

## BOOK REVIEWS

Tony Tanner (ed.). *The Oxford Book of Sea Stories*. New York & Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994. xviii + 410 pp. \$36.95, cloth; ISBN 0-19-214210-0.

The sea assumes a timeless presence in this collection of fiction from Oxford. Tony Tanner has selected a diverse assortment of stories by well-known British, American and Canadian writers. Through his editing, he emphasizes the eternal quality of the tales at the expense of historical and social contexts, presenting stories involving sailors and landlubbers alike. The selections are arranged roughly chronologically, encompassing the period from 1820 to 1967, and amply representing Great Britain (fifteen stories) and the United States (eleven stories). Canada gets short shrift, with only Charles G.D. Roberts, an odd choice, represented.

The book brings together some classic stories that readers will find irresistible. It balances stirring tales of adventure, both realistic and fantastic, against lyrically constructed meditations on the sea. Readers can get a glimpse of the American whaling industry in its heyday by comparing J.N. Reynolds' "Mocca Dick," an exciting story of a noble first mate's defeat of a great white whale, with the apocalyptic closing chapters of Melville's *Moby Dick*, which Reynolds' tale inspired and which Tanner wisely includes here. Other realistic adventure tales, mainly by British writers, such as Rudyard Kipling, A.E.W. Mason, A.E. Dingle and Shalimar (Frank Courts Henry), reveal in intimate detail the life of the sailing fraternity at the turn of the last century. The mariner's world in the transition from sail to steam comes to life in the vividly detailed nautical language, the revelation of daily routine, and the accounts of heroic endeavour, and occasional disgrace, that these stories present. In the more fantastic vein, Edgar

Allan Poe's "Descent into the Maelstrom," and H.G. Wells' "In the Abyss," imagine the terrors and mysteries of the sea in tales of supernatural moment. E.M. Forster's "The Story of the Siren" and Malcom Lowry's "The Bravest Boat" present a gentle contrast to these adventures through their writers' rendering of lives attuned to the sea's rhythms. But the true gems in the book, possibly the best ever written in the genre, Conrad's "The Secret Sharer" and Stephen Crane's "The Open Boat," bridge these two forms, focusing in lyrical fashion on their narrators' moral dilemmas within the intrigue of the adventure plots.

As this list indicates, Tanner has selected tales that will appeal to romantics and realists alike, but his interest is clearly aesthetic, not historical. His muse in this regard seems to be Conrad, who is the only writer represented by more than one selection. In his introduction, Tanner offers little commentary on the other writers. He does not provide biographical or historical introductions to the tales and buries the list of sources at the back of the book, offering no mention of the nationalities of the writers. The stories themselves follow each other as if in a timeless present, and Tanner reinforces this impression by framing the collection between Joseph Conrad's "Initiation," an excerpt from his memoir *The Mirror and the Sea* (1906), and Peter Ustinov's "The Frontiers of the Sea" (1967). Both present the voices of old men who spout a sea wisdom that surpasses particular times and places.

As well, some of Tanner's choices are questionable. He confines the American selections to writers already ensconced in literary history, but the tales by Washington Irving, Henry James, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, and William Faulkner seem more curiosities than exemplars of the form, especial-

ly when compared to those of Melville, Crane and Jack London. The lone Canadian selection, Roberts' "The Terror of the Sea Caves," poorly represents Canadian contributions to the genre. Stories by Roberts' brother, Theodore Goodridge Roberts, Colin Mackay or Alistair MacLeod would have displayed Canada's maritime fiction to better advantage. Perhaps copyright restrictions limited Tanner's choices in this regard.

I have mixed feelings about this book. Although the collection provides little of an historical sense, it still offers readers a chance to imbibe some vintage sea tales. I recommend it to uninitiated readers who seek an introduction to the genre; lovers of the form and researchers would likely enjoy some of the tales, but find little new to excite them.

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C. B. Bourne (ed.-in-chief). *The Canadian Yearbook of International Law/Annuaire Canadien de droit international*, XXX (1992). Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994. xi + 475 pp., maps, figures, book reviews, analytical index, index of cases. \$95, cloth; ISBN 0-7748-0438-6.

Donald M. McRae (ed.-in-chief). *The Canadian Yearbook of International Law/Annuaire Canadien de droit international*, XXXI (1993). Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994. xiii + 476 pp., book reviews, analytical index, case index. \$110, cloth; ISBN 0-7748-0496-3.

*The Canadian Yearbook of International Law* is the principal organ of Canada's international law community. Now entering its fourth decade of publication, it has attained a well-deserved international reputation for excellence, thanks largely to the work of its founding editor, Charles B. Bourne. Volume 30 marks the final year of Bourne's editorship, and volume 31 the beginning of Don M. McRae's tenure as editor-in-chief. Thus, the introduction to volume 31 contains both a well-deserved tribute to Bourne and an assurance from the new editor that the high level of scholarship evident in the first thirty volumes of the *Yearbook* will continue.

Two international ocean issues have dominated Canada's agenda in the 1990s: the bound-

ary and resource dispute between Canada and France adjacent to St. Pierre and Miquelon and the problem of fishing activities outside Canada's east coast 200-n. mile zone which affect fish stocks within Canada's zone. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the two volumes of the *Canadian Yearbook* under review, extensive contributions deal with these issues.

Canada's relations with France respecting St. Pierre and Miquelon have had two interrelated components. In 1972, Canada and France agreed to continue existing treaty rights of French fishers to harvest living resources in undisputed Canadian waters. The amount of fish harvested by France is controlled by Canada through quota allocations. Disagreements have persisted over those quotas. The second component was the ocean boundary dispute that arose from the French claim that the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon entitled France to a large slice of waters within Canada's 200-n. mile zone. French and Canadian assertion of fishing rights in the waters adjacent to those islands led to much-publicized confrontation throughout the 1980s. In June 1992, an Arbitration Tribunal settled the dispute over ocean space.

In volume 30, Ross Hornby and Valerie Hughes provide a detailed analysis of that 1992 arbitration decision. As lawyers with Canada's Department of Justice who were directly involved in the Canada-France case, they provide a unique perspective on the outcome of the Arbitration. Not surprisingly, they find little fault with the award that largely favoured Canada, taking the view that the decision is both equitable, given the relative interests of Canada and France in the disputed area, and consistent with the existing jurisprudence and state practice on ocean boundary delimitation.

In volume 31, Charles V. Cole of Canada's Department of External Affairs contributes a companion piece on the St. Pierre and Miquelon dispute which looks at the more technical issue of how the countries and the Arbitration Tribunal dealt with the centuries-old treaties which provided French sovereignty over St. Pierre and Miquelon and guaranteed French fishing rights in east coast waters.

In late 1994 Canada and France entered into an agreement designed to establish a framework for the sharing of the living resources in

the Canadian and French waters on the east coast. The 1994 Accord is an implementation of the French right to fish in Canadian waters guaranteed in the 1972 Agreement coupled with a sharing of access to living resources in the previously-disputed ocean area around St. Pierre and Miquelon. The 1994 Agreement should ensure a decade of tranquillity to replace the previous decade of confrontational din that was Canadian-French fishing relations.

Paul Fauteux's article in volume 31, "L'initiative juridique canadienne sur la pêche en haute mer" ("The Canadian Legal Initiative on High Seas Fishing"), provides a comprehensive review of Canada's position regarding the straddling stocks problem on the east coast and the Canadian goal of developing a new international framework to deal with the problem. The success of Canada's policies came in 1993 when the United Nations convened the Conference on Straddling and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks with the mandate to find a consensus on straddling-stock and high-seas fishing issues.

The UN Conference will be continuing its work in 1995 with the goal of completing an international treaty to regulate fishing in areas beyond national jurisdiction. From a Canadian perspective progress has been made during the Conference with many of the issues of importance to Canada appearing to be resolved favourable to Canadian interests. However, several key issues, e.g., enforcement, are not yet resolved, so that the emerging package is not yet fully in accord with Canadian negotiating goals.

Unlike the St. Pierre and Miquelon issue which will be receding in importance as progress is made through the 1990s, the issue of straddling stocks will be of continuing importance. Future issues of the *Canadian Yearbook* can be expected to contain contributions relating to the east coast straddling stock problem.

Beyond the noted key issues on Canada's international oceans agenda several other contributions to the two volumes of the *Yearbook* touch upon ocean-related interests. For example, Wolff H. Von Heinegg's paper, "Visit, Search, Diversion and Capture in Naval Warfare: Part II: Developments since 1945," deals with issues which may be of importance to the Canadian Navy in a war or peacekeeping setting. A noteworthy contribution by Karin Mickelson,

"Rereading Trail Smelter," re-examines the famed 1938 Canada-United States Arbitration which provides the legal basis for much of the existing international environmental law.

The *Canadian Yearbook* is a specialist publication of interest primarily to international lawyers. As regards international ocean issues, however, since resolution is usually through international instruments such as treaties, the contributions in the *Yearbook* are of special significance to those seeking a full understanding of international ocean issue complexities.

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Museu Maritim. *VIIIth International Congress of Maritime Museums. Proceedings 1993*. Barcelona: Drassanes de Barcelona for Museum Maritim, 1994. 270 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, maps. Paper; ISBN 84-7794-304-4.

The VIIIth International Congress of Maritime Museums was held in 1993 at the Museu Maritim in Barcelona, Spain. I did not attend the meeting, and so it could be said that I lack a context for reviewing this collection of papers. It is a commonplace that the chief value in these gatherings is the opportunity to meet with other professionals and that the unofficial, after-hours discussions are often the best. After reading this collection of papers given at the Barcelona conference, I sincerely hope that the discussions were worthwhile, for, from the evidence presented here, the papers generally were not.

The papers were organized around seven themes: maritime museums in Spain; navigation: theory, practice and evidence; the presentation of navigation; underwater archaeology; movement of collections; museum in society; and staffing the modern maritime museum.

The papers on maritime museums in Spain were the weakest in terms of form and content. Of course, it is possible for good presentations to be impoverished by poor translation into English. Even making that allowance, however, the bulk of these papers are simplistic in the extreme considering that they were presented to a major international gathering. They are for the most part straightforward descriptions of particular museums and their operations, more akin to

a travelogue or a guidebook entry than a paper. This is not to say that reading through them did not arouse a certain amount of sympathy for the great efforts these smaller museums were making. Some of the Spanish presenters spoke with alarming candour about their difficulties with regional and local governments, one going so far as to title a section of his paper "And then we were run down by the political situation."

The next set of papers, on "Navigation: theory, practice and evidence," offers some useful information, particularly relating to navigation techniques in medieval north Europe. A paper on Viking navigational techniques begins to touch on the sailing characteristics of Viking vessels as deduced from sea trials of replicas, but this is the only real sign so far that this is a museum conference, concerned with material culture, and not simply a gathering of maritime historians. Nonetheless, most of the information presented is not new, and appears to be simply a distillation of secondary source material.

The session about the presentation of navigation contains some museological discussions about the modernization of navigational exhibits and the problems inherent in presenting a complex and mathematically-based subject to the public. The papers from the session on underwater archaeology are acutely disappointing, given the current important debates around this topic. They range from a basic survey of underwater site legislation to a jargon-laden compilation of site reports about amphorae finds.

Museum collections were dealt with in six papers covering ethnographic watercraft collections, starting a museum from scratch with no collection, rationalizing a dispersed museum operation with many discrete sites, ownership of collections, deaccessioning, and cultural property law. The last two sessions dealt with descriptions of a number of maritime museums around the world and with staffing issues.

Even as a record of the proceedings of the meeting, this collection of papers is of questionable value. The volume is riddled with typographical errors and inconsistencies, and too often the English translations are deplorable. It represents a significant decline in quality from the published proceedings of the last meeting in 1990. The best papers are straightforward, adding little new knowledge to their respective

fields. Few have even a bibliography, and none offer a more substantial reference structure. It is difficult to see what use they could be for further research. Overall this is a disappointing collection. I can only hope that it is not indicative of the quality of the conference itself.

John Summers  
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Poul Holm, Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen, Jón Thór (eds.). *Northern Seas Yearbook 1994*. Fiskeri- og Søfartsmuseets studierie, nr.3; Esbjerg: Fiskeri- og Søfartsmuseet for the Association for the History of the Northern Seas, 1994. 157 pp., tables, figures. 150 DKr for non-members, paper; ISBN 87-87453-57-6.

Published for the Association for the History of the Northern Seas, this is the latest in a series begun in 1988. This volume also reflects a new policy of making the Association a forum for all historians interested in the maritime history of the northern seas, a decision taken in the light of the far-reaching political changes in eastern and central Europe during the 1990s. The yearbook is to be published more regularly and will contain a greater variety of articles.

The 1994 edition contains seven papers which, perhaps, reflect these new directions. The essays range widely in time and place. Their subject matter is equally eclectic. Two examine aspects of labour relations: Maria Bogucka describes the recruitment of seamen for Gdansk ships in the period 1500-1800; Yrjö Kaukiainen looks at Finnish maritime labour costs after World War II. Three contributors take local commodity trades as their theme: Sven-Erik Åström provides some notes on the White Sea trade in tar and timber; Jon Jonsson describes the fisheries off Iceland between 1600 and 1900; Jón Thór analyses the growth of the town of ísafjörður in the nineteenth century founded upon its fish production. In the last two papers, Lewis Fischer returns to an old interest in his analysis of Fearnley and Eger between the world wars, while Poul Holm examines technology transfer and its social setting by means of a case study of the experience of Danish steam trawlers in the North Sea and off Iceland in the late nineteenth century.

Some of the articles thrive on detail rather than analysis. Bogucka's paper provides fascinating data on recruitment and earnings and she concludes, not surprisingly, that a career at sea was an unattractive proposition. Åström's brief essay uses sources not easily accessible to an English-speaking readership but, perhaps, lacks adequate explanation of the data he has unearthed. Similarly, Jónsson's treatment of the Iceland fisheries 1600-1900 and Thór's paper on isafjórður are extremely informative.

More analytical are the essays by Kaukiainen, Fischer and Holm. Kaukiainen discusses the shift in Finland from low-cost to high-cost maritime labour which forced local shipowners to exploit flags of convenience or capital-deepening strategies that economised on labour in order to remain competitive. While Fischer's paper remains essentially a case-study, he makes perceptive observations on wider issues, like Norwegian and, indeed, world shipping between the wars. Holm analyses the impact on the Danish trawler fleet of copying the British adoption of steam-power. The results were seemingly mixed, especially as motorship developments quickly followed, although a Swedish company was successful in learning from Britain's experience.

Overall, the *Yearbook* is nicely produced, the essays are a pleasure to read and the contributors clearly write with authority. It is a pleasing contribution to maritime studies. One small criticism is that this reviewer would have liked more and clearer maps and charts to guide him through somewhat unfamiliar waters.

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Michael Duffy, Stephen Fisher, Basil Greenhill, David J. Starkey, and Joyce Youings (eds.). *The New Maritime History of Devon. Volume II: From the Late Eighteenth Century to the Present Day*. London: Conway Maritime Press in association with the University of Exeter, 1994. 272 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, maps, tables, index. £35, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-633-7.

The county of Devon had played an important part in England's maritime history long before the late eighteenth century. Local seamen such as Hawkins and Drake had become national

heroes in the age of the Spanish Armada, and Devon ships had played an important part in the Newfoundland cod trade. These aspects have been fully covered in the first volume of the *New Maritime History of Devon* (reviewed here in October 1993). The second volume of this project now addresses the more recent period of the county's maritime history, from the late eighteenth century to the present day.

Devon's maritime trade, both coastal and foreign, continued to expand up to World War I, but merchant shipowning and shipbuilding in the county peaked around 1870. Devon vessels had been active in the Quebec timber trade, the Newfoundland cod trade, and the fruit trade from the Azores and the Mediterranean, but they did not make the transition from sail to steam and from wooden hulls to iron and steel. British oceanic shipping activities became increasingly concentrated on the big ports; the only Devon shipowners who prospered long-term were those who moved to the big ports, such as Holmans of Topsham to London and Reardon Smith of Bideford to Cardiff.

Devon's local fishing industry prospered in the nineteenth century, with Brixham leading the way in the introduction of trawling to the British fishing industry, but once again there was a failure to adapt to new technology, to make the move from sailing trawlers to steam trawlers. After World War I local fishing, like other maritime sectors, went into decline, only to revive somewhat in the 1970s.

The two great maritime growth areas covered by this volume are the Royal Navy's dockyard and naval base at Devonport, near Plymouth, which developed greatly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the rise of seaside tourism and other leisure-related maritime activities in the county.

Thus, while Devon was not involved in the Industrial Revolution, that change had a great impact on its maritime activities. Because Devon could not adapt to changes in maritime technology (steam, iron, bigger ships needing large ports, etc.), many of its traditional maritime sectors, such as shipowning and shipbuilding, were condemned to almost terminal decline. However, on the positive side, the increased prosperity brought by economic change and Devon's better links with the rest of the country

thanks to the railways created an ever-growing coastal tourist industry. Similarly, changing technology led to great expansion at Devonport naval dockyard and it remains, despite recent cuts, what it has been since the eighteenth century, Devon's largest industrial enterprise.

The contributors to this excellent volume fill in the details of these themes and other aspects of Devon's maritime history in the last two hundred years. Chapters cover a wide range of topics including seaborne trade, port development, shipbuilding, shipowning, early steamers, emigration, fishing, seaside tourism, naval strategy, naval technology, the development of Devonport dockyard, its facilities, architecture and impact of the local economy, naval operations in the World Wars, marine education, hydrography and navigation, and rescue services around Devon's rugged coasts. Each chapter is well-illustrated and has full source notes.

Devon had many maritime links with eastern Canada, such as the Newfoundland cod trade, the Quebec timber trade, shipbuilding in Prince Edward Island, and emigration to Canada. It is also possible to make some comparison between Devonport's position in Devon and that of the Halifax dockyard/naval base in Nova Scotia. Both naval establishments have kept up with maritime technological change in areas which have declined since their great days in the era of the wooden sailing ship and are now best known as tourist/retirement areas.

In conclusion one may say that, taken together, the two volumes of the *New Maritime History of Devon* provide an excellent study of the maritime history of that county and have laid down how such regional studies may be undertaken for other areas, as well as shedding light on wider aspects of both British and international maritime history.

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Sue Mowat. *The Port of Leith: Its History and Its People*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1994. ix + 468 pp., illustrations, photographs, appendices, maps, indices. £20, paper; ISBN 0-85976-403-6.

The immediate problem in reviewing this book is that it has two different stated purposes: those

given by the author in the preface are much more modest than those on the back cover.

By the author's criteria of avoiding repetition of previous work, of going back to the sources and of telling the story of the port and people of Leith, it must be judged mostly successful. The time-span, however, is a long one, from 1329 almost to the present day. Inevitably, this causes problems: as time and pages pass, evidence comes thicker and faster. The eminently reasonable aim of not making the book slight for the medieval period and massive for recent times actually presents a difficult task. There is good contextual material included for medieval Leith, but the treatment after about 1860, when a lot happened very quickly and it all got written down, becomes quite brief and episodic.

As Mowat remarks in the preface, the decision to pursue or not to pursue side-tracks is a critical one. Some side-tracks are pursued which might have been better passed by: the war service records of corvettes built at Leith make stirring stories but have little bearing on the defined theme. Other 'side-tracks,' however, do trace, and illuminate, the development of the port and its characteristic ways of working.

There are some irritations, of which the most serious is the extravagance of publishers' claims. On the rear cover we have a series of 'bullet points,' one of which is 'Engineering and Railways,' yet the author is plainly least happy with matters technical, perpetrating such infelicities as 'coal burning engines' (engines do not burn coal: that is what boilers do). In fairness, the *author* claims no engineering expertise. Again, the work is described as scholarly, yet has no references and even the bibliography is a bit enigmatic. But Mowat offers offprints of interim papers and even gives her 'phone number, so the omission of references is obviously not the result of her desire to be secretive. One is forced to assume that the publisher thinks references are boring. It seems odd both to make inflated claims *and* to sell short the considerable original research input of the author.

Proof-reading is sloppy in places, with principle/principal confusions, words left in which were meant to go in editing, and occasional gobbledegook words. We learned what a 'metter' is, but what is his 'tool howff?' Is it a misprint or an obscure technical term? 'howfP' is not in the

Shorter OED, so this reviewer initially, and wrongly, assumed it was a misprint.

While the story is carefully placed in the context of general local and Scottish history, there is little mention of other ports which often shared similar problems. The absence from the bibliography of anything by Gordon Jackson is surprising. Furthermore, although no attempt at econometrics is intended (for which relief, thanks) it would be useful to have a few tables of annual revenue or tonnage throughput to illustrate the ups and downs of the port both over time and in comparison with its competitors.

Such carpings must not be allowed to conceal the fact that this is the best history so far of what is, averaged over the centuries, Scotland's greatest port. Despite its flaws, some of which probably originate with the publisher and others in the haste enforced by a commission issued only in 1991, this is an enjoyable, well-illustrated and readable book.

It would be wrong not to make honourable mention of Forth Ports PLC, present owners of Leith Docks. They could easily have done as many firms do and ignored their history, or just as easily paid an honorarium to some ageing Bob Cratchett in their establishment to ape Uriah Heep and write an 'inside job.' Instead they chose to commission a proper piece of research. There is more to be done before the history, especially the more recent history, of Leith is fully explained — as Mowat's preface freely admits — but this book is both a worthy contribution and a recommendation that the author continue in her work. One suspects she might enjoy it.

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Henry C. Keatts and George C. Farr. *Dive Into History, Vol. III: U-Boats*. Houston, TX: Pisces Books, 1994. xiii + 224 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs (B+W, colour), figures, appendices, bibliography, index. Cdn \$26.95, paper; ISBN 1-55992-064-5. Distributed in Canada by McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Whitby, ON.

The Battle of the Atlantic was the greatest sea battle in history. It raged back and forth across the Atlantic sea lanes for years, leaving scores

of casualties as German U-boats sought to stop the flow of ships, supplies and men crossing the Atlantic to fight in Europe. The tangible traces of that battle, other than relics, monuments and memorials, include preserved vessels such as the last corvette, *Sackville*, and the German submarine U-505, as well as the shoreside graves of the dead whose bones do not lie fathoms down. Less known and hitherto inaccessible are the scores of wrecks from the battle, many along the North Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf Coast. Long the domain of souvenir seeking and history minded divers, these wrecks include the hunters as well as the hunted.

In this third book in a series intended for recreational divers, the authors explore a series of U-boat wrecks off North American shores. A brief historical overview of U-boat development and use in the two world wars forms the first chapters. Subsequent chapters offer a more detailed history of the U-boat's career and demise where the identity of the submarine is known. The text is supplemented by colour and black and white photographs as well as nicely executed drawings that offer a full perspective of battle damage and the ravages of time.

The book is a commendable effort that melds history with the physical remains of the past, just like more formal maritime archaeological studies. This book blends a sense of awe for the history these wrecks represent with the thrill of a souvenir hunt. The authors condemn the removal and tasteless display of human remains from some of the wrecks, and ask that the U-boats be respected as war graves. But descriptions and photographs abound of the removal of deck guns, torpedoes, and artifacts from the interiors of the boats. Some photographs show how these artifacts have been conserved and are in the collections of the divers.

Who owns the past? Is it individual collectors or society in general? What is the most appropriate repository for these artifacts? Do these artifacts belong to the families of the dead U-boat sailors and the German government? These questions have been the subject of much debate. The U-boat wrecks as archaeological sites offer information and the opportunity to physically interact with a great battle fought over a vast ocean.

The lesson in this book is not how history

can be supplemented by the study of the physical remains of the past. In this case, it is a lesson of an opportunity perhaps lost, perhaps yet attainable, of making these wrecks accessible to a wider public, as the book does with its pictures and descriptions, but also through video and film, and the gathering of artifacts into the public domain for display and preservation. Future forays to the U-boats should strive to protect and preserve them not just as artifacts but as dive sites that will last as long as possible for new generations of divers who seek to dive into history.

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Paul Lipke, Peter Spectre, Benjamin A. G. Fuller (eds.). *Boats: A Manual for Their Documentation*. Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History and the Museum Small Craft Association, 1994 [AASLH, 530 Church Street, Suite 600, Nashville, TN 37219 USA], x + 415 pp., figures, photographs, appendices, bibliographical essay and bibliography, index. US \$37.95 (+ postage), paper; ISBN 0-942063-17-1.

In the introductory chapter to *Boats: A Manual for Their Documentation*, Ben Fuller writes, "Small craft are...highly complex artifacts, with variations in form and technique directly linked to their temporal and geographical context. Their study leads to questions of technical skill, competence, aesthetics, and invention or diffusion of knowledge." (p.2) The case can hardly be overstated; historic small boats are so rich in their complexity and diversity that they are capable of speaking volumes about the people by which and the places in which they were built and used. They have that exquisite potential to put us into almost direct contact with the humanity of our forefathers.

Unfortunately the study of small craft is a much-neglected field, and the number of individuals who know their way around the subject has been extremely limited. The most serious consequence of this is that thousands of historic small boats have rotted away or otherwise been destroyed without having been adequately documented. All that is known and all that will ever

be known about some once important types is contained in single blurred photographs or impressionistic drawings.

In order to stem this tide of loss, the Museum Small Craft Association with the support of a number of public and private agencies undertook in the late 1980s to produce a manual that would facilitate the documentation of small craft by individuals and organizations which had a minimum of relevant experience. *Boats* is the long-awaited result.

No evaluation of this book would do it justice without giving due recognition to the significant contribution that it makes to small craft studies. It contains several chapters by Dave Dillion on the documentation of boats themselves, including chapters on accuracy, tools, construction details, hull shape, field notes, rigging, and drawing., It contains several chapters by various authors on subjects such as preserving boats, archaeological approaches, sketching and photographing boats, historical photographs, recording cultural context, and analyzing hull shape with the use of computers. Indeed, it contains almost everything that anyone would ever need to know about documenting historic wooden boats.

In order to have been successful, this book needed to be readily accessible to all intelligent people regardless of their experience with boats. In order to curb the rate at which small craft history is being lost, it needed to be a manual. A manual, by definition, is a small book for handy use, a concise treatise. A manual provides firm guidance and clear instructions. Despite its subtitle, this is not a manual. Rather, it is a compilation that brings or heaps together material from various sources. *Boats* is big and it is inclusive almost to the opposite of being concise. Anyone looking for firm guidance or clear instructions will be largely disappointed, and even individuals who have some familiarity with the documentation of small craft will have difficulty getting through this book.

In their preface the editors make the surprising admission that controversy over the level of detail to be included was resolved by adopting a philosophy of inclusion: "Most of the authors made their contributions on a volunteer basis while simultaneously meeting substantial professional obligations to their employers; under



such circumstances their vociferous, expert opinions in such matters could hardly be casually over-ruled." (p.ix) This points to what seems to be the central problem with *Boats*, namely a significant absence of editorial authority.

Not only is the somewhat indiscriminate nature of the material a problem, the lumpy mixture of the relevant with the obvious and the arcane, but there are also problems with the organization of that material and with the quality of the exposition. Dave Dillion is undoubtedly brilliant at what he does, but like many talented individuals he is not an equally brilliant communicator. His chapters are packed with information and insights, but they are for the most part unclear. Like the book as a whole they cry out for professional editorial assistance.

While *Boats* will certainly open the eyes of all who read it to new possibilities in small craft research, and while it will no doubt cause many boats to be investigated that would otherwise be neglected, there is a disturbing possibility that many others will remain neglected not because of the difficulty of documentation so much as because of the difficulty of *Boats*.

The need for a small boat documentation manual has not been completely satisfied.

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Simon P. Ville and David M. Williams (eds.). *Research in Maritime History, No. 6. Management, Finance and Industrial Relations in Maritime Industries: Essays in International Maritime History and Business History*. St. John's: International Maritime Economic History Association, 1994. xiii + 214 pp., tables, figures. US \$15, paper; ISBN 0-9695885-4-2.

