

BOOK REVIEWS

Rita V. Bryon and Terence N. Bryon (comps.). *Maritime Information: A Guide to Libraries and Sources of Information in the United Kingdom*. 3rd edition, London: Witherby and Co. for the Maritime Information Association, 1993 [order from Witherby and Co., 32-36 Aylesbury St., London EC1R 0ET, UK], vi + 222 pp., appendices, index. £25, paper; ISBN 1-85609-009-8.

The third edition of *Maritime Information* is an absolutely indispensable reference tool for students of maritime affairs. Between its covers is information on the marine-oriented holdings of 500 repositories of various sorts throughout Britain, meticulously compiled by Rita and Terence Bryon. Some, like the National Maritime Museum or the Public Record Office, will be well known to researchers, but others will not. Thanks to the Bryons, when I next go to the UK for research, I shall be visiting the Tower Hamlets Local History Library and Archives to inspect the photographs in the Bolt Collection and the Thames Police Museum to work through the river police manuscripts. Since in neither case was I previously aware of these records, without the labours of the Bryons I would likely still be ignorant of their existence. As a bonus, *Maritime Information* is pleasingly produced, extremely well indexed and easy to use.

Users of the book, however, need to be aware of a couple of caveats. First, the guide does not do justice to the important collections of the Merseyside Maritime Museum. Fortunately that institution, in association with the International Maritime Economic History Association, has just published Gordon Read and Michael Stammers (comps.), *Guide to the Records of the Merseyside Maritime Museum* (Research in Maritime History No. 8; St. John's, 1995), the first of a projected two-volume finding aid that supersedes what is contained in

this work; readers should consult the newer work before heading to Liverpool. Second, in discussing the British Empire crew lists in Appendix A, the Bryons fail to mention the so-called "cooperative index" to this source in local record offices around Britain that is available from the Maritime History Archive at Memorial University of Newfoundland and which will save much frustration in trying to ascertain the location of these records outside the major repositories.

Such minor omissions do not in any significant way detract from the overall assessment of *Maritime Information*. The immense effort the Bryons put into compiling it will doubtless assist countless researchers to locate appropriate records more efficiently. For this they deserve the gratitude of all maritime scholars.

Lewis R. Fischer
St. John's, Newfoundland

Roger Morriss (comp.), with the assistance of Peter Burse. *Guide to British Naval Papers in North America*. London: Mansell, for the National Maritime Museum, 1994. xxii + 418 pp., library information, indices. £70, US \$120, cloth; ISBN 0-7201-2162-0. Distributed in the United States by Cassell, New York, NY.

This reference work is the result of American interest in collecting British historical manuscripts, particularly in this century in the case of collections relating to North America. Though colonial records of a naval nature, such as Vice Admiralty Court records, were indigenous, so to speak, to North America, most of the documents surveyed in this useful work were the result of piecemeal acquisition. Key repositories for such documents are the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, the Huntington

Library in San Marino, California, Yale University Libraries (Beineke and Sterling) and the Perkins Library of Duke University. Too many of the major collections inventoried here are not as well known outside the United States as they should be. While micro-reproduction now makes research less dependent on travel, a full and up-to-date inventory and user's guide such as this one serves a number of interlocking requirements. The guide is partly intended for users in the United Kingdom who may wonder where some of their country's great naval and mercantile papers have disappeared. Yet it is doubly certain that the guide will be heavily consulted by Canadian and American students in search of some of the treasures of British naval literature and documentary sources.

Guide to British Naval Papers in North America contains 1,190 entries. Space permits only a few examples to demonstrate the wealth and variety of the material. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Edward Hobart Seymour's notebook of his time on the China Station is in the McClennan Library of McGill University, while others of his papers are in the New York Public Library, the Naval Historical Library in London and the National Library of Scotland. Robert Falcon Scott's correspondence with members of the O'Reilly family of Victoria is in the British Columbia Archives and Record Service. Various papers of Sir John Franklin can be found in the McCord Museum in Montreal, the Huntington Library, the New York Historical Library, the Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, the National Archives of Canada, and the University of British Columbia Library. Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth's extensive papers while serving as governor of Newfoundland are in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, though a thorough scholar must also go to Connecticut, Boston, Chicago, Ottawa, Gainesville and Kingston, Ontario to cover the full list of relevant documentation.

As these examples indicate, personal collections command the greatest attention. Yet there are five other categories of entries — treatises, government records, fleet records, ship records and artificial collections — that will be equally welcome to users. Under "Treatises" we find reference to a plan held by the Beineke Library for a charity school (1760) intended to maintain,

clothe and educate young females and orphaned daughters. Under "Government Records" we find the Admiralty Correspondence kept and collected at Esquimalt and now in the Maritime Museum of British Columbia in Victoria. This corpus of records, largely duplicated from material now in the Public Record Office in Kew, Surrey, nonetheless gives important documentation to students of British Columbia maritime history. Under "Fleet Records" we find various gunnery instructions, navy lists, sailing instructions, and signal books. For ship enthusiasts the section "Ship Records" will be especially welcome. Most examples are from the era of the sailing Navy in the late Victorian era. In "Artificial Collections" are listed numerous items pulled together. Thus at Princeton some Nelson material sits side by side with Earl Beatty's letters to Nancy Price and some Samuel Pepys documents. The Houghton Library at Harvard holds a ticket to Nelson's funeral. In the War of 1812 Collection in the Clements Library can be found Sir Henry Edward Bunbury's cogent objections to the War Secretary, Lord Bathurst to a naval assault against New Orleans.

The utility of this outstanding book is increased by full particulars about the addresses, hours of opening and phone and fax numbers of various Canadian and American libraries and archives. There is also a chronological index, a ship index, and a comprehensive general index. All serious scholars of Royal Navy history will require this work for their future research.

Barry Gough
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Robert G. Albion, William A. Baker, and Benjamin W. Labaree. *New England and the Sea*. Rev. ed.; Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1972, 1994. xiv + 308 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, tables, index. US \$18, paper; ISBN 0-913372-23-4.

This is a revised edition of a book originally published almost twenty-five years ago. At that time, there existed no synthetic history of maritime New England better than Samuel Eliot Morison's *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, which dealt only with the Bay State and covered in detail only the years between the end of the

Revolutionary War and the beginning of the Civil War. The original *New England and the Sea* was a creditable attempt by three distinguished historians to cover this broad subject in a scholarly yet approachable manner. The revised edition is essentially the same book. Indeed, the first four chapters, covering the years, 1600-1914 have not been changed at all. Only the fifth, titled "The Twentieth Century," has been chronologically extended in an effort to cover the developments of the last two decades.

The book retains some of its earlier virtues — those proper to a popular survey. Its text is clear; the coverage is broad; and the illustrations are interesting. There is still no general history of seafaring in New England that covers as many subjects over as long a period of time. But unfortunately, *New England and the Sea* no longer stands anywhere close to the cutting edge of historical scholarship. The fishing, whaling, and merchant shipping industries of New England — especially during the period prior to the Civil War — have all received extensive study in recent years, and our understanding of them is simply fuller than what it was a quarter-century ago. Sometimes this means that the book is now wrong. Bank fishermen from Massachusetts' North Shore, for example, were not normally paid as individuals by the fish each one caught, (p. 29) More often, however, it means that the authors have simply ignored most of the new work in New England (and North Atlantic) maritime history that has appeared since the first edition was published. This includes (i) the work of Margaret Creighton, Lisa Norling, Timothy Breen, a team of economic historians headed by Robert Gallman, and especially Ted Byers on whaling; (ii) Christine Heyrman and myself on the cod fisheries; and (iii) Marcus Rediker, Gary Nash, and others on seaports and merchant seamen. *New England and the Sea* tells the story of shipbuilding, commerce, and ship management in a judicious and reasonable manner, but the social history of mariners and their families, the structure of the waterfront world that spawned them, the character of social relations they constructed on board ship, and the ethnic and gendered nature of maritime life receive little or no serious attention. One of the most interesting features of New England's shore whaling industry, for example, was its near-total

dependence on Indian labour, a fact known now for over a decade and not incorporated into the revised book.

This is no reason to prevent the publication of a new edition; but to claim that the work has in a meaningful sense been "revised" is to exaggerate. Particularly if the book is to function as a survey, it should take some account of developments in the field, and it has not.

Daniel Vickers
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Uwe Schnall and Ursula Feldkamp (eds.). *Deutsches Schiffsarchiv XVI (1993): 125 Jahre deutsche Polarforschung*. Bremerhaven: Ernst Kabel Verlag for the Deutsches Schifffahrtsmuseum, 1994. 413 pp., illustrations, photographs, figures, DM 46 (DM 38 by subscription), paper; ISBN 3-8225-0274-X.

It is difficult indeed to do justice in a brief review to a volume such as this — a volume laden with well-researched, well-written and annotated and splendidly illustrated articles covering many aspects of maritime history as well as contemporary maritime affairs.

The lead article, "125 Years of German Polar Explorations," dovetails neatly with similar accounts of other national experiences, and is followed by "125 Years of Service for Ocean Shipping and the Sea," which examines the German hydrographic service. Both articles take readers right up to the present day.

These opening papers are followed by a section on merchant shipping, with papers on an eighteenth-century handbook on shipping laws, on Arnold Kluda's thoughts about Albert Ballin, and on the life histories of the German four-masted barques *Hans* and *Kurt* (of which the latter is still being kept artificially alive, as it were, at Philadelphia). There is a perceptive account of one of the last nitrate voyages in 1938 under the houseflag of Laeisz. A short but all the more poignant and moving article is devoted to the tragic death of the I. officer Dankert, ex *M/S Milwaukee*, who succumbed to the evil machinations of the Gestapo. The section concludes with an intriguing article aptly named "An Odyssey on Twenty-Four Ships," which takes us on a voyage of personal dis-

coveries from the far reaches of history to World War II and the present. I cannot do better than quote from the English summary: "A highly individual approach to seafaring linked with the visionary goal of educational refinement proves to be not only fruitful but as an example deserving the serious recognition of every maritime museum and its publications."

