# BOOK REVIEWS

Derek Allen and Peter Hore. *News of Nelson: John Lapenotiere 's Race from Trafalgar to London.* Brussels, Belgium: SEFF Edition, 2005, 104 pp. illustrations, sources, index. € 22, US $26.00, paper; ISBN 2-9600411-7-8. (Available from Capt. PC Hore, The White House, Iping Road, Milland, Liphook, HANTS GU 30 7NA.)

"Sir, we have gained a great victory, but we have lost Lord Nelson!" was the oral report made to William Marsden, Clerk of the Admiralty, Whitehall, at 1:00 a.m. on 6 November, 1805. The message and the official dispatches describing all of the circumstances were brought to London by Lieutenant John Richards Lapenotiere, Royal Navy, commanding officer of His Majesty's Schooner *Pickle.* The official dispatches were from Vice Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood, now Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Fleet. He superseded Vice Admiral Horatio, Viscount Nelson, killed at the height of the battle of Trafalgar, fought between about noon to about 5:00 p.m., 21 October, 1805, off Cape Trafalgar at the southwestern tip of the Iberian Peninsula. The British fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line had achieved a major victory over the thirty-three ships of the line of the Combined French-Spanish Fleet. A great storm had followed the battle. No British ships were lost, but many in both fleets were damaged. Collingwood did not reach Gibraltar for several days. He wrote the report and the official dispatches and rushed them on their way via the *Pickle.* More stormy weather delayed *Pickle's* arrival at Falmouth until 10:45 a.m. on 4 November. Leaving *Pickle* to proceed to Plymouth, Lapenotiere raced overland about 270 miles by post chaise, changing horses twenty-one times at a cost of about £47 sterling. He arrived at the Admiralty 37 hours later. The same journey by Royal Mail at that time was typically 75 hours.

John Richards Lapenotiere was of a Huguenot family which came over with King William III in 1688 and served the Crown for five generations. He was born in Devon in 1770 and died in Cornwall in 1834. He was an officer in the second breadfruit voyage of William Bligh, 1791-1793. During an undistinguished career he had also served under notables such as Pellew, Cochrane, Calder, Nelson, and Collingwood. In 1802 he took over command of *Pickle,* 127 tons, 6 guns, with a complement of 40 men. Based at Plymouth, her most frequent duty was carrying official dispatches. She had a "grandstand view" of the famous battle and rescued 160 French seamen from the *Achille* which blew up, delivering them to Gibraltar on 26 October. Once Lapenotiere arrived at the Admiralty, the Clerk Marsden immediately informed the 80 year-old Charles Middleton, first Baron Barham, First Lord of the Admiralty. Lapenotiere then proceeded to Windsor Castle to inform King George III of the events. As the officer who first brought the "News of Nelson" and Trafalgar, Lapenotiere was promoted to commander and awarded £500.

Derek Allen initiated extensive archival and documentary research about Lapenotiere and *Pickle* before his death in 2004. Captain Peter Hore, a noted naval author and veteran of the Royal Navy, then took over and completed the book. There are four coloured illustrations as well as several in black and white throughout the book, including a diagram of *Pickle* identifying all ten sails, a photo of a post chaise, and a silhouette of Lapenotiere. *The Naval Chronicle,* older histories of the Royal Navy, *The Navy List,* original logs of ships, and parish registers were typical sources. A "side bar" technique, on gray background, is used to elaborate on various matters, for example, a breakdown of the complement *of Pickle,* a general order from Nelson, and Collingwood's order to Lapenotiere.

As part of the Nelson Decade-SeaBritain 2005-Trafalgar 200 activities, a complete re-enactment of "The New Nelson Dispatch" was coordinated by the Official Nelson Commemoration Committee and The

1805 Club. A series of major celebrations accompanied Lapenotiere's recreated trip at sea and on land, while a new Ordnance Survey Map of the route permanently depicts "The Trafalgar Way." With the training ship Nelson standing in for Pickle, "The New Nelson Dispatch" culminated with the sword of Lapenotiere aboard the funeral barge which carried "Nelson" during the re-enactment of the Nelson Funeral Flotilla up the Thames on 28 September, 2005.

There are problems with the book. Curiously, no indentation was used for paragraphs; a line is skipped. The proofreading was unsatisfactory. Numerous direct quotations were used from the original sources. Perhaps as a consequence of the rarity of references to Lapenotiere and *Pickle,* inevitably, the effect is a series of snippets in a "cut and paste" format. Nevertheless, this is an interesting, informative, valuable contribution to the vast outpouring of new works associated with bicentennial events of 2005. And, clearly, that voluminous productivity has raised the consciousness of the British public and beyond. That was the primary goal of organizers of the celebrations.

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Marshall J. Bastable. *Arms and the State. Sir William Armstrong and the Remaking of British Naval Power, 1854-1914.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., www.ashgate.com, 2004. xii + 300 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. US $ 99.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7546-3404-3.

Marshall Bastable addresses a little understood but important period in naval history. Given the lack of dramatic events involving naval forces, it has been studied to a limited degree; but, notwithstanding this comparative disinterest and neglect, it is important because the second half of the nineteenth century involved considerable technological ferment. The results emerged in the early years of the twentieth century and bore fruit in the First World War. Bastable's book focuses on one of the industrial giants of the period - Sir W.G. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co, also referred to as "Elswick" in deference to the area in Newcastle in which it was located.

Bastable usefully links a number of themes that were to grow in importance as the twentieth century and indeed, our modern era, unfolded. These include the critical role of technology in naval warfare; the creation of an economic juggernaut known as the "military-industrial complex;" and, the establishment of a global arms market.

The first part of the book covers William Armstrong's developmental work on the famous Armstrong guns and the ships necessary to carry them. The mid-nineteenth century witnessed the transition from sail to steam, particularly for naval vessels. At the same time, naval artillery evolved from cannons of various sizes to truly monster weapons, weighing many times more than the largest traditional naval guns, and capable of firing immense projectiles. This development inevitably led to ships carrying far fewer cannons and marked the end of the ship-of-the-line with 74, 80, 100 or 110 guns. In order to deploy fewer guns more effectively, turrets were developed at the same time. Of course, as Bastable indicates, all this did not happen overnight, and the landscape was littered with many false starts and unsuccessful designs. William Armstrong was one of the "winners" during this period, and his firm became progressively more important as the nineteenth century drew to its close.

The difference lay in the accelerated rate of change. A naval officer in the 1820s would have had no difficulty fitting in with the navy of the 1620s and vice-versa. While ship design and layout had certainly improved in the two centuries between these admittedly-arbitrary dates, changes were marginal. No fundamental change had occurred at all so that the continuities were far more dominant than the differences. Enlist that same nineteenth-century naval officer in the navy of 1920, however, and he would be in an absolutely different world, with almost no points of commonality with his twentieth-century colleagues. The technological developments involved were delivered by firms

such as Armstrong's, at a speed that made his contemporaries' heads spin. Major upsets to the technological status quo were similar to today's, requiring a similar flexibility in thought with regard to tactics and to strategy. The resonance with our own day is striking, although we are somewhat more used to a rapid pace of change, even if not entirely comfortable or happy with it.

Armstrong's firm, which experienced numerous name and organizational changes throughout its existence, had its equivalents in other countries - for example, Krupp in Germany. These increasingly enormous enterprises established standards of excellence for the armaments that they produced and consequently, began supplying the world. Naval administrations started to seek out particular suppliers for their programmes and mixed and matched as necessary to provide the best possible package of equipment for their fleets. As the century progressed, competition became intense with various domestic suppliers folding or being absorbed by what became, in effect, the "national champion." Armstrong's company fulfilled this role *par excellence.*

The second part of the book discusses the development of an international market for arms, a consequence that haunts us to this day. Perhaps "haunts" is incorrect, imposing a value judgment on a trend that, in retrospect, appears inevitable. In fact, this arms market promoted a commonality in design and equipment that mirrored the way armies and navies of an earlier period had employed technologies and equipment that were by and large comparable. Rarely is technological superiority acknowledged as the reason a general, admiral or nation enjoyed dominance or success over a rival (excluding colonial adventures, of course). In the past, each nation had its indigenous suppliers, usually government-owned and - operated, that provided for its needs. Thanks largely to the technological complexity of today's weapons, we are faced with international arms merchants and the eclipse of domestic suppliers.

The importance of Armstrong's firm to the national economy represents a third thread in Bastable's book. In the past, individual suppliers had been relatively small scale, and hence, of limited national significance, or they had been government manufacturers, such as the Woolwich arsenal. Armstrong's facilities at Elswick became a centre of naval and armament engineering that bore a national significance well beyond anything that had previously existed. Indeed, it became too big fail, too important a supplier not to win contracts, too essential to Britain's national survival to suffer neglect, too critical to the economic health of the Newcastle area to remain idle. These factors and arguments are quite common in current discourse in all countries (think Bombardier, think Boeing, think British Aerospace) but at the time, this was a new concept. The consequence of the rise of a "national champion" in a military or nautical enterprise sense remains part of a modern economy. The author describes the early days of the arms merchant and the technological underpinnings of that rise. It is a reality that remains as salient in the early years of the twenty-first century as it did a century ago, and would seem to represent our foreseeable future.

Bastable has made an important and useful contribution to the literature of the period. That said, this is an academic work of "Modern Economic and Social History" and has the strengths and weaknesses of many such compositions. The writing style is rather dry and lacks verve - this is economics, after all. As well, the book is ponderously organized and a little heavy going as it plods along. The conclusion and summing up is not entirely satisfactory, and could have been more powerfully related to what the Armstrong story can tell us today. Indeed, this review has pulled out more such conclusions than the book does. The conclusions are there, but not as well articulated as they might be. I recommend this book for the important story it tells, of a period and topic not well understood by many, and of its continuing relevance to us today. It is not an easy read and will put off all not fully engaged in the topic. Not for the casual reader.

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Laurence Bergreen. *Over the Edge of the World: Magellan's Terrifying Circumnavigation of the Globe.* New York, NY: William Morrow, www.harnercollins.com, 2003. 458 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US S 27.95, CDN $39.95, cloth: ISBN 0-06-621173-5.

Historians like to revisit the past and re-package it for their own generation. Laurence Bergreen's new examination of Ferdinand Magellan is a case in point: the author provides a fresh look at this famous circumnavigator and his fatal voyage as well as the places and personalities of his day. This account of the *Armada de Molucca* emphasizes the fear, excitement, sex, violence and adventure of this three-year odyssey (1519-1522). Included are many wonderful illustrations - even photographs of Magellan's route taken from NASA's *Seastar* spacecraft.

Although most school children know Magellan's expedition was the first to circumnavigate the globe, few of us know more than "the basics:" he was a well-born Portuguese seaman who felt slighted by his king and looked to rival Spain for sponsorship; Magellan was killed by natives mid-voyage and only a handful of men (in one of his five ships) completed the voyage. Beyond that, public and academic opinion is divided on whether we should celebrate Magellan as a visionary or castigate him as a tyrant. This book reflects that controversy and shows that there is ample evidence for both points of views.

Bergreen has several books to his credit, most of which are biographies. His skill enables him to paint a nuanced portrait of Magellan, encouraging us to admire Magellan while acknowledging his weaknesses. This voyage was a crucible which revealed the best and worst in Magellan's nature. While the seas, foreign terrains and the indigenous people were unpredictable, one of the most enduring hazards was the jealousies of mutinous Spanish crewmates who distrusted and resented their Portuguese Captain General. National rivalries between the Iberian powers figure prominently throughout the book, as does the competition to win favour and rewards from King Charles I of Spain (Holy Roman Emperor Charles V). The reader gains an appreciation of the dangers of: sailing a fleet of sixteenth-century ships into the unknown with inadequate provisioning; the problems of forging consensus among a very divided fleet; and attempting to be faithful to the Spanish king's orders in the Portuguese sphere of influence.

All of these aspects of the voyage are discussed in the book, but we must also wonder if vitamin deficiency impacted Magellan's decision-making. Magellan did issue some questionable orders (such as his harsh treatment of certain indigenous people as well as the men under his command). Bergreen demonstrates that Magellan was a leader under excruciating stress and his fleet was crackling with tension and animosity. The impact of poor nutrition, however, is an underestimated feature in many modern accounts of the age of exploration and must have had an impact on such long voyages.

Overall, Bergreen does a commendable job constructing a credible picture of Magellan and his era. Even more laudable, he provides the gritty details of life at sea. Such things are normally a neglected part of most histories and the average seaman is treated as a necessary evil in the voyages of the Great Explorers. Here we are privy not only to the interactions and thoughts of those in command but also the reactions of those of more humble birth who made such voyages possible.

The danger of Bergreen's beautifully written account is that we are so easily drawn in that we seldom question his conclusions. The lack of notes in the text make it "reader friendly" but the curious are obliged to hunt for his references at the back of the book. With great certainty we are told what the crew were thinking or feeling. No doubt he is frequently right, but such a compelling account must not obscure how difficult it is uncover the world view of sixteenth-century seamen, especially when the author's previous works deal with modern people and subjects. As an illustration of this, we might question the title of the book. While intended to grab the attention of book buyers, the title perpetuates a common misconception. Educated mariners of the day did

not believe they would sail over the edge of the world. Columbus and his generation of navigators knew the earth was round and that exotic lands were well within their reach. Surely Magellan would not have had so many rivals ashore and afloat (particularly well-bred and well-connected ones!) if they believed they were on a fool's errand. As for his crews, seamen were usually adventurous, but few would undertake a suicide mission, even for their King or for Spain's glory. Given the lack of sources, the *mentalité* of common seamen is even more guess work than trying to analyze the views of educated Iberians during the same time period.

Bergreen is a prize-winning writer whose prose and research breathes life into this four hundred year old story. While Magellan figures prominently, it could be argued that the real hero of this dramatic voyage is Antonio Pigafetta, the Magellan loyalist and chronicler. He is one of the few survivors who attempted to vindicate his Captain General after his death. While using Pigafetta's insights as a window into the voyage, Bergreen also delves into a wealth of secondary works and a large number of primary documents (by sixteenth-century standards). Without question, he has produced an exciting tale of adventure and treachery which will bring Magellan's circumnavigation to an appreciative audience of twenty-first-century readers.

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Fikret Berkes, Alan Diduck, Helen Fast, Rob Huebert and Micheline Manseau (eds). *Breaking Ice: Integrated Renewable Resource and Ocean Management in the Canadian North.* Calgary, AB; University of Calgary Press, www.uofcpress.com, 2005. xviii + 396 pp., map, illustrations, tables, figures, index, includes DVD *Community Based Monitoring in Northern Canada.* $44.95, paper; ISBN 1-55238-159-5. Co-published with the Arctic Institute of North America, Northern Lights Series No. 7.

