
In 1939 the Society of Marine Artists was founded in London, its objectives being "to promote, maintain, improve, and advance the education of the public by the encouragement of the study and practice of the fine and applied arts...with particular but not exclusive reference to the sea, to the seashore and to marine and maritime subjects of whatsoever nature and by the recognition of such works of art as an essential feature of the artistic life of a maritime nation." In the words of G.W. Hunt all members have one thing in common: they are "mad about the sea." Owing to the almost immediate outbreak of World War II, the inaugural exhibition did not take place until 1946. The fiftieth anniversary was celebrated therefore in 1996 with the publication of this splendid book, lavishly illustrated with coloured reproductions of some of the finest paintings the members of the society have created over the years.

Since its founding, the society has staged a major exhibition every year, each with over two hundred paintings on display. In the 1980s the society began arranging exhibitions abroad in countries like Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States. It was Charles Pears, president and founding member, who suggested the establishment of a "diploma collection" in 1947, in which each member presented the society with one example of his or her art, "a diploma work," to be kept in the diploma collection as an historical record. For several decades the National Maritime Museum stored and displayed the diploma works; then, in 1991, the collection found a haven at the Ferens Gallery in Hull. Most appropriately Arthur G. Credland, the leading authority of British marine art and who is based in Hull, wrote a short overview of the society's history since 1939. As well, he has provided a directory of some 150 members of the society, which was granted the title "Royal Society of Marine Artists" in 1966.

A foreword by the Countess Mountbatten of Burma is followed first by a short introductory note by the current president, Mark Myers, then a selection of forewords from previous catalogues. The central part of the book presents a gallery of pictures grouped according to four themes: sail; war artists and matters naval; river, coast, and estuary; the steam era. Each theme is introduced by a short essay written by a member of the publishing committee. These are all very personal, reflecting the author's preferences and paying tribute to the "big guns" in British marine painting. Most interestingly, and this observation holds true in Germany as well, British marine painters do not like to paint or record "the current era of huge and unlovely tankers and bulk carriers and the equally unlovely ferries and cruise ships" (Colin Verity, p. 123) or, as John Worsley puts it, "naval ships....are more interesting than the monster tankers and container ships." (p.58) If this notion prevails and is advertised with such vigor, then the future of marine art is at a cusp, because contact with the present is lost. Can today's marine artists get away with ignoring the modern shipping world simply because the current generation of vessels is uninspiring and aesthetically unattractive? How do we know whether succeeding generations of art connoisseurs will share this view? Rather than turning backwards, marine artists ought to accept the challenge and engage themselves in recording what they see and experience themselves in their life times. If they leave the field to the non-maritime artists who lack "the madness for the seas" then it is difficult to see how the society will survive to celebrate the centenary. Some very impressive results from artists who would never regard themselves as marine artists can be seen in various collections. Marine art has to take heed not to become an antiquarian genre which glorifies the by-gone ages of sail and steam.

Roughly 150 paintings are reproduced in this book, several from the diploma collection. It is sheer delight to browse through its pages, and I cannot recall a single painting that would not have been worthy for inclusion. The Society is to be congratulated on its anniversary, but even
Lars Ulrich Scholl  
Bremerhaven, Germany


The title of Biel's book derives from a song by Alan Lomax collected in South Carolina, a long way from the scene it dramatized, a quarter of a century after the event, and an indeterminate number of years after the song was written. Dorsey Dixon sang:

> Many passengers and her crew  
> went down with that old canoe...  
> This great ship was build by man  
> that is why she could not stand...

> ...an iceberg ripped her side  
> and he cut down all her pride  
> they found the hand of God was in it  
> all... (pp. 98-99)

Biel presents and analyzes reactions like this to the sinking of the *Titanic*, in which dolorous event he shows only indirect interest, as though it could have been any singularity causing ripples and waves and disturbances for miles distant. What matters to the author is the viscosity and other properties of the medium through which the ship, not as physical, but as symbolic object, went down. Biel explores the "meaning" of the event as it has been identified and explained first in newspaper accounts starting immediately after the night of the 14-15 April 1912, through the treatment it received in song, story and film in the decades following, down to Robert Ballard's discovery of the wreck in 1985 and to the widespread currency of the expression "rearranging the deck-chairs" as a metaphor for humanity's fussy impotence in face of large uncontrollable forces, natural and historical. These reverberations, or "resonances," make up the subtitle's "cultural history of the Titanic disaster". By "culture," Biel means American culture, though beneath that there may be, for him, something called the "modern," an autonomous cultural entity which is to do with the twentieth century, with its "world" wars and its so-called "global" reach. What I miss is the longer historical current that runs from Hesiod (where you will find the original *Titans*), the *Odyssey* and the book of Jonah ("for the sea wrought, and was tempestuous against them" — Jonah 1:13) into the imagery and rhetoric of Tristan and Isolde who were "at sea" when they fell disastrously in love, and into the Norse sagas with their inexplicable westward quest, and on, finally, to the great sea literature of the romantic nineteenth century: *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* ("The ice was here, the ice was there/ the ice was all around..."), *Two Years before the Mast* and above all, *Moby Dick*, to which Biel does not refer. Nor does he mention Gerard Manley Hopkins "The Wreck of the Deutschland" (1876), whose style manages to be Victorian and "modern" simultaneously. Here is stanza 13:

> Into the snow she weeps,  
> hurling the have behind,  
> The Deutschland, on Sunday; and so  
> the sky keeps,  
> for the infinite air is unkind,  
> and the sea flint-flake, black-backed in  
> the regular blow,  
> sitting east northeast, in cursed quarter,  
> the wind;  
> wiry and white-fiery and whirlwind-swivelled snow  
> spins to the widow-making unchilding  
> unfathering deeps.

Unfortunately, the *Titanic* did not produce anything so good. What it did produce was an enormous flood of editorials, sermons, articles, manifestos, poetry, songs, books and eventually movies. By now there is a Titanic Museum (in Indian Orchard, Massachusetts), a Titanic Historical Society (5000 members) and a quarterly journal, the *Titanic Commutator*. Biel shows how all of this has from the beginning reflected persistent hopes, fears and puzzles in the minds of Americans.

The persistent themes for Biel's authors centered around whether the ship was an ill-starred splendor or an arrogant folly (a "$10,000,000 casket," wrote the Rev. Dr. Charles Parkhurst in 1912 - see p.61), whether representative of man's achievement or his pride; whether the first-class
passengers, from John Jacob Astor down, behaved well or badly; whether contemporary relations between the sexes were vindicated or confuted by the so-called "women-and-children-first" law of the sea; whether Blacks (though none was aboard) and other "marginalized" people should draw reassurance or not from the disaster; whether, in short the abiding contours of American society, whose upper-crust was white, rich, male and Protestant (the presence of rich Jews like Benjamin Guggenheim and Isidor Straus amongst those who perished only slightly complicated this picture), were reinforced or undermined by the events of that terrible night. Biel treats these matters deftly, if, at times (especially when discussing sermons) a little condescendingly.

For what divides Biel from the sermonizers is the onset of "modernism" or "modernity." This however divides in two. On one side it is godless capitalism and the "technological society"; on the other side it signifies the irony, uncertainty, anxiety and playfulness with which intellectuals have confronted the triumph of homo economics. In both, the endless dialectic of freedom — Astor "was entitled to his own opinion as to the best disposition of his money" (p.68) — and equality — "The rich refuse to ride with the poor, 'so they put the poor below,/they were the first to go'." (p.111)

I am not certain what Biel finally makes of it all. His conclusion is excessively limp: "[The disaster] has stimulated imaginative forms of engagement with present and past and performed significant, though often not admirable, cultural work. For many people and for many reasons, the memory of the disaster has seemed worth possessing. This book traces the life of an event of mythic stature...The Titanic disaster begs for resolution — and always resists it." (p.234) Perhaps finally Biel, in his effort to tell the "cultural" history of the loss of that magnificent ship, remains unsure about what a "culture" is, and therefore about what his own "culture" is (whether "academic" or journalistic or street-wise or belle lettrist). He clearly feels to be on the side of underdogs, women, immigrants, steerage passengers, blacks, the poor. But he cannot, by the very terms of the "cultural," or ethnographic, bargain, be above the struggle. I refer you to his discussion of "Shine", a folk epic about a mythical black stoker on the Titanic, a cross between Aladdin and Odysseus. Wily Shine has it within his power and cunning to save people. Academic Biel says "first-cabin women...explicitly offer him sexual favors for his help, which he refuses." The poem itself, which I am grateful to Biel for quoting verbatim, says

Shine say, "One thing about you white folks I couldn't understand:
you all wouldn't offer me that pussy
when we was all on land," (p.116)

As between "sexual favors" and "pussy" there's a cultural abyss that neither the Titanic nor Biel can bridge.

Stuart Pierson
St. John's, Newfoundland


Francis Spufford calls his book "an imaginative history of polar exploration." (p.7) Its subject is the heroic age of British polar exploration, from Franklin to Scott, treated as a cultural event where facts, emotions and imagination intersected — and still intersect. / May Be Some Time is not about what the explorers did, or how they did it, or what their geographic and scientific achievements were. It is about why they did it and why they continue to fascinate us.

Spufford brings considerable gifts of wit and judgment to his task. His portraits of a wide gallery of characters are both shrewd and compassionate. It cannot have been easy to do justice to both that good man, Edward Wilson, and that horrid old party, Sir Clements Markham, but Spufford manages. He is also able to demonstrate how much both were the children of their age and thus more than a little odd by modern standards.

Spufford's ability to display both warmth as well as a certain detachment is the great strength of his book. He is a fan of polar exploration and assumes a like-minded audience who has read the same texts he has and do not need to have "I may be some time" explained (as Spufford nowhere does). What reading Spufford brings to the texts, when revisited, is a sensitivity to how much of our response is natural and how much culturally
conditioned.

We are not, of course, our ancestors, however much space they inhabit in our heads. An important way in which we depart from earlier views of Arctic exploration is our attitude towards the Inuit. To the Victorians, the Arctic was a region cruel, bewitching and inhuman. You were a hero if you went there and came back and quite often more of a hero if you did not return; the Arctic was a measure of the human qualities that struggled so courageously against it. The Inuit, who had been successfully living in the Arctic for centuries, were thus something of a problem. The solution, according to Spufford, was to emphasize certain features of Inuit life, such as the diet of uncooked food, as "primitive" and disgusting. This done, the Inuit did not have to be taken seriously. Unfortunately, it is difficult to learn from people you do not take seriously, and this inability to learn from the Inuit had a harmful effect on British polar exploration.

Contemporary approaches to indigenous people and traditional knowledge now make it possible to bludgeon Franklin and Scott as ethnocentric incompetents whose deaths had a certain fitting inevitability. The charges against them cannot be overlooked or completely refuted. Why then do Franklin and Scott continue to be heroes? Part of the answer can not be found in Spufford's chapter on the role of women in polar exploration. As wives, mothers and members of the public they conditioned the behaviour of their wandering menfolk, exacting a kind of heroism that was moral, pure and Christian. The explorers were judged as good men more than as competent ones. Particularly appealing to women was that the constraints of polar life meant that the explorers had to display feminine virtues such as the cheerful acceptance of drudgery and the ability to get on with others, however disagreeable. Women's fondness for the men of ice and snow shows no signs of diminishing. Spufford points to Doris Lessing and Ursula K. LeGuin; Beryl Bainbridge's 1991 novel, The Birthday Boys, about Scott's last expedition, is another good example.

Another still potent attitude is the mania for relics, though today it is often cloaked under the search for "hard" evidence. Yet, as the chapter on relics makes clear, the Victorians were not indulging in morbid sentimentality when they longed to gaze upon skulls, bones and other polar detritus. To them the relics spoke of deaths "most filled with dogged meaning," (p. 173) of a humanity whose defeat had been merely physical. (I was once offered the chance to touch the McClintock document. I declined, but both the offer and the refusal speak to what a potent object in the Empire's medicine bundle this piece of paper remains.)

And so to "These rough notes and our dead bodies must tell the tale," the words of a dying man but a short step in time from becoming a relic himself. Scott and his last expedition are the culmination of this clever and generous book. Scott was the heir to his culture's view of polar exploration. He had to enact in reality all those bookish myths, and how hard that must have been in the end. "You cannot die in a story; you have to die in your body." (p.334) Courageous and determined as he was, however, Scott refused to be just an actor in the play, a victim of the myth. Writing and writing till he could write no more, Scott made himself one of the creators of the story that still "in endless ways...serves." (p.337)

Anne Morton
Winnipeg, Manitoba


This, a continuation of the first book under this title (reviewed in TNM/LMN IV, No.2), begins with a brief introduction, with tips on expanding the tool box and on kit selection. Ten of Julier's kit reviews follow: the Royal Yacht Caroline of 1749; the French frigate La Renommée (1793); an armed pinnace circa 1803; a fifteenth-century Portuguese caravel; the three-masted schooner Sir Winston Churchill; a Portuguese bomb ship Lancha Bombardiera (1798); a clinker-built rowing boat; the hermaphrodite brig Le Hussard (1848); the yacht Britannia (1893); and a frontiersman canoe. These models are reviewed in 102 pages; there is also a four-page section of colour photos of the models.

Chapter 13 is a half-page presentation on the Rate System, followed by two chapters contain-
ing eight and a half pages of model-making techniques such as carving bow and stern blocks, making gratings, alternative sail-making methods and the planking of period ship models. A brief bibliography completes the book.

To my mind any of the books listed in the albeit brief bibliography by writers such as Bellabarba and Osculati, F.H. af Chapman, R. Gardiner, Peter Goodwin, Harold M. Hahn, Brian Lavery, or John Lees would be far more worthwhile additions to one's model building library. The most valuable aspect of the book lies in its continuing insight into the deficiencies in many of the kits, including poor, non-existent or foreign documentation, poorly fitting materials and components, etc. As mentioned in my review of the earlier book, these problems have long been recognized in European kits. This book does nothing that will cause the deficiencies to be corrected. Considering the very high price of the book and the kits it so enthusiastically promotes, 

caveat emptor.

N.R. Cole
Scarborough, Ontario


The advent of hypertext technology has been a great boon to those in the business of managing and presenting information. The addition of CD-ROM drives to many home computers offers even greater potential. By creating links from one piece of information to one or several others, which can be placed wherever the programmer wishes, a hypertext system is able to go beyond the linearity of even the best-written book by organizing information in three dimensions. The user of such a system is presented with choices, sometimes in overwhelming number, about what to follow up on, and which themes, concepts and ideas to pursue further.

Carol Nauss' CD-ROM Floating Treasures uses this medium to introduce viewers to the small wooden boats of southwest Nova Scotia. The attractive packaging, with a photo of wooden boats at anchor, promises to provide users with the opportunity to watch a wooden boat being built, learn the names and positions of the sails, learn the parts of a bank dory, find out how a boat is designed, find out facts about Nova Scotia's famous boats, read historic documents on mast and sail designs, learn about well-known local boat builders, and learn sail names and ships' rigs. An introductory section emphasizes that 1996 was the "Year of the Wooden Boat" in Nova Scotia, and provides buttons for pursuing more information on topics such as "sou'wester," "scrimshaw," and "macramé." Additional on-screen buttons direct viewers to "more; menu; help; next; back; and exit". This format is followed throughout the disk. Subsequent links explore such topics as the construction of a wooden cruising boat from start to finish. On these pages, audio clips are occasionally provided with sounds of the boat being built.

Unfortunately, technology alone cannot rescue a poorly-researched and badly-designed CD-ROM. The graphics quality is substandard, particularly compared with what is readily available on web sites and other CD-ROMs. Many photos are nearly illegible because of high contrast and very low resolution. Text sometimes runs beyond the border of the text boxes, and the large font means that many lines consist of only a single word in a narrow box, leaving rivers of white at the right margin. Fonts also change from normal to bold and roman to sans-serif and back without apparent reason. The letters are of the lowest bitmap quality, and many of the colour choices are questionable, such as blue text on a purple background. Pages are poorly-designed, with text and graphics boxes too small in some cases, and crowded in others, and much of the screen space is wasted by bad layout.

Some technical terms are glossed, but others are left unexplained. Some of the explanations are questionable. The primary purpose of floor timbers, for instance, is to tie the frame heels and backbone together, and only incidentally to support the cabin sole. Some terms that are clearly regionalisms, such as the use of "hooks" for
floor timbers, are also left unexplained. In some cases, the information is just plain wrong. Lapstrake planking is by no definition "edge-joined," nor is cross-planking "a relatively new innovation to flat-bottom craft." There is also evidence throughout of sloppy proofreading, as when "rivets" become "rivers."

Some recognized multimedia conventions are not observed, either. "Back" does not necessarily return you to the previous page or link, but sometimes to another menu several steps away. Links are not always highlighted by a different colour (conventionally blue before being activated, purple afterwards). The cursor does not change to a hand or other different symbol when placed on a link, but remains as an arrow. In several places, there are programming glitches, when a button says "click to end" but does not do so. These are irksome to the experienced user, and unhelpful to the novice.

All in all, this is a disappointing product which is all the more unsatisfying for being concerned with an important topic, and brought out by a recognized regional publisher. It is apparent that we all collectively have much to learn about how best to use the substantial technology now at our disposal to preserve, study and communicate information. This CD-ROM is a good example of the high standard of content that the new media require if they are to be successful.

John Summers
Etobicoke, Ontario


Lesley Choyce has taken on the task of writing a "digestible" account, with comment and admitted bias, of the natural and man-made history of Nova Scotia. It is presented in the form of an anthology of essays on a variety of subject matter which highlight selected aspects of the social, political and economic history of Nova Scotia. This format results in an acceptable, but not quite chronological, arrangement of material. On the other hand, the author's reliance upon contemporary "pseudo-" and mini-histories for much of his source material was a big mistake. Indeed, the earliest reference in the "Selected Bibliography" is Phyllis Blakely's *Nova Scotia: A Brief History.* (1995); the title tells all. For other material, Choyce relies on the ramblings of Will R. Bird, the historical novels of Thomas H. Raddall and similar tales. The results are self-evident.

As an example, the author retells Archibald MacMechan's story of "Rudder" Churchill, complete with that author's embellishments. Unfortunately, Choyce has not only adopted MacMechan's flights of fantasy, but at one point he has the ship Research unaccountably maintaining a westerly course across the Atlantic. (A more factual account of the voyage can, of course, be found in Frederick William Wallace's *Wooden Ships and Iron Men.*) Of even greater concern is Choyce's dependence on works of politically motivated writers, people with specific agendas and a distinct bias, which he has used as source material in the essays relative to natives, blacks, women and social reform. Thus, in an essay on the Micmac Indians, the author paraphrases the pseudo-history currently in vogue and adopts the "Euro-centric racism" jargon of native activists.

Amidst the nautical content, the author somehow attributes Sebastian Cabot's description of the Labrador Coast and its "many white bears" to Nova Scotia. The chapter entitled "The Golden Age of Sail" is fraught with such errors and misinformation as bespeak but the most casual knowledge of maritime matters, including nautical terminology. A ship's captain is described as a "master sailor," we find reference to a mysterious "Nova Scotia sailing industry" and read that, by the 1890s (one of the busiest and most productive decades in our coastal shipping industry), the "smaller harbour communities felt isolated and abandoned." Elsewhere, it is noted that the famous Gloucester fishing schooner Columbia was not a "regular working sailing ship," when in fact, she had already completed two successful trips to Sable Island Bank for halibut by September 1923.

Given the wealth of original source material available, it is hard to excuse so many errors and it would take a great deal of space to list even the more obvious ones. Recourse to one's library will reveal others, less evident, such as the erroneous implication that Thomas Cantley was the owner of the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company, when in fact he was General Manager, and far from being the "shaky steel plant" Choyce de-
scribes, the company was supplying almost half of the steel consumed in Canada as early as 1912. As to be expected from an award-winning author, this book is well-written. However, it has no value as far as its content is concerned. How could it be otherwise, when the author admits "an inherent distrust of history as it is presented to us" and does not believe there is such a thing as "objective history". His statement that he has "Attempted to tell the story as truthfully as (he) could" becomes irrelevant, when followed by Samuel Johnson's "Every man has a right to utter what he thinks is truth." What a wonderful excuse for a litany of errors and the sanitization of recorded history in support of the agenda of special interest groups.

The photograph on the dust jacket offered an excellent clue as to what might be expected. It shows a line of "Tall Ships," led by the Bounty, chugging merrily along under power, against the wind, with their sails flattened back across their masts and rigging.

Robin Wyllie
East LaHave, Nova Scotia


I did not read this book! It contains 762 pages of entries such as: "HILTON, CAPT. JOSEPH, son Capt. David 2d, m. 1843, Nov., Matilda Hilton, dau. Capt. John 2d; lost at sea, 1846, July, and had: 1844, Nov. 25, Joseph H.; 1847, March, William J." This is followed by a 184-page index. As its title suggests, this is a collection of genealogies and is therefore not meant to be "read." Being neither a genealogist nor an archivist I have had to rely on the comments of others for parts of this review. I have however used this book in my own research and so can make some first-hand comments on its value.

George Stayley Brown was born in Yarmouth in 1827. Educated in Yarmouth and later Harvard University, he became a shipowner, a major businessman in Yarmouth, and served in Nova Scotia's House of Assembly and as a magistrate. In 1888 he published Yarmouth, Nova Scotia: A Sequel to Campbell's History, one of three major histories of Yarmouth County. Between 1896 and 1909 Brown published a series of some 110 genealogies of Yarmouth families (most of which were of New England descent) in The Yarmouth Herald; these have now been transcribed to form this book. They are useful genealogies; for many years, the archives at the Yarmouth County Museum has used photocopies of the original newspaper columns. However, the staff has always urged researchers to use caution when using the genealogies, and the same caveat applies to this book.

Basically it is a good place to begin a genealogical search, but to be accurate, the researcher must find proof of the facts elsewhere. My archival colleague, Laura Bradley, tells me that this caution is even more essential with the book because additional mistakes have been made when the publishers transcribed the newspaper columns. Another local archivist concurs, stating that this is "not a very good transcription" and feels that the index is the best part of the book; he looks up a name then goes to the photocopies of the original newspaper series for his research. In the preface, the editors indicate that "The copies we worked from were faded and hard to read in many places, and we apologize for any errors resulting therefrom or from typographical errors we may have introduced ourselves. Wherever possible, when questions of legibility arose, we checked one source against the other." When there were such problems, why did they not consult the original papers, most of which are available in the Yarmouth County Museum Archives? Let us hope that if the book is reprinted, they will do so.

While carrying out some research recently I wanted to establish the relationship between Capt. Evelyn E. Robbins, master of the ship Lillian L. Robbins, and John Y. Robbins, a major owner of the vessel. No Evelyn E. Robbins appeared in the index of this book, but there was an Evelyn C. Robbins listed in two places (once as a captain). This person was in fact Evelyn E. Robbins.

This book is reviewed here because it includes a certain amount of nautical material. Thus, we learn that the aforementioned Evelyn E. Robbins had a grandfather who was a sea captain
and had three brothers who were also captains. Four brothers, including one of the captains, were lost at sea. And yet, while the book does provide the names of the vessels as well as the dates, there are no vessel names in the index! Nautical researchers should therefore stick to The Record of the Shipping of Yarmouth, N.S. (Yarmouth, 1876), its Appendix (Yarmouth, 1884) and Yarmouth Reminiscences (Yarmouth, 1902), all, incidentally, by J. Murray Lawson, editor and publisher of The Yarmouth Herald when George Brown was producing his genealogical series.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, the book is a monumental work which took years to compile from sources which, in some cases, may no longer be extant. Genealogical researchers owe a great deal to the dedicated work of George S. Brown and to the Genealogical Publishing Company which has reprinted his columns in this book. While there are problems in using it, archivists do find this book an excellent "place to start" genealogical research of Yarmouth's "old" families of New England descent. Thus the book does belong on the shelves of any good genealogical archives concerned with Nova Scotian family history, and particularly in the private libraries of those who trace their ancestry to the "English" of Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia.

Eric J. Ruff
Yarmouth, Nova Scotia


Gender questions are explored and debated in many fields of research. Gender approach has shaken old paradigms, including those in maritime research where it has refreshed discussion. The two books reviewed here are new contributions to the ongoing rewriting of maritime history and the debate about gender and seafaring.

Iron Men, Wooden Women is the more academic of the two and includes many valuable and well written articles, though some exhibit quite problematic overstatements. Marcus Rediker's article is actually composed of two different parts that form an unstable whole. The first part is a solid and detailed description of the destinies of two female pirates. The second is a highly hypothetical speculation in the field of art history, in which, for instance, Rediker argues that the composition of the famous painting by Delacroix, "Liberty Leading the People," is derived from woodcuts representing female pirates that were published in several editions of A General History of the Pyrates. In her essay, Dianne Dugaw probably makes conclusions about the role of female sailors in male disguise that are far-reaching. This tiny minority was probably not at the centre of the process of defining gender and class. On the other hand, some interesting contributions discuss female experiences of seafaring. Ruth Wallis Herndon and Lisa Norling provide insight into the shore-side problems of seafaring. Haskell Springer and Margaret S. Creighton analyze the domestic aspects of sea voyages. Lisa Norling shows how many women were able to take care of "male responsibilities" while their husbands were off voyaging, while Creighton claims that even in all-male settings aboard ship, there was also femininity.

The editors of Iron Men, Wooden Women try to challenge "the characterization of maritime enterprise as strictly male," with the result that masculinity is somehow pushed to the sidelines in this book. Sometimes this means that some of the articles go more or less beyond the subtitle Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World 1700-1920. Thus, gender and race are the focal points in two very insightful articles of this volume. W. Jeffrey Bolster and Laura Tabili each analyze how the interplay between seafaring and race changed over time, although Tabili's article, "A Maritime Race. Masculinity and the Racial Division of Labor in British Merchant Ships 1900-1939," extends beyond the geographical and temporal limits of its subtitle. Egalitarian potenti-
alities of seafaring life disappeared as ships became places of stricter racial segregation. Masculinity and femininity in Joseph Conrad's metaphors of seafaring is the focus of an article by Lilian Nayder. Unfortunately Melody Graulich's article (which may well be an important contribution to literary criticism), "Opening Windows toward the Sea," is also part of this volume. Seafaring is hardly a reference point at all in this article.