The section on ship and boat building again takes us through the ages. The opening article examines the last oar-powered ferry boat on the river Ruhr (plans of the boat at a scale of 1:20 are included). This is one of a series of articles on traditional boats in Germany — the results of an ongoing and very praiseworthy research programme of the Deutsches Schifffahrtsmuseum. There is the first part of an article on the interior arrangements and decorations of German Imperial yachts ordered by Kaiser Wilhelm II; the author reveals the influence of British designers and decorators in managing to modify the Kaiser's penchant for pathos and bombast. The wealth of illustrations that accompany this article is astounding and will delight lovers of "classic" yachts. Part II of an article on the former state-owned East German Neptun shipyard takes readers into the midst of the problems caused by the reunification of the two Germanies, including the problems of converting a state-run economy into a market-driven one. I could not help but think of the problems faced by Canadian shipyards at the same time.

Aspects of the German *Kriegsmarine* during World War II are covered in yet another section. We learn about medical care on German auxiliary cruisers during the war. Readers of K. A. Muggenthaler's *German Raiders of World War II* will not be alone in finding this interesting; all will be surprised by the number of excellent reproductions of contemporary photographs illustrating the article.

Whaling, too, finds its niche in this volume, with an article on "The whale of Fuenterrabia (March 2, 1782)," an episode occurring during the final phases of the Basque whale fishery.

Finally, readers are given a fascinating ethnological or folkloristic account of eight case studies during the past century. This is an exemplary study! One can only hope that similar studies will be undertaken by maritime museums in other countries as well, before it is too late.

The volume closes with an annual report on the widely stretched activities of the DSM such as acquisitions, exhibit changes, and most important, on its superb publication programme. Like some Scandinavian maritime museum yearbooks, this one tends to point out the differences between northern European museums and those on this side of the big pond, where maritime museums appear to degenerate into mere exhibition centres.

The DSM and its editors are to be congratulated for a job well done. Still, would it be hoping for too much to see the volumes of the Deutsches Schifffahrtsarchiv translated into English? The English abstracts are excellent, but full translation would serve even better to inspire frustrated curators, museums, and their governing bodies on this side of the Atlantic.

Niels Jannasch
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Borje Karlsson *et al* (eds.). *Sjdhistorisk arsskrift for Aland 1993-94*. Mariehamn: **Alands** Nautical Club and Stiftelsen **Alands** Sjöfartsmuseum, 1994. 191 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, maps, tables. FIM 100, paper; ISSN-0788-799X.

Variety has been one of the virtues of the *Sjdhistorisk arsskrift*, and the latest issue is no exception. The topics covered range from the destruction of Bomarsund to duck-hunting in Argentina, via a report on the schooner *Linden's* maiden voyage in July 1993. Because this issue of the *arsskrift* celebrates the fortieth birthday of the **Aland** Maritime Museum, the range is perhaps even broader than usual, befitting the richness of **Alands** maritime tradition. The bilingual nature of the *arsskrift* — articles are published in English and in Swedish, in the latter case with good English summaries — continues to be an additional asset. On the other hand, with twenty or so articles and other items the variety of the *arsskrift* carries with it the risk of breaking into fragmentation. This is perhaps mostly due to the brevity of many of the articles and does not, of course, detract from their intrinsic interest.

Among the most interesting contributions is Nils Erik Villstrand's thorough study of the cottages in **Aland** used by marines of the

Swedish Navy. From the early seventeenth century the Navy solved its need for crews by having marines maintained in towns and coastal regions. In the countryside, farmers not only supplied the Navy with men for service but were also required to furnish the marines with modest crofts where they and their families could live during the winter when out of service. Villstrand bases his study of the cottages, some of which survived until the present day, on official records compiled when the Navy made a formal inspection of them in 1796. From these, Villstrand has determined the typical structural features of the cottages as well as the presumed vagaries of everyday life in them.

Many of the articles in the *drsskrift* deal with individual vessels. Basil Greenhill contributed a lucid account of the role of the *Lightning*, the second steam vessel in the British Navy, in survey work around the waters of Angosund. As the survey work opened up the road for Bomarsund to big ships, the *Lightning* and her commander, Captain B. Sullivan, played the largest single role, as Greenhill says, in making possible the destruction of the incomplete Russian installations at Bomarsund in the summer of 1854.

The story of pioneer steam vessels is carried further by G6te Sundberg in an article on the steamer *Suomi*, built in 1840 and owned by the Finnish Customs Department, while the side of the sailing ships is held up by Justus Harberg and the iron barque *Theodoros*, **Aland's** first iron sailing ship, as well as by Ingvard Liewendahl on the fate of the three-masted barque *Holmestrand*, now a wreckage near Eckerft.

To top this survey of individual vessels, a couple of short articles recount the story of the schooner *Linden*, the latest fruit of present-day shipbuilding skills in **Aland**. Its construction was completed just in time for her to enter the Tall Ships Race in 1993, where she was awarded the prize for 'Best newcomer in the Race.' During her first season, *Linden* covered some 5,200 nautical miles, of which 1,200 were under sail alone, and transported 1,028 guests. The sail from Blyth to the Elbe is worth particular mentioning, as her average speed under sail was nothing less than close to ten knots.

The *arsskrift* also carries articles on the experiences of Finnish seamen during World War II. The diary excerpts of Torsten Daniels-

son for 1943-1944 describe an adventurous wartime voyage from Finland to northern Norway in a small coastal steamer. Another article by Thure Malmberg examines the experiences of interned Finnish seamen in the Australian prison camps. The seamen, on board a Swedish tanker in Sydney in 1941, were first taken to Liverpool Internment Camp and then moved to Loveday Camp in the desert of South Australia. It was a primitive place, as one of the sailors remembers, and things got in some respects even worse as, in 1943, the Finns turned from interned sailors into prisoners of war and were transported to the giant prison camp of Murchison in Victoria. In this camp were some 4,000 Japanese, German and Italian POWs, with two more camps for Italians and Germans in the nearby Tatura. The prisoners felled trees to provide the inhabitants of Melbourne with firewood for the winter, and the unfortunate Finns were under constant harassment from their German fellow-prisoners. After their release in 1944 the Finns worked for some months as paid hands in civilian working camps before finally returning home in 1945.

The *Sjohistorisk arsskrift* is, customarily, rounded off with several local news items. Yet, in the case of **Aland**, even news on the **Aland** Maritime Day or the Ships' Meeting at the Baltic are of more than local interest, representing as they do the latest links in the long and lively maritime tradition.

Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen
Turku, Finland

Ron McCarthy. *Building Plank-on-Frame Ship Models*. London: Conway Maritime Press and Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994. 192 pp., photographs, figures, tables, recommended reading, index. US \$34.95, Cdn \$48.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-091-6. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Despite its pluralized title, this book covers the building of one model, that of the Royal Navy snow-rigged sloop *Cruiser of 1752*, at a scale of 1 inch representing 6 feet. The book does an excellent job of presenting a logical approach to the building of the model — from keel to truck. Ranking with the better books on scratch-built ship modelling, it is well worth its price.

Cruiser, one of a class of six, was built in 1752 and spent her career in general duty, with no notable engagements, in short a workhorse. On 2 October 1776, no longer fit for duty, she was ordered "to be destroyed by fire" just south of Wilmington, South Carolina.

Cruiser was chosen as an example of a single-decked vessel which, while incorporating the structural and rigging practices employed in a transitional period in ship building, avoids much of the redundancy involved when modelling a larger vessel. The choice is refreshing, considering the rehashed and hackneyed material seen all too frequently. While the original vessel was relatively unknown, the model is based on solid material, with the lines and profile provided by the National Maritime Museum, supported by draughts of *Cruiser's* lines, profile, and a sail and rigging plan prepared by Fredrik H. af Chapman when he examined the original vessel at Deptford Dockyard.

Following a brief history of the vessel and her station-keeping record, the book continues with a review of the basics of model building and some of the pitfalls in the way of vessel selection, followed by matters such as scale, structure and presentation. This is followed by a short review of tooling, suitable woods, rigging materials and adhesives. Chapter 2, "Making the Draughts," covers considerably more than that, incorporating not only draughtsmanship, but a discussion on framing, the keel assembly, building jig, and frame drawing preparation, finishing with drawings of all of the frames.

Succeeding chapters discuss the hull frame construction, external planking, the internal structure, followed with detailing above and below decks, then moving into masting and sparring, standing rigging and running rigging, including a section on blocks. The last chapter reviews the sails that would have been used on the model, had they been fitted. The book is very well organized and illustrated with drawings and photographs, and well supported with a nice balance of reference material and tables.

The author states fairly early that "Miniature models are a fascination, and are a study in construction techniques in themselves. No such fine work is intended for these pages; there are books devoted to this art written by the experts and currently available." (p. 15) That said, there

are a few areas regarding scale and materials that less-experienced builders should heed, such as the use of vastly oversized dowels in the hull planking, excessively wide deck planking and the choice of hemp as a rigging material. Linen would have been a better choice. The author indicates that anything under 1/24th of an inch (.042") diameter cane (English term for bamboo) will not provide a strong enough fastening. This reviewer commonly uses bamboo dowelling as fine as .013" with no worry of failure.

Regardless of my concerns with the execution of some of the detail on the model, McCarthy, following a long and varied career as a model builder, has written an excellent book. His approach is superb, providing a worthwhile guide to the construction of such a model. I heartily recommend it.

N.R. Cole
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Charles E. Pearson and Paul E. Hoffman. *The Last Voyage of the Nuevo Constante: The Wreck and Recovery of an Eighteenth-Century Spanish Ship off the Louisiana Coast*. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. xix + 245 pp., figures, maps, tables, photographs, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8071-1918-0.

The English-built merchantman *El Nuevo Constante* was a typical cargo carrier in the eighteenth-century Indies trade. She left Veracruz with the 1766 *flota* carrying a cargo of dye-stuffs, copper ingots, vanilla beans and assorted other materials but only enough coin to pay her crew. Unfortunately, a series of events had delayed the departure until August, dangerously late in the year. Half way to Havana, the ships were dispersed by a hurricane, the *Constante* began to take on water and her captain ran her ashore on the coast of Louisiana.