This volume is the output of the project, "Integrated Management (IM), complexity and diversity of use: responding and adapting to change." The project focussed on the Canadian North, which is defined as the Beaufort Sea, the Arctic Ocean coast and islands, Hudson Bay, and Hudson Strait; and as shown on a map, drawn, "south up" i.e. the Canadian North as seen by Northerners (1).

A detailed introduction sets the scene in the context of International Affairs, Aboriginal Land Claims, the *Oceans Act* and Canada's Ocean Strategy. Definitions are provided to help establish a common vocabulary in an environment where concepts cut across social and natural sciences. Five working groups were created to set the research agenda for this volume and there is a synopsis of each one's contribution. The objectives of learning from experience, analysing change, and exploring policy options to build capacity to adapt to change explored in turn by (1) Ecotourism and Development, (2) Security and Sovereignty, (3) Community-Based Monitoring, (4) Community and Marine Ecosystem Health, and (5) Resilience and Adaptation).

*Breaking Ice* is a scholarly work produced by serving academics from nine universities, by post-graduates in three government and six non-governmental agencies, and by other suitably qualified persons. The book has all the trappings of a text published by a well-considered university publisher on matters dealing with the Arctic. But, as with some earlier studies claiming to be an answer to prosperity for Northern Canada, this study fails to address the hard facts of continuing social problems that plague Arctic communities. These problems, all elements of change within the past thirty years, include the explosive increase in population, the use of illegal drugs and the abusive use of alcohol. All are frequently reported in the press, and often lead, as elsewhere in Canada, to delinquent behaviour. Such behaviour belittles the efforts made to provide a sustainable production of country food, the delivery of traditional knowledge, and the delivery of knowledge obtained from a formal education, each an objective of Integrated Management. The impact of large-scale

development that is driven by southern needs (370) demands an understanding of the economics of the Stock Exchange, and the complexity of governing the nation. Northerners not so equipped are likely to continue to play catch-up with the rest of Canada, Land Claims notwithstanding.

The discussion and conclusion of the Hans Island problem (Chapter 15) is mostly popular journalism rather than reasoned discussion. In discussing the submission of Danish warships to the regulations of Canada's *Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act* (AWPPA), the author distorts the facts by stating, " Thus the (Royal Danish Navy ships) *Vaedderen* and *Triton* were not required to inform Canadian officials that they were entering Canadian waters"(332). The Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Regulations, whether mandatory or not, do not apply to warships of any nation, including Canada. Warships seek approval to enter the waters of a foreign state through diplomatic or military channels of communication. In this case, the Danes had approval through a diplomatic note to enter into Canadian waters (323). Clearly, the objection to their transit of Canadian waters in the vicinity of Hans Island is not understood.

Further mangling of the facts—"Since none of its (HMC Ships) vessels since 1954 are ice strengthened"(329) — requires examination. HMCS *Labrador* was commissioned in 1954, with the designation Arctic Patrol and Research Ship. A fully-fledged icebreaker, she was both the first medium-draught vessel and the third vessel to transit the North West Passage (1954). HMCS *Labrador* was transferred from the RCN to the Department of Transport in 1958, and saw Arctic service until 1985. The Operational Support Ships: HMCS *Protecteur* and HMCS *Preserver,* which entered service in the early seventies, were built with ice-strengthened hulls to *A WPPR* "Type A" requirements. Thus, from a construction point of view, these Canadian warships comply with the *A WPPR* for transit of the NW Passage by way of Peel Sound and Victoria Strait 15 Aug-15 Oct. They also have the capability to operate long range helicopters thereby providing dispatch for both search and rescue and law enforcement personnel. As the author states, "There is a need not for ice-strengthened "gun boats," but rather for the means to respond to standard maritime problems such as search and rescue, environmental protection, and the maintenance of law and order"(333). Hence the need for plans, supported by budget, to renew the aged Canadian Coast Guard Arctic Operational units (334).

The mastery of this study is helped by: references at the end of each chapter; 23 figures; 36 tables; 4 boxes; 118 acronyms; 22 authors (and addresses); a map of the area under discussion and a DVD, *Community-Based Monitoring in Northern Canada Watching Listening and Understanding Changes in the Environment.* The 28 or so minutes spent watching and listening to this DVD presentation fulfilled the promise of "understanding" given in the title. Playing the DVD before attempting *Breaking Ice* is recommended.

*Breaking Ice* is a complex read with numerous references. It is a book for the specialist and not likely to appeal to those seeking a survey of "Renewable Resource and Ocean Management in the Canadian North."

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Tony Bridgland. *Waves of Hate. Naval Atrocities of the Second World War.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, www.usni.org, 2002. xii + 243 pp., photographs, map, bibliography, index. US $ 32.95, cloth; ISBN: 1-55750-439-3.

This book details more than a dozen instances of "atrocities" committed at sea during the Second World War. Nearly all were either perpetrated by submariners, or originated with submarine attacks. Perhaps not surprisingly, other than one action involving a British submarine *(Torbay* commanded by the legendary "Crap" Miers) and the infamous Pacific depredations of USS *Wahoo* (under command of the equally infamous "Mush" Morton), all of the grisly "crimes" Bridgland has chosen to recount were committed by German or Japanese forces. Included among

the well-known incidents are the sinking of *City of Benares, Laconia* and *Peleus,* and the horrifying fate of Allied prisoners of war aboard the Japanese transport *Lisbon Maru.*

The 1930 London Naval Treaty, to which Germany adhered in 1936, established that merchant ships were not to be attacked unless they had refused orders to halt. The safety of all crew and passengers was to be assured (and a lifeboat was not necessarily considered a satisfactory safe haven). The rescue of survivors by the attacking ship, however, could be suspended or avoided if doing so jeopardized the attacker. This proviso allowed for wide interpretive possibilities, especially for submarine commanders in hostile shipping lanes. Did the sinking of unescorted merchant ships without warning constitute atrocities, illegal acts, or justifiable discretion? The postwar war crimes trials of some German ship and submarine commanders often spun around this issue in the context of the individual actions.

Bridgland limits his role to that of *raconteur,* given that he offers little or no new research and certainly takes no innovative analytical approaches. His is an interesting, but light, retelling of stories of human tragedy and barbarity which were the constant companions of mariners on both sides during the war at sea. Lessening the book's interpretive impact is the fact that Bridgland does not state his reasons or criteria for selecting the incidents he describes. They appear to be idiosyncratic choices, and the author offers no threads between them to weave a coherent, wide-ranging narrative of wartime naval atrocities. It is a lost opportunity.

Further, because he fails to define what constituted an "atrocity," as opposed to an attack with unanticipated, tragic results, readers might be led to dispute the author's characterizations of events and almost certainly, his choice of incidents. For most readers, labelling a naval action an atrocity would require a purposeful, murderous attack on the defenceless in defiance of the accepted rules of engagement in wartime. There were numerous examples of this, of course. But in a number of the cases discussed in *Waves of Hate,* one is left searching for the atrocity, as in the case of the destruction of enemy merchant shipping by the raider *Widder.*

The major difference between an atrocity and a disaster is never more evident than in the *City of Benares* incident of September 1940, in which dozens of child evacuees from Britain's Blitz were drowned when the ship was torpedoed by a U-boat. While clearly a tragic occurrence, it must be recalled that *City of Benares* was travelling in a protected convoy and was armed with two deck guns. The U-boat commander had no way of knowing who was aboard. Strictly speaking, this sinking was hardly a war crime, an atrocity, or even an error. Bridgland's overlong chapter on this incident ends without any sense of its effects on the conduct of submarine warfare or the influence it might have had in any postwar judicial proceedings against some U-boat commanders.

Similarly, the sad and bizarre *Laconia* affair of September 1942 should not be categorized as an atrocity. The ship had been converted into a military transport and was armed with deck and anti-aircraft guns and was obviously a legitimate target for *U-l56* to attack. Unfortunately, the ship was crammed with Italian prisoners of war and, upon realizing this cruel irony, the Germans sought to save as many of them as possible. Dônitz even ordered nearby submarines to speed to the scene to assist in the rescue operation, in the course of which an American Liberator bomber promptly attacked and badly damaged *U-l56* - thereby putting an end to the humanitarian efforts. Bridgland points out that the British might have identified the ship as a POW transport and arranged safe passage. But there is no atrocity in this sorry affair.

Importantly, however, the *Laconia* incident led Dônitz to order German submarines henceforth to refrain from engaging in any rescue operations and to "be harsh, having in mind that the enemy takes no regard of women and children in his bombing attack on German cities." This message helped lead to his successful prosecution as a war criminal in 1945.

In the Pacific, US submarine commander "Mush" Morton's bloodlust is well known. In January 1943, for example, he

ordered the mowing down of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Japanese troops who had survived the sinking of their transport ship off New Guinea, an action subsequently justified and highly praised by his superiors. Bridgland might more meaningfully have introduced the issue of the victors' naval successes and the "atrocities" of the vanquished as sometimes coming from the same tap root. And it is this root that is really interesting.

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Roberta Buchanan and Bryan Greene, editors & introduction; biography by Anne Hart. *The Woman who Mapped Labrador: The Life and Expedition Diary of Mina Hubbard.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, www.mqup.ca. 2005. xxii + 506 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. CDN $49.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-2924-1.

*The Woman who Mapped Labrador,* the result of a collaboration of three scholars, is built around the expedition diary of Mina Hubbard. The volume includes a biography of Hubbard, a transcribed and extensively annotated copy of her Labrador expedition diary, and a discussion of the social, cultural, environmental, and scientific contexts in which Mina Hubbard did her work. These three distinct contributions are well integrated into a single volume remarkable for its breadth, depth, and clarity.

People interested in the complex history of Labrador are well acquainted with the stories of Leonidas Hubbard, Dillon Wallace, and Mina Hubbard. In 1903, the two gentlemen adventurers embarked on a private expedition to Labrador. They planned to travel by canoe from North West River, Labrador, to the shores of Ungava Bay by navigating the unmapped Naskaupi and George rivers flowing through interior Labrador. The Hubbard-Wallace party made a fatal mistake at the beginning of their expedition when they mistook the Susan Brook for the Naskaupi River. The party turned back before reaching Ungava Bay and Hubbard lost his life en route. Two years after her husband's death, Mina Hubbard and Dillon Wallace launched rival expeditions to finish what the Hubbard-Wallace party had started.

When Mina Hubbard ventured onto the Labrador landscape, she was accompanied by men who knew how to travel and thrive in this subarctic region. They selected the route, navigated the canoes, and provided the food while Mina mapped the party's progress, making note of and naming prominent features they encountered. The skills and knowledge of her companions allowed Hubbard to enjoy herself, appreciate the environment around her, and reach Ungava Bay in record time. When the young widow returned to the United States she produced a detailed map of the region that has withstood the test of time, and described her experiences in *A Woman's Way Through Unknown Labrador* (recently reprinted by McGill-Queen's University Press with a new introduction by Sherrill Grace).

*The Woman who Mapped Labrador* begins with a section that contextualizes Mina Hubbard's expedition diary. Through a series of short essays, Roberta Buchanan and Bryan Greene provide insightful analyses and interesting commentaries on such diverse topics as how race/ethnicity issues affected the expeditions, how Mina Hubbard's life intersected various women's movements, the gendered nature of exploration and travel literature, the scientific contributions of the expedition, and the historical and geographic context in which Hubbard worked and by which it was judged. The essays work well together and explain the significance of Hubbard's endeavours against local, national, and international backdrops.

The second section of the volume, written by Anne Hart, is the first part of an exhaustive and thoughtful biography of Mina Hubbard. It covers her early life on a rural farm in Canada, up to the point when she embarks on the expedition, and is augmented by carefully chosen photographs. Clearly, Hart did a tremendous amount of sleuthing to pull together this biography. She studied papers in public archives, tracked down documents and

photographs held in private hands, and found and interviewed relatives of key players scattered across two continents. Finally, she seamlessly integrated these sources to reconstruct the life of a fascinating and complex woman.

Mina Hubbard's expedition diary occupies the third section of the volume. Roberta Buchanan carefully transcribed and sensitively edited the diary, and she and Bryan Greene added over five hundred interesting annotations that do much to enhance the reader's understanding and appreciation of the text. The annotations are positioned at the bottom of relevant pages, so they do not interrupt the flow of Hubbard's diary, yet are readily at hand for review. Bryan Greene's excellent maps are an invaluable addition to the diary as well.

The fourth section of the volume consists of the second half of Mina Hubbard's biography by Anne Hart. It begins when Mina Hubbard returns home from Labrador, and covers her second marriage, numerous moves across the Atlantic, struggles with her family, and involvement in various social and intellectual movements. Thanks to Hart's efforts, the reader observes Mina as she reinvents herself depending on the challenges, problems, or opportunities she encounters.

The four sections of the book work well together, allowing the reader to both understand the significance of the expedition diary and reflect on major social and cultural developments as seen through the lens of one person's life. The book is beautifully produced, with an elegant cover, interesting photographs, and informative maps. The press and authors are to be commended for reproducing the fold out map that was the end result of Mina Hubbard's mapping efforts.

Anyone embarking on a biography project should study this work to appreciate the value of using diverse sources, voices, and perspectives when conducting research and the benefits of integrating them into a coherent whole. Scholars interested in women's studies, environmental studies, travel narratives, the history of Arctic and Subarctic exploration, Native-Western contact history, and exploration literature will find much of interest within the pages of this impressive work as well.

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Michael Crawford (éd.); E, Gordon Bowen-Hassell, Dennis M. Conrad, Mark L. Hayes (asst. eds.). *Naval Documents of the American Revolution, Volume XI: American Theater: January 1, 1778 -March 31, 1778. European Theater: January 1, 1778 - March 31, 1778.* Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center www.historv.navy.mil. 2005. xxix + 1,365 pp., illustrations, maps and charts, appendices, index. US $82 to US customers; US $ 114.80 to non-US customers; cloth; GPO Stock No. 008-046-00206-1, ISBN 0-945274-51-3.

*Naval Documents of the American Revolution* is an on-going project of the US Naval Historical Center, dedicated "to present the war at sea of the American Revolution"
(xiii). The first volume, edited by the late William Bell Clark, made its appearance over forty years ago, in 1964, and established a standard for accuracy, comprehensiveness, and detail that has continued to be met through ten more volumes under the direction of three more editors. Though the editor of this latest volume is quick to point out that this is, above all, a *selection* of documents, one that is consciously biased in favour of the American side of that conflict, the volumes are nevertheless indispensable for anyone engaged in research into the war at sea during the period of the American Revolution, and the success of the series can be measured by the degree to which scholars have come to rely on it whenever they investigate that conflict.