While the contents of Iron Men, Wooden Women are mainly of high quality and based on solid work, Female Tars is in many ways a disappointment. Although Suzanne Stark describes women aboard ships in a number of different settings and also extends her interest to sexuality and cross-dressing, this book will probably not find "ready acceptance in women's studies courses" as Nathan Miller maintains it will on the back cover of the book. Stark has interesting material and discusses essential questions, but in the end she makes quite a mess of it all. It is probably quite difficult to develop an analysis about women aboard ship in the age of sail in just two hundred pages, but even so, a clearer structure and periodization could have helped the author in her work. Thus, in the opening two chapters, Stark jumps about so wildly in time and space that it is difficult to link her detailed and moralizing descriptions to general developments in seafaring or to changes in wider society. Thus, changes in prostitution and the female presence on the lower deck at sea and in port are not analyzed. The third chapter is much better. Here Stark examines cases of women in disguise in the Royal Navy. The final chapter is a mini-biography of Mary Lacy, alias William Chandler.

Stark's book is evidence of how a journalistic and sensational approach can attempt to discuss important questions. Yet it is also proof that writing history is a skill that does not develop in a short period of time. The contributors to Iron Men, Wooden Women have, with greater skill, opened the discussion about the way in which seafaring history must be rewritten, if gender is to be included in the analysis.

Tapio Bergholm
Helsinki, Finland


Roald Kverndal's book on the origin of British and American seamen's missions has had ample time to establish itself as the classic of the field. Published ten years ago, it still stands out as a remarkable tour de force and arouses an interest tinged with curiosity. What is this classic like, for the general maritime reader who has so far noted it only as a reference in more recent research?

One is first impressed by the book's sheer size. With over six hundred pages of text, ample appendices, an extensive bibliography and an amazing total of 2,666 footnotes, Seamen's Missions commands awe-inspired respect as a piece - if that's the word — of laborious research, all the more so since the sources have been fragmentary, dispersed in what the author himself calls "singularly scattered archives and repositories." (p.xxvi)

Next, one notices, with a sense of pleasant surprise, that the text is both fluent and eminently readable, despite its colossal size. The early days of seamen's missions in Britain and America are analyzed in a detailed and yet lucid way, as Kverndal has an enviable knack of making the minutes of a multitude of voluntary societies yield their essential information in an interesting form. He is particularly good in transmitting to the reader something of the enthusiasm of the pioneers of the seamen's missions, notably that of the "father" of the modern-day seamen's mission movement, George Charles Smith.

The book follows a chronological plan, starting off with a background-setting chapter on the early forms of ministry to seafarers and beginning in earnest its task of mapping the emergence and early growth of institutionally organized seamen's missions from the British naval awakening between 1779 and 1814. Then comes an analysis of the Bethel movement in 1814-1818, and after that are charted the winding paths of metropolitan, provincial, competing, and merging, non-denominational and denominational voluntary societies, catering to the spiritual and...
temporal needs of the seafarer in Britain until about the mid-century.

Kverndal next turns to the birth of seamen's missions in America between 1812 and 1864. The final chapter is an analysis of the theology of the maritime missions, while the emergence of organized Nordic Seamen's Missions is recounted in an addendum. In fact the founding of the Norwegian Seamen's Mission in 1864 marked the end of the Anglo-American hegemony and the beginning of what Kverndal calls the continental phase of the seamen's mission movement.

The book is a gold-mine of information on the activities of the various societies in the field, while it also provides, for those not interested in seamen's missions as such, a comprehensive picture of the contribution early forms of seamen's missions made to seafarers' temporal welfare. Here, as Kverndal notes, the concerns and plans of the maritime diaconate often preceded and in some measure prompted ultimate government action, by the provision of, for instance, reading rooms, good lodging houses and eventually entire well-provisioned Sailors' Institutions.

The book also helps in appreciating the role of religion in life of nineteenth-century seafarers, although the overall mental framework in which the book considers seamen's living conditions and surroundings largely coincides with that of the early seamen's pastors, whose religious fundamentals Kverndal, himself a former seafarer's chaplain, clearly shares. Moreover, his is a view of history which is partly non-historical in the sense that the Spirit is counted among its prime movers. The Bethel movement, for instance, with its distinctive star and dove-flag and evenings of itinerant shipboard prayer-meetings, was ultimately "not only divine in origin; it was also divine in direction." (p. 193)

Kverndal sees the Naval and Military Bible Society of 1779 as the precursor of organized maritime mission in Britain. This and other scripture-distributing societies paved the way for the Thames revival and the Bethel movement, which in their turn prepared the ground for the world's first fully appropriated seamen's floating church, the Ark, off the Wapping New Stairs in 1818. In the course of the 1820s were founded the first national society in Britain, G. C. Smith's the British and Foreign Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union, the first posts of seamen's pastors and the first shore-based Mariners' churches. By mid-century, the long internecine strife between two competing non-denominational organizations had finally ground to an end, to the demise of Smith's organization. By then, a late-comer to the field, the Anglican church, was also organizing its own Missions to Seamen.

Kverndal takes care to identify all sorts of "firsts" in the development of seamen's missions. While this is at times a bit irksome for the general reader, it can nevertheless be understood in a book aiming at, and succeeding in, being a reference work. Occasionally, too, one wonders whether it might not be unduly restrictive to write history from the end-result backwards, as it were, with the modern-day organized seamen's missions as the clear ultimate goal and everything along the way interpreted in terms of progress towards that goal. Kverndal's research is, however, impeccably argued and reasoned throughout the massive volume, and maybe it should also be noted that its picture research, seems to have been as impeccably done as the rest of the book.

It is a pity, though, that Kverndal stopped, undoubtedly for reasons of work economy, at about 1864, leaving the story of the seamen's missions only half told. One would have wished to read the rest of the story, too, in Kverndal's informative and highly interesting way of writing.

Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen
Helsinki, Finland


David Selvin has had a long and distinguished career in maritime labour. While perhaps best known for more than three decades' service as editor of the influential journal Northern California Labor, he also worked for the National Longshoremen's Board and the Pacific Coast Labor Bureau. The latter two posts are particularly relevant to his new book, for they gave him a first-hand view of the 1934 San Francisco Maritime Strike and a unique perspective on events on the Bay Area waterfront. In particular, they helped him to understand the impulses that
underlay this acrimonious dispute. These insights in turn led him to write this necessary corrective to previous interpretations. Indeed, A Terrible Anger might have had an even greater impact had the author concentrated less on the narrative and more on his central argument.

The main weakness of the volume, unfortunately, is the ninety-five percent or so given over to describing the daily events between May and July 1934. While these have an undeniably dramatic quality — especially the appalling clashes on "Bloody Thursday" (5 July) — for the most part what happened is well known to students of American labour history, especially as they melded into the even more famous General Strike. What Selvin adds is some insight into the human side of the dispute, gained mainly through interviews he conducted for arbitration hearings immediately after the men returned to work. Yet he uses these more sparingly than one might wish, instead relying heavily upon standard secondary sources and newspapers for the bulk of his evidence. This strategy is disappointing; as much of the material will be old hat to many historians of dockside labour. As well, Selvin is less successful at interpreting the relationship between events on the waterfront and the ensuing General Strike than might be desirable, although ironically he does an excellent job of placing San Francisco's quayside concerns in the context of labour unrest on the Pacific coast in general.

But if Selvin adds little to our understanding of what happened, he is much more successful at providing a convincing argument about why it occurred. To the extent that there is a consensus about the origins of the strike, it is that labour radicals — especially Communists — played a major role, either in fomenting unrest or at the very least as organizers. That avowed Communists like Harry Bridges played key roles is undeniable, yet Selvin presents a wealth of evidence that suggests strongly that the main grievances — demands for a union hiring hall and coast-wide bargaining — were part of a long-term West Coast tradition stretching back well before World War I. Moreover, by comparing union demands with those advocated in the pages of the Waterfront Worker, the organ of the Communist-dominated Maritime Workers Industrial Union, he shows that the Communist program was far more cautious than the indigenous impulse, which had its historic roots in the early days of the International Longshoremen's Association. As well, Selvin successfully links the timing of the dispute to New Deal-inspired encouragements to workers. In short, Selvin's cogent argument seems much more congruent with reality than the alternative. It is a significant corrective to more myopic studies that deflect attention away from authentic workers' concerns toward the classic red herring of undue Communist influence.

On balance, A Terrible Anger is worth reading. If the events in San Francisco were not the "precursors" to the more widespread labour unrest of the 1930s, as Selvin seems to contend, they were nonetheless important milestones in labour's struggle for respect and recognition. The most important virtue of the volume, however, is in the sophisticated way that Selvin handles his causal argument. If all maritime labour history were this sensitive, we would have a far better understanding of developments in this crucial and often troubled sector of the marine economy.

Lewis R. Fischer
St. John's, Newfoundland


This book grew out of a symposium on "North Atlantic Fisheries History c. 1100-1976" held on the Icelandic Westman Islands in 1995. The purpose of the conference was to bring together a "select number of scholars active in this field" who were instructed to "analyze and discuss the utilization of resources in the Northern Seas through five hundred years in the interplay of native and foreign production, technological innovation, settlement patterns, organization of trade, and rivalry between states."

Given the sheer magnitude and scope of the task and the fact that those invited were only given "short notice," it is not surprising that the quality of the individual essays varies considerably. All ten papers, as a minimum, provide national overviews (Iceland, Faroe Island, Greenland, Holland, British Isles, Norway, Western
Sweden and Denmark), with thematic underpinnings (mainly cod fisheries, but also whaling, sealing, herring and other lesser operations), and utilize historiographic formats. The selections in this book, though varying in quality in terms of technical detail, clarity of presentation and readability, are generally comprehensive, well documented, and have useful commentaries on sources. Attempts to place the evolution of national fisheries in an international context, however, sometimes weaken the reader's confidence in the overall quality of domestic analysis and scholarship. Doret Bloch's "Whaling in the Faroe Islands, 1584-1994: an Overview," for example, provides misinformation on the role of Norwegians and other Europeans in the nineteenth century development of the modern phase of commercial whaling, has Basques whaling off Baffin Island in the sixteenth century, and incorrectly identifies the origins of shore-station whaling in Newfoundland and Labrador.

On a more positive note, several of the papers go beyond simple survey and description. Axel Kjar Sorenson's "Fishing by the Greenlanders," and Pål Christenson and Alf Ragner Neilssen's "Norwegian Fisheries 1100-1970: Main Developments," identify thematic and chronological weaknesses which require additional study, while Poul Holm, in his investigation of the Danish fisheries, is the only contributor to offer suggestions as to how particular data, such as catches and manpower statistics, might be used to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the evolution of specific fisheries.

The most important North Atlantic fisheries, those conducted by the Dutch and the British, receive the most detailed and thorough treatment. Jaap Bruijn's excellent historiographic description and explanation of the complicated evolutionary patterns and processes of the three main branches of the Dutch fisheries successfully addresses the importance of technological change. It also offers a comprehensive overview, organized both thematically and chronologically, of existing research and important sources. Just as impressive is Robb Robinson and David Starkey's "The Sea Fisheries of the British Isles, 1376-1976: A Preliminary Survey," although whaling, an important theme of the conference and most of the other papers is omitted because the industry was "a producer of oil rather than food." They carefully construct, from an economic perspective, a detailed outline of the development of sea fishing in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland in the last six centuries and conclude with "some tentative suggestions as to the chief weaknesses in the literature." The scale and scope of Robinson and Starkey's essay most clearly indicates just how complex (and perhaps unrealistic) were the goals set by the organizers of this founding conference.

Given the ambitious objective of the symposium, problems of timing, and perhaps most importantly the varying degrees of control individual contributors had over their assigned topics, it is surprising that the quality of the majority of the essays is so high. Nevertheless, there is still a serious imbalance which is not addressed. This collection demanded a strong introduction to tie the whole together. Perhaps constrained by the same difficulties which confronted participants, the editors in their short introduction argue the need of a focused consideration of a previously neglected topic, identify the broad objectives of the conference, and briefly discuss problems which will confront the new association. Treatment of individual essays is cursory and appears primarily to be aimed at justifying the selection of topics and contributors, rather than addressing the substance, fact and quality of the actual presentations. The "introduction" thus lacks the clarity, breadth, coherence and comprehensiveness needed to make this book either adequate or convincing. This, unfortunately, is a missed opportunity, for there is a great deal to recommend this volume to researchers interested in "North Atlantic Fisheries."

Chesley W. Sanger
St. John's, Newfoundland


This is a sociological and economic account of the changes in the tuna industry that have transpired over the past several decades, and the influences that environmental concerns about
fishing practices have had on the fishing industry. The book comprises three initial chapters on general socio-economic conditions that have characterized the transformation of many aspects of the world economy from a Fordist state to global post-Fordism, and the consequences to states, industries, and people. As a fisheries scientist, I found these chapters hard-going, but I hung on through what seemed to be substantial jargon (there is Fordism, Taylorism, in addition to the better known Marxism, Keynesianism, conservatism, feminism, and environmentalism). I am glad that I did. For what follows in Chapters 4 through 7 is an intriguing and very convincing description of how the tuna industry has been radically changed in the past few decades by the interactions of environmental interests and the new economic order in the world.

In that new order, industries seek out the cheapest (not necessarily the best) means of production, which invariably translates into low technology industries, such as fish processing, moving to countries where wages are low and workers have few rights. The most disturbing part from my perspective is the keen description the authors make on how industry can do an end-run around environmental laws (such as the Marine Mammals Protection Act and attempts to make dolphin-friendly tuna the only tuna available), by nefarious means, such as reflagging vessels, moving factories, and actually selling off assets and companies to owners situated where environmental laws are lax or non-existent. The authors make the very strong point that to be effective, environmental conservation must meet the Internationalism that is growing among industries head-on with international environmental laws, and that any individual state, even the most powerful such as the USA, cannot on their own pass effective legislation to truly protect legitimate environmental concerns or the concerns of their citizens. Industry and commerce will simply do an end run, even to the extent of "Tuna laundering" so that the origin of the product is uncertain and difficult to trace.

This book is primarily written for students of socio-economic matters. There is no attempt to dilute it for students of fisheries science. Yet, intentionally or not, the authors make a convincing case that management of the world's ocean resources must take into account the economic realities of industry and the changing world economy. In recent times, the international tuna industry has effectively out-maneuvered national legislation aimed at conservation of marine resources. Under global post-Fordism, states do not have the power they once had to legislate conservation, even within their own jurisdictions. For fish products taken from international waters, or dependent on an international market, only international environmental actions are likely to be effective. I would recommend this book to anyone interested in the fate of the world's ocean fisheries, and the potential for world scale tragedies of the commons. Although the authors address only the tuna industry, I find it difficult to believe that these species will be the only ones subject to the changes brought on by the global economy, and the patterns of socio-economic change that are well described by Bonanno and Constance. I will have my graduate students in fisheries science read this book as part of their education on the realities of world fisheries, and would advise others to do the same.

George A. Rose
St. John's, Newfoundland


The failure of so many of Atlantic Canada's fisheries during the 1990s has provoked a broad search for new ways to manage the fishing industry. The nine papers in this small book are contributions to this emerging debate by a group of economists and a mathematician. First presented at the 1994 meeting of the Canadian Economics Association, in most cases it would have been better if that was also their last appearance.

The book begins well enough with a survey by Noel Roy of probable causes of the collapse of the northeast Newfoundland, or "northern," cod stock, once Canada's largest. He stresses the interaction of multiple problems rather than a single cause, while also emphasizing the failure of government managers to allow for uncertainties in the information available to them. William Schrank then summarizes repeated federal gov-
government failures since the 1960s to reduce the acknowledged excessive dependence of capital, labour, and communities on Atlantic Canada's fisheries. He correctly points out that human demands on the resources are still not in balance with their productivity; even the current crisis has failed to compel the politicians (or their electorates) to fix this basic, underlying problem.

Sadly, the only other contribution that can be recommended in its entirety is Paul MacGillivray's brief summary of the management of the British Columbian halibut fleet, from 1991 to 1993, using Individual Fishing Quotas. In their paper, Dan Lane and Halldor Palsson do raise the interesting point that continued, limited groundfish fisheries around the Atlantic coast would not have involved significantly more risk to the resource than did the complete closures introduced in 1992-93. They err, however, in assuming that the data from such fisheries would have been valuable in on-going analysis of the resources; data from a severely-reduced fishery are simply not comparable with those from previous fishing. They also miss the political near-impossibility of drastically cutting a major cod fishery without completely closing it.

Quentin Grafton offers a useful summary of experience with Individual Transferable Quotas, the current state-of-the-art in fisheries management, though it is one lacking in any mention of the arguments against them. Diane Dupont's summary of license limitation in the British Columbia salmon and herring and the Atlantic lobster fisheries is useful, though she misunderstands the groundfish fisheries. Gordon Munro's perspective on international management of transboundary (or "straddling") stocks is timely. His analytical solution to the problems raised is, however, naive in the extreme.

Otherwise, these papers display an alarming ignorance of Atlantic Canada's fisheries, of fisheries dynamic theory and of the limitations of abstract economic concepts as guides to public policy-making. Their low point is an attempt to calculate the numbers of harp seals in the northwest Atlantic from 1977 to 1991, using a BASIC program with only twenty-one lines of code and twenty-eight data points (if only it were that easy!). It is not at all obvious to this reviewer why professional academics would choose to write on topics about which they clearly know so little. Such pontificating by professors of economics as fills these pages would be a matter of great concern if there were any chance that their advice would be heeded by government. Perhaps fortunately, there is not.

Considering its erudite authorship, much of the text is introductory in nature and relatively easy reading, at least for those not irritated by frequent errors. The book does, however, have a scatter of mathematics, in part too advanced for this reviewer, which may deter some readers. In any event, only those who are determined to maintain an exhaustive library collection need add this book to their holdings.

Trevor Kenchington
Musquodoboit Harbour, Nova Scotia


This is a book which takes as its fundamental position the belief that the forces of "economic development" (by which the author means rapid growth in a late capitalist market economy) are the real enemy in the global fisheries crisis, and that existing models of sustainability and conservation are doomed to failure because they are framed within, instead of set against, these forces. The author argues that aggressive confrontation of "modern economy" [sic] is essential if the root of the problem is to be attacked and the global destruction of fish communities, and marginalised human communities of artisanal fishers, is to be halted. In the last chapter we are told that resistance to globalization, and the creation of "sea claims" (like the "land claims" of aboriginal peoples) is necessary and no less impractical than "putting 50,000 people out of work because of the écologie [sic] collapse of the North Atlantic Cod" or "rattling around inside an intellectual ruin called economic development." (pp. 159-60)

Rogers has a valuable perspective to offer in his critique of ocean fisheries management as it operates under late capitalism, but his case is seriously marred by a certain political naivete and, irritatingly, by serious errors of style, presen-
tation, and even grammar (singular nouns with plural verbs, confused tenses and the like). Too often the book asserts rather than demonstrates; it is replete with personifications that do not work ("capital theory" does not put too much pressure on the natural world: people do); and it is very badly organised. For example, after 130 pages of discussing common property we are finally told that the author is going to "clarify some of the confusion surrounding the use of the term. There then follows some quite valuable discussion, but it should have come much, much sooner.

That said, there is some very useful material in this book. Chapter 3 deals extremely well with the way in which government management has moved from seeing fish as common property to dealing with it as public property which the state must manage, to the recent thrust to privatizing it in order to preserve the resource while costing government less. Chapter 4 on fishery science in the northwest Atlantic contains a fine explanation and discussion of the arcana of stock assessment models past and present: how they are calculated, their problems and difficulties. Chapter 5, though weaker, points to the parallels between European enclosure movements and privatization of the fisheries with the consequent marginalization of human communities and Rogers observes sadly that, "although coastal zones were nationalised, it is clear that national mandates are increasingly serving...global realities, rather than resisting them" (p. 125) — nice point.

We are told (p.28, fn.9) that this book was "the case study" for an already published volume on general considerations about the economy and the natural world (Nature and the Crisis of Modernity, Black Rose, 1994); in fact it swings back and forward between the fishery and more general observations, reading more like a dissertation in draft form — with problems of placement of examples, arguments and references still somewhat unresolved and bibliographic references incomplete and occasionally mis-spelt (a pity in an otherwise good bibliography) — than a finished publication. We are left with an impression of a pot-pourri of opinions rather than a sustained argument, and that is a shame and the result of very poor editing. In this age of "efficiency," it might have served Black Rose Books better to have put some money into careful editing of an inherently saleable book on a "hot topic" rather than cut costs and suffer the market reaction that must, given the laws of capitalism, surely follow.

Rosemary E. Ommer
St. John's, Newfoundland


Larry Chowning's book is a journalistic rendering of the wide range of fisheries traditions to be found in the Chesapeake Bay. It provides details about particular fishing tools and technologies as well as general reminiscences of life in bygone eras. Chesapeake Legacy, then, is a primary source document filled with informant interviews. It is also a book for the general reader who is interested in a straightforward telling of how people made (and make) a living in this particular maritime culture.

Chowning does not organize his book along any particular theme, but rather provides a journalistic presentation of thirty different topics, each standing on their own in separate chapters. The book resembles a collection of newspaper columns, each giving voice to particular people, describing specific practices. These descriptions give a human side to fisheries research, research that often emphasizes sweeping trends and economic fluctuations rather than the contributions and skills of ordinary individuals.

Chesapeake Legacy is a useful source for many topics. There is a wealth of detail here on the actual objects related to specific fisheries — from shaft tongs and oyster baskets to rope fenders and clam rakes. Detailed descriptions of fishing practices are another subject for researchers, from shad planking to catching catfish in hoop nets, setting pound stakes to conch dragging.

Besides the actual descriptions of a wide range of fisheries technologies, the other useful component of the book is the specific commentary: the narratives told by the men and women familiar with their traditions. Here the reader can find the actual phrasings used to describe a particular process — often together with general reminiscences on the region's history. Researchers interested in how ordinary people construct their
The Northern Mariner

past will find here a wealth of data. While the author provides little or no comment about such perceptions (he obviously looks romantically on a golden age of the Bay), the student of ethnohistory will discover much that is useful to compare with other regions and occupations.

One can be dismissive of books such as Chowning's as lacking analytical rigour or critical analysis. Yet, understanding the purposes of this book makes these shortcomings unimportant. The author is a spokesperson who shares a common vision with those he interviews and describes. In part, many aspects of the regional fishery are declining, partly because of changing markets, partly because of innovations in technology. Yet, this change is in many ways simply criticized with a romantic nostalgia. Many of the traditions described in this book have not declined but, rather, have evolved. Airplanes now are used to spot menhaden; bottom-line crab pots were developed in the 1980s as a more efficient harvesting technology. In many ways, then, this is not a book simply about declining traditions, but one on how adaptations in various inshore fisheries have occurred.

Larry Chowning's book is important for the unpretentious purpose for which it was written: the documentation of ordinary fishermen and women in their everyday context. He does so simply, usually in their own words. The numerous photographs are excellent, and add an artistic rather than simply an illustrative dimension to the volume. Obviously those who gave freely of their knowledge would be proud of this lucid and straightforward account. The author's lack of theoretical axes to grind may frustrate the academic who is certain that some "ism" can explain it all. But finally the humanity of those portrayed makes this book an insightful account.

Chesapeake Legacy, then, is an informative sketch of a maritime culture and its daily workings through which the reader acquires a general sense not just of details but of many of the values and beliefs that surround life on the water in this region. Here, then, lies the success of the book, a success that makes this a valuable addition to those studies of how men and women adapt to the ever changing demands of an inshore fishery.

Gerald L. Pocius
St. John's, Newfoundland


First published in 1981, the reissue of this book will be welcomed by historians and ethnologists of fishing and maritime trade in British inshore waters. The book focuses on the west coast of Scotland in the vicinity of the Firth of Clyde, including Arran, Bute, Kintyre, Loch Fyne, and the Ayrshire coast, and deals particularly with the Campbeltown and Tarbert as the main centres of the ring-netting industry.

The author gives a lively treatment of the historical development of a method of catching herring that was, until the 1970s, the principal rival to drift-netting. Unlike the drift-net, which, once set, is a passive technique that depends upon the fish swimming into the curtain of stationary netting and getting stuck by the gills in the meshes, ring-netting was an active hunting technique. Ring-netting was a hybrid form of beach-seining and was also, in some of its variants, an early form of pair trawling. The ring-net was carried aboard a skiff; the skiff's crew searched the waters for signs of herring and sought to encircle the shoals they found. The net could be hauled either by making one end of the net fast to the shore and hauled from the shore-end, or two skiffs could work together in deeper waters to encircle the shoal and brail the catch aboard. There was a great deal of rivalry between the drift net fisherman and the ring-netters, and the history of the technique was turbulent, involving violent disputes between the fishermen and between the fishermen and government authorities who, ultimately with little success, attempted to outlaw ring-netting in order to protect the interests of the drift-netters and merchants.

The book gives a fine, well-illustrated account of the material culture associated with ring-netting, the technical knowledge involved in the deployment of the fishing equipment, and the lore of navigation and fish-finding. Much of this information is derived from the oral accounts of men who had been ring-net fishermen in the years before World War I, when the technique was pursued form open boats under oar and sail, without the benefit of any mechanical navigational aids. The author's crisply-drawn vignettes
of life aboard the skiffs, and of the progress of the seasons, and of the fishermen's lives ashore, are revealing of a hard and unforgiving existence, one that called for great physical stamina and a resigned acceptance of wide and unpredictable swings of fortune between prosperity and poverty for individuals, families, and whole communities. The ring-net fisherman's working life could be brutal and short, and, since most were landless, emigration from profoundly rural areas where they lived was high during the periodic depressions in the fishery.

In his preface the author expresses regret that he did not delve very deeply into the fishermen's family organization, or in the very important part played by their womenfolk in making ends meet and thus ensuring the material and social conditions of reproduction down the generations in these communities. Also, little is said about the importance of kinship and the use of social connections in mutual aid, recruitment to crews and work groups, and cooperation between families and fishing crews. As other more recent studies of fishing life have shown, these are important considerations where resources are predictably scarce periodically and competition for valued goods is intense.

Nevertheless, the book is a fine example of its genre and of its time. It is packed with technical detail about a mode of livelihood that has now vanished completely, drawn mainly from the accounts of those who had first-hand experience of it. Alas, twenty-five years on, the number of people who could still give accounts of this way of life in the age of oar and sail has dwindled even further. Such a study can never again be repeated, and this book is therefore a valuable document that deserves a place in any library collection on British maritime history.