In time, all of the crew and passengers were rescued by salvors sent by the governor, while some of the cargo was retrieved. The wreck was then abandoned until, in 1979, a shrimper's nets tangled in it, bringing up three copper ingots. The fishermen and some associates began to salvage the wreck, using a bucket dredger, but fortunately decided to report their find to the

Louisiana authorities. The result was a landmark agreement through which the excavation continued in 1980-81 under archaeological control, while the State paid the salvors 75 per cent of the value of all precious metals recovered. This book is the final report on the research project.

It is essentially a reference work, designed for specialists. As such, it lacks the breadth of background material desired for a more lively historical narrative. Indeed, the story of the ship's voyage, loss and contemporary salvage is little more than a summary of each of the surviving archival documents. Half the book is an itemized description of the artifacts recovered. Yet there is still no complete catalogue of the material raised nor even a reference to the museum where, one hopes, the artifacts have been deposited. There is no more than passing discussion of the similarities between this assemblage and those from other contemporary sites. Indeed, the only published report on shipwreck archaeology that the authors cite concerns the Padre Island wrecks of 1554.

El Nuevo Constante was one of the first shipwrecks in United States' waters to be excavated by professionals. All concerned with the project deserve every credit for advancing the rational use of submerged heritage resources. It is, however, unfortunate that fate should have selected this particular site for its pioneering role. It lies in such murky water that no diver ever actually saw the wreck — all measurements were made by touch alone. The excavation proceeded by "vacuuming" the sediment from ten-foot square grids and sorting the artifacts at the surface. This was perhaps an acceptable level of precision when Parks Canada employed it in excavating the *Machauil* in 1969 but it was far less than adequate by the professional standards of 1980. By purely archaeological criteria, the *Constante* should have been left untouched until budgets and methodological advances allowed its proper excavation.

Even the work that was done cut too many corners. Of the ton-and-a-half of material raised, most was in the form of concretions. The majority of these have yet to be opened or even X-rayed. A large quantity of ballast stones was recovered but the attempts at identifying their origins can best be described as trivial.

The authors display a remarkable ignorance

of their major artifact - the surviving remnant of the ship's hull — and indeed of nautical matters generally. Lacking prior knowledge, they relied on modern secondary sources of questionable authority. In combination with the difficult underwater conditions, this has led them to present a depiction of the wreckage that has a number of bizarre features that cannot be taken seriously. Would such technical naivety be acceptable in any other archaeological discipline?

All research libraries with a focus on eighteenth-century or New World shipwreck archaeology must include this record of a pioneering excavation in their collections. Non-specialist readers can safely pass it by.

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Andrew Hibbert (ed.). *A Diver's Guide to Ontario's Marine Heritage*. London, ON: Save Ontario Shipwrecks, 1993. 74 pp., photographs, figures, maps. \$12, paper.

This publication lays a basic groundwork for an understanding and appreciation of our unique Great Lakes maritime history and the shipwrecks that sport scuba divers are visiting today. Given the increasing number of certified divers and the limited number of shipwrecks (which form the mainstay of sport scuba diving in the Great Lakes), the role of educating the public in marine conservation becomes an increasingly important challenge. Oversized as a magazine, undersized as a book, this slim publication tries to do for Ontario what John Halsey's *Beneath the Inland Seas: Michigan's Underwater Archaeological Heritage* did for Michigan in 1990. The basic need for the public to help conserve a limited-quantity resource drives both works.

The black-and-white photographs are, for the most part, high contrast and clear on the coated stock paper. Chapter 3 on "Ship Construction, Terminology" is the real gem in this work, though at seven pages in length, it is much too short. The cutaway line drawings by Ian Morgan, particularly that of a typical centreboard schooner and one of the steamer *Waubuno*, are fascinating, giving readers a rarely-seen perspective of older Great Lakes vessels. The sailing rigs artwork by the editor is

detailed, yet quite clean and comprehensible.

However the book is not well laid out. The brief mention of the steambarge *George Burnham* appears some distance from the photograph of the vessel, with neither location carrying a connecting line. Similarly, there is nothing to link the photo of the bulk freighter *Chauncey Hurlbut* (p.41) with the short paragraph describing that vessel twenty-two pages earlier. Some vessels, like the whaleback *James B. Colgate* (p.40) or the steamer *Edmonton* (p.47) are named nowhere else in the text, and seem to serve solely as ornamental alternatives to leaving blank spaces. One photograph ironically defeats its intended purpose: in the meagre three-page section entitled "How to Get the Best Out of Your Local Museum," the photo caption reads in part, "Museum collections hold a wealth of information." (p.53) Yet the photo credit goes not to a museum but to "SOS Collection."

Much of the book has been previously published. Thus, around ten pages consists of a useful, 1989 government document from the National Archives of Canada, entitled "In Search of Shipwrecks." As anyone who has ever attempted to pry Great Lakes shipping information out of the voluminous jaws of that massive paper warehouse in Ottawa will confirm, it takes time to adjust to the way our country's vast collection of stored records is arranged. However, this document is available free of charge, and has been for many years now, simply by contacting the National Archives.

There are vagaries in wording in the discussion on legislation. Thus, we are told that "The investigation of all archaeological sites is subject to the licensing provisions of the Ontario Heritage Act," (p.37) yet a legal definition of the word "investigation" is avoided. Is a sport scuba diver taking photographs of a shipwreck guilty of "investigating" it, and hence in violation of the law if s/he did not hold a current archaeological license from the province? Similarly, the words "When a sport diver wishes to report a wreck" (p.43) imply that such action is not mandatory, in contrast to older federal legislation covering the discovery of a shipwreck.

The emphasis on information that is top-heavy with government-related intelligence leaves the text barren of flesh and blood. Where are the descriptions of the satisfaction derived

by sport scuba divers from working on each of the indicated projects? Where are the photographs of divers gratified by what they learned and anxious to share their new knowledge? Where, indeed, are the positive testimonials from participants in these underwater surveys? The few underwater photos show unnamed divers at mostly unidentified sites. What this work fails to convey is the intricacy and subtlety that exist in the relationship of an individual to the physical environment of submerged cultural resources, and their combined relationships to other people.

The "Key Contacts" section makes no mention of the Ontario Underwater Council (OUC), which represents more sport scuba divers in Ontario than any provincial marine conservation group. The OUC actively promoted marine conservation years before Save Ontario Shipwrecks was created in 1981, a point this booklet manages to forget and which thereby keeps its potentially largest audience at arm's length.

With its cold emphasis on shipwreck parts and provincial protocol, this sterile publication is more apt to create detached observers than passionate participants in marine conservation.

Cris Kohl
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David Leigh Stone. *Vancouver's Undersea Heritage: Shipwrecks and Submerged Cultural Sites in Burrard Inlet and Howe Sound*. Vancouver: Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia, 1994. 71 pp., maps, figures, photographs. \$10, paper; ISBN 0-9695010-2-1.

This publication represents the fifth in a series of regional survey reports based on the work of the Underwater Archaeology Society of British Columbia. Envisioned originally as internal resource management tools for provincial authorities upon which site preservation decisions could be based, demand for these reports were such that the UASBC decided to publish them and make them available to a wider audience. The society's ultimate objective is to produce a complete inventory of the provinces submerged heritage resources. This ambitious and worthwhile endeavour highlights the important role

that avocational groups can play in the documentation of a region's underwater history.

Introductory sections explain the scope of the project, the geographical bounds and the methodological considerations. Then the report launches into the results of the survey. Each site is described in an individual chapter. Although in most cases short, each chapter encapsulates the salient information for each of the sites including, in the case of vessels, the construction, operational history, loss, discovery, current condition, recommendations as well as a list of references. This format is good, providing readers with access to the available information of a particular site in a single location.

Of the vessels described in the report, only a very few date to the nineteenth century; the rest belong to the twentieth century. This emphasises the relatively recent maritime history of the British Columbia coast. The study also focuses on a variety of sites other than shipwrecks. These include a prehistoric shell midden site, the waterfront area of a former mining town, an old cannery site, a steamer dock site and two whaling station sites. Unfortunately, survey work at these alternative sites met mostly with negative results.

Probably the most famous vessel in the study is the SS *Beaver*, the first steam vessel on the coast. Commissioned by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1835, the *Beaver* arrived at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River in 1836. After a long and varied career, she ran aground and sank near Vancouver in 1888. Heavily salvaged after her sinking and, more recently, pilfered by scuba divers, the UASBC survey revealed surprisingly substantial remains of this important vessel. This is the most intensely studied and detailed section in the report.

The study is adequately illustrated primarily with line drawings of the underwater sites and with historical photographs of the vessels and other sites. Underwater photographs would have been appreciated. This would provide the reader with a clearer understanding of the site features described in the text.

This report is clearly written and contains only a few minor typographical errors. The approach is distinctly descriptive and does not contain extensive analysis or interpretation of the findings. However, the report delivers on

what it set out to do and that is to concisely describe the results of the underwater survey. Persons interested in more in depth information on a particular vessel or site can consult the references at the end of each chapter. Although mainly of regional appeal, this report will be of interest to archaeologists, historians as well as general readers interested in underwater archaeology or maritime history. The present volume represents a worthwhile contribution to the history and archaeology of British Columbia.

R. James Ringer
Ottawa, Ontario

Betty Pratt-Johnson. *99 Dives from the San Juan Islands in Washington to the Gulf Islands and Vancouver Island in British Columbia*. Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 1995. 320 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, index. \$28.95, paper; ISBN 1-895811-18-X.

Betty Pratt-Johnson. *101 Dives from the mainland of Washington and British Columbia*. Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 1995. 320 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, index. \$29.95, paper; ISBN 1-895811-20-1.

These two books together are an expanded and updated edition of Betty Pratt-Johnson's original book, *141 Dives*. Over eighty new dive sites are now listed with the new books, providing guidance and encouraging the interest of snorkel and scuba sport diving on the British Columbia coast. They are lavishly illustrated with marine charts showing locations of each dive site. Both books have geographical divisions such as Vancouver, Howe Sound, Indian Arm, Sechelt Peninsula, Powell River and North for examples, with diving sites listed in each area. Divers can quickly select the diving site they desire.