An introduction by William S. Dudley, himself a former editor of the series, explains the origins of the series. This is followed by an editor's preface in which Michael Crawford briefly summarizes the significance of the three-month period covered by this latest volume, then explains both the purpose and the basic criteria by which the documents have been selected. No

attempt has been made to document the everyday activities of the Royal Navy during the American Revolutionary period, though the naval operations, logistics, convoys and manning needs of British warships as well as the aims and strategy of the Royal Navy are covered. The focus is primarily on Continental and state warships, the outfitting and activities of privateers (both Patriot and Loyalist), sale of prizes, diplomatic papers relating to the war at sea, and American politics relating to the war at sea. European efforts at sea are covered sufficient "to give context" to American efforts at sea.

As in previous volumes, the documents in Volume XI are arranged into two sections, the American Theater and the European Theater, according to where the documents originated. Each section is provided with a brief (two to three pages) summary of the critical developments described by the documents that follow. Within each section, the documents are arranged chronologically by a specific hierarchy. The provenance of each document is provided, and an exhaustive index enables researchers to locate quickly the documents relating to a particular operation, individual, warship, region or location. In short, the volumes have all been carefully assembled to assist researchers with efficiency and accuracy.

In a very real sense, this is one of the most important volumes in the series to date, for it marks that point in the struggle when France officially entered the war on the American side. As the editor concludes in his summary of the "European Theater," "Events in Europe during the first three months of 1778 brought about a fundamental change in the nature of the American war. French recognition of the independence of the United States pointed the way ineluctably to the emerging of the War of Independence with a world war" (861). British military and naval efforts in America were in consequence reduced in priority to the seemingly more important task of preserving the British empire in the West Indies, a decision reflected in the immediate reduction of the naval establishment in America as ships were despatched to the Caribbean or, more ominously, home for the defence of the British Isles. Yet French naval assistance to the American cause took time to make itself felt, and this volume opens, as have previous volumes, with its focus not events in Europe but on the "American Theater." There, Americans struggled to keep their war effort alive despite British countermeasures such as blockade, support for Loyalist privateers, and assistance to military operations on land. This was a war, not of fleets and squadrons, but of gunboats, raiding parties, and commerce warfare. The complexity and ambiguity of the war's central issues was perhaps best illustrated by events in Bermuda. There, the inhabitants engaged in a lively but illegal trade with American rebels because the island, lacking agricultural self-sufficiency, needed provisions that were most readily available from America, while the Americans needed the salt that Bermuda could furnish to preserve beef and pork for their military. When a Loyalist privateer seized Bermudian vessels engaged in this illicit trade, he and his crew were threatened with violence by the islanders.

It is the ability of researchers to explore such seemingly minor, yet in fact, highly significant situations and events in careful detail, using documents that would otherwise be scattered through a number of archives, that gives this volume and this series such value. As William Dudley explains in his Introduction to Volume XI, "[p]ublished documentary collections encourage research and writing" because they "save research time by identifying and bringing together related sources from scattered locations." Though such collections will not - *cannot* - obviate the need for research in archival collections, experienced scholars and researchers will value the many ways in which the publication of historical documents can expedite their work - especially when the published collections meets such high editorial standards as this one does. Dudley suggests, however, that the most important quality of such collections is the way in which "they stimulate intellectual curiosity;" I concur. By making primary source material widely available and easily accessible, these volumes give students, undergraduate and graduate alike, an opportunity

to taste the sense of discovery and to experience the events and circumstances of the past at first hand, thereby inspiring the next generation of scholars.

My only regret is that each new volume now appears at excruciatingly long intervals. Whereas the first eight volumes made their appearance in just sixteen years, or an average of one volume every two years, the last three volumes took twenty-five years to appear. Indeed, Volume XI appeared nearly ten years after Volume X. Given that each volume covers only a three-month period, this means that, at this rate, it will take nearly three decades just to finish 1778, and the series itself will not be completed until well into the twenty-second century. That would indeed be a pity. Let us hope that the resources necessary to expedite the process of producing future volumes will become available. The series deserves it, scholars and students deserve it, and perhaps most importantly, the founding editors who began the work in 1964 with such energy and dedication deserve it.

Olaf Uwe Janzen
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Christina Deggim. *Hafenleben in Mittelalter und Frtiher Neuzeit. Seehandel und Arbeitsregelungen in Hamburg undKopenhagen vom 13. bis 17. Jahrhundert.* Hamburg: Concent Verlag & Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum, Schriften des Deutschen Schiffahrtsmuseums Band 62, www.dsm.de. 2005. 383 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. €39,90, cloth: ISBN 3-934613-76-4. Summary in English ( 8 pp) and Danish (7 pp).

Written as Ms. Deggim's Ph.D. thesis at the University of Hamburg, this book sheds a social historical light on medieval sea trade organization and working conditions by comparing Hamburg and Copenhagen in the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries according to uniform criteria.

Hamburg played an important role in the rise of the Hanseatic Union, while Copenhagen was the focus of the large Danish royal empire. The two cities are only 330 kilometres away from each other, one on the North Sea Coast, the other controlling the passage between the Baltic and the North Sea. In the past, the differences were often marked, but was life really so different between those two cities? Sea trade was what made both cities large and its magnitude and importance required a well run organization. There were claims of the government, there were the interests of trades- and middle-men, trade needed to be protected and taxes needed to be collected. The whole system had to flow well because there was too much at stake.

Using the two medieval metropolises, Hamburg and Copenhagen, Deggim illustrates how cities ran their vital business in the Middle Ages. Both cities were part of a relatively homogeneous trading area and had a similar system of maritime law, but did they organize their harbours in the same way?

What makes Deggim's work novel is her use of different types of sources in both Copenhagen and Hamburg which have been largely neglected by German medieval maritime researchers. This oversight is not surprising given the literally kilometres of archives available and the lack of researchers who speak (medieval) German, Danish and Latin to understand them all. The comparative character of her study brings forth many new insights.

With all the details described, Deggim does not lose sight of the main story. Nor does she lose focus on the message she wants to get across. She uses detailed descriptions to illuminate medieval harbour life, both for the inhabitants as well as the governing bodies. Of course legislation plays a role, but this book is about the social effects on daily life, for example the avoidance of waste, or ballast being left behind, and the penalties involved.

Combining archaeological sources with an overwhelming amount of historical evidence, Deggim soon characterises the harbour cities as having a huge impact on the surrounding landscape. We learn that technology was not as limited as some histories suggest, nor did ships steadily increase in size and depth over the

centuries requiring deeper harbours. The harbours were expanded all right, but this had more to do with the flourishing trade. Deggim concludes, for example, that only 5 per cent of all ships in the seventeenth-century Danish fleet were really large. She argues that we cannot simplify harbour life and the organization of the sea trade for the period in a few sentences. Life was more sophisticated.

Deggim discusses Copenhagen's situation in more detail than Hamburg's, perhaps because Copenhagen had more records available since legislation governing trade was influenced by the city council as well as the king. Trades people in Hamburg were more independent of the administration than in Copenhagen, where the force of the king was felt in every detail.

Despite the political, social and topographical differences between the two cities, the similarities are striking. The two kept a close eye on each other and other powerful harbour cities as well. Competition was never out of sight. Bureaucracy grew over the centuries and there were trade boycotts, unsafe harbours which were to be avoided and both import and export bans.

Deggim provides many illustrative examples of life in both Hamburg and Copenhagen. The book is full of details and serves as an excellent reference. If there were more of such comparative studies between different maritime cities, the overall picture of medieval maritime life and trade, as well as our understanding of it, might undergo some important changes.

Roeland Paardekooper
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Nicholas Dixon. *The Crannogs of Scotland. An Underwater Archaeology.* Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing, www.tempus-publishing.com. 2004. 191 pp., illustrations, photographs, references, bibliography, list of researchers, index. UK £17.99, paper; ISBN 0-7524-3151-X.

In this new book, Nicholas Dixon delves into the somewhat obscure but fascinating world of Scottish crannogs. Dixon's twenty-year love affair with crannogs is clearly evident as he describes the history, pioneering research and archaeology, as well as his own significant underwater work on these peculiar structures. This book, aimed as it is at an informed general audience, is easy and pleasurable to read without sacrificing a professional perspective.

Crannogs are best described as artificial islands built of pile-driven timbers supporting a platform and dwellings above the water with a narrow bridge joining it to land. The mounds of stones seen in the lochs of Scotland and that serve to identify crannog sites appear to be later additions to the original structures and the actual function they served has not been precisely determined. In Scotland, crannogs are considered to be an Iron Age phenomenon, although there is some evidence of greater antiquity, as well as documented use of some of these sites up to the seventeenth century AD.

The location of crannogs by arable land indicates the inhabitants were agriculturalists and this is borne out by artifact finds, faunal remains and pollen analyses from these sites. Little doubt remains that crannogs were essentially defensible homesteads. Herodotus' description of an unsuccessful Persian attack on Greek lake dwellings in the fifth century BC amply illustrates this. Due to the time and effort required to build a crannog, however, the dwellings may also have represented a status structure undoubtedly requiring a person or group of influence and means to organize and command the resources needed for construction.

The book opens with a number of introductory chapters dealing with the history of lake dwellings in Europe in general, the early notice of, and archaeological study of Scottish crannogs during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, plus the problems of interpretation relating to this earlier work. These chapters provide the context for the rest of the book. Of note here is the author's contention that, although Scottish crannogs are similar to other lake dwellings found in numerous other

European countries, this similarity is more apparent than real. He goes on to argue convincingly for the independent and indigenous development of crannogs in both Scotland and Ireland.

Following the introductory chapters, Dixon describes a number of recent surveys on Scottish crannogs by both himself and other researchers. The apparent ubiquity of crannogs in the lochs of Scotland dispels any notion of obscurity or rarity of these sites. Besides the sheer number of sites, this chapter also serves to delineate the variety, chronological span and geographical spread of these structures.

In the succeeding two chapters, Dixon proceeds to describe the principles and practices of underwater archaeology first in a general way then followed by a more in-depth treatment of the methods and techniques used during his own excavations. Here, the author also argues his strongly held belief that crannogs can best be studied and understood through underwater archaeology. Pointing out the inadequacy of earlier work, he clearly demonstrates that it is only through working on these sites underwater that maximum research results can be obtained. These chapters together offer an excellent introduction to those unfamiliar with the field and may even give professionals a few new ideas to employ in their own work.

Subsequent to this introduction to underwater archaeology, the author proceeds on to a thoroughly competent and interesting description of his extensive excavation of the Oakbank Crannog in Loch Tay. Illustrated with detailed site plans and photographs, Dixon presents a careful accounting of the extant remains and salient features of this site. The accomplished description gives the reader a good feel for the evolution of an underwater excavation. As well as the structural elements, this section discusses the amazing artifact recoveries along with the faunal and floral remains. The fresh water and anaerobic condition of the site have preserved a myriad of organic materials including wooden dishes and bowls, paddles, a whistle, woven woolen fabric and an agricultural implement. Besides elucidating the life ways of the inhabitants, the finds also demonstrate the high level of craftsmanship of these people. The bones of cattle, sheep, goat and pig as well as the evidence of cereals, other nutritious plants, fruit and nuts not only illustrates the agricultural focus of crannog dwellers but also how they exploited the resources within their landscape.

The book concludes with a description of the building of a full-size reconstruction of a crannog in Loch Tay. Essentially experimental in nature, the construction of the crannog answered many of the questions raised by the excavation, especially concerning the driving of the piles to support the rest of the structure. This wonderful education resource makes tangible the often unseen results of underwater archaeology.

Few criticisms can be aimed at this book. It is clearly written, well ordered and surprisingly comprehensive, bringing together most of the information germane to the study of crannogs. Abundantly and excellently illustrated, the book even includes a colour plate section. Although aimed at a more general audience, professionals will not be disappointed and will find much of interest here. Readers desiring more in-depth information can consult the comprehensive bibliography and the list of researchers who have supplied specialist studies for the project. All in all, this is a welcome addition to the literature of underwater archaeology.

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Bernard Edwards. *Death in the Doldrums. U-Cruiser Actions off West Africa.* Barnsley, S.Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Books Ltd., www.pen-and-sword.co.uk. 2005. 200 pp, photographs, bibliography, index. UK. £19,99, cloth; ISBN 1-84415-261-8.

The author, well known from his many maritime books, focusses this new book on the operations of two German U-boats in the Gulf of Guinea and on the route between Freetown and Capetown, South Africa. His use of the term "U-Cruisers," might be true for the two boats *U154*

and *U 155* of the First World War, which - as described in chapter one - cruised there in 1918. But his two Second World War U-boats, *U 68* and *U505,* were ordinary Type IX-C boats, with a surface displacement of 1120 tons, comparable to the British high-seas submarines of the *T*-class of 1090 tons, and well below the American Fleet-type submarines of the time.

The author features *U 68* (Commander Merten) and *U 505* (Lt-Commander Loewe) as the main actors in this book but does not indicate why he chose their patrols in the spring of 1942, their later achievements in 1943 and their final destruction in 1944. Nor does he explain why he did not mention the operations of *UA* and *U 65* in 1940 and January 1941 and especially the group of Type IX U-boats with *U 124, U105, U106, U 107, U 103* and *U 38* along with the smaller Type VII-C boat *U 69* and the Italian *Tazzoli* between March and June 1941, which also achieved such destructive success off Freetown. *U107* alone sank 14 ships with 86.689 GRT, the most successful single patrol of any submarine in the Second World War.

The later operations of German and Italian U-boats in the area off Freetown and the Gulf of Guinea in 1941 are also omitted, but they were the most important reason why the Commander U-Boats, Admiral Dônitz, sent *U 68* and *U 505* back to the area again in early 1942. The author does mention several other German and Italian U-boats in the area from 1942 to 1944 that achieved or reported spectacular successes, for example, the Italian submarine *Barbarigo,* whose C/O, Capitano di Corvetta Grossi, is reported to have sunk an American battleship in May 1942 off Brazil and one in October 1942 SW off Freetown, while really missing the US cruiser *Milwaukee* in the first case and then the British corvette *Petunia.* Other engagements the author overlooks are the dramatic gun battle between the German U-boat *U 333* and the British corvette *Crocus* which took place on the same day, 6 October 1942, in the same area, and *U I61's* damaging torpedo hit against the British cruiser *Phoebe* on 23 October 1942 off Pointe Noire.