Reginald Byron
Swansea, Wales


In the nineteenth century the small ports and harbours of Great Britain thrived with the growing carrying trade which followed on the establishment of small local industry and the expansion of population in those areas which had a hinterland rich in metal ores, stone, slate, china clay, coal and so forth. Much the same process, of course, took place in North America, using much the same sorts of vessel — in the early part of the century brigs and brigantines, then schooners of various kinds. The schooner became almost universal in eastern North America half a century or more before it was established, together with the ketch (which was not widely adopted in North America) as the rig of choice in Britain.

Ships of North Cornwall deals exhaustively with the history of one such small port, Padstow on the north Cornish coast, and its 'creeks' or outports and shipping places. It is when dealing with the nineteenth century that the author is at his best. Chapters on this period deal with the shipbuilders, the square-rigged St. Lawrence lumber and emigrant vessels, the general trades of the 1800s (under the perhaps rather unfortunate title of "The Roaring Days of Sail"), and the principal seafaring families and their ships. These chapters are packed with information of strongly regional interest, though the shipping activities described are typical of those of a number of Westcountry ports of the period. Later chapters bring the story up to date in the late twentieth century and deal with the port's participation in naval affairs. There is a bibliography, a list of references and three very adequate indices. The book is comprehensively illustrated and is very nicely produced, much in the style of the volumes of Conway's History of the Ship.

With a work of love on this scale there are inevitably some matters for discussion. Of particular interest to Canadian readers will be the chapter on the emigrant trade to Quebec. This trade in the west of England was usually a by-product of the lumber business and the emigrants were not a principal object of trade but a low freight back cargo for vessels which would otherwise have been largely empty. The extent to which this was true of Padstow and the extent of lumber imports from the St. Lawrence does not receive detailed examination — indeed the reader is left with the impression that the emigrant trade existed as an end in itself. This may have been so of Padstow but if so this would have been most unusual. There are occasional slips in the use of
nautical terminology and the account of medieval shipping is perhaps not quite up to the standard of the later parts of the book. For instance there is no discussion of the North Cornish Crane Godrevy graffiti with their startlingly accurate depictions of medieval cogs.

Nevertheless, the major part of this work is an important contribution to the maritime history of the county of Cornwall. The author deals comprehensively with many aspects of the maritime activities of the northern section of the Cornish coast. He also links in various ways the shipping history with the story of the communities and of the families involved with shipping. The account of the development of the local shipbuilding industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is of particular interest. The list of vessels registered at Padstow after the introduction of statutory registration in the late eighteenth century comprises most useful evidence of the scale and nature of the ship-owning operations of a small Westcountry port of the period.

This is a book which those interested in the history of the small ports of Britain must surely acquire.

Basil Greenhill
Boetheric, Cornwall


This volume is No. 6 in a series of reprints of papers originally published in the Journal of Transport History, now offered as "subject-sorted." Despite occasional competition, that journal remains, as it began, the only scholarly publication treating of the history of all forms of transport to be published anywhere in the world. Its attainment of its fortieth anniversary brought about an entirely justifiable warm glow, with an accompanying desire to celebrate in such ways as the production of these volumes.

The original publication dates of the papers extend from 1953 to 1992, and the range of authors presented is a distinguished one. This should not inhibit us from asking whether papers written nearly half a century ago are worth reading again in 1997. Certainly in the case of the first (1953) paper, Charles Hadfield on "James Green as Canal Engineer," they are. Many of the underlying assumptions of Hadfield's work are at least questioned, if not invalidated, by later writings, but we have to remember that he was writing as a pioneer, when the mere establishment of an accurate narrative account was both original and meritorious. Hadfield's output in that field was astonishing in quality and quantity, but what matters for present purposes is that his cameo of James Green has not been supplanted. One or two of the oldest papers are not referenced to best present-day practice, but remain adequate.

Several papers, ranging over many years, successfully get behind the facade of canal promotion and management and find out what was really going on. Written with a wealth of local detail (and the subterfuges investigated were local in their nature), studies such as these had nothing to fear from the "New Economic History," and may, indeed, be thought already to have seen some of it off. But not all are timeless: an obvious hazard of a compilation like this is that newer papers will attack errors in earlier ones. There are editorial problems here, and I would have preferred to see Freer's 1992 paper follow Sherwood's of 1986, since the former corrects points in the latter.

If one were to set out to write a definitive work on the history of British canals, how would this volume measure against one's ideal? Its geographical and chronological coverage is wide, and it deals well with the intricacies of canal promotion. There are two good papers on the boating life, there is some consideration of the overall fortunes of the industry and there is some engineering. Yet there are great, staring, voids. Nearly all successful canals were connected directly or indirectly with deep navigable water, whether at London, Goole, or wherever. We search in vain for a paper which addresses this topic. An English-language student doing a concordance would likewise search in vain for expressions like "shovel," "theodolite" or "retaining wall theory": we learn that canals were built, but not by whom or how.

This, of course, merely serves to point Crompton's role as editor: he cannot edit what has not been written: the shortcomings of this volume
are those of canal history as a whole. It is probably roughly true to say that the canals were as important in the process of industrialisation before 1850 as the railways were from then until 1918. Like the railways, they have generated many shelf-yards of "enthusiast histories" and a relatively tiny amount of scholarly work. The latest paper in this collection dates from 1992, which might be significant. Nor is this because researchers have been producing books rather than papers: the genuinely original books on British canal history published in the last twenty years might just, according to your personal view, make double figures.

In relation to its price, this book does present one or two minor irritations. It does not depend heavily on photographs, which is fortunate because the few used are of such poor quality as to be almost unintelligible. Obviously papers are reproduced as originally published, without added illustrations, but Duckham's paper on "Selby and the Aire & Calder Navigation" remains hard for anyone born outside Yorkshire to understand without a map. Original line illustrations, paper and print are good, and the binding is better: this is a book designed and constructed to be used over a long period of time. So it should be: unless you have ready access to a complete run of the Journal of Transport History, it is deserving not only of purchase but of regular use.

Adrian Jarvis
Liverpool, England


In recent years, lighthouses have actively captured the imaginations of more than just a few hardy amateur pharologists. As technology surely and effectively relegates lighthouses to the role of minor beacons and historical sites, a vigorous movement to preserve downgraded or abandoned lighthouses has emerged in the United States and to some extent, in Canada. Larry Wright began photographing lights on Lake Huron's Georgian Bay more than two decades ago and ten years later found that many of these structures were being demolished as automation and changes in traditional aids to navigation took place. Wright's interest soon broadened to include towers on all of the Great Lakes and with the assistance of his wife Patricia, Bonfires and Beacons: Great Lakes Lighthouses was researched and written.

The brief introduction outlines a general history of lighthouses from the days of smoky bonfires on remote headlands, to today's automated lights and horns. A thumbnail account of Great Lakes lights, the first of which were constructed in response to the early nineteenth-century growth in settlement and commerce in Ontario and the American states bordering the lakes, is accompanied by short descriptions of lighting and sound signal apparatus and electronic aids to navigation.

The main body of the book deals with forty-three lighthouses on the five Great Lakes; thirteen in Canada and thirty (including one lightship) in the United States. A photograph of each light is accompanied by a written portrait of the site. A mix of local history, descriptions of the towers and sites, and anecdotal information provides some insight into the lives of past keepers, and current preservation efforts. As a general guise to accessible lighthouses, Bonfires and Beacons gives the reader enough information to stimulate further interest in learning about the history and current status of other Great Lakes lighthouses.

Although the structures pictured here represent a diversity of styles and locations of Great Lakes lighthouses, the accompanying text could be more informative. Each profile varies in length from a full page to less than half, and often contains only scattered portions of a particular light's history. Within the text there are also a number of historical and technical errors (for example, the focal plane of a light is not "...the height of that light above water..."[p.8], but the horizontal plane on which the light from a central source is most effectively magnified and directed against the lighthouse lens). These limit the book's contribution somewhat to the preservation of lighthouse information and history.

Despite their diversity, Canadian lights are outnumbered by American lights almost three to one in Bonfires and Beacons. Many of the American beacons covered have been features in a number of well-known American lighthouse books; the Wrights could have better served the
interest of the reader by photographing and researching a balanced number of Canadian and American lights and featuring more of the architecturally interesting Canadian sites. A great number of American lightstations have been restored and preserved as historic monuments; further exploration of lighthouses north of the border would have allowed *Bonfires and Beacons* to reveal the necessity of saving the many Canadian beacons deemed obsolete by technology and government policy.

*Bonfires and Beacons* is handsomely laid out and is useful as a general introduction to the lights of the Great Lakes. It should appeal to people newly interested in lighthouses and first time visitors to accessible Great Lakes lights. Still, a careful selection of Canadian and American lighthouses and a stronger text could have set *Bonfires and Beacons* apart from the growing number of books about Great Lakes lighthouses.

Chris Mills
Dryad Point, British Columbia


During the past decade Cleveland has been undergoing an urban revival unmatched by any other American Great Lakes city of its size. The waterfront and nearby downtown area now include the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, Great Lakes Science Museum, Jacobs Field for the Cleveland Indians, Gund Arena for the Cleveland Cavaliers, and plans for a new waterfront football stadium. Amidst all this "upscale" development lays the Cleveland-Cuyahoga County Port Authority, a central player on the Cleveland waterfront since its inception in 1968, whose primary focus has been to direct the economic development of Cleveland's port facilities and to increase commerce through the port. *Cleveland's Harbor* by Jay Ehle, a member of the Port Authority Board from 1968 to 1993 and Chairman from 1983-1993, tells the story of the Port Authority and its struggles with the city of Cleveland, organized labour, international shipping trends, and more recently, strong competition from developers seeking space on Cleveland's waterfront for a multitude of projects, few maritime in nature or impact.

Ehle begins by briefly recapitulating the early history of Cleveland and the harbour. The first six chapters of the book span the years from 1796 when General Moses Cleaveland surveyed the area to the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1958. For this section of the book the author relies on previous historical narratives, retelling familiar stories without comment or analysis. Topics covered include the survey of the harbour, shipbuilders, shipping interests, the discovery of iron ore in the upper lakes region, the opening of the canal at Sault Ste. Marie, the rise of the steel industry, growth of shipping companies, increased vessel size, the organization of the Lake Carriers' Association, wartime activities on the Lakes, the opening of the Seaway, and the disappointment of Cleveland maritime interests when the promise of the Seaway failed to materialize for the port of Cleveland.

With the creation of the Cleveland-Cuyahoga County Port Authority in 1968, the author warms to his topic with his own involvement clearly near the surface. Several chapters outline the Port Authority's early struggle to establish its role in running the port and the frequent political conflicts with the city of Cleveland and Cuyahoga county, political bodies who appointed members to the Port Authority's Board. Finances and the level of business activity are at the centre of what a port authority does, and it is here that Ehle is at his best, describing the conflicting forces facing the Port Authority during its formative years. First as a Board member and later as Chairman of the Board, Ehle was intimately involved in every major activity of the port authority. His knowledge of port activities, from dock activities to political manipulations, is extensive and offers good insight into the issues facing the modern port on the Great Lakes and elsewhere.

In a series of five short but informative chapters, the author provides a look at the role of the shipping agent, stevedore, longshoreman, pilot, and engineer in the workings of the modern port. Throughout several of these chapters the Port Authority's often contentious relations with labour unions and internal union conflict are explored. During the years from 1968 to 1996,
the Port Authority, its Board, and staff have worked with several Cleveland mayors including Dennis Kucinich, George Voinovich, and current mayor Michael White, a group that had to deal with the severe economic downturn in the "Rust Belt" as well as the more recent revival of the downtown and waterfront. The vagaries of urban politics during this period, whether in good times or bad, were and continue to be a major issue for the Port Authority. Cleveland's recent revival has energized the downtown and the waterfront while at the same time creating pressures for expanded, non maritime use of the valuable waterfront. The Cleveland-Cuyahoga County Port Authority has become more involved in planning and promoting economic development in the region while it continues to protect and promote the core activities of the Port.

Cleveland's Harbor provides an excellent view of the recent history of a modern port from the perspective of someone intimately involved with its history and the often conflicting pressures brought about by the multiple visions for the waterfront. The book will be useful to those interested in the history of Cleveland and recent urban development, especially in the area of the politics of recycling waterfront areas for recreation and tourism.

Robert W. Graham
Bowling Green, Ohio


Great Lakes Bulk Carriers is a labour of love. The author's mother apparently began listing ship's names for him before he could write, sixty years ago. Devendorf provides a list of all Great Lakes powered bulk carriers from the prototype ore carrier R. J. Hackett of 1869 to the grain carrying Pater son of 1985. His inventory contains more than 1200 vessels. The volume is divided into seven basic parts. It opens with a brief history of Great Lakes bulk carrier design followed by a chapter of illustrations which include both photographs and cross sectional drawings. Next we have a complete explanation of how the ship list works. The ship list then occupies the main body of the book. The main list is followed by a series fleet list giving owners (or operators) from 1937. Finally there is an alphabetical index.

Each ship listing includes a vessel number, the ship's name(s) (and, if applicable, date of name change), its nationality and official number, construction details, dimensions (including gross tonnage), engine particulars, a brief vessel history and a fleet number for cross referencing with the fleet lists at the back of the book. Ships are recorded in chronological order with converted barges listed when they became powered craft.

The author's definition of a bulk carrier is a powered craft without side ports. Sailing vessels, barges and ships designed primarily for ocean service are excluded. There are a few exceptions to this rule but many ships are excluded that were designed as two deck package freighters yet which served primarily as bulk carriers. Among the ships thus omitted are many pre-World War I canallers that carried more grain than package freight. By excepting barges from the definition of bulk carrier many substantial Great Lakes ore and grain vessels also are passed over.

The ship lists were compiled from reliable secondary sources including Lloyd's Registry and the Record of the American Bureau of Shipping. While the author admits that these sources do not always agree, we are not told which specific source or set of sources was used when the published listings conflicted. No attempt appears to have been made to use either the American enrolments or the Canadian port registries even though many of these have been microfilmed. The list itself is relatively free of typos.

Serious students of Great Lakes shipping may well be concerned about the definition of "bulk carrier" used in this book. They may also wonder if it might be possible in a future edition to add vessel capacities (at a stated draft) to the vessel listings. If Great Lakes bulk carriers are primarily long narrow floating pieces of capital equipment then their earning potential is as important as their horsepower. Nevertheless, ship lovers will find much to enjoy in Great Lakes Bulk Carriers. The book is a testament to the emotion evoked by these utilitarian vessels.

M. Stephen Salmon
Ottawa, Ontario

Those familiar with Tatley's previous work on Trent-Severn and Muskoka steamboats need read no further than the title. If you are interested in the region and like Tatley's style, then here is another volume in the series. If you have Vanden-Hazel's *From Dugout to Diesel: Transportation on Lake Nipissing*, it has been superseded.

For those unfamiliar with Richard Tatley's approach to steamboat history, there are two key elements. One is a dogged determination to illustrate, at least once, every vessel mentioned in the text (there are fewer of the author's sketches in this volume largely thanks to the later time period). Illustrated histories like this are a speciality of Boston Mills Press and the design is up to the Press's usual standards. The second element is the desire to identify and tell the story of every steam vessel to have worked in the area under consideration. The result is a narrative that shifts between historical context, theme (settlement, lumbering etc.), geography (Lake Nipissing, Lake Timiskaming etc.), chronology, and a succession of personal and corporate fortunes. Sometimes it works; in this volume, there is a strong sense that a more "straightforward" alphabetic, encyclopedic approach would have been as useful. What you do not get in a Tatley volume (with the exception of illustrations) is any useful documentation. The volume concludes with a two-page bibliography and one page of acknowledgments. Unless the narrative supplies additional clues, this is the limit of the evidence.

The territory of this volume includes some of the best-known parts of Northern Ontario and Quebec, from Mattawa, North Bay and Sturgeon Falls, through Temiscaming, Temagami, Cobalt, New Liskeard and Rouyn-Noranda to Timmins and Cochrane. It is a study of steamboats in a region defined today by the CPR main line on the south, and the National Transcontinental (later CNR) in the North, and tapped by the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway (Ontario Northland).

While passenger vessels play a part in this narrative (especially the sections on settlement and tourism), what sets the book apart is the effort to recapture the deployment of dozens of small tugs, including independents, small fleets and company vessels. Some were small enough to have been hauled north on railway cars, West & Peachy of Simcoe, Ontario being a major supplier of "alligators" to Northern Ontario firms. Towing was often as important as carrying capacity: log and pulpwood booms, barges with ore and hay make up a significant part of the narrative, along with, of course, the stones of the Canadian Shield.

Walter Lewis
Acton, Ontario


Local archeological investigations of underwater sites and surveys of shipwrecks do not usually come into the hands of the public at large, unless they involve the discovery of "pieces of eight" or bring to light very famous wrecks. The serious researcher — one who is willing to dig into journals and library stacks — is generally the only one rewarded with the results of careful archeological work on sites of less worldly interest. However, in the case of *By Fire, Storm and Ice* and *Davidson's Goliaths*, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has taken the lead in publishing, for general circulation, summaries of the important work done on submerged cultural sites in Lakes Superior and Michigan.

The two books are closely related, revealing the results of a continuing study of Wisconsin
waters conducted jointly by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the University of Wisconsin, East Carolina University and the US National Park Service. They are published as an essential step toward preservation of the sites.

First published in 1991, By Fire, Storm and Ice has now been revised into this second edition. It reports the results of surveys and studies done on twelve sites in the Apostle Islands, an archipelago of a score of islands which guard the "wolfs snout" of western Lake Superior. An early chapter reports the remote sensing of a portion of Madeline Island which has submerged in historic memory due to geologic forces. Ten of the areas surveyed are shipwreck sites, while the remaining one is the submerged portion of a quarry located on Stockton Island.

Two chapters outline the investigative and mapping methods used. The book then offers a concise and fascinating cultural history of the Apostles' maritime past. This includes treatments of varied endeavours related to the maritime trade, such as lumbering, fishing and fur trapping. The Apostles' significant place in Lake Superior maritime history is evidenced by the number of lakes ships which left their bones in the island group. Succeeding sections of the book deal with the sites of an interesting cross-section of Great Lakes vessels. These include a steel steamer, several wooden steamers, a schooner, three various-sized barges and a wrecking tug. Chapters on each of the sites are arranged in order of the detail dedicated to the surveys.

The reporting of the site survey of the three-mast schooner Lucerne is the most detailed and can be taken as a model of the type. The authors have conducted thorough research on the vessel herself, her career, and her 1886 demise in a vicious Lake Superior gale. The Lucerne study includes a well-executed fold-out site plan as well as a number of other detailed drawings and photographs. Similar attention is given to the steel bulker Sevona, the wooden steamers R.G. Stewart, H.D. Coffinberry and Fedora, and the famous wrecking tug Ottawa.

The remaining chapters are devoted to preliminary studies of several other cultural and wreck sites. Most significant among these is the reconnaissance of the giant schooner-barge Pretoria, and therein lies a major connection between these two volumes. Davidson's Goliaths is a detailed look at the Pretoria site — the follow-up to the earlier reconnaissance — as well as a survey of the site of the steamer Frank O'Connor in Lake Michigan. These large wooden vessels were both built at the shipyard of Captain James Davidson of West Bay City, Michigan. The book therefore begins with a biographical sketch of the famous shipbuilder and a description of his shipbuilding activity.

Davidson believed in the viability of wood as a shipbuilding medium, and he continued to construct vessels with the material long after other major yards and committed to steel. His oaken giants were among the largest wooden vessels ever built, with forty hulls of 250 feet or more (overall length) and more than twenty surpassing 300 feet. Both the O'Connor and the Pretoria were of this latter group and were quite similar in construction. Davidson's late vessels are of great interest because, rather than being anachronistic examples of a dying age, they represent the apex of wooden ship technology on the Great Lakes.

Again, much attention is given to the biographies of the vessels themselves, and this makes the book a readable history rather than a mere site report. The O'Connor was launched in 1892 as the 301-foot City of Naples, while the Pretoria was a 338-footer which came out in 1900. The O'Connor's twenty-seven-year career was quite a long one for a wooden vessel, and she succumbed to the most-feared devourer of wooden ships — fire. She was discovered ablaze from unknown causes and burned to a total loss in 1919, eventually sinking off the wreck-studded coast of Wisconsin's Door County, near North Bay.

The Pretoria lasted a mere five years and went down in a terrific late-summer gale in 1905. She had a heavy load of iron ore and was in tow of the Davidson-built steamer Venezuela when hard weather blew in. The thrashing schooner-barge snapped her towline like thread and was driven to a position off Outer Island, where she disintegrated. Five of her ten crew drowned when her lifeboat capsized in the surf.

The site surveys of the two vessels, done in the summer of 1991, are reported with the same attention to detail as in the earlier work. Fold-out site plans are provided and the artifacts are interpreted thoroughly. Both books are well illustrated with photographs, drawings and maps, and the
extensive bibliographies demonstrate the pains-taking research which was done for these books. Davidson's Goliaths and By Fire, Storm and Ice are fine examples of how an esoteric site survey can be accomplished and presented to the public. One can only hope that Cooper, et al, will be able to provide more volumes for this series.

David Swayne
Weidman, Michigan


Tidewater Time Capsule is essentially an underwater archaeological survey report of the historically significant Patuxent River in Maryland. Such reports are generally very dry, filled with technical language, and not fun to read. Donald Shomette has set out to change all that, taking the reader on a fascinating journey up a river filled with historical reminders of an exciting past. Any boy who grew up on a body of water and wondered, as he fished or explored along its banks, just what those ancient timbers were that trailed off into the water will find this book fascinating.

In Tidewater Time Capsule the described river exploration becomes a metaphor for a journey back into history; quite literally the farther you go the more difficult and uncertain the findings become. The major goal appears to be the discovery of Commodore Joshua Barney's gallant little fleet of gunboats, whose duty was to harass a powerful British flotilla stationed on this river during the War of 1812. Shomette relates in the initial historical section of the book that Barney and his American Squadron were for the most part hopelessly outgunned by their foe, who sailed against them with relative impunity using ocean-going frigates and larger more powerful ships-of-the-line. Nevertheless the Commodore's tiny flotilla of 50- to 75-foot one- or two-gun craft were able to make stands in the far reaches of the Patuxent River and its tributaries using their shallow draft to escape the large British warships. In one battle (St. Leonard's Creek) the tiny ships were able to disable one of their powerful opponents and turn the tide for a time. Yet the inevitable finally occurred as Barney and his men were recalled to defend Washington, DC from a British land force. Though they fought gallantly (apparently the only Americans to do so) at the Battle of Bladensburg on 25 August 1814, they were defeated and Barney's mosquito fleet was burned and scuttled to avoid capture.

The location of the scuttled gunboats was known and described historically and indeed some of the vessels could be seen from the surface until early in this century, yet it is never easy to find something underwater, especially in low visibility riverine environments. Shomette describes the search for Barney's flotilla and other sites in good detail, explaining how agricultural siltation has hidden and buried all traces of the submerged sites. He also briefly describes the use of modern remote sensing devices, their limitations and values. I found Shomette's description of the actual excavation of what may prove to be the Scorpion (Barney's flagship) intriguing for its early use of some archaeological techniques. In this light it should be stated that underwater archeology has progressed a good deal in the nearly twenty years since this excavation took place, yet some factors always seem to remain the same and are well described by the author. Thus, archaeologists are generally represented by a few dedicated people, they are always working on a shoestring budget against great odds for little gain, and they are at best one step ahead, but usually are forced to pick up the pieces from looters and other site destructive forces.

If there is a criticism of this book it is that it is very area specific. That is, if readers are not interested in the Patuxent River or the American east coast they will have a difficult time relating to the topic for 300 pages. On the other hand, this book is a great example of how an archaeological survey can be produced for every interested citizen, not just archaeologists, historians, or divers. Another minor criticism of this book would be that although the author does a good job of outlining the relevance and history of underwater archaeology in the introduction, he later fails to explain how very important his Patuxent project really is, or where it fits in the overall scheme of things. This omission is hard to fathom, as the project itself seems a monument to the idea that archaeology is not simply the collection
of artifacts (an artifact itself of the Indiana Jones syndrome), but the collection of knowledge.

Altogether, however, *Tidewater Time Capsule* is an excellent read for anyone interested in the area, the history and archaeology of the War of 1812, or the history and archaeology of the Chesapeake Bay tidewater from colonial times onward. Its author has synthesized here an eminently readable version of an archaeological survey, a feat not easily accomplished.

Brad Rodgers
Greenville, North Carolina


*American Passenger Arrival Records* by Michael Tepper is one of the most indispensable and handy reference works available to those interested in genealogical and historical research within the area of transatlantic immigration. Enlarged and updated, the general description of surviving resources, their extent and how best to utilize them is excellent. By using the information it provides, it is possible to save oneself dozens of hours of fruitless research, let alone expense. Alas, the same cannot be said of Michael Anuta's *Ships of Our Ancestors*.

Anyone engaged in any aspect of research in North American immigration should own or have access to Tepper's work. *American Passenger Arrival Records. A Guide to the Records of Immigrants Arriving at American Ports by Sail and Steam* provides a systematic analysis of American sources, evaluates their strengths and weaknesses, and carefully instructs the researcher in how to use the records most efficiently. Of significant value is the guidance about lost records, damaged runs, and how to work around them. The *Guide* is divided into sections dealing with the colonial period, the beginning of federal passenger arrival records, customs passenger lists, and immigration passenger lists. Two valuable appendices deal with "The Hamburg Emigration Lists" and a "Checklist of Passenger List Publications." Hamburg certainly represents a major source for Northern European immigration, but another major European centre which should not be forgotten is the Netherlands (both at Rotterdam and the Hague) with excellent resources on the immigration trade that came down the Rhine. There is no question that *American Passenger Arrival Records. A Guide to the Records of Immigrants Arriving at American Ports by Sail and Steam*, represents a major contribution to historical and genealogical research and, as such, represents a valuable addition to virtually any research library — personal or public.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about *Ships of Our Ancestors* by Michael J. Anuta. The book, which undoubtedly represents a labour of love on the part of a dedicated antiquarian, offers some nine hundred different postcard photographs of individual steam ships, inter-spliced with several photographic essays for the era of intense immigration activity on the North Atlantic (ca. 1870-1921). The author expressed the hope that individuals would be able to discover a picture of a ship that they, or their ancestors, traveled on to North America. The book originally was privately published in 1983 and was reprinted in 1993 and again in 1996 by Baltimore's Genealogical Publishing Company.