The books give information on water temperature, seasons, visibility, plankton growth, bull kelp and tidal current conditions and dangers. There's a chapter about fish, sharks, wolf-eels, and other marine creatures and a listing of publications about marine life. One of the fine features of the books are the photos of the many varieties of fish, sponges, jellyfish, anemones and much other marine life to assist divers in identifications. There's also information about

public access to diving sites, kayak diving, safety, underwater photography, bottle and artifact collecting, and spear-fishing, with notes about archaeological advice and wreck diving.

Based on my own experience of diving from California to the northern coast of British Columbia, each area offers something different. Novice divers eventually select some specialty of interest after the initial fascination with diving subsidies. Some continue spearing fish for the table; others take up photography, recording the wonders they encounter. Some get involved with historic sites and bottle collecting, while others discover the thrill of finding shipwrecks. The book lists where wreck information is available, including my own two books about British Columbia shipwrecks.

One common problem divers face is finding access and transportation to the best diving areas. Most sport divers do not own boats, but within the last two decades, this has been alleviated to some extent by many charter boats catering to divers. They are a little costly but you do get great satisfaction with top quality diving and a measure of safety as well as the fun of meeting other divers. The books list many charter services. Many divers have also joined the ranks of those using kayaks to reach off-shore reefs and islands, where new locations can be explored for shipwrecks.

Experienced divers soon discover where the most interesting diving is located, usually in strong tidal water. The marine environment is most prolific there, and with some coaching and experience, diving is reasonably safe. The books share some know-how and provide advice on how to dive such areas. Bull kelp, for instance, can be troublesome, even dangerous. Divers are advised always to have a good strong knife as part of their standard gear. Never dive without one! And areas where there is heavy sport-fishing are known to be hazardous. Broken, tangled fishing lines are difficult to detect and dangerous. Again, a knife can spell the difference between freedom or death from panic!

And some advice for wreck divers. Legislation regarding ship and aircraft wrecks is constantly changing. Many older shipwrecks are now listed as historic sites. Diving is permitted, but removing or damaging artifacts can lead to free room and board behind bars!! Take only

photos and enjoy the history of what you see. If you find a wreck of some integrity, seek some information to identify your discovery. It might be an important find.

These books are a must for divers, especially unfamiliar tourists. There is certainly no doubt that Betty Pratt-Johnson has made a great contribution to the unique fraternity of the Northwest Pacific Sport Diving League.

A. C. (Fred) Rogers
Qualicum Beach, British Columbia

Robert J. McCalla. *Water Transportation in Canada*. Halifax: Formac Publishing, 1994. xvii + 259 pp., figures, tables, maps, bibliography, indices. \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-88780-247-8.

Most readers of this journal know that Canada is a major deep-sea trading nation and that Canada is bordered by three oceans, has the longest coastline and the largest waterway system in the world. They will welcome this study.

Robert McCalla has divided his book into two parts. In the first, he outlines the major aspects of water transportation such as the importance of trade in terms of value and tonnage (the economic aspects), the traditional activities of shipping at most major ports, such as the leading imports and exports and the coastwise traffic (the port activities), as well as the actors of that trade, the waterways, the ships and the *ports (the infrastructure)*. I like this non-classical approach preceded by a geographical introduction to the subject - I do not think that comparable studies, with a valuable amount of statistical data for the period 1960-1990, exist for the rail, road or air sectors. However, I would have liked more pages about "other imports and exports" and the coastwise shipping. The lack of general maps showing the location of major waterways, major ports, pilotage districts and vessel traffic service zones is regrettable, and the ferry services and the coastal fleet in the St. Lawrence and Mackenzie Rivers are not mentioned at all. Nevertheless, Chapter 3 is one of the best summaries I have seen of water transportation in our country.

In the second part, McCalla introduces five excellent case studies. These chapters are succinct, well-documented, provocative and to the

point. Case No. 1 examines "Halifax and Saint John containerization: does geography count?" Essentially, the answer is "no," that it is more a matter of costs. On a single bill of lading, the bottom line is everything. With larger container vessels, lower harbour and pilotage fees and handling charges, the re-routing of containers may change overnight from one port in favour of another one. Halifax must watch New York, Baltimore and Montreal constantly. Case No. 2 looks at "Montreal's city-port: port evolution and waterfront redevelopment." That waterfront redevelopment has pretty well been defined now, after years of economic, political and social considerations and pressures. Contrecoeur, some fifteen to twenty kilometres downstream, is becoming the bulk cargo terminal; the container terminals may be regrouped into two or three, closer to the downtown core; the Vieux-port will combine the passenger vessel terminal with one container/general cargo terminal. It also provides an access window for the public on the river. However, the main traffic is on the other side of the river, where the Seaway is located, so that there is not much traffic to watch in the Vieux-port. Is there a solution? Case No. 3 questions whether the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway is a success or failure. The Seaway has met its expectations for trade, giving access to the lakes to a specialized fleet of ocean ships and allowing the Great Lakes fleet to tranship in the lower St. Lawrence ports. It has not become self-sufficient. Over its thirty-five year existence it has provided a useful service and performed well; success should not be strictly related to dollars. A greater regional use should be developed in the next century. Case No. 4 looks at the role of Vancouver as the "cruise capital of Canada." It is a success story, though the increasing operation costs charged by the port and other shipping services (pilotage, tugs, aides to navigation, etc.) and the American passenger shipping laws could make Seattle the "home port" and relegate Vancouver to that of "port of call." To remain the home port has a great advantage. What will the outcome be? Finally, in Case No. 5, McCalla looks at the issues of sovereignty and shipping in the Canadian Arctic archipelago. Over the years, sovereignty has been established by the Arctic resupply mission assumed by the Hudson's Bay

Company and the Coast Guard vessels; the problem is to enforce these claims over the Northwest Passage as traffic increases. There is nothing like being present, commercially and strategically, to maintain one's claim.

McCalla's conclusion not only summarizes the "geography of change associated with Canadian water transportation" but supplements it with a few pages of prospects that are more than just food for thought. Overall, this is a commendable study, both in terms of what it says about water transportation in Canada in the past and present, as well as the questions it raises about its role in the future.

Pierre Camu
Ottawa, Ontario

Jay Underwood. *Ketchum's Folly*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1995. 130 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs, bibliography. \$8.95, paper; ISBN 0-88999-553-2.

Ketchum's Folly is the story of engineer Henry Ketchum and his last project, the Chignecto Ship Railway. Ketchum was born in Fredericton, New Brunswick in 1839 and studied engineering at King's College University. In 1860 Ketchum found employment on the construction of a railway between Sao Paulo and Santos in Brazil, where he made his reputation by designing and supervising the construction of the twelve-span 180-foot high Mogy Viaduct.

Upon completion of the Brazil project, Ketchum visited London, where he sought out and made the acquaintance of such engineering greats as Sir Benjamin Baker, of Forth Bridge fame, and Sir James Brunlees who had, as early as 1859, proposed a ship railway, as opposed to a canal, to cross the Isthmus of Suez.

In 1865 he was back in New Brunswick, working as resident engineer of the Amherst and Moncton railway. Soon after, whether by default or design, the original contractor failed and Ketchum, in keeping with current engineering practice, was able to "reach an agreement" with another party. Ketchum went on to work on other New Brunswick railways and appears to have done quite well for himself; by 1875, he had set himself up in a private consulting practice in Fredericton.

Ketchum completed the plans for his Chignecto Ship Railway, between the Bay of Fundy and Northumberland Strait, in 1875. It was to be a project of monumental proportions. Hydraulic docks at either end would raise large, fully laden vessels on special cradles, upon which they would then be pulled across the isthmus by two specially built Consolidation-type locomotives. With so many recent railway failures, the Canadian government was most wary of the project. However it was agreed that an operating subsidy would be paid upon completion, and this appears to have provided sufficient incentive for British investors to become involved. Only after many delays, the expenditure of \$3,500,000 and various frustrated attempts to persuade the government to change the terms of the subsidy agreement did the project die a natural death. By then, Ketchum had died, some said of a broken heart, although in most comfortable circumstances.

Given this evident prosperity, one might question the author's choice of title and suggest that perhaps Ketchum had known exactly what he was doing — that, far from being a folly, the Chignecto Ship Railway had been a carefully engineered scheme, designed to net a nice percentage of the money poured into it by its investors.

The author has made a valiant attempt to support Ketchum's arguments for the practicality of his project. None, however, stand up in the light of close inspection. Mr. Underwood has also failed to establish Ketchum as an engineering genius and the Chignecto Ship Railway as a major engineering innovation. A lack of personal details leaves Ketchum's character without substance and Underwood's rather disjointed style of writing, a combination of fact and unsupported conclusion, detracts from what otherwise could have been an interesting study of a late-century Canadian engineer.

Ironically, one of the more interesting, but mostly irrelevant, parts of the book is a nice little biographic sketch of the remarkable self-taught American engineer, James Buchanan Eads, in whose light poor Ketchum fades to a dismal shadow.

Robin H. Wyllie
East LaHave, Nova Scotia

Tom Henry. *The Good Company: An Affectionate History of the Union Steamships*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1994. 152 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, appendices, index. \$32.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55017-111-9.

The maritime history of British Columbia is immeasurably entwined with histories of three great shipping companies which for years conveyed passengers and freight to the logging camps, pulp mills, mines and summer resorts scattered along the intricate coastline between Vancouver and the Alaska border. These were the BC Coast Steamship Service of the CPR, with its "Princess" ships, the Canadian National Steamships, (originally Grand Trunk Pacific), with their "Prince" ships, and the Union Steamship Company of British Columbia Ltd. Alas, they have all ceased to exist, outmoded by the advent of roads to remote settlements and the ubiquitous aeroplane. Only the highly-subsidized BC Ferries system survives to cater to passengers bound for the islands.