In contrast, the attacks by the Italian U-boat *Da Vinci* in February 1942 and in March to May 1943 are described in great detail, including *Da Vinci's* sinking of the steamer *Lulworth Hill.* What the author fails to note, however, is that the *Da Vinci* was only able to sink the steamer after learning of her from the fuel ship *Finzi.* Forbidden to attack any ships before completing her supply mission, it was *Finzi* who passed on the information to *Da Vinci.* It seems that the author's choice of engagements is largely based on the existence of sources describing the attacks and their consequences both inside and outside the area of the "doldrums."

*Death in the Doldrums* deserves praise for the detailed description of the attacks, mainly from U-boat diaries taken from the Internet (www.uboat.net). but even more so, for the additional information on the fate of the ships and their crews. This data is based on the reports of the captains of the attacked ships and other survivors located in the British and American archives. There is quite an extensive bibliography but, unfortunately, it does not include some more recent publications.

The captains' reports are cited at length and reveal how ships responded to attacks from the organization of rescue equipment to the internal workings of the ships; how the "abandon ship" was executed, and how captains and other officers or able seamen tried to pick up the survivors from the ocean and bring the life boats together to distribute the people evenly if possible. The author also describes the behaviour of the U-boats, not only when the COs asked for the name of the ship, it's freight and it's destination, but also when the U-boat crews gave the boats some direction to the nearest land. He also provides an impressive description of the terrible situation some of the survivors faced - in some cases, weeks-long efforts to bring the life-boats to a shore, blazing tropical heat with glaring sunshine by day and cold nights; little or no water to drink and almost no food. Many of the people first rescued did not survive such tortures.

But even when the survivors finally came ashore, their difficulties were not over. Not only were the local populations on the coast of Liberia or the Ivory Coast not prepared to feed

and house so many people in such bad shape, but there was no way to transport the victims quickly to better conditions. Those unfortunate enough to land in areas under Vichy-French control, often faced Anglophobe French officials who denied them transport to Liberia or any British colonies. Survivors then had to endure long treks in old trucks through the desert or paddle along the river Niger in small, old canoes for weeks before finally arriving at Timbuktu, where they had to wait in unsanitary compounds to be exchanged to the Allied side.

Despite some weaknesses, the author should be congratulated for describing this mostly forgotten side of the war at sea from this most impressive area of the "doldrums."

Jiirgen Rohwer
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Danial Elliott, with additions by Everett C. Wilkie Jr., and Richard Ring. *Maritime Books: A Hand-list of the collection in the John Carter Brown Library (1474 to ca. 1860).* Providence, R.I: The John Carter Brown Library, 2005, available through Oak Knoll Books, (800) 996-2556 or oakknoll(a)oakknoll.com, xvi + 275 pp. US $30, cloth; ISBN 0-916617-64-5.

The long-awaited *Maritime Books in the John Carter Brown Library* is now available. This handsome hardcover book incorporates the original 1979 (photocopy, plastic spiral-bound) work compiled by Danial Elliott when Thomas Adams was the librarian, with additions by Everett Wilkie in 1985 and most recently by Richard Ring. Given the number of people involved over nearly thirty years, this work is described as a "hand list" because the bibliographic style is not consistent. The work necessary to achieve a standard format would have further delayed if not defeated publication. Far better to have the work in hand now.

The organization follows that laid out with the first edition. The subject headings are: navigation & seamanship; sailing directions, marine atlases & pilot guides; marine architecture, ship construction & rigging; shipping, commerce & law of the sea; health; piracy & privateering; shipwrecks; navies & warfare; signals & tactics; marine dictionaries; and bibliographies & publishers' catalogues. Each of these subject listings is further subdivided chronologically, from the earliest item in the collection to 1600, and then by century to the latest item in the nineteenth century. Finally, there is a section for "manuscripts: sailing directions, marine atlases & pilot guides," and an appendix, "prize cases from the High Court of Appeals." There are also an author index and a title index. A deliberate editorial decision was made that the "maritime" list would not include accounts of voyages or exploration.

In all, the work lists 1,337 printed items. By my count, 563 of them are in a language other than English. The range of languages is suggested by places of publication, which in Europe include Amsterdam, Elsinore, Frankfurt and Leipzig, Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, Upsala, and Venice. New world places of publication include Buenos Aires, Kingston Jamaica, Lima, Mexico, and Rio de Janeiro, as well as many American cities.

The collection includes a number of pieces of specifically Canadian interest. Item 371 is "a description of the coast, tides and currents in Brittons Bay [Button's Bay], and in the [Sir Thomas Roe's] Welcome: being the north-west coast of Hudsons Bay." There is also "Le pilote de Terre-Neuve ou Receuil de plans des côtes et des ports de cette île. Pour l'usage des vaisseaux du roi" published in Paris in 1784 with eleven plates, the 1760 "Directions for navigating the gulf and river of St. Lawrence" published by Jeffreys of London, and the "Laws of the Marine Society; instituted at Halifax, February 13th, 1786." For the west coast, the JCB has both English and French editions of Vancouver's charts.

The hand-list will, of course, become dated as new items are added. Associates of the JCB will be able to keep their copies current from the annual list of recent acquisitions. Regardless, this book is an important research tool for everyone working on a topic within the limits of the collection. Many of the items,

particularly some of the early pamphlets, would be unknown to researchers except through their inclusion in lists such as this. Furthermore, the maritime catalogue is not yet available on line and, given the retirement of the director and search for a successor, it is impossible to predict when it might be. While bibliographic guides are frequently expensive, this one, priced at only US$30, means there is no reason for serious scholars working in the area not to have their own copy.

William Glover
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Julie Flavell and Stephen Conway, eds. *Britain and America Go to War. The Impact of War and Warfare in Anglo-America, 1754-1815.* Gainesville, F L A : University Press of Florida, www.upf.com, 2004. x + 284 pages, chronology, notes, index. US$65, cloth; ISBN 0-8130-2781-0.

Studies of various aspects of the early modern Atlantic world have been proliferating as the popularity of the comparative "Atlantic history" school has been waxing. This collection of essays on the effects of warfare on the colonies, states and societies of the Anglo-American Atlantic between the Seven Years' War and the end of the War of 1812 provides some unique insights on historical themes that are often hidden in isolation in national histories. Primarily designed to examine new scholarship that revises John Shy's 1976 monograph *A People Numerous and Armed,* Flavell and Conway selected the essays in an effort to move beyond his teleological, and predominantly American-based thesis of American national identity emerging from prolonged warfare against France and Britain in the long eighteenth century. The editors rightly note that the early modern Atlantic world had boundaries, identities, and loyalties that were constantly shifting and which were by no means predestined to result in the formation of a strong American national identity and state, which in the nineteenth century would grow to rival Britain on the commercial world stage.

The theme running throughout is that of the tensions between local and national identities, and how war can not only foster the latter, but also undermine it, at the same time as warfare could diminish or entrench the importance of the former. Organized chronologically in three parts around the Seven Years' War, the American Revolution, and the War of 1812, the essays, while not seamlessly connected, flow well. They include, among others in the first part, P.J. Marshall on British views of America and Peter Way on women in the British Army; in the second, Flavell on British coercive policy against New England and Margaret Stead on the portrayal of the Howe brothers in British popular prints; and in the final section. C.J. Bartlett and Gene A. Smith on Admiral Alexander Cochrane's techniques of warfare during the 1812 conflict with America, while Eliga Gould focuses on the creation of an Atlantic state system between 1795 and 1825.

Many of the essays revise works beyond Shy's. Marshall, while acknowledging the breadth of scholarship present in Fred Anderson's *Crucible of War* (2004), critiques it for its disproportionate attention to the colonial side of Anglo-American relations during the Seven Years' War. Stead uses her study to highlight how British aristocrats and politicians were becoming more responsive to the "middling sort," via public opinion and popular propaganda, contrary to earlier studies of eighteenth-century Anglo-American elites such as J.C.D. Clark's *The Language of Liberty* (1994).

Two essays deal directly with the subject of most interest to the readers of this journal, naval and maritime history. Stead draws parallels between the cases of Sir William Howe and Richard, Viscount Howe, respectively the military and naval commanders in America during the early years of the American Revolution, and Kathleen Wilson's 1995 study *The Sense of the People,* which included an examination of the popular culture surrounding Admiral Vernon following his defeat of the Spanish at Porto Bello in 1739 and the trial of Admiral Keppel in 1779. Stead argues that the

development of such popular stereotypes of naval and political personalities in print culture was key in influencing contemporary political debate and government policy.

Bartlett and Smith's piece on Cochrane's campaign in the last year of the War of 1812 highlights how the strains of war with America, on top of global war with Napoleonic France, would tax Britain's military and naval forces to the extent that commanders such as Cochrane would devise new strategies of "innovative and aggressive unlimited warfare, or what Americans would term extreme and barbaric warfare" (174). Cochrane's contemptuous views of the United States, which he believed lacked strong central authority and had a less-than-patriotic population, reflected many in Britain and were encapsulated in his unconventional strategies of slave uprisings, Indian alliances, and brutal small-scale amphibious raids. Combined with a more conventional naval blockade, these tactics were designed to exploit perceived differences between American states, and to break their will to fight. While the Americans remained tied to an eighteenth century paradigm of "limited warfare," over years of fighting the French and Spanish, the British incorporated concepts of unlimited warfare. These reflected changes occurring in European wars since the French Revolution. All were destructive of that most important of eighteenth century concepts, property, and would leave a bitter legacy in America.

The other chapters often provide a broader Atlantic context in which the maritime struggles of the time can be situated. These include discussions of strategy, specifically concerning empire and British "national interest" in the mid-eighteenth century by Bob Harris. Michael Belleisles focuses on the experience of the War of 1812 on American (and to a lesser extent "Canadian") society from the view of the common soldier. Bewildered by unclear American war aims, many often deserted, mutinied, or simply drank and fled when ordered on operations. This led to the post-war construction of an American mythology focussed on minor successes in an attempt to make sense of the many disasters.

The final contribution concentrates on revising Forrest Davis' 1941 monograph *The Atlantic System.* Gould notes how it and other works ignore the role of African slavery in constructing a state system in the Atlantic, while overstressing the role of British seapower and Anglo-American diplomacy in creating independence for Latin American republics. Arguing that the creation of this new system was due more to social and economic processes at work over hundreds of years, Gould shows how the ambiguous position of the United States outside of Europe in a region traditionally beyond the pale of the European law of nations allowed "Britain to claim the right, in fact if not in law, to determine what part of its overseas trade was legitimate and what was not" (251).

Gould also demonstrates how the naval impressment controversy prior to the War of 1812, over whether citizenship was transferable or inborn, was of concern to the British not only because "British" seamen changing allegiance threatened the effective manning of the Royal Navy in the western Atlantic, but because the methods of doing so were beyond the control of a weak American federal government. This absence of control contributed to British views of the lack of viability of the United States as a federal republic, and in British eyes, again justified intervention to determine the legality of American naturalisation laws. The recurring issues of trade and impressment would drive the formation of a new Atlantic state system in which the United States and others would eventually be accepted into the "modern" law of nations.

Gould's monograph provides an excellent end-piece to the work, drawing some of the thematic threads of Atlantic history from the other chapters together into a sturdy ship's cable. With contributions by veterans of Anglo-American historiographical conflict and new recruits alike, the volume provides a welcome overview of new scholarship and the debates circulating through the currents and winds of the Atlantic.

Martin Hubley
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Philip Marchand. *Ghost Empire. How the French Almost Conquered North America.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., www.mclelland.com, 2005. xiii + 439 pp., maps, chronology. $ 37.99, cloth; ISBN 0-7710- X.

The book's cover states "History, Travelogue and Memoir combine in this illuminating journey in the footsteps of the Great Explorer La Salle." The writer is always in the foreground, visiting the places touched by René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle (1643-1687), recalling what happened there, looking for traces of the past, and commenting upon the Americans and Canadians now living in those locations. There is an endless stream of autobiographical anecdotes, strong opinions and speculative musings.

Marchand feels that he is linked to La Salle as "a practising Roman Catholic" and by his "tribal DNA" from Franco-Canadian ancestors. These allegiances shape his view of the areas traversed by his hero and he freely acknowledges their influence. Marchand explores himself as well as the landscape and its current inhabitants. His story starts with La Salle's death in Texas and then weaves backward in time. A chronology provides the historical time sequence. What the author encounters in the present is contrasted with a might-have-been French and Roman Catholic North America - a humane and sociable world removed from the continent's crass, messy Anglo-Saxon present. Resentful of the cultural stereotyping of Franco-Americans, the writer indulges in his own ethnic characterizations. The faint traces of the French Empire and its colonists (the "Ghost Empire") are noted with nostalgia.

The author is a witty and well-read guide who is at his best when explaining the mind of seventeenth-century Catholicism. Alas, he writes without editorial restraint. The result is a long, self-indulgent and garrulous tale populated by diverse characters who wander into view and babble about their lives, beliefs and memories. Tourist guidebooks are quoted and so is the entire text of a "no trespassing" sign (424). This dutiful reporter chronicles all that he sees and hears, even if it has no connection with La Salle or French America. We read the taped bar-room conversations, hear about Gay Pride Week in Montreal, a public hanging in 1937, a revered mannequin in a New Orleans lounge, and the effects of Hurricane Hazel in Ontario's Humber Valley. Everything is grist for this writer's mill. "History," he writes, is "an endless dark house, full of crazy corridors and unexplored rooms" (327). It can also be a purposeful and analytical enquiry into the past. La Salle is an occasional reference point to hold the narrative together and this discursive book needs cohesion. What interested me were the various public representations or misrepresentations of the man who discovered the estuary of the Mississippi River. State historical societies are eager to claim La Salle and his mythic appeal to Americans deserves more analysis.

A justification for blending history, autobiography and travelogue is that the reader will be engaged by colourful sketches of people and places and by the writer's recollections, whereas a purely historical account might be less appealing. The risk of such a venture is that it may not succeed in some of its roles. As a historian, I looked for new insights into the restless, impulsive, imperious and distrustful La Salle, who was murdered by his exasperated followers. Numerous misfortunes drove La Salle into paranoia. An objective of the author was to penetrate "the enigma of La Salle" but his pursuit of that goal is diverted by random reflections and incidental trivia. He raises intriguing possibilities but provides no documented revision of what is already known about La Salle.