Some controversy surrounds this work. In the "Acknowledgments," (p.vi), all photographs used are credited to the personal collection of Charles Ira Sachs of the self-styled Oceanic Navigation Research Association. Sachs founded the ONRA some years ago in California but it appears to have collapsed without providing members with the promised number of journals they were supposed to have received, and there remains critical problems of accountability. In his Preface, (p.vii) Anuta states that he assembled the collection and in the "Preface to the Reprint Edition," (p.viii) the Genealogical Publishing Company states: "it is amazing that photos of so many of these old ships exist, and it is to Michael Anuta that we owe thanks for doggedly tracking them (the pictures) down and ultimately assembling them in this pictorial narrative." Because of the information published on three consecutive
pages of this volume it is difficult to apportion
responsibility. Certainly Anuta's original credits
describe him as an attorney and judge, and it is
therefore not unreasonable to assume that he was
trained in elementary research techniques. This is
important in assessing the volume.

The pictures are arranged in simple alphabetical
order, and the ships are identified by the
briefest of labels with "name, date, shipping line." No
narrative is provided. There is a very substantial
error factor in the labels involving in some
instances all of the information. The reviewer
ultimately could not believe his eyes and took the
time to check approximately two hundred of the
entries. This revealed a phenomenal error factor.
Remember, the "ship" label is all the historical
information which the reader is ever given! On
page 2 a photo is identified as "Adristic, 1871,
Red Star Line," when the correct identification
should be "Adriatic, 1871, White Star Line." It is
impossible to conceive any proofreading which
result in this kind of error. The photo (p.5)
described as "America, 1857, Cunard Line,"
might be better labeled "America, 1848, Cunard
Line," However, it is almost assuredly the famous
drawing of "Britannia, 1840, being freed from the
ice at Boston." Since this is one of the most
famous and frequently reproduced early liner
pictures it is inconceivable how anyone could
miss identify it. Two photographs (p.11) are
provided of a ship described as "Andre Lebon,
1913, French Line," which almost certainly is
"Andre Lebon, 1915, Messageries Maritime," and
which it is highly questionable ever crossed the
North Atlantic since she was part of the M. M. Far
Eastern Service. When superb reference sources
such as N.R.P. Bonsor's North Atlantic Seaway
exist and pre-date this work, even the most ele-
mental research should have caught most errors
and confirmed the accuracy of anything so simple
as these ship labels. Furthermore, if this volume
was to have any real worth there is no conceiv-
able reason why a brief description and history of
each vessel could not have been provided and
accompanied the photographs.

The price alone demands a minimal level of
historical accuracy which is noteworthy by its
absence. The public and the reputation of the
publisher both would be best served by the imme-
diate withdrawal of the work. There is no dis-
claimer broad enough to cover the careless re-
search and horrendous historical inaccuracies of
this piece, particularly when the objectives, in
terms of the ship labels, were so limited that they
could have been achieved in a few hours work!

William Henry F layhart III
Dover, Delaware

Gelina Harlaftis. A History of Greek-Owned
Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp
Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day. London and New
York: Routledge, 1996. xxiv + 439 pp., tables,
figures, maps, b+w plates, appendices, notes,
bibliography, index. £60, cloth; ISBN 0-415-
00018-1.

This book traces the rise of the modern Greek
shipping industry from its small beginnings in the
1830s to world leadership at the end of the twen-
tieth century. The volume is in two parts. The
first examines nineteenth-century experience; the
second explains the industry's performance since
World War I. Despite this long time period and
the impact of so many random events such as
world war and depression, a number of themes
transcend the decades: the importance of particu-
lar islands to Greek maritime history; the signifi-
cance of an international network of key ship-
owing families; the centrality of freewheeling
entrepreneurship independent of interference
from the Greek state and of subsidies. Some of
the events described, like the Greek purchase of
Liberty ships after World War II or the preference
for tramp tonnage rather than liners are, of course,
well known. Others, such as the fact that for a
time after World War II British seamen were
actually less well paid than their Greek counter-
parts, are not. The book thus acts as a useful
corrective in places. Harlaftis shows, for example,
that steam surpassed sail in the Greek fleet as
early as 1903-4.

But the book is not merely descriptive. It
also attempts to answer questions central to Greek
maritime history. How did a small country of just
ten million people come to operate the world's
largest shipping fleet? This dominance is even
more remarkable than that enjoyed by the British
before 1914, since the volume of Greek interna-
tional trade in the twentieth century is so much
smaller than Britain's in the nineteenth. And how
were small islands like Chios able to play such an
important role in ship ownership and management? What accounts for the success of the many individual entrepreneurs, some celebrated, others less so, whose stories are interwoven into Harlaftis' text? What impact have shipowners from non-"traditional" backgrounds had on Greek shipping at the end of the twentieth century?

Nor is the book important merely to Greek maritime historians; there is much to interest a wider audience. The rise of the Greek shipping industry, while others, like Britain's, atrophied, is a universal theme in its own right. Moreover, Harlaftis discusses broader issues such as movements in freight rates, world commodity trade patterns (especially oil and bulk dry cargoes), flags of convenience and "open" registries. The text is admirably supported by diagrams, tables and other visual aids. Indeed, the reader is almost overwhelmed by the lists of shipowners, their fleets, shares of world tonnage and so forth, all of which are testimony to the depth and range of Harlaftis' research. Her sources are thus far-reaching and in several languages. But this possibly excessive detail does obscure the reader's view of the more conceptual issues which the book undoubtedly raises but does not always pursue. Although Harlaftis refers to the profits Greek shipowners made, there is little financial analysis of business performance. The issue of maintaining agencies overseas is not broadened into a more general analysis of transaction costs. Moreover, the most recent period of Greek shipowning and the origins of such well known figures as Onassis and Niarchos, which might be of considerable interest to a general reader, seem rather cursorily handled, given the attention paid to earlier entrepreneurs. Could more, too, have been said about technological change during the twentieth century? At times the text seems unnecessarily repetitive and there are one or two factual errors. The British General Strike, for example, was in 1926.

In the final analysis, this carefully produced book should be widely read. It undoubtedly fills a gap in the historiography of Greek shipowning and has much to offer those interested in more general issues.

Robert G. Greenhill
Tonbridge, Kent


This sturdy, well-written little book is recommended for two reasons. First, it pays homage to men hardly ever seen on a ship, the Marine Engineers, including the author's father, Ernst Taphouse, who was for nearly thirty-three years the Iroquois' Chief Engineer. It also sets out to highlight the most unusual task of the Iroquois, that of towing its "twin," the engine-less barge Navahoe, across the Atlantic for nineteen years, linking the Gulf ports of the United States with the London markets.

Len Taphouse begins with an overview of the early development of the tanker trade, its growth from case-oil carrier (barrels only) via the oil-barge stage to the now familiar bulk-oil carrier. In the field of oil-barges, Standard Oil of America and its British subsidiary Anglo American Oil had much experience. Although this type of carrier deserves much credit and its use — particularly in the Pacific — was both lucrative and extensive, it was considered impractical for the transportation of oil to European markets. To this end, and patterned after the early German tanker SS Gluckauf (2307 tons), built in 1886 in Newcastle, England for Deutsch-Amerik Petroleum, another Standard Oil subsidiary, it was decided to construct the much larger Spirit of Iroquois (9,202 tons), launched in June 1907 at Belfast. An excellent chapter on this ship's construction, complete with ample plans, follows.

A short year later — almost as an afterthought — construction began on Navahoe, a huge barge equal in size to the Iroquois. Navahoe was able to carry sail on her six masts (though these were hardly ever used), but carried engines only for pumping and cargo-handling. The appearance of the barge was not that of a conventional sailing-ship, nor did it look like Iroquois. Navahoe's length of 450 feet was only twenty-six feet shorter than Iroquois, with a tonnage of 7,718.

After Navahoe was completed in February 1908, the vessels began their most unusual operation in March. Soon they were well known the world over. In its first nine years the operation accumulated with great regularity no less than 148 Atlantic crossings at an average speed of 8.7
knots between Baton Rouge, USA and Purfleet in London. *Iroquois* had a carrying capacity of 8,800 tons and was almost always laden with crude oil. *Navahoe*’s capacity was 9,250 tons, and the barge carried exclusively distilled oil. Since this had a hard-wearing alcohol-percentage, it would be a significant factor in the barge’s early demise. By 1930 *Navahoe*’s plates had worn so thin that discontinuation of the operation was necessary. In September *Navahoe* arrived at New Orleans on its final journey; the barge ended its days as an oil-carrying storage hulk in Venezuela and was scuttled off Trinidad in 1936.

*Iroquois*, now on her own, continued her busy life on the world’s seas. The author spent a great deal of time researching the activities of this “blessed ship” and writes with enthusiasm about her assistance in the construction of two offshore oil-terminals at Tripoli in Lebanon and Haifa, Israel in 1934. Worthy of particular note is her participation in the construction of Ulithi-Atoll in Micronesia as a final assault staging-area for Japan in 1944. Under heavy guard of US warships, *Iroquois* now resumed her familiar towing-duties, moving in a single operation a floating dry-dock, a large barge and an ammunition-barge with a tow-length of one mile at a speed of five knots. The book has a special chapter on the ship’s towing gear as well as drawings of the towing platform.

At the war’s end *Iroquois* was moved to the Persian Gulf and in January 1947 she made her final voyage to England. Subsequently sold to Belgian traders, the ship arrived for scrap at the breaker’s yard at Troon, Scotland in February 1947, thus ending a long, largely experimental and unique life.

Len Taphouse is skilled at making the pages come to life, making even statistical material interesting and entertaining. The book contains many photographs of the ships and their crews, maps, unusual mementos and plans of ship-design. One cannot help but wonder, however, why thirty-three Voyage Cards were reproduced; one or two would have sufficed.

All in all, this book is truly a joy to read and will be appreciated by every history buff.

Hendrick (Hank) J. Barendregt
Langley, British Columbia


This book presents an extensive exposition of the salvage operation in all its aspects. It is written in plain language and the mathematics used is very simple. There is a wealth of empirical data and approximate methods. These are valuable tools in calculating the various parameters essential for successful salvage operations. The theoretical basis for the calculations are explained in simple terms. The calculations themselves are illustrated in sixty-nine examples in an appendix.

Most of the book deals with the technical and operational aspects of salvage. These are divided into two main sections. The first deals with the object of the salvage operation: the ship. It starts with an introduction which includes definitions of the various facets of the salvage operation and a description of the roles played by parties involved in the operation. It then goes on to introduce the necessary tools that a salvage operator needs, including: ship types and their structures, methods of calculation of ship’s hydrostatic data, the types of casualties, and problems encountered when dealing with hazardous substances. The second section describes the actual mechanics of salvage operations. This includes planning, rigging, methods of restoring buoyancy, lifting and tools and techniques used in salvage. The last chapter of the book deals with the business aspects of salvage and with casualty-management factors.

The first of the three appendices contains a large number of solved examples illustrating the methods used in calculating various ships’ hydrostatic parameters. Appendix B deals with salvage contracts, and Appendix C includes examples of various forms and checklists used in salvage operations.

The book attempts to address a wide variety of topics, all related to salvage. It is thus unavoidable that some of the topics are only treated superficially. An example is the part devoted to hull structure and shipbuilding materials. An in-depth treatment of these topics may contribute to a better understanding of how to deal with a ship during a salvage operation. There are also a few
typographical errors which may confuse those who are not familiar with the subject. The definition of the centre of buoyancy is incorrect. However, such criticisms do not detract from the value of this book as a practical reference for salvage personnel. It provides them with a wealth of practical experience that can be used in planning and executing a variety of salvage operations. I found the book interesting to read and I believe it provides a valuable tool for maritime personnel involved in salvage operations.

M.R. Haddara
St. John's, Newfoundland


Both books reviewed here are primarily concerned with wars with a dominant land component. However, in both cases it was not practicable for the opponents to get at each other, or to provide logistic support for most of their operations without the use of sea power.

The main difficulties facing both authors are the limited sources for their narratives. The principal sources are the works, or more usually the fragments of works, of the ancient classical authors, which have come down to us via copyists from the Dark Ages and Medieval period. These have several serious drawbacks. Hardly any material contemporary with the wars has survived. The most complete accounts were written decades or even centuries after the events described, although it is a reasonable supposition that the later authors were reworking original material that was still extant in their day. Other evidence from coins, archaeological or epigraphic sources is minimal. A further problem is that the classical authors were frequently more concerned with putting one side in the most favourable light, rather than attempting an unbiased account.

Both our authors use the literary sources almost exclusively, but take different approaches. Lazenby, while considering and discussing the ancient authors at length, generally favours using the earliest surviving source, in his case Polybios, a Greek who was born about thirty years after the war ended. Green reviews the available literary sources, and tends to use the account that seems most probable from an overall viewpoint.

The Greco-Persian Wars covers three campaigns by the Persians in which they attempted to subjugate mainland Greece. The first was in 492 BC, when an army supported by a fleet marched along the coast of Asia Minor, crossed the Dardanelles, only to withdraw after suffering a severe setback in northern Greece near Macedonia. At the same time the supporting fleet lost many ships in a storm while trying to round Mount Athos. Two years later, another Persian army led by Artaphernes, a nephew of Darius, the Persian king, was transported across the Aegean from the Cicilian coast near Tarsus. The fleet and army moved through the Greek islands picking up ships and troop reinforcements, before landing at Marathon, about twenty-four miles northeast of Athens. There the Athenian forces and their allies defeated the Persian army. The Persian fleet was able to embark the remnants of the defeated army and returned to Asia. That fleet is estimated to have numbered about 400 merchant ships and 200 triremes, carrying some 80,000 men.

The third invasion, in 480-479 BC, was much the most serious. It was personally led by Xerxes, the Persian king. The army, again supported by a very large fleet, crossed the Dardanelles on two bridges of boats. After a brief but serious setback at Thermopylae from Leonidas and his small force of Spartans, the Persian army moved south, destroyed Athens and closed up to the shore of the Saronic Gulf. The Athenian and allied fleets were concentrated in the Salamis channel and Bay of Eleusis. By a ruse the larger and stronger Persian fleet was induced to attack the Athenians in the narrow channel at Salamis. After a hard fought battle, the Persians lost half their ships, and the survivors withdrew to Asia Minor. With the approach of winter, Xerxes marched much of his army back across the Dardanelles to Asia Minor, but left a sizeable force under his cousin Mardonius to winter in
Greece. In the following year, 479 BC, after various diplomatic and military maneuvers, Mardonius was defeated and killed at Plataea, effectively ending the Persian threat to Greece.

Green gives a very full and lively account not only of the military and naval campaigns and battles, but also of the political and social conditions in the various Greek city-states that helped, or more often hindered, their joint efforts to defeat the threat from Persian imperialism. In discussing the naval side of the campaign he provides much information on the numbers of vessels involved and the composition of their crews, but very little on the technical details of construction, rigging and propulsion by oars. For this, one would need to refer to the recent publications on the Athenian trireme.

Lazenby's account of the First Punic War is the first book in years to cover both the naval and military aspects of this conflict, the longest continuous war in Greco-Roman history, lasting from 264 to 241 BC. During this prolonged contest Rome transformed herself from a purely military and land based power into the dominant naval power in the Mediterranean. The war was fought primarily in Sicily, but with Roman expeditions to North Africa, Sardinia and Corsica. Both sides had to build and maintain fighting fleets as well as military transports and supply ships. The Carthaginians, with several centuries' experience at trading and fighting throughout the Mediterranean, began the war with a considerable maritime force, whereas the Romans had to hire or borrow vessels from coastal communities in Italy. The principal fighting vessel by this time was the quinquereme, carrying a fighting force of one hundred and twenty marines as well as three hundred oarsmen and seamen. It was a larger and heavier ship than the now obsolete trireme. The Romans generally had the better of both the land and sea battles, and dictated the ultimate peace terms. The Romans lost almost the whole of two fleets to storms and inadequate seamanship, but had the economic strength to make good their losses, while the Carthaginians were unable to replace their losses of ships by the end of the war.

Lazenby devotes considerable space to comparing, evaluating and discussing the sources while providing a continuous narrative of events. It is definitely a book aimed at the scholarly and academic market and, as such, will be essential reading for a serious student of both the military and naval side of the First Punic War; it is not in any sense a popular history. Lazenby gives relatively little space to the political, social and economic background of the two sides. Green's book also maintains sound scholarly standards in the selection and presentation of material. Yet Green's philhellenic enthusiasm comes through strongly. While it will be of interest to the academic audience, his book will appeal to anyone with a serious interest in Athens and Greece of the Classical Period.

Are these two books likely to interest members of the CNRS? They are both history in a traditional sense, analysing wars, battles, and leaders, although Green does fill in the social and political background in Greece and Athens quite extensively. They are certainly required reading for students of the respective periods in the Greco-Roman world, but of the two only Green's may have a somewhat wider appeal.

R.O. Millar
Vancouver, British Columbia

Lynda Norene Shaffer. *Maritime Southeast Asia to 1500*.

The *raison d'etre* for this study, according to author Lynda Shaffer's Preface, is to draw attention to a region, namely maritime South Asia (as distinct from the mainland), since this area has long been absent from the curriculum of most colleges and universities in the United States. The objective is laudable, more since this disregard is not limited to the educational institutions in North America. It is, for instance, appalling that only a few universities in the Indian subcontinent teach courses in Asian history or more specifically the history of island Southeast Asia. The book under review is thus a welcome addition to the literature on the subject.

Shaffer focuses on the contributions of highly skilled and intrepid Malay navigators and sailors to developments in the Indian Ocean. By the first millennium BC, their sailing networks linked the Vietnamese coast with settlements in
Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand as indicated by the spread of the Sa-huynh-Kalanay tradition of pottery and Dong-son bronze drums. The productivity of rice sustained large populations in the region and by the third century BC, Malay sailors were acknowledged and referred to as "Kunlun" in Chinese texts. These developments are dealt with in a chronological framework by the author, starting from the time of Funan in the first to sixth centuries AD to the rise of Srivijaya with its control of the ports in the Malacca Straits. By the tenth century, the locus of commerce in the Malay world had shifted to eastern Java. This region continues to dominate the international spice trade under the Majapahits from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries AD. But with the establishment of Muslim Materam in the sixteenth century the capital moved back once again to central Java and was located at Jogjakarta.

The six main chapters in the book discuss shifts in routes from Southeast Asia westward to the Indian subcontinent and also the Mediterranean and eastward to China. Silk was an important commodity at the beginning of the Christian era. It was transported along the overland route to north-west India, whence the shipments moved via the sea to centres in the Persian Gulf and Egypt. By the sixth century AD, a major transformation had taken place and sericulture was established in the Byzantine lands of the eastern Mediterranean. Though silk continued to be traded along the long-distance routes, it had lost its primacy. With the Arab conquest of the eastern Mediterranean, the numbers of Muslim merchants traveling along the maritime route increased rapidly and by 750 AD, a large Muslim trading community established itself in the port of Quangzhou in southern China.

The author credits Malay seamen with the first use of the balance-lug sail described as a square sail set fore and aft and tilted down at the end as illustrated by the eighth century AD reliefs on the Buddhist monument of Borobudur in central Java. This is also said to have provided the inspiration for the triangular lateen sail developed by the Arabs, which allowed them to tack against the wind. As no precise dates are available for these developments and the discussion is based on secondary sources, it is difficult to establish primacy and borrowings.

Equally debatable is the statement that Malay sailors reached Madagascar and the east African coast by the first millennium BC and that they were involved in the supply of cinnamon to the Mediterranean markets. As in the example quoted above, here again the discussion is largely based on secondary sources and presents a somewhat romantic perception of Malay contribution to long-distance sailing in the Indian Ocean in antiquity. The notion of Malays who sailed the oceans for thousands of miles without a compass or written charts presents a simplistic view of maritime activity and negates the interlinkages between the local and regional trade networks. While long-distance sailing was not unknown at the beginning of the Christian era, it was certainly not the rule. Instead, trading activity and sailing circuits were localized and in segments. Several partners participated in this dynamic and vibrant exchange which included in addition to the Malays, the Arabs, the Indians, and the Egyptians. It is within this complex network of interactions and commercial transactions that the Malay contribution needs to be highlighted and studied.

Himanshu Prabha Ray
New Delhi, India


This is the first installment in a new series dedicated to reprinting the best articles originally published in *The Mariner's Mirror*, the journal of the Society for Nautical Research. Selected and arranged by Basil Greenhill, former Director of the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich and author of several scholarly works on the age of sail, *The Evolution of the Sailing Ship* represents the original scholarship of the handful of antiquarians who founded the SNR and its journal as a forum for their shared interest in the medieval and Renaissance sailing vessels of northern Europe and the Mediterranean. The articles are gleaned from the first six issues of *The Mariner's Mirror* (published in 1911-14 and 1919-20) and
constitute a remarkably detailed examination of the pictorial evidence of ships in the days before marine archaeology came into its own. Greenhill's inclusion of the original notes and queries generated by the essays ensures that the volume reads as a lively and often heated debate.

The intended layout of the volume is thematic, as the series editor states in his preamble, (p.15) but neither Greenhill nor the editors provide much direction to the reader in this regard. The table of contents simply lists the rearranged contributions in their order of appearance, with no distinction between longer articles and shorter responses, and more importantly, no indication of the relationship between items. The entire first half of the volume is dominated by H.H. Brindley's efforts to date the practice of sail reefing and to identify the function of stem (or bow) ropes depicted on medieval seals, coinage and stained glass. The unfolding saga of the "Stem Rope Mystery," as Geoffrey Callender describes it, (p.68) provides as much information about the personalities of the contributors as it does about medieval ship-building methods. One particularly humorous essay, by Gregory Robinson, questions the reliability of pictorial evidence in a discussion about ship technology and places the medieval artist on trial for overt symbolism and gross misrepresentation of the past. Brindley's faith in the medieval artist remains unshaken, however, and he correctly concludes that medieval stem ropes were primarily structural supports to the ship's hull. In so doing he anticipates, but fails to identify, the distinctive ship type described by later historians as the medieval hulk.

The second half of The Evolution of the Sailing Ship is more varied in subject matter, but is concerned primarily with the remarkable technological advances in ship design which took place beginning in the fifteenth century. Geoffrey Callender and R. Morton Nance debate the possibility that lobed sails acted as a missing link between single and multi-masted vessels. Continental and Mediterranean sources provide the basis for efforts to distinguish between the carracks, nefs, and hulks of the sixteenth century, and the volume closes with a brief discussion about the development of "big ships" and seventeenth-century caravels. The authors' original lines drawings and photographs are included throughout the text and the editor's revision of pagination, re-numbering of figures, and generous textual cross-referencing makes for ease of use by the reader.

Aside from the organizational problems previously mentioned, The Evolution of the Sailing Ship fails to satisfy on a number of points. The absence of a glossary of nautical terms and bibliography is curious given the technical nature of the subject and the stated intention of the series editor to make these writings available to a wider audience. More significantly, the reader could easily be misled by the book's ambitious title, for its true goal is not to trace the evolution of the sailing ship, but to uncover "the interests and scholarly contribution of those who founded the SNR" and "the nuggets of information contained in the early volumes of the Mariner's Mirror." (p.8) Given these limited objectives, the volume might be more accurately entitled, Early Scholarship on the Sailing Ship; Selected Studies from The Mariner's Mirror, 1911-1920.

The more disappointing aspect of this text, however, is that the reader is never afforded the benefit of Greenhill's considerable learning on the subject of ship technology. His very brief Introduction is dedicated to familiarizing the readers with the personal and professional habits of the authors and only passing reference is made to the limitations or continuing relevance of the authors' findings. This failure to place the scholarship of these early writers in context limits the accessibility of this volume to specialists in the history of nautical design and marine archaeology who undoubtedly already have access to the earlier volumes of The Mariner's Mirror. The curious will find the text thought-provoking and the debate entertaining, but the absence of Dr. Greenhill's voice from the conversation hinders a clear understanding of the value of the offerings.

As followers of The Mariner's Mirror have long known, the journal is a valuable, ongoing source of scholarly information on ships, shipping, and maritime culture. Certainly, there are many "nuggets of information" to be found in The Evolution of the Sailing Ship, but a more active role by the editors of the Keynote Studies Series may bring even more of The Mariner's Mirror's treasure to light.

David G Sylvester
Langley, British Columbia


These two topical booklets about John Cabot are well-designed for a popular audience. Although superficially similar, they are actually rather different in emphasis. Wilson's short text is an extract from his earlier book, *The Columbus Myth: Did men of Bristol reach America before Columbus?* (Simon and Schuster, 1991). It emphasizes the scraps of evidence which suggest that Bristol fishermen were already exploiting Newfoundland waters in the late fifteenth century and presents Cabot as "the discoverer of the American mainland." Like many British authors, Wilson favours a southern itinerary for Cabot, the better to establish his primacy over Columbus, and in fact makes the startling assertion that the famous landfall took place at Cape Cod.

Williams' work, commissioned by the Newfoundland Historical Society, sticks closer to the documents. Given this sponsorship, it is not surprising that he considers the tradition of a Bonavista landfall sympathetically, although he is too careful a scholar to forget that the direct evidence is so scanty that all talk of Cabot's itineraries must be talk of probabilities. Both authors puzzle over the cartographic evidence for Cabot's voyage in 1497 and both, as is traditional, give much attention to the ambiguous la Cosa map, said to date to 1500. Williams also draws our attention to Gastaldi's map of *Nuova Francia* of 1556, with a cross shown on the Avalon Peninsula. He says that this led the late historian of navigation, Eva Taylor, to argue that this might represent Cabot's landfall, although this reviewer cannot see that Taylor in fact made this connection in print. At any rate, the cross would seem just as likely to stand for the Christians that might, by the mid-sixteenth century, regularly be found in or near St. John's. Neither author discusses the native peoples who inhabited the rest of the region, whose artifacts Cabot collected and who were themselves sometimes taken as souvenirs back to Europe.