Union Steamship may have been the smallest of the companies, but it built up a great tradition on the coast during its active career from 1889 to 1958, a tradition which is remembered with such affection that it has already resulted in not one but two histories of the company: *Whistle Up the Inlet* (1974) by Gerald A. Rushton, and its sequel, *Echoes of the Whistle*. The late Mr. Rushton was for many years an executive with the company and his books quickly became bestsellers, full of human interest, and valuable as a corporate history of the company. The latest Union book, *The Good Company*, fits into another category, for it is more an anecdotal history. The author is freelance writer Tom Henry, but most of the material was gathered painstakingly by Art Twigg, who served as freight clerk or purser on many of the Union ships. He personally knew nearly all the many characters who were denizens of the BC coast during the pioneer years. Curiously, the author fails to mention that the Union Company, during most of its long career on the coast, was owned by the firm of J.H. Welsford and Co. of Liverpool, England, or that at one time the rival CPR had a controlling interest through its subsidiary, Consolidated Mining and Smelting Co.

The Good Company is a handsome addition to British Columbia's maritime history, published appropriately by a small but enterprising company located in one of those remote harbours served so well in years gone by by the Union Company. The book is copiously illustrated on fine quality paper, and the front and back dust-jackets have fine reproductions in colour of paintings of the steamers *Chelohsin* and *Catala*, both former coast favourites. An appendix lists all the company's masters and mates from 1920 to 1958, while another gives an excellent fleet list of the company vessels, complete with dimensions, active careers, and disposals. There is an adequate index, but no bibliography.

Norman Hacking
Vancouver, British Columbia

Helene Dobrowolsky and Rob Ingram. *Edge of the River, Heart of the City: A History of the Whitehorse Waterfront*. Whitehorse: Lost Moose Publishing for The Yukon Historical & Museums Association, 1994 [Lost Moose Publishing, 58 Kluane Crescent, Whitehorse, YU Y1A 3G7]. 74 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, figures, notes. \$12.95, paper; ISBN 0-9694612-2-4.

Visitors to Whitehorse, capital of the Yukon Territory and the Canadian North's largest city, are typically struck by the community's fabulous physical setting. Nestled between the clay banks of the Yukon River escarpment, and surrounded by high, snow-capped mountains, Whitehorse's most distinctive and defining feature is the strong, wide river, famed route to the Klondike during the late nineteenth-century gold rush, that flows through this northern town.

Since World War II and the construction of the Alaska Highway, however, Whitehorse has been dominated by road traffic rather than river travel; the last commercial sternwheeler ran on the Yukon River in 1955, after the opening of a road from Whitehorse to Dawson City. The opening of a road link to the south and north turned the community away from its origins along the river. *Edge of the River, Heart of the City*, a short publication of the Yukon Historical and Museums Association, seeks to remind

residents and visitors alike of Whitehorse's vibrant maritime heritage and of the important role that river travel played in the development of the city. To know the history of the Yukon River and the waterfront is, substantially, to know the evolution of Whitehorse.

This short and profusely illustrated volume does not seek to be the definitive work on the Whitehorse waterfront. Instead, the authors provide a brief overview of the pre-Klondike Gold Rush history of the area — defined by the turbulent waters of the White Horse Rapids — and document the vital role that river transport played in the development of the town. Sternwheeler operations dominated Whitehorse for over half a century, establishing a ship-building and ship-operation culture, creating a seasonal economy and society tied to the rhythms of Yukon River navigation, and establishing Whitehorse as a company town, strongly influenced by the British Yukon Navigation Company and its parent, the White Pass and Yukon Route Company. The authors also discuss the long-controversial debate over the squatters who, for decades, occupied the waterfront lands. That debate was one of the defining struggles of the 1960s in the community, creating divisions between those who held onto the image of community as a frontier town and those who wanted Whitehorse to take its proper place among the country's capital cities. The book concludes with a brief walking tour of the area, focusing on the small number of remaining historic buildings.

Edge of the River is a handsomely produced and spritely written account which achieves its primary objective — to draw attention to the historic importance of the waterfront in Whitehorse. Future historians will, one hopes, pick up on the many useful leads and insights provided and work toward providing a more comprehensive history of the riverfront activities that, until the 1950s, dominated life in Whitehorse. Tourists will certainly find their visits to the community enhanced by this volume, which brings to life a town that the construction of the Alaska Highway, post-war developments, and the forces of urban modernization have substantially obscured.

Ken Coates
Hamilton, New Zealand

David Neufeld and Patrick Habiluk. *Make It Pay! Gold Dredge #4*. Missoula, MT: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1994. 64 pp., illustrations, figures, maps, photographs, end-notes. US \$7.95, paper; ISBN 0-929521-88-9.

This booklet begins with a discussion of methods used for recovering gold from the gravels of Eldorado, Bonanza and other creeks of the Klondike, starting with the labour-intensive task of sinking shafts through the permafrost to bedrock, followed (about a decade after the 1897 Gold Rush), by the more efficient methods of dredging and hydraulicing.

A gold dredge can be described as a barge floating in a pond of its own making, whose main mechanical parts are an electrically powered line of dredge buckets excavating gravel from bed rock forty or more feet below water level at the bow, a trommel to remove boulders and large pebbles, sluice tables to collect the gold and a tailings stacker at the stern to discard waste rock. The ground was prepared three to five years in advance of dredging by churn drilling to outline the gold bearing areas, clearing vegetation and swamp muck from the surface, and thawing the permafrost in the gravel to bedrock, using cold water injected through "thaw points."

During 1905-06 two well-financed companies began gold dredging in the Klondike; by 1914 there were a dozen dredges supported by an infrastructure of engineering offices, machine shops and assay offices, a hydro-electric power plant, telephones, and 115 kilometres of ditches, flumes and pipelines to supply water for hydraulicing high level deposits and removing swamp muck. Over the next five decades until the last were shut down in 1966, the number of dredges ranged from three to ten, depending on the price of gold, gold reserves, economic and war-time conditions and the need to "make it pay!"

When the original Dredge No. 4 was built in 1912 it was one of the largest gold dredges in the world. Its barge and wooden superstructure had to be completely rebuilt in 1940-41, after about three decades of use. The rebuilt hull dimensions were 149 feet by 65 feet, 8 inches, with a hull depth of 14 feet 6 inches at the bow and 12 feet 2 inches at the stern. Reconditioned machinery from the older No. 4 was housed in

a superstructure rising about sixty-five feet over the main deck, while a longer digging ladder (which could excavate forty-eight feet below water level and seventeen feet above it) and a longer tailings stacker were the only important mechanical changes. Operated by a crew of ten, it was electrically powered and used winches and cables attached to deadheads on shore to move either forward or from side to side. Shut down for the last time in 1959, it sank during a spring flood in 1960 and was donated to Parks Canada in 1969. In 1991 and 1992 it was refloated by Canadian military engineers, placed on a permanent foundation and re-opened to the public in July 1993.

Make It Pay! Gold Dredge #4 is aptly described on the cover as a pictorial history, with the space occupied by photographs, maps, and drawings at least equal to that of the text which includes a number of comments and anecdotal accounts by men and women connected with gold mining in the Yukon. Generally easy to read, there are a few awkwardly constructed sentences, though in two places an unfinished sentence at the bottom of a page is followed by a page of out-of-context material. Despite these shortcomings, it is a fascinating introduction to an unusual type of vessel, a specialized mining method and the history of part of northern Canada.

David J. McDougall
Lachine, Quebec

Alan Ruffman and Colin Howell (eds.). *Ground Zero: A Reassessment of the 1917 Explosion in Halifax Harbour*. Halifax, NS: Nimbus Publishing and Gorsebrook Research Institute for Atlantic Canada Studies, 1994. viii + 484 pp., photographs, tables, figures, maps, notes. \$24.95, paper; ISBN 1-55109-095-3.

This is a collection of twenty-nine papers first presented at a conference held to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Halifax explosion of 1917. Although the explosion is firmly entrenched as an integral component of the mythology of the Halifax-Dartmouth region, the editors note that it is only recently that it has begun to receive scholarly attention. The papers examine the explosion from a broad variety of

perspectives and range of subjects — so much so that it is difficult to discern a cohesive overview. Though the editors try to impose some order on the papers by dividing them into seven separate sections, the degree of cohesion within each section is tenuous and there is even less relationship between the sections.

Any comment about the Halifax explosion usually begins, and often ends, with an emphasis on the magnitude of the disaster suffered by the city and its people. Thus, several papers in this collection are concerned with delineating the precise physical impact of the explosion, such as the one which examines the impact of the explosion on the seabed. Others deal with the actual experience of the residents, and include a sympathetic account of a resident of the Halifax Old Ladies Home. By concentrating on specific persons or specific groups, these papers illustrate how the focus in the literature on the explosion has changed from earlier accounts. Thus, one analysis of the manner in which the explosion was treated in the literature on the subject reveals that the early literature focused on the collective experience and the maintenance of social order. The 1960s, however, saw a shift to the interweaving of individual narrative experiences of individuals and an application of the perspectives and methodologies of social history.

One useful function of this collection is to provide a historical context for the explosion and to illustrate that it was much more than a local incident caused by an error of judgment by two ship's captains. Thus, we learn that the accidental detonation of explosives was not uncommon, and the explosion in Halifax was not (contrary to legend) the largest non-nuclear explosion in the world. We also learn that differences existed between officers of the British and Canadian navies, just as there were difficulties in the regulations concerning traffic in Halifax harbour which, in turn, might have contributed to the collision between the *Into* and the *Mont Blanc*. Furthermore, various bodies in Canada and the United States were aware that a disaster might occur in some place and had developed plans for such a contingency.

Attention to the immediate post-explosion period is limited principally to an examination of the provision of medical services. There is, however, considerable attention to the attempts

to deal with the human, social, and physical legacy of the explosion. In discussing this subject, the question arises, as Samuel Prince suggested in his 1920 study, whether the explosion shattered the social fabric of the community. Most of these articles, however, adopt the view that the response to the disaster reflected the basic elements of the community prior to the explosion. As emphasized in a paper dealing with the churches, the events following the explosion can only be understood by a thorough knowledge of the situation prior to the explosion.