This volume consists of ten essays dealing with shipbroking, shipbuilding, the management of dock labour, the training of shipmasters, mail packets, steamship companies and the trades involving Chinese junks. The geographical coverage is equally diverse, including Norway, Sweden, Finland, Britain, Italy, Japan and China. There is a significant variation in the quality of the contributions but the unifying theme is that contained in the title of the volume, namely management, finance and industrial

relations. Fischer and Nordvik address the issue of the lack of congruence between the predictions of certain economic models and the reality of intra-firm behaviour. The vehicle for their exposition is an interesting analysis of the business history of the Oslo shipbroking firm of Fearnley and Eger over the period 1869-1972. In particular, they concentrate on the firms's record in collecting, analysing and using information about the market as a pre-requisite for business decision making. The picture revealed is one of a conservative, risk-avoiding management style, with information flows and decision-making concentrated in the hands of two partners. Deaths and new partners did little to significantly change the management performance yet the company survived. This fact would not surprise economists. As the authors themselves point out, the level of returns satisfied the owners. Industry and commerce provide many examples of satisfactory rather than maximising behaviour. Jesus Valdaliso examines the track record of the Spanish shipping company Compañía Marítima del Nervion (CMN), in the context of the fortunes of the Spanish shipping industry during the twentieth century. In 1982, the Spanish shipping company, Naviera Asrar collapsed. It was followed by the failure of Marítima del Nervion in 1986 and the group Naviera Vascongada - Naviera Bilbaina in 1993. The recent history of the Spanish shipping industry is one of decline and failure. Like Fischer and Nordvik, he makes a plea to business historians to use the tools of economic theory in analysing company performance. In this instance he uses Nelson and Winters evolutionary theory of the firm as the framework for his analysis of CMN's demise. In their essay on the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, Arnold and Greenhill set as their objective the answer to the question did the State provide the private sector shipping companies with excess returns? Consistent with the triumphant laissez faire ideology of the nineteenth century, British government placed mail contracts with commercial shipping lines. The index of performance adopted by Arnold and Greenhill is return on capital and using the company accounts of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, they have produced an impressive piece of financial analysis leading them to tentatively conclude

that the contract payments "probably represented due consideration for the performance of a valuable public service." An evaluation of management and decision making is again the subject dealt with by Martin Fritz and Kent Olsson is their study of two Swedish shipping companies, Brostrom and Transatlantic. The period covered is the present century and encompasses the technological innovations of motor vessels and containers. The two companies, which dominated Swedish shipping, exhibited different responses to the changing economic environment. A major distinction was that Brostrom, primarily a tramp company, was administered by its owners. By contrast, Transatlantic was managed by employed directors and was a liner company. The management of the two companies during a period of inter-war depression and technological change is dealt with in a lucid and compact manner. The competitive pressures had, by 1970, faced the two companies with increasing difficulties that finally resulted in the collapse of Brostrom and Transatlantic as an independent operator. Moving away from finance, Anthony Henderson and Sarah Palmer contributed an essay on how the adoption of the dock system in London affected the work experience of dock workers. More specifically, they compare their findings with those of labour historians who argue that industrialization involved a reshaping of the work experience. The newly enclosed docks were owned and managed by three monopolists, the West India Dock Company; the East India Dock Company and the London Dock Company. Their docks handled high value, dutiable goods and the management were faced with questions of how work was to be organised, who should be employed and how work was to be allocated to workers. The authors conclude that the management policies which emerged had much in common with those characteristic of large industrial companies outside of the port industry. A major objective of these dock companies was to prevent any increase in workers' power and "to reduce the independent status of those who already possessed it." This is a welcome study of waterfront workers in Britain. There is a dearth of similar studies in other ports, particularly Liverpool. On the same theme of the maritime labour force, Yrjö Kaukiainen des-

cribes the shipmasters in Finland and the effects of training in producing management skills. In so doing, we are provided with an excellent account of the role of the shipmasters in the mid-nineteenth century, in particular, his relationship with the owners. The contrast between the state controlled system of training in Scandinavia and the pre-1850 British laissez faire system is startling. Two essays concentrate on shipbuilding, Guisepppe Conti examines the unhappy experience of the Italian shipbuilding industry between the two world wars while Yukio Yamashita examines the response of the Japanese shipbuilding industry and shipping companies over the post-war period. An interesting account of the growth of the Greek shipping industry and the complex family and regional nexus is provided by Gelina Harlaftis while a survey of the trade using Chinese junks in South East Asia over the years 1730-1830 is given by Kuo-tung Ch'en. The collection of essays in this volume is impressive in the range of their coverage of diverse topics. A word of caution is called for. To the extent that economic theory is called in to help analysis, there is a need for a clear statement of the hypothesis or hypotheses being tested. In some cases this wasn't always clear. However, the volume is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the business aspect of maritime history and is good value for money.

Frank Neal  
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David Lewis; Sir Derek Oulton (ed.). *We, the Navigators: The Ancient Art of Landfinding in the Pacific*. 2nd ed.; Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1972, 1994. xxi + 442 pp., maps, photographs, figures, tables, appendices, notes, references, index. US \$24.95, paper; ISBN 0-8248-1582-3.

Ben Finney. *Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey through Polynesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. xviii + 401 pp., maps, illustrations, figures, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$30, cloth; ISBN 0-520-08002-5.

When European explorers first began to penetrate the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean in

the sixteenth century, they encountered island populations whose ingeniously crafted double or outrigger canoes displayed remarkable sailing qualities, including speed and windward ability. But over the next two hundred years of European exploration, culminating in the late eighteenth-century voyages of James Cook, the Europeans were at a loss to explain the presence of the island populations — notably the Polynesians - over immensely separated distances that seemed to defy the essentially coastal capabilities of the native vessels encountered. It was Cook who, upon arriving in Hawaii and finding virtually the same people he had seen thousands of miles distant in New Zealand, Tahiti, or Rapa Nui, expressed the basic wonder as to how one could account for such a nation spreading itself across a vast portion of the globe while not displaying, at least no longer displaying, an evident ocean-going technology to any degree.

The thinking by Cook and others varied from the conviction that Pacific islanders once had oceanic voyaging skills through to targeting accidental dispersal of storm-driven outriggers as the cause. The denial of any significant navigational skills in Polynesian culture found its greatest voice in New Zealand amateur historian Andrew Sharp, who dismissed all inter-island discovery and settlement as the result of accident, and asserted that Polynesian culture permitted at best an ability to navigate offshore no more than three hundred miles.

Serious efforts were made after World War II to re-examine the question of pre-European Pacific navigation, particularly as Sharp's comfortably smug assertions made little sense after a war in which twentieth-century warships found Pacific navigation and landfalls challenging enough to make, let alone dugout canoes swept out to sea. Thor Heyerdahl's theatrical crossing of the Pacific in, — or on — a balsa raft from Peru, denying again any indigenous Pacific voyaging skill, confused the issue, and proved only that Heyerdahl was a brave man. More recent studies by scholars such as Geoffrey Irwin have outlined a reasonable settlement pattern which envisages a South Asian people employing ocean-going canoes moving eastward "up" the long wind corridor from New Guinea to Easter Island, and cross-wind to Hawaii and

New Zealand. This scheme is increasingly supported by archaeological excavations of the early Lapita pottery culture, and canoe remains unearthed by Dr. Yoshihiro Sinoto of the Bishop Museum at sites on Huahine in the Society Islands. To demolish Sharp altogether, it remained to be explained how pre-literate Pacific navigation took place, and to verify those explanations by demonstration.

David Lewis is a physician and extraordinarily able single-handed sailor who undertook, with the aid of a grant from the Australian National University, to outline what the indigenous navigational system might have been. He did this through searching out and questioning surviving Micronesian islanders still able to navigate small canoes offshore in the 1970s by a complex memorized system of star sightings, wind, swell and wildlife observation, and position conceptualization. Lewis then applied what he had learned in a series of voyages, both with islanders in their vessels and in his own yacht while a chart-equipped assistant monitored the experiments. *We, The Navigators*, in its second edition, is a reorganization of Lewis' intensely thorough but dry record of findings into a more palatable form by Sir Derek Oulton, and it is an exhaustive examination of the pre-European navigational system which should fill any scholar's need in the technical sense. The reader feels that Lewis is an austere and self-contained individual, however, and even as the book succeeds admirably as a scientific document, one longs for a hint of the vast human drama which the long-ago voyages represented.

In every sense a companion piece to Lewis' work, Ben Finney's work *Voyage of Rediscovery* takes the scientific evidence of Lewis' work and others and translates it into the living experience of islanders — in this case heavily Americanized Hawaiians — who for social and personal reasons attempt to rediscover and re-implement traditional navigational methods as a vehicle for cultural rebirth and a regaining of self-worth. Finney, who chairs the Anthropology Department at the University of Hawaii, spearheaded efforts to build a "performance accurate" copy of a double-hulled ocean-going canoe. This vessel, the *Hokule'a*, successfully demonstrated pre-European navigation in a voyage from Hawaii to Tahiti, when it was navigated by a traditional

Micronesian navigator, Mau Piailug, assisted by David Lewis. But *Hokule'a* has come to be a focal point of cultural rebirth among young Hawaiians and Polynesians in general; *Voyage of Rediscovery* is a chronicle by Finney of a two-year, 12,000-mile voyage by *Hokule'a* with Polynesian crews using traditional methods through the South Pacific to New Zealand and return. Finney is not without the ability to provide a clear synopsis of the historical and technical nature of reconstructed Polynesian navigational techniques, which he does well, albeit without the exhaustive detail provided by Lewis. More powerful, however, is Finney's ability to relate in compassionate and human terms the effect of *Hokule'a's* voyage as she brought back to Pacific islanders tangible proof that they may have achieved more than the storm-tossed primitives of Sharp's dismissive view. One respects with some awe the authority of Lewis, but one wants to go to sea with Ben Finney.

Victor Suthren  
Ottawa, Ontario

Walter A. McDougall. *Let the Sea Make a Noise...: A History of the North Pacific From Magellan to MacArthur*. New York: Basic Books, 1993; a division of HarperCollins, xi + 793 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, sources, glossary, index. Cdn \$40, US \$30, cloth; ISBN 0-465-05152-9.

*Noise* as Walter McDougall describes the project that produced this lengthy study, is an accurate portrayal, but in ways other than the author might have intended. Readers are presented with a cacophony of word pictures and visions of North Pacific history described in glowing terms on the dust jacket as "pioneering research" and "novelistic history: impeccable nonaction in a fantasy setting." A Pulitzer Prize winner for his earlier study on the Space Age, McDougall dedicated five years producing a blockbuster book designed to outline 400 years of Pacific history, to explain the complex interrelationships of contemporary Pacific Rim developments, and to generate impressive book sales. Rather than producing the chapters of a standard history, McDougall examined over sixty strategic turning points and divided the work into three sections,

"Of Sail and Muscle," "Of Steam and Rails," and "Internal Combustion." As the topics suggest, three-quarters of the book relates to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with an emphasis upon aspects relating to the United States.

Seeking an innovative technique to unify diverse themes, McDougall opens the scene from his own perspective as a bored air passenger on a long flight from the American mainland to Oahu. Lulled by the drone of jet engines he enters a state of muse in which as "the scholar" he meets Queen Kaahumanu, the consort of King Kamehameha, who in the late eighteenth century employed firearms to unite the Hawaiian islands. Kaahumanu informs McDougall that a council or *aha iki* to use the Hawaiian term will meet to judge his work as it evolves. The membership includes: William Henry Seward, best remembered for the Alaska Purchase; Saito Hiroshi, Japanese ambassador to the United States during the 1930s; Count Sergey Witte, builder of the trans-Siberian Railway; Father Junipero Serra, the Franciscan founder of the Spanish California missions; and entering later, Homer Lea, an eccentric American friend of China. McDougall causes these long dead historical personages to appear for thirteen interview encounters or seances. Even at this point, readers might wonder how for example an eighteenth century Franciscan would respond to twentieth century events such as Pearl Harbor in 1941 or the dropping of the atomic bomb on Nagasaki!

Leaving aside for a moment the *aha iki* sessions, McDougall is a good story teller who employs effective narrative and writes entertaining prose. For those unacquainted with the major turning points and themes in North Pacific history, McDougall offers a stimulating introduction. Some specialists on the other hand will be driven close to apoplexy when they identify errors of fact in their own research areas. For example, it is clear from his remarks about Spanish colonial government that McDougall researched the topic much too quickly, though he does much better with the fall of the Manchu dynasty in China, with Russian expansion, and in general with the eighteenth-century voyages of exploration. Themes treating United States expansion to Oregon, Texas, California, and

Hawaii receive generous attention and there is a hint of jingoism concerning independent Mexico which is described as "decrepit" only a few years after its violent birth as an independent Pacific nation about to be shorn of half its territory.

The second section commences with Matthew Perry in Japan, Russia in Manchuria, American occupation of Alaska, and the impact of transcontinental railroads terminating in California and British Columbia. McDougall is at his best describing frictions in Asia between the Western powers, China, Russia, and Japan. The United States' move to grab the Hawaiian Islands and the Spanish American War set the scene for American activities in the western Pacific and later frictions with an emerging Japan. The Panama Canal completed in 1914 and the establishment of the naval base at Pearl Harbor made competition all but inevitable. In the meantime, Japan's attack without warning against Russia, the stupendous victory at Tsushima, and advances in Manchuria, underscored the changing complexion of Pacific power.

In addition to the section title for the modern age, McDougall describes Internal Combustion as a metaphor for the racial frictions that emerged from Asian migrations to Hawaii and the North American littoral. Anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese attitudes in Hawaii, California, and British Columbia poisoned diplomacy and led to talk of trans-Pacific war. While the cruise of Theodore Roosevelt's Great White Fleet temporarily patched up relations as well as projecting American naval power, school segregation, immigration prohibitions, and California laws that restricted Asians from owning land exacerbated bad feelings. By the end of World War I, Japan and the United States were the only contenders for oceanic domination. With Britain weakened, Germany defeated, and Russia consumed by Revolution, in 1921 the United States moved to terminate the naval alliance between Japan and Britain. McDougall is at his best in bringing together the different threads that left Japan marginalized and angry, but still the leading maritime power in the Western Pacific. As early as 1921, Hector Bywater foreshadowed that Japan might launch a surprise air attack designed to cripple the American fleet. Imprisoned by its own ambi-

tions, Japan invaded China and lurched toward the December 1941 assault against Battleship Row at Pearl Harbor. After interpreting the Pacific War and the steps that led to the use of the atomic bomb, McDougall completes his epic with examinations of the American occupation of Japan, the Korean War, and a short afterword titled, "America's Burden." In this concluding summary, the author speculates about the future of American power in the North Pacific, about Canada's possible break up, and about continuing Asian and Hispanic immigration into the western states. Because the United States won such total victory in World War II, McDougall suspects that it took on too much of a burden in defending all of the Pacific rimlands and opened its own markets to the deluge of Asian imports.

The *aha iki* sessions are tiresome affectations that detract and only occasionally contribute to McDougall's study. Some of these elements of "novelistic history" are precious, artificial, and serve little purpose other than to provide the author with a pulpit. Ridiculous as it may seem, Father Serra is made to discuss railroads before he is retired until the concluding session. He does not reflect upon the atomic bomb or the rise of Communism in China. In what is a heavy handed piece of theatrical foreshadowing about the Japanese during the inter-war years, Seward is made to ask: "So what happens next, Professor, do they sneak attack us?" (p.541) In the last council titled "The Dismissal," Henry Lea asks: "Tell me, is Canada still united?" The scholar responds, "Good question. Barely." (p.707)

Despite his flights of fantasy, McDougall's book will appeal to those who like their history sugared rather than plain. If there are some errors of fact, the author also leaves his readers more knowledgeable and with a much better understanding about the course of North Pacific history. Except for the fact that it is heavy, the book would make excellent reading on a long flight — unless readers doze off and find themselves participating in an *aha iki* with a group of long deceased Pacific leaders. Finally, McDougall prepared all of his own maps which are cluttered, too small in scale, and difficult to use.

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Kenneth Campbell. *North Coast Odyssey: The Inside Passage from Port Hardy to Prince Rupert*. Victoria, BC: Sono Nis Press, 1993. 202 pp., photographs, maps, suggested readings, references, index. \$14.95, paper; ISBN 1-55039-032-5.

Early and clearly in *North Coast Odyssey*, Kenneth Campbell states his purpose: to provide a guidebook for tourists travelling on the route followed by the *Queen of the North* as she plies between Port Hardy, at the north end of Vancouver Island, and Prince Rupert, terminus of CN Rail's Yellowhead line. He is eminently successful in achieving this goal, having produced a well-written, carefully patterned, interesting, and highly informative book.

Three sections follow a brief introduction: "General Information," "A Traveller's Guide," and "A Miscellany," the last being a twenty-three-page compendium that includes a short comment on place names, brief extracts from travellers' descriptions (all but one from the late nineteenth century), suggested readings, documentation, and a comprehensive index. The first section opens with information about the area's geography and life forms, then provides brief histories and descriptions of communities on or near the route, fourteen extant — mainly tiny — and five ghost towns. This is followed by background material on six important lighthouses and a discussion of seaplane service, the forest industry, and commercial fishing activity. Campbell spiced this section of *Odyssey* with carefully chosen and well-reproduced photos.

At first I questioned the positioning of this fascinating material, particularly the list of settlements. Readers who know something about this challenging and beautiful region will likely read the work page by page, and could well find the alphabetized jumps from place to place up and down the Passage rather disconcerting. But the good sense of the arrangement becomes obvious once one moves on to the "Traveller's Guide," for it is easy to turn from the excellent descriptive material found here back to the more detailed information. The adopted layout, then, is well-suited to those not at all familiar with the area — to wit, Campbell's avowed audience.

This guide runs from south to north, following the *Queen's* route, the customary passage

for most coastal traffic. It is divided into fifteen logical segments, each with at least one readily recognizable dominant feature; thirteen simple sketch maps make identification of prominent landmarks easy. Oddly, however, no large-scale "chart" is provided for Queen Charlotte Strait, just north of Port Hardy. While the text includes material about this complex area, the tourist "navigator" has only the small-scale map of the entire Hardy-Rupert coastline for reference. It is a significant omission; I can envisage the north-bound traveller getting frustrated early (literally, too: the ferry leaves at 0730) when attempting to locate the ship's position. Yet the omission is a minor inconvenience, given the excellence of the rest of this section; the descriptions are vivid, the historical snippets fascinating, the writing clear. Campbell guides his readers effectively, even providing the appropriate page number whenever a glance back at some item in the "General Information" would be helpful.

A few tetchy complaints: the reading list might have included Joe Upton's books, and *The Raincoast Chronicles*; typos are few but should easily have been caught; and "odyssey" seems a tad pretentious when applied to this voyage, given the pampered travelling conditions of most potential readers. These, however, are the pettiest of quibbles; this is a first-rate work, and much more than adequately fulfils its purpose. Would I buy it if I were voyaging on the *Queen*? Yes indeed, and think it a bargain.

Tom Meikle  
Vancouver, British Columbia

Dale Sanders (photographs) and Diane Swanson (text). *The Emerald Sea: Exploring the Underwater Wilderness of the North Pacific Coast*. Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1993. xi + 147 pp., maps, colour photographs, appendix, suggested reading, index. \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55110-091-6.

This beautiful coffee table book allows the landlocked reader to experience the awe and wonder of the underwater world. Every page of text is illustrated with a colourful, well-composed photograph of marine life ranging in size from 3" x 4" to double-page spreads. An appendix lists common and scientific names of marine life

and there is an outline map of the west coast from Oregon to Alaska. Diane Swanson's lively text is thoughtfully organized in three sections. "Where Land Meets Sea" describes geographic, oceanographic and biological aspects of habitats that vary from calm fjords to turbulent waters. "Life Within the Sea" describes kelp forests, invertebrates, fish and mammals. "People and the Sea" describes ancient fishing techniques, high-tech harvesting of herring and salmon and the effects of industrial activities. The book concludes with a description of conservation efforts such as the establishment of marine sanctuaries and international legislation to protect marine life.

Much can be learned effortlessly through the illustrations and the informative captions in *The Emerald Sea*. Each photograph is accompanied by a caption containing the common name of the creature and intriguing tidbits such as how it got its name or its feeding habits. Sidebars offer first person experiences during the taking of the photo in the style of a Cousteau commentary. Occasionally there are thoughtfully chosen quotes from Cousteau, Thoreau and Emily Carr.

The book is intended to "help people see the wonders that lie within the emerald sea so that they may help preserve it for future generations" (p. xi). It is not, however, particularly novel for the veteran scuba diver, who will find most of the subjects in the photographs, such as octopus, nudibranchs and wolf eels, fascinating but not unusual. Nor do the photographs always illustrate the text directly, though this is a common problem with coffee table books. The book sets out to describe the sea between Oregon and Alaska. The under-sea life it describes does extend to these areas, but most of the geographical references are to British Columbia. Its educational value would have been enhanced if more locations were given on the photographs and from there a reference to a map.

There is a need for a coffee table book of underwater photographs solely of the north Pacific Ocean. Cribb's book, *Treasures of the Sea* is a similar subject but is out of print, Allan and Rotman's *Beneath Cold Seas* portrays the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts (also out of print) and Wertheim's 'Intertidal Life' describes rocky shores. *The Emerald Sea* succeeds in presenting

a vivid portrait of the west coast and will undoubtedly spark interest in the sport of scuba diving as well as in the underwater wilderness of the north Pacific Ocean.

Suzanne Spohn  
Lions Bay, British Columbia

Joy J. Jackson. *Where the River Runs Deep: The Story of a Mississippi River Pilot*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993. xvi + 273 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8071-1797-8.

This charming book chronicles the life and times of the author's father, Oliver Jackson, a Mississippi River Pilot, and details the changes that transformed "Old Man River" from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Oliver Jackson spent much of his life on the Mississippi River. As a young boy he lived near its mouth. As a young man he worked on the riverfront in New Orleans. And as an old man he helped to found the Baton Rouge, Louisiana Pilots Association. In between he watched the river change from a pastoral setting overshadowed by cotton plantations and steamboats to a bustling industrial corridor dominated by petrochemical refineries and barge traffic.

In some ways the book is a twentieth century update of another classic about the Mississippi, Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi*. Many forces, political, economic and social that shaped life on the river during Twain's stint as a river pilot also influenced the Jackson family's stay in Louisiana. Colourful towns on the lower river, like Oysterville, Port Eads and Balize, experienced short periods of prosperity, then vanished like a shifting river bank. As this happened the Jacksons slowly moved up river, always attempting to earn a living with their nautical skills. Oliver shucked oysters, ran a pilot boat, worked as a merchant seaman, captained a tugboat and piloted ships up and down the Mississippi River.

The book covers several fascinating subjects including the Hurricane of 1915, the great flood of 1927, the World War II U-boat threat at the mouth of the river, and the development of the huge ESSO refinery in Baton Rouge. The most evocative chapter is "The Irish Channel Orphan-

age, 1906-1910." After spending four years in this orphanage, Oliver Jackson would not agree with the current United States Congressional leadership's call for the expanded use of these institutions.

Joy Jackson did an excellent job of research. Her use of primary and secondary sources was thorough. At the heart of her work was her clever use of thirteen interviews conducted over a two-year period with her father. This material gives the book a personal touch and enhances the author's pleasant writing style.

Students of maritime studies, ship piloting, regional history, family history and works on the Mississippi River will enjoy this book. It is well written and researched and will be a welcome addition to anyone's maritime history collection.

Donald Willett  
Galveston, Texas

Ronald C. Carlisle (ed.). *Canals and American Cities: Assessing the Impact of Canals on the Course of American Urban Life*. Easton, PA: Canal History and Technology Press, 1994. 112 pp., maps, figures, photographs, US \$15, paper; ISBN 0-930973-14-3.

This volume is a collection of six essays on American canals and their relationships to Minneapolis, Pittsburg, Alexandria and Richmond in Virginia, Charleston, and briefly Philadelphia and New York. These essays were presented as papers at a symposium in the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology and the Annual Meeting of the Advisory Council on Underwater Archaeology in Richmond, Virginia in 1991. The editor, Ronald C. Carlisle, contributed an introduction; Lance E. Metz provided the foreword, and Emory L. Kemp added a conclusion.

Among the authors, Mark M. Newell examines the Santee Canal Company's operations from the Santee watershed to Charleston from 1800 to 1853. William E. Trout, III and A. Howe Todd contribute an engagingly written essay describing the excavation of the Great Basin terminus of the James River and Kanawha Canal in Richmond where some sixty boats have been located. Steven Shephard demonstrates the importance to Alexandria of the Alexandria Can-

al which linked Georgetown on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to Alexandria, and he shows the excavation of the Alexandria Tide Lock between 1978 and 1984. The Pittsburg terminus of the Pennsylvania Mainline Canal is the focus of an essay by Ronald Carlisle, Verna Cowin, and Jack Irion in which they describe the excavation of a lift lock and adjacent weigh lock close to the Allegheny River. Brian Morell's essay on the Delaware and Raritan Canal discusses archaeological discoveries resulting from maintenance work during the past decade and offers seasoned commentary on the rehabilitation of masonry culverts and waste-gate structures. The volume opens with a study by Scott Anfinson of the Minnesota Waterpower Canal built on the west side of St. Anthony Falls, a canal system built for flour milling, not transportation.

This listing suggests the misleading character of the subtitle, a title which the editor concedes is "too grand." (p.7) Newell's fresh account of the Santee Canal is a history of the company and its trade, but it does not go far beyond the general assertion that the canal played a role in the economic growth of Charleston, a role which can not be assessed definitively from available statistics. In his knowledgeable essay on the Delaware and Raritan Canal Morell eschews any comprehensive assessment of the canal's economic impacts on Philadelphia and New York. The canal sites in Pittsburg and Richmond are considered more fully than their urban impacts. Shephard's study of the Alexandria Canal comes closest to fulfilling the title of the volume, and Anfinson demonstrates clearly the importance of waterpower systems for "West Side Success, East Side Failure" in Minneapolis. (p.22) Lance Metz points up broader implications for urban development in these essays as they present "canals in their true role as catalysts for change."

The particular contribution of this volume is to provide a clear view of the progress of historical archaeologists in their excavation, preservation, and interpretation of canal sites and artifacts. Emory L. Kemp defines the standard approach to documentation in industrial archaeology as the preparation of site plans, making measured drawings with photographs, and writing a contextual history. Trout and Howe give a lively account of excavating a stratified



site in Richmond, and the process of rehabilitation of canal sites is especially well charted by Morell for the Delaware and Raritan Canal, and by Carlisle, Cowin, and Irion for Pittsburg. Urban archaeologists also want a second life for canals in parks and public places which will become recreational resources, as Carlisle writes, "adaptively reusing canal locks, aqueducts, bridges, and other canal features." (p.7)

This informative volume provides a wide range of studies based on first-hand experiences in one of the most active areas of canal history.

Ronald E. Shaw  
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George J. Joachim. *Iron Fleet: The Great Lakes in World War II*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994. 138 pp., photographs, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$21.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8143-2479-7.

This is another title in the "Great Lakes Books" Series. My initial comment is the same as one made about another book in this collection, *Steamboats and Sailors of the Great Lakes*: that it is strictly an American story. The only references to Canadian Great Lakes vessels concern the shortage of bulk carriers in 1941, when the American government lifted its ban to permit Canadian vessels to participate in the iron ore trade and traffic. They then assisted the US Great Lakes fleet in carrying an unprecedented 75 to 100 million tons of ore a year during the war years. Otherwise, it is a story about the vital role played by the American Great Lakes shipping industry during World War II.

However, we should not quarrel with the author nor the editor of this series, which now includes some fifty-five titles. After all, it is about the war effort on the American side of the Lakes. Within these limits, I liked *Iron Fleet*. It is not a big book; it is compact and concentrates on the essentials. It is a scholarly study, well written, with footnotes and a good set of illustrations, but no plan of the Soo locks nor a geographical map of the iron ore deposits, the ports of loading, or their relation to the steel industry. The appendices about shipments of bulky commodities, from 1905 until 1945, are quite useful and pertinent.

One of the most interesting chapters, "1939-1941: The Coming Storm" (Chapter 6), does not deal with the war-time operation of the fleet at all but concerns itself instead with the hesitations of shipowners to engage in the rebuilding and modernizing of their fleets. They knew that one day they would have to do something, but they also knew that they had been able to carry and deliver any quotas of iron ore imposed upon them with the existing fleet, which had been idle for most of the years during the 1929-1939 decade. They were confident that, year after year, in times of war or peace, they would be able to transport and deliver cargoes of coal, grain, limestone, building materials, ores and petrochemicals, and be paid for it by satisfied shippers. After Pearl Harbor, everything changed. When the shipowners realized that it was a total war effort, they made their moves and succeeded.

The third chapter, "1942-1945: Quotas and Controversy," describes well the operation of that specialized fleet in times of war, when the production of steel was so important to the outcome of the war. There are some other aspects which are also well covered in this book, such as the protection of the Soo locks and the manpower crisis. In the first instance, the reader may wonder if there was not a certain panic surrounding the type of protection to be given to these locks. They were virtually sealed off and controlled by the Armed Forces during the whole period of 1942 through 1945. They were so vital in the minds of some, that alternative routes were proposed in case of sabotage, bombing or destruction by explosion. One such alternative would have required the construction of a marine railway that would carry vessels and their cargoes across Michigan's upper peninsula. Needless to say, the project was rejected because "Great Lakes freighters were too 'frail' to stand the structural stresses of being lifted out of the water fully loaded." (p.95) The real reason was clear: how could you operate a marine railway required to handle 15,000 vessels in 210 days? The project of a long conveyor system around the locks was also rejected. Finally, they decided to build a port below the Soo rapids at Escanaba, on the south shore of the Michigan peninsula. However, the Escanaba bypass was a failure, for the port was never completed. To

offset that failure, there was one success story, the construction of the MacArthur lock in one year. This was a tremendous achievement, for it gave the trade a fourth parallel lock. The new lock was also the deepest, with dimensions of 860 feet long, 80 feet wide and 30 feet deep.