Both booklets present the context of Cabot's voyage of 1497 in a lively fashion with plenty of interesting illustrations. Each discusses earlier contacts with North America, including the Norse voyages; although Williams perceives a scholarly consensus that Cabot did not know of these — a view which may now be outdated. Both discuss the biographical mysteries that becloud John Cabot and both persist in telling us that he was really "Giovanni Caboto," although no document survives using that name. (He was usually called "Zuan.") Each book treats the three voyages of 1496, 1497 and 1498, Wilson providing a vivid description of Bristol in this period and devoting considerable attention to the possibility that Cabot reached South America in his last voyage. Wilson concerns himself with Columbus/Cabot comparisons and discusses Cabot at the court of Henry VII. He also provides a brief treatment of the construction of ships like the *Matthew*, as well as an account of the construction of Colin Mudie's "replica" of 1997, complete with several colourful photographs. Finally, Wilson recycles the myth that the new continent was named for the Bristol official Richard Ameryk, a theory with about as much plausibility as a Cape Cod landfall.

Williams' book is, by a clear margin, more soundly based on careful scholarship than Wilson's. The only points at which one might be tempted to disagree with his even-handed discussion are where he has taken one of his secondary sources too seriously: thus, in following Arthur Davies' misreading of Hakluyt's account of a voyage of 1502. Williams includes a brief but thought-provoking section on perceptions and sequels to John Cabot's voyage as well as a glimpse at the interesting question of how Cabot was remembered in 1897. He concludes his careful essay with a comprehensive bibliography. Either book will make a good souvenir of the quincentenary; both are reasonably priced and presented in digestible bite-sized mini-chapters. If, however, you are recommending one to a student, you had better suggest Williams.

Peter Pope
St. John's, Newfoundland


1996, the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Sir Francis Drake, saw also the one hundred and fiftieth anniversaries of the founding of the John Carter Brown Library and of the Hakluyt Society. To both organizations Drake's voyages have played a central part in their activities. For many years the Society has drawn membership from the New World but additional financial support has hitherto been inhibited by the absence of an agency to which members might make contributions that were tax deductible in line with the American tax code. It is therefore fitting that one product of these sesquicentenary celebrations should be the creation of the American Friends of the Hakluyt Society. Based at the John Carter Brown Library, it will serve to cement still further the work of these August organizations.

It is apt that the celebrations include the publication of an essay by David Quinn, since he has edited half a dozen volumes for the Hakluyt Society and is a past president of the Society. He also has close links with the Library, having been on three occasions a JCB fellow and, in recognition of his scholarship, is the 1996 recipient of the John Carter Brown Library medal.

Quinn draws on his extensive knowledge of the period to review the esteem and the contempt in which Drake was held by those around him. Tudor society was dominated by a network of great families, yet within the structure there was room to accommodate those with special talents. No one could have had a harder start to life than Drake. Yet within a relatively few years he was to make his appearance at Court and be entrusted with overseas ventures. In just a few thousand words the author covers numerous sources, introducing writers who are not known generally to readers today and including quotations from the many verses written about the hero's exploits, not neglecting the Spanish perception. The second half of the booklet is taken up with a detailed bibliography of the principal volumes held in the Library which relate to Drake and his contemporaries. Future biographers of Drake will find the whole work a useful source of reference.

In October 1996, as part of the celebrations, John Thrower gave an illustrated talk to the Hakluyt Society based on his quest for the site of the ambush of the Spanish treasure train near Nombre de Dios in 1573. A lifetime's fascination with the adventures of Drake and in particular this raid led him, at a time when he ought to be taking things easily, to undertake two expeditions to try and ascertain the exact site of the attack. Evidence from contemporary sources is tabulated and examined before the author recounts experiences in the field, walking the possible routes accompanied in 1993 by Michael Turner; the pair were joined the following year by Sue Jackson. His arguments are convincing but he cannot really be certain until someone uncovers some of the fifteen tons of silver bars that were buried at the time — providing, of course, that the Spaniards did not recover at the time the surplus loot hidden by Drake's men. If the treasure is still there, it is to be hoped that archaeologists find the trove before metal-detector wielding bounty hunters.

Let a quotation in Quinn's essay provide the last word:

*But long may good sir Francis Hue
which hath enrichi our land,
The like was never seene nor heard
since England first did stand.*

Norman Hurst
Coulsdon, Surry


Piracy is prospering, and not just on the world's shipping lanes. In shops, the Jolly Roger, the spyglass, the treasure map and other pirate motifs are deployed to sell products as divers as diapers and fish fingers. In cinemas and toy shops, the
pirate, invigorated by Steven Spielberg's "Hook," remains popular with children of all ages. As well, piracy has emerged as a legitimate field of academic enquiry due to works like Marcus Rediker's *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, Robert Ritchie's *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, and Janice Thomson's *Mercenaries, Pirates and Sovereigns*. David Cordingly now adds to this discussion, his aims being to identify the source of pirate motifs and caricatures and to compare these representations with the reality of the pirate world.

Inevitably, he focuses on the "golden age" of piracy, ca. 1650-1730. A thematic approach identifies, explains and tests the key characteristics of the mythical pirate - parrot, patch, wooden leg, desert island, rakish schooner, etc. - against the accoutrements and experiences of "real" pirates. Most of these traits, though not walking the plank and burying treasure, have some grounding in the facts of the pirate's life. From this harsh reality, depicted most influentially by Exquemelin and Captain Johnson, the pirate's image has been amended by the creative talents of generations of balladeers, playwrights, authors and film makers. In this evolutionary process, Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* have been the most potent forces, with Byron's *Corsair*, Ballantyne's *Coral Island* and of course, Errol Flynn and Douglas Fairbanks all playing substantial roles.

Cordingly's arguments are clear, sound and engaging, so that *Under the Black Flag* is both stimulating and readable: "good form!" as Jas. Hook might say. But the book has its weaknesses. The range of secondary literature on which it is based is limited, and there is a marked (and acknowledged) reliance on Rediker, Ritchie, Peter Earle's *Sack of Panama* and N.A.M. Rodger's *Wooden World*. Consequently, instead of drawing upon the valuable analyses of Christopher Hill, John Bromley, Joel Baer, Greg Dening, Nuala Zahadieh and David Marley, Cordingly resorts to familiar "tales of derring-do," albeit applied to his various themes rather than rendered in the conventional narrative form. Moreover, in his search for evidence, Cordingly strays into dangerous territory, crossing that narrow isthmus between pirate and privateer (defined as "licensed pirates" [p.xviii] — *bad form!*), as well as the broader gulf between seventeenth-century *corsarios insurgentes*. Thus, odd, ill-fitting examples — an action with a French privateer in 1710 (p. 121) and a damaging gale off Scotland in 1848 (p.66) — are occasionally deployed to support the argument.

While a swashbuckling approach to the study's parameters is apparent, opportunities to plunder pirate fiction and imagery are missed. An early mention of cowboys and pirates (p.xiii) raises false hopes that there will ensue a comparative analysis of representations of outlaws on land and sea, of the egalitarian ethos of the western and maritime frontiers, of Tombstone and Port Royal, of Billy the Kid and William Kidd. More could also have been made of *Treasure Island* and *Peter Pan*. For instance, Cordingly ignores the issue of class relations aboard the *Hispaniola* as the establishment figures — squire, captain and doctor — appropriate, with dubious authority, both map and treasure from Silver's "gentlemen of fortune." Meanwhile, on Neverland, time is of the essence, an imperative brilliantly exploited by Spielberg and strangely neglected by Cordingly. Could it be that Barrie selected a pirate as the mortal enemy of the immortal boy because pirates, as Rediker argues, were not only class conscious, but also acutely aware of the brevity of their chosen profession? "A short life, but a merry one!" boasted Bartholomew Roberts and his ilk, as black flags adorned with symbolic swords, skeletons and *timepieces* fluttered overhead.

Despite Cordingly's reluctance to exploit fully the secondary and fictional literature, this is a novel and important contribution to pirate literature. It also lays the foundations for further work. Perhaps someone will now address the counter-factual question posed by Hoffman's Hook: "what would the world be like without Cap'n Hook?"

David J. Starkey
Hull, England


Unfortunately this book does not tell us where Captain Kidd's treasure is. The author has not
found it, indeed he has not actually looked for it (although he gives us an educated guess where it might be). Instead he describes, in fascinating detail, other people's fruitless attempts at finding it. These people varied from the deluded, to the incompetent, to the charlatan, so it is an entertaining story.

Edmunds would like to find the treasure. Copies of mysterious maps have been pinned to his study wall for many years, and he has spent half a generation wondering about them. This book is a labour of love, but Edmunds is more of a sceptic than many of the actual treasure hunters. He decided long ago to treat the evidence, such as it is, dispassionately and clear away some cobwebs from this bizarre story.

So he studied seventeenth-century navigation, and built up a detailed knowledge of the various meridian systems in use at the time. He uses this well to describe the difficulties of identifying Kidd's island. He has pieced together an extraordinary story about how various articles belonging to — or ascribed to — Kidd have been collected, and the obsessive qualities of collectors and treasure seekers. Finally he has thought hard about why Kidd might have drawn the maps in the first place.

It is a good tale, illustrating both how historical legends develop or are constructed, and the need to sift through them to separate fact from wishful thinking and attempts to mislead. Yet the book falls down in several ways. There are no footnotes, and the bibliography gives no dates or places of publication. Edmunds is rather undiscriminating about his sources. This leads to confusion and error, particularly when he turns to matters tangential to his main theme, as he does quite often. An example is the pirate Benito de Soto, who is supposed to have buried treasure on the same West Indian island where Captain Kidd is rumoured to have done the same. Edmund's account of de Soto is apparently drawn from several sources, all rather inaccurate. De Soto sailed in 1827 from Rio de Janeiro, not Buenos Aires. He plundered an East Indiaman, Morning Star, in 1828 (not 1832), firing a round of grape shot (not "raking it with cannon fire") and wounding one man, not many, on board. The captain was not decapitated by de Soto, but shot in the back. De Soto was not recognised in Gibraltar by one of his victims, but identified as a suspicious character by a servant girl who noticed that his clothes were embroidered with different names. He was definitely hanged in Gibraltar, whatever some of Edmund's sources may say about him being returned to Cadiz.

It is hard to tell which parts of the de Soto story Edmunds believes, which illustrates both his main problem and the main weakness of his book. It is easy to be seduced by a good story, even when what actually happened (observant servant girl and all) is just as interesting — and when the bare bones of the story are easily checked. Perhaps Edmunds was unsure what to believe and wanted to show the quantity of exuberant and conflicting accounts. But if so, his editors — who seem to have been pretty lax — should have got him to express it more clearly.

Edmunds has put in an enormous amount of effort, collected some fascinating material and is certainly more cool-headed than some of the people he describes. It is rather a pity that it was not more tightly written, and better focused.

C.R. Pennell
Parkville, Australia


This volume of the Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën by J.Th. Lindblad constitutes an invaluable complete source edition of the entries in the thirty-four extant pound-toll registers for Elbing that refer to seaborne trade between that Baltic port and the Dutch Republic. As such, it supersedes F.B.M. Tangelder's Nederlandse rekeningen in de pondtolregisters van Elbing 1585-1602 (The Hague, 1972), which contains only the early accounts. Moreover, it effectively combines conventional editorial procedure for primary source transcriptions with an exploration of the possibilities of applying computer technology to quantitative historical data.

An English translation of Tangelder's original introduction to Nederlandse rekeningen...
provides essential historical background for the Elbing registers, outlining the town's relations with the Eastland Company and the kings of Poland, the origins and rates of the *portorium*, and the method of its collection. It also establishes the necessary criteria for identifying "Dutch" entries, namely: a Dutch ship's master, a destination in the Republic, and/or cargo designated "Hollandsch Gut." The transcriptions that follow reveal a conscious effort to maintain editorial consistency with the 1972 edition. The transcribed registers give the names of skippers, their ships, home ports and destinations, cargo descriptions and, if applicable, the toll payments.

To identify patterns of change and/or continuity in the bilateral exchange, the editor's preliminary analysis of the registers focuses on three key aspects of the trade: shipping routes and destinations, masters and ships, and the quantities and values of goods. Despite periodic fluctuations, an essentially stable pattern of shipping movements emerges, pointing to long-term continuity in the traffic to and from Elbing. The Dutch share in it grew during the seventeenth century, and among destinations within the Dutch Republic Amsterdam was the clear leader. Foremost among foreign destinations were the English ports of London and Hull. The Republic accounted for 90 percent of all provenances of skippers in the Dutch trade with Elbing, though details are few regarding the vessels they sailed. Some types are noted in the registers, but not their sizes or capacities. Although they hauled a variety of miscellaneous wares to the Baltic, a great number of these ships arrived without any cargo.

The standard purpose of the voyage, therefore, was to fetch consignments of grain. The seventeenth century saw the volume of this export trade from Elbing increase. Also, as part of a process of consolidation brought about by the increasingly monopolistic position there of the Dutch, emphasis shifted to more expensive types of cereals. In the Golden Age of Dutch seaborne trade the port's main function was to supply grain for the Amsterdam staple market.

Although Elbing was a minor Baltic port compared to Danzig, for instance, Lindblad presents it as a useful case study, perhaps representative of some of the dynamics more generally applicable to Dutch commercial traffic in the Baltic region. His interpretation is prefaced with an equally important introduction to computer-aided source processing that addresses problems of standardization, identification, and reconstruction. In this case the original data have been used to create "Ship" and "Product" databases, thus facilitating systematic statistical analysis and the creation of substantial high-quality indices for this source edition. The processing is also intended to make the original data widely available to others in a format conducive to further analysis. Hence, the databases are accessible via the Internet service of SURFnet. Details of access can be obtained from the Institute of Netherlands History at the Hague.

John D. Fudge
Vancouver, British Columbia


No one with any familiarity of Scottish literature has any doubts about the importance of the Exciseman in Scottish life. They and customs' officers were responsible for preventing the illicit distillation and smuggling of Scotland's national drink — whisky; but both services did much more than this. These two publications are designed to inform the family and local historian about information that can be gleaned from the records of both services in Scotland. In that Frances Wilkins more than fulfills her objectives. Both books usefully describe what records are available and their whereabouts and scope and content.

The volume relating to Strathclyde, which unfortunately is not indexed, is in some ways more useful as in it the author explains in a straightforward way what can be found in the whole range of records kept by both services,
including for shipping historians the all important shipping registers. The Family Histories volume, although on the face of it more general in coverage is in fact largely restricted to Dumfriesshire. Yet the introductions to each section in both volumes, which summarise the contents of record series, are helpful and apply to the whole of Scotland. The discussion of excise records in the Strathclyde volume is particularly useful as the Scottish Record Office long denied that much material survived and the records held in London were badly damaged during the war. The text is elaborated with many quotations from the records mostly relating to staffing matters and encounters with smugglers and illicit manufacturers. These provide a context for the record series described and demonstrate the extent of the activities of the two services. In the Strathclyde volume there is an interesting account (p.23) of instructions to prevent the illegal import of a pirate edition of James Brace's famous publication *Travels* to discover the source of the Nile in 1792. There is also a description (p.30) of the problems such expeditions had in bringing back specimens over a hundred years later — this time the Scottish National Antarctic Expedition of 1904.

Despite their comprehensiveness both books lack a sense of objectivity — where do these records fit into the general scheme of things? does that change over time? Clearly the Customs and Excise services worked against a background of endemic lawlessness and violence which make the problems of our own society pale in comparison. Also in the mercantilist world there were many more dutiable items than after the shift to free trade completed by the 1840s. Appointments to the services were often in the gift of patrons whereas later a professional service emerged. Taking shares in shipping for many middle class families in coastal towns was commonplace in the early nineteenth century when investment opportunities were limited, but less so in the twentieth century, and so on. Such developments help explain why and how the character of the record series changes. Nevertheless for the family, local and other historians who might use these records the two volumes provide helpful information not readily available elsewhere.

Michael S. Moss
Glasgow, Scotland


In this compact study, a revision of her doctoral dissertation, Kathryn Young very nicely limns the merchant community in the port of Québec during the early eighteenth-century boom in French maritime trade. The study is placed within the paradigm established by W.J. Eccles, Dale Miquelon (her dissertation advisor) and J.F. Bosher, emphasizing that colonial Canada needs to be understood within the context of French and trans-Atlantic history. She therefore corroborates and deepens their theses: while Québec was marginal within the empire as a whole, it was nevertheless "subject to the same economic, political, and social forces that influenced French ports." (p.15) Quebec's merchants were colonials, to be sure, "but colonials who had not lost touch with the metropolis." (p.79) Young paints a convincing and lively portrait of a small but dynamic city, whose merchants were *à jour* with the wider world, whether they were considering West Indian freight rates or the latest architectural fashions from Paris.

Young is particularly adept at detailing the family links of the seventy-six merchants in her sample, making this a valuable addition to the biographical data compiled by John Bosher and others. She categorizes the commercial community into three sorts, devoting a chapter to each: merchant factors (primarily French-bom agents of metropolitan interests); merchant functionaries (primarily French-bom officials who traded on the side); and colonial-bom merchants. Well described is "the interrelationship between the intendant's office, state appointment and private business." (p.47) Also well done are the findings on women, several of whom were active merchants in their own right, (pp.22, 39-42, 557/, 81) One question unasked is how Quebec's commercial community categorized itself: was there no conflict over the definition of "marchand" and "négociant" such as vexed most other ancien régime French trading centres?

The heart of the book is the description of
merchant households. Using the post-mortem inventories held at Quebec's Archives nationales, Young evokes the image, the feel, even the smell of eighteenth-century life in Quebec port, (pp.7-12, 67-80, 134-138) She might have done still more with this material, however, by quantifying how many households held how many clocks or mirrors or tapestries. This would allow comparison with other recent work on eighteenth-century merchant inventories, e.g., that of David Hancock (London) and Marie-Louise Pelus-Kaplan (Luebeck), and with work on the material culture of early modern middling classes generally by Amanda Vickery, Lorna Weatherill, and Carole Shammas, among others.

Lack of quantification also frustrates analysis on two other important points: credit, and the chronology of decline. Young establishes (pp.22-26) that the Quebec merchants were perpetually indebted to French creditors but that the debt did not hamper colonial growth. This conclusion is unsurprising, but Young provides no statistics and little detail on how exactly credit functioned in the various trades. As Jacob Price has emphasized, our understanding of eighteenth-century Atlantic trade must be anchored in deep knowledge of the labyrinthine and shifting credit networks. Nor does the monograph contain shipping or commodity statistics, making it difficult to know exactly how Quebec fared vis-à-vis other ports. Thus, Young ends her study in 1745, not the more traditional 1760, partly because Bordeaux at that time eclipsed Quebec's main trading partner La Rochelle, (p.2) Those merchants, the majority of Quebec's pre-1745 community (p.146) who dealt almost exclusively with La Rochelle, would indeed have suffered, but the near-trebling of Bordeaux-registered ship entries at Quebec during the 1740s (p. 16) suggests that other merchants took their places. Why then finish the story in 1745? Did the increase in Bordeaux trade fail to offset the drop in Rochelais trade? The non-specialist perforce relies on Young's decision in this matter, but shipping data would make the case more evident.

The lack of statistics does not, however, materially detract from this fine study. Young's main goal is to bring the Quebec merchants' material culture and kinship networks to life, and this she does admirably. One hopes that she will revisit Quebec or other eighteenth-century ports in future work. No scholar of colonial Canada or Atlantic trade will want to be without this book.

Daniel A. Rabuzzi
Decorah, Iowa


In writing about the life of James Matra (1746-1806), Alan Frost uncovered many immutable themes about the human condition that make history such a compelling subject. This story of one man's struggle for recognition and achievement is both timeless and very much connected to a particular epoch. Throughout his career as a relatively obscure middle-ranked diplomat, Matra yearned to advance to higher office and emoluments. In 1768 as a young man with naval experience from New York, he sailed with Captain James Cook aboard HMS Endeavour on the voyage of discovery to the Pacific Ocean. Matra was particularly fortunate to develop the friendship and patronage of Joseph Banks who supported him for the rest of his career. For apparently good reasons, Cook disliked Matra, who Frost declares to be the author of the anonymous A Journal of a Voyage Round the World (1771), published in direct contravention of an Admiralty ban. Loyalist during the American Revolution, Matra lost his family inheritance. Because of this, he depended upon Banks' assistance to become British consul at Tenerife (1772-1775), embassy secretary at Constantinople (1778-1780), a promoter of Australian settlement, and finally British consul at Tangier until his death (1787-1806).

In well-researched and innovative biographical chapters, Frost introduces document sections containing Matra's journal, dispatches, and letters. Especially in his correspondence with Banks, Matra's vivid descriptions, opinions on current events, and scientific curiosity informed about unusual places and reported on botanical collecting, disease epidemics, cultural issues, and geographic explorations. As consul at Santa Cruz,
Tenerife, Matra described trade and contraband, assisted enslaved British sailors in Morocco, and dealt with the Spaniards who were seldom friendly to British designs. Matra sent Banks collections of plants, animals, and other curiosities. While Frost identifies a tendency in Matra to exaggeration, the life of a diplomat in a succession of what today would be termed hardship posts exposed him to illnesses, insoluble crises, and a succession of perplexing challenges. Moreover, unresponsive officials in London seldom paid salaries and expenses on time or lived up to extravagant promises. Miserable during his posting as embassy secretary at Constantinople that he considered beneath his abilities, Matra lamented, "I find I have played a foolish part in Life, and the Hour of retrieve is Past." (p.90)

In 1783, Matra submitted a project for the settlement of displaced Loyalists in New South Wales. Since government interest focused more on the deportation of convicts, Matra envisaged the establishment of a penal colony at Botany Bay. When this idea did not produce a paid position, Banks helped him obtain the consulship at Tangier. From the outset, Matra confronted perplexing difficulties in Morocco that tested his diplomatic skills. Tangier's role as a victualling base for Gibraltar and the Mediterranean naval squadrons formed the background for competitive international gift-giving to obtain influence with the Moroccan emperors. One of Matra's predecessors offered a fully armed frigate, but the British government failed to deliver. Despite arbitrary treatment, Matra's knowledge of Arabic and of Islamic cultures made him an increasingly essential element in supporting Britain's naval wars. While he performed these duties, he collected information about the interior of Africa for Banks and dispatched samples of hashish and botanical collections.

Although Matra survived epidemics of smallpox, plague, and yellow fever at Tangier, even with Banks' support he failed to win a suitable governorship of a West Indian island or some other respectable post. Eventually, he married at Gibraltar because he was "heartily tired of the very unsociable Life we lead in Tangiers." (p.193) From time to time, he suffered sciatica, lumbago, rheumatic pains, diarrhea, and dysentery. To compound the decline of his health, he lost all of his teeth and suffered failing eyesight that eventually left him almost blind. Nevertheless, his letters continued to detail wartime conditions, the state of the Spanish and French naval forces, and the chaotic affairs of Morocco. On one occasion Spanish oared gunboats captured Matra's wife aboard a vessel departing Gibraltar for Tangier and conducted her with other prisoners to Algeciras. Matra followed the wars and international events as best he could from Tangier, pressing for imperial advantage and arguing for example that Britain should not accept peace until Mexico and Peru were no longer Spanish possessions.

Frost's study of Matra opens a window upon the difficult career struggle endured by a middle-rank British diplomat and would-be visionary who in the end failed to achieve his aspirations. Matra's letters to Banks may have been designed in part to keep his patron on side, but he expressed his own scientific curiosity and interest in a broad range of subjects from medicine to exploration. With this book, Alan Frost continues to identify innovative approaches to history that will attract a broad readership.

Christon I. Archer
Calgary, Alberta


When William Dampier published his A New Voyage Round the World in 1697, it was an immediate sensation: not only was it the first account of a circumnavigation by a British seaman since the days of Cavendish and Drake, but it caught the reader's attention through being written in the first person, and related not only Dampier's rather patchy buccaneering career, but included descriptions of remote lands and their inhabitants that were dramatically exotic to the European public. It also stimulated an awareness in the more rigorous minds of the Royal Society, which welcomed Dampier's work as reflecting their purpose of promoting scientific research and the study of the natural world. Though attention
to scientific exploration was overshadowed during the first half of the eighteenth century by the British and French struggle for paramountcy, the questing mind of eighteenth-century scientific and geographic inquiry turned once again to exploration once peace was secured in 1763. Soon James Cook was voyaging to the Pacific, accompanied by scientific minds intent on reporting all they observed, in very much a tradition established by Dampier.

On his second voyage in 1772-1775, Cook was accompanied by the German naturalist Johann Reinhold Forster, who had received the post on the last-minute withdrawal of Joseph Banks, Cook's scientific companion of the first voyage. The second voyage was a staggering navigational accomplishment which added enormously to the European knowledge of Pacific geography and ethnography. Although a difficult and exasperating individual with whom to deal — the tolerant and patient Cook was tested to the limit — Forster was an empirically minded philosopher of the Enlightenment; his *Observations*, published three years after the expedition's return, revealed him to be an objective and disciplined observer who brought a coherent methodology equally to describing Polynesian society or tropical flora and fauna. His work is not so much a naval or maritime log as a journal of observations in a scientific vein, and he observed everything he saw with remarkable restraint and dispassion, offering a view of the eighteenth-century mind at work in its effort to understand the new and the strange. Ranging from geographical and climatological speculation to thoughtful essays on the civilizing effect of Tahitian women on their society, Forster's journal displays a civility and refinement which, springing as they do from an age when Europeans used the street as a running sewer and viewed ghastly public executions as an entertainment, are all the more challenging to our views of that century.

The book's editors have assembled Forster's *Observations* into a beautiful volume that benefits not only from their own perceptive explanatory essays, but from carefully selected illustrative material and copious endnotes. Of particular value are the annotations linking Forster's essays to other sources of the Second Voyage, providing contextualization. The distinguished scholarship of the editors has equally been softened by an evident desire to attract the appreciative lay reader as well as the serious student of Cook's voyages and eighteenth-century Pacific exploration. In this they have succeeded admirably, and provided a worthy and physically handsome setting for a seminal account of the European mind encountering the Pacific.

Victor Suthren
Ottawa, Ontario


Jorgen Jorgenson was one of the more colorful characters to appear in the early history of Australasia. Born at Copenhagen in 1780, the son of the watchmaker to the Danish court, he left school at 14, and the following year was apprenticed to the master of an English collier. He then served four years on vessels sailing between Newcastle and the Baltic ports before being pressed into a British man-of-war.