There is some inclination, perhaps reflecting a belief that such a tragedy could only be followed by positive benefits, that the city took advantage of the tragedy to build a better community. Others, however, are more sceptical, and in an intriguing paper on the Halifax Red Cross there is the further suggestion that there were negative consequences. In support of such scepticism several authors suggest that the existing power structure successfully resisted any real social changes. Still others implicitly deny that the explosion should be seen as the sole cataclysmic event involving the city and point to the economic depression of the 1920s as a major reason for failure to restructure the community.

A major strength of this collection lies in the range of subjects covered and in the variety of questions raised. As the editors state in the introduction, many issues remain to be explored. The suggestion of one author that these papers should provide further perspectives to both writers and scholars may well be realized.

Ken Pryke
Leamington, Ontario

Thomas C. Gillmer. *A History of Working Watercraft of the Western World*. 2nd ed.; Camden, ME: International Marine, 1994. xii + 276 pp., illustrations, photographs, figures, index. \$42.95, cloth; ISBN 0-07-023616-X. Distributed in Canada by McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Whitby, ON.

This is the second edition of a work which first appeared in 1972. Significantly, the first edition bore a different title: *Working Watercraft: A Survey of the Surviving Local Boats of America and Europe*. Many of the types described in that

volume were then holding on to a marginal existence, and a good number have since passed from view. Perhaps this is what prompted author Thomas Gillmer to make the second edition more historical in scope. Overall though, the focus is still on existing boats. In Gillmer's words, it is a "survey of present-day indigenous Western boats."

Gillmer's work as a naval architect is well-known. He has designed several replica vessels, including *Pride of Baltimore*, *Pride of Baltimore II*, and *Lady Maryland*. He has written extensively on boat and ship design and, not the least of his accomplishments, designed hundreds of beautiful and seaworthy yachts, including the incomparable *Blue Moon*. On the basis of this book, however, his accomplishments as a historian are less secure.

Unfettered by footnotes or references of any kind, Gillmer surveys a diverse and somewhat idiosyncratic collection of workboats. As an extended and well-illustrated personal opinion as to what a practising naval architect considers wholesome design, the book is entertaining and reminiscent of Howard Chapelle's efforts to revive the best of our workboat heritage. Gillmer is, by his own admission, in pursuit of "the best and sometimes the most interesting." (p.39) As scholarship, however, this book is sadly lacking, for it is not the history promised by the title. There are only a few references in the text to the work of others in this field, mostly maritime archaeologists. Nor is any notice taken of other significant writers on watercraft history and ethnography, both past and present, such as Hornell (whose drawings he makes use of for illustration), Greenhill, McKee and Phillips-Birt.

Gillmer seems to have an equivocal and uneasy relationship with change and development in watercraft form. He seeks out what he feels are "good" examples to praise, and values the retention of pure indigenous character. In this, he resembles nothing so much as a nineteenth-century anthropologist, searching for untouched and primitive tribes. He views watercraft, which are supremely technologically- and culturally-determined artifacts, only in terms of their shapes and endeavours to describe changes in form without reference to any larger contexts. Writing about canoe-sterned troller and combination fish boats as used in the Pacific

Northwest, for example, he ignores the effect of available powerplants and power to weight ratios on hull form, and presents the distinction between sharp-sterned and transom hulls as simply a style choice made by fisherman.

He is unwilling to consider processes of evolution or development, and describes transitional vessels as "difficult to classify, because they combine experimentation with ancestral or ancient influences." (p. 145) Surely those vessels are critical to understanding the evolution and development of watercraft form, since even his favoured pure indigenous examples must have at one time gone through a period of evolution.

The book is undisciplined in its writing, filled with unnecessary political comments and marred by effusive prose, as when he observes that "for many [Thames] barges the bowsprit was a movable feature of mobility," (p. 107) and refers to the Kyrenia ship as one "which has all the attributes of a good old ship," whatever that may be (p. 107). Methodologically, the book is unsophisticated, portraying a view of maritime history and watercraft evolution that is linear, triumphalist and deterministic. For example, "the carvel planking system is the ultimate in wood boat construction."

Overall, the book is an uneasy mixture of several different texts. The framework is an unsophisticated history of watercraft from the ships of the Thera frescoes to the present, which falls well short of the sophistication, breadth and depth of previous works of watercraft history and ethnography. There is also an exploration of surviving indigenous fishing craft with many valuable photographs and lines plans rendered in Gillmer's crisp drafting but which lacks a context for theories of formal evolution, and offhand and unsubstantiated value judgements. A third component is a highly personal and colourful view of what Gillmer considers good boats, underpinned by an extensive discussion of watercraft of the Chesapeake Bay area, with the implication that these are in many ways the best. None of these themes is fully realised, and all have been treated at greater length elsewhere. As a result, this book is significantly less than the sum of its parts.

John Summers
Toronto, Ontario

Nicolas de Jong and Marven E. Moore. *Shipbuilding on Prince Edward Island: Enterprise in a Maritime Setting 1787-1920*. Mercury Series Paper 46; Hull, PQ: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994. vi +411 pp., photographs, maps, figures, tables, appendices, bibliography, index. \$34.95, paper; ISBN 0-66014-021-7.

In the nineteenth-century British colony and then Canadian province of Prince Edward Island was the scene of a great shipbuilding industry using local timber and labour and linked with the artificially protected lumber trade with Great Britain. This industry produced, mainly for the British tonnage market, per capita of the population almost twice as many vessels as New Brunswick and three times as many as Nova Scotia, though the vessels were generally smaller than those of these two Atlantic provinces. This industry was fundamental to the Island's economic development and to its political and social history. It also played an important role in the development of British merchant shipping.

Accounts of parts of this industry and its background on both sides of the Atlantic have been published before, but this book is the first account of the industry as a whole from its inception to its end in 1920, a period of 160 years during which 4,402 vessels totalling almost 75,000 tons were built. The book is in two parts: the first is a general history of the industry; the second comprises a "geographical perspective," examining shipbuilding at a local level, community by community from the extreme north-west of the island, along the south shore to the east coast and back along the north coast to the north-west. There are no less than thirty-five tables of statistics (which to the student of the development of the Canadian shipbuilding industry are alone worth the price of the book). There are also two appendices, the first expressing graphically the number and tonnage of vessels built and transferred and the second listing port clearances and exports in the early nineteenth century. There is a full bibliography and a competent index.

The book is an important contribution to Canadian economic and shipping history. The complex subject is very well handled and the book well organised. The fully documented historical study is packed with illustrative detail

and yet highly readable. The fundamental importance of the industry to the Island's development is established beyond all doubt. In the middle of the nineteenth century ships were seen as the colony's staple manufacture and export — eighty-five vessels a year, nearly 17,000 tons of shipping, were being launched. The book also establishes the close link in the industry's fortunes with the shipping trade cycle in Britain. The first seven chapters emphasise the cyclical nature of the industry by dividing it into periods, each marking a stage in its evolution and decline. Part of the success of the industry depended on the relative ease with which Island shipbuilders could meet an upswing in demand for tonnage in Britain, providing "ships off the shelf more quickly and cheaply than could metropolitan yards. It follows that in those days of extremely slow communication across the Atlantic, those who did best - like James Yeo and James Peake who had family connections working with them in Devon, England — were those who were supplied with the most recent available information on business trends.

The peak of production was in 1865, when 35,000 tons of shipping were launched. By 1880 shipbuilding was no longer an industry, though construction trickled on until 1920. The study of the years of decline is a model history of the end of the wooden merchant sailing vessel and is particularly well done. Proof reading could have been better and one looks in vain for some classic photographs of Island-built vessels - *Troubadour*, *Sela*, *Emma M. Vickerson*. But these are trivial criticisms of a book that belongs in every library on both sides of the Atlantic which is concerned with the history of merchant shipping.

It is a thought that today there is only one vessel surviving in the world of the type which formed the staple of the Island's industry. A 11-though Swedish built, the *Sigyn*, lying in her floating dock in Turku in Finland, is very similar to an Island-built barque of the 1870s. It is of interest that the wreck of James Yeo's barque *Louisa*, built at Fort Hill in 1851, lying in the mud of a Welsh river, has lately been the subject of a protection order as an "historic wreck."

Basil Greenhill
Boetheric, Cornwall

W.M.P. Dunne. *Thomas F. McManus and the American Fishing Schooners: An Irish-American Success Story*. Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1994. x + 406 pp., illustrations, photographs, figures, tables, appendices, notes, maps, index. US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-913372-69-2.

Until now the most useful references to naval architect Charles McManus were to be found in Howard I. Chappelle's standard *The American Fishing Schooners 1825-1935*. Unlike the latter's highly technical analysis of the McManus designs, Dr. W.M.P. Dunne, himself a naval architect as well as an historian, makes a concerted attempt not only to discuss McManus' distinguished professional career but also to relate the story of the McManus family's integration into American society.

Dunne's biographical approach traces that family's genealogical roots to Ireland where, in the 1770s, they worked as sail-makers. Driven out by the great famine of the mid-1840s, Charles McManus emigrated to Boston. His son, John H. McManus continued in the trade, supplying both fishermen and prominent yachtsmen. By the 1860s the McManus family, like many Irish immigrants, were well established on Boston's waterfront.

Immersed in this milieu it seems quite natural that John's son, Thomas, developed a passion for naval architecture. Upon graduating from commercial college in 1873, he entered the fish brokerage business. However, racing and designing vessels was his real interest. He therefore soon enrolled in evening courses to formalize his training as a naval architect. From this point on, Dunne contends, Thomas McManus exerted considerable influence on vessel design, in particular those of the banking schooner, literally changing its silhouette during the next twenty years.