The author also examines the manpower crisis after 1943, when it became almost impossible to recruit enough seamen to man the ships on the Great Lakes. Evidently the Armed Forces had a greater appeal than service on the Great Lakes. On the other hand, the Lake Carriers Association did not want to lose their control over the hiring and firing of crews. Many discussions took place and controversies happened; some ships left without a full crew. Was the industry selfish? Perhaps, and yet it devised and successfully implemented "its own plan to meet the manpower crisis." (p.88) There was not a single case of a vessel being delayed for lack of crew until 1945.

A separate chapter about shipbuilding in the Great Lakes ports would have been welcome. There are some references throughout the book to the construction of many navy ships as well as another section about the building of new lakers, but they are never assembled into a chapter of their own. This is regrettable, for by grouping these pages together, the author would have underlined this very special effort.

Pierre Camu  
Ottawa, Ontario

Mark L. Thompson. *Queen of the Lakes*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994. 220 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps, figures, bibliography, index. US \$32.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8143-2393-6.

Mark Thompson has written a handsome volume chronicling the vessels which earned the title of "Queen of the Lakes," the longest vessel operating on the Great Lakes. In so doing, Thompson has also written a useful account of the evolution of ship-building and developments in the American and Canadian shipping trade on the Great Lakes. The author of a previous book on steamboats and sailors on the Great Lakes, Thompson has himself been a crewmember on several "Queen of the Lakes" and writes of them

with affection and knowledge.

Thompson's premise is simple; he selects each of the vessels with the longest length overall and describes their design, construction, use and ownership. After an introductory section on wooden ships in the Great Lakes trade, the author details each of the fifty-six longest vessels beginning with the iron-hulled steamer *Onoko*, built in Cleveland in 1882. He carries the history up to the most recent "Queen," *Paul R. Tregurtha*, built in Lorain, Ohio, in 1981. Thompson's list is exhaustive and is the result of considerable research. Even those not interested in the detailed entries on every vessel will find informative the sections on those vessels made famous for reasons other than their length, like the *Edmund Fitzgerald*, about which Thompson writes with considerable eloquence. Readers may quarrel with some of the ships he has selected for his list. As he readily admits, the title "Queen of the Lakes" was often bestowed on vessels by owners and admirers without much verification. Many vessels have carried the title without necessarily deserving it. Thompson attempts to put this right and his extensive footnotes will be useful for those who wish to challenge his findings.

The academic reader will find Thompson's account useful for providing evidence of innovation in Great Lakes shipping. The history of shipbuilders, designers and owners of vessels on the Great Lakes is one of continuous and often rapid development. Only rarely were designs repeated and identical vessels built. The pattern was for new vessels to incorporate rapid design improvements even as the ships were being constructed. Ample capital and expertise provided the impetus for continuous evolution. The limiting factor was not the lack of innovation but the physical constraints imposed by the size and depths of the locks, channels and ports. It was these constraints which curbed the growth in vessels and which now effectively curtail their construction much beyond the 1,013 foot length of the *Paul R. Tregurtha*. Ironically, the last thirty years have seen the greatest stagnation in the extension of Great Lakes ships, with the Canadian-built 730 footers becoming something of a fixed standard until the 1,000 foot vessels first appeared on the Great Lakes in 1972. In the shrinking Great Lakes trade, instead of building

ever bigger vessels, the designers and shipyards have instead been concentrating on modifying ships to bring greater fuel efficiency, speed, and rapid self-unloading mechanisms.

*Queen of the Lakes* is thus perhaps a title which will only rarely be bestowed in the future. But this does not diminish the value of this book. It is nicely bound and printed and is amply illustrated with black and white photographs, maps and drawings. It will be of interest to the enthusiast and the expert alike.

Alexander Reford  
Toronto, Ontario

Arthur M. Woodford. *Charting the Inland Seas: A History of the U.S. Lake Survey*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994. xvii + 282 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, figures, appendices, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. US \$27.50, cloth; ISBN 0-8143-2499-1.

This book, first published in 1991 by the US Army Corps of Engineers, was written by the current director of the St. Clair Shores (Michigan) Public Library and author of three other books on the history of Detroit, where the United States Lake Survey (USLS) was located.

Arthur Woodford first establishes the historical setting for the charting of the Great Lakes, beginning with the first European explorers, followed by the settlement of the mid-west via ships from Buffalo, New York. The development of shipping is described through vignettes that focus on the cost and availability of transportation as well as on the plights of early navigation on the lakes. The work done on the Canadian side of the lakes by Lieutenant (later Admiral) Bayfield, RN, in the 1820s is only briefly acknowledged by noting that those charts were generally not available, and of little use, to American ship captains. The US Lake Survey was established in 1841 to answer the need for charts of the lakes and harbours for this process of westward expansion and settlement. The US Civil War forced reductions in surveying and charting even as it increased shipping, particularly of iron and copper ores from Lake Superior. These early surveys are interestingly described with respect to the work carried out, the provisions needed and the costs incurred.

By August 1882, the USLS had officially completed the work of surveying the lakes and it was thought that the charts would serve navigational needs for many years to come. This was a full year before Canada even recognized the need that Bayfield's charts were woefully out of date and totally inadequate. The USLS was directly connected to the hydrology and hydraulics of the Great Lakes system and was involved in the measurement of lake levels and the flow in the connecting rivers. The debates and the research connected with the Chicago water diversions are described. The book ends with the absorption of the USLS into the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

It is interesting to draw comparisons with the Canadian Hydrographic Service. The USLS had a good forty-year head start on the CHS. As part of the Corps of US Army Engineers, it had a commissioned officer in charge, had military assignments, produced Aeronautical charts during World War II and land maps of foreign lands from World War II to 1969, was involved in the hydrology of the lakes and surveyed the shore for the effects of erosion and other property-related concerns. These same functions are carried out within the Canadian government but they are not the responsibility of the CHS.

A Canadian reading this book might easily conclude that the Great Lakes belong wholly to the United States. Canada is rarely mentioned by geographic locations, or work done by, or in cooperation with, Canadians. The St. Lawrence Seaway is but one example. One might conclude that Canada was the heel-dragger in getting the work started and that most of the work involved American areas and construction! In short, if you want a history of the USLS, this is the book, for it is well-researched and presented. But if you are looking for a history that recognizes the contributions and roles of both countries, then *Charting the Inland Seas* leaves something to be desired. Nevertheless, it provides good insight into the surveying and chart production procedures over the past 130 years, irrespective of nationality. The glossary of terms and the appendix on printing methods are worthy of commendation.

David H. Gray  
Ottawa, Ontario

Robert Cunningham. *Tidewrack: Neglected Facts and Intriguing Stories from the Age of the Wooden Ships*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1994. 210 pp., illustrations, photographs, bibliography. \$10.95, paper; ISBN 0-88999-539-7.

*Tidewrack* is a curious title for a curious book. The word is used in a "poem-introduction" which, very basically, speaks of the days of windships and their demise. For an inkling of what the book is supposed to be about, the subtitle is the place to look, for there are indeed lots of facts and quite a few stories.

In twenty-two short chapters Robert Cunningham takes the reader through an array of nautical subjects, some of which are closely related. We start with Pope Alexander VI in 1493 dividing up the world between Spain and Portugal, we continue with British explorations, with Prince Henry Sinclair ("the first Bluenose shipwright"), work through several chapters on shipbuilding, clipper ships, Samuel Cunard, and whaling, and end with a short epilogue on the present state of the oceans.

The word "curious" was used earlier since this reviewer could not decide whether the book was aimed at a beginner or at the more knowledgeable student of nautical studies. If the first, then words such as "flense," "spanker," "studingsails" and "clench rings" should be defined; if the latter, then more details, further explanations, and certainly references should have been provided. For example, after discussing the *Shannon* and *Chesapeake* affair, Cunningham states that "Some British commanders never learned to concentrate fire where it would be most effective." (p.131) What reference? Can we have some examples? Elsewhere he discusses the *Mayflower's* "timbers ending up in the framework of a Midlands farmer's bam." (p. 154) Where? What reference?

The book's strength lies in its chapters on shipbuilding, particularly the chapter on different types of wood and their various uses in the ships. On the other hand, the chapter on "Tons of Burthen," which initially promises to sort out the confusion of tonnage, manages to mention only some types of tonnages, not all of them. Although we do learn many facts, such as why the earlier tonnage measurements often ended with a fraction using a denominator of 94

(because a ton was once estimated at 94 cubic feet), we are still left somewhat confused on the subject. Cunningham is clearly interested in tonnage as he frequently discusses this throughout the book whenever the opportunity arises.

In his dealings with measurements the author uses the metric system *some* of the time. Measurements of timber and construction details are given in metric, dimensions of *Marco Polo* in feet, those of *Preussen* in metric and those of the *George W. Wells* in both. Tonnage is usually given in imperial, but sometimes measurements are mixed: "...*Crown* of Halifax, a one gun (9 pdr.) schooner was 12 metres and may have run to 25 tons." (p. 128) Consistency is required — although please, not for "9 pdr.!"

The author's interest in tonnage occasionally shows his sense of humour, along with his ability to go off on tangents. In his discussion of clipper ships, he asks whether we can suppose "that Noah's Ark was a clipper ship?" From the Biblical dimensions he calculates a length to beam ratio of 6:1 and arrives at a tonnage of 16,626 tons. He then proceeds to speculate on the method of stowing the cargo. Humour — and more than a grain of truth — is also evident in the chapter entitled "Out to Launch": "Bunkum was the stock-in-trade of politicians then as now and a launch gave politicians an audience." More seriously, this chapter offers a good explanation of launching techniques which, to some of us, seems such a mystery.

Although Cunningham clearly possesses a wealth of nautical knowledge, there are a few inaccuracies and on more than one occasion a sentence can be interpreted in more than one way. Thus, he states that Canada around 1880 "is considered to have owned the fourth largest fleet in the world....At that time Nova Scotia led in ownership and Yarmouth had the largest gross tonnage registered." (p. 189) However, this is not correct. From 1874 to 1885 Yarmouth had the largest tonnage in *Nova Scotia*, not in Canada; that honour went to Saint John, New Brunswick, according to Keith Matthews, "The Shipping Industry of Atlantic Canada: Themes and Problems," Appendix 5, in K. Matthews and G. Panting (eds.), *Ships and Shipbuilding in the North Atlantic Region* (St. John's, 1978).

In short, this book gives lots of facts (not all of which have been neglected) and some

intriguing stories. What it lacked was a good editor to tighten up the analysis, to point out the need for better references and in some cases explanations, and to insist on an index and possibly a glossary.

Eric J. Ruff  
Yarmouth, Nova Scotia

Julie V. Watson. *Shipwrecks & Seafaring Tales of Prince Edward Island*. Toronto: Hounslow Press, 1994. x + 187 pp., map, illustrations, photographs, index. \$17.99, paper; ISBN 0-88882-166-2.

This collection of Prince Edward Island maritime anecdotes begins with Jacques Carder's coasting voyage along the island's north coast in 1834 and ends with the freeing of a Latvian freighter from the ice in the winter of 1993. The topics include the Acadian expulsion, the arrival of early British settlers, buried treasure and tales of the supernatural, raids by American privateers, shipbuilding, transporting passengers and mail across Northumberland Strait by ice boat and steam ferry, famous storms, shipwrecks and rescues, liquor and drug smuggling, and marine life around the island. Most of these stories were extracted from works by other Prince Edward Island writers, with much of the remainder either by the author or from the files of the CAar/oMerownGwarcfia/j. "ShippingIntelligence" lists of shipwrecks and other maritime disasters, most of which are from Prince Edward Island newspapers and magazines, are interspersed with the anecdotes. The book is well illustrated but the only map, circa 1759, is not much help to anyone unfamiliar with island place names. The index is excellent for vessel names but unsatisfactory for other names and events.

The "blurb" on the back cover implies that the author is an experienced writer but the book could have been improved with competent editing. Some of the material, such as recent trips around the island by snowmobiles and kayaks and the author's sea-sickness during a voyage from England to North America as a child, could have easily been eliminated on the grounds that they are not Prince Edward Island "seafaring tales." In the text, references to the author's sources are, at best, haphazard and

many of the publications and writers cited do not later appear in the lists of "Credits" and "Sources." Some incorrect and misleading statements include: a vote under the provisions of the federal Scott Act to allow a tavern to sell liquor is stated to have been held in 1869 although that Act did not become law until 1878; six whales stranded on sand bars in 1989 (most probably pilot whales) are referred to as "sperm whales;" and despite Prince Edward Island's "Golden Age" of building large sailing vessels from the 1840s to the 1860s, the island-built vessels are described in one place as "smacks, tugs, ferries and fishing boats."

Proof-reading appears to have been done with the computer, which in the first half of the book has generated such out-of-context words as "ridge" for bridge, "reels" for rebels, and "timers" for timbers. Some place names require a moment or two of thought to identify, including "Both Bay" for Booth Bay, Maine, "Frاند Entry Harbour" for Grand Entry Harbour in the Magdalen Islands, and (my favourite) "Bombay" for Bonne Bay, Newfoundland! Other errors noted are "Scalterie" for Scaterie Island, Nova Scotia, "Straight" for Strait, "tonnes" for the tonnages of Prince Edward Island vessels built during various periods, and "the Lindbergs" for Charles Lindbergh and his wife.

One way to describe this book is "a scrap book of Prince Edward Island maritime events" but its accuracy is sometimes questionable and it does little to enhance our understanding of East Coast maritime history or culture.

David J. McDougall  
Lachine, Québec

Lyall Campbell. *Sable Island Shipwrecks: Disaster and Survival at the North Atlantic Graveyard*. Halifax, NS: Nimbus Publishing, 1994. viii + 200 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs, notes, index. \$16.95, paper; ISBN 1-551-09096-1.

Sable Island is that long crescent of shifting dunes, sand bars and shallows which stretches for over twenty miles across the main North Atlantic trade routes. Hundreds of vessels have stranded and gone to pieces on its treacherous shoals and, by the latter part of the eighteenth

century, the tales of horror and privation, recounted by their few pitiful survivors, had raised such public concern that official steps were taken to establish a life-saving station on the island. It is the management and operation of this station, introduced and emphasized by descriptions of some of the more notorious wrecks and strandings, which constitute the main theme of *Sable Island Shipwrecks*.

The author contends that the English public was first introduced to Sable Island through the printed works of Richard Hakluyt. As a result, he has selected Hakluyt's description of the 1583 voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the wreck of the little *Delight* as the subject of his introductory chapter. The choice is appropriate, in support of the author's claim that it was Hakluyt's dramatization of this event which led to Sable's international renown as "having a bad repute for shipwrecks." However, he gets bogged down in an inconsequential discussion as to which of two versions of the loss of the *Delight* is the more accurate. This is most unfortunate, as it gives a misleading first impression and provides no inkling of the quite fascinating content of the greater portion of his work.

Subsequent chapters are highlighted by the aforementioned descriptions of some of the more dramatic shipwrecks, while following the story of life-saving and salvage on Sable Island from LeMercier's "settlement" in 1738, to the decline of the Provincial Humane Establishment in the period between the two world wars. By concentrating upon official reports and correspondence as his source, Campbell has successfully avoided the sensationalism so often present in books of this nature. The result is an exciting factual history, focused on the superintendents of the Sable Island Establishment and the remarkable endurance and selfless bravery of those who manned its life-saving stations.

It is unfortunate that the author appears to have some problems with nautical terminology. For example "windjammer," a term usually applied to the fast sailing packets of the mid-1800s, is used to describe everything from the 110-ton *Catherine* of 1737, to the *A.S.H.*, an elderly French fish carrier which stranded in 1884. Other examples, such as references to "tall ships" and "the age of sail," are less jarring, but one must question the description of a heaving

line as "a light line with a weighted bag attached," when the traditional heaving line knot or monkey's fist have been in use for that purpose since time immemorial.

There are also some concerns with the final chapter, which starts off well with descriptions of the wreck of the *Robert J. Edwards* and the abortive 1890s attempt to establish a communications link by means of carrier pigeons. It then fizzles out with some comment on the location of a Marconi Station on the island and a very brief paragraph on the fate of the Sable Island Humane Establishment, which leaves a number of questions unanswered.

In summation, for the most part, *Sable Island Shipwrecks* is well written and much of the content is fresh and entertaining. It is nicely illustrated and, apart from the wreck of the *Delight*, the unanswered questions and some terminology, it makes most interesting reading.

Robin H. Wyllie  
East LaHave

David J. Molloy. *The First Landfall: Historic Lighthouses of Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's: Breakwater Press, 1994. 172 pp., maps, photographs (b+w, colour), illustrations, figures. \$18.95, paper; ISBN 1-55081-096-0.

Harry Thurston (text) and Wayne Barrett (photographs). *Against Darkness and Storm: Lighthouses of the Northeast*. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1993. x + 102 pp., maps, colour photographs, selected bibliography. \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55109-039-2.

Lighthouses and their guardians are an important part of Canada's marine history. At many Canadian sites the men and women who tended these beacons have been replaced by remotely controlled, automated equipment. The lighthouses themselves are in danger of disappearing, with historic structures being demolished in favour of relatively inexpensive, low maintenance buildings. In the context of this technological change, two new books about east coast lighthouses have made a timely appearance on the market.

In *The First Landfall: Lighthouses of Newfoundland and Labrador*, David Molloy has selected ten historic lightstations to outline the

development of the lighthouse system in Newfoundland. The lighthouses built to guide vessels around the island's treacherous waters were a vital element of the infrastructure of the growing colony. Many of the original stone and iron towers constructed by the colonial government have survived to this day, evidence of the quality of their design and construction. Molloy has gleaned much useful information from a century's worth of annual reports of the Inspectors of Lighthouses published for the Newfoundland House of Assembly. He has also gathered information from past and present lightkeepers, providing a rare insight into the lives of the generations of families who kept Newfoundland's lights burning for more than 180 years.

*The First Landfall* is as much an account of Newfoundland's early settlement, geography, geology, flora and fauna as it is of its lighthouses and their keepers. Molloy includes a broad spectrum of information about the historical and natural environment surrounding his chosen lights. The gannet nesting colony at Cape St. Mary's and the exotic orchids found at Cape Norman illustrate the diversity of plant and bird life found at many of these sites. The text is complemented by a centre section of twenty colour photos and more than forty archival photos and engravings. Explicit instructions and maps showing how to reach each of the stations are given at the end of each chapter. Molloy has produced a well-rounded account of the venerable position held by lighthouses and their keepers in Newfoundland's history. His work should spark further interest in the research and preservation of these unique structures.

In *Against Darkness and Storm: Lighthouses of the Northeast*, Nova Scotia writer Harry Thurston has joined photographer Wayne Barrett to explore and capture the romance and visual appeal of east coast lighthouses in the final days of the lightkeeping tradition. Thurston's text is a tribute to the men and women who selflessly maintained stations and saved lives until modern navigation equipment made lightkeepers less important to mariners, and redundant in the eyes of cost-cutting bureaucrats. Barrett's vivid photographs are a lasting record of many unique lights, from the lonely and dangerous Bird Rocks in the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the welcoming harbour beacons of

Prince Edward Island.

Beginning with a brief account of the oldest operating lighthouse in North America on Sambro Island, Thurston also explores the practical aspects of lighthouses, describing early architecture, methods of lighting, and today's automation technology. Set within a short account of the last keepers of the Saint Paul Island Light off the north tip of Cape Breton, he chronicles some of the hardships suffered by early keepers who were often ill-paid and isolated from the conveniences of mainland life. The remainder of the book is divided into four chapters, dealing with a handful of lights from each of the Atlantic Provinces, Québec and St. Pierre and Miquelon. In the epilogue, Thurston notes with irony that the fate of the traditional lighthouse now rests in the hands of the people it was designed to protect. He details various government and community organizations which have undertaken the restoration and preservation of lighthouses, and the possibilities for further use of lightstations as marine interpretative centres and museums.

*Against Darkness and Storm* is well-researched and successfully illustrates the importance of lighthouses in our maritime culture. Barrett's photography is excellent, although lights like Peggy's Cove, Cape Forchu and Head Harbour have often been pictured in calendars and postcards; perhaps more of the remote but equally photogenic sites could have been included in this otherwise excellent book.

Chris Mills  
Ivory Island, British Columbia

Silver Donald Cameron. *Sniffing The Coast: An Acadian Voyage*. Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 1993. 288 pp., map, index. \$27.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7715-9014-8.

Through the pages of this delightful and captivating book, Silver Donald Cameron takes the reader on a mid-summer seven-week coastal voyage from Cape Breton Island, round Prince Edward Island and up to the Magdalen Islands before returning home in his sea-kindly, home-built, 27-foot cutter-rigged, engineless, Roberts-designed yacht *Silversark* and crewed by his wife Lulu and, for part of the way, son Mark.

Logging about six hundred miles in total, Cameron pilots *Silversark* from his home port, D'Escousse, Cape Breton, via the waters of Lennox Passage, the Strait of Canso, transitting the causeway lock into St. George's Bay with visits at Havre Boucher, Ballantyne's Cove, Pictou and Caribou in Nova Scotia, across Northumberland Strait to Wood Islands, Charlottetown and Summerside, Prince Edward Island, recrossing the Strait to Shediac and Bouctouche, New Brunswick and again shaping course toward the low, red, sloping hills of Prince Edward Island with a stop at West Point. From there, *Silversark* continued her fascinating voyage, leaving North Cape fading away to starboard, on a fifty-four hour, non-stop sail over a grey, trackless, open sea toward Cap-Aux-Meules in the Magdalen Islands, the Acadian atoll located in the Gulf of St. Lawrence — the Acadian sea — before returning to Souris and Murray Harbour, and then a fourth crossing of Northumberland Strait with canvas poled-out, wing-and-wing, in a fresh nor'westerly. From the Causeway, a pleasant sail to Arichat and an overnight stop before negotiating the treacherous shoals off Little Anse, Rocky Bay and Cape La Ronde to return home to D'Escousse Harbour.

In articulate, descriptive prose, the author introduces us to the inhabitants of these snug harbours, whose ancestors lived along the coast and developed fishing, farming and boat-building industries - the pioneering families of our maritime provinces who carved out a living in what was then an uncharted wilderness. Cameron includes the traditional stories, legends and folklore of the villages he visited, resulting in engaging and informative reading for folks of all age groups. There are also tales about subjects as diverse as the Northumberland Strait ferry link and fox farming on Prince Edward Island.

Overall, it is an evocative book that is certain to appeal to each reader in different ways. As Cameron describes *Silversark* scudding through Crid Pass and past the guiding fixed-red light, standing thirty-nine feet above sea-level, aloof and alone, a symbol of security, visibility seven-point-two nautical miles to the true horizon, located at Beach Point, Jerseyman's Island, I was reminded of my boyhood days, for it was there that my parents served as lightkeepers for

twenty-four years, commencing in 1930.

Well done, Silver Donald Cameron, competent skipper, exquisite author, absorbing storyteller.

R.F. Latimer  
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

L.B. Jenson. *Bluenose II: Saga of the Great Fishing Schooners*. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1994. 125 pp., illustrated. \$19.95, paper; ISBN 1-55109-063-5.

In 1975 Bluenose Designs published Lathan Jenson's monumental work of draughtsmanship *Bluenose II: The Last of the Tall Schooners* in a large format. This limited and numbered edition, measuring 107 x 57 cm (42" x 22"), impressed me with its size and contents, and I openly coveted the book. Jenson, a talented retired naval officer, had produced a volume of incredibly detailed pen and ink drawings of the twelve-year-old schooner, a virtual anatomy lesson of a Grand Banks replica fishing vessel. He produced measured drawings of *Bluenose II* from his own documentation with peripheral material about the salt fish industry from its beginnings to its demise. Included were many more drawings of different schooner types and dories, the holds and cabins of the Lunenburg fishing schooner *Theresa Connor*, charts of fishing grounds, drawings of fish, historical lore and fishing gear and methods. The result was a unique and almost lavish reference work for the student, model maker or art lover. The measured drawings had a symmetry of line and form which made them more artistic than mechanical — a tribute to both the artist and the designer of *Bluenose*.

This year Nimbus has published the same material in a smaller 36 x 28 cm (14" x 11") edition at a fraction of the original cost, making it a good value and a very useful book for those with a pictorial interest in the east coast fishery. The illustrations have been totally re-arranged and have better continuity than the original. The reduction in the size of the book has of course meant a reduction in all but a few of the illustrations. They are now less useful than the originals, because in many cases the text on the illustrations is extremely difficult to read. The



most important measured drawings and details of rigging are repeated in a larger scale as Appendix I but they are still smaller than the earlier edition and suffer from being interrupted by the spine of the book.

The thorough and copious notes about *Bluenose II*, her specifications, the fishery, and Lunenburg are in Jenson's classical hand-written script and can be difficult to read, another victim of the smaller scale. The original text and drawings have all been retained. There are some additions from some of Jenson's other published artistic works. On page 67 the modeller can find a worthwhile painting scheme for *Bluenose* as she was finished for her 1931 winning of the International Fishermen's Trophy. Colour details always seem to be a problem for modellers and artists. Appendix II is a sequence of sketches depicting the construction of a schooner yacht in the late David Stevens' boat shop.

This book has the advantages of a cheap second edition. The line work on the reproductions have retained virtually all their clarity despite the reduction in size. Model makers or readers in search of accurate graphic information about the structure of wooden schooners, unavailable elsewhere, will find it an extremely valuable work.

David A. Walker  
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Vincent Gabrielsen. *Financing the Athenian Fleet: Public Taxation and Social Relations*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994. xix + 306 pp., notes, bibliography, index. US \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-8018-4692-7.

The trierarchy in Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries BC is the subject of Vincent Gabrielsen's very welcome book. It was an institution which was designed to solve, and to some extent succeeded in solving, in the early stages of the first democratic society, the very modern problem of the place and function in a democracy of an aristocratic and wealthy section of that society. The state as a whole and the rich were interdependent and the interdependence had somehow to be institutionalized. If the democratic society was to be a good one, and its people prosperous as a whole, safe and happy,

in the circumstances of the time the rich had to make the large contributions to society of which they were capable, feel good in the process and proud of the result.

Gabrielsen shows that the system of *leitourgiai* was the means to this end. Men of sufficient property were first required to take their share in what we should call the sponsorship, the financial liability, for a wide range of cultural activities of which the city was proud and from which the sponsors earned *charters* (popularity), the first aristocratic virtue. Later when the necessity arose for a fleet of *triereis*, expensive in acquisition, running and maintenance beyond the resources of the city, the system of *leitourgiai* was extended to the ship captains of the fleet, the *trierarchoi*, thus invoking the second aristocratic virtue, prominence in war. As in the latter half of the fourth century the demands of the fleet became more insistent and the liturgists more restive, the system of hierarchic *leitourgiai* was modified to spread the financial responsibility more widely and diversely, and more acceptably, among the self-regulating body of liturgists. It is this story of the complicated development of the trierarchy, during a period when the city was almost continuously on a war footing, that Gabrielsen had undertaken to trace and explain. It was not the least admirable achievement of democratic Athens.

He has chosen a subject which besides having modern relevance has also prolific ancient sources and a background of much useful modern work. The first consists primarily of a series of records or inventories in stone (dated 377/6-323/2) made by the supervisors of the naval dockyards at the end of their year of office, not complete or undamaged, having for some centuries formed a water conduit in Piraeus. They contain much information not only about ships and gear, but also about the extremely complicated relationships between the trierarch and the state. There also survives a number of most informative speeches from the Athenian lawcourts in suits concerning trierarchs. Conspicuous among the modern work which Gabrielsen has used critically are J.K. Davies' two books *Athenian Propertied Families: 600-300 BC* (1971) and *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (1981).

Gabrielsen steers a very judicious course through the complications and obscurities of the material and draws from it a clear picture of the trierarchy in eight chapters which he summarises in the Epilogue. They cover: the origin of the institution; qualification for, appointment to and exemption from the trierarchic liturgy; financial responsibility for the crew, the ship and the gear; and finally the reforms effected in the latter half of the fourth century.

The first chapter was bound by the lack of firm evidence to be the most speculative. Gabrielsen rejects the *naukrariai* as precursors. He suggests that the liturgical financing of dithyramb and tragedy (502/1) and comedy (487/6) was extended to the trierarchy in the late 480s (before the Salamis campaign). This brings him up against the Themistokles decree which makes no mention of wealth as a qualification in the appointment of trierarchs, only *inter alia* of their qualification as holders of property in Attica. He accordingly rejects the decree as evidence "because it does not shed light on all aspects of the trierarchy of 480 BC." This is an unsatisfactory reason. It would seem natural that in a national emergency the generals would choose the best commanders they could get, provided that they held property in Attica. It seems more likely that the slide of the trierarch from naval captain to absentee taxpayer began later; the feature of the decree which Gabrielsen misses is surely a point in favour of its authenticity rather than the reverse.