Jorgenson first visited Australia on a whaling ship in 1799, and came again a few years later for a longer stay. The second visit lasted several years, during which time he sailed on local sealing and whaling vessels, and took part in voyages of maritime exploration. He may have been present in 1802 when the first attempt was made to settle Port Phillip, and definitely took part in the founding of Hobart in 1804. At the latter place he claimed to have killed the first whale taken in River Derwent, thus initiating the first industry in Tasmania.

Jorgenson returned to Europe in 1805, where he became involved in a variety of colorful enterprises. He commanded a privateer during the Anglo-Danish war, and took three prizes, before his own vessel was captured. He visited Iceland twice, and on the second visit in 1809, he led a group of rebels who managed to depose the Governor. Jorgenson then declared the island independent from Denmark, and set himself up as
the new head of state. During his short reign, he issued a number of proclamations that made him popular with the general population. However his supporters assumed he had the backing of the British government, and when this failed to eventuate, his administration was overthrown.

The next decade was a bleak period for Jorgenson, and included periods of gambling, debt and imprisonment. In May 1815, he was released from an English gaol and sent to the continent where he served for two years as a British spy. He returned to the United Kingdom, but was arrested for forgery, and condemned to death — a sentence that was later commuted to transportation to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania).'

Jorgenson arrived in Tasmania in 1826, in circumstances much different from his first visit there a quarter of a century before. Nevertheless he applied himself, and made the best of his situation. He became a convict clerk and, through good behaviour, obtained his ticket-of leave in 1827. In Tasmania he made a name for himself as a government surveyor and explorer of remote parts of the island. He also worked at various times as a police constable, farmer, scribe for the illiterate and journalist. A free pardon was granted in 1835, but financial success proved elusive, and he died in poverty in 1841.

The publication under review contains a translation (by Lena Knight) of a pamphlet Jorgenson wrote and published in Denmark in 1807 on the sealing and whaling trades in the South Seas. The editor has added much additional information which places the pamphlet in its proper historical context. This includes biographical details on Jorgenson, a contemporary whaling log, bibliography, plus various appendices and an index.

Few descriptions of sealing and whaling in the region survive for this period, and Rhys Richards is to be commended for discovering Jorgenson's account and making it available to a wider audience. This work also contains some new personal information on this sometime "King of Iceland" and colonial convict, that will be of interest to those who want to know more about this colorful character.

Mark Howard
Melbourne, Australia


The "Golden Rock" of the title is the Dutch Caribbean island of St. Eustatius; the episode narrated is its capture and plunder by the British in 1781, its recapture the same year and the aftermath of court martial and civil actions in London which continued for several years after the war.

General Vaughan, one of the protagonists, maintained that the capture of the island would crush the American rebellion and distress and ruin the French islands of the Caribbean. His naval partner, Admiral Rodney, made constant reference in his letters to the provoking problems of the trade centred on the Dutch entrepôt. Many regarded the island as a magazine of vital importance for the American rebels and for the French.

Hurst rightly points out that there is frequent reference to St. Eustatius in the more general volumes on the American war but that a detailed study of the island at that time has been lacking. The Golden Rock sets out to fill this gap. It is a largely chronological narrative replete with interesting detail culled from a variety of sources. All interested in the American war will find in it much to absorb their attention. It could even be that some on the Eastern seaboard may find details of merchant houses which are still trading.

The text becomes more absorbing and more valuable when once the author starts dealing with the Golden Rock itself. The activities of the merchants of St. Eustatius, — Dutch, American and British — their contacts in America and Europe and the extent and value of the merchandise are vividly described. The actions of the British are described in terms of theft and burglary, of physical and sexual assault. The aftermath in the form of civil actions in London as the merchants tried to recover their property continued for many years into the future.

The apparently successful and lucrative operation rapidly turned sour when, in its approach to the Channel, the convoy carrying the riches of the island was intercepted and largely captured by the French. This blow was followed by that of the recapture of the island by the
French in the autumn. This failure in defence led to the court martial and cashiering from the army of James Cockburn. Finally, the book gives an intriguing account of the fate of the many documents that had been shipped to London to support the discovery and prosecution of British merchants engaged in trade with the enemy. When, in 1786, Rodney needed the documents, they could not be found; their whereabouts is still a mystery.

For the general reader, this is a detailed and readable narrative. The text is well supported and enlivened by much contemporary material which helps to draw the reader into the eighteenth century atmosphere. However, for the student there are two ways in which the book is lacking. It could usefully add to the narrative presented by exploring some of the essential questions surrounding St. Eustatius. Did the capture have the malign effect on naval strategy presented by some commentators? Was it as essential to the American rebels as is sometimes claimed? What was the extent of the involvement, commercially and politically, of the London merchants?

Hurst may well have deliberately avoided such questions as a distraction from the fine tale he had to tell. The second lack is more serious and that is the absence of a scholarly apparatus. The book is clearly the result of thorough research yet the many pertinent quotations are not given references. The author's note does indicate the main sources used and their location but this is inadequate for those who wish to use the work as a tool for their own research.

With these provisos, The Golden Rock gives a fascinating microcosm of "an episode in the American war" with all its personal rivalries, venality and inhumanity.

Kenneth Breen
Strawberry Hill, London


The involvement of Lord Cochrane in the Brazilian independence war has long been known, largely because of his own self-serving narrative written in the heat of prize money disputes with the new nation. In this book Brian Vale relates Cochrane's role, sufficiently deserving of praise without the crude embellishments, but he also describes the parts played by numerous other British officers, and ordinary seamen. The story probably is unfamiliar to North American audiences, though there is enough drama and courage shown to make it worth attention.

The book's title is not fully indicative of its contents. To be sure, there are full accounts of several British figures, including biographical sketches in an appendix, but there are also detailed descriptions of Brazilian politics to explain the reasons for, and the influence of, naval actions and policies. This is by no means a bad thing, because the main naval focus is thus presented in a complete historical context. In fact, this approach is more in line with "new" directions in naval historical writing, which attempts to place naval issues more squarely in national events.

When the Brazilians chose independence from Portugal in 1823, the new regime of Emperor Pedro I faced huge difficulties. Most officials, military, naval and civil, were Portuguese, and their loyalties were uncertain. A Portuguese attempt to end independence by force was a certainty, and the more than 4,000 miles of coastline, stretching north from Rio de Janeiro to distant provinces whose adherence to the cause was dubious, needed defending. Some Portuguese warships were confiscated, but the real problem was crews and officers. Lacking native resources here, the authorities began recruiting in Britain and the United States. The ending of the Napoleonic Wars had left many aspiring Royal Navy officers on half-pay, with no expectation of further employment, and so many jumped at the chance to serve Brazil for good pay and the hope of a career. By 1824 there were forty-five British officers in the Brazilian navy, of a total of 159, including the Commander, Lord Cochrane, and three of nine Captains.

The appointment of Cochrane was a master stroke. Disgraced in Britain by his enemies, he had served with the Chilean navy in their war of independence, and responded eagerly to the offer from Brazil for similar service. His vigour and abilities were badly needed, as those qualities
were sadly lacking in existing Brazilian officers. With his British officers he whipped the disparate fleet into some sort of shape, and led it to battle with the large Portuguese squadron still in the north. He lost the actual battle, but succeeded in blockading the enemy base, and then bluffed them into surrender, implying he had huge forces just over the horizon, and that the undisciplined Brazilian forces in the countryside might not behave well if an assault became necessary. There were other such exploits by his British captains. In the end Cochrane outstayed his welcome, hardly a novel situation for him, and fell into arguing about the prize money he believed he deserved. His claims at one point equalled an entire year's budget for the Navy, and his reactions when this was questioned would be familiar to anyone who has read his various memoirs: interminable memoranda minutely listing every service and expanding on every slight and imagined plot. Ultimately he simply took a frigate and sailed to Portsmouth, using the feeble excuse that the ship was too weak to struggle back to Brazil once it had caught the trade winds. The disputes dragged on until 1870, five years after his death, when a compromise settlement was reached.

In general terms, Vale does emphasize the naval side of events, and he does focus on the British officers' exploits. Enough background is given to enable the reader to grasp the complexity of issues, political and economic, and the whole is based on both secondary and documentary sources. Very keen scholars will want more footnotes, but for the general reader who wants to learn something of the birth of this giant nation, and the role played by unemployed Royal Navy personnel, this well-written book will do admirably, although the price might prove prohibitive.

Paul Webb
London, Ontario


When first published in 1972, this book was widely recognised as a masterpiece of naval biography. Since then, McKee has presented another perspective on the early days of the United States Navy in his magnificent *A Gentlemanly and Honorable Profession* of 1991, a composite biography of the pre-1815 officer corps. He is presently engaged on the daunting task of examining the enlisted men down to 1861. In *Edward Preble*, McKee used the biographical format as a vehicle to enter the world of the early United States Navy, considering the type of men who entered, their politics, sea service and career rivalries, while running a chronological account of a life that took in politics, war-fighting and diplomacy, as well as more domestic concerns.

Having served in the Massachusetts State Navy during the Revolutionary War and then gone into the merchant service, with some success, Preble joined the US Navy in search of glory. After noteworthy service during the Quasi-War with France he was promoted Captain, the highest substantive rank in the service before 1861. His fame rests on his command of the Mediterranean Station in 1803 and 1804, when he carried on a desultory war with Tunis, a small state on the North African coast which made a living from piracy and extortion. Preble's energy, intelligence and leadership helped to secure a reasonable settlement after an initial disaster. His sustained blockade, a dramatic raid on Tunis harbour, and large scale bombardments, developed the *esprit de corps* of an entire service. Among his subordinates were many of who would distinguish themselves during the War of 1812. McKee considers Preble the dominant influence on the navy between 1803 and 1807. After returning home Preble helped to build President Jefferson's gunboats. These, he recognised, were essential for offensive operations in the Mediterranean, as well as home defence. He died in August 1807, aged only 46, from symptoms that suggest stomach cancer.

In a thoughtful introduction McKee discusses the historiographic issues involved in a new edition. He sets out the background to the first edition, which was written against the backdrop of Vietnam and which he used as a parallel to the Tunis War, notably as a case study of power projection and cultural arrogance. He then reveals that as his interests, insights and concerns have shifted over the intervening years he has
abjured the temptation to rewrite. This is hardly surprising, given the merits of the original. Instead he has restricted himself to correcting minor errors and adding further insight into the man and his contemporaries. He concludes with Preble the model and exemplar, a man of decision and vigour who set the tone for a new navy while pursuing personal glory and advancement. This was typical of an age that carried the concept of honour onto the duelling field, where the most famous of his subordinates, Stephen Decatur, was to die by the hand of a brother officer.

This book cannot be recommended too highly. As a carefully considered, well written and thoroughly engaging study of a man and his environment it has no peer.

Andrew Lambert
London, England


It will surprise many students of the US Civil War that one of the most distinguished scholars in the field is an Italian, Raimondo Luraghi, who has authored a well-received general history of the war as well as many articles and other contributions. How fitting it is, then, that a scholar who is unknown to many North American or English-speaking readers should tackle a subject that is still so little understood as the Confederate States Navy. And how fortunate that he has, for A History of the Confederate Navy is easily the finest book-length overview of the subject ever to be published.

The subject is fascinating. Starting with nothing but a few captured shipyards, a dozen or so captured warships — some in bad repair — and meagre industrial resources, the Confederate government managed to mount a surprisingly effective naval defence — and, occasionally, an offence as well. Owing largely to the strong and intelligent support of Secretary of the Navy Stephen Mallory for innovative solutions to the problems of naval policy and to the co-operation of President Jefferson Davis, the Confederates fielded a startling array of naval weaponry. Their commerce raiders, such as Alabama, Florida and Shenandoah were the terror of Yankee shipping; their ironclads — Virginia, Manassas, Arkansas, and the like — built literally from spare parts and ingenuity, virtually stopped whole Union fleets; their submarine, H.L. Hunley, and "torpedoes" (which we now call mines) were among the first to sink enemy vessels with success.

The Confederate States Navy has received only fleeting attention in the past. Indeed, it says much that until now, the best work on the subject was History of the Confederate States Navy, a book written by CSN veteran J. Thomas Scharf and published in 1887! Luraghi's book easily supplants Scharf's as a general history and even supersedes the standard works on many specific episodes and themes. His research not only took the author across the United States but he also made splendid use of surprisingly rich archival resources of England, France, and even Italy.

The result rewards the effort. Every phase of the remarkable Confederate naval effort is considered — the ambitious programme of ironclad building, the great raiders of the seas, the technological challenges and triumphs (and failures), the European purchasing and manufacturing schemes, the financial aspects, and more. In addition, Luraghi penetrates the thinking in Richmond to present the best analysis yet of just what Confederate strategic objectives were for their navy. Until now, these have often been regarded as haphazard or focused exclusively on the Union blockade. Luraghi argues convincingly that Mallory was in fact far more successful in achieving his aims than has been supposed.

There is much in A History of the Confederate Navy to reward readers, from the scholar to the buff, at every level. The battles are described in precise and even loving detail, taking advantage of a hoard of manuscript accounts that hitherto have been rarely if ever used. The portraits of commanders illuminate those often cantankerous men like Franklin Buchanan. The study of the emerging naval technology, and Southern contributions to it, is eye-opening, if sometimes perhaps overstated. It is a wonderful achievement, a book that many scholars will wish they had written, a porthole opened on the inner world of the Lost Cause on the waves.
The text has been ably translated from the Italian by Paolo Coletta and retains much of the brio of the original. The book also has a very comprehensive and well-organized bibliography that will provide an excellent starting point for those readers who are interested in exploring some specific episode or theme in the history of the Confederate States Navy.

G. Edward Reed
Ottawa, Ontario


John Taylor, the author of a 1995 biography of Raphael Semmes, now presents a modern edition of Semmes' reminiscences. Originally published in 1868, this memoir offers a vivid account of Semmes' experiences during the Civil War while commanding two Confederate naval raiders, CSS Sumter and the much more famous CSS Alabama. Semmes includes descriptions of his antebellum service in the US Navy and of his activities as a Confederate naval and ground commander in Virginia during the chaotic final months of the war. He also comments on economic, social, and physical aspects of his maritime world.

Semmes was a fanatical supporter of the Confederate cause and a bitter critic of northern economic greed, which he viewed as the root cause of the Civil War. Hence he takes much pleasure in describing the South's attack on Union sea-going commerce. Alabama, Semmes' final command, captured sixty-four federal vessels and was the most successful of the southern raiders. By June 1864, when USS Kearsarge sank Alabama off Cherbourg, France, US-flag merchantmen were largely driven from the high seas due to the threats posed by Confederate cruisers.

In the pre-Civil War days, Semmes practised law when not on active naval service. This legal background was a valuable asset after 1861. On several occasions, Semmes was forced to compose legal petitions in support of his demands that Sumter and Alabama be allowed to use neutral ports. In his estimation he was scrupulous in observing the complex cruiser rules of warfare against enemy merchantmen. Semmes took special pride in the protection of the lives and personal property of the approximately 2,000 prisoners seized by his raiders throughout the war. He also took care to exempt neutral ships and cargoes from capture and destruction. But Semmes relentlessly used his legal acumen to ferret out fraudulent transfers of northern vessels to foreign flags or specious claims of neutral ownership of northern cargoes.

Semmes' commentaries on maritime affairs include an elitist view of the international community of seafarers from which he drew his crews. He may well have been typical of many masters of his era in considering the seamen of Sumter and Alabama to be child-like creatures who were fond of riotous periods of liberty ashore and prone to desertion. At the same time, Semmes asserted that it was relatively easy to recruit new sailors from this maritime proletariat and to enforce discipline while these men served afloat.

The author's descriptions of the océanographie and meteorological conditions encountered by his ships during their extended cruises in the Atlantic, Indian, and Western Pacific oceans were of particular interest to this reviewer. Semmes reveals his Confederate nationalism, a constant theme in this memoir, by crediting his fellow Southerner, Matthew Fontaine Maury, as the discoverer of important scientific knowledge about these phenomena.

John Taylor adds a perceptive introduction to Semmes' memoir as well as reference notes and a detailed index. The introduction and notes are commendably critical. For example, Taylor cites evidence indicating that Semmes probably knew that Kearsarge was armored with anchor chain when the Federal ship engaged Alabama in 1864. Semmes always claimed that this critical advantage was concealed from him, in what he felt was a typically dishonorable way, by the Union Navy.

Taylor reminds scholars of the need to be cautious in evaluating autobiographies or, for that matter, any historical source. Nevertheless, Memoirs of Service Afloat is a revealing and compelling account. It deserves the attention of maritime and naval historians.

Dean C. Allard
Arlington, Virginia

Columbus-Belmont, Forts Henry and Donelson, Island Number 10, Forts Pillow and Randolph, and Memphis are all names associated with the campaign for the upper Mississippi Valley during the early stages of the American Civil War. All are associated with Union victory/Confederate defeat in the struggle for control of that pivotal linchpin—the rivers and region of what is called the Heartland. Modern studies of Belmont by Nathaniel C. Hughes (University of North Carolina Press, 1991) and this reviewer's study of Forts Henry and Donelson (University of Tennessee, 1987) address this topic, as do other studies of the river war. However, Island No. 10 has long been neglected. This last situation has now been corrected in a sprightly, straight-forward account that places river defence, joint army-navy operations, and the role of Civil War leadership and strategy in solid perspective.

In the spring of 1862, Island No. 10 (the tenth island south of the juncture of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers) seemed something of a natural fortress nestled in a sharp bend of the river. About a mile long and 450 yards wide, the island sat ten feet above low water in mid-channel, straddling the boundaries of Tennessee, Missouri, and Kentucky. In the absence of a riverine navy of any substance, Confederate authorities fortified the position with earthworks and artillery and awaited the anticipated Union down-river onslaught. The first-line bastion of defence at the Columbus, Kentucky bluffop upriver from the island had been easily outflanked by Ulysses S. Grant's twin victories at Forts Henry and Donelson on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers to the east, but Island No. 10 still stood between Union conquest of the region south to Memphis.

The ensuing twenty-three days of siege between island defenders (numbering barely 4,000 men) and a combined ironclad flotilla plus a 24,000-man Union land force would continue the pattern of Confederate defeats, ending the following year at Vicksburg and Port Hudson. Confederate tactical ineptitude contrasted with superior Union tenacity, occasional bursts of brilliant operational command and the teamwork forged by sea and land power on the western rivers. Island No. 10 was no different in detail from the other river battles in terms of military technology, the élan of the southern fighting man, or naval firepower which was employed ineffectively against land forts but which was corrected by the accompanying land force to effect a siege and strangle the defenders into surrender.

Union naval commander Andrew Hull Foote amassed a formidable array of naval firepower to suppress the huge guns and heavy fortifications—spooked as he had been by similar but smaller obstacles at Fort Donelson. Yet, in the end, John Pope's manoeuver army plus Foote's running the gauntlet of those guns enabled the Union forces to surround Island No. 10, causing its fall. Pope emerged the latest "darling" of northern press and government but ultimately went off to ignominy on Virginia battlefields while Foote's health doomed him to a Washington desk job en route to assignment with South Atlantic squadron blockaders (nobody in navy blue and gold thought riverine warfare would help their careers). Still, what Pope and Foote forged at Island No. 10 lived on and blossomed further as the Union juggernaut in the Mississippi valley pressed on.

What of the Confederates after the Union success at Island No. 10? Obviously, the local commanders got sacked once they and their men returned from Union POW camps, although the Richmond government continued to appoint second-rate commanders to defend the Southern heartland. Moreover, as Daniel and Bock point out, the combined total of over 64,000 men who surrendered between February 1862 and July 1863 as a result of these river disasters equaled about nine combat divisions. Given the rather porous prisoner management programs of this war, many of these men returned to the ranks. However, such manpower losses, coming during this critical formative stage of the new Confederate nation, plus the shock to the public psyche of such disasters, could never be completely erased from Southern hearts and minds.

Then and now, it remains difficult to see how Confederate leaders could have fashioned any better strategy than position river defence, given the circumstances of inadequate resources (both human and technical). In reality, the story of
Island No. 10 is best understood in this terribly pivotal equation of national will and martial sustainment. True, the story of Island No. 10 and other battles of the upper Mississippi is the struggle for geography and physical resources. In the end, however, its meaning may well be most relevant to how the home front—the forgers of the sinews of war—reacted to repeated military setbacks, especially those which permitted an enemy to invade and occupy personal worlds of neighbourhood and hearth. Ultimately, that is what a Union victory like Island No. 10 produced—invasion, occupation, political rehabilitation and national unification.

The story of Island No. 10 is well told by Daniel and Bock. Attractively produced in an affordable paperback, their account ably fills a gap in the story of the Civil War on the western rivers. If Island No. 10, Forts Henry and Donelson, Memphis, Vicksburg and Port Hudson all bring into question the Confederate strategy for defending the rivers, and hence a significant contributing factor for Confederate defeat in the west, Confederate regional and national leaders surely had no choice. The rivers of the heartland—especially the Mississippi—were too vital to the lifeblood of a people and its economy. They linked regions of invertebrate antebellum America. So Island No. 10 was part of a control struggle for resources, a battle of wills between Midwest and South within the setting of Union and Confederacy. But, the marshaling of resources by national governments combined with those regional interests to cause the clashes on the battlefield. This mobilization of will (material and human) came together better for the Union side at Island No. 10 where it rode astride army-navy cooperation on the rivers. Their opponents simply lacked such a coalition for success.

Benjamin Franklin Cooling
Chevy Chase, Maryland


Truthfully, this is a perplexing little volume, the utility of which is open to question. It is perplexing for a number of reasons, not least of which is its cast of characters and their respective contributions to this edition.

Jean Pages has translated into French a total of just over one hundred pages—the first half of which come from the mainly post-1945 writings of that astute, German-born scholar Herbert Rosinski, the second half from the pre-1914 writings of the illustrious American naval historian Alfred Thayer Mahan. Reverse chronology notwithstanding, there is a connection between the two. Indeed, the principal point of the volume is to expose Rosinski's assessment of Mahan.

The reason this is significant is partly because Rosinski was an accomplished, systematic analyst, and partly because the analysis here translated was one of the few projects he never did publish. It is this that takes us to Hervé Coutau-Bégarie, who recovered these fragments of Rosinski's unfinished manuscript from the Naval War College in Newport, and then set Pages to work on a French translation. That previously unpublished text comprises slightly more than a third of the current volume.

The subsequent sixty pages come from three previously published Mahan articles, articles which Coutau-Bégarie claims were central to Rosinski's appraisal of Mahan. That may be true, but if so, Rosinski had a strange way of expressing it. There is almost no reference to any of the three Mahan pieces in the Rosinski analysis herein contained. To be fair, however, Rosinski himself added to the uncertainty. Critical of Mahan's shortcomings as theorist, especially in the latter's celebrated The Influence of Sea Power Upon History (1890), Rosinski claimed that the best theoretical work was to be found within the corpus of Mahan's many published articles, (p.37) Again, that might have been true. But Rosinski's views on Mahan's naval theories—at least as those views are articulated here—derive almost exclusively from the American's books. In fact, very few of the articles are even mentioned.

Perplexing, too, are a series of editorial decisions, some of them minor, some not. As for the former, it seems remarkable to republish the Mahan materials without providing specific reference, and acknowledgment, to their original time and place of publication. Also disconcerting is Coutau-Bégarie's persistent reference to Rosinski's "two" chapters, when in fact there are three—however shriveled and uncertain the second.
More serious, Coutau-Bégarie's introductory essay would be better were he to abbreviate the analysis of Rosinski's analysis of Mahan — which we are about to read in any event — in favour of providing more substantial introductions to the scholars themselves. As it stands, the information offered on either is strikingly fragmentary. Overall, therefore, this has the mark of something that is with us largely because it fits into the ambitious publishing strategy of the Paris-based Institut de Stratégie Comparée. All told, it provides some fifty translated pages of hitherto unpublished material from the Rosinski collection at Newport, material already familiar to scholars in the field. We would not be better off in its absence, but its contribution to scholarship and to publishing is surely limited. Certainly it will not be as useful as the essay collection recently edited by John B. Hattendorf, entitled *The Influence of History on Mahan* (1991) or, in all likelihood, as the Institut's new volume of Rosinski's published articles, entitled *Essai de stratégie navale*.

Robert J. Young
Winnipeg, Manitoba


The Spanish-American war has not received much attention over the decades. Although its successful outcome fairly placed the United States on the world stage and it was considered at the time to be "a splendid little war," the liberated people of Cuba and the Philippines were by no means particularly grateful and the latter were quite brutally suppressed. There was a lot of post-war recrimination among the various military and naval leaders and it was eventually established, with practical certainty, that the immediate *causus belli* (the destruction of the *Maine* by magazine explosion in Havana harbour) was really an accident and not caused by a mine or sabotage, as assumed at the time.

Both of these books were written by academics, presumably as texts or references for university history courses. David Trask was, at the time his book was written, chief historian at the US Army Center for Military History and the book is part of the Macmillan "Wars of the United States" series. Joseph Smith is senior lecturer in history at the University of Exeter, in England, and has also taught at the University of Colorado. His book is also one in a series: "Modern wars in Perspective." In both cases research has been meticulous and both authors are objective in their assessment of events and of the political and military leaders on both sides. Smith's book is more concise. He describes the events as they occurred with practically equal emphasis on the Spanish and American sides and the involvement of the Cuban and Philippine insurgents. Trask's account, originally published in 1981, is somewhat more detailed and lavish. He paints more of a picture of the conditions and reactions of the American troops and the characters of the various American commanders — Shatter, Sampson and Schley in Cuba, Dewey and Merritt at Manila.

From a naval point of view, both books contain minor but unnecessary errors regarding ship characteristics. This is particularly annoying in Trask because his descriptions of the naval deployments and the movements of the naval forces and invasion fleets are otherwise so informative and comprehensive. These errors could easily have been corrected by a knowledgeable proof reader and, as the book was originally published in 1981 and this is a re-issue, could not someone have spotted them in the meantime? Another shortcoming is in the maps. Smith's are few but suitable to his general treatment. They show the main theatres and strategic movements. Trask's are more numerous but, because of his more detailed accounts, one could wish for more. For example, although there is one depicting the naval battle of Manila Bay, there is none for the battle off Santiago in which Cervera's squadron was destroyed. Some tables giving the specifications of the ships of the opposing fleets would also be welcomed by a reader with a special interest in naval affairs. It is true that these points...
would not be important to the general reader.