Marchand's appraisals depend on intuition rather than reasoned deductions from the evidence. When a historical explanation is offered, it can be startlingly innocent. According to the writer, "that swine" King Henry VIII, by dissolving the monasteries, created "an oligarchy of men with great estates" who ruled England and dispossessed "small farmers" who then were available to settle the New World. "France had no such surplus population." Britain, he opines, developed a unique capitalist society with commercial agriculture and in the Seven Years

War "the British won basically because they could borrow money. They knew about selling interest-bearing bonds to investors" (147-149). They also had more colonists, thanks to the dispossessed and exiled farmers. A professional historian would protest that the contrast between the two kingdoms was not so sharp nor was the outcome of the war predetermined by these two causes.

Without footnotes, an index or a bibliography, it is impossible to identify the sources of many of these ideas and claims, unless the author provides a name, like that of nineteenth-century historian Francis Parkman. Although Marchand has reservations about this "deep-dyed New England anti-papist" (94), Parkman is the real narrator of La Salle's story and passages from *The Discovery of the Great West* (1869) and his other works appear throughout the text. "It is hard not to quote Parkman" (26) Marchand admits on one occasion. Parkman's imaginative reconstructions of events are recited verbatim. Most of Marchand's secondary sources are dated works and his preference for amateur, local historians (see 185) means that few current, academic scholars are cited. He has little patience for "political correctness" or for "comfortable, well-fed academics whose idea of sudden peril is a drunk sitting next to them on the subway" (81). The author was seduced by Parkman's heroic prose and he indulges in his own hyperbole, such as the dictum "New England was a patriarchy. Quebec was and is amatriarchy"(78). Michel Tremblay's plays may suggest this, but if one looks at the laws, government and family structure in New France, there was patriarchy aplenty, even in pre-1960 Quebec. Too many categorical and erroneous assertions of this sort discredit the book as serious history.

Philip Marchand's amiable, subjective and eccentric ramble through past and present will be an entertaining holiday companion. It is not a modern or complete biography of René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle nor is it a reliable historical study. To understand the French explorer, one will find a clear, judicious and more succinct portrait by Céline Dupré in volume one of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Moreover, the French Empire in North America's interior claimed by La Salle was never more than a "ghost empire," even before the fatal 1760s.

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Chris Mills. *Beyond the Harbour Lights.* Caithness, Scotland; Whittles Publishing. www.whittlespublishing.com. 2003. 158 pp., photographs, maps, UK £15.95, paper; ISBN 1-870325-64-8

Ray Solly. *Mariner's Launch.* Caithness, Scotland: Whittles Publishing. www.whittlespublishing.com, 2005. ix + 181 pp., photographs, UK £16.95, paper; ISBN 1-904445-03-9

These two books cover different aspects of merchant shipping history during the mid-twentieth century, when British ships dominated world-wide trade, and each morning an army of bowler-hatted brokers flowed across London Bridge on their way to the Baltic Exchange to charter their cargoes. The theme of *Beyond the Harbour Lights* is merchant shipping mishaps, mainly during the 1920s and 30s, whereas *Mariner's Launch* is a social and historical depiction of life in the British merchant navy during the 1950s.

The majority of ordinary merchant voyages from harbour to harbour were uneventful but, with so many ships plying the world's trade routes, it was inevitable that some resulted in casualties. Most daily newspapers had a shipping correspondent who reported vessel movements, but if a ship entered a local harbour after an unusual voyage, the details were quickly given space in the main body of the paper. Shipping news was read avidly and reports often included photographs of ships in distress along with first-hand descriptions from those on board. *Beyond the Harbour Lights* relates twenty-six of these dramatic voyages. The author, who left school in 1962 and served five years in the merchant navy, is now a

professional researcher and writer of British maritime history. This background explains his ability to supplement an excellent selection of contemporary newspaper articles with background information from other sources such as the reports of Marine Courts of Inquiry, extracts from ships' log books, crew agreements, law reports and published narratives from ship's masters. Each ship mentioned is illustrated and the author has added a few imaginative details to stories that are all firmly based on true events as reported and recorded at the time. Existing literature on merchant shipping during this period tends to consist of company histories, which are seldom neutral, especially when the ship at fault was owned by the company. Since the majority of the ship owners mentioned by the author are no longer in business, the book is an important contribution to a previously ignored aspect of maritime history.

It would be easy to assume that most of the casualties recorded by Mills are unlikely to occur today. After all, modern VHF, sonar and satellite-based navigational systems combined with computerized charts, allow the present-day navigator to know the position of his ship to within metres. Predictive radar, which anticipates where his ship and those around him will be in ten minutes or one hour, has reduced the risk of collision, and accurate weather forecasts forewarn him of storms. Yet tragedies still happen, and a steady 20 per cent of all shipwrecks are caused by human error and 14 per cent by weather, or what the insurance industry still classify as Acts of God.

***Mariner's Launch,*** on the other hand, chronicles the development of a naïve sixteen year-old in the 1950s from young cadet at navigation school to mature young man accepting the responsibilities of a watch-keeping junior officer on the bridge of an ocean-going cargo liner. With humorous touches, the author has marshaled the minutiae of a lifestyle which epitomized excitement and adventure during the "golden age" of international shipping, when young people were expected to meet demanding everyday challenges in a rare opportunity "to see the world." The book follows his voyages and escapades, capturing the atmosphere of service in yesterday's merchant navy, as he is ambushed by pitfalls resulting largely from his innocence. The author has taught coastal navigation, retains an active interest in the sea as a lieutenant commander in the Royal Navy Reserve and writes for various shipping magazines. His technical knowledge, gained while serving for many years aboard coasters, deep-sea dry cargo liners and super tankers, is clearly demonstrated in the book. Although autobiographical, Solly has made use of a fictitious narrator, Jonathan Carida, to "avoid embarrassing litigation." Yet, far from being just another "service memoir," the book is a detailed depiction of life at sea which has been lost forever and, as such, it is a social and historical document possessing genuine educational value.

In the 1950s, cargo ships were differently constructed from today's container and bulk carriers and mariners moved at a slow and leisurely pace in a highly labour-intensive world. A liner ship took weeks to load or discharge its boxes of general cargo and employed over a dozen officers and cadets and some fifty crewmen. Solly realized that he was looking at the future of the merchant navy when in 1960, as a cadet navigator, he saw the first 114,000 ton supertanker. The lives of merchant seamen since the 1950s have changed even more radically than the ships on which they served. Today's huge bulk carriers, tankers and containerships load or discharge in a few days at an isolated terminal or jetty, miles from the nearest town. They operate with just five officers and twenty crew who remain on board most of the time and see more of the world on their TV screens.

Both books will appeal to the general reader who enjoys a good read of true stories of ships and the sea, as well as ship enthusiasts and those who are interested in maritime and modern social history. Both books, however, lack footnotes, bibliographies or even an index which may limit their usefulness to the serious maritime historian.

Michael Clark
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Roger Morriss. *Naval Power and British Culture 1760-1850.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., www.ashgate.com. 2004. xi + 294 pp., bibliography, index. US $99.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7546-3031-5.

Roger Morriss has carved out a strong position as a leading scholar of Royal Navy administration. This can be a lonely task since administrative histories do not offer the sort of exciting stories which attract a large reading public. That being said, Morriss has produced a book which all serious scholars of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will find illuminating, and not just naval historians. The trend in naval writing in this generation has been to bring maritime and naval history back from the margins where it has been exiled for too long, and place both into the mainstream of national life. *Naval Power and British Culture 1760-1850* accomplishes this at a higher level than most.

The basic premise of this book is that the Royal Navy was the first large-scale industrial enterprise, pre-dating by many decades the usual claimants among the early puny factories and pottery works. The navy possessed a huge physical plant in the form of hundreds of ships (at the time the most complex products on earth, and probably the most expensive), numerous dockyards at home and abroad, massive stockpiles of stores ranging from timber to rope and canvas, and hundreds of other essential items, not to mention a huge workforce of skilled and unskilled men. It was necessary to have policies for purchasing, warehousing and issuing of stores, to negotiate pay scales and working conditions for the thousands of workers, and to develop long-term planning practices and complex budgeting procedures.

There were problems with such a complex administration, and politicians could always score points by charging the government of the day with tolerating corruption in the naval finances and dockyards. As Morriss makes clear, however, the real problems arose from sheer overwork and ludicrously small staffs. Added to that was the *ad hoc* way practices and procedures had piled up without rational oversight in the previous century and a half. Collections of *Standing Orders to the Yards* were voluminous, often specific to a particular yard, and not indexed. The result was that overworked yard officers just did what they thought best, which meant standardized policies and reporting were impossible. The Navy Board, which ran all civil affairs of the navy, had no effective control.

On the oft-raised issue of "corruption" Morriss has much to say. Of course our definition of corruption differs. All administrative employees from the lowliest clerk on up collected "fees" from the public, and from naval officers too, for doing their jobs. It was not unusual for clerks to double or triple their incomes in this way. Shipwrights in the yards exploited their right to "chips," which were surplus waste bits of timber they could carry off at quitting time. Of course, how one differentiated a "chip" from a length of usable timber became a subjective issue. Then there were issues of wages, overtime, or later attempts for "task work." All of these issues were subject to abuse, often through collusion between foremen and their work gangs, a collusion necessitated by the need to keep peace with the men, who were local friends as well as employees.

To overcome such petty corruption, and outright theft of stores, the Navy Board had developed a complex system of multiple checks by yard officers. More than one signature was needed to authorize expenses on repairs, or to receive goods from suppliers, as a check of one officer on another to thwart corruption. In theory this "collective responsibility" was reasonable, but as the eighteenth century's wars grew in size and frequency, so did the fleet, so did the workforce, so did the dockyards. Certainly by at least the time of the American War the overworked officers had no time for minute inspections of their colleagues' projects and deliveries, and so their signatures became perfunctory, or delegated to junior clerks, or not made at all. Sometimes there was a tacit understanding: I'll sign yours if you sign mine. Collective responsibility was a shambles, and abuses could creep in. The most influential naval

administrator of the day, Sir Charles Middleton (later Lord Barham), pushed very hard in the 1780s for a reform under the government of Pitt the Younger, but had to be satisfied with a few gradual victories stretched over two decades and more.

The struggle to reform this system during and immediately following the Napoleonic War is a core theme of the book, and it is here where Morriss deserves a wide audience among historians of the era. What cleansed the naval administration was a form of Utilitarianism as promoted by Jeremy Bentham. Actually it was introduced by Bentham's brother, General Samuel Bentham, who had collaborated with Jeremy in the formation of his thought, and who now began to implement these theories into naval administration. This process now went far beyond what even Middleton had imagined. And this was a generation ahead of the general introduction of Benthamite principles in other national institutions.

The novel Benthamite approach, one which would revolutionize government and business in the nineteenth century, was "individual responsibility." Each clerk and yard officer was to be responsible for his own area, and would be subject to controls by regular reports to the Navy Board. The system affected even the shipwrights in the dockyards, who were imbued with the responsibility for maintaining high standards as a mark of true public service. As Morriss makes clear the new system involved a novel level of trust and respect for responsible employees at all levels. If one is seeking the origins of Victorian attitudes to work and duty in all areas of national life, this is perhaps the place to start.

Morriss has produced a valuable book. The subject matter may restrict its readership, and the price certainly will discourage casual purchase. Yet, it will be difficult to ignore this book for anyone who searches for how things came to "work" in Victorian Britain, and not just the navy.

Paul Webb
London Ontario

Steffan Môrling. *Lanchas and Dornas - Cultural stability and boatshape on the west coast of Galicia.* Skârhamn, Sweden: Badokgruppen AB, info@batdok.com. 2003. 108 pp., photographs, illustrations, map, bibliography. Kroner 210, cloth; ISBN 91-87360-21-7.

Robert Simper. *The Lugger Coast.* Woodbridge, Suffolk: Creekside Publishing, RNSimper@aol.com. 2003. xviii + 100 pp., photographs, map. 15.00, cloth; ISBN 0-9538506-4-1.

This review features two recent books on indigenous small craft with remarkably disparate approaches to the topic, though their titles indicate this distinction. One refers clearly and directly to boat types while the other suggests a ambiguous location with a generic nautical qualifier. Geographically the subjects are located along similar rugged sea-carved coasts at the western extremities of European countries, the former in northwest Spain and the latter in southwest England. Common to both areas is that these wooden craft of another era are still being restored and worked, and even replicated. The books are similar in some respects, both are the same sized modern bindery productions, sporting colourfully illustrated glossy hard covers. Between these covers lie their differences.

The starkly beautiful coastline of the ancient kingdom of Galicia in northwest Spain has been home to unique inshore working boats for centuries. As elsewhere, the fishermen and boatbuilders of the region developed boats to suit their particular working locale. The characteristic, deeply indented coastal fissures are described by the Swedish author as fjord-like inlets. The high shores of these narrows, partially opened to prevailing westerlies, made handling working sailing craft a skilled adventure.

The author conducted an extensive field-study of these unusual traditional vessels between 1964 and 1966, topped off with final interviews and the recording of *lancha* building and sail-making activities in 1991-92. The result is a scholarly, well written analysis of the two

principal boat types of the region - a unique distillation of a Swedish publication in the English language about Spanish boats and their surrounding social ethnology. It is a masterful blending of organized text, well illustrated with old and new photographs, and older artistic images, new boat and sail plans and clear, though small maps. Unfortunately for a book of this depth and quality, a Lines Plan of neither boat is included to clearly define shape.

*Lancha* is an indigenous word of Spanish or Portuguese denoting a variety of smal l craft throughout the world. In the words of the author, in Galacia, "The *lancha* is a sturdy working platform that will do for the unsheltered waters along the coast" (43). An understated description for one of his subjects, followed by his initial description of the *dorna,* "It diverges from the standard and stands out as odd in the Iberian environment" (67). These spare introductions do little to introduce either of these complex boats. But the author goes on to dissect and describe each boat and some of their derivatives in thorough detail.

Early *lanchas* were generally double-ended and partially decked, of some 8.0 metres by 2.8 metres beam with a depth of 1 metre. Though there are numerous localized sub-types of essentially the same shape, a notable exception being a version with a transom. In profile, the *lancha's* characteristic raked ends and graceful shear were topped by one mast which carried a singular sail - an asymmetric trapezoid. The luff was much longer than the leach, the short yard was secured with about one quarter ahead of the mast with a downwards trailing slope. The tack was secured to the stem and the clew of the loose foot was brought well aft to the man at the tiller.

The *dorna* had a similar shaped but smaller sail, cut to suit the smaller craft. The sail was the only similarity between the boats, the *dorna* being an edge-fastened, wide- planked hull of very angular multi-chined sections. The planks are not connected like conventional clinker planks, with bevels, but are closely fitted with the overlapping edges nailed into each other. A unique, narrow double-angled transom terminates the stern. The rudder follows the double angle then tucks down below the hull baseline to act somewhat like a centreboard, resembling English east coast cobbles. The boat is completely open with many thwarts. Dimensions for a typical *dorna* are not included. One *dorna* builder on the tiny regional island of Ons doubled as coffin builder and furniture maker, while his wife was the local midwife!