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Anna Yates. *Leifur Eiriksson and Vinland the Good*. Reykjavik: Iceland Review, 1993. 88 pp., map, photographs, bibliographical note. US \$22, paper; ISBN 9979-51-072-2.

As we move from the quincentennial celebration of 1992 to that of 1997, it is appropriate to be reminded that Norse seafarers had arrived on the shores of North America half a millennium before Christopher Columbus and John Cabot. What a shame it is, then, that more was not taken in this book to ensure that the reminder was more informative. Though Anna Yates is careful to emphasize the sometimes contradic-

tory and often unclear nature of the documentary evidence provided by the Saga of the Greenlanders and the Saga of Eirikur the Red, and while she insists in her Preface that her book "makes no claim whatever to be a work of scholarship," there is really no excuse for some of the conclusions drawn in this work.

Two examples should suffice. In Chapters 5, "Where was Vinland?" and 6, "L'Anse aux Meadows: Proof at Last," Yates wisely concedes that we shall probably never know where Vinland was, only that we can confidently assert that the Norse did make it to North America. Yet her map of the North Atlantic places Vinland unambiguously in New England, and clouds matters further by depicting "The Journey of the Nordic Seafarers from Iceland to Greenland and the New World..." as if the arrival in North America was part of a continuous, uninterrupted process originating in Iceland. One might as well begin the process in Norway by that logic! In fact, the Vinland adventure can only be understood, both in its achievement and in its failure, as an effort by settlers from the Norse Greenland colony, for it was from the infant settlements there, not Iceland, that the exploratory voyages of Leifur Eiriksson originated and the subsequent settlement efforts were attempted. The other arguable contention concerns the significance of the Norse voyages. Yates purports to explain how the Norse "discovered the New World a thousand years ago." (dustjacket; see also pp. 9, 63, 75) However, as Daniel Boorstin points out in *The Discoverers* (Random House, 1983), the word "discovery" applies only if there is sufficient feedback that something substantive can ensue from a find: "What is most remarkable is not that the Vikings actually reached America, but that they reached America and even settled there for a while, without *discovering* America." (p.215) What is significant about the Norse voyages is not so much their success but their failure, for their experience tells us a great deal about the social, economic, and technological conditions that were necessary to establish a permanent European foothold in North America, conditions that would not be ready for several more centuries.

In her enthusiasm to tell Leifur's tale, Yates makes a few other questionable claims — as when she asserts that the Vinland settlement

failed in the face of hostile natives numbering in the thousands (p.78), or when she manages to confuse Bjarni Herjólfsson's heading during his encounter with the new land (starboard on p.24 becomes port on p.51). Indeed, Yates inspires the least confidence when discussing Norse oceanic voyaging. As admirable as her intention is to reacquaint the general public with the Norse achievement in reaching North America a thousand years ago, readers would be better served looking for the published works of Tom McGovern or Robert McGhee.

Olaf Uwe Janzen  
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Sean McGrail. *Medieval Boat and Ship Timbers from Dublin*. Medieval Dublin Excavations 1962-81, Ser. B, vol. 3; Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1993. ix + 178 pp., figures, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. IR £25, cloth; ISBN 1-874045-05-4; IR £15.95, paper; ISBN 1-874045-06-2.

This monograph is an outstanding publication on the Viking/Norse tradition of boat and ship building, demonstrated in the finds from twenty years of excavation in Dublin. It is primarily a book for the specialist scholar in the field, but the serious amateur student of Norse and early medieval ship construction techniques in northern Europe should also find much of interest.

Between 1962 and 1981 excavations at a number of sites in Dublin uncovered almost four hundred pieces of ships' timbers which were recorded on site, photographed, and written descriptions made. In general the timbers had all been re-used for building waterfront structures, or had been dumped into the fill behind them. Hull structural parts included keels, stems, planking, frames, floors, knees and breasthooks. Artifacts concerned with propulsion included a mast step, parrels, two spar crutches, oars and paddles. No complete vessels were found and much of the material was fragmentary. A number of articulated groups of planking were uncovered. In 1974 Dr. McGrail was invited to view one of the excavation sites, became involved in excavation, and post-excavation research on other sites, and this monograph is the outcome of his fieldwork and research.

The monograph has four principal sections: a description of the methodology used for classifying, recording and dating the material; a discussion of the hull structural elements; a discussion of the propulsion and steering artifacts; and a review of shipping and ship building in Dublin in the tenth to thirteenth centuries. The appendices, which take up rather less than half the monograph include a very complete and detailed catalogue, with excellent drawings of the more important material, and a classification of the timbers by type, and the probable size of the vessel from which they came. Most of the material has been dated in the period from the early tenth century to the mid-thirteenth century. In the discussion on hulls and rigging, excellent use has been made of medieval seals and illustrations depicting ships. There is also an extensive and fully documented comparison with other ship finds of the period in northern Europe.

The three most valuable aspects of the monograph are: the description and discussion of the methods used for classifying the material, which could be employed on future sites; the extensive comparisons made with material from other boat and ship finds in northern Europe; and the elegant methods used to infer the approximate number of vessels and their size, based on both the fragmentary artifacts from the Dublin excavation and the comparative material from elsewhere. This is a monograph which could only have been written by a scholar with Dr. McGrail's breadth and depth of knowledge about construction methods for boats and ships from the Neolithic to Medieval periods. For the serious student and scholar this publication will be an exemplar of how excavation results and post-excavation research should be presented, and a valuable reference work, not just for the Dublin material, but for the tables and figures making comparisons with the more complete vessels from Skuldelev, Hedeby, Lynaes, Bergen, Oseberg, Gokstad, and other sites with ships built in the Viking/Norse tradition.

Although it should be expected in these days, the editing, printing and figures are all of a high standard. The book is a pleasure to handle and read.

R.J.O. Millar  
Vancouver, British Columbia

Richard W. Unger (ed.). *Cogs, Caravels and Galleons: The Sailing Ship 1000-1650*. History of the Ship Series; London: Conway Maritime Press, 1994. 188 pp., figures, photographs, bibliography, glossary, index. £28.00, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-560-8.

This is the eighth offering in Conway's ambitious twelve-volume series to comprehensively and authoritatively document the history of the ship. This particular volume covers developments in the Mediterranean and Europe from the Middle Ages until the mid-seventeenth century. The title is deceiving as the book actually discusses a broader range of vessels including Viking boats, Mediterranean round ships, caravels and fluits. As well, a host of other craft are discussed albeit in far less detail. This is a result of the uneven knowledge of ships and boats of this period. The focus is naturally on those vessels about which most is known and, almost without exception, these are vessels which have been discovered archaeologically.

The organization of the book emphasizes the evolutionary development of ship and boat types. This is done successfully which cannot have been an easy task given the myriad of boat types existing during the period under discussion and the broad geographical expanse covered by the study. To accomplish this, the editor has brought together a number of experts in their respective fields who have each contributed a chapter to the book.

The approach is generally historical in nature, reflecting the professional orientation of most of the authors. Persons interested in naval architecture in general and architectural details in particular may find this book wanting as these aspects are not covered in great detail. Rather, the focus is on how the vessels functioned in the cultural milieu of the Mediterranean and European worlds. From this perspective, all aspects of the various vessel types are described including their roles in trade and war, their size, shape and tonnages, sailing qualities, architecture and shipboard conditions.

The book opens with a discussion of the distinctive Viking boats and their evolutionary descendants. The section on the structure of Viking vessels is a little confusing and requires the consultation of the excellent although, in most cases, small architectural drawings. The other sections of this chapter are otherwise well written.

There follows two chapters on the cog: one on the cog as trading vessel, the other on the cog as warship. The chapter on trade is probably the least satisfactory of the two. Much of it bears on the early development of the cog and presents a number of unsubstantiated and unconvincing statements. The chapter on war is a competently written, straightforward historical account. Surprisingly, little appears on the architectural details of cogs, though several well-documented archaeological examples exist.

The next chapter, dealing with Mediterranean round ships, is probably the most satisfying in the book. It begins with the architectural development of round ships based on what is known archaeologically, then flows into the role of this vessel type historically. One wishes that this chapter could have been used as a model for the rest, though the assertion (repeated in several other chapters) that entirely frame-first ship construction had been developed during the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century, is incorrect. Current research reveals that even by the middle of the sixteenth century, shipbuilders were still not completely erecting a skeleton of frames before attaching the hull planking. Since this is an important transitional development in shipbuilding history, this aspect should have been described in some detail.

The carrack, a meeting of Mediterranean and European shipbuilding technologies which gave rise to the fully-rigged ship, is dealt with in an interesting but basic historical review with little hard structural information bearing on these important vessels. Reliance is given mostly to iconographic and model data which is surprising given the information available from the *Mary Rose*. One has only to compare the photograph of the model of the *Mary Rose*, based on the actual remains, with the other iconographic representations of similar vessels to see the shortcomings of a strictly historical approach for structural interpretations. Caravels and galleons, covered in the next chapter, are treated in a very similar manner as carracks.

The chapters on specific vessel types ends with a discussion of the fluit. Again the approach is historical, focusing on the development, significance and role of the vessel in trade and warfare with limited information on construction details. One interesting feature is discussed though, and that is the vestigial survival of shell construction technique where a few bottom strakes are attached to each side of the keel

before the frames are installed.

The final five chapters deal with topics of a more general nature, including shipping and navigation in the Mediterranean, guns and gunnery, shipbuilding tools and techniques, shipbuilding treatises before 1650, and iconography. These are primarily of a general nature but the chapter on treatises is a useful guide for those who wish to pursue more intensive study.

The book concludes with a select, annotated bibliography, a glossary and an index. Although not exhaustive, the glossary is useful for its many foreign terms found in the text.

Overall, this is a worthy addition to the History of the Ship Series. It is generally well written, profusely illustrated and contains a wealth of information on the vessels and roles they played in the period under discussion. A more balanced approach between archaeology and history would have been preferred which could only have enhanced the volume. The book though, should long stand as a basic reference tool which is, after all, the intended purpose of the series.

R. James Ringer  
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Donald S. Johnson. *Phantom Islands of the Atlantic*. Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 1994 [469 King Street, Fredericton, N.B., E3B 1E5]. 232 pp., maps, figures, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95, US \$17.95, paper; ISBN 0-86492-149-7.

This book was written with the intention of drawing up an inventory of famous islands that have turned up in myths, maps, charts and portolians throughout the era of European exploration in the Atlantic. It objectively tackles not only maps and legends, but also the scholarly yet sometimes vitriolic debates that those maps and legends have inspired.

Donald Johnson begins by taking us through a history of cartography and geography since the Classical Age of ancient Greece and Rome. He describes at length the evolution of knowledge during the Hellenistic era as well as the paucity of knowledge that plagued the Middle Ages. Johnson doesn't forget the Muslim contribution to our knowledge of geography and cartography; an entire chapter is devoted to this topic, which too often is ignored. This is followed by a chapter dealing with the evolution of scientific

navigation in the early modern period, and its impact on the gathering of cartographic knowledge.

However, by far the most interesting portion of Johnson's book is his recounting and analysis of legendary and phantom islands. He takes us through the murky origins and possible interpretations of the legends behind such islands as Isle of Demons, Hy-Brasil, Antillia, Frisland, and the island of Saint Brendan. Some of these chapters are very well documented and researched, as in the case of Buss Island. Others, however, lack precise information, such as the legend of Saint Ursula. And though Johnson investigated Christopher Columbus' links to the legend and his naming of Caribbean islands, he has completely ignored the case of João Alvarez Faguendes, a Portuguese explorer who also named some islands off Newfoundland's south coast "Ihlas do arcepelleguo das onze mill virgens," in honour of Saint Ursula in 1520-21. Johnson has however been quite clever in giving us a cross section of phantom islands through as many periods of exploration of the Atlantic as possible, rather than listing an exhaustive compendium. He thus gives us glimpses into the minds, beliefs and experiences of mariners and explorers from ancient history to pre-modern times.

Unfortunately the cartographic documents are somewhat disappointing. Some are actual reproductions. Most, however, have been re-drawn and "cleansed." Although simplifying maps for clarity can be useful, many lose their original character and detail as a result. Johnson himself acknowledges this fact honestly in his preface. But since no detailed cartographic bibliography is given, the reader does not know which of these maps are redrawn from the originals, which are reproductions of reproductions, or their provenance. It would be especially interesting to know Johnson's cartographic references and sources. But obviously this book is not about paleocartography.

*Phantom Islands of the Atlantic* is an interesting addition to any library, and can be used as a source of enrichment regarding past eras of exploration. It provides us with a collection of valuable information about phantom islands, their legends and the mystery that still surround them.

Marc Cormier  
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Bernard D. Fardy. *John Cabot: The Discovery of Newfoundland*. St. John's, NF: Creative Publishers, 1994. xii + 115 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, bibliography. \$11.95, paper; ISBN 1-895387-35-3.

This is a simple book, with a simple thesis: John Cabot's voyage of 1497 brought him to Newfoundland. The theme is embellished with brief profiles of L'Anse aux Meadows, Bristol, the *Matthew*, Henry VII, Sebastian Cabot and some commemorations, particularly Cabot Tower. Fardy follows Samuel Eliot Morison in finding Cabot's landfall at Cap Dégrat, rather than at Bonavista. He writes, in fact, in the spirit (though not the style) of the late Admiral Morison: over-assertively, with few supporting references and little acknowledgment of the ambiguities of the historical record. Yet Morison was both a distinguished scholar and an experienced mariner, so that one reads his words on Cabot with some care. Fardy's *Cabot* is, clearly, not intended as a scholarly work nor even as a synthesis for the reader with a special interest in history, but rather as a kind of commemorative souvenir. Will the tourist who picks this up get value for money?

Fardy recounts the main events of the story reasonably clearly but not in a very interesting way. This results partly from poor prose and worse proof-reading. "Having heard the tales of St. Brendan," Fardy writes, the "Bristolians":

were determined to find his fabled lands, for as they put it, if a feeble monk in a flimsy 'curragh' could voyage westward then they certainly could in a stout wooden vessel that was built 'shipshape and Bristol fashion', a phrase that would be known around the world in 1497 after John Cabot did it. (p.35)

There is some evidence that no copy-editor's eye ever fell upon this slim volume: a number of notes, along the lines of "(needs accent)," remain in the text. (e.g. p.63) Some of the many illustrations are interesting; others, like a map of the Newfoundland and Labrador without their coastlines (p.23), are incomprehensible. A few snapshots apart, none will be new to those familiar with the literature on Cabot.

Ultimately, what is disturbing here is the view of the past that Fardy has forged from disparate unidentified sources. Again and again we read "it is believed" this or "it is speculated"

that. These assertions are sometimes just wrong. The Irish curragh is not, for example, a forerunner of the Norse knarr. (p.5) Sometimes a reasonable speculation on one page, for example that Cabot and Columbus might have known each other as youths, becomes fact a few pages later, (pp.21, 27) This approach facilitates misconception which, in its turn, diffuses a pervasive haze. Fardy apparently believes, for example, that Cabot had the technical ability to fix longitude as well as latitude and thereby traverse rhumb lines directly — something no mariner could do reliably until the perfection of the chronometer in the eighteenth century, (p.49) This means that he cannot convincingly explain Cabot's westward itinerary, leaving explorer and reader in the northern fog. Fardy's historiography is likewise confused. The Cape Breton landfall, for example, was not first widely discussed in the 1930s (p.83) but in the 1890s.

Anyone interested in a lively, well-illustrated, brief account of John Cabot, his voyage and ships and seamen of the period should read the relevant chapters in Morison's *European Discovery of America, The Northern Voyages* (Oxford, 1971). Those wanting a souvenir of the 1497 voyage might wait for the wider selection of flummery that is assuredly coming our way.

Peter Pope  
St. John's, Newfoundland

Clive Holland. *Arctic Exploration and Development c.500 BC to 1915*. New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1994. xi + 704 pp., maps, index. US \$125, cloth; ISBN 0-8240-7648-6.

Literary guides to Arctic and north polar exploration are always invaluable. One could say, too, that they are a necessity. What a compiler chooses to put in such a work presents conundrums, for what is valuable, and what is not? One person's trash may be another's treasure. But to maintain the motif of excellence on the chosen criteria throughout such an era as is encompassed by this marvellous work calls for special recognition. Clive Holland has kept to his promise: to provide a comprehensive chronological record of expeditions, voyages, and historical events in the Arctic. Altogether there are nearly two thousand entries, each recording an expedition or event. Some expeditions were scientific, others commercial. Some expeditions were imaginary, others real. The compiler has

taken care to explore all the known sources of these expeditions, and anyone who is familiar with the encyclopedic knowledge of the good Mr. Holland of the Scott Polar Research Institute in Cambridge University will understand that few humans have a better knowledge of the sources. Thus, this book is not only a valuable, accurate reference tool as to who went where, why and how (and what disputes resulted therefrom). It also constitutes a guide to the literature, which is as vast as the circumpolar lands and waters through which we are navigated.

This work goes far beyond the earlier bibliography compiled by Clive Holland in conjunction with Alan Cooke, both in its knowledge of up-to-date sources and in the thoroughness of its treatment. Nowadays there is always a complaint that books seem to cost so much, an argument that sometimes can be justified. In other instances, and this is clearly demonstrable here, they may well be underpriced, considering the size and the value of the book's contents (in the sense both of the information it holds and where the contents may lead even the most well-informed scholar). One could have hoped for better maps, but to compensate, the book has an excellent double-column format, boasts not only a comprehensive index and a ship index, but contains, besides all this, the most phenomenally complete guide to the literature, fifty pages in length. One could be happy with all of that, but Mr. Holland has gone the extra mile by including an appendix of "Main Expedition Members," a wonderful way of cross-listing ships and men, thereby linking his individual entries to the vast concourse of human kind that over a millennia and a half sought the Arctic Grail.

Arctic discovery was international in scope, and herein we find all the Russian accounts, ancient and modern. There are wonderful entries on Elizabethan seamen in search of precious metals and the fabled North West Passage. Against all the long litany of voyages in such a passage the Hudson's Bay Company and the Royal Navy take pride of place, but they must be balanced in importance by the numerous important American expeditions to the Canadian Arctic and by those of Stefannson and of the great Joseph Bernier to extend Canada's Arctic knowledge and claims to sovereignty. Then as now the rival claimant was the United States. French and Danish, Icelandic and Irish expeditions are also here. Though this is certainly a book for the reference library or the learned

specialist, its value goes beyond such bounds. Serious students of northern affairs should have this book in their library at home and probably another for the office. It will be years before a more comprehensive work appears. Its appearance is a credit to author and publisher alike.

Barry Gough  
Waterloo, Ontario

William Barr and Glyndwr Williams (eds.). *Voyages in Search of a Northwest Passage 1741-1747, Volume I: The Voyage of Christopher Middleton 1741-1742*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1994. xii + 333 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. £30, cloth; ISBN 0-90418-36-0.

Since it was founded in 1846 The Hakluyt Society has issued ten volumes containing original material relating to the quest for the Northwest Passage. Coverage is now extended by two additional volumes. The first, reviewed here, deals with the surveys conducted by Christopher Middleton during the years 1741-42. A further volume in preparation will carry the story forward to 1746-47 when William Moor made a subsequent voyage.

Following the loss in 1719-20 of the expedition led by James Knight, interest in the feasibility of a direct route to the east via northern Canada waned. In the early 1720s Barlow and Scroggs in the course of trading voyages in Hudson Bay recorded substantial tidal variations towards the north western corner of the Bay, suggesting that there might be a way through a passage near Ne Ultra, known today as Roes Welcome Sound. Towards the end of the decade this information found its way into the bands of Arthur Dobbs, a wealthy Ulster merchant and landowner. A persistent advocate of the expansion of British trade and commerce, he became obsessed with the concept of a shorter sea passage to the Far East. In the course of his campaigning Dobbs unwittingly aroused fears amongst the Governors of the Hudson's Bay Company that the opening up of a Northwest passage might jeopardise their control of the huge stretches of northern Canada that they regarded as their fiefdom. The Company did what it could to prevent details of its trading voyages being communicated to third parties. Within the Company, however, was a long-serving employee and captain of one of their

trading vessels, Christopher Middleton, who without authority fed information to Dobbs. By the end of 1740 Dobbs had persuaded the Admiralty to back a voyage. Command was entrusted to Middleton.

The two expedition vessels, the bomb ketch *Furnace* and the *Discovery*, sailed from the Nore on 18 June, 1741. By 31 July they had negotiated the Hudson Strait. In view of the lateness of the season it was decided to overwinter at Churchill. On 30 June, 1742 both vessels sailed north, and ten days later they entered Roes Welcome Sound. Having come to a dead end in Repulse Bay, Middleton was still puzzled by the apparent strong current. From the vantage point of a nearby hill he discovered that it flowed from the Foxe Channel in the east, westward through the ice-choked Frozen Strait into Repulse Bay.

It was a despondent Middleton who returned to England. In his eyes the expedition had not been a success. There had been loss of life amongst the crew members and little fresh information acquired. Notwithstanding in October 1742 he was invited to present a paper to the Royal Society on the effects of cold in Hudson Bay. After initially welcoming the contents of Middleton's journal of the voyage Dobbs claimed to have received letters casting doubt on the former's good faith. As sponsors of the voyage the Admiralty became involved. About a third of the book is devoted to what the editors term the "Controversy," an exchange of claims and counterclaims that typified the way in which disputes were carried on at the time.

Despite his undoubted ability the debate blighted Middleton's subsequent career which prevented him from continuing in full time service. Edward Parry acknowledged his professionalism eighty years later when reporting on his own work in the area in 1821. He stated that with the exception of its geographical position, Middleton had given a generally accurate account of Repulse Bay, the appearance of the lands and their relative situation and the nature and depths of the soundings.

This volume maintains the high standard associated with productions of the Society and provides collectors of material relating to the Northwest Passage with an invaluable compendium of transcribed documents.

Norman Hurst  
Coulson, Surrey

John Scofield. *Hail, Columbia: Robert Gray, John Kendrick and the Pacific Fur Trade*. Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1993. xx + 378 pp., maps, illustrations, sources, index. US \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-87595-234-8.

J. Richard Nokes. *Columbia's River: the Voyages of Robert Gray, 1787-1793*. Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 1991. xviii + 352 pp., maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. US \$24.95, paper; ISBN 0-917048-68-7.

The boundary of the American states of Washington and Oregon runs along the centre of the Columbia River. Both states have professionally managed historical societies, and it is natural that both should publish books on the river two hundred years after it received its name.

The story starts in 1787, when a group of Boston merchants decided to venture into the maritime fur trade on the Northwest Coast of America. It was only two years after the first British voyages made to that coast in search of sea otter skins to be sold in Canton, and only four years after the formal end of the American Revolutionary War. The merchants bought two ships and appointed John Kendrick as the leader of the expedition in the ship *Columbia*. He was accompanied by Robert Gray in command of the sloop *Lady Washington*. The two captains switched commands on the west coast, and in the end Gray made two voyages of circumnavigation, with minimal profit to the owners, while Kendrick shuttled aimlessly between North America and Canton, buying and selling furs, and plunging his ship ever deeper in debt. His career ended in Hawaii when his ship was given a three gun salute by a British one, and someone forgot there was a shot in the gun. Kendrick and several of his crew were killed.

American ships later came to dominate the sea otter trade. Gray might have been only a minor figure, except that in 1792 he found himself off an opening sketched by Bruno Hezeta in 1775. Crossing the bar, he anchored inside and traded for furs. Only after a week, when he was ready to leave, did he think to name the river, calling it "Columbia" after his ship.

Unlike this reviewer, John Scofield, the author of *Hail Columbia*, is a direct descendant of John Kendrick. He took advantage of his retirement to track down the story of his ancestor. The surviving information on the voyages of Kendrick and Gray is meagre. It was assembled



by Howay and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1941, then republished by the Oregon Historical Society Press in 1990. Scofield's most important contribution is the integration of indirect information — what others said about the two Americans — with the limited direct information. He explains in his preface that "he has tried to flesh out the principal characters...by filling in between the lines of historical fact." (p.xix) He has done a good job of separating inferential from historical information, so the reader has no difficulty in knowing which is which. However, in the process, he goes beyond the bounds of his own knowledge. Thus, his ships come to anchor to the sound of rattling anchor chains, although such chains did not replace hemp cables until much later. He also describes Bodega y Quadra as "immaculately bewigged and finery loving." (p. 273) To my knowledge, the only "portrait" of Bodega y Quadra is one concocted in the 1950s for a Spanish postal stamp, using a naval rating dressed up in a uniform from the Museo Naval with a wig clapped on his head. I know of no other source for Scofield's description of the Spanish captain.

Scofield attributes the inclusion in the United States of the present states of Washington and Oregon to Gray's crossing of the bar of the Columbia River. This seems far fetched. Broughton not only crossed the bar a few months later in *Chatham*, incidentally finding a British fur trader anchored inside, but surveyed the river up to the site of the present Bonneville Dam, upstream from the city of Portland. His report was included in the account of Vancouver's voyage published in 1798, not 1804 as Scofield states. When Lewis and Clark crossed overland from the United States in 1804-5 they were not looking for Gray's or Broughton's Columbia River, although they did reach it, recognized it as the river surveyed by Broughton, and followed it downstream. The aggregation of the Columbia basin to the United States surely came about through the pressure of westward American migration in the 1830s.

There are sixteen maps in the book, crudely drawn but with legible place names. This, however, like the other criticisms, does not detract materially from the value of the book as a whole. It is readable, and thanks to the care of the author, the historical content is reliable.

*Columbia's River* deals with the same subject. It is an earlier book - the cloth edition

is no longer in print. Nokes does not "flesh out" the story in the same way that Scofield does. He uses a different approach, starting with an account of the geography and non-documentary history of Columbia Basin, and closing with an account of the Oregon crisis of 1844. He credits Gray's entry of the river with the success of the United States in getting the boundary established at the forty-ninth parallel. The book ends with the story of the unsuccessful attempt of Gray's widow in 1846-53 to get a land grant in Oregon as compensation for her husband's contribution.

Nokes was a journalist and newspaper editor until his retirement. His profession is reflected in his anecdotal style, the picture captions, and the introduction of asides, some of which have little or no connection with the subject. As interesting as readers might find Francis Drake, he had no connection with the voyages of the *Columbia*.

Like Scofield, Nokes gives Gray credit for the United States gaining the Columbia basin, but properly reminds us that it was diplomacy and political pressure that settled the question. In general, Nokes gives more detail on the voyage, and less information on the fur trade than Scofield. Both authors do us a service by assembling material which has been diffused through a number of publications.

John Kendrick  
Vancouver, British Columbia

Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff; Victoria Joan Moessner (trans. & annotator), Richard A. Pierce (ed.). *Remarks and Observations on a Voyage Around the World from 1803 to 1807, two vols, bound as one*. Alaska History No. 41; Fairbanks, AL and Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1993. (I) xxxviii + 239 pp., maps, illustration, tables; (II) xvi + 281 pp., illustration, tables, plates, appendix, index. US \$30 (+ postage, handling, applicable taxes), cloth; ISBN 0-895901-00-6.

This is a new English translation of naturalist Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff's journal aboard the Russian naval vessel *Nadezhda* during the first Russian circumnavigation of the globe. Together with Captain Yurii Fedorovich Lisiansky's *Neva*, the expedition sailed from Kronstadt on 7 August, 1803 under overall command of Captain Ivan Fedorovich Kruzenshtern, who published his own account of the voyage and a

valuable atlas of the Pacific. The ships separated at times, but the *Nadezhda* visited the Marquesas islands via Cape Horn, Hawaii, Kamchatka, and Japan, returning to the Aleutian Islands area for surveying work before calling at Macao en route for the Cape of Good Hope. Langsdorff had elected to return overland from Kamchatka, arriving at St. Petersburg on 16 March, 1808.

Highlights of Langsdorff's voyage included a lengthy stay in Brazil, where he was shocked to observe the number and state of health of newly-arrived African slaves. At the Marquesan island of Nukahiva in the south Pacific in May 1804, Langsdorff collected a remarkable amount of information about Marquesan language, society and culture. Later that year the expedition reached Japan for what Langsdorff described as the most politically significant part of its mission. The Japanese permitted only the Dutch to trade with them from Europe, and the *Nadezhda* carried an accredited ambassador who hoped to negotiate trading rights for Russia. Langsdorff and the others would spend nearly six months at Nagasaki, waiting to meet the Emperor's personal messenger who told them only that a second Russian visit would be welcomed.

Observations at Kamchatka, and Russian outposts around the northwest coast of North America, led the expedition to the Spanish mission towns of San Francisco and San Jose in where Langsdorff recorded his impressions of the native peoples of California. The crew, who had suffered from scurvy during the recent northern cruise, had recovered by 10 May, 1805 and the expedition headed north again on its return journey to Europe. Langsdorff was able to flesh out his earlier observations of native peoples along the northwest coast, reporting with regret that the Russian settlement at Kodiak had taken a grievous toll on the local Aleut people.