Both writers are pretty well in agreement regarding the peace negotiations and the effects of American victory, at least in the short term. It was still the custom to demand that the loser in a war pay "reparations," that is, what it cost the victor to win the conflict. However, Spain was bankrupt, so the United States took Puerto Rico instead, thus banishing one European power from the Americas, in accordance with the Monroe doctrine. Cuba did obtain its independence which, in the popular view, was the chief aim of the war. While the United States had not intended to acquire the Philippines or the Spanish islands in the Pacific, general euphoria at the victory, the approbation of the European powers, especially Britain, and the helplessness of Spain induced America to assume an imperial role in Asia.

As both authors mention, the Spanish-American War has usually been examined in terms of its causes and long term effects. These books are needed accounts of what actually happened, both politically and during the actual campaigns.

Douglas Maginley
Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia


More than eighty years ago the Royal and Imperial German Navies clashed at Jutland. Much has been written since then, attempting to untangle the reasons why it was not a decisive British victory. It is easy to commit several feet of shelf space, and any new work is hard pressed to be anything other than a re-hash of well-known events, theories and suppositions. The Rules of the Game, Andrew Gordon's meticulous assessment of that great World War I fleet engagement, is therefore a triumph. Gordon's examination of the ethos of the Royal Navy's officer corps does much to explain why things happened, and he brings new evidence to bear on what happened. It is in his success at pulling together these two strands which make this book an important addition to the Jutland literature.

Without a doubt, Gordon has aimed his book at the serious student of the history of the Royal Navy. His description of the battle itself is thorough, but the main accent is on certain key events and decisions, rather than on providing a simple chronicle. To receive full benefit, the reader should be reasonably steeped in Jutland lore. The account is very even-handed, and Gordon takes both the "Jellicoe" and "Beatty" schools to task for various errors. These two philosophies come most into contrast in the dealings of the 5th Battle Squadron (5BS) during its temporary inclusion in Beatty's Battle Cruiser Fleet (BCF), and this is the thread which Gordon uses to give continuity to his story.

Throughout, the author bases his arguments and interpretations on evidence — including the locations of wrecks pinpointed during the 1991 diving expedition. For example, those of Queen Mary and Invincible are used to calibrate a reasonable time-scale, the methodology explained in Appendix III. In several instances, he deduces the most plausible explanation of what really happened: he demonstrates that the 5BS opened fire at their maximum range, and not 19,000 yards as is often reported. Though in itself a minor detail, this is a strong argument that Evan-Thomas did in fact cut corners to catch up to Beatty as fast as he could before Indefatigable was sunk. In this same vein, he counters (decisively, in this reviewer's opinion) N.J.M. Campbell's assertion that the German battleships did not fire at the 5BS when they turned away to the North (Appendix IV). Overall, there are several cases where the "established" version of events is questioned soundly.

The heart of the book takes us back in time and examines the career-path of Evan-Thomas and his brother officers. Over-centralization, obedience to orders — in short, it is the stereotypic view of the late Victorian Royal Navy. In a chapter entitled "The Long Calm Lee of Trafalgar," Gordon shows how tactical thought within the Royal Navy began to ossify as detailed control became possible with the evolution of signaling. By the time Evan-Thomas went to sea, the Signal Book was Holy Writ, and naval exercises became maritime minuets instead of useful tactical maneuvers. There was an opposing school of thought, led by Sir George Tryon with his so-called "TA" system, and the book details this controversy. Tryon was lost in the collision between HMS Victoria and HMS Camperdown in
1893, and the "TA system" discredited accordingly. Many pages are expended introducing the leading players, the sinking, and resulting court-martial: this is probably the best and most thorough discussion of that tragedy that one is liable to find, though a tougher editor might have insisted on its being condensed.

The final chapter should be read by every modern naval officer. Gordon uses Jutland to put forth twenty-eight principles, directed towards today's Royal Navy, but of relevance to all. A selection includes: "In times of peace, empirical experience fades and rationalist theory takes its place"; "The advent of new technology assists the discrediting of previous empirical doctrine"; "Innovations adopted in accordance with peacetime doctrine, may lock the Fleet into both systems and doctrine which will fail the empirical test of war"; "Heavy signalling, like copious orders, is symptomatic of doctrinal deficiency."

The book is rich in detail, and elegantly written — erudite yet a pleasure to read. Naval buffs will delight in myriad technicalities: the proper pronunciation of "Barham"; how the 1913 Signal Book influenced the naming of new ships; the actual flags hoisted for a particular signal (p.81); that the "2 1/2 cables" between vessels was measured from bridge to bridge; the selection of each ship's internal time; and much else besides. In short, this book is highly recommended.

William Schleihauf
Pierrefonds, Quebec


This is part of a three-volume work which began to be reviewed in TNM/LMN in July 1996 (pp.116-7). The first volume dealt with major surface warships. This volume covers amphibious warfare vessels and auxiliaries and Volume II will deal with submarines, escorts and coastal forces. All three are based on official material that was prepared to review and record naval construction following World War I and culminating after World War II. This prodigious record was never before published; the present work is based on a carbon copy of the original which came to light in 1983. All three volumes have been sensitively edited and annotated by David K. Brown, a distinguished former member of the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors (RCNC).

It is, perhaps, appropriate to reflect here on the mandate of the Admiralty's Director of Naval Construction (and Head of the RCNC):

He is the principal, technical adviser to the...Admiralty and the final authority on the design of warships and other vessels of HM Navy and will be responsible to the Controller for all matters of design, stability, strength of construction, weights built into the hulls of ships, armour, boats, masting and all nautical apparatus for all ships whether building in HM Dockyards or by contract. (I, 7)

While these awesome responsibilities tasked DNC with the overall design of the whole ship, he had only "moral authority" over the other key departments, such as Engineer-in-Chief and Electrical Engineer-in-Chief.

In this volume there are essentially three significant components: major units of the Fleet Train, armed merchant cruisers, and tankers; landing ships and landing craft; and a wide range of auxiliaries. This last category included trawlers, drifters, boom defence vessels, salvage and wreck dispersal, tugs, and net layers. Much of the first group involved the conversion work (both major and minor) required for existing large merchant ships. Here it is particularly interesting to reflect on the wide range of repair, supply, and amenity vessels required in the later stage of the war to support a fleet operating without contiguous base support on the other side of the world.

While much of the material is of a serious nature there is a certain light-heartedness in the description of the development of Menestheus as an amenity ship with "the only complete floating brewery in the world." (p.36) Yet there is also an evident appreciation of the varied problems that face naval architects; for this vessel, "the work of planning the conversion to the new role involved calling upon the services of brewery experts, naval engineers, interior decorators, cinema and
stage experts, the ship owners and their marine staff, the NAAFI and the Church." (p.37) Perhaps a wealth of constructive contention lies in the observation that "The whole of the work was coordinated by the Naval Construction Department." (p.37)

The third group of vessels is remarkable for its variety and for the fact that, during the inter-war years, the Admiralty quietly went ahead with the design and construction of a range of prototypes for this numerous miscellany. However, it is probably the middle group, landing ships and craft, that provides the most interest. A wide range of types, eventually numbering thousands of hulls, was created to meet the changing and growing demands of the army. Quite appropriately, Brown here takes note of the work of one of his heroes, Rowland Baker, later Sir Rowland, and a key figure in Britain's nuclear submarine endeavour. Baker's profound design capabilities sparked a wide range of construction both in Britain and North America.

As in Volume I, this one includes a wealth of data. Yet, once again, the drawings are extremely poor reproductions (with the exception of the landing craft). However, in contemplating the very wide range of activities to be undertaken, the difficulties of wartime travel and supply, and the general shortage of trained staff, it is probably quite pertinent to repeat the observation appearing in the Introduction to Volume I, that "Some imaginative treatment of rules by the Admiralty, abetted by a Treasury blind eye, overcame the...problems. (1,10)

S. Mathwin Davis
Kingston, Ontario


This is a significant work for two reasons. Arguably, the most important is its status as the first imprint of Chatham Publishing, a new publishing house founded by the former directors of Conway Maritime Press; in North America, Chatham's books are co-published by the highly respected publisher, Naval Institute Press. The second reason is the immense international stature of its author, who is a very well respected modern naval historian.

This particular volume is a photographic history of almost every facet of World War II naval operations told in brief but succinct detail. Each of the seventeen chapters is clearly defined by region and chronology. Although the main asset of the book is its superb selection of photographs, Rohwer's crisp commentary on the evolution of naval operations and the influence of these events on the outcome of the war should not be overlooked. Each theatre of operations is clearly defined, and some of them, such as the struggles for the control of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, are sub-divided into more manageable chunks.

For the most part, the quality of the photographs is outstanding, and it is obvious that individual prints were chosen on the basis of a very complex and demanding set of criteria. Avid readers of naval history will undoubtedly recognize many, but not all, of the photos that appear in its pages. Since the intent of the work is not to glorify war, the author has included some less than pristine action stills. Apart from some unique perspectives of ships under construction, repair, or in combat, Rohwer has also been able to include some rare stills from archives in the former Soviet Union. The text complements the photographs, so that readers are provided with sufficient information to understand the ebb and flow of fortunes in all the theatres of this titanic struggle, as well as the goals of the forces involved. Rohwer's ability to summarize key events and place them within the overall context of the larger picture clearly stands out.

The organization of this work, while logical enough, is nonetheless one of its weakest points. For example, the text discusses the sinking of the Scharnhorst well before it discusses the dramatic Channel Dash of 1942 in which she and her consorts escaped from Brest. Similarly, the Tirpitz is sunk on the page before the chapter on Pearl Harbor begins. The problem is that while each major area of naval combat is clearly delineated in terms of chronology and geography, some of the sections cover too large a period of time to avoid this occurrence. Clearly, Rohwer did not want to separate the theatres of war into
broad sections on the Atlantic, Pacific, Arctic, Indian and Mediterranean, but his solution simply does not work. He is forced occasionally to remind readers that events in other waters had some influence on delaying or accelerating actions in the area on which he happens to focus at the moment. The limited space afforded to the text also left him with little opportunity to discuss the more controversial aspects of many of the battles and events covered. Thus, there is no elaboration on why Japan felt it necessary to strike against the United States, or whether the Hood was sunk by a shell from the Prince Eugen. This having been said, Rohwer has taken the time to incorporate aspects of more recent research, such as the recent examination of the wreck of the Bismarck. Other annoying minor weaknesses are the absence of a bibliography or suggested reading list, as well as a summary of the photography archives and collections used.

Overall, this work is a valuable visual companion to the recent revised edition of Rohwer and Hummelchen's Chronology of the War at Sea 1939-1945. Its few faults do not seriously hinder its utility, and it will be a valuable addition to the library of anyone with a strong interest in the naval history of World War II.

Peter K. H. Mispelkamp
Pointe Claire, Québec


Destroyers have formed the cutting edge of naval warfare for over a century, designed to combat enemy ships at high speed in any weather. As such, they are perhaps in harm's way more often than other classes of ship. It is therefore small wonder that during World War II, the United States Navy lost seventy-one destroyers, sixty of them as a result of enemy action. Moreover, the locations and circumstances of their sinkings are indicative of the broad extent of US Navy operations during the war. However, as any ship is only as good as its crew, it is important that we know about their commanders and crews. Robert Sinclair Parkin covers all these aspects with enthusiasm and knowledge based on his own twenty years of service with the US Navy.

Parkin's book takes the unique approach of also including brief biographies of the men after whom the ships were named. Reading the career of each destroyer's namesake provides a sort of potted history of American naval involvement over the past two centuries. Somehow, there is an added dimension to a vessel's character when one learns that, say, USS Sims was named after Rear Admiral Sims, who was born in Ontario, Canada, or that USS Edsall honours an ordinary seaman killed in an obscure skirmish in Samoa.

Such attention to detail carries through the book, which must have taken a enormous amount of research in tracking down survivors and official records to compile a factual but colourful account of each ship's service life and final battle. As background, minutiae includes shipbuilders, launch dates, operations records, and first and last commanding officers. Numerous photographs and illustrations support the written narrative, showing variations of ship architecture; several were taken during combat. Maps indicate locations of destroyer losses, including a staggeringly high proportion of twenty-three that went down in the Solomon Islands.

The destroyers' fates are presented in chronological order, by date of loss. The first was USS Reuben James, torpedoed by a U-boat on 31 October 1941, two months before America was officially at war with Germany. At the time, she was one of many American warships assigned to help escort British convoys carrying Lend-Lease supplies across the North Atlantic. The torpedo struck at dawn, igniting ammunition in her forward magazine, blowing the ship in half and taking down all hands in that part of the ship, including her commanding officer. This and all other combat reports gathered by Parkin use eye-witness accounts to convey the desperate last moments of seamen caught between gunfire and the cruel sea.

Though American destroyers fought their share of the long Atlantic war against U-boats and in the Mediterranean, their main victories and losses involved the Japanese Navy in Far Eastern waters. Study of the maps and statistics reveals how much naval warfare there changed over almost four years, particularly reflected in the
manner of sinkings. For the first two years, American destroyer losses were mainly the result of ship-to-ship or submarine action, grouped around the (then) Dutch East Indies and the Solomons. The pattern changed in 1944-45, with a noticeable increase of losses as the result of air attacks, mainly from kamikaze "suicide" bombers. There are vivid descriptions of scores of such combats, when even the most valiant crews were doomed despite throwing up huge barrages of defensive anti-aircraft gunfire.

Other losses resulted from hazards as old as man's struggle with the sea — collision, grounding, and violent weather. One destroyer went down in a hurricane near the Bahamas, and three more were swallowed by the same typhoon off the Philippine Islands. The author has succeeded in his goal of relating the facts about some valiant ships and gallant men who served their country and deserve to be remembered.

Sidney Allinson
Victoria, British Columbia


A waste of time and resources? A brilliant and daring instrument of war? An irrelevant elite? A last ditch stand of a dying cause? An unsung success story? Midget submarines and manned underwater torpedoes and sea chariots may be all of these. Paul Kemp's Underwater Warriors offers a detailed analysis of the midget submarine operations in war, with an obvious emphasis on the second world war. The Italians began serious development and experimental work with a manned human torpedo in 1935; the Japanese in 1933; the British in response to the successful Italian attack on HMS Queen Elizabeth and at the behest of Prime Minister Churchill began in January 1942; the Germans finally turned their attention to developing midget submarines late in 1943. Kemp offers an interesting and detailed account of these national efforts in the context of their own situations.

The Italian attack on two Royal Navy battle-ships in Alexandria should have been a masterful strategic coup, but because the elite Decima Mas, the Tenth Light Flotilla of the Italian Regia Marina, operated largely on its own, the main surface fleet remained fuel starved in its harbours, unable to exploit the change in the balance of power. But as Kemp stresses, none of the strategic fumbling can detract from the bravery and tactical success of the Italian operations, at either end of the Mediterranean. The Japanese deliberately developed their midget submarines in conditions of strictest secrecy even from the majority of the senior naval command. When the operational scenario (a fleet action) for which their midget craft were developed was overtaken first by Pearl Harbor and then by Midway, they became ill-appreciated suicide weapons and were frittered away. The efforts of the British are given one third of the chapters, in part because of the availability of information. The heroic but unsuccessful attempts to sink the Tirpitz with midget submarines are probably the best known of the various RN endeavours. Kemp also discusses the use made of these vessels to conduct covert intelligence-gathering missions on possible Normandy landing sites, and months later as navigation beacons to guide in the assault craft. After the emphasis of the European war shifted to land operations, some of the British XE craft were transferred to the Pacific theatre. Initially senior command could not grasp their potential, but ultimately imagination triumphed. Operations against the secure submarine telegraph cable communications were successfully mounted, forcing Japanese message traffic onto radio frequencies which could be intercepted and decrypted. Imagination could also be hopelessly impractical, and Kemp is not afraid to say so using colourful language. One German suggestion for employing midget craft in the Suez is described as having been "conceived by a staff officer whose imagination had gone into a shallow glide after a long lunch." (201) The German attempt to use one-man submarines against the Normandy landings and then against allied operations clearing the North Sea coast, amounted to suicide operations. Kemp notes that discussion of them is omitted in the British official history, yet he clearly suggests that in different circumstances similar operations could be very effective. In a final chapter, "The Future," Kemp reviews the
actual war experience and concludes that, given strategic integration and adequate resources, midget submarines remain a very potent weapon of war, ignored at our peril.

This book is easy to read, and offers something new on the naval history of World War II. Technical information is clearly displayed in separate tables. Underwater Warriors should be equally attractive to the general interest reader and to the specialist.

William Glover
London, Ontario


The execution of U-boat skipper Oskar Kusch on 12 May 1944 still touches raw nerves in German naval circles. Spitefully denounced by his Executive Officer on largely spurious charges of undermining the fighting spirit of his men, cowardice, and remarks offensive to Hitler and the Nazi party, the young commanding officer of U-154 has become a test-case for examining crucial questions about the wartime naval ethos. Widely recognized as central to the navy's grasp of tradition, Kusch exemplifies the case of many in Germany's wartime armed forces who were caught between the duty of patriotism and the abuses of a criminal regime.

But where postwar officers and historians pillory the event as judicial murder, some veterans' voices still insist that Kusch justly deserved the death penalty. Having offended the laws and practices of the day, they argue, he merited his fate. Immediately after the war (as both they and Walle point out, but for diametrically opposed reasons) Kusch's father applied to the courts to have his son's name rehabilitated. His ultimately failed petition led to the trial, and eventual exoneration, of the Court Martial judges who in 1944 had rejected the prosecution's bid for ten years and six months in prison, and sentenced Kusch to death. Walle's persuasive and balanced examination of the record suggests that Kusch's 1944 trial was anything but just, despite the postwar whitewash.

By 1944 the Wehrmacht itself acknowledged having carried out 9,732 death-sentences against its members. Drawing on an exhaustive 1987 study by German historians Manfred Messerschmidt and Fritz Wöllner, Walle reminds us that in fact some 50,000 death-sentences had actually been handed down, of which between 20,000 and 22,000 were carried out. These facts alone, Walle argues, are evidence enough of the brutality with which German military courts acted. Clearly not an isolated case, Kusch is seen here as a typical victim of Nazi military law, an upright citizen torn between the conflicting calls of patriotic duty and conscience.

Walle has compiled an exhaustive casebook, over half of which consists of appendices. Drawing on official and private documents, individual chapters examine Oskar Kusch's youth and early training, his lone patrol off the Azores, his ultimate denunciation and trial, aspects of Nazi jurisprudence, and the postwar trials in 1946 in which the young officer's father sought to rehabilitate his son's name in German courts. Walle leaves little doubt that Kusch had uttered statements inimical to the regime while at sea, encouraging crew members to think for themselves rather than accept the Party line. Significantly, those many crew members who offered to speak in his defence were never called to testify. Kusch emerges as the idealistic victim of a personal vendetta that rapidly escalated into a macabre political scenario from which the regime could never let him escape. Walle succeeds admirably in rescuing Kusch from the odium of treason, but is less successful in trying to promote Kusch as a member of the military Resistance. To have succeeded in this secondary goal would have pressed the limits of an already overstretched definition of Resistance (Widerstand).

Rich in detail about the Nazi legal system, postwar reflections on the past, and in documenting the often vitriolic exchanges between veterans and researchers, the case-book is a gold mine. But it is seriously flawed by lack of an index. Depending on page-by-page analysis, the pricey volume will unfortunately dissuade all but the most earnest specialists.

Michael L. Hadley
Victoria, British Columbia

*Crisis in the Pacific* relates the events of the Second World War in the Philippine Islands as seen through the eyes of some eighty-four Americans. From a strategic perspective, the American record is not inspiring.

General Douglas MacArthur arrived as US military advisor to the Philippines in 1933. He soon embarked upon a grandiose scheme of building a force capable of repelling the inevitable Japanese invasion. Because little real investment had been made in the defence of the islands, American-Filipino forces were caught virtually unawares when the enemy arrived on 8 December 1941. Having stumbled at the outset, attempts to rescue the situation were doomed by MacArthur's rejection of War Plan Orange which would have had the defenders retreating to the Bataan Peninsula until they could be rescued by the US fleet. MacArthur eventually reverted to War Plan Orange after yielding Manila but by then his forces and their supply system were too disorganized to mount an effective defence. MacArthur left on 11 March 1942 and his successor, General Wainwright surrendered on 9 May.

What followed for American POWs was misery, forced labour and, for thousands, death. American civilians and service women were interned under somewhat more humane conditions. Armed resistance was maintained by guerrillas and by Filipino and American soldiers who had simply taken to the hills rather than surrendering. Later, escaped POWs and American advisers would assist the guerilla forces.

MacArthur's staged landing at Red Beach on Leyte in fulfilment of his 1942 promise, "I shall return," seems incredibly crass when contrasted with his troops' bitter struggle against the Japanese defenders. Even when their fate was sealed, Japanese forces gave and received no quarter as they strove vainly to delay the loss of their homeland. The Americans did not win their campaign in the Philippines. The fighting and casualties simply continued until all the defenders became aware that Japan had surrendered.

*Crisis in the Pacific* is more concerned with individual stories than with strategy and at that personal level there was much that is inspiring. This is Astor's fifth oral history of the events of World War II and, as much as anybody, he has mastered the genre. The stories of the military and civilian protagonists who are his subjects are skillfully interwoven with a narrative of the major events and quotations from works about the more famous participants. The result is a remarkably candid picture of ordinary Americans caught up in an extraordinary and brutal series of events.

Astor does not try to break new ground though many unpublished memoirs are among his sources. Perhaps because he knows the limitations of this type of approach, he succeeds in his aim "to evoke in a reader at least a semblance of the feeling of how it must have been, a shudder of horror, a flush of exaltation, a mournful shiver." Such a book will strike a different chord in each reader. As a professional officer I was morbidly fascinated by the torpidity of even the most experienced American soldiers and sailors as disaster approached. Extracts from the diary of a captured American colonel are particularly poignant as he dispassionately documents his own progress towards death from malnutrition.

*Crisis in the Pacific* is understandably complex as it attempts to cover the entire wartime story of the Philippines. This makes fascinating reading but it is often difficult to keep track of the hundreds of people who make cameo appearances and the main protagonists as they shift from unit to unit. Astor's attempt to tie the main events together would have benefited from more detailed maps. There is some naval input from sailors who fought in early PT boat operations, the Battle of Leyte Gulf and encounters with kamikazes. Astor sees the Philippines as being pivotal to the Pacific war and perhaps for this reason he is quite critical of the USN and Admiral Nimitz who wanted to bypass the islands in the drive to Japan.

Those who enjoy oral history will find *Crisis in the Pacific* to be an interesting and skillfully crafted book. It has limited naval content but will appeal to any reader with a general interest in the Pacific War.

Richard Summers
Orleans, Ontario

This is a pleasant small book, and an unusual one, describing the author's life as a very junior CO of a small US Navy "Yard" minesweeping during the last year of the war in the Pacific. He hastens to assure readers that it was written for his family, and was not initially intended for publication. Though he is now an experienced sea biologist, he writes in a telegraph-like style, with an odd manner of dispensing completely with the main clause of his sentences. Thus: "That was not easy — understatement!" (p.59) Or "Walked all the way out to Diamond Head. Shops on Kapalanie Boulevard." (p.65) But, as he says, it was taken pretty much straight from his memories of those days and from the ship's log books that he looked up in Washington years after the events described. He invites readers to listen in as he talks to his sons.

Bovbjerg began his war-time naval career as a hospital corpsman before being promoted to a Lieutenant (jg) He served in an Atlantic sweeper and was then given command of the small 136-foot wooden YMS for the last stages of the Pacific war. He is observant of the social life not only abroad but in the ports he visited on the way through the Panama and across the Pacific. His descriptions of violent storms weathered, including one typhoon, the terrifying days of kamikaze aircraft attacks during lead-in sweeps in the northern Philippines, and the stomach-churning clean-up sweeping for unknown mines at Palau Island lagoon are all evocative, concise and well done. Indeed, readers with an interest in such mini history are held enthralled.

The book is very much anecdotal, with sections delineated by a small flag device, some of them no more than half a dozen lines of text. Thus, while there is a continuing thread, the tales rather hop from experience to impressions to advice to other leaders (and even to his family) to a summary of a day's activities quoted directly from the log. He goes into much rather fascinating detail about some of the out-islands he visited and people encountered. And for anyone, such as this reviewer, with an interest (a concern?) in the methodology and dangers of mine warfare, his detailed descriptions of how it was imaginatively tackled by his small ship are both useful and absorbing. He is continually surprised why the immense US Navy would give such a responsible job to one so young (he was about 24 at the time), and its skills in not only keeping track of his tiny unit, but supplying their needs, physical and social. He becomes quite introspective at times, obviously enjoying the whole experience, although with many early doubts as to his own abilities not only to handle the ship and its assignments but to "manage" his crew in a reasonable but naval manner.

Overall, this is a useful addition to the larger corpus of history, and an easy book to pick up for a while, put down and continue later.

Fraser M. McKee
Markdale, Ontario


Feuer's book advertises itself on the basis of the first hand narratives which it contains of the operations of the Australian M/Z Units and the Allied submarines and other forces which supported their incursions into Japanese-held territory in southeast Asia between 1943 and 1945. The successful raid on Singapore conducted in 1943 as Operation "Jaywick" has had a well recognized place in history, helped by the survival of the raiders' mother craft, the fishing vessel *Krait* in Sydney. A multitude of other operations have, however, gone largely unremembered. To that extent, *Commando!* fills the gap. For the casual reader, it is both interesting and exciting, as well as providing real food for thought for those involved in contemporary special operations. Despite the inexperience and operational naivete which were occasionally apparent (and inevitable, given the essential novelty of much of what was being attempted), and the primitive nature of the equipment with which the men of the M/Z Units had to work, many abiding lessons must remain after more than fifty years. Two in particular struck this reviewer. The first was the extreme difficulty of
maintaining concealment of personnel and supplies in any area of even sparse inhabitation, whether or not the local population was sympathetic. The second, as with any special operations, was the very narrow margin on many occasions between disaster and success, even for the most professionally conducted ventures. There can be little doubt that the commandos, and those who transported them, were deserving of every honour they received.

All this said, the book nevertheless disappoints because it does not build sufficiently on the foundations of contemporary reports and more recent personal recollections to validate and extend what are often incomplete and imperfect accounts. In the circumstances, such a project would be extremely difficult to research and complete. Nevertheless, much more could have been attempted in this book. Even if the Japanese side of the story remains obscure, more use could have been made of the post-war analysis of Japanese shipping losses when describing the successes of the Allied submarines. Furthermore, the context of the raids and the allocation of priorities is not always clear. There are also some odd inclusions, such as a description of the Pensacola Convoy of 1941-42, which have less than direct relevance to the special operations here described. The inclusion of so many charts is highly laudable, but they lack scale, topography and any substantial political and military detail. What does not emerge from this book is a truly comprehensible picture of the scale and nature of the contributions which these operations made to the Allied campaign.

In all Commando! is fascinating to read and a tribute to its subjects but it has limited value for serious historians. Aside from its contemporary interest, its place is more properly at the time when veterans come to feast their neighbours and strip their sleeves to show their scars. Mr. Feuer is to be applauded for bringing together so much material in a way that will appeal to those with a personal interest in the matter. In histographical terms, however, he has only traced the first steps on a path which will have to be followed to its conclusion by other students.

James Goldrick
HMAS Sydney


This is the story of the sinking of the S.S. John Barry by a German U-boat in August 1944 in the Arabian Sea and the deep-sea salvage fifty years later of its cargo of silver coins. The author was spokesman for the Ocean Group which conducted the salvage. He is therefore well-placed to tell this story. Although the salvage was noteworthy in its own right because of the great depth of the wreck (over 8,500 feet), much of the book is devoted to speculation about the silver.

The John Barry was a Liberty ship that loaded a general cargo of raw materials, industrial supplies, and military hardware in New York and Philadelphia in March 1944. It also carried three million silver coins minted in the United States for the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The ship sailed in convoy from Norfolk to Port Said in the Mediterranean but after passing through the Suez Canal it proceeded independently for the Persian Gulf port of Ras Tanurah. Off the coast of Oman it was torpedoed by U-859. The U-boat’s success was short-lived, for shortly thereafter it too was sunk while entering Penang harbour.

The John Barry rested undisturbed on the ocean floor for almost fifty years until the Ocean Group, led by Sheik Ahmed Farid, acquired the rights to its cargo and assembled a multi-national team to recover it. Beasant is at his best when describing the four-year salvage operation. An American firm located and surveyed the wreck with sonar and an ROV. Ifremer, the French organization which had helped locate the Titanic, was then brought in to set controlled explosions to open up the wreck. A special giant “grab” was developed to tear away debris and retrieve the silver. In the end they recovered 1.4 million, or almost fifty per cent, of the silver coins.

The book’s title comes from Beasant’s speculation, based on research and rumour, that in addition to the general cargo and silver coins, the John Barry carried a secret cargo of silver bullion destined for Russia to undermine British influence in the Middle East. The story of the bullion has fired the imaginations of treasure hunters since it was first told by John Gorley Bunker in his book on the Liberty ships. Beasant’s research
did not turn up cargo lists that revealed any silver other than the Saudi coins, though survivors' statements referred to $26 million worth of silver bullion, much more than the value of the coins.

Beasant's efforts to prove that the *John Barry* carried silver bullion are sometimes compromised by mishandling naval sources. For example, he interprets the convoy's "special" designation as a reference to the supposed secret cargo. In fact, there were many "special" convoys during the war and the term generally referred to a convoy that was not part of a regular schedule. Beasant determined that the tonnage shown in the cargo manifests was less than the carrying capacity of the ship's holds, yet the ship carried deck cargo. From this, he inferred that the holds were fully loaded — with the silver bullion left off the manifests making up the difference. However, deck cargo generally consisted of material which did not stow easily in the holds and cannot be taken as evidence that the holds were full. In addition, he interprets the phrase "urgently required equipment" in a lend-lease agreement to refer to the secret shipment of silver to Russia when the same document enumerates specific quantities of zinc, nickel, copper, cobalt, aluminum, and industrial diamonds with no apparent need for secrecy.

The survivor reports that referred to the silver bullion did not mention the silver coins and, ultimately, it seems more plausible that the rumours of the bullion arose from the very real presence of the Saudi coins. Still, in spite of these problems, those interested in deep-sea salvage or sunken treasure will enjoy this book.

Robert Fisher
Nepean, Ontario


*A Century of U.S. Naval Intelligence*, published jointly by the US Navy's Office of Naval Intelligence and the Naval Historical Center, was first written as a classified staff study. In its published form, *A Century of U.S. Naval Intelligence* is an institutional history of all the intelligence activities and organizations of the US Navy during the years from the closing decades of the nineteenth century right through the 1970s.

This, however, is not an operational history, for it focuses primarily on the organization and development of intelligence institutions within the US Navy during this century. Rather, it is a reference work arranged into "a topical chronology" dealing with every conceivable aspect of naval intelligence from naval attachés to submarine reconnaissance. That is, the book is organized around intelligence units, organizations, and activities with each subject dealt within a chronological framework. For example, a chapter on "Air Reconnaissance" traces the history of the US Navy's employment of aircraft to gather information from 1913, when the navy first experimented with taking aerial photographs, to the 1970s when aircraft were employed to collect electronic and communications intelligence. The history of an intelligence organization is given in "COMINCH," a chapter devoted to intelligence activities within the Office of the Commander-in-Chief US Fleet during World War II. Here, topics such as the setting up of the US Navy's submarine tracking room, liaison with the British and Canadians on matters of U-boat intelligence, the establishment and the workings of the Combat Intelligence Division, and the disbanding of intelligence activities within COMINCH at the end of World War II are also chronicled.

Another advantage of this book is that it is not only catholic in its treatment of the subject, it gives specific examples, details and facts concerning each topic. Thus, not only are the expected intelligence topics treated here, such as the activities of naval attachés and prisoner-of-war interrogations, but one also finds in chapters and sections of this work detailed analyses of lesser known subjects such as US Naval Intelligence's records and files, its role in censorship, and its relations with the Naval War College. The book is also a treasure trove of lists of facts, people, and intelligence activities. Thus, we find complete lists of all US Navy and Marine Corps language officers who studied in Japan, all the heads of the Translation Section of US Naval Intelligence, and all the "photo-reconnaissance missions" conducted by US submarines during World War II.

This work also provides valuable informa-
tion on the subject of captured German naval records, for we are told when, where, and by whom these records were obtained as well as what the US Navy has done with them. For instance, we learn that the Navy has catalogued and microfilmed the whole collection, producing 3,905 reels of film. It has also translated into English selected documents, such as the war diary of the Operations Staff of the German Navy.

Thus what is important about *A Century of U.S. Naval Intelligence* for naval historians and students of intelligence history is that this book provides both an analysis and the documentary sources for that analysis of the institutional development of all intelligence activities within the US Navy during most of the twentieth century. These assets make *A Century of U.S. Naval Intelligence* not only an effective guide for scholars to the workings of US Naval Intelligence in this century but also an important contribution to the history of intelligence as well as required reading for all historians of the twentieth-century US Navy.

David Syrett
New York, New York


The back dust jacket claims in bold type that "This story is completely true." Smaller print in the inside dust jacket notes that there were "slight technical modifications and name changes." As always, beware of the fine print. Roger Dunham has written a memoir detailing his years as an enlisted nuclear reactor operator aboard USS *Viperfish*, the fictional name he has chosen for what is almost certainly USS *Halibut*. The primary mission of this submarine in the mid-1960s was covert ocean bottom operations. One of these missions involved searching for the wreck of a Soviet submarine that sank in March 1968. Dunham details the lengthy trials involved in preparing a towed camera system capable of searching the bottom at depths down to 20,000 feet. Apparently this camera successfully photographed the wreckage of the Soviet submarine. However, this is about as detailed as the story gets. The identification of the Soviet submarine is almost certainly as fictional as the name *Viperfish*, although this is not indicated anywhere in the book. Dunham does not provide any details of how the US Navy used the knowledge gained in locating and photographing the wreckage, simply ending his story with the return to Pearl Harbor. In fact, there is so little information regarding the main mission of *Viperfish* that we are left with the impression that the incident is more of an excuse to write a book than a useful reason. The accurate information regarding the "Top Secret Mission" could be summarized in a paragraph.

If this book is not really about some mission, what is it about? It is really a vehicle for exploring the life of a young seaman aboard a nuclear submarine. Dunham sketches his experiences from enlistment to fully qualified operator, a story familiar enough with the exception of the occasional comment regarding the nuclear reactor. Each chapter begins with a page or two outlining the preparations of the doomed Soviet submarine for sea set against the backdrop of contemporary events. These serve to remind us that the late 1960s were a period when the Vietnam War became unfashionable in America and anti-war protests gained momentum. In the background the Cold War continued unabated. The book then traces Dunham as he becomes familiar with one of the oddest nuclear submarines in the fleet. *Halibut* started out as a conventional submarine, the decision to convert to nuclear power occurring well into the design cycle. Configuring the hull to carry Regulus guided missiles complicated the design further, and only one of this class of submarines was ever built. The resulting submarine hull is distinctive to say the least, making Dunham's decision to try and disguise its identity while providing good quality pictures curious.

The uncertainty surrounding the truth of many of the mission details recounted in this book severely limits its usefulness to historians. Little can be gained beyond confirming that an operation took place in 1968 to locate the wreckage of a Soviet submarine in the northwest Pacific using an American nuclear submarine, and that operation succeeded. Therefore this book should be seen more as a personal account of a few years at sea aboard a nuclear submarine than as a true account detailing the exploits of a "Spy
In that respect it will not prove a worthwhile investment for most, as the basic outlines of the first few years of a sailor's life at sea is an oft told tale, and the few unique elements found in a nuclear submarine add little. Lessening the value of the book is the author's excessive use of superlatives and hyperbole. Described as a "thriller" on the dust jacket, the genre referred to is evidently that of pulp fiction, not literature. Those wishing to avoid the exercise of reading this book can find more useful detail regarding the actual mission in a two-page article by Norman Friedman in the December 1996, issue of Proceedings, also put out by the US Naval Institute.

Doug McLean
Ottawa, Ontario


The Arctic has long been ignored by Cold War scholars even though it was the most direct route between the two superpowers and the potential "strategic centre" of World War III. Project Coldfeet is the account of a 1962 covert mission in the Arctic and offers a glimpse into this overlooked subject. Written by Leonard LeSchack, one of the two intelligence officers parachuted onto the abandoned Soviet drift station, and historian William Leary, an expert in CIA air operations, this book is a story of human drama, the Cold War race for scientific knowledge about the Arctic, and the logistics of operating in the North.

An Office of Naval Research (ONR) and CIA operation, there were actually two adventures in Operation Coldfeet. The first was the secret occupation of an abandoned Soviet ice station to assess Soviet knowledge of and capabilities in the Arctic. The second was the logistical hurdle of getting the men off the ice island. As landing an airplane on the ice was impossible, retrieval had to be made by the new, experimental Fulton Skyhook. This system entailed a specially equipped B-17 bomber plucking the men off the ice by way of hooking a line that was lifted five hundred feet into the air by a balloon.

The authors do an excellent job of relating the obstacles and hazards of the North. There is tangible suspense as Leary and LeSchack convey the destructive power of the grinding ice pack, the unique problems of whiteouts and days of complete darkness, the savage temperatures, and the fear of stretching fuel supplies too far. The authors' consistent technique of providing biographical sketches of key individuals and placing them in the context of the Cold War in the Arctic is also very effective. This fails, however, in the chapter on Intermountain Aviation, the secretly owned CIA company that "specialized in developing and testing aerial delivery techniques." (p. 107) Lengthy biographies of two agents recount their experiences in failed CIA missions in Indonesia and Cuba. So different geographically — populated tropics versus remote Arctic — and thematically — coups against governments versus scientific observations on an uninhabited ice station — these pages break the suspense developed in the previous chapter. The chapter's introduction and its final three pages would suffice.

Fortunately, the suspense returns. LeSchack and Leary again provide compelling narrative of the men, equipment and elements of the operation. After a frustrating search for the drift station, LeSchack and James Smith parachuted onto the hastily abandoned disintegrating drift station. They successfully accomplished their mission of providing the Office of Naval Intelligence with information about Soviet capabilities and activities on drifting stations. The men's retrieval, however, was anything but routine. After a three-day delay, a whiteout threatened recovery. The men were unexpectedly blown across the ice, further jeopardizing their pickup. There is a palpable sense of relief when both men are safely reeled onboard the B-17.

Operation Coldfeet is written in a scholarly and cogent style, utilizing the relevant secondary sources, the papers of the participants, interviews and correspondences, station logs, and government and military reports. It also provides interesting photos and maps, informative endnotes and appendices, and a useful glossary. The book has the elements of suspense and adventure, but claims that the mission "rivals the derring-do of James Bond" (p. 5) cause the reader's focus to become the system of retrieval, overshadowing
the mission of discovery. They also raise expectations of a spy chase or confrontation. *Coldfeet* was not a spy mission against the Soviets as much as it was an extension of the race for scientific knowledge about the Arctic. The story is one of adventure because it pits man against the elements. It is suspenseful because the mission relied on relatively untested equipment in the unforgiving Arctic. This story does not need images of cloak and dagger; its place is secure as an important contribution to understanding the Soviet use of ice stations and their role in the long neglected Arctic theater of the Cold War.

Elizabeth B. Elliot-Meisel
Omaha, Nebraska


The Canadian Navy has never advertised itself as a haven for intellectual discourse. This has been due, in part, to the propensity of naval officers to think of themselves as active "doers" rather than idle "thinkers." Then there have been occasional gag orders stifling debate of controversial issues (the acquisition of nuclear submarines springs readily to mind). But, fundamentally, there has been the absence of an adequate forum. Canadians never embraced the *Canadian Defence Quarterly* in the same way that the Americans did their Naval Institute *Proceedings* and the British their *Naval Review*. Perhaps the wider tri-service audience offered just a little too much exposure.

This has now begun to change, thanks to Dalhousie University's Centre for Foreign Policy Studies (CFPS). Mobilized by former naval persons Fred Crickard and Peter Haydon, the Centre has obtained the blessing of Maritime Command (MARCOM, as Canada's post-integration Navy is styled) to help "naval thought" shed its oxymoronic status. A quick survey reveals some twenty titles published since 1991; more will surely be produced before this review appears. They began humbly, reproducing conference proceedings, but soon commissioned "occasional" papers to examine particular subjects. Recently they have ventured to tri-yearly collections of "working" papers, designed "to provide a forum for quickly and easily publishing and distributing well-reasoned papers on a complete range of Canadian naval and maritime security issues." (p.iii) The authors include a wide range of analysts, research fellows, doctoral candidates, and, encouragingly, a fair share of sailors.

The volumes reviewed here are each number three in their series. It is a sure measure of acceptance of the CFPS forum that every contributor is a serving or former naval officer. Although not usually linked thematically, in this case the papers are, and they were timed to be available for a Dalhousie-MARCOM-SACLANT co-sponsored symposium, held in Halifax in 1996 on "Multinational Naval Cooperation and Foreign Policy into the 21st Century."

Far from undertaking mere exercises in "rationale-seeking," each of the authors advances the debate on how to utilize the NATO experience as a springboard for future efforts. Indeed, some hint that, while beneficial in establishing the principles of cooperation, Cold War operations may have been an aberration. The lead paper, "The Future of Maritime Peacekeeping," is by Admiral Gary Garnett, who has since been appointed Commander of Maritime Command, and as such it is perhaps the most significant. Flavoured with numerous historical precedents, he asserts that maritime peacekeeping is not a new phenomenon, but rather a natural adjunct of the war-fighting ability of combat-capable navies. It reveals that Canada's naval leadership has a clear grasp of the inherent continuity of sea operations.

One of his former staff officers, Lieutenant-Commander Dave Griffiths, in "The Influence of Sea power upon Peacekeeping," offers a framework of seven roles within which the diverse capabilities of maritime forces can be categorized: diplomacy; patrol; control and protection; enforcement; rehabilitation; humanitarian response; and mission support. Next, Commander Peter Jones (Royal Australian Navy) examines "Multinational Operations: Their Demands and Impact
on Medium Power Navies," specifically the conflicting demands of "non-core activities" and readiness for war. Finally, following Cromwell's maxim that "A man-of-war is the best ambassador," Lieutenant Bruce Fenton, in "Foreign Policy and Naval Forces," provides an illuminating overview of the employment of Canada's navy since 1945 as an instrument of foreign policy.

At just under a hundred pages, the treatment by Robert Thomas (a retired naval captain) is a perfect primer on the subject. A quick précis of naval roles and the record of the past century leads to a discussion of national perspectives on cooperation, thankfully extended beyond that of the regular "western" powers, and culminates with some unconventional conclusions.

The obvious criticism of these papers is that they open questions which beg further discussion. But that is precisely the point. Still, the danger of such narrowly-focused, limited print-run works is that they preach to the converted or, worse, fail to find an audience. Even should the subjects not fall within one's specific range of interest, there is reason to seek out these books. Certainly read them for their insights into multinational naval cooperation; but read them also for a glimpse into an institution reforming from within.

Richard H. Gimblett
Blackburn Hamlet, Ontario


David Oliver describes all the major types of amphibians and flying boats produced since World War II: the Grumman Mallard, Martin Marlin, and Grumman Albatross (American); the Short Sealand and Short Solent (British); the Beriev Be-6 and Be-12 (Soviet); the Piaggio P136 (Italian); the Nord Noroit (French); the Shin Meiwa PS-1/US-1 (Japanese); and the Canadair CL-215 (Canadian). Most of these aircraft are now museum pieces, but Oliver provides lively accounts of their development and exploits. Of the aircraft described, only the CL-415, a turbo-prop version of the CL-215 water bomber, is still in production.

Chalk's International Airlines (owned by Resorts International) operates a handful of Grumman Mallards and Albatrosses to carry passengers between Florida and the Bahamas. The twin turbo-prop Be-12 *tchaika* (Gull, code-named Mail by NATO) holds many world records and still carries out coastal patrols from Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam. Some Be-12s have been converted to water bombers. About ten examples of the elegant, five-seat Piaggio P136 are still flying in the USA and Canada. The Japanese Maritime Self-Defence Force operates the Shin Meiwa PS-1 and US-1, large search-and-rescue/anti-submarine aircraft powered by four turboprops. Although these aircraft have outstanding STOL capability, attempts to find non-Japanese buyers have been unsuccessful, possibly because of the aircraft's high cost and short range. The only comparable aircraft is the Chinese Harbin PS-5, only six of which have been built.

The most commercially-successful contemporary amphibian is the twin-engine Canadair-Bombardier CL-125 water bomber, used extensively in Canada and in Spain, France, Greece, Venezuela, Thailand, and the former Yugoslavia. The CL-415 promises further success.

In a final chapter on "The Future," Oliver discusses the large, twin-jet Beriev A-40, "the world's most advanced amphibian," (p. 138), which so far has had no buyers. A scaled-down version, the Be-200, a joint-venture between Beriev, a Swiss investment firm, and the Irkutsk Aircraft Production Association, is intended primarily as a large-capacity water bomber. Oliver claims that it will present "serious competition" to the CL-415, (p.140) but this seems unlikely because of the proven maintenance infrastructure established by Canadair-Bombardier, and because of the continuing political and economic turmoil in the former USSR.

According to Oliver, the main reason for the demise of commercial water-borne aircraft in the 1950s was the high cost of establishing docking, loading, maintenance, and accommodation facilities on flying boat routes. Night landings were highly dangerous because of the difficulty in estimating altitudes and wave-height. Oliver claims that these difficulties have now been largely overcome with modern technology, and discusses current Japanese and British proposals
to establish infrastructures for commuter and freight services by amphibians and flying boats in areas "where the construction of conventional airports would be difficult and prohibitively expensive." (p. 142)

When I saw the first edition of Oliver's book in 1987, I was tempted to buy it, mainly because of the high-quality three-view drawings and photographs, many of which were taken by the author. The 1996 edition is equally attractive, and Oliver provides an entertaining mixture of technical data and anecdotes. Information regarding Soviet aircraft is now readily accessible, and more data on the Beriev Be-6 and the superlative Be-12 could have been included. There are two mis-spelled place names: "Carterville" (p.112) should have been Cartierville, and "Morino," near Moscow (p.110) should have been Monino. But these are minor problems. Oliver's book is, overall, useful and interesting.

Dennis Bartels
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

National Aviation Museum. *Flypast: The Collection of the National Aviation Museum*. Ottawa: National Aviation Museum, 1995. CD-ROM text, still and moving images, operates on both Mac and IBM-PC platforms (recommended system requirements: Mac - 68040 CPU or faster [Performa 630], 8 MB RAM, double-speed CD-ROM drive or faster, 13" colour monitor, System 7.5 or higher, 3 MB available hard drive space; IBM-PC - 486DX-processor or higher, 8 MB RAM, double-speed CD-ROM drive or faster, SVGA graphic capability [640x480], Windows 3.1 or later, 5 MB free space on hard disk). $49.95, no ISBN. Order by telephone (in Canada only) +1 800 267-7710 or Fax, +1 514 283-7564.

As Mrs Beeton used to say in her cookbook, "first, find your sheep." First, dear reader, find a personal computer, with ample memory and the capability for a CD-ROM with audio. Remembering that the brave new world of electronic information is not altogether hospitable territory, one must be on the lookout for hazards, but there is much to be said for venturing into that world.

The National Aviation Museum has developed this CD-ROM, with the aid of the National Film Board, from the Silver Dart multimedia electronic encyclopedia. Flypast provides information about the National Aviation Museum and its collection in easily digestible form, puts the material into some historical context, offers an excellent guide to other aviation museums in the country, lists a selection of books and a better selection of films on aviation in Canada, and tells the viewer/reader/listener something about conservation of aircraft. For the aviation buff, this is great stuff, although the description of restoring a BE2c comes to an inexplicably abrupt end. There are film clips, photographs, aircraft and engine specifications, even in some cases engine sounds. Nostalgia and sensual experience reign supreme. And there is virtually no intellectual challenge to interfere with the pleasure of it all.

Readers of this journal will probably click on the topic called "Walkway of Time" as their first choice. This is a potted history of aviation in Canada, divided into seven episodes: the pioneers; World War I; between the wars; bush flying; World War II; post-war aviation to 1960; and aviation since 1960. Mostly film footage, interspersed with some good photographs, the story is narrated by a woman with a voice that, although pleasant, tends to become monotonous when running through all seven episodes at once. The thrust of the story is that Canadians were early on the aviation scene, were the first to develop some of the new departures in aviation, and continue to be among the world's leaders in the field. It is, unfortunately, very superficial. The role of military aviation, although briefly covered in the two World War episodes, is barely acknowledged. Nobody viewing the "Walkway of Time" would gather that the navy had an air branch at all, either the Royal Canadian Naval Air Service of 1917-18 or the RCN's air branch begun in 1943. They would wonder, on seeing the details about the Swordfish, Sea Fury, Banshee, Tracker and Sikorsky H04S-3, how Canada came to have two aircraft carriers. They would learn nothing about Canadian innovations in helicopter operations from anti-submarine vessels. Perhaps the most surprising and serious gap is the failure to explain adequately the role of the RCAF between the two world wars in developing civil aviation. Why is there no mention of the RCAF's great survey of the north, or of the Hudson Strait expedition, of crop dusting and forest fire patrols? And why, having mentioned "Punch" Dickens, is
there not one word about the Atlantic Ferry Organisation and Ferry Command? It may have been a British organisation, but it played an important part in the recognition of Canada as a major player in international aviation.

The potential of the CD ROM as an interactive device might help remedy these shortcomings. The National Aviation Museum is nevertheless to be commended for taking the initiative in this field, and one hopes not only that improved CD ROMs will appear, but that other museums will take up the challenge to exploit new technology for educational purposes.

W.A.B. Douglas
Ottawa, Ontario


This book is an edited collection of ten papers presented at the 1991 International Boundaries Research Unit (IBRU) conference held in Durham, England. Other papers presented at the conference compose the first three of a five-volume set entitled World Boundaries. This fifth volume deals specifically with ocean boundaries.

The contribution of direct interest for Canadian readers is by Douglas Day, "Managing Transboundary Fish Stocks: Lessons from the North Atlantic." Day examines four examples where transboundary fish stocks are in need of cooperative management: Norway/European Union in the North Sea; the Gulf of Maine between Canada and the United States; the outer Gulf of St. Lawrence between France and Canada; and the Canada-high seas area on the Grand Banks. He compares the successes and failures of cooperative management of the relevant trans-boundary stocks. While there is reason for optimism that successful cooperative models do exist for transboundary fishery resource management, there are difficulties in achieving a cooperative approach that has resource conservation as its central goal. The continuing problems of harvesting overcapacity, fishing communities' pressure on government representatives, inadequate monitoring and enforcement and imperfect science conspire to undermine successful transboundary fish stock management.

From a legal perspective, the most evocative contribution is "The Stability of Land and Sea Boundary Delimitations in International Law" by Geoffrey Marston, who explores the question of the finality of boundaries. This is a question of interest within Canada because of the possible independence of Quebec. What does international law, which if Quebec achieves full independence would be the relevant law, say about the location of land and ocean boundaries between Quebec and Ontario, Quebec and the United States, Quebec and the Atlantic provinces in the Gulf of St. Lawrence? Boundaries, either land or maritime, once set at the international or domestic level, have an amazing resilience and international law appears to encourage non-disruption.

Robert W. Smith of the US State Department provides an analysis of the 1990 US-Russia maritime boundary agreement. The two countries accepted that the ocean boundary would follow the ocean dividing line found in the 1867 US-Russia Treaty. That treaty also used the 141st meridian in the Beaufort Sea as the limit of Alaska. Canada has asserted that the 141st meridian is the maritime boundary and noted that if the United States accepts one line created by the 1867 Treaty as an ocean boundary, it must also accept a related line as an ocean boundary. However, the relevance of the 1990 US-Russia ocean boundary to Canada is not discussed by Smith.

Another contribution of relevance to Canada is that of Galo Carrera, a Halifax entrepreneur who has developed a computer program (DELMAR) to assist states in the construction of ocean boundaries. Carrera provides a brief description of DELMAR and its usefulness.

Other contributions involve detailed discussions of the effects on ocean boundaries of coral reefs and sea level rise. These are interesting and the contributors are leading world experts, but the papers are highly specialized.

This collection is a useful compendium of papers which those interested in ocean boundaries will find useful. It also confirms that the IBRU in Durham is a major centre for international boundary study.

Ted L. McDorman
Victoria, British Columbia