Social notes and observations like that expand on the technical aspects to make this an entertaining as well as highly informative treatise. The lives of both the builders and the fishermen are examined though not in extensive detail. But the book does not ignore the fishery within which these craft worked - the various types of *lancha* are carefully woven into their specific roles. Further sections deal with other Galacian studies of these boats and the early attempts to relate them to Celtic culture or even Viking heritage. Unfortunately, the author does not go very far down this avenue of research and leaves us wondering. But Galacian pride and insularity was the impetus for compiling local inventories of the remaining working craft in the 1980s funded by the regional fishery secretary. The same department went on to also fund the building and recording of replicas.

There is an extensive bibliography but for those of us who are not multilingual, most are in languages other than English. Like indigenous vessels elsewhere, these craft developed and changed over the years to reflect advancing technology. In some of the more recent colour photographs are new fishing boats of somewhat differing shape and built of newer synthetic materials - the captions overlooked noting them. Other than the missing lines plans and a couple of transposed captions, this is an informative book, well planned and illustrated, leaving the reader with a very clear picture of the two boats, the local fishery, their surrounding culture, and present situation. A welcome addition to the slowing increasing pantheon of scholastic English writing about the vanishing fleets of wooden regional watercraft.

The second book carries the subtitle: *A Review of Working Sail in the West* and encompasses a much broader variety of vessels than the above volume. These craft, of various

types and sizes were once commonly found along the extremely rugged, beautiful, though dangerous coasts of Cornwall and north and south Devon. The author, a researcher and prolific writer about small British craft since 1967, is perhaps best known for his ***Beach Boats of Britain*** (1984), an early book which established a standard for others to follow.

In his new book, Simper has culled a broad selection of historic black and white and newer colour photographs and woven the best of them into an entertaining tour around the perimeter of the two counties. But he does not take us on a consecutive cruise from port to port around the rugged peninsula. Instead, he has chosen to divide the ports by the boat types they formerly hosted and we leap-frog round the coast following similar hull types. There are only four principle classes, hence chapters - Beach Boats; Luggers, Schooners and a catch-all of the rest. It is perhaps directed more towards the heavy tourist market generated within these popular English counties, than to the serious boat student. There is little new to be learned about the boats, even in the last chapter which specifically deals with various types and the fisheries. There are no drawings or lines plans and it would have been beneficial to include a bibliography in a book of this type, a primer which could generate further interest in these indigenous boat types.

For those who are interested in historic craft of all sizes which called these shores their home, it will make a great introduction. Simper's obvious familiarity with the area is passed along to the reader with some unique vignettes into the lives of the fishermen and boatbuilders, and also the individuality of the harbours and local facilities. For example we have the resurgence of the Scilly Island pilot gigs, once used for many more purposes than their name indicates. Fishing, smuggling and wreck scavenging after rescuing their crews, were among their varied uses until the gasoline engine heralded their demise. But today there are dozens of rowing clubs which use these craft following the building of the first replica of the twentieth century in 1967. By 2002, eighty gig crews met on the Scillies to compete in the annual regatta, and now competitors also come from numerous offshore counties.

There are many similar instances of the resurgence of interest in older watercraft though none quite so extensive as the above. Another popular English nautical pursuit is the restoration and sometime conversion of former fishing or work boats. There are a number of excellent photographs of such private restorations, accompanying black and white shots of similar craft in their original working milieu taken a century or more ago. Comments about the communities and their fisheries vary in depth, the author does not overlook the tiniest details. For instance the small village of Porthallow gets only a single sentence "The Five Pilchard's pub - has some of the fittings off the 4-masted barque ***City of Panama*** ..." wrecked nearby in 1891.

This book could be a valuable companion for the boat lover traveling in the area, and is it is highly recommended as such. Baedeker or Fodor will lead you through the region with informative trivia but they will never provide the nautical lore in this book. I wish I had owned it when I was touring there. For the serious student of the local boat types, however, it is merely an introduction, albeit an attractive and informative entry into this western "microclimate" of interesting boats.

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Tom Pocock. ***The Terror Before Trafalgar: Nelson, Napoleon, and the Secret War.*** Annapolis, MD: U.S. Naval Institute Press, www.usni.org. 2002, 255 pp, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography; index. US$ 21.95, paper: ISBN 1-59114-681-X.

The five years before the battle of Trafalgar were critical in the histories of Britain and France. Napoleon's ***Grand Armeé*** faced an army of English volunteers across the Channel, and the Royal Navy stood between them. A secret war of espionage and subversion was being fought in the shadows. It was a fearful time in both

countries, a time of political intrigue, conspiracies, spies, treachery and murder. Unfortunately, this is not the book to read about it all. Tom Pocock has written a potboiler, which is not worthy of the author of several books on the period, including his well-regarded biography of Nelson. Far from being a coherent study, this book is a curious hotchpotch of facts and stories that goes nowhere. Against the backdrop of five years of Napoleon's preparations to invade England and British attempts to overthrow him, the author has woven an account of politics, social conditions, and people of the period. With a multitude of larger-than-life characters to draw upon, it is a pity that the book misfires.

Some of the subjects dealt with, such as American inventor Robert Fulton's development of submarines and torpedoes for the French, and Admiral Latouche-Tréville's successful defence of Boulogne from Nelson's assaults are interesting but well known. Why they are included in the book is never made clear. The unsavoury Captain Lord Camelford, a cousin of William Pitt and brother-in-law of Lord Grenville, and the attractive Fanny Burney, wife of French Lieutenant-General Alexandre d'Arblay occupy much space in this account, but this too remains a mystery. Pocock also devotes too much space to Nelson and his mistress and too little to the "The Great Terror," which the book's title would lead a reader to think is the main topic. We learn a little about Captain Sir Sidney Smith, a bit more about Lieutenant (later Captain) John Wesley Wright, but it is all rather unsatisfying.

Anyone interested in the deadly covert war, known to the French as "La conspiration anglaise," in England as "The Grand Terror," and the roles of French émigrés, daring smugglers, British spies and naval officers, is advised to consult Elizabeth Sparrow's ***Secret Service: British Agents in France, 1792-1815*** (Woodbridge, 1999). Pocock's book is a grab bag; it has the appearance of being hastily flung together to cash in on the bicentennial celebrations of the Battle of Trafalgar. It is based on published letters, diaries, newspapers and secondary sources. Although well written, naval historians will not find anything that is new or not already well known to them. Not recommended.

James Pritchard
Kingston, Ontario

Noble S. Proctor and Patrick J. Lynch. ***A Field Guide to North Atlantic Wildlife. Marine Mammals, Seabirds, Fish, and Other Sea Life.*** New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, www.yalebooks.com, 2005. xxi + 221 pp., illustrations, maps, species checklist, glossary, index. US $19.95, paper; ISBN 0-300-10658-0.

This guide is intended for people who boat, fish, whale-watch or bird-watch for recreation along the eastern seaboard of the United States. The authors state in the Introduction that the book covers the major (commonly observed) marine life in the northwestern North Atlantic from Newfoundland to Cape Hatteras. Any field guide which covers the identification of marine mammals, seabirds, fish and "other sea life" in one volume is indeed ambitious. A comprehensive reference for North Atlantic wildlife would necessarily be a heavy tome, far more extensive than the two hundred pages here. Hence, the authors have focussed on the seabirds and marine mammals likely to be seen during a whale-watching tour, the shallow water fishes often caught when fishing from a dock, and the game fishes taken by deep-sea fishing boats chartered out of New England ports. There is a focus on New England waters. For example, few fishes of cold-temperate waters of the Canadian Maritimes are featured in the book.

To underscore the need for conservation of marine life, the authors note in red print those fishes and marine mammals which are included on the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) Red List of Endangered Species. By helping educate the public about marine life, Proctor and Lynch are promoting stewardship of our natural resources.

The guide is well laid out for quick reference. Illustrations of marine organisms appear on the right hand page, while information

about the species' distribution is found on the facing page. For certain whales the authors include the shape of the blow spray and the profile of that whale's back, dorsal fin and tail on the surface. For common seals, the authors include the shape of the seal's head when held above water. This is useful information for a quick identification at sea.

The pages of the book are glossy paper, as most every page has colour illustrations. But the pages curl when wet. Today, field books should be made with all-weather paper which can withstand rain and seawater.

Every species featured by Proctor and Lynch is presented in colour illustration, but unfortunately many species are absent. Using a Peterson Field Guide (C.R. Robins and G.C. Ray. 1986. *A Field Guide to Atlantic Coast Fishes of North America.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 354p) one can identify more than 1,000 fishes living in coastal waters of this region. Yet Procter and Lunch feature only 115 fishes in their book. Of the many seaweeds a person might observe along an Atlantic Coast shoreline, only four species are presented in Proctor and Lynch. Only three crustaceans are featured. The sharks are better described, perhaps because sharks are a topic of popular interest.

This book is not a comprehensive field guide by which a person could "key out" any species, i.e. determine its identity from the organism's taxonomic features. Proctor and Lynch do not consistently use "field marks" to show the reader the morphological features which distinguish one species from another closely related. Occasionally, Proctor and Lynch do point out a characteristic which distinguishes that species from others shown on the same page.

Rather than taking the taxonomic approach followed by serious students of marine life, the authors would have the layman identify an organism by simply finding a picture in their guide which looks closest to what the person observes in the field. Proctor and Lynch focus on body shape, size (length) and weight for identification of fishes. For seabirds, the authors provide little more guidance than matching a picture shown in their book. By comparison, the Peterson Field Guide to the seabirds and shorebirds (R.T. Peterson and V.M. Peterson. 1980. *A Field Guide to the Birds: A completely new guide to all the birds of eastern and central North America,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 384 pages) provides the reader with methods to identify birds by shape of the wing, bill, tail (field marks), and behaviour (how the bird flies or swims). This information is missing in Proctor and Lynch, or not presented in a systematic way.

In summary, the guide by Proctor and Lynch would be useful to the occasional visitor to the sea, but may be of limited value to the serious observer of marine life, who wishes to identify any marine mammal, seabird or fish that he/she encounters. Proctor and Lynch include a species checklist at the back of their book, which is the list of species featured in their book. There are only 88 birds, 21 whales, 11 dolphins and 5 seals listed.

It was distressing to find no references at the back of the book. The reader is not pointed to further information on North Atlantic wildlife, except to the IUCN website in the Introduction. However, for the person on a seaside vacation, this may be an ideal pocketbook.

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N.A.M. Rodger. *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain,* Volume II, "1649-1815." London: W.W. Norton & Co., www.wwnorton.com. 2004. 976 pp., illustrations, maps, appendices, references, bibliography, index. US$45.00, C$65, cloth; ISBN 0713994118 07.

This is an elegant book. The sequel to *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain 660-1649* (London, 1997), it is the product of impeccable, deeply-grained scholarship lightly carried. Covering events from Cromwell to the end of the Napoleonic era, this lucidly narrated and handsomely bound work provides an astonishing wealth of integrated information,

insights and fresh interpretation. As Rodger explains in his Introduction, the purpose of this second of three proposed volumes on the naval history of Britain "is not to write a self-contained "company history" of the Royal Navy, but to describe the contribution which naval warfare, with all its associated activities, has made to national history" (p.lxiii). In this enormous undertaking he has succeeded brilliantly.

If, as Rodger suggests, *The Safeguard of the Sea* (1997) is the story of Britain's failure to fully grasp and exploit the facts of geography, then this second volume, *The Command of the Ocean* (2004), recounts its success. During the 166 years this volume covers, Britain gained sovereignty of the seas by mastering difficult and often daunting sets of challenges: vying ideologies and national visions, development of marine and shipbuilding industries, policies to engage public support for naval expansion, infrastructures and logistics to keep ships at sea for long periods. By the eighteenth century, the British navy had grown to become the largest industrial complex of its day in the western world. Indeed, as Rodger explained in his *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* ( 1986), it was "by far the most expensive and demanding of all the administrative responsibilities of the State"(ll). As he eloquently demonstrated in that work, these "wooden worlds" were in fact more than instruments of national policy or merely components of a fleet. They were also miniature societies, each one a floating nation with its customs, demands and aspirations. Fully integrating his naval story into the broad panorama of British national history, Rodger deftly weaves the colourful strands of his tapestry: politics and war, the economics of shipping and shipbuilding, strategy and tactics, sectarian conflict, naval education and leadership, the challenges of working sailing vessels (winds, tides, seas and sails), and of course personal ambitions. Casting his net wide, he draws on the interrelated histories of other nations (ie, Holland, Spain, France, America) in periods of declared and undeclared war, colonial expansion and competition, exploration and peace. His comparative approach is astute and illuminating. In all this, he crafts fascinating cameos of a variety of personalities who either met the challenges, or tried either overtly or inadvertently to avoid them: the incompetent and quixotic, the dashing and derelict, the creative and charismatic.

His deft touches are a delight. Well-known characters such as Pepys, Hawke, Howe, St. Vincent, the Dutch leader Tromp, and of course Nelson, emerge in a fresh light. So too, even the best known events such as the mutinies at the Nore (1797), Spithead (1797), and the battles of Texel (1653), La Hougue (1692), First of June ( 1794) and Trafalgar ( 1805). Rodger has the felicitous knack of letting the reader in on the historian's craft. Two cases in point: in dealing with the Nore mutiny, he graphically sets the scene, marshals the personalities, and describes the action. His vivid account offers the most just version of events by citing Nelson with approval: "for a *mutiny..**Ai*** had been the most manly that I every heard of, and does the British sailor infinite honour"(450). Ever concerned with the continuities of history, he then examines the aftermath. In his hands, the writing of history unfolds like the work of a good detective: search, evidence, evaluation of witnesses, inference, reconstruction and conclusion. Thus his version of the Battle of Trafalgar shares with his readers the difficulties of tactical reconstruction: "For the historian the subject is difficult to study, for contemporary estimates of rates of fire tend to be few and vague, while ranges were judged by eye and expressed by terms such as "musket shot" or "pistol shot" which had no agreed definitions" (540). He then goes on to offer his sound analysis.

This is not naval history for naval historians only. It is history - writ large - for the educated general reader too. We can enjoy *The Command of the Ocean* either as an eminently readable story, or as a reference book. Detailed appendices provide information ranging from Tables of Major Fleets 1650-1815, rates of pay for various ranks and stations, statistics on manpower 1688-1815, and naval finance. The 86-page bibliography is indispensable.