Victoria Moessner makes a clear case for this new edition, which corrects the many inaccuracies of the first English edition published in 1813-14. Her introduction to the journal's historical significance, however, is much less satisfactory. She spends too much time on rivalry among the expedition's senior officers, while neglecting far more important issues like the expedition's place in the history of Russian overseas exploration and the search for a Northwest Passage. Although it is clear that the expedition was launched to improve Russian trade connections with the Orient, readers are given no background information.

Notes at the end of each chapter provide a wealth of biographical information, but the secondary sources consulted seem haphazard; there is no reference to Glynn Barratt's work on the Russian exploration of the Pacific, for example, or to B.N. Komissarov's 1975 biography of Langsdorff. Given editor Richard Pierce's expertise in this field, such omissions are difficult to understand.

The illustrations from Langsdorff's original edition are beautifully reproduced, but it is unclear which of the two artists Langsdorff mentions was responsible for them. The index is frustrating; the introduction praises Langsdorff's interest in indigenous women, but there is no entry for "women" in the index, leaving the reader to rummage for relevant material under "immorality" or "marriage." There is much to be said for discreet editing, but in this case a fascinating book in a welcome new edition is not done justice.

Jane Samson  
Victoria, British Columbia

Rhys Richards. *Into the South Seas: The Southern Whale Fishery Comes of Age on the Brazil Banks 1765 to 1812*. Wellington, New Zealand: The Paremata Press, 1994 [73 Seaview Road, Paremata, Wellington, New Zealand]. 128 pp., illustrations, tables, bibliography, indices. US \$24, Cdn \$33 paper; ISBN 0-473-02387-3.

In this relatively short study (roughly seventy-five pages of text), Rhys Richards chronicles the Brazil Banks whale fishery from its opening in the 1760s to its virtual demise by 1812. Though there were shore whaling stations taking whales in Brazil in the seventeenth century, it was the arrival of American whaleships around 1769-1770 (roughly five years earlier than estimated by Starbuck in his classic 1878 *History of the American Whale Fishery*) that opened up exploitation of a major resource. Over the next forty years, Richards estimates, some 30,000 right whales, along with several thousand sperm whales, were taken here, until the whale stocks were exhausted, and the whalers — American, British, French and Spanish — moved on to other grounds.

All this Richards chronicles in considerable detail, giving special attention to those vessels and masters he has found which are not listed in Starbuck's standard reference. This sort of

detailed history is not easy work, and it is worth noting how much Richard's account depends on earlier efforts by others, most notably the collection of microfilm copies of logs and journals by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (in Australia), A.G.E. Jones' careful work in the Lloyds' Lists, Nigel Wace's fortunate dip into St. Helena records, and the extensive studies of J. Thierry Du Pasquier on the history of French whaling. Richards acknowledges these sources fully, adding his own researches in odd corners to produce an important contribution to the detailed literature on whaling history. Careful citations are provided for every vessel noted, and a most valuable appendix (pp. 101-116) summarizes data not in Starbuck.

The book itself, it should be noted, is a paperbacked photographic reproduction of the original typescript manuscript. Rhys Richards *is* Paremata Press: his indefatigable zest for whaling and sealing research has prompted him to produce this volume very much on his own (the dedication is to "the first publisher to print a second edition commercially"). Not surprisingly, some problems arise from such a method, over and above the occasional misprint or other error. The review copy had an unfortunate tendency to fail to print the top half of the letter "h," producing far too many "wnales," "fisnery," and other curious constructions. Overall, however, this volume belongs in every whaling history collection that aspires to comprehensiveness.

Briton Cooper Busch  
Hamilton, New York

Briton Cooper Busch. *Whaling Will Never Do For Me: The American Whaleman in the Nineteenth Century*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994. xii + 265 pp., end-maps, tables, notes, bibliography, indices. US \$29, cloth; ISBN 0-8131-1838-7.

Briton Cooper Bush is well known as an accomplished editor of nautical journals and the author of a highly-regarded work on seal fisheries. Scholars of maritime history will be cheered to learn that he has now turned his formidable talents toward whaling, more particularly toward American whalers in the nineteenth century.

The publication of yet another book about whaling is certain to elicit groans from at least some quarters. The literature on the pursuit and capture of whales is formidable. Little remains

to be discovered about the operation of whale ships, the processing of oil, or other features of the trade. This study, however, is not a retelling or even a reinterpretation of what is known. It is, instead, a social history of the ordinary mariners who lived years on end in the dank fo'c'sles of America's whaling vessels, earned precious little of the proceeds from their voyages, suffered at the hands of brutal officers, and lived always with the imminent possibility of serious accident or death from injury, disease, or drowning.

In attempting to describe the lives of these men, Busch examined over three thousand of the five thousand or so surviving American whaling logs, journals, and diaries. He covers almost every feature of life in the industry, both on ship and ashore.

Two major objectives of the study are to evaluate the negative aspects of whalers' lives and then to discover what countervailing factors were powerful enough to induce men to continue in the whaling business year after year and voyage after voyage. A part of the explanation for the attraction of whaling was the general state of the economy on the northeast coast and in other areas of America during the nineteenth century. If the monetary rewards of whaling were small for ordinary mariners, they were at least equivalent to the compensation available in comparably skilled occupations on land or in other seafaring employments. Important, too, in men's decisions to continue as whalers was the fact that despite the sweated nature of the occupation, the plight of ordinary mariners was not nearly as grim as had previously been thought. While neither the establishment of mission stations on dozens of tropical islands nor the occasional presence of officers' wives and families on board ships provided substantial improvement in their situation, whalemen were not entirely without means to retain a modicum of control over their circumstances. There were, in fact, various avenues available to them for protesting injustice, reacting against unreasonable conditions, or for mitigating the barrenness of their lives. Petitions to legal authorities ashore, desertion, work stoppages, and the occasional mutiny all operated in some measure to protect them from official tyranny. Their harsh shipboard environment was interspersed with Sabbath-day relaxation, enjoyment of nautical crafts, occasional shipboard musical entertainment, and religious exercises. The

tedium of life at sea also gave way at intervals to uproarious drunkenness and unrestrained fornication on visits to ports that catered to the whaling industry.

What was the whaler's life really like? The question has no clear and neat answer. As the nineteenth century wore on and the supply of whales diminished, the nature of the enterprise gradually changed. Voyages grew longer, Arctic cruising became vital to the success of expeditions, the Civil War created a new series of difficulties, and more and more Portuguese, Pacific Islanders, men from the Azores or Madeira, and other foreigners signed on to fill out the crews Americans were increasingly unwilling to join. There was simply too much variation from ship to ship, captain to captain, and decade to decade to provide a single characterization of the whaler's life for a period of one hundred years. Still, despite the slippery nature of the subject, Bush offers the best that can be had with the material available. His book is a splendid addition to the expanding literature of seafaring life before the mast.

B.R. Burg  
Phoenix, Arizona

Om Prakash. *Precious Metals and Commerce: The Dutch East India Company in the Indian Ocean Trade*. Aldershot, UK & Brookfield, VT: Variorum (Ashgate Publishing), 1994. xiv + 283 pp., illustrations, tables, index. US \$89.95, cloth; ISBN 0-86078-434-7.

Thanks to Ashgate Publishing, using the Variorum imprint, one need not wait until the 65th birthday before one's collected articles (in English or French) are published in the Collected Studies Series. Twelve volumes already deal with Asia and its relations with mainly early modern Europe. It is, of course, a distinction to be reprinted in this way, an honour fallen to scholars such as Charles Boxer, Peter Marshall, Geneviève Bouchon and Ashin das Gupta. Volume 12 contains sixteen articles from Om Prakash, the well-known economic historian of the University of Delhi, India.

Om Prakash's field of study is India in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, in particular Bengal, and the role played by the European Asian Companies. The Dutch VOC (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie) is his favourite organisation. The language and the handwriting of its

documents are problems with which he can cope very well. The setting for his publications is that strange pattern of trade between Europe and Asia, with the Europeans, *i.e.* the different corporate companies, unable to supply European products at prices that would stimulate a demand strong enough to provide sufficient income for the purchase of Asian commodities. Europe's scientific and technological superiority did not help in this respect, at least not before the Industrial Revolution. Instead, Europeans could only offer precious metals in bullion and coins converted into local currency. The implications of this so called "bullion for goods" trade for the level of income and employment in the Asian economies also belong to Om Prakash's interest. Until well into the eighteenth century the VOC transported the biggest quantities of Asian products to Europe and was engaged in intra-Asian trade on a large scale. A spice monopoly in the Moluccas and Sri Lanka, and a privileged access to Japan were great assets for the Dutch. Flows of precious metals, trading networks, Bengal and merchants are therefore the main themes in this series of articles on the VOC in the Indian Ocean, published between 1972 and 1991. They have appeared all over the world, in collections of essays as a result of conference papers, and in the *Indian Economic and Social History Review*.

Om Prakash's work is not always of direct importance for maritime history. Ships and shipowners, let alone seamen, do not regularly recur, but Om Prakash makes the maritime historian better understand what was going on in and around the Indian Ocean in relation to Europe. In some articles he is quite explicit on the availability of shipping lists in the VOC archive at The Hague and dwells upon their context and usefulness. In the article on trade from Bengal in 1630-1720 he proves how well he masters not only the commercial but also the shipping aspects.

A Variorum imprint means an integral xerographic reprint of the articles, with the original and often very different fonts and also the original pagination. Some pages are rather faded. Each article is identified only by a roman number at the top of each page, in the order as listed in the contents. The sole publisher's addition is an index. Nothing in the texts has been altered, which means that outdated opinions have not been corrected and the references to the VOC archive not modernized. Likewise, it is unavoi-

able that repetition of descriptions and arguments has to be accepted. Nevertheless, this is a useful publication, written in clear English.

Jaap R. Bruijn  
Oegstgeest, The Netherlands

Jeremy Black. *European Warfare 1660-1815*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994. x + 276 pp., maps, notes, select bibliography, index. US \$30, cloth; ISBN 0-300-06170-6.

A prolific author like Jeremy Black can be excused for occasionally repeating himself or changing his mind. He has earlier challenged the "military revolution" thesis of Michael Roberts with *A Military Revolution? Military change and European society 1550-1800* (London, 1991). Once again Black makes the case that more dramatic military change occurred in European warfare before and after the 1530-1660 period that Roberts emphasized.

Innovations in land and sea warfare, developed in Europe and exported for use against non-European rivals, are the subject of this analytical essay. Black displays a good grasp of the central elements of this topic and its literature, which makes his rather anachronistic description of "constraints" on early modern warfare, including uninvented steamships and radio communications, quite surprising. The introductory analytical chapters, which many readers will find more comprehensible after reading the subsequent chronological ones, conclude with a particularly thoughtful reprinted discussion of decisiveness in war. Black argues that the inconclusive nature of eighteenth-century warfare has been exaggerated, and was caused by political rather than military factors. This argument could have used Reed Browning's recent observation that eighteenth-century "wars of manoeuvre" on land allowed armies to escape battle if either side wished; naval squadrons that spied each other were forced to fight whenever either side wished, because the slowest retreating ship could not usually escape the fastest attacking one. Black readily shows that European warfare could be decisive in Europe, North America, and India.

The first chronological chapter is dominated by Louis XIV's wars, those between Sweden and Russia, and those between Austrians and Turks. Black rightly questions monarchical absolutism, sensing that power was shared with

aristocracies that had become profitably reconciled with the new monarchies. An intriguing sketch of the case of the Austrians, facing both the militarily innovative French and the more traditional Turks, seems so central to the theme of this book as to deserve fuller development. Austrian expansion into the Turkish-held Balkans in this period represents the successful export of European land warfare.

Black dethrones Frederick the Great in discussing European warfare between 1721 and 1763, preferring to emphasize the global British-Bourbon fight for naval and imperial hegemony. Black's contributions to *The British Navy and the Use of Naval Power in the Eighteenth Century* (Leicester, 1988), which he edited with Philip Woodfine, had focused on the limitations of the Georgian navy within Europe. This new study emphasizes the global power of that navy as a carrier of European warfare. Although European naval superiority had been evident long before, Black regards the newer administrative, logistical, and tactical — but not technological — superiority of European land warfare as finally giving them dominance in British India and eastern North America. Earlier Spanish American conquest needs fuller discussion, being one obvious challenge to this argument. In addition, the European monopoly on gunpowder in North America was a significant technological element in King Philip's War (1675-76), the Cherokee War (1759-61), and the very inconclusive Amerindian War of 1763-65.

Although western and central Europe were comparatively peaceful between 1763 and 1791, Black sees this as a period of military innovation in eastern Europe, and in North America where revolution preserved the *levée en masse*. Although admitting the innovations of the next generation, Black highlights continuities, like the increasing use of field cannon.

Black doubts that the early modern European state was created primarily to conduct early modern war, and suggests a symbiotic interaction between the two innovating institutions. Administrative change might have had military causes, but could also produce military consequences.

This insightful, if brief and unfashionably Eurocentric, commentary on a vast subject presumes some familiarity with the military history of four continents. Although he is much more interesting concerning armies than navies, Black displays an impressive range of knowl-

edge and a talent for thought-provoking inversions of conventional wisdom that should appeal to all military historians.

Ian K. Steele  
London, Ontario

Duncan Crewe. *Yellow Jack and the Worm: British Naval Administration in the West Indies, 1739-1748*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993. xiii + 321 pp., maps, tables, figures, appendix, bibliography, index. £17.50, paper; ISBN 0-85323-267-9.

Beginning in the late 1720s the Royal Navy established permanent bases on the islands of Jamaica and Antigua. This monograph is a close study of these bases and the squadrons they supported during the war of 1739-48.

Aside from harbour defences, the greatest fixed expense went to facilities for careening and repairing ships. Yet, notwithstanding the large investment in improving ship maintenance, the book devotes more than three times as much space to the problems of preserving crews - and this is as it should be. The latter (involving sickness, victualling, high desertion rates, and curtailed means of recruiting) were more intractable and also more important to naval effectiveness.

The book's quantitative analysis of deaths and desertions is undoubtedly its major contribution. The author undertook the tremendous task of compiling weekly totals from the surviving pay books of ships stationed in the islands. He also analysed the pay books of yard workmen, an undertaking that reveals not only amounts but some interesting sources of labour. Above all, the problem posed by sickness, especially yellow fever, is given the prominence it deserves. Crewe's tables and graphs confirm the long-held opinion of informed islanders that the months from May to October were the most dangerous. English Harbour, Antigua, though a remarkably snug hurricane refuge, was, on his showing, quite a sickly place during the hurricane months. In March 1745 the Admiralty gave orders that the ships based there should accept the risks of being at sea, off the Main, rather than remain in port, (pp.51-2)

The war of 1739-48 was the first in which the British West Indian bases were tested by large battle squadrons, and, for all the administrative failings and errors of judgment, one sees strong evidence in these pages of an open-

minded willingness on the part of the local naval commanders to learn and to take initiatives of their own. One also sees the degree to which the Admiralty relied on their advice. Indeed, the special merit of this study arises from the author's preference for eliciting the actual situation on station and reporting the perceptions of the authorities on the spot. The leading figures in Crewe's account are the admirals or senior captains who happened to be in charge. Especially interesting is his examination of the measures they improvised for limiting desertion at Jamaica. When it came to shortages of victuals, masts, or naval stores, the commanders-in-chief on station did not just complain and plead for better supply from home; they took initiatives of their own, often arranging direct supply from "the Northern colonies," a recourse of so much importance that one wishes the author had addressed it more systematically.

While welcoming the publication of this monograph, I must set forth two major criticisms. One is that Crewe has stuck too narrowly to his own archival research. It is greatly to his credit that his approach emphasizes administrative problems, but the book is presented as if no one else had ever given any serious attention or thought to its particular subject. At the very least, an authorial willingness to interact with the work of other scholars might have obviated some of the insipid paragraph-launching statements that are all too readily employed, and would have overcome some of the drawbacks of the book's narrow chronological dimension. The absence of scholarly interaction seriously constrains the scope and cogency of Crewe's inquiry and findings.

More specifically, and here I am referring to works that deal with the very same subject in the same period, it results in missed opportunities. Consider the following instances. Regarding the problem of sickness, was the extraordinary mortality experienced by Sir Chaloner Ogle's squadron in January 1741 (the reverse of seasonal expectations in the islands) partly due to its prior condition? Crewe takes no notice of the dreadful sickness that gripped this squadron before it left England, an account of which is given in my 1965 book *British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole*, pp. 179-86). Is Captain William Lisle's letter describing the mass desertion of the *Scarborough's* seamen at English Harbour upon their being assigned to help careen another ship (quoted at length in

*ibid.*, pp. 359-60) of no relevance to Crewe's discussion of the expediency of employing seamen as yard workers? Why is no reference made to Richard Pares's lively account (in *Trans. Royal Historical Soc.*, 1937) of the notorious prosecution of Commodore Charles Knowles over an Antigua impressment incident? Pares used many of the same sources and his account is fuller. Was it seriously in error? Might Captain Lisle's long letter of 25 October 1743 recounting the sickness of his ships while in port, which is printed in my 1977 Navy Records Society volume (*Naval Administration, 1715-1750*), have had something to do with the Admiralty's order of March 1745 to leave English Harbour during the hurricane months?

My other disappointment is that the book's usefulness is much diminished by its failure to convey to non-specialist readers how much printed source material exists on this very subject. Quite a number of documents that parallel, and in a few cases match, the sources cited in this book are printed *in extenso* in volumes that can be readily found in libraries. Although Crewe includes in his bibliography a statement that many documents from two of the manuscript collections he has used were printed in Bryan Ranft's *The Vernon Papers* (Navy Records Society, 1958), there is but scant reference to that volume in the chapter footnotes. Similarly, although my 1977 NRS volume is listed in the bibliography, readers are given no indication that the volume has a long chapter on overseas bases, most of which is devoted to developments in the Caribbean. Among other things that chapter tells (by its introduction and documents) the sad story of Port Antonio — the one base whose facilities were fully planned out rather than accumulated in response to evolving needs and problems; the book under review offers no clue that this story, which can hardly be thought irrelevant to its concerns, has been reported. At the very least, the bibliography should have conveyed a clear picture of printed source material that is readily available.

It would be wrong for me to end by dwelling on criticisms. This study, with its fresh approach, statistical achievements, useful maps, and excellent index, is a considerable contribution to knowledge. When it was in dissertation form, its statistics were drawn upon by Christian Buchet for his fascinating comparative and longitudinal study of the performance of all the navies that struggled for control of the Caribbe-

an in this era: *La lutte pour l'espace caraïbe et la façade atlantique de l'Amérique centrale et du sud (1672-1763)* (Paris, 1991).

Daniel A. Baugh  
Ithaca, New York

Robert Gardiner. *The Heavy Frigate. Eighteen-Pounder Frigates: Volume I, 1778-1800*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1994. 127 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, tables, notes, sources, index. £25, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-627-2.

With this book Conway Maritime Press continues its series of ship types in general, this being the third in that series, and Robert Gardiner advances his work on frigates of the Napoleonic era in particular. It should be noted that while this is the first of an anticipated two volumes on heavy frigates, it follows closely behind the author's *The First Frigates: Nine-Pounder and Twelve-Pounder Frigates, 1748-1815* (reviewed here in April 1994). Those interested are advised to read this book first as we are, in effect, going to be presented with an integrated trilogy.

It is very easy while reading this book to become enamoured with frigates, and it is hard to understand why this type of vessel has been overshadowed in importance by its larger siblings for so long. It seems that frigates have customarily been referred to as the "eyes of the fleet" by many historians and then simply ignored. This study reveals the full importance of the frigate's duties, duties that included convoy escort, dispatch services, personnel transport, and even blockade and invasion, particularly in waters far from the English Channel. It is not difficult to draw a parallel between the corvettes and mine sweepers that worked so hard during World War II and these relatively small sailers, and one wonders how many junior post captains' first command assignment was a frigate.

Like its predecessor, the book is divided into two parts. The first, "Design History," deals with the development of the heavy frigate type out of the small, lightly armed ships of the first half of the eighteenth century in response to the shortage of ships that ensued from England's war with her American colonies. Reasonably seaworthy vessels that were adequately armed (for here it was assumed that they had to cope only with ships equal to their strength) were needed in quantity — here too, the parallel with

World War II escort vessels offers itself. Over the next four chapters Gardiner details the heavy frigate's development, meaning for the most part the enlargement and enhancement of specific design qualities and increasing firepower, until the "big gun era" is reached, when some of these cruisers carried as many as thirty-eight guns. Of particular interest here is the ubiquitous influence of foreign design, particularly and naturally that of the French, and the comparison in performance between Royal Navy ships and foreign counterparts.

Part Two is devoted to a detailed study of representative individual ships; five chapters focus on "Ordering Policy and Shipbuilding," "Design," "Performance," "Armament," and "Details." These are self-explanatory headings but they exceed expectation as not only does Gardiner present the obvious but also information concerning such things as Admiralty and Navy Board attitudes and policy, design analysis and building techniques as well as experimentation (such as building vessels from fir rather than oak) and the problems the Navy faced when dealing with private shipbuilders. Moreover the comments about contemporary surveyors and their designs, and the relationships of frigates to other classes of ships in the Admiralty creed is quite interesting.

In keeping with Conway's tradition, this book is richly illustrated with draughts from Greenwich that are carefully placed to enhance the text. Indeed, one of Gardiner's stated secondary goals is to provide a showcase for these drawings and, since most people will never see the Draught Room at the National Maritime Museum, this is laudable. Of necessity these are reproduced in a rather small format, but it is worthwhile using a magnifying glass here. Also commendable is the inclusion of many pertinent and well-conceived tables, contemporary reports on specific ships and the insightful captions that accompany the illustrations.

Clearly *Heavy Frigates* has been a long labour of love for the author, and as the scope of his work has demanded two volumes, one would expect him to catch his breath between the two. His conclusions are fresh and it is likely that this work will be the definitive study of heavy frigates for some time to come. I look forward to seeing the next volume.

John McKay  
Langley, British Columbia

Roderick Cavalière. *Admiral Satan: The Life and Campaigns of Suffren*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1994. xviii + 312 pp., maps, photographs, appendix, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. £29.95, cloth; ISBN 1-85043-686-X.

Pierre-André de Suffren Saint-Tropez was the most celebrated French naval officer of the eighteenth century. He was also a colourful personality, renowned for his gluttony, ferocious temper, and tremendous energy. During the American War of Independence, Suffren fought an aggressive campaign in the Indian Ocean which threatened British power in the sub-continent. This is the first English-language biography of Suffren, and Roderick Cavaliero's narrative provides a lively account of the naval operations in this lesser-known theatre of the American War.

The book's discussion of Suffren's life prior to the Indian campaign is relatively brief. Suffren's roots lay in the nobility of Provence and he entered the Knights of Malta as a child. The Order of St. John represented a competing focus for the loyalty of those knights who were also King's officers. This helps to explain Suffren's criticisms of France's *Grand Corps* of aristocratic sea-officers. As a junior officer, Suffren experienced French naval defeats during the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War. Cavalière argues that these disasters convinced Suffren of the limitations of traditionally cautious tactics, and service as a captain during the early stage of the American Revolution reinforced these convictions. Suffren's opportunity to demonstrate innovative leadership came in 1781 when the Minister of Marine appointed him to command a squadron to reinforce the Dutch garrison at the Cape of Good Hope before proceeding to India.

Cavalière sketches the background of the situation in India where France formed an alliance with Haidar Ali, the Nawab of Mysore, who sought to crush the British East Indian Company and thus to conquer southern India. European troops were less important to Haidar Ali than naval support to isolate British forces at Madras and Trincomali. Suffren's objective was to defeat the British squadron under the command of Admiral Hughes in order to gain control of the coast. Cavaliero's description of the five battles with Hughes between February 1782 and June 1783 stresses Suffren's desire to concentrate force on part of the enemy fleet in



order to gain decisive victory. Lack of support from his captains frustrated Suffren off the Indian coast, however, just as it had done en route to the Cape of Good Hope when his daring attack on an anchored British convoy at Porto Praya achieved only limited success. Suffren's conflict with his captains is a central theme of this campaign. The warships he led from France joined with the Ile de France squadron, and the officers from this station resented the new commander. Cavaliero suggests that their intrigues, and their failure to understand new tactics, lay behind the repeated failures to execute Suffren's orders. Yet this argument warrants more analysis than is given. Cavaliero admits that Suffren often failed to explain his intentions or to consult subordinates and bullied them instead. A complete picture of the stormy relationship requires an examination of the captains' correspondence, and not of Suffren's testimony alone.

Indeed, the book's use of sources is problematic. Cavaliero depends much more heavily on British Admiralty records in his account of Suffren's campaign than on French manuscript collections. Furthermore, the book's traditional focus on battles overemphasizes Suffren's tactical genius. Certainly he was an audacious commander willing to take risks, but he was not the only officer to reject rigid adherence to the line and his successes in battle were ambiguous. Instead, Cavaliero might have elaborated upon his observation that Suffren's greatest achievement was fighting a successful campaign in distant seas without resources or support. Despite its limitations, however, *Admiral Satan* provides English readers with an entertaining introduction to this important figure in French naval history.

William S. Cormack  
Kingston, Ontario

Charles Campbell. *The Intolerable Hulks: British Shipboard Confinement 1776-1857*. 2nd ed.; Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1994. xiii + 254 pp., illustrations, figures, maps, notes, bibliography, appendices, index. US \$22 (+ \$3 s&h), paper; ISBN 0-7884-0014-2.

Students of North American history are well aware of the fact that until the American Revolution it was common practice for British authorities to ship prisoners to their transatlantic col-

onies rather than confine them at home. With American independence, however, that outlet was closed. As British gaols and prisons filled to and beyond capacity because of the severity of the criminal justice system and delays involved in shipping miscreants to Australia and other colonies, some arrangements had to be made for lawbreakers. Thus was created the system whereby aged merchantmen and naval vessels were turned into floating prisons, their inmates confined there for months or years until they were shipped off to Australia or pardoned.

Former American prison official Charles Campbell has now documented the history of these hulks and the unfortunates confined within them. It is not a pretty story, especially when a reader views the moral corruptions practised below decks upon children and weaker prisoners or the punishments administered above decks against intransigent or rebellious convicts. But it is a thought-provoking story as one witnesses the concepts of prisoner treatment considered proper and Christian just a century ago.

Many will find that the most interesting part of Campbell's narrative is his examination of how the hulk system was run. This includes descriptions of the grinding labour on public projects the prisoners were forced to endure, nepotism in the governing structure, ineffective chaplains, the unwillingness of most British politicians to delve into the matter of prison reform, and the efforts of prison and hulk supervisors to make sure that their records always appeared clean and positive to assure the politicians that the nation was being well served.

Yet Campbell also takes pains to point out that there were genuine attempts to ameliorate the conditions on the hulks. For example, naval ships were retrofitted to provide separate accommodations for women and children away from the vicious conduct of hardened male criminals. And, again, some reformers worked tirelessly to convince the government to build adequate land-based prisons so that the hulks would not be used. Finally — and too late for many — the practices of confining prisoners to the hulks and exporting them to Australia, New Zealand or the Bahamas was discontinued.

The hulk era in British penal practice ended in 1857 and passed from public notice. By his work Campbell has resurrected this doleful story. This is as it should be, for unpleasant though it may be, the years of the intolerable hulks and their human cargo moored alongside

the docks of Britain's major rivers should not be forgotten as a lesson of man's inhumanity to man in the name of law, order and Christian justice.

James M. Morris  
Newport News, Virginia

D. K. Brown. *Paddle Warships: The Earliest Steam Powered Fighting Ships, 1815-1850*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1993. 94 pp., illustrations, tables, photographs, notes, sources, further readings, index. £25, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-616-7.

Forget for a moment the anachronistic view of the paddle wheel as an ancient and out-dated technology. How would naval history have changed if its use in warships had continued? Would battleships *Prince of Wales* or *Bismarck* have escaped their demise in World War II, crippled and sunk because of the vulnerability of their delicate underwater propulsion systems? Absurd as this proposition may seem, the ascendancy of the propeller over the paddle wheel was far from being *afait accompli* in the early to mid-nineteenth century, and surprisingly, the reasons for the paddle wheel's eventual dismissal from consideration in warships, namely bad sailing qualities and the masking of broadside guns, were both irrelevant by the twentieth century. In *Paddle Warships*, D. K. Brown takes a first step in an analysis of the paddle wheel as a historically important warship propulsion system and states that, although this technology became an evolutionary blind alley, it was an advancement useful for the time.

Brown's work can be described as a chronological list of ship class design histories for British paddle-wheeled warships with an additional section devoted to general aspects such as machinery and armament. The book also briefly describes Royal Navy paddle warship evolution, beginning with early nineteenth-century steam-powered tugs and culminating in the 1840s with the first purpose-built paddle warships such as the powerful first-class frigate *Terrible* (1845).

Brown poses significant questions concerning paddle wheel development and its eventual rejection in favour of propellers in the Royal Navy, yet the research falls far short of answering these questions conclusively or satisfying a historian's interest in the subject. Though it seems likely that the author does not

intend for this book to be a definitive work, its brevity contributes to a lack of overall perspective and inadvertently leads readers to believe that technical advancement somehow occurs in a vacuum. Matters such as sailing qualities, machinery reliability, cost of operation and construction, vulnerability to gunfire, the introduction of the iron hull, plus naval strategy and opinion are glossed over, though in fact they defined the role of the paddle warship in the fleets of the world.

Another major weakness of this book arises from the fact that virtually no mention is made of any other nation's contributions to the subject. The book simply ignores important contributions and failures in paddle warship design by the French Navy, the American Navy, and the private sector. Indeed, the book might more appropriately have been entitled *British Royal Navy Ocean-Going Paddle Warships*.

Despite its shortcomings in analysis and depth, *Paddle Warships* is illustrated beautifully in an oversized format. The photographs, illustrations, and drawings are both impressive and informative. Model makers and aficionados will delight in the outstanding visual reference.

In all, *Paddle Warships* seems more a chapter from a larger manuscript than a work that can stand on its own. Had it been more comprehensive in international or temporal scope, several points concerning the roles of paddle warships in the navies of the world would be more apparent, while their actual significance could be given the emphasis it truly deserves. Armoured and non-armoured paddle warships played a significant role in the US Civil War, yet the subject somehow falls beyond the purveyance of this book. Nevertheless, *Paddle Warships* may be the first step in recognizing the relevance of the paddle warship as a missing link in the evolution of naval technology.

Brad Rodgers  
Greenville, North Carolina

Lawrence Sondhaus. *The Naval Policy of Austria-Hungary, 1867-1918: Navalism, Industrial Development, and the Politics of Dualism*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1994. xv + 441 pp., maps, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55753-034-3.

This superb study examines the last fifty years of the Austro-Hungarian Navy which, by August

1914, was the world's sixth largest. Unlike the other major European fleets of that era which still exist today, on November 1918 it disappeared from history as suddenly and completely as the Habsburg Empire and monarchy which it served. Lawrence Sondhaus is also the author of *The Habsburg Empire and the Sea: Austrian Naval Policy, 1797-1866*; together, that earlier work and this one will remain for a long time to come the definitive study in English of Austro-Hungarian seapower from the final days of the age of sail to the emerging one of ironclad and dreadnought-class battleships. It will certainly be difficult for a successor historian to do better.

By 1914, the Austro-Hungarian Navy, with its four new *Viribus Unitis* class dreadnought battleships, could again have fought and presumably trounced the Italian Navy once again in a major Adriatic naval battle, as it had off Lissa Island in 1866. Moreover, the Austro-Hungarian Navy's small submarine service, which had been strengthened half-way through the war with pre-fabricated U-boats from the Imperial German Navy that were shipped overland by rail from Wilhelmshaven to Pola, fought an aggressive war of its own. Nevertheless, the era of this integrated European navy of battleships, light cruisers, destroyers, torpedo boats and submarines came to a close during that biggest and final naval conflict by settling for a defensive role, such as shore bombardments in aid of imperial troops on land and in preserving the navy as a passive fleet-in-being.

Rather than explore this fairly slim combat record during World War I, Sondhaus eschews the traditional trumpet-and-drum historical treatment in favour of a methodical study of the Austro-Hungarian Navy as an institution. During its last fifty years, the navy's success was measured, not by the number of sea battles won (which was slight), but by the very continuation of the navy and its elevation to dreadnought battleship status by the outbreak of World War I. It was the admirals in command, coming as they did from the major competing ethnic communities of the empire (Austro-German, Italian, Magyar and Serbo-Croat), who made that success possible and, in the process, forged the only multi-ethnic navy in pre-1914 Europe.

Understandably, then, much of this book deals with the complex history of the trade-offs by which the commanding admirals after 1900 maintained a balance of minorities among fleet personnel at both the officer level and that of

the lower deck. Sondhaus is particularly good at defining the navy's industrial trade-offs with Hungary, Austria's land-oriented equal partner in the *Ausgleich* of 1867 with its army, the *Honved*. Such trade-offs were essential to maintain the navy's share of the considerable resources needed to create and maintain a twentieth-century fleet: steel plate, guns, shells, and a chain of permanent naval dockyards. Thus, big gun production at the giant Skoda works in Bohemia (which still exists today in the Czech Republic) had to be divided between the railway siege guns for the Austro-Hungarian Army and 12-inch naval guns needed for the dreadnought-class battleships. Failure to win these crucial land battles could be costly for the navy. Thus, the Austro-Hungarian Navy's pre-1914 dreadnought battleships ended up with smaller tonnages and main armaments than similar battleships in other European fleets because army and navy weapons and manpower needs always had to be divided by military and naval budgets following the inevitable political manoeuvring between the imperial parliament's Austrian and Hungarian delegations. Because the Habsburg ruler was both Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary between 1867 and 1918, the navy's awkward and official German name of *Kaiserliche und Konigliche Kriegsmarine* — Imperial and Royal Navy (or "the KuK Navy") was itself a trade-off.

The institutions of the vanished European empires that existed at the start of the twentieth century are too often discredited by scholars at its close. It is refreshing, therefore, to be reminded in this well-paced book that the Austro-Hungarian Navy as an imperial structure of its day both worked and flourished.

John Harbron  
Etobicoke, Ontario

Paul G. Halpern. *A Naval History of World War I*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994. xiii + 591 pp., maps, notes, select bibliography, index. Cdn \$77.95, US \$55, cloth; ISBN 0-87021-266-4. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Paul Halpern has produced a fine narrative of the day-to-day, year-to-year operations of all the relevant naval theatres of World War I. This is a masterful, detailed, sweeping portrayal of naval warfare that is truly a worthy contribution

by a senior scholar in the field. It is slated to become a must-read at the under-graduate, graduate and established scholar levels. Halpern moves with ease and confidence through an impressive mass of secondary and primary material that deals with the naval operations of over seven countries, a feat not attempted by many. The bibliography is as complete as one could hope for in such a large survey, and is a very useful starting point for those new to the study of the naval aspects of World War I. Even for those scholars who have been around for a while, the works listed could provide a useful checklist or corrective.

This is also an honest book. Halpern quite clearly acknowledges the lackings that may be found in the work, in terms of not dealing with high policy to any great extent, no logistics and supply analysis, no detailed battle history, no discussion of shipbuilding policy, and not a great deal on technological innovation and adaptation. However, those lacunae are irrelevant. As the author points out, the notes are a bonus and not absolutely necessary for the book to achieve its goal. This is a book about navies, squadrons and ships, their respective commanders, where they were on a given day, what commands were given and why were these operations required. Most importantly, it sets the context that this was indeed a "world" war as far as naval operations were concerned. The series of maps at the end of the text also add to the overall usefulness of the book, helping to paint the big picture of global naval operations. That is all the book purports to want to do and it does, with authority.

It is indeed a worthwhile occurrence to have such an accomplished scholar as Prof. Halpern drag the focus of naval history of World War I away from the boredom that has become the North Sea and Jutland. This corrective is long overdue. How refreshing it is to read of the imagination and skill of the Russian Navy in the Baltic and Black Seas using mine warfare to some good effect; aircraft carrier strikes that were as advanced as those being attempted by other "maritime" nations; and combined operations in support of the Russian Army, all in the finest Corbettian spirit. This is a far cry from the usual fare of rusting ships, Soviets and mutiny that dominates conventional non-Russianist assessments of the Russian Navy's contribution to the Allied war effort. This balance of focus and fairness of analysis is one of the main

strengths of the book.

And if there is to be further study of British and German naval operations in World War I, it is obvious that Halpern has thoughtfully indicated, through the lack of secondary material available for him to work from, that the escort, blockade, mining and cruiser warfare histories of those navies are still to be written. Indeed, for anyone wishing to know what is there left to do in terms of the operational histories of any of the navies dealt with by Halpern, the answer is look at what aspects he deals with briefly. The brevity indicates either that that point has not been studied much by others and there was limited material to work from, or that that particular aspect of operational history is not likely to be in need of further exhaustive analysis.

The study of naval history in general is moving toward a more sophisticated analysis and integration of what maritime power was and what it could and could not do. Therefore, the need to integrate what has been left out of this book into the operational context it provides is readily apparent. The need for this type of synthesis and a more holistic understanding of naval warfare in World War I signals, however, that the time for the general narrative of the type that Halpern has produced may finally be past. If such is the case, then such studies have a fitting swan song in this work.

Greg Kennedy  
Kingston, Ontario

John Walter. *The Kaiser's Pirates: German Surface Raiders in World War One*. London: Arms & Armour Press, 1994. 192 pp., illustrations, photographs, figures, maps, appendices. £19.99, cloth; ISBN 1-85409-136-0.

During World War I the Imperial German Navy waged a well-known submarine campaign against the Allied merchant marine. The German surface fleet was also active in a *guerre de course* role, and these are the ships that are the centrepiece of John Walter's study.

In his introduction, Walter attempts to lay the necessary background to the use of raiders: the evolution of naval architecture during the later part of the nineteenth century; the rise of the German merchant service and the transition to German-built vessels; the competition in maritime trade between the United Kingdom and Germany; advances in marine engineering; and

of course the fateful naval race between the two powers. There is much useful information, but it is not well organized, and the book has a certain amount of padding. Tabular format for some of the technical specifics would have been helpful, and the mix of metric and Imperial units-of-measure without side-by-side conversion make it difficult to make quantitative comparisons.

Walter's emphasis is on the ships themselves. Each of the fourteen principal raiders is given a separate chapter, in which are described the particulars of the cruise, vessels encountered, and the eventual fate of the "kreuzer." Success against merchant shipping is the prime criterion for inclusion — *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* are not included, although the supporting light cruisers *Dresden*, *Leipzig* and *Nurnberg* are, and the travails of von Spee's "Kreuzergeschwäder" are well summarised. Although concise, there is a wealth of detail — one appendix lists each capture in detail: shipping line (and manager!); official number; port of register; radio call sign; tonnage; machinery; and often funnel markings. The raiders themselves have their specifications listed, including both displacement and gross registered tonnage for the converted merchant ships, a piece of information that is often hard to find.

The illustrations are good — uncommon photographs of the raiders and some of their victims, a few drawings and silhouettes, and some reproduced paintings. However, there are not nearly enough charts of the various cruises or the engagements. The blow-by-blow account of the fight between SMS *Cap Trafalgar* and HMS *Carmania*, both armed merchant cruisers, is difficult to follow with only the text in hand. Nor does Walter explain why *Carmania* ignored the two German colliers after *Cap Trafalgar* sank. Perhaps they had escaped out of sight, or *Carmania* was too injured to follow, but this reader is left wondering.

As Walter makes clear, the raiders had their successes: 138 vessels destroyed (including the Canadian schooner *Percé*, captured and sunk by the fully-rigged ship SMS *Seeadler*). Their story is dramatic, and often shows an old-fashioned chivalry when compared to the U-boat war, but the tally pales against the roughly two thousand *British* vessels sunk by submarines, and Walter does not satisfactorily explore the more strategic implications of the raiding campaign and its cost-benefit to the Central Powers.

The reader quickly gains a feel for the

logistical side of running a raider — coal and the lack thereof was the constant preoccupation of the captains. As Walter describes, the Imperial German Navy had their well organized "Etappe" system set up to supply and communicate with their overseas warships, radio transmitters built and all major merchant vessels given sealed orders for war. These plans fell apart as the smaller powers (mostly South American) either joined the war or began to enforce their neutrality laws, while the Allied navies swept up the German supply ships.

In summary, this is a fine volume, of interest to any student of the shipping war. It is marred by only a few minor errors (HMCS *Rainbow* was Canadian, not British!) and what is to this reviewer a serious flaw in *any* serious work of non-fiction: no index.

William Schleihaf  
Pierrefonds, Québec

C.P.O. Bartlett; Nick Bartlett (ed.). *In the Teeth of the Wind: The Story of a Naval Pilot on the Western Front 1916-1918*. Rev. ed.; London: Leo Cooper, 1994. 159 pp., map, photographs, figure, index. £16.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-318-4.

The re-issue of Squadron Leader C.P.O. Bartlett's memoir twenty years after it first appeared attests to the continued popularity of both military history and biography. The diary is the primary source for Bartlett's day-by-day account, though some editing was provided by his son for context. It is a fascinating record of a pilot's life flying fighters and bombers over the Western Front for the Royal Naval Air Service.

From an early age, Bartlett had been smitten by the idea of flying. He tried to sign up when war broke out in 1914, but was declared medically unfit. He immediately applied for a commission with the Admiralty but was rejected again. Finally, in late 1915, he was accepted and, in the spring of 1916, began training with the Royal Naval Air Service at the RNAS station at Chingford.

Training then was very rudimentary. Training aircraft of the day had a top speed of fifty knots and a dashboard with very few instrument gauges. After less than nine hours flying time and a series of lectures on the theory of flight and aircraft equipment he received his "ticket." He then proceeded to RNAS Gunnery School,

Eastchurch, for two-weeks' Lewis gun and "dummy bomb-dropping" practice. After completing the course and passing final examinations he reported to the RNAS station, Dover, for a month's final training before proceeding to France.

At the end of September, Bartlett reported for duty with 5 Wing, stationed at Coudekerque, France. For the next seven months Bartlett flew both fighters and bombers in daylight and night-time raids against the docks and shipping at Ostend, the submarine pens at Bruges, and the Mole and shipping alongside at Zeebrugge. In the spring of 1917, 5 Wing, now No. 5 Squadron, moved to Petite Synthe, where it remained for the next eleven months. No. 5 Squadron became a bomber squadron tasked to carry out night-time raids. By June, the squadron had switched to daylight raids flying the new De Havilland 4's (DH-4) against German bomber bases. Shortly thereafter, the squadron was called upon to assist with Haig's offensive up the coast which ended in the mud of Passchendaele (Third Battle of Ypres). In March 1918, the squadron moved again, this time to Monsen-Chaussée to join Royal Flying Corps squadrons. Before long the Squadron was thrown into the fray against the last major German offensive of the war. Bartlett and his fellow pilots operated against the advancing German armies. After more than a week of heavy fighting the German advance ground to a halt. With the amalgamation of the British flying services into the new Royal Air Force, on 1 April 1918, No. 5 Squadron became 205 Squadron, R.A.F. The following day Bartlett was examined by a Medical Officer, who decided that he required rest and so ended his tour of duty. For his conspicuous bravery, notably in the destruction of two enemy aircraft, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross.

Bartlett's diary entries are remarkable for their consistent, even relentless, idealism and exuberance. He never ceased to be infatuated with flying. Consequently, he paints a somewhat surreal picture of war. "A truly wonderful fireworks display attended us on our night stunts, the long chains of vivid jade-green balls which streaked up, invariably reaching one's height before falling away and dying out, were a magnificent sight providing they didn't come too near." (p. 18) He is referring, of course, to high-explosive anti-aircraft fire.

Despite his prose the reader gains some insight into the life of a pilot stationed on the

Western Front, though I would have liked to have learned more about daily routines around the station, instead of reading seemingly endless observations on the weather. This makes for tedious reading, especially when we are assured at the outset that Bartlett will "[skip] much that is of no particular interest, but retaining nevertheless a good deal in connection with station and Mess life and not confining myself merely to flying and operational happenings." (p. 10)

At a time when the life of a pilot was reckoned in weeks, the author flew 101 missions, enduring atrocious weather, faulty engines, several crashes, anti-aircraft fire and enemy fighters. This is a story of youth and courage, against the odds. It will be a good read for anyone interested in aviation history generally and in the diversity of tasks undertaken by the early Royal Naval Air Service in particular.

Shawn Cafferky  
Ottawa, Ontario

Wendy Harris. *The Rogue's Yarn: The Sea-going Life of Captain 'Joe' Oram*. London: Leo Cooper, 1993. 243 pp., photographs, index. £17.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-285-4.

Captain 'Joe' Oram began his life at sea in 1908 as a twelve year old merchant navy cadet. His early experience as a trainee under sail introduces this engaging biography. Oram transferred to the Royal Navy in 1913 serving 33 years in a variety of big ships, destroyers, and, his first love, submarines. Oram kept a diary and was a cogent commentator on the navy, current affairs and modern life. He survived three submarine disasters including the sinking of the *Thetis* where only four escaped and ninety-nine perished. Wendy Harris, a friend of Oram in his later years, has edited his diaries and memoirs to produce the book. The exception is the *Thetis* story which was derived from taped interviews.

Oram comes across as a very practical sailor with a passion for his profession and a natural capacity for observation and analysis. His critical view of the navy of his time makes him an iconoclast of sorts. He transferred to submarines after seeing the Grand Fleet decimated at the Battle of Jutland and attracted by the novelty and the technology of the fledgling service and the opportunity for early command. Oram gives the reader an excellent insight into life aboard those primitive submersibles and the

professionally oriented culture which developed around "the trade." He describes the design and operation of early classes of submarines in which he served, including the infamous "K's" (and the May Island disaster which he survived), training methods and the first "perisher" courses for perspective commanding officers.

After his first command in *H31*, Oram began a pattern common to all submarine officers of shifting between the surface navy and submarines to gain broader experience. After a stint in the cruiser *Hawkins* on the China Station, he returned to England for his second command tour in *L12* and was concurrently responsible for conducting basic junior officer training. He survived his second disaster when *L12* collided with *H47*. The latter was lost and Oram, having been thrown into the sea, was rescued by the crew of *L12* which had managed to save the boat. The subsequent court martial acquitted Oram and he was given command of the newly constructed *Regulus*. Oram returned to the China Station in command of the destroyer *Bruce* and also second-in-command of the 4th Submarine Flotilla based at Weihaiwei. This episode provides an interesting perspective on international, local and naval politics as well as operations in support of dwindling British influence.

After returning home (via the trans-Siberian Railway), Oram was promoted Captain and given command of the 5th Submarine Flotilla which included responsibility for providing crews to standby new construction. This set the stage for the most compelling part of the narrative, Oram's involvement in the loss of the submarine *Thetis* on her initial trail dive in Liverpool Bay. The circumstances of the sinking, Oram's escape from the stricken boat in which he had been a rider, and subsequent unsuccessful attempts to salvage the vessel and rescue the crew is told in three gripping chapters, the first public rendering of his story. *Thetis* was sunk in 1939 and after the inquiry Oram was appointed from the submarine service to spend his war in the cruiser *Hawkins* and the Admiralty. He retired in 1946.

This book is not so much about "Joe" Oram as it is about his work, the naval culture of his time and his world. It is refreshing in its honesty, punctuated with humorous anecdotes and a valuable resource for the history of submarines.

Wilf Lund  
Victoria, British Columbia

Ursula Stuart Mason. *Britannia's Daughters: The Story of the IVRNS*. London: Leo Cooper, 1992. 184 pp., photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. £15.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-271-4.

*Britannia's Daughters: The Story of the WRNS* is a narrative history which, notes the Princess Royal in the foreword, owes much to the recollections, memories and observation of 'Wrens.' First published on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Women's Royal Naval Service, the book was updated to include recent political developments which have seen the end of the WRNS as a distinctive service and the complete integration of women into the Royal Navy. The book is not, in the words of the author, "a history with footnotes," but rather a popular account of a service by one of its veterans.

Formed in the last years of the Great War, the sole function of the Women's Royal Naval Service was to relieve manpower shortages in the Royal Navy. Its motto, "Never at Sea" was strictly adhered to and work was confined to support positions ashore. The unit was short-lived but remarkably efficient, recruiting, kitting, training and posting over five and a half thousand women in just a few months. Legislation was passed to permit the women to serve voluntarily in Gibraltar, Malta, France, Belgium, Ireland, and Scillies. The work, however, was less exotic and the pay minimal. Wrens made beds for officers, washed linen, cooked food, served in canteens and cleaned quarters. In the office, they did the accounting, typed correspondence, sent messages, kept track of confidential books and controlled supplies. By all accounts, the WRNS was a success but at armistice, the service was disbanded and refused permission to re-group as a reserve unit. Women had been admitted into the Naval Service not in the spirit of social advancement but out of a dire need to address manpower shortages.

Denied even the status of veteran, the women were forced to stay in contact through social circles and correspondence. When the WRNS was re-introduced at the outbreak of World War II, it was these social connections which enabled the service to re-organize quickly, efficiently and independently despite little support from Naval Headquarters. It is the Wrens of this era that are most remembered. At peak strength, they numbered 74,635. By the end of the war, one out of every ten Wrens was

serving overseas. Their trades and responsibilities were expanded. Four thousand worked in intelligence alone where they constituted the largest single group tasked with breaking enemy codes. In the end, the value of servicewomen could no longer be denied and the WRNS remained a permanent part of the Royal Navy. In peacetime, the WRNS was increasingly integrated into the naval service and women currently serve on all vessels including warships.

The author, an ex-Wren Officer, writes in much the same way one would write a letter to an old navy chum; the style is chatty, descriptive and self-congratulatory, with difficulties mentioned only in passing. There is a classist social gossip tone to the text which is frequently overpowering and often works to the detriment of the narrative. No reference is ever made to the controversy that surrounded the perceived need for, and creation of, the service. Policy considerations for the recruiting, training, organization, discipline, pay, and military status of the first women admitted to the Navy remain shrouded in mystery. An entire page and a half, however, is allocated to selection of "just the right style" of uniform. Controversial topics such as sexual harassment, pay inequality and the denial of basic rights such as suffrage for military service and veteran's allowance are skirted. So, too, is the occasional resentment of the men whom they were to replace. In the words of one Wren, "few [men] had any stomach for further fighting so we were discouraged [by the men who] disconnected terminals, let air out of tyres and put water in the petrol tanks..."

Noted military historian John Keegan has argued that "warfare is the one human activity from which women have always and everywhere stood apart." To write a history, even a popular account, with no reference to the issues that arise when women enter an institution as sacrosanctly male as the Royal Navy is to ignore the historic precedence of the group's formation. Simply put, the reader is given no opportunity to understand what extraordinary events conspired to bring about the remarkable decision to allow women into the Navy. Military strategy, ideological conflicts, group identification, gender roles, and issues of power are absolutely avoided and the author shies away from even the most tepid historical arguments. Instead, extensive quotes from letters are used to fill in the skeletal description of the service's evolution.

It is these stories from ex-Wrens that make

the book worth reading. It is through their accounts that we learn something of the unprecedented levels of organization that supported the Normandy invasions, of the advances in cryptology, the extent of the home defence and the patriotism of women when given the chance to participate militarily in the war effort. In short, it is through them that we come to understand the meaning of "a nation mobilized for war." The Wren's letters were, unfortunately, subjected to the author's editing, so that many of the letters selected dwell on such social coups as being introduced to the Prince of Wales.

Whatever reasons the author may have had for using *Britannia's Daughters* as a sort of Wren social registry, none can excuse the errors on the subject of Canadian Wrens. The Director of the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service was not Isabel MacNeil but Adelaide Sinclair. Mrs. Sinclair served as a Captain and not a Commander, and both women assumed their duties in 1942 shortly after the service was created. The British advisors, sent at the request of the Canadian Naval Service, were never more than that — advisors; they did not serve as the WRCNS directors throughout the war. Finally, the post-war director was Commander MacNeil, not Captain Sinclair.

These errors undermine the credibility of other details and weaken what could have been an informative account of a long-neglected subject. Nevertheless, *Britannia's Daughters* does serve as an introduction to the subject of women in the navy. Indeed, as the *only* introduction on this subject, its value is uncontested.

Barbara Winters  
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Douglas Brinkley and David Facey-Crowther (eds.). *The Atlantic Charter*. Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute Series on Diplomatic and Economic History No. 8; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. xix + 202 pp., notes, index. US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-312-08930-9.

The Atlantic Charter, signed aboard HMS *Prince of Wales* in Placentia Bay in August 1941, was one of the most important diplomatic and military accords of this century, providing not only the framework within which future inter-Allied agreements would be forged but also a rough blueprint of the postwar world order. Although it is hard to underestimate its signifi-



cance, it has often been given less prominence by historians of World War II than more concrete pacts, such as Lend-Lease. Despite the fact that it was signed at sea and that three of its eight points had significant consequences for shipping and seapower, maritime and naval historians have treated it no better. The most obvious repercussion grew from point six, in which Churchill and Roosevelt, the latter the leader of a nation still officially neutral, pledged a Nazi-first policy, something that only made sense if the United States and Canada, which was not represented, were willing to commit sufficient naval resources and carrying capacity to keep Great Britain supplied. An obvious corollary was that the United States would eventually have to shoulder the major naval burden in the Pacific. Point seven, which specifically claimed the right of "all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance," also had obvious maritime significance, as did point four, which asserted that "all States" should have "access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity." The latter, of course, provided an intellectual underpinning for not only the GATT but also the postwar shipping revolution based upon the explosion of international commerce.

The importance of the Charter makes the present collection of essays by eight respected World War II scholars welcome. Yet it must also be said that those looking for new interpretations, or an analysis of the maritime and naval aspects of the agreement, will be disappointed. By and large, the interpretations presented here are already well-known to students of wartime diplomacy. A partial exception is David Reynolds' argument that at the time the Charter was a disappointment to Great Britain, a position advanced before but perhaps not quite so cogently. The observations in the two Canadian essays, by James Eayrs and J.L. Granatstein, will be familiar to domestic readers but less well known by non-Canadians. David Robinson's eyewitness account also presents a slightly different dimension to students of the Charter. But the arguments in the essays by Theodore Wilson, Lloyd C. Gardner and Warren F. Kimball say nothing beyond what these distinguished historians have already published.

The decision to ignore the maritime dimension of the Charter is especially lamentable. While it is the authors' prerogative to place the

emphasis as they see fit, any interpretation that ignores this side of the accord is bound to be incomplete. Indeed, the only truly "maritime" essay in the collection is Gaddis Smith's mis-titled examination of "Roosevelt, the Sea and International Security," which has little to do with security but much about Roosevelt's previous attachments to the sea. Again, there is nothing new here, but it is useful to have the maritime side of FDR presented in a single essay.

On balance, *The Atlantic Charter* is something of a mixed bag. It will be much more useful to those looking for an introduction to existing scholarship than to more advanced students. Unfortunately, it will be least useful to those concerned about the maritime and naval aspects of the declaration. The Atlantic Charter still awaits a marine-oriented assessment.

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Timothy J. Runyan and Jan M. Copes (eds.). *To Die Gallantly: The Battle of the Atlantic*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994. xxvi + 347 pp., maps, figures, photographs, tables, glossary, select bibliography, index. US \$17.95, paper; ISBN 0-8133-2330-0.

This collection of papers was presented at the 1992 meeting of the North American Society for Oceanic History commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of the Atlantic. There are several important articles which reflect the state of current research and collectively make a significant contribution to our understanding of the Battle of the Atlantic.

*To Die Gallantly* is divided into four sections: "the early years," "the happy time," "turning the tide," and "looking back." Dean Allard has provided a thoughtful introduction which identifies the areas of continuing controversy. The opening articles by Werner Rahn and Jeffrey Barlow sketch the political and strategic background from the German and American perspectives during 1940-41. Rahn describes radical differences in the objectives of Hitler and the German Naval Staff in 1941. Barlow redeems the reputation of Frank Knox, US Secretary of the Navy, whose cautious pragmatism is compared favourably with the views of the more activist Secretary of War, Henry Stimson. In particular, Barlow argues that Stimson lacked an understanding of the importance of convoy in

the defence of shipping.

The most controversial papers are in the section on the "happy time" when U-boats ran amok in the coastal waters of the western hemisphere. Robert Love's study of the American response to Operation *Paukensschlag* reflects prodigious research and is an outstanding guide to archival sources. Love argues, in contrast to most previous accounts, that the US Navy had no choice but to accept heavy sinkings in 1942 because other more pressing commitments left insufficient numbers of escorts to introduce coastal convoys. He demonstrates that Admiral Ernest J. King was in favour of convoy and pushed escort construction, facts which have escaped the notice of many historians. However, his attempt to justify the lack of American response ultimately fails because he does not fully address the profound difference in attitude that existed among the Allies toward what constituted an adequate escort for a convoy. Marc Milner takes up this point in a paper designed to enlighten the American audience about the role of the RCN. The British and Canadians recognized that convoy itself, regardless of the strength of its escorts, would deter the U-boats in coastal waters while the Americans continued to believe, incorrectly, that weakly escorted convoys merely invited destruction.

"Turning the tide" is perhaps the best section of the book, reflecting the fact that the period 1943-45 has recently become the focus of research on the Battle of the Atlantic. Events after the wolf packs' defeat in May 1943 have been much neglected in the past. Roger Sarty's paper on the U-boat thrust into the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1944 illustrates the transformation of the U-boat war. The Allied strategic advantages of timely Ultra intelligence and strong maritime air power eliminated the surface mobility required by the U-boats to find targets. The schnorkel, however, enabled the submarines to evade aircraft and, given the poor sonar conditions in coastal waters such as the Gulf, warship hunting groups as well. Philip Lundeberg's review of Operation Teardrop in the spring of 1945 elaborates on these themes, especially the inability of aircraft to find schnorkel boats. By this time, Ultra and overwhelming Allied numerical superiority in the form of escort carriers and scores of destroyer escorts could be brought to bear against a relatively small number of U-boats. US destroyers rooted out virtually all of the U-boats in the better sonar conditions of the

open ocean. Lundeberg's most interesting revelation is the abusive treatment of German prisoners by US Navy interrogators at Argentia and Boston, culminating in the suicide of a U-boat captain eleven days after the end of the war.

The final section, "looking back," examines the role of the US merchant marine and port authorities, and the portrayal of the Battle of the Atlantic in film. These papers provide an interesting look at often neglected themes.

The editorial work is generally good; typographical and other errors are few and far between, and a useful glossary and bibliography are included. Some quibbles remain. Were two articles on Brazil necessary? In addition, Bowling's article on the negative influence of Mahan might have been more appropriate in the "happy time" section. These are small points. The editors are to be congratulated for putting together this important collection of articles.

Robert C. Fisher  
Ottawa, Ontario

Alan Bum. *The Fighting Captain: The Story of Frederic Walker, CB, DSO, RN and the Battle of the Atlantic*. London: Leo Cooper, 1993. xx + 204 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. £17.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-315-X.

By all accounts, our interest in the defeat of the German U-boats in World War II remains insatiable. Yet there is a great dearth in the literature of accounts of the men who led the fight against the German wolfpacks. Most of us would agree that Captain Walker was one of the most successful Allied escort commanders, and a good biography on this commander and his career has been long overdue. Alan Bum served under Walker and decided that the time was ripe to write about his role in developing tactics that helped to lay the foundation for the defeat of the Kriegsmarine's "Grey Wolves."

*Fighting Captain* is divided into nine chapters that cover Walker's career from the end of World War I through to his untimely death just before the end of World War II. The narrative is complemented by well-chosen photographs that depict Walker's men, ships, and typical war scenes. While the three maps are of a good quality, their utility is limited. The six appendices are more helpful but would have benefited from the inclusion of some illustrations and diagrams.

The sparse bibliography is a great disappointment because it indicates that Burn did not consult any significant primary sources. However, he thoughtfully provides a comprehensive glossary of contemporary naval terms and acronyms.

For the most part, Burn's account of the development of Walker's tactics, such as his "creeping" attack, as well as his trials, tribulations, and successes as an escort commander, is well-developed and presented. Burn also waxes enthusiastically about the evolution of Walker's command style and personal bearing that endeared him to his crews and inspired them throughout the skulduggery of long patrols. The narrative is not, however, one-sided. Burn is candid about discussing Walker's occasional setbacks, such as his first mission which was marred by the loss of the escort carrier HMS *Audacity*. One very interesting aspect of the narrative is the way in which Burn attempts to portray the Battle of the Atlantic as a personal duel between Walker and Admiral DONitz himself. At best, this literary device gives the work a more substantial focus.

*Fighting Captain* does suffer from one very significant shortcoming. Burn has not written a complete biography of Walker, rather a portrait of his commanding officer. Walker's pre-World War II service history is covered in a paltry nine pages. Furthermore, the captain's shore assignments during World War II are not covered in any detail. Consequently, many readers will fail to comprehend fully the overall contribution made by Walker to the Battle of the Atlantic. Had Burn been more willing to discuss these aspects of Walker's career, we would probably have had a very substantial biographical portrait of a fine officer. We are left wanting to know more, and perhaps even fearing that Walker failed to shine in his shore-based commands. Also, Burns' notes reveal a serious lack of research on other aspects of the narrative, such as the relative inactivity and armament of the Kriegsmarine's surface ships.

Despite these flaws, this is still a work worthy of consideration by anyone with an interest in the Battle of the Atlantic. Overall, Burn has provided us with an intimate portrait of a very important commander. We can only hope that this work will, in time, inspire a much more definitive biography of Captain Walker.

Peter K. H. Mispelkamp  
Pointe Claire, Québec

John English. *Amazons to Ivanhoe: British standard destroyers of the 1930s*. Kendal, UK: World Ship Society, 1993 [28 Natland Road, Kendal LA9 7LT, England]. 144 pp., photographs, figures, appendices, index. £13 [+ £2 for air], paper; ISBN 0-905617-64-9.

John English. *The Hunts: A history of the design, development and careers of the 86 destroyers of this class built for the Royal and Allied Navies during World War II*. Kendal, UK: World Ship Society, 1987. 108 pp., photographs, figures, index of ships' names. £10 [+ £2 for air], paper; ISBN 0-905617-44-4.

Arnold Hague. *Sloops 1926-1946: A history of the 71 sloops built in Britain and Australia for the British, Australian and Indian Navies*. Kendal, UK: World Ship Society, 1993. 124 pp., photographs, figures, appendices, index. £13 [+ £2 for air], paper; ISBN 0-905617-67-3.

Arnold Hague. *The Towns: A history of the fifty destroyers transferred from the United States to Great Britain in 1940*. Kendal, UK: World Ship Society, 1988. 92 pp., photographs, figures, index. £10 [+ £2 for air], paper; ISBN 0-905617-48-7.

For naval researchers and historians the hardest task is often locating the simplest details of ships or actions that were not noteworthy: ships that just did their job, but did not make the headlines or historians' pages, such as U-boat sinkings that occurred quickly and simply. Yet most ships were of this type. Of Canada's 422 World War II warships, only sixty-nine sank enemy warships or were themselves lost under dramatic circumstances — about 16 per cent. The rest were rarely mentioned at home in the press. This is also true of Canadian merchant ships, of which 44 Canadian-registered ships were sunk. These four small books help make up for this oversight by giving at least a modest glimpse of the histories of every single ship in four classes of RN destroyers and sloops.

Each vessel in the class is described, with a few paragraphs to a page or so on their histories. For every one there is a photograph, often with censor's notations for deletions before wartime publishing. There are many close-up photos of armament and war damage (some highly dramatic, such as one of *Glowworm's* last moments taken through the gun director sight of

the German cruiser *Admiral Hipper*). For the Towns and the Hunts there are fold-out outline plans as well. While each book varies as to which detailed materiel tables are provided, there are lists of armament, "as designed" dimensions and statistics, builders and costs or other useful technicalities, such as pendant numbers. And each opens with a brief history of the thoughts behind development of the class, or, in the Towns, how they were acquired.

My favourite volume was probably *The Sloops*, because of their handsome and capable appearance and utilization as arguably the best anti-submarine vessels during the war. Captain Johnny Walker's *Starling* will be the best known in that role. But their histories record a multiplicity of uses: as an Admiralty yacht, survey vessels, anti-aircraft ships off Norway, escorts in the Indian Ocean. There was even *Amethyst* up the Yangtze River in '46, making history in her subsequent run down river.

Canadians will find the volume on *The Towns* an evocative memory, as the RCN took over eight of them from the RN. The service and eventual disposition of each is reviewed in a paragraph or so. Most of us at the time thought these twenty-two-year-old ships dreadfully ancient and poor sea boats: wet, tending, like corvettes, to roll severely in even moderate weather, and ill-equipped for A/S warfare. Now many of our active destroyers are thirty-five years old!

One suspects that the Handy Hunts must have been an enjoyable first command for many young officers, being small and numerous enough to be used in a multitude of jobs throughout the world, powerful enough to tackle most enemies, yet rarely bothered with Senior Officers! As John English notes, their *raison d'être* was that they could be built quickly and cheaply. They were often used as anti-submarine vessels though they were light in depth charges or ahead-thrown weapons.

The *Amazon* to *Ivanhoe*'s were the typical work horse fleet destroyers of the war. Adapted in 1923 from the final World War I V and W design, modified slightly as pre-war experience dictated, they were useful and powerful, fast and reasonably uncomplicated. They provided the unremarkable background to a thousand actions and support requirements, some even acting as mine-layers. They too were light on A/S equipment, as were almost all pre-war destroyers, and woefully inadequate in AA armament, to their

later cost. The follow-on groups of J and Ks, smaller and better fitted for war, and the much more powerful — and costly and complicated — Tribal Class evolved from the experiences of these A to Ks. This volume too will interest Canadians. Our first two purpose-built destroyers, *Saguenay* and *Skeena*, were really A's, and the twelve Canadian River Class, such as *Assiniboine* and *St. Laurent*, were a mixture from C to H Classes, acquired just before or during the war. Twenty-five, or 29 per cent, were lost during the war to enemy attack or dangers of the sea, attesting to their continuous and hard use.

Very carefully and accurately researched (although there are one or two inconsequential errors; HMCS *Owen Sound* was a corvette, not a frigate), these four volumes, and the one reviewed previously in this journal, Arnold Hague's *Convoys To Russia*, will form a useful reference section for those requiring such detail, and also provide entertaining volumes from which to sup occasionally.

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Bernard Ireland. *The War in the Mediterranean 1940-1943*. London: Arms & Armour Press, 1993. 224 pp., photographs, maps, bibliography, index. £18.99, US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 1-85409-070-4. Distributed in the USA by Sterling Publishing, New York NY.

In this book Bernard Ireland examines the "sea-dependent" period in the Mediterranean during which Allied and Axis armies fought for the possession of the North African shores. Preventing the delivery of Axis war material to North Africa required the disruption of its convoys. To strike at these required the use of Malta as a viable base. Malta, however, was totally dependent on its own convoys, the successful running of which hinged greatly on the use of shore-based air power. Which side was up or down at any particular time depended on the military situation. This, of course, in turn depended on convoys and seapower.

In *The War in the Mediterranean*, Ireland has done a major job of reducing the library of books about this part of the war to a single volume. In so doing he has produced a cohesive story that is probably enough for the general reader, and might well encourage one to follow up other books. However, while he does pull it

all nicely together to assist our understanding of the period, I don't believe that Ireland adds significantly to our knowledge of the times. All of the major Allied and Axis characters are well-introduced and their attributes and faults are included in descriptions of their activities: Churchill, Cunningham, Rommel, Montgomery, Eisenhower, Somerville, Darlan, Longmore, Ciano, Graziani, etc., are all there. So are all their battles — Matapan, Alamein, Sirte, Kasserine Pass, the Pedastal and Vigorous/Harpoon convoys, as well as the political decisions that guided the players. Ireland tells the stories well in a limited number of pages. However, an appendix would have been useful to outline the various command structures on both sides — I often became confused as to who was doing what to whom, and with which force!

If there were only one word of criticism, it would be "maps." Why are there not more? The three provided are quite inadequate in a history that covers in some detail the whole sea, land and air war in the Mediterranean in 1940-43; more are essential. On the other hand, photographs are plentiful and good, including many I had not previously seen.

Ireland raises many "What ifs?" Indeed, the book is full of them which, for me, makes this a better read than just a narrative history. For instance, what if the Admiralty had not established an Operational Intelligence Centre in 1937, in response to incidents at sea during the Spanish Civil War? Could the later Battle of the Atlantic have been fought as well as it was? What if the idea of Rommel (and others), that Malta be taken instead of Germany becoming embroiled in Greece in 1941, had been followed up? Without Malta, could the Allies have remained in the Mediterranean? What if Germany had allowed the Italian Navy more fuel? Could the Malta convoys have survived at all? Could any of the British light naval forces have escaped Crete? What if the Allies had not cracked the key to the German cypher system in 1941? Would our operations have been as effective without ULTRA?

It is also interesting to speculate what might have happened in the Mediterranean battle if new excursions elsewhere such as Barbarossa, Pearl Harbor and the need for the Russian convoys had not drained forces from both sides. These point to the dilemma that faced all politicians everywhere, and the tremendous burden they carried in allocating scarce resources.

Ireland ends his narrative with a signal from General Alexander to Winston Churchill on 13 May, 1943: "Sir, it is my duty to report that the Tunisian campaign is over. All enemy resistance has ceased. We are masters of the North African shores." Had he carried his book on to September, we might have had Admiral Cunningham's perhaps more famous one on the surrender of the Italian fleet!

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Paul Stillwell (ed.). *Assault on Normandy: First-Person Accounts from the Sea Services*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994. xii + 312 pp., photographs, maps, illustrations, figures, glossary, index. Cdn \$51.95, US \$36.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-781-3. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This volume of reminiscences makes one realize how relatively little is written about the naval aspect of D-Day, compared to the extensive coverage of land combat on that momentous dawn. However, Paul Stillwell skilfully makes up for any gap of knowledge about the sailors who launched the liberators of German Occupied France.

Published to commemorate the 50th anniversary of D-Day, *Assault On Normandy* provides a gripping array of eye-witness accounts. It is packaged in a large format book, well illustrated with 250 splendid photographs, and produced with the high standard of quality one expects from the Naval Institute Press.

Now director of the US Naval Institute's history division, Paul Stillwell was previously director of oral history and the editor-in-chief of *Naval History* magazine. His facility in conveying spoken recollections helps present the human side of war, based on the experiences of some four dozen participants. The veterans talk with unaffected modesty of desperate events, valour, self-sacrifice, and even occasional humour — details still sharp of what they encountered on 6 June, 1944.

First-person views of combat always give a far clearer picture of what actually occurred than can any secondary sources, no matter how earnestly researched and footnoted. Stillwell has chosen his contributors well, ranging in rank from admirals on the bridge to coxswains at the helm of landing-craft. Some prominent names

appear among them, including Navy Lt. Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., older brother of the future president. His commanding officer describes how Kennedy was killed piloting an explosives-packed remote-controlled bomber that detonated prematurely. A description of the Slapton Sands disaster, when over 800 American servicemen died in a German E-boat attack, also tells the circumstances that led to the suicide of Rear Admiral Don Moon. Capt. Douglas Fairbanks Jr., Hollywood movie star, describes his D-Day service as a specialist in tactical deception. Yet it is the memories of unknown veterans which make up the bulk of this fine volume, with such a variety of tales that the reader catches all the fear, confusion, and exhilaration of long ago. Their own words vividly recreate the stink of cordite, blast of gunfire, and drench of sea-spray while they struck ashore.

One looks in vain for mention of Canadian participation, of course, but on balance the valiant role of merchant ships gets a rare acknowledgment. There are a couple of revealing chapters about the particular problems and contributions of the many commercial vessels present on D-Day. Suitably so; after all, the merchant marine's task of putting ashore troops and supplies was the whole point of Operation Overlord.

Sidney Allinson  
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Yves Buffetaut. *Les navires du débarquement, 6 juin 1944*. Bourg en Bresse: Marines éditions [order from: Marines, 70 Boulevard de Brou, 01000 Bourg en Bresse, France], 1994. 160 pp., maps, photographs, figures, tables. FFr 295, library binding; ISBN 2-909675-06-8. Also published as *D-Day Ships: The Allied Invasion Fleet June 1944*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1994. 162 pp., maps, photographs, figures, tables. £20, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-639-6.

An LCT II abandoned on the beaches of Dieppe is one of the first images presented by Yves Buffetaut in *Les navires du débarquement*. The caption carefully describes the handling difficulties of the LCT, yet Buffetaut makes no mention of the dead Canadian soldier lying at the foot of the vessel's ramp. And so it is throughout the book. This is a book concerned more with machines than men.

Buffetaut has amassed an excellent selection

of photographs, most of them from the Imperial War Museum collection, to tell his story. For each major class of landing vessel, from the diminutive Landing Craft Assault to the ocean-going Landing Ship Tank, Buffetaut gives the genesis of the design, technical specifications and the peculiarities of the class. He makes sense of the plethora of support vessels based on amphibious hulls, such as the LCT(F), LCT(R), LCG(L) and LCS(M), each of which had their part to play off the beaches of Normandy. Yet, in describing the naval gunfire support fleet, Buffetaut shows his true colours as a "big ship man." A brief pre-Normandy history is given for each battleship, cruiser and monitor involved in the operation. These are accompanied by some curiously dated photographs. *Warspite* and *Ramillies* appear in pre-war paint with very little anti-aircraft armament, while *Arkansas* (finished 1911) and *Texas* (finished 1914) are shown in their original configurations. The Free French fleet, principally the cruisers *Montcalm* and *Georges-Leygues*, is covered in detail down to the level of corvette. The relevance of all this information is questionable, given that most of the larger combatants were obsolete for anything but their shore support role by the time they reached the Baie de la Seine.

A later chapter looks at the artificial ports. Many of the terms used, such as Mulberry, Gooseberry, bombardon and Phoenix, disappeared from the military lexicon soon after D-Day so the function of each is no longer well understood. Buffetaut provides an adequate description of the major elements and there are many excellent photographs of the ports under construction and in use. The next chapter shows us Mulberry B being battered by the storm of 19 to 22 June but there are no pictures of the American port which was actually destroyed by wind, waves and out-of-control landing craft.

For a narrative of Operations Neptune and Overlord, Buffetaut turned to official histories, particularly Morison's account of USN operations. The text is readable if not very original; even Morison's quotes are imported in their entirety. There are few notes and no bibliography.

Buffetaut's treatment of Canadian participation is not encouraging. For example, he relies on Conway's *All the World's Fighting Ships* for an account of the 10th Destroyer Squadron's famous night action of 8/9 June. Thus he spends more time debating the exact location of the action, a point that has already been satisfactor-

ily resolved, than he does describing what actually happened. Buffetaut then notes that *Haida* is now visible "dans un port du Canada."

Overall, Buffetaut does not do a bad job of recounting the D-Day story albeit from a very technical angle. The text might have been improved by casting his net a little wider in seeking source material. On the other hand the photographs, many of which show the faces of the sailors and soldiers in action, provide what is missing from the text. With the fiftieth anniversary of D-Day still fresh in our minds, there is probably a demand for this type of account. Because *Les navires du débarquement* is available in both French and English it is well-suited to the Canadian market.

Richard Summers  
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V.E. Tarrant. *The Last Year of the Kriegsmarine: May 1944 - May 1945*. London: Arms & Armour Press, 1994. 256 pp., tables, figures, maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. £16.99, cloth; ISBN 1-85409-176-X.

The German navy of World War II (*Kriegsmarine*) continues to inspire books and articles on both sides of the Atlantic and on a variety of themes. In the past five years alone, memoirs, scholarly studies and popular histories have examined individual commands, surface ships, the submarine service, U-boat aces, technology, and the politics of the officer corps. Tarrant's book owes its origin to two factors: the success of his *The U-Boat Offensive 1914-1945* (1989) and Alfred Price's *The Last Year of the Luftwaffe* (1991), both published by Arms & Armour Press. Price had argued about air force history that all books lose their thrust once they reach the last year of the war. Tarrant accepted the applicability to naval history of this thesis, and delivered the companion volume that Arms & Armour commissioned him to write. It is a commendable piece of work, drawing into a short, summative volume the major issues involved in the critical period beginning just prior to the Normandy landings in June 1944 and ending with Germany's capitulation in May 1945. Articulate and astute, Tarrant has a gift for expository prose — his popular description of the Walter-boat hydrogen peroxide propulsion system is superb.

Resorting to the device of dividing the

complex events into notional "waves" of operational activity, Tarrant usefully isolates a number of interrelated factors: U-boat strategy and tactics, small combat units, coastal forces, radio intelligence, and fleet support of land forces, to mention but a few. Highlighted by tables inserted into the narrative, the argument offers a sharply defined, if simplified, overview. Significantly, the book is primarily based on unpublished British documents in the Public Records Office. It draws as well on seven "official" histories, including Roskill's *The War at Sea* (1961), and twenty "general works" ranging from Churchill's *The Second World War* (1961) to Admiral Dönitz's memoirs (1958) and M.J. Whitley's *German Coastal Forces* (1992). Excluded from his sources, however, are some valuable works like Gtintner Hessler's *The U-boat War in the Atlantic 1939-1945*, commissioned by Admiralty and published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office in 1989.

Judging by the frequency with which Tarrant's books appear — his *U-boat Offensive* was followed in quick order by *King George V Battleships* (1991), *Stalingrad* (1992) and (according to the publisher) has three more equally diverse ones in process - one might incline to one of two views: either he knows how to master a field in short order and grasp its essential features, or he is content to ignore subtleties in order to communicate the "big picture." Revealing his British bias, for example, he refers to Roskill as "the official historian of the war at sea," and asserts elsewhere that "the inshore campaign...has not been dealt with in any depth in any previous published work." While that may reflect an Englishman's view of the world, readers beyond UK shores may take umbrage. One also wonders at his uncritical acceptance of Peter Padfield's righteous condemnation of Admiral Dönitz in *The Last Fuhrer* (1984), which seriously colours Tarrant's own arguments on naval strategy and on Germany's moral responsibility for continuing the war beyond 1943. This should perhaps not surprise us, for the Padfield view predominates, and Dönitz remains one of the great unresolved themes in German naval history.

With narrative flair, and attention to chronology, Tarrant has written a particularly engaging account.

Michael L. Hadley  
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Kevin Don Hutchison. *World War II in the North Pacific: Chronology and Fact Book*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. xviii + 288 pp., maps, photographs, figures, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$65, cloth; ISBN 0-313-29130-6.

Where was this book six months ago as I struggled through my doctoral dissertation on Canadian-American cooperation in the Aleutian campaign? Countless hours (far too many to contemplate safely) were spent attempting to track down obscure references and time sequences at critical moments in the writing process. Timing, it would seem, is everything. Had Kevin Don Hutchison's very useful reference book been on my desk as I pounded away at my computer, I can safely say that my peace of mind would have been spared some considerable grief.

Spurred on by his father's stories about his service in the Aleutians as a US Army Air Force crew member, Hutchison states that "this reference book is meant to provide readers with a ready source to answer 'What if and other questions.'" That purpose is largely met. The bulk of the book comprises a day-by-day chronology of events in the North Pacific theatre, beginning in 1937 and ending in September 1945 upon Japan's surrender. This chronology is often quite detailed, encompassing not only important decisions made at the command level, both American and Japanese, but also events affecting individuals, especially the pilots and air crews that had to fly and fight in one of the world's most inhospitable climates. The appendices are equally useful. Included are lists of prisoners of war, American service personnel interned in Siberia, short biographies of key American and Japanese personnel who served in the region, and a very detailed inventory of the American and Japanese units and ships that were posted to the North Pacific.

There are, however, also occasional mistakes. For example, the author continually refers to the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, formed in 1940 by Franklin D. Roosevelt and William Lyon Mackenzie King, as a Canadian organization, not as the joint American-Canadian body that it was (and still is). Additionally, pilot Joe Levy, killed over Kiska on 24 July, 1943, is listed as the last American to die at Japanese hands in the Aleutians. That is not true. Seventy-one American sailors were killed on 18 August 1943 when their ship, the destroyer

*Abner Read*, struck a mine while patrolling near Kiska. More importantly, Canadians will note that despite a substantial contribution to the Aleutian campaign, including over 5,000 troops despatched to Kiska in August 1943 and the presence of Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) squadrons and Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) vessels for much of the fifteen-month war in the Aleutians, Canada merits few mentions in the chronology and none at all in the biographical section. While the war in the Aleutians was admittedly a largely American show, the Canadian role there was important and deserving of more attention from scholars, American and Canadian. This omission persists in the bibliography. The only Canadian work mentioned there is Joseph Schull's dated RCN history, *The Far Distant Ships*. Absent is any reference to the Canadian Army's official account (published in 1955), Reg Roy's biography of General George Pearkes (the head of Canada's Pacific Command), the RCAF's official history of Pacific operations (volume II), or my own articles about Canadian activities or interest in the Aleutians and the Kuriles. Finally, I would have liked to have seen a more substantial introduction, one that better placed the North Pacific theatre in the wider context of the war in the Pacific and the global conflict as a whole.

Despite these quibbles, I would recommend this book for all those interested in the fascinating (and largely ignored) story of the struggle for the North Pacific. It is a very useful reference companion to the accounts already written.

Galen Perras  
Gloucester, Ontario

Martin Middlebrook and Patrick Mahoney. *Battleship: The Loss of the Prince of Wales and the Repulse*. London, Allen Lane, 1977; London: Penguin, 1994. x + 366 pp., maps, figures, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. \$15.99, paper; ISBN 0-14-023469-1.

Penguin Books has reprinted this well-known account of the destruction of the Royal Navy's Force Z by Japanese torpedo bombers off the Malayan coast in December 1941. The authors claim it took this "fiasco" to prove that "the battleship could no longer live with the bomb, the torpedo and the aircraft" and that the loss of *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* "was the end of the battleship era" (p.3) and the beginning of the



end of British influence in the Far East.

The despatch of the ships to the Far East was an empty political gesture meant to deter Japanese aggression, an error compounded by the woeful lack of modern aircraft at Singapore. The authors blame mainly politicians and airmen for recklessly placing the ships in jeopardy, glossing over the Royal Navy's own complicity. Force Z was originally intended to include the aircraft carrier *Indomitable*, but this ship ran aground in Kingston, Jamaica. Independent air cover had been deemed necessary, but no steps were taken to replace *Indomitable* even though the small carrier HMS *Hermes* conveniently was available in the Indian Ocean. It is, of course, speculative whether or not air cover would have saved the ships.

The newly-arrived British naval commander in the Far East, Vice-Admiral Sir Tom Phillips, was thinking and operating in a strategic vacuum not entirely of his own making, as no capital ships *underway* had yet been sunk by aircraft. (Though the *Bismarck* operation in May 1941, whereby that great ship was crippled by a Swordfish torpedo bomber, should have been an eye-opener.) Phillips had seen no action since 1917 and had had no sea duty since 1939. Partly explained by his "big ship" bias, he refused to take proper precautions against the possibility of air attack. The authors' state: "Two great ships and many good men were lost because one stubborn old sea dog refused to acknowledge that he had been wrong." (p. 305) Perhaps of greater significance, Phillips simply handled his ships inexpertly at critical moments and proved a stubborn and poor operational commander.

Instead of returning to Singapore after having been sighted by Japanese aircraft at dusk on 9 December, he diverted to Kuantan, arriving there the next morning. This decision was based on a signal indicating the Japanese were landing there and he understandably hoped to disrupt the proceedings. But Force Z found no enemy and lingered off the coast without signalling its whereabouts or requesting an aerial umbrella.

The question is: since air cover had been arranged for and was available on 10 December, why did Phillips not avail himself of it? His obsession with maintaining radio silence, even after his force had been sighted, shadowed and attacked (!), is unfathomable. The ships were sunk with the loss of 840 lives a mere 150 miles from Singapore, well within range of the squadron of Buffalo fighters assigned to protect them.

The sad irony is that the British ships had put to sea on 8 December to ravage Japanese landing operations on the Malayan coast even though, by the estimated time of the ships' arrival, there would not have been any targets left there or, at best, only empty transports returning from the invasion beaches. Phillips's gamble, justified or not, could not have saved Malaya.

Middlebrook and Mahoney's work is lively, detailed, well researched and organized, though overlong. Moreover, their political and strategic overviews are uninspired and sometimes debatable. There are also many needless digressions and the authors' sometimes speculate wildly regarding principal actors' intentions, ideas or motives. Analysis needs to be based on what happened and not on what might have been. The text is laden with such words as "speculate," "conjecture," "assume," "presume," "probable," "possible," "likely," "maybe," "might" and so on. The authors use survivors' oral history extensively, some of which is poignant and valuable, especially in reconstructing the ships' sinking and the ensuing rescue operations. However, much of it has little or no relevance and/or does not directly support their arguments. Anecdotal information, such as "I reckon I was the last man to bake bread in the *Repulse*," (p. 153) adds little to the narrative. Still, this remains the definitive account of the shocking sinking of *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*.

Serge Durlflinger  
Verdun, Québec

Janusz Skulski. *Anatomy of the Ship: The Heavy Cruise Takao*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1994. 256 pp., tables, photographs, figures, illustrations, £25, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-628-0.

In this, his second book in the "Anatomy of the Ship" series, Janusz Skulski sets out to document the cruiser *Takao*, achieving his objective superbly. Starting with the development of the experimental light cruiser *Yubari* in the Imperial Japanese Navy in the early 1920s, he goes on to provide a fascinating study of *Takao*, one of Japan's largest cruisers, from her inception through to her surrender to British forces in 1945. *Takao* saw extensive service, especially during the 1941-45 period. She was well armoured, fast, heavily armed with both guns and torpedoes, and carried catapult-launched aircraft which continued to be used even after

the cruiser was fitted with radar in 1943. *Takao* was towed out and scuttled in October 1946.