One of his principal achievements was to make the fishing schooner a safer work-place for fisherman. Dunne convincingly traces this crusade to the 1850 and 1860s when the standard vessel was a swift clipper rigged with towering masts driven by immense spreads of canvas but without a counterbalancing increase in draft. The tragic result was a fleet with a very high mortality rate, especially when the growing demands for fish made winter fishing on the

fishing banks and a speedy trip home part of the fisherman's ordeal. In his designs, McManus zeroed in on the "widow-maker," as fishermen called the bowsprit. Typically the footropes slung under the bowsprit would fray, dooming any man working along the spar. The evolution was slow. The plumb-stemmed *John H. McManus* launched in 1885 had increased depth and a reduced foremast and lighter rigging aloft, thus improving stability. Later designs included shortening the bowsprit and then eliminating it altogether on the knockabouts so the head sails could be worked from the deck. Dunne compellingly argues that McManus changed the look of the fleet with his Indian Headers (characterized by a round stem), knockabouts and semi-knockabouts. In this respect no other naval architect came close to matching his accomplishments in transforming the American fishing schooner from "a fast hazardous vessel to a world renowned paragon of speed, safety and beauty under sail."

One of the fascinating elements of the book is Dunne's description of McManus' role in the widely popular and equally acrimonious fisherman's races held between the fastest schooners from the Gloucester and Nova Scotian fleets in the 1920s. McManus organized the first American fisherman's races against the backdrop of a Boston dock workers strike in 1886. The culmination of his involvement were the races for the *Halifax Herald* North Atlantic Fisherman's International Trophy. The first race in 1920 was won by the Americans, thereby setting into motion the plans to build the now famous *Bluenose*. Her first race, at Gloucester in 1922, was against the McManus-design schooner *Henry Ford*. This series was highlighted by the controversial first race which was called off at the start by the race committee but completed by both vessels, and by the committee's decision to force the *Ford* to reduce the size of her mainsail to comply with the race rules. The first race being declared void, the *Ford* won the second race but *Bluenose* came back to win the next two and claim the trophy. So angered was he by the committee's actions that McManus bitterly refused to design another vessel for the series.

Dunne successfully places the McManus family in the context of their time by blending census records, church records and a variety of

secondary sources. To his credit he accomplished this without the benefit of many family or business records. One critical oversight however is his lack of research regarding the Fisherman's International Trophy races. No Canadian sources are cited, which leads to an unbalanced presentation. With a little more work in Canadian collections, Lunenburg's Captain Angus Walters (of German descent and not Irish, as Dunne states) would have had his day in court!

Dunne's narrative is generally quite readable, though his occasional efforts at dramatization (as when he insists on mentioning how McManus finished his wife's hardy breakfast or included non-essential references to the day's weather) can be cumbersome at times and may not be to every reader's liking. The book is handsome and appropriately illustrated. The only disappointment here is the reduced size of the vessel drawings. They ought to be easily read; instead, some are not. Of particular importance is the appended list of the vessels either designed or attributed to McManus. Nevertheless, Dunne is to be congratulated on the superb quality of the overall presentation. He has successfully gone beyond the technical confines of the 450 plans attributed to McManus to provide readers with a portrait of his family and its time. This book will surely become the standard source on Thomas F. McManus.

Marven E. Moore
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Basil Greenhill and Sam Manning. *Anatomy of the Ship: The Schooner Bertha L. Downs*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1995. 128 pp., notes, reading list, photographs, figures. £22, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-615-9.

In the first of what one hopes will be several companion volumes, Conway Maritime Press has produced the initial book in its Anatomy of the Ship series devoted exclusively to a merchant sailing vessel. The *Bertha L. Downs* was a Maine-built, four-masted schooner launched in 1908 on the Kennebec River at Bath for the American East Coast coal trade. She was one of 530 four-masters built in North America between 1880 and 1920, and one of over 2,000

large, multi-masted coasting schooners in service over roughly the same period, ranging from the commonplace three-masted (or "tern") variety to the giant, seven-masted *Thomas W. Lawson*.

The authors chose the 700-ton *Bertha L. Downs* to represent her general type for several reasons. In overall configuration and operating efficiency, she typified the best of the great schooners of the era. Her career, spanning several decades and ending in 1950, was uniquely international in scope and included varied service under a number of flags. Equally important, there existed an extensive photographic record of the vessel and her sisters, both during their time as American colliers and after their reincarnation as European timber droguers.

The biography of the *Bertha L. Downs* is presented here in both words and pictures, and the result is on a par with the fine earlier collaboration of the authors, *The Evolution of the Wooden Ship* (Facts on File, 1988), doubtless familiar to serious students of historic ship construction. Basil Greenhill's introductory text provides a handy background survey of the history of the schooner rig and its development in North America, a trenchant analysis of the economic milieu of the large American coasting schooners, and a detailed examination of the building and operation of the *Bertha L. Downs* and vessels of her class. This portion of the book is well researched, well written, and fully documented, as those acquainted with Greenhill's work would expect.

The text is followed by an extensive graphics section with approximately forty period photographs from various sources and more than two hundred exquisite architectural and perspective drawings by Sam Manning that include not only standard lines, deck, and sail plans for the *Bertha L. Downs*, but representations of every conceivable detail of her construction from hull joinery and rigging to miscellaneous fittings and cabin work. The drawings comprise over half of the book, providing a cornucopia of useful information to the potential model-maker, the historian of marine technology, the ship preservationist, or the lay reader merely interested in learning how these massive floating structures were put together — a process whose surface simplicity belied its inherent complexity. A series of unusual cross-sectional views of the

vessel will be especially helpful in orienting the novice in naval architecture and will even aid the veteran ship fancier in visualizing the skeleton of an early twentieth-century coaster.

It is difficult to find fault with this absorbing and attractive volume, which is topped off by a pleasing colour dust jacket painting of the *Bertha L. Downs* under full sail. If pressed, I might point out that a few photos and drawings and some text material were previously published in slightly altered format as part of the authors' earlier joint study of wooden shipbuilding; this contained a brief, seminal chapter on American four-masted schooners that evidently formed the basis for their latest book. I might also indulge a personal prejudice against the type of glossy paper chosen by the publisher for its ship anatomy series. The shiny finish makes for excellent photo reproduction but can be hard on readers' eyes. These are minor quibbles, however. The authors and their publisher have combined to produce a work that adds significantly to the growing literature on commercial schooners. It deserves a place on the bookshelves of all discerning lovers of sail.

Wayne M. O'Leary
Orono, Maine

Quentin Snediker and Ann Jensen. *Chesapeake Bay Schooners*. Centreland, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1992. xi + 252 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, appendices, endnotes, glossary, bibliography, index. US \$44.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87033-435-2.

Pat Vojtech. *Chesapeake Bay Skipjacks*. Centreland, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1993. viii + 145 pp., colour photographs, figures, appendix, sources, index. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87033-451-4.

For many years the majority of marine publications concerning vessel types and the various maritime trades were devoted to deep-water sail and steam, despite the fact that small craft and other less glamorous commercial vessels and trades out-numbered their ocean-going cousins. Fortunately during the last several decades, there has been a noticeable shift with more authors making contributions to maritime literature

which are helping to redress this imbalance. Two noteworthy publications released recently by Tidewater Publishers concentrate upon sailing vessels of Chesapeake Bay; both are worth considering for your maritime library.

Co-authored by Quentin Snediker and Ann Jensen, *Chesapeake Bay Schooners* is packed with more than 130 black and white photographs, many of them period items, plus an assortment of other illustrations including black and white photographs of contemporary lithographs and ship portraits. Three appendices offering lists of vessels, plans and the effects of economic trends help to complete this study which is intended to document the history of the Chesapeake commercial schooners.

Chesapeake Bay Schooners begins with a brief opening chapter on the life and death of the schooner *Fannie Jnsley* — made more interesting through the words of Calvert Evans who sailed on her. From this strong beginning, the authors lead the reader on an odyssey from the origins of the Chesapeake Bay schooners, through their evolution and use as commercial workhorses, to their eventual passing. Background history is provided to place the schooners firmly within the proper historical context, while the book also connects the various schooner varieties to their intended trade and the influence this had on vessel design. Considerable space is given to the evolution and employment of the centerboarders on the Bay. Throughout the volume, the economic importance of these vessels to Bay area commerce — freighting all manner of cargo — is demonstrated. The inclusion of the experiences of those who sailed these schooners adds another dimension to the text.

The authors combed an impressive amount of material for this book, tapping both primary and secondary sources, and gathering the memories of those who worked the last schooners. Previously unpublished material and photographs are presented. The authors have employed the few records that have survived to good advantage. Clearly, a tremendous effort was devoted to the production of this publication.

Well written in a lively style, the second book, Pat Vojtech's *Chesapeake Bay Skipjacks*, is beautifully illustrated with over eighty colour photographs taken by the author. The book is obviously a salute to the vessels that once were

common in every port on the Chesapeake. Thanks to Vojtech's interviews with thirty Chesapeake watermen, the book also presents a vivid portrayal of oyster-dredging under sail, a way of life that once was passed from father to son but which now is a dying profession. The sailing fleet, too, has shrunk dramatically, though an appendix, compiled from a variety of sources, lists more than five hundred vessels which are believed to have been skipjacks.

Vojtech traces the rise of Chesapeake oyster dredging from the early nineteenth century, and the eventual evolution and development of the skipjack as a specialized craft during the latter years of that century. As a cheaper-to-build cousin of other Chesapeake working craft, the skipjack with its deadrise hull carried a simpler rig and thus required less crew. These cost cutting measures contributed to the skipjack's increased popularity during the 1890s — there was a building boom from 1896 through 1915 — when the oyster fishery suffered a decline.

Throughout, Vojtech provides us with individual reminiscences and stories that offer glimpses of life and events on Chesapeake Bay, such as coping with severe weather conditions. Vojtech makes clear that the men who followed this profession were an independent lot. In a heavily regulated industry, characterized by hard, cold, dirty work, these men and their boats were constantly challenging the forces of nature in pursuit of a living.

Following these chapters on the harsh working environment and the decline of the skipjack fleet, the book closes on a somewhat more positive note. Vojtech notes that the 1988 sinking of the *Clarence Crockett* helped to usher in an era of skipjack preservation and attempts to save the remnants of the last commercial fleet still working under sail in the United States. Nevertheless, the question remains, will these efforts be successful or will the current spread of disease among the oyster beds spell the final extinction of the remaining commercial fleet? While the demise of this fleet might very well be at hand, Vojtech's *Chesapeake Bay Skipjacks* successfully records, and thus preserves, elements of this traditional way of life.