Prof. Rodger acknowledges his debt to previous scholars who have illumined and critiqued the historical period of his focus. His great achievement lies not only in his balanced and judicious integration of this vast amount of national and international scholarship, but on his fair and forthright critique of his predecessors -- based on his command of the primary sources themselves. This in turn has led him to new insights. In all, it is a magisterial performance.

Michael L. Hadley
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Barry Strauss. *The Battle of Salamis. The Naval Encounter that saved Greece - and Western Civilization.* New York: Simon & Schuster, www.simonsays.com, 2004. xxii + 292 pp., maps, plates, notes, index, CDN $36.00, cloth; ISBN 0-7432-4450-8.

Barry Strauss is a highly respected historian, and amateur oarsman, whose previous publications on ancient Greek naval warfare make him an excellent person to describe the build up to and the details of the battle of Salamis in 480 BC, when 350 or so Greek ships defeated a much larger fleet under the overall command of the Persian king, Xerxes. The Persian invasion of Greece had seemed unstoppable until then, despite a heroic attempt to hold the pass of Thermopylae. For the most part, Strauss does an excellent job, changing his narrative focus from one individual to another as he brings this famous naval encounter to life in an absorbing fashion. Although he is imaginative in his use of the available evidence, he rarely strays beyond what is plausible. He is particularly good on the practical limitations of trireme warfare. The book features some excellent illustrations to complement the text, although the maps are rather crude and vague.

When he comes to the battle itself, Strauss's determination to portray the Athenian Themistocles as the tactical and political genius responsible for the Greek victory leads him to reject altogether a key aspect of the Persian strategy at Salamis. There is evidence, in some lines by the Athenian tragedian Aeschylus, who was present at the battle, and in accounts by later historians, that Egyptian ships from Xerxes' fleet sailed around the island of Salamis to block the western end of the channel between it and the mainland, to prevent a Greek withdrawal. If this is correct, then Xerxes' decision to advance at night was part of a pre-arranged plan, and had nothing to do with Themistocles' supposed trick of sending a messenger to "warn" Xerxes that the Greeks were about to depart, thereby forcing the Persian king to commit his fleet to battle early (see P. de Souza, *The Greek and Persian Wars,* Oxford, 2003, 60-65). In spite of the contrary evidence, Strauss says "we should imagine the Egyptians with the rest of the Persian fleet" (134). He justifies this by relegating a key ancient authority, the first century BC writer Diodorus of Sicily, to the level of "a later source" who, "has a nasty habit of improving earlier accounts, that is inventing details" (234). Elsewhere, however, Strauss quotes Diodorus as a reliable author ( 127, 173).

There is a sub-text to this book that the present reviewer finds troubling. Strauss presents the Persians as tyrannical, treacherous, cowardly, effete and "oriental," while he glorifies the Greeks, especially the Athenians, as democratic, patriotic, courageous, intelligent, tough and, above all, "western." Unsurprisingly, the dust-jacket sports a testimonial from Victor Davis Hanson, George W. Bush's favourite historian of western military superiority, author of such books as *Why the West Has Won: Carnage and Culture from Salamis to Vietnam* (Faber & Faber, 2002). Publishers like to adorn books with eye-catching claims about the significance of the contents, but to incorporate into the title the claim that a single naval battle saved not merely (ancient) Greece, but "Western Civilization" seems rather extravagant. Salamis was a shock defeat for Xerxes; it caused him to leave Greece with half his army and most of his navy; it allowed the Athenians to return (temporarily) to their devastated city; but it did not bring an end to the war. Strauss is far too honest an historian to try to maintain the conceit himself. In his final main chapter, he admits that Salamis did not end the Persian Wars, although

he indulges in some extravagant comparisons: "Salamis was a Greek Gettysburg... Salamis was Stalingrad, not the battle of Berlin. Salamis was a decisive battle because it broke the Persian navy, but it did not drive the Persians out of Greece. Salamis brought final victory nearly into the Greeks' hands, but it was not the last battle of the war" (240). The last battle of the war was fought a year after Salamis, near the city of Plataea, north-west of Athens. There an army of almost 40,000 Greeks defeated an even larger Persian force that had remained on Greek territory to complete Xerxes' conquest. It was this Spartan-led victory, in the only decisive land-battle of the war that ultimately saved Greece. But the Spartans, who ruthlessly enslaved entire ethnic groups to support their elite warrior society, make uncomfortable ancestors for modern "democratic" states. If Strauss were to give due acknowledgement to the battle of Plataea (mentioned only in passing), then he might have to explain why it was Plataea, not Salamis, that was commemorated by the famous Serpent Column victory monument. The column was inscribed with the names of all the Greek states that fought against the Persians and was dedicated in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. It remained there until it was moved to its current location in Istanbul by the emperor Constantine in AD 324. It is a tangible reminder of the heroic efforts of the Greeks to resist Xerxes' invasion. Perhaps the idea of a "western" victory monument in the heart of an Islamic city would have undermined the book's jingoistic tone.

This is an engaging, well-researched book which has a great deal to offer anyone interested in ancient naval warfare, but readers should bear in mind the political and cultural context in which it has been written.

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Julien Thoulet. (Scott Jamieson, ed and trans.) *A Voyage to Newfoundland.* Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, www.mqup.ca, 2005. xiii + 195 pp., illustrations, appendix, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $44.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-2867-9.

Edward Tompkins, curator. *Newfoundland's French Shore Depicted, 1713-1904. Description du French Shore de Terre-Neuve, 1713-1904.* St. John's, NL: Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, www.therooms.ca, 2005. 48 pp., photographs, maps, notes, bibliography. Exhibition catalogue, paper; ISBN 0-9691590-8-0.

Julian Thoulet (1847-1936) was one of the founders of French oceanography. In 1886, he managed to get himself invited to join the French naval vessel *Clorinde,* on its annual tour of duty, supervising the French shore fishery in Newfoundland, in the last days of that traditional industry. The geological and meteorological observations Thoulet made marked a turning point in his scientific career. The voyage also gave him material for a popular account of his travels, from Lorient in Brittany, to St. Pierre and Miquelon, up Newfoundland's west coast, through the Strait of Belle Isle, to southern Labrador and the Petit Nord, the Atlantic coast of the Great Northern Peninsula and, for centuries, the destination of Breton fishermen. The *Clorinde* returned via Cape Breton, where it took on coal and where Thoulet had a chance for further sight-seeing. A personal record of the voyage appeared in a series of articles in 1890-92, collected as a book, *Un Voyage à Terre-Neuve* (Paris, 1891). Scott Jamieson has translated this account, accompanying it with 42 of Thoulet's photographs, most of them previously unpublished.

Thoulet's *Voyage* is very much a personal reflection — on the sea, on science, on the everyday struggle of fisher folk, on friendship, on memory, and so on — as much as it is an account of some specific and rather obscure places, long before the impact of tourism. Much of its charm lies in Julian Thoulet's exceptional personality. He was, clearly, a thoughtful and generous soul, with a warm sense of humour, for the most part disinclined to impose scientific rigour on his

account. "For specialists," he tells us, "there are mosquitoes and mosquitoes: for someone walking in the woods, all mosquitoes are alike" (88). Because Thoulet was interested in how French fishermen and Anglo-Irish livyers scraped together a living in the harsh climate of northern Newfoundland, his observations are historically valuable both in defining particular lives in particular harbours, as well as in reflecting the centuries-old economic duel between France and Britain over Newfoundland. This was a game recently upset by the emerging Dominion of Newfoundland's attempts to play its own hand and Thoulet sagely predicts that France's best course will be to auction off its interest in the shore fishery — which is exactly what happened in 1904. If there is a limitation to his account, it is one of which he was well aware. After a visit to a neat but overheated home in the Labrador Straits, he reflects: "You have the impression that these people absorb heat so that they are better able to resist the terrible winters. It would be very interesting to talk with them and ask about their lives and customs, but we do not have enough time and must go back on board..." (129). He has managed, nevertheless, to capture northern Newfoundland and southern Labrador in a series of such vignettes, imparting a flavour which is recognizable even today.

Scott Jameson provides a comprehensive introduction, explaining the significance of Newfoundland for Thoulet. The text is accompanied by useful notes, clarifying place names, scientific issues, and most of the allusions made by a self-consciously artful scientist. (Think of a French Stephen Jay Gould.) The notes occasionally fail the reader: Why does a *lansquenet* sword sum up Germany (141)? Sometimes we find more than we need: why does it matter to whom Delia Robbia passed the secrets of *terra cotta* (141)? The important questions are all dealt with, though, and are well referenced. Jameison's translation reads like a summer breeze over a kindly sea — it is flowing, comfortable and transparent. I do not know the original, but now feel as if I do, thanks to this sensitive and technically assured translation.

Historians have to date tended to focus on the political history of the French Shore, the diplomatically-defined region in which France had a right to a seasonal shore-based fishery, between 1713 and 1904. Only Charles de la Morandière's *Histoire de la pêche française de la morue dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1962-66) addresses socio-economic questions at length. Thoulet's *Voyage* is one of several recent publications of primary sources which will encourage a broader study of the French Shore. Like Ron Rompkey's recent *Terre-Neuve: Anthologie des voyageurs français, 1814-1914* (Rennes, 2004), it provides us with materials for social history. Edward Tompkins' recent exhibition, *Newfoundland's French Shore Depicted, 1713-1904,* demonstrated that the resources for such a history include a wide range of maps, charts, plans, sketches and photographs. The works of the extraordinary Paul-Emile Miot are notable among the latter. He photographed the French Shore fishery in the 1850s, with a perceptive interest in industrial detail.

Tompkins' handsome exhibition and the well-illustrated catalogue that followed it are the result of his many years of work for Canada's National Archives and, recently, as a Paris-based researcher for the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador. The catalogue is bilingual, which means that the discussions of the historical context, the processes of mapping and photography, and of the growth of Anglophone settlement, are necessarily concise. The captions to the catalogue illustrations allow close-ups of certain places and Tompkins, wisely, tends to focus on certain key harbours, like Croque, the *Havre du Petit Maistre,* a kind of administrative centre for French crews. This catalogue is a valuable sample of the visual documentation of the French Shore which will provide historians, archaeologists and geographers with the basis for a more complex social history of one of Canada's most extraordinary maritime cultural landscapes.

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Willem van der Does (translated by Ruth van Baak Griffionen). *Storms, Ice, and Whales. The Antarctic Adventures of a Dutch Artist on a Norwegian Whaler.* Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., www.eerdmans.com. 2003. First published 1934. xxiv + 391 pp., illustrations, map, appendix, glossary. US $ 29.00, cloth; ISBN 0-8028-2125-1.

In 1923, Dutch painter Willem van der Does fulfilled a long held ambition to visit Antarctica. He was able to join the crew of a Norwegian *flytende kokeri* (floating boiler or whale factory ship) leaving from Sandefjord on an exploratory whaling expedition to the Ross Sea on the edge of the Antarctic continent. After being rejected by the commander of the expedition, Captain C. A. Larsen, who saw no need for an artist on board, he enlisted the support of the wife of the owner of the whaling company who convinced Larsen to take him along. At first he was rated as a labourer but Willem, or Bill as he came to be known on board, was an experienced mariner as well as an artist and he was soon promoted to assistant boatswain.

The ship was the *Sir James Clark Ross,* formerly a large British freighter converted to a whale factory ship. Captain Carl Anton Larsen who was in overall charge of the expedition had sailed with both Nansen and Nordenskjold and pioneered the whaling industry on South Georgia. He now wanted to confirm the reports of Ross, Amundsen and others that whales abounded in the Ross Sea, a gulf of the Southern Ocean lying between longitudes 170 E and 160 W. It is usually closed off by heavy pack ice that had excluded the sailing whalers, but between the pack and the Antarctic ice shelf there is an area of clear water that Larsen hoped to exploit as a hunting ground.

Van der Does gives us a vigorous account of the ship, the crew, ceremonies crossing the line and the passage around the Cape of Good Hope and through the roaring forties to Tasmania. Here they met the five chase boats that would actually hunt the whales and bring them to the *Ross* for processing. They loaded coal and supplies and also added six Australians to the already large crew of over 140. One of these was the journalist, later a noted author, Alan Villiers.

Bill had made friends with two other foreigners on the ship, the German doctor and a Swedish zoologist (the "Pill" and the "Prof), and set up his painting equipment in the doctor's laboratory. The next stop was at the lonely and uninhabited Macquarie Island where the three were given the opportunity to spend a couple of days ashore to explore and observe the wild life while the *Ross* topped up the chase boats with coal. Bill sketched - his cartoons and sketches of people, ice, whales, seals, penguins and ships illustrate the whole book and are an admirable adjunct to the text. He especially loved the curious penguins.

After fighting their way through an area of icebergs and the ice pack, the flotilla reached the open water of the Ross Sea but found conditions unsuitable for processing whales at sea. The solution was to enter Discovery Inlet, which they reached shortly after New Year's Day, 1924. In this slit in the Antarctic Ice shelf, they anchored precariously in 360 fathoms of water (with special anchors and cable) between high walls of glacier ice and sent the chase boats to look for whales.

Van der Does gives us a vivid description of the frenzied period that ensued. The *Ross* did not have stern ramp, which would be a feature of future whale factory ships, and the flensers had to work on the whales from platforms alongside. The long strips of blubber were then further cut up on deck where the whole ship became covered in fat, oil, coal dust and ice, the whole in a miasma of decaying whale flesh. This work was frequently interrupted by snow squalls that caused the ship to drag, first towards one cliff of ice, then to the other. Whale carcasses broke loose and had to be recovered and the chase boats had to be replenished. Men worked until they dropped and then slept in their filthy clothes. In between, there were days of calm perfection and Bill was given time to land on the ice barrier for a ski trip with the doctor and the professor. Eventually, as the Antarctic summer was ending and storms became more frequent, Larsen decided to end the hunt although only 17,000 barrels of oil had

been realized instead of the expected 30,000. The flotilla left and found the pack ice greatly reduced. They then paused in New Zealand where the chase boats were laid up for the winter with a small caretaker crew and the *Ross* left to "run her easting down" to Cape Horn and then on to Schiedam, Van der Does' home town, where he disembarked.

Van der Does undertook the voyage to see, sketch and later paint the Antarctic but most of his shipmates just wanted to kill as many whales as possible. He describes Captain Larsen as a respected leader and a father to his crew but his objectives were primarily commercial. The tough and hardy Norwegian sailors are "descendants of the Vikings" and the captain/gunners of the chase boats, the personification of "man the hunter" are particularly admired. Yet Van der Does had sympathy for the whales; he believed that they, like all wild creatures useful to mankind, are doomed to be hunted to extinction. This has not quite happened yet but hunting still continues. As this review is being written, Paul Watson in the Sea Shepherd Society's ship *Farley Mowat* is heading for Antarctica to protest the Japanese whaling in the very area that Larsen wished to exploit.

Van der Does did not write the book until the early 1930s while living in what was then the Dutch East Indies, so he was describing the cold and the hardship of the barren Antarctic amid a paradise of tropic vegetation and warmth. Alan Villiers also wrote a book about the expedition (published in 1925) as did Dr. Kohl, the medical officer.

The translation by Ruth van Baak Griffioen is excellent and her footnotes about colloquial expressions are helpful. In some episodes the reader will be aware that the author, like a typical sailor, is not letting the facts get in the way of a good story, but this is a rollicking good read about a remarkable and adventurous voyage.

Doug Maginley
Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia

Milan N. Vego. *Naval Strategy and Operations in Narrow Seas.* 2nd Revised Ed., London, U.K. & Portland, OR: Frank Cass, www.routledgestrategicstudies.com, 2003. xvii + 331 pp., maps, notes, sources, index. UK £70.00, US $152.80, paper; ISBN 0-7146-4425-0.

Occasionally, a great academic work appears that advances substantially the standards of naval knowledge and operational concepts. Milan Vego, Professor of Joint Military Operations at the US Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island, has written what should become a standard reference among naval professionals, advanced students, and informed readers of naval strategy, history, and doctrine.

Vego has addressed one of the timeliest issues of the post-Cold War era: the role of sea power in global power projection. Through an impressive series of historical examples, the author shows the important interplay between sea power and military events on land. His object is to illustrate the key aspects of naval strategy and force employment in narrow seas. He accomplishes this impressively, with doctrinal lessons abounding throughout the text.

The book is organized into three sections that deal with terminology, the operational concepts associated with the employment of naval power in narrow seas, and the major functional roles of navies in that challenging environment. The first section, a single chapter, contains some of the most important concepts. Here, Vego provides succinct definitions of strategy, tactics, and narrow seas, all of which are central to his thesis. Also in this important section, Vego makes a fundamental observation on the tendency of naval writers to misuse key terminology. In his view, the term "naval strategy" is too often confused with naval policy and with naval operational concepts. In only a few pages, the reader is treated to a masterful description of how naval operations "fit" within the contemporary definitions used in joint military operations (2 - 4). Vego also gives an incisive lesson on campaign design and the concepts of sequencing and synchronization.

The reader who pays particularly close attention to the important distinctions raised in the introduction will reap the major rewards of comprehension that are available in the next two sections.

The second section deals firstly with the important concepts of physical space, position, and theatre geography. Although the focus of the work is on naval activities close to shore, the lessons drawn from the discussion and examples presented are relevant everywhere in this modern era of long-range sensors, aircraft and weaponry, which have the effect of "shrinking" oceanic distances and expanding the littoral zone. Having set a firm conceptual foundation, the author then moves on to discuss fleet distribution, the equally- often misused concepts of sea control and sea denial, and the naval methods employed in either securing or denying control of both ocean areas and narrow seas. The chapter on "methods" contains another especially important section that distinguishes between naval tactical actions, engagements, battles, and major naval operations (129- 137). The differences between tactical "attacks," simple actions by few or single platforms against minor objectives, versus "strikes," more complex activities by multiple platforms sometimes against operational objectives, are explained clearly, illustrating that the term "strike" is misused, even in professional naval circles, on a daily basis.

The final section, on the functional roles of naval power, is as masterful and insightful as the other two parts. The chapter on naval support to the army should be compulsory reading for any officers involved in the current transformational studies underway among the power elite groups of the Canadian military. Far from emphasizing the extreme case of amphibious assault against defended beachheads, Vego asserts that the traditional naval support roles in expeditionary warfare most commonly involve cover, support, and supply, all of which Vego shows to have been vitally important in a multitude of times and places (269).

The only deficiency of this fine work is that it lacks a glossary, which may have presented a prohibitive undertaking considering the number of important concepts contained in this compact volume. Readers will undoubtedly find themselves flagging many sections for review and making side-lists of especially important definitions for handy reference. The index is detailed, which will be a very helpful aid to students.

In his concluding chapter, Vego makes some astute recommendations about the composition of fleet forces intended for employment in narrow seas. Having built such an impressive foundation of evidence about the importance of naval operations in the joint context, his opinions on the size, capabilities, and configuration of inshore warships and their support vessels carry a great weight of credibility. Anyone wishing to educate themselves about the demands of naval operations in an expeditionary joint context would do very well to begin with this outstanding and authoritative work by a master of the subject. This title is highly recommended as essential reading for advanced students of naval theory and for those wishing to elevate their level of understanding of the subject.

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Felipe Vieira de Castro. *The Pepper Wreck. A Portuguese Indiaman at the Mouth of the Tagus River.* College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University Press, www.tamu.edu/upress, 2005. xi + 287 pp., illustrations, maps, appendices, artifact list, notes, bibliography, index, US$60, cloth; ISBN 1-58544-390-5.

In September 1606, the Portuguese East Indiaman, *Nossa Senhora dos Mârtires,* successfully had completed the long journey from Cochin, India to Portugal. Within sight of Lisbon, her captains decided to escape a southerly gale by entering the Tagus River. This fateful decision resulted in the ship grounding on a submerged rock and breaking up, the loss of most of her valuable cargo of pepper along

with the lives of more than two hundred persons. The black tide of peppercorns energized local residents and royal officials salvaged what they could. The wreck finally ceased to attract attention and the author suggests that the great earthquake of 1755 that destroyed much of Lisbon generated a tsunami that probably rolled heavy rocks over its remains. A codfish trawler sank at the same location in 1966, adding debris to the site. Sport divers looted the site in the 1980s.

Felipe Castro has combined the elements of a tragic tale of shipwreck and financial loss with the subsequent story of the ship at the bottom of the Tagus River near the fortress of Sâo Juliào da Barra. Records indicate that salvage efforts resulted in the recovery of some of the ship's guns and other items. A 1994 expedition recovered a bronze gun that was raised, illegally, by preservation-conscious sport divers. In 1993, the Portuguese government established a law that legalized treasure hunting. Although controversial, it was in effect for two years and finally repealed in 1997. At Expo '98 in Lisbon, the Sâo Juliào da Barra shipwreck project was the prime example of the Portuguese government's new position on the protection of underwater cultural heritage.

Obviously, the *Nossa Senhora dos Mârtires* lived at least two lives, first as a Portuguese Indiaman hauling pepper, ceramics and other goods from Asia, and then as the shipwreck that helped galvanize public support for the preservation of Portugal's submerged cultural resources. Castro carefully weaves together the disparate threads of the story. Following the introduction is a chapter on Portugal and the India route in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The most prized cargo was peppercorn, carried in sealed wooden boxes. Other spices included ginger, cinnamon, clove and mace, the latter valued as a cure for sexual impotence. India route *naus* were great ships reaching 900 tons. Estimates by various scholars suggest that as many as two hundred India route ships were wrecked between about 1500 and 1650, but only a few vessels have been found, and almost all were heavily looted.

The author turns to the study of the ships in chapter three. He begins with a review of the primary sources on ship construction from Italian, French, English, Spanish and Portuguese documents. Key texts include the Venetian manuscripts, the *Fabrica di galere* (also known as the *Libro di marineria),* containing the writings of professional shipbuilders, and the Timbotta manuscript (also referred to as the "Trombetta" manuscript, 37, 39), written by a cultured Renaissance man who collected the work of experts. This very useful discussion of the textual evidence includes a reference to the long-lost Michael of Rhodes manuscript, written in 1434 and is the earliest treatise on shipbuilding. The is recently rediscovered Rhodes manuscript will be published by the Dibner Institute for the History of Science and Technology at MIT.

Students of ship construction will appreciate not only the examination of textual evidence, but Castro's outline of the construction sequence in building an India nau (47-58). Following this, he proceeds to the logical next step with a chapter on the voyage of the *Nossa Senhora dos Mârtires.* Readers learn how the ship worked, the poor sanitation, the crowded conditions, the routine of shipboard life. Meals for the common sailor consisted of hardtack in wine or water, salted meat, beans, rice or lentils. The upper classes and Jesuit priests had expensive culinary tastes. Records mention pork, ham, sausages, jams, and sometimes, considerable quantities of wine. Although there is not much information about those aboard who consumed the food on the Mârtires, we do learn that at her sinking, a Jesuit priest, Father Francisco Rodriques, gave up his place on the ship's boat and remained aboard to give absolution and confession to those facing death. He did not survive.

The balance of the book (chapters 5-8 and the conclusion) focus on the site and particularly, the hull remains. A chapter on site formation carefully lays out the circumstances of the sinking and the recovery of artifacts by sport divers in the 1970s and 1980s. Castro uses this information to help us better understand the site. The artifacts recovered at Sâo Juliào da Barra are not analyzed in the book, but were the

subject of an MA thesis by Sara Brigadier at Texas A & M University in 2002. An artifact list is included in Appendix C.

During the major professional survey and excavation of the site in 1996-97 and 1999-2000, the wooden hull was recorded. Artifacts recovered include porcelain dishes, an iron gun, and three astrolabes. One astrolabe was inscribed with the date of 1605 (the year *Mârtires* left Lisbon) and bore a maker's mark of the Goes family workshop in Lisbon. While this dated object helps identify the wreck, it does not do so absolutely. Castro compiles evidence in favor of identifying the site as the remains of the *Mârtires,* but acknowledges that it is not conclusive.

Chapter 7 focuses on the hull and carefully examines the ship's timbers, mostly cut from cork oak trees, and the stone pine planking. About fifty square metres of wooden structure remained, including portions of the keel, apron, frames, planking and fasteners. The analysis and reconstruction of the vessel is carefully argued, employing the author's extensive knowledge of naval architecture and historical texts. This includes a lines drawing of an India nau based on no more than 10 per cent of the lower hull.

In his conclusion, Castro continues with his analysis of the hull remains to inch closer toward a positive identification of the ship as the *Nossa Senhora dos Mârtires* and to the placement of the remains in a theoretical framework. Noting the suggestions of Eric Reith on "architectural signatures" and Ole Crumlin-Pedersen's "finger prints" on Scandinavian medieval ships, he turns to Thomas Oertling's proposed twelve traits that characterize western Atlantic post-medieval craft. Not enough of the hull of the *Nossa Senhora dos Mârtires* survives to confirm its place in this tradition.

This is an admirable study of an important shipwreck. Doubtless its location near Lisbon brought attention to the site. It became a central issue in Portuguese legislation on treasure hunting, and though heavily looted, provided significant information about Portuguese trade to India in great ships built to carry the humble peppercorn.

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Colin White (ed.), *Nelson: The New Letters,* London; Boydell and Brewer Press, in association with the National Maritime Museum and the Royal Naval Museum, 2005, xxix + 509 pp., maps, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index, US $39.95, paper; ISBN 1-84383-130-9

In a brief literary survey of the Nelson decade by Eugene Rasor, one of this world's more indefatigable bibliographers, fifteen of 242 entries cite Colin White, Deputy Director of the Royal Naval Museum.(1) White's substantial contribution to the Trafalgar bicentenary includes the so-called Nelson Letters Project, which has turned up more than 1300 previously undiscovered or overlooked letters. Five hundred and seven of them appear in this volume. Because there is so much new material, and because it covers "almost every important stage in Nelson's career" the editor writes that "... in a sense, this book is almost Nelson's autobiography" (xv). "Almost" is the key word. One may see the events of Lord Nelson's life through his own eyes when reading his enormous and masterful epistolary output, and these selections have certainly enhanced our understanding of the man and his work, but they still do not constitute the whole man or the whole life. Even combined with the preceding and very large published collections, there are irreplaceable gaps. As White points out, Nelson burned all Emma Hamilton's letters to him, and it is only through Fanny's letters to Nelson's agent Alexander Davison - not included in this book - that we have found out previously unknown aspects of the marriage breakdown. As the most reputable of his countless biographers have demonstrated, Nelson was a brilliant apologist for his own interests, and he really has to be seen through other eyes than his own in order to assess his true worth.

Biographies now appearing do make use of the Nelson Letters Project - a triumph of team research - but their documentation goes well beyond Nelson's own output. That being

said, the selections published in this volume are an indispensable source for any reassessment. White has organized the material chronologically, except for an opening section that he calls "The Man and the Admiral." Each section has a very useful introduction that places the letters in context and directs the reader to specific examples illustrating certain characteristics or events. Three excellent appendices provide the chronology of Nelson's career, his ships, and "A Nelson's Who's Who" by John Graves of the National Maritime Museum. In his introduction, White explains the provenance of his material, which has come from archives and libraries in Britain, Denmark, Germany and the United States, and from some private collections, and in some cases from previously published letters that had been too extensively revised by their editors. Maps and illustrations complement the text very well.

In the section on "The Man and the Admiral," White takes examples of letters that reveal Nelson's family ties, his friends and lovers, his popular image, his dispensation of patronage and his humanity. He has not included letters showing how Nelson himself used the patronage system to advance in the service, but throughout the five chronological sections that follow may be found his numerous letters to the Duke of Clarence by which he maintained that important connection to the future monarch. More might have been made of this trait. Edgar Vincent in his 2003 biography *Nelson: Love & Fame,* Andrew Lambert in *Britannia's God of War* and Roger Knight, whose *The Pursuit of Victory* is the latest biography of Nelson, all cite examples of Nelson's skill in self-advancement (2). Knight, after writing his book, observes that Nelson "still remains elusive; while his letters are open, illuminating and entertaining, they rarely reveal what he was feeling. In spite of a mass of surviving evidence, it is not clear exactly what drove Nelson to achieve such eminence." (3) That observation sums up both the strengths and limitations of the Nelson letters. Neither expect to learn a great deal that biographers have not already told us, nor to learn everything there is to know about him, but read the letters, enjoy them, reflect on them and relish their quality.

Thus the extraordinarily powerful Nelson legend goes on. Clearly, no naval library should be without this book. The problem is, it omits the footnotes, which are as follows

1 Eugene Rasor (ed.), The Bicentennial Edition of *The Nelson Dispatch,* December 2005, 872-900

2 Edgar Vincent, *Nelson: Love & Fame,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003; Andrew Lambert, Nelson: *Britannia's God of War,* London, Faber and Faber, 2004; Roger Knight, *The Pursuit of Victory: The Life and Achievement of Horatio Nelson,* London: Allen Lane, 2005

3 Roger Knight, "Not Another Biography of Nelson?", *ibid.* 799-801

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