Planning for *Takao* commenced in 1925 when she was designed to out-class contemporary cruisers, even at the cost of breaching the displacement limits of 10,000 tons set by the Washington Naval Treaty for "auxiliary surface combat craft" which, at that time, included cruisers. Designed by Japanese constructors Hiraga and Fujimoto and laid down in the Yokosuka Kaigun Kosho Shipyard in 1927, *Takao* had a displacement of 11,350 tons when commissioned in 1932.

Named after Mount Takaosan, east of Kyoto, *Takao* was flush-decked with an unusual undulating sheer line. This design allowed the longitudinal strength members to be continuous, reducing structural weight, though at the cost of severe complications during the building process. She had a large tower bridge and a highly original arrangement of funnels and masts.

The book contains a wealth of well organized information on the cruiser, in verbal and tabular format in the first twenty-four pages, followed by nineteen pages of well-produced photographs of the vessel from her construction stages on through views of her at sea up to 1943. It ends with a photograph of the author's detailed model of the vessel in a very realistic setting, built to a scale of 1:1000.

To a model builder, the strength of the book lies in the remaining pages which contain over seven hundred superbly rendered drawings reproduced in a number of indicated scales, depending on the detail shown. The drawings complement the earlier tables and information regarding the vessel through her design, service and refit records. The information is thorough enough to provide all that is needed to create a superb model at any scale, regardless of the detail desired in the model. Colour formulas for the model builder are also included. Detailed drawings of all equipment, including aircraft, boats and sampans carried aboard the vessel are included, each of which would allow the creation of superb exhibition models. Any limitations would lie with the skill of the model builder, not with the material in the book.

There are a few typographical errors. For instance, we are told that the London Naval Treaty was signed in 1922, (p.9) though earlier in the same paragraph it is indicated that the Japanese were notified of the planned conference in 1929. In fact the conference took place

in 1930. Elsewhere we find "sheel" in a couple of places where "shell" is intended, (p. 16) There are a few other minor errors. A greater problem, at least for the serious model builder, with the "Anatomy" series in general is the practice of spreading reproductions of large drawings, such as lines and general arrangement, over two adjoining pages, thereby effectively splitting them into two. Such drawings would be far more useful if produced at the same scale on foldout plates with no midship break, even at a slight additional cost to the book.

Nevertheless, this book is highly recommended to anyone interested in a study of one of Japan's cruisers and absolutely necessary to anyone contemplating building a model of the vessel.

N.R. Cole  
Scarborough, Ontario

William M. McBride (ed.). *Good Night Officially: The Pacific War Letters of a Destroyer Sailor. The Letters of Yeoman James Orvill Raines*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994. xvi + 307 pp., map, photographs, glossary, bibliographic note. US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8133-1950-1.

"30 March 1945...Hello Darling Sweetheart: A year ago today I kissed the most beautiful, sweetest, luscious creature in the world good bye in San Francisco. I sure hope you get the orchid. When you wear it, [on Easter] remember that about 4 p.m. that Saturday afternoon is when we are going in on Okinawa. Darling, I'm sure I'm not a coward. I realize that I get scared. (And honest, Baby, I'm not boasting.) But I sincerely believe I'm not afraid of dying. Naturally, I don't want to and it troubles me somewhat at times but really, deep down, my fear is not getting back to you...."

Those are the words of twenty-six-year-old Yeoman Second Class Orvill Raines, a newspaperman with the Dallas *Morning News* in civilian life, who served on the destroyer USS *Howorth* in the Pacific war. From his assignment to the ship in April 1944 until his death a year later in a kamikaze attack off Okinawa, Raines wrote several hundred letters to his young bride, Ray Ellen. His perceptive, uncensored correspondence provides a literate, unique insight into the horrific experiences shared by one of hundreds of anonymous ships' crews who

fought "the good war" five decades ago. Since he was writing to his wife, Raines' letters, although personally biased, are sincere. His astute observations provide a rare glimpse into the everyday world of the enlisted sailor — a world filled with horror, hopelessness, and hardship in fighting a suicidal enemy.

Raines' battle and watch stations on *Honolulu's* bridge, afforded him a superb observation post. He saw plenty of combat engagements such as the reconquest of the Philippines, where Raines' vivid memory was of the continual parade of floating bodies in Leyte Gulf; the twenty-four days spent firing on the entrenched Japanese at Iwo Jima, "that little piece of rocky hell," and the bloody invasion of Okinawa. Of the latter he wrote "Just looking at it on the map breaks us out in a cold sweat. Okinawa spells Kamikaze Corps to us."

These letters also tell of Raines' adoration and longing for Ray Ellen. He yearned for the "wonderful life we will lead in the future." He told her his fondest vision was "the picture you will make at the station when you meet me and we run off to rest." All Orvill Raines wanted to do was return home to his young wife, resume his job as newspaper reporter, obtain a college education, and indulge in the sweet erotic pleasures of young married life. They wanted to have a family. From waters off Iwo Jima, 8 March 1945, he wrote, "If there is any way possible for us to have any children, I am going to go to work on it as soon as I get back." He spoke proudly of Ray Ellen's advancement to office manager in a Dallas physician's office. Raines thought she might not have to work after he returned home, and "if you do, you certainly can quit to have and take care of a baby." Knowing Raines' fate renders these dreams even more poignant.

To sustain their marriage through a lengthy and uncertain separation, Orvill and Ray Ellen promised to bid each other an "official good night" every evening on Dallas time. Orvill's last letter — to be opened only in case of his death — is the most heartrending, as he bid his beloved Ray Ellen a final "goodbye officially."

Editing of these letters by James Madison University history professor William M. McBride is eloquent and moving. He places Raines' letters in historical context. *Good Night Officially* touches upon the question of the gift of life itself. Why is one man granted a full span of years, and another cut down in his prime?

But it casts its line further than that. It points to the human predicament that the World War II generation faced, and we still confront today, namely man's inability to live in peace with his fellow man and the consequent cost in human suffering and waste, psychological scars, and the curse and blight that failure has cast upon the human race. This frightening human predicament appears no nearer solution today than it was fifty years ago on 6 April 1945, when Orvill Raines, badly burned and without life-jacket, died in the cold waters off Okinawa.

David P. Beatty  
Sackville, New Brunswick

Norman Friedman (consultant ed.); Robert Gardiner (gen. ed.). *Conway's History of the Ship: Navies in the Nuclear Age*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1993. 224 pp., photographs, figures, illustrations, tables, bibliography, glossary, index. £28, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-568-3.

Conway's twelve-volume "History of the Ship" series is by no means the first of its type. It follows very closely and appears to be an expanded version of the National Maritime Museum's series "The Ship," published by HM Stationery Office in 1980-81. Another effort along the same lines was "The Seafarers" series, published by Time-Life Inc. in 1978.

This latest addition to the Conway series consists of a number of chapters by very well-known British and American writers on naval subjects, all experts in their respective fields. David K. Brown, formerly head of the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors, who designed the post-war non-magnetic minesweepers used in large numbers by several NATO navies (including ours), contributed the chapter on mine countermeasures vessels. Eric Grove, who taught at both the Royal Naval College and at the United States Naval Academy, is responsible for the chapter on major surface combatants, (cruisers, destroyers and frigates), as well as the anti-submarine warfare section. Stuart Slade, an American defence analyst, covers fast attack craft, radar and command systems and electronic warfare. Another US authority, David Steigman, deals with aircraft carriers, amphibious forces and naval auxiliaries, while Norman Friedman wrote the chapters on submarines, nuclear weapons and propulsion, as well as the introduction.

The first half of the book traces the evolution of all the various types of naval vessel from the end of World War II to the present day; the last six chapters discuss the development and effect of weapons and command systems, electronic warfare and nuclear and gas-turbine propulsion. Changes in design due to developments such as steam catapults, angled decks and mirror landing aids on aircraft carriers, missiles in lieu of guns in surface combatants, modern amphibious warfare vessels, nuclear-powered submarines and fast attack craft armed with missiles are analysed, not only as general trends but with respect to the doctrine and needs of various navies, particularly those of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France. Nor are the smaller navies neglected. Canada is given credit for the development of variable depth sonar and the use of large helicopters in escort vessels, while the Halifax-class is cited as an example of a truly modern versatile surface warship.

While the ships (not, in detail, aircraft) are the main focus, the changing strategies of the Cold War are examined. For example, as technological advances were made, the roles of various elements of the rival navies changed. The US Navy's aircraft carriers had their nuclear strike role taken over by SSBNs in time for them to be employed off Viet Nam. This caused changing tactical concepts in the Soviet Navy which were reflected in new types of ships and submarines: a progression towards a Soviet carrier (now the Russian *Admiral Kuznetsov*) and very large command cruisers, the Kirovs, designed to control the forces protecting submarine bastion areas. In other conflicts, successes by Egyptian, Indian and Israeli fast missile boats for a while gave an inflated idea of the effectiveness of these small craft; but during the Gulf war they proved very vulnerable to attack from the air: The Falklands confirmed the importance of electronic countermeasures and last-ditch missile defence systems, while amphibious forces have been actively employed in a variety of situations, chiefly by the U.S Navy and by the Royal Navy in the Falklands.

The book is effectively illustrated with high quality photographs and diagrams. It is addressed to readers who are familiar with naval matters — acronyms and technical terms are used freely (though there is a glossary for those who might need it). Whether considered as part of the overall series on maritime history or in the

context of modern naval affairs, this is an authoritative and well produced publication.

Douglas Maginley  
Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia

Tom Clancy. *Submarine: A Guided Tour Inside a Nuclear Warship*. New York: Berkley Books, 1993. xx + 328 pp., figures, photographs, glossary, bibliography. US \$14.95, Cdn \$17.95, paper; ISBN 0-425-13873-9.

Tom Clancy, author of best-selling novels, tries his hand here at a less fictional description of life aboard some of the most potent warships in the world. He briefly relates the history of submarines, particularly the circumstances involved in the creation of the US nuclear submarine fleet, before launching into the heart of the book: a detailed tour of the Los Angeles class USS *Miami* and the Trafalgar class HMS *Triumph*. Clancy then goes on to sketch the numerous roles and potential missions of these boats.

The initial part of the book should be read quickly, as it passes over the material so briskly that some of the descriptions are either misleading or wrong. The best example is "But after the ocean liner *Lusitania* was sunk by U-20 in 1915, the United States entered the war on the side of the Allies." Hardly. Historians should therefore not look here for a definitive overview of the submarine's involvement in naval warfare.

Who then should read this book? Those interested in finding out what life is like aboard nuclear submarines. About half of the narrative deals with Clancy's impressions of the *Miami* and the *Triumph*, evidently based on good access to most of the vessel. (The exception is the highly restricted reactor area.) Here his ability to describe complex gadgets and systems in comprehensible language shines. The life of those aboard these vessels is sketched in sufficient detail that a good overall assessment of what is entailed can be gained. Despite not having seen the reactor, Clancy provides a good layman's description of the intricacies of this big 'steam kettle.' This book comes as close as many will ever get to these monsters of the deep, which seldom allow visitors of any sort aboard.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is Clancy's comparison of the officer training between the US and RN submarine services. He rates the RN's Perisher course the

best, a very interesting assessment. While Clancy does not disapprove of the USN approach to training, he believes that the British system seems to provide a superior background for those who aspire to command.

After the boat tours Clancy walks the reader through seven possible SSN missions, ranging from "boomer" (SSBN) hunting to submarine rescue. Historical examples are used when possible, but most are fictional accounts drawing on possible future global hot spots. This is followed by about fifty pages of drawings, specifications and short descriptions of "other people's submarines." A wide but not exhaustive range of submarines can be found in this section, giving a good general overview of what sort of submarines roam the oceans today.

Clancy's book is a good general overview of a broad subject. It is aimed squarely at a general audience, so specialists may not be inclined to bother with this slim volume. On the other hand there are some nuggets of value, and its modest price and wealth of illustrations make it a useful book to have at hand if you have any interest in the subject.

Doug McLean  
Victoria, British Columbia

Michael T. Isenberg. *Shield of the Republic: The United States Navy in an Era of Cold War and Violent Peace. Volume I, 1945-1962*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. xiii + 948 pp., maps, photographs, notes, index. Cdn \$48.99, US \$35, cloth; ISBN 0-312-09911-8.

In this first of a two-part account of the US Navy after World War II, Michael Isenberg, an Associate Professor of History at the US Naval Academy in Annapolis, presents an engaging history of the entire US Navy, 1945-1962. At nearly a thousand pages, *Shield of the Republic* delivers a great deal. Purists and nit-pickers will find the effort incomplete, but given the sheer dimension of the naval and international events which fall between the chosen dates, omission, intentional or otherwise, is inevitable.

The dust-jacket rather than the introduction presents the theme of the work: an epic story of the seventeen years between the defeat of Japan and the test of *Pax Americana* during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Isenberg begins with a picture of the navy in its full fighting trim at the end of the Pacific War. His discussion of post-war

planning and the lingering, distorting images of Mahan's strategic presumptions is particularly insightful. The story continues through the doldrums of rapid disarmament and the shock of remobilizing the navy and its vast and necessary shore establishment during the Korean War. The various ensuing debates over roles, force structures, strategic purposes, carriers, submarines and atomic weapons are all addressed. The narrative well blends discussion of key personalities, technology and events.

Canadian readers will find the book useful, because the Canadian navy followed very much the same boom, bust and Korean boom cycle. Unfortunately, although Isenberg has captured some of the taste and perspectives of the ward room and lower deck, he has not captured the international flavour of America's naval alliance commitments. Though some construe NATO as a maritime alliance, Isenberg has not. I am reminded of a recent short history of World War II made for an American television audience. The Soviet Union did not appear in the narrative until Russian troops were met by US forces in Germany. America's maritime allies similarly get short shrift by Isenberg. The RCN contributed substantially to the quarantine of Cuba and with the RN formed an important tri-partite relationship with the US Navy, yet it is not even listed in the index.

Despite such oversights and concerns Isenberg's account is likely to remain a key reference source on US naval history for many years to come. Much of the discussion of its Cold War build-up and the later internal strategic debates over roles and missions, both internal to the navy and between services, reflects a consensual reading of the secondary literature. Isenberg's reliance on published sources and a large number of oral interviews is demonstrated in his extensive footnotes. That is not to slight Isenberg's effort, for no other work really encompasses so much within the bounds of a single cover. In doing so Isenberg has provided the starting point for anyone interested in developing a comprehensive knowledge of global naval developments during this period.

The topic is horrendously large and complex and few works of synthesis are ever likely to dispel critics fully. Works like Isenberg's continue to serve a very useful purpose in bringing so much monographic material together. Such general accounts should also stimulate much detailed archival research either to

support or refute the general arguments made therein. Until a great deal more archival work is done *Shield of the Republic* will serve as a worthy history of the post-war US Navy.

Michael A. Hennessy  
Kingston, Ontario

Marion E. Carl, with Barrett Tillman. *Pushing the Envelope: The Career of Fighter Ace and Test Pilot Marion Carl*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994. x + 133 pp., photographs, bibliography, index. Cdn \$41.95, US \$23.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-116-5. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Marion Carl is an alumni of the legendary "Cactus Airforce" which conducted the epic defence of Guadalcanal in the months after the American occupation of that strategic island in the Solomon Islands chain in 1942. That he survived both the decimation of US Marine Corps (USMC) fighters at Midway and then the harrowing experience on Guadalcanal is a reflection of his prowess in his profession as a fighter pilot. Though it was not a term coined until recent years, Carl clearly had a well-developed sense of "situational awareness".

This relatively slim and unfortunately overpriced volume traces Carl's life and career in the aviation side of the Marine Corps from his enlistment in 1938 until his early retirement in 1973 as a Major General. Carl's list of accomplishments is significant: he was the first USMC ace and is credited with 1814 aerial victories, he was one of the first USMC pilots to fly a helicopter, the first Marine to land a jet aircraft on an aircraft carrier, and he held both the world speed record, set on the Douglas D-558-1 Skystreak in 1947 and the unofficial altitude record in the D-558-II in 1953. His long operational career included reconnaissance flights over the coastal provinces of China in 1955 looking for evidence of a potential invasion of Taiwan and then a tour in South Vietnam in 1965-66. Throughout his career he lost no opportunity to fly, whether or not his posting called for it, and on his retirement had amassed 14,000 hours in aircraft of all configurations from biplanes to four-engined transports and supersonic research vehicles.

This is a very straightforward book which does not purport to be other than a sketch of a full life at the sharp end of service and test

flying. The story is told in an engaging way complete with illustrative anecdotes to emphasize points or to provide colour. This reflects the hand of Barrett Tillman who is a noted author on military aviation topics and whose approach is well reflected in the chronicle style adopted here.

This book could easily have turned into a self-promotional memoir. What saves it from doing so is its candour. Carl's depiction of the mental unpreparedness of the Marine squadrons on Midway is telling and his description of what transpired after the decimation of VMF-221 during the Japanese raid is the first that this reviewer has seen in print. As Carl puts it "Our squadron fell apart." This and other observations about the attitude of some of the married pilots on the squadron cut through the romanticised images of fighter pilots of the time. It reflects what we are coming to understand better of the transition of units from peacetime ones, albeit on a war footing, to ones actually engaged.

Carl is similarly frank in his observations on other aspects of his career, especially the advent of Robert McNamara as Secretary of Defense and the charade that ensued in the provision of military advice. Politicians do not fare well in the Carl universe either, Lyndon Johnson and Teddy Kennedy coming in for particular mention. Finally, Carl is open about his disenchantment with the Marine Corps toward the end of his career, and his decision to retire when it became obvious that he would not be promoted to Lieutenant General.

This book is worth the few hours it will take to read it although a recommendation to actually buy it is tempered by a caution that at its price in Canadian dollars the publishers have most definitely overpriced it for what it delivers.

Christopher Terry  
Ottawa, Ontario

Henry Leach. *Endure No Makeshifts: Some Naval Recollections*. London: Leo Cooper, 1993. xiii + 274 pp., photographs, appendices, index. £21.50, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-370-2.

Henry Leach, who in his last appointment in the Service was Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Leach, GCB, ADC, Chief of the Naval Staff and First Sea Lord, writes in his foreword: "This is not an autobiography nor complete memoirs." It is instead a series of vignettes covering a selec-

tion of events that occurred during his main working life of "45 years of active service among super people in an organization called the Royal Navy." Leach's total devotion to the Royal Navy comes over to the reader with the force of a sledge hammer.

Henry Leach's career spanned from when his father, Captain John Leach, more or less kicked him into the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth in 1937 until his retirement in 1982. Having survived the action with *Bismarck* as Captain of HMS *Prince of Wales*, his father was killed when that warship was sunk off the Malayan coast three days after Pearl Harbor; it was a devastating blow to Henry and his close-knit family. Henry was a Midshipman in cruiser *Mauritius* in that area, but his ship managed to get to safety in Colombo — to tweak readers' curiosity, thanks to the ship's cat.

Henry spent most of the rest of the war on courses and as Officer of the Quarters of "A" Turret and Forecastle Officer of HMS *Duke of York*. "A" turret, of four 14-inch guns, was operated by about two hundred men - about as many as manned a destroyer. He was with *Duke of York* when that battleship, together with the 10th Cruiser Squadron of *Belfast*, *Norfolk* and *Sheffield*, sank German battleship *Scharnhorst* on Christmas Day, 1943. Leach also relates the story of the mutiny in HMS *Javelin* which took place shortly after VE day in the Mediterranean. This incident will be of particular interest to Canadians for it seems to have been due to similar failures of leadership as caused the incidents in Canadian ships two or three years later and which led to the so-called Mainguy Report.

The book is an entertaining read. The author is very much a product of his age, and his attitudes are instantly recognizable as typical of the Royal Navy of the period. Any Canadian who shared the kinds of experiences related in the book — and many have — will be by turns amused, impressed by the panache, sympathetic to the repeated displays of dogged and selfless determination and persistence, and irritated and perhaps a little bit envious of the absolute self-assurance of the breed. *Endure No Makeshifts* also carries food for thought for Canadians in these times of defence reviews, for Leach spent much of the non-seagoing part of his career in what he describes as "The Zoo" — the Ministry of Defence. He paid in spades for most of the fun he had had up to leaving his job as Commander-in-Chief Fleet and NATO Commander-

in-Chief, Channel, when he became First Sea Lord in 1979. "Thus" he writes "I could reasonably look forward to my last command...to be one of unstinted pleasure." That is not how it turned out! This last section of the book is the Old Cold Warrior's version of his battles to save his Navy from the swinging cuts proposed for governmental action by ignorant and uncaring bureaucrats and politicians, with the Falklands War thrown in for good measure.

In summary, I found it a good set of yarns, by a fine naval officer who did his level best in terribly difficult times, as well as providing useful source material for historians.

Dan Mainguy  
Ottawa, Ontario

Fred W. Crickard and Peter T. Haydon. *Why Canada Needs Maritime Forces*. Nepean, ON: Naval Officers Association of Canada, 1994. ix + 38 pp., figures, photographs, select bibliography. \$5, paper; ISBN 0-9698343-0-6. Distributed by Nautica Publishing, 1579 Dresden Row, Halifax, NS B3J 2K4.

Fred W. Crickard and J.P. Nash (eds.). *The Niobe Papers, Volume 5. Canada's Navy: Sailing Into the list Century*. Halifax: Nautica Publishing for the Naval Officers Association of Canada, 1994. ix + 73 pp., glossary. \$10, paper; ISBN 0-920884-31-8.

These two welcome booklets help explain why Canada continues to need a Navy even though the Cold War is over. They reflect the tireless energy and enthusiasm of Rear Admiral Fred Crickard in organizing learned conferences and in making available to the public material explaining maritime issues which are important to Canada. Both booklets were sponsored by the Naval Officers Association in a commendable effort to explore the rationale behind naval policies.

The release of *Why Canada Needs Maritime Forces* was timed to coincide with the current government's defence review and the parliamentary hearings. It develops its case in simple language and in a logical sequence suggested by the chapter headings: Canada's maritime heritage; national maritime vital interests; maritime forces and ocean security; principles of Canadian maritime operations; Canada's maritime forces today; and the need for effective Cana-

dian maritime forces, The text is buttressed by arresting facts, e.g. a *single* modern submarine with a towed array can detect ships and other submarines in an area almost two and a half times as large as Nova Scotia or four times the size of Vancouver Island, or that a frigate like HMCS *Halifax* can maintain continuous surveillance underwater, on the surface, and in the airspace above an area about half the size of Lake Huron. That area can be effectively doubled in any one direction for a limited period by using a modern helicopter.

Is anything missing? One could argue that the booklet might have said more about why effective maritime forces cannot be improvised at short notice and why extensive training is required to keep skills alive and in readiness. The task group concept is explained clearly but a more complete discussion about the role of submarines in reinforcing sovereignty and in a balanced force might have been topical given the reality that replacement of the current submarine force could well become another lamentable political target like replacement maritime helicopters.

Fred Crickard and Peter Haydon eschew charged issues. They make a rational and trenchant case for maritime forces in being in a post-Cold war era. They have marshalled impressive facts about how extensively the government has in recent years used naval units in support of its policies. This provides welcome perspective of a sort never featured by the Canadian media because it concerns itself with transitory events. In short, *Why Canada Needs Maritime Forces* is highly recommended for anyone wishing to explore the case for maintaining Canadian maritime forces as one of the federal services that are an indispensable part of nationhood.

*The Niobe Papers, Volume 5. Canada's Navy: Sailing Into the 21st Century* reproduces papers given at a conference with this theme in Ottawa in 1992. Four of the eight presentations were by serving officers or officials. These cautiously look ahead into the rest of the nineties rather than into the next century as the title might suggest. Arguably the most thought-provoking papers are by Admiral Crickard on maritime issues in post-war Canadian security policy and by Vice Admiral Mainguy who urges innovative approaches to operating warships. He suggests that there is much to learn from current commercial practices. For example, ships could

operate at far higher sea rates with multiple crews, slimmed down permanent force ships' companies could be augmented by properly qualified reserves in times of emergency, and it might be just as cheap to allow service families to put down roots anywhere and to fly the naval member to and from the coast as it is to move families for successive postings. These are stimulating ideas deserving analysis unencumbered by the baggage of current procedures. There is also an interesting contribution by the late "Buzz" Nixon asserting that defence policy has in fact been unchanged over several decades. When there are budget crunches there should be reviews of "how much Canada should be prepared to maintain military capability as a responsible developed country concerned about world stability" (p.54) rather than defence policy reviews which essentially end up restating old policies.

Both booklets succeed in making topical, thoughtful and well-reasoned material about maritime policy readily available at modest cost.

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Don Stephenson, with Ray Staszko. *Lightning, Champagne and Silverware: Three Sailing Adventures*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1994. 146 pp., photographs, map. \$9.95, paper; ISBN 0-88999-551-6.

A storm at sea is an awesome thing — and triply so when it's an electrical storm experienced from the confines of a small sailboat. Your fragile mast is the centre of your tiny universe, with the prominence of a church steeple within a dome bounded by the horizon only eight miles away (visibility permitting) and the angry clouds. Lightning strikes do happen. In Part One of this three-part book Don Stephenson tells us what happens next — and leaves us wondering why the author would go to sea again. But he did, eleven years later, this time trans-Atlantic from Portugal to the Caribbean in a first-class ocean-going yacht, favoured by fair winds and weather and occasionally topless shipmates — passage-making at its finest. Those were voyages aboard yachts owned by others, but along the way the author acquired a fine large (57-foot) Nova Scotia-built schooner with serious ocean racing in mind. So Part Three of this interesting trilogy deals with preparation for and



participation in the classic race from Marblehead to Halifax aboard the only schooner in the fleet of racers — and the winner of her class.

Don Stephenson did not live to take pride in the publication of his book. The two later voyages were undertaken in the knowledge that his time was running out. The reader knows that too. The resulting self-examination and evaluation of what one's own reactions might be set this book apart from the many tales of small boat voyaging which have gone before.

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Larry V. Rogers. *Boatowner's Legal & Financial Advisor*. Camden, ME: International Marine, 1994. x + 243 pp., appendices, index. Cdn \$25.95, paper; ISBN 0-87742-341-1. Distributed in Canada by McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Whitby, ON.

Larry Rogers has done excellent work in preparing this guide to boaters' maritime rights and responsibilities. Because it makes a complex and often threatening subject easy to understand, even as it demystifies complex boating laws, it will serve as a good handbook for recreational boaters who need to understand how the law affects the ownership and operation of a boat.

The book focuses on US law and on owning or operating a boat in the United States. Following an introduction to admiralty law, there are twelve chapters, written conversationally and devoid of legalese, on dealing with law enforcement agencies, taxes, registration and documentation, equipment regulations, co-ownership, financing, repairs and maintenance, salvage, liability, insurance and chartering. The aim of the author, to increase the knowledge and understanding of the law so that readers will enjoy boating a little more, is achieved.

Rogers makes use of unusual, sometimes sad and often humorous examples to clarify, demonstrate and underline important marine laws. A good example is that of "Boiling versus the US Coast Guard." Having been boarded seventeen times and searched eleven times in five months, Mr. Boiling became convinced that he was being harassed by the Coast Guard. Consequently, when the Coast Guard attempted one more time to board his vessel off Wilmington, North Carolina, Boiling refused to allow the officers to come aboard. He brandished a rifle

and pistol, weighed anchor, and held the Coast Guard at bay for six hours while he motored to shore, twenty two miles away. Making matters worse, Boiling's son assaulted one of the officers when the boarding finally took place. The Boilings were charged with various offenses; at issue was the Coast Guard's authority to board and search without a warrant and Mr. Boiling's right to privacy and free passage. In the end, after spending ninety thousand dollars in legal fees, the Boilings pleaded guilty to misdemeanours just before the trial. Boiling was fined two hundred and fifty dollars and his son five hundred.

The author also explains the historical basis for some of the admiralty principles he discusses. Thus, we learn that the law of marine salvage can be traced all the way back to the Byzantine Empire, when public policy encouraged people to save ships and the people on them and to return salvaged property to its rightful owners. A policy was developed to discourage greedy salvors from appropriating wrecked vessels and abandoning survivors by advancing a system of rewards for people who rescued sailors and saved maritime property. On this historical foundation, the author proceeds to explain the principles of salvage from its definition to the more practical aspects, such as who can be a salvor and how to collect the reward.

If the book has a weakness it is in its treatment of the Rules of the Road, or what are also referred to as the navigation rules or collision regulations. It would have been helpful had the author explained and illustrated the basic rules, from Rule Five (the need for a proper look-out) to Rule Nineteen (conduct of vessels in restricted visibility). A historical background here would also have been of interest. The author also fails to touch on marinas and the laws relating to berthage. Those who charter or voyage in foreign waters such as the Caribbean will be disappointed to find no chapter devoted to a boater's rights and obligations in such waters or even in the high seas.

Nevertheless, the book is well written, lucid and a good source of information. The concise and handy index will be appreciated in times of need. In short, *Boatowner's Legal & Financial Advisor* will make a good addition to any boater's library, be it on shore or on the boat.

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