely with the standards used by comparable international journals and should facilitate citing of references.

Paul Adamthwaite
October 2009