Robert S. Elliot
Saint John, New Brunswick

Paul E. Fontenoy. *The Sloops of the Hudson River: A Historical and Design Survey*. Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1994. xii + 132 pp., illustrations, figures, photographs, tables, appendices, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. US \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-913372-71-4.

The author of *The Sloops of the Hudson River* observes that for more than 200 years sloop rigged sailing craft carried the bulk of the commerce on the Hudson River, contributing to the growth of New York, America's premier seaport. This is an important point from several viewpoints. There were a number of seaports with better access to the sea in more strategic locations, politically and financially than New York City. Yet by the end of the nineteenth century this location, at the end of the Hudson River estuary, was in full flower, due largely to the commerce carried by the river sloops.

However, Paul Fontenoy is far more concerned with the fine development of a remarkably beautiful watercraft than the development of New York City. Sloops began and were first introduced successfully into the river's commerce in the seventeenth century by the Dutch colonists about 1650 or earlier. These vessels were of course direct imports — slow and shallow and full ended. Early engravings and wood cuts reproduced in the book are especially revealing as well as notable art. The sloop rig is abundantly present as well as some early schooners. These vessels began to show the fully developed gaff rig by 1680. In the native Netherlands the sloop's identity is "boeyers." In the twentieth century it is "boeier" and is still surviving and has been called the most basic of all the variations of Dutch small craft.

According to Fontenoy, these sloop-rigged craft prevailed on the Hudson for nearly a century. The evolution of the boat into something closer to the ultimate refinement took place in the eighteenth century with the injection of English influence. The boats showed more depth and downward slope or drag to the keels. The author relates this to the well-known Bermuda sloop, though in other maritime American regions this is more correctly related to the thinking of British-trained boat builders.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the boats began their specialized domain on the

Hudson along with the loft of their rigs, which grew to catch the upper airs on the unruffled river above the palisades and bluffs of the Hudson. As was the case elsewhere, local conditions of weather and water shaped the hulls and rigs.

The whole assembly of hull and rig of a Hudson River sloop is unquestionably a striking image. There are other regional working boats in the Americas as well as other waterways about the world. I must frankly say that I know of no other sailing work boat that presents such a picture of sailing grace. My Chesapeake Bay friends may well take issue with this, but it is a long held and unprejudiced opinion.

The sloops were divided in their occupation, some carrying produce, others merchandise from the city. Many were involved in the hazardous occupation of carrying loads of hay which, as deck loads, required the main boom to be elevated and the sail area reduced. Others became part of packet lines carrying passengers on schedule and competing with the early river steamers. The consequent need to maintain schedules required considerable river and weather knowledge to say nothing of the seamanship.

The book can be most useful as a reference as well as a very entertaining narrative. Its illustrations are numerous and show well the development of the sloops. There are some fifty-nine illustrations, sixteen fold-out plans, three appendices and notes.

Thomas C. Gillmer
Annapolis, Maryland

Paul Bishop. *Tall Ships and the Cutty Sark Races*. Henley-on-Thames, Oxon: Aidan Ellis, 1994 [Cobb House, Nuffield, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon RG9 5RT]. 160 pp., figures, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. £25, cloth; ISBN 0-85628-221-9.

This book features a description of nearly sixty vessels which take part in the Cutty Sark Races. Paul Bishop came to know them when serving on the Race Committee of the Sail Training Association. Arranged by nation, each entry includes a colour photograph of the vessel, together with its history, and data on its owner, builder, dimensions, engine, etc. These range in

date from the ketch *Colin Archer*, built in 1893, to three vessels built in 1990: the brig *Frederyk Chopin*, the caravelle *Boa Esperanca* and schooner *Blue Clipper*. In size they range from the 17-metre *Colin Archer* to the 104-metre *Kruzenshtern*, a four-mast barque, which was built as *Padua* for the Flying P line in 1926. The colour photographs are outstanding. About half are credited to Cutty Sark, and the remainder to the noted marine photographer, Mme Janka Bielak of London. Incidentally, it must be stressed that the focus is on those ships which compete in the international races, rather than sail training ships in general, so many familiar names will not be found here.

The idea of arranging a race for training vessels from several nations was the brain-child of Bernard Morgan, a London solicitor, and the first race was held in 1954. Twenty vessels raced from Torbay to Lisbon, under the auspices of the newly formed Sail Training International Race Committee. Races were subsequently held every succeeding two years, and starting in 1965, on "odd" years as well. Vessels are "rated" to allow diverse types to compete on an equal footing. By 1972, the affair had reached a scale where corporate sponsorship was required. Cutty Sark Scots Whisky accepted the responsibility, and have continued to underwrite the affair ever since. Besides the prize to the fastest vessels, the Cutty Sark Trophy is awarded each year to the ship which is considered to have contributed most to the fostering of international understanding and friendship during the series.

Silhouettes illustrate the various ways in which the training ships are rigged, and there is a short history of the international races from 1954, with tables listing the winners of the several classes. The addresses of Sail Training Associations in several countries are found here. Since the list does not include Canada, perhaps it is worth mentioning that the Canadian Sail Training Association can be reached at PO Box 709, Station B, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5P8.

A story with a Canadian connection concerns the Russian *Kruzenshtern*, which first competed in 1974, when the Cold War was still raging. In 1984, she was among the ships racing from Bermuda to Halifax when the British *Marques* sailed under in a squall. Nine of the crew were rescued by the Polish *Zawisza Czarny*

and HMCS *Assiniboine*, but nineteen lives were lost. A memorial service for the dead was held in Halifax, and Janka Bielak subsequently discovered that Captain Kolomenski risked his career by bringing his ship's company to the church parade, in defiance of KGB orders.

One minor point regarding the near sisters *Kaliakra* and *Iskra IT*. Bishop suggests (p.46) that *Iskra* have a vertical transom and *Kaliakra* one with reverse slope. I am pretty sure it is the other way round.

Overall, this book offers its readers a fine snapshot of the Cutty Sark Races, with great visual appeal.

John H. Harland
Kelowna, British Columbia

Jim Moore. *Swan: The Second Voyage*. Dobbs Ferry, NY: Sheridan House, 1994. viii + 212 pp., figures, maps, photographs. US \$22.95, Cdn \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-924486-45-7. Distributed in Canada by Nimbus Publishing, Halifax, NS.

Jim Moore and wife Molly are cruisers who have demonstrated that it is possible to offset lost income and cruising costs through writing. Moore's first book, *By Way of the Wind*, was about a circumnavigation of the world in their 36-foot fibreglass sloop *Swan*. This second book describes a more modest but equally interesting sojourn in the Pacific, the Sea of Cortés, the Panama Canal, the Cayman Islands, Florida and North Carolina.

Moore is an engaging writer. While I have reservations about his far-right Republican politics, as a cruising yarn this is a good one, filled with practical suggestions for keeping a boat running while dealing with maladies as varied as heavy weather and obdurate bureaucrats. The author has a self-deprecating sense of humour. I read the book in one sitting on a long flight to Asia; what follows is an example of Moore's humour that still raises a chuckle months after the first reading.

Swan had been refitted and departed San Diego for Mexico. Moore believes strongly that marine batteries should be replaced every two years, whatever the warranty may recommend, but for some inexplicable reason, he broke his own rule, with the result that he and his wife

found themselves in a remote part of the Sea of Cortés with batteries that were toast. After spending most of a day and all of his patience purchasing a new battery, Moore and his wife were lugging it down a dirt road in the blazing afternoon sun. As Moore stopped to rest, the battery slipped from his grasp, fell three feet, hit a rock, and lay on its side in the dirt. "Oh goodness me, Molly, just see what I have done. I dropped our new battery and probably knocked all the plates loose — what a pity." "I think those were my exact words," Moore recalls.

Apart from Moore's humour and handy hints, most readers will appreciate the analysis applied to each destination in the voyage. For example, their trip through the Panama Canal is accompanied by some trenchant socio-cultural and historical analysis as well as hints about dealing with the canal bureaucracies. Readers who think camping and sailing are guaranteed to drive a marlin-spike into a marriage or partnership will also be encouraged by the way in which the Moores managed to keep theirs on an even keel, and by the routines and other helpful suggestions on navigating interpersonal relationships while cruising.

All in all, this is a light, amusing, well-edited, nicely printed and bound, readable and interesting account of *Swan's* second voyage. Now that the Moores and their boat are settled in North Carolina, one wonders what they'll do for an encore.

Roger Boshier
Vancouver, British Columbia

Jack Fitzgerald. *The Stroke of Champions: The St. John's Regatta 1949-1981*. St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1994. ix + 245 pp., photographs, appendix. \$14.95, paper; ISBN 1-895387-41-8.

This is the second volume of a history of the annual St. John's regatta on Quidi Vidi Lake, which dates with few interruptions from 1826. The regatta was inspired by rowing competitions held in St. John's harbour since the early 1800s among the crews of visiting ships. Such challenge contests were held weekly to relieve boredom among the crews. In the nineteenth century the Quidi Vidi races included crews from visit-

ing British naval ships as well as crews made up of fishermen from nearby outports. One such crew from Outer Cove set a course record of nine minutes and thirteen seconds in 1901, thereby earning a place in regatta mythology until the record fell eighty years later.

The book is divided into seven chapters, beginning with an overview of the regatta to 1949. The next four chapters cover the regatta until 1980-1981. Each chapter is sub-divided into sections devoted to each annual regatta, with information on weather and wind conditions, public interest or apathy in the races, new boat design and acquisitions, and a list of the winning crews by individual race. During the 1950s, the regatta occasionally included crews from visiting naval vessels in port as well as crews entered by personnel attached to the American military bases at Fort Pepperrell in St. John's and at Argentia. The last two chapters contain anecdotal stories and poems on aspects of the regatta. There is an appendix listing the names of all winning crews from 1900 to 1949.

Local residents regard the regatta as a great social equalizer where both the rich and poor intermingled together at the races. The regatta provided an opportunity, one member of the city's elite said in 1966, where there "are no distinctions of any kind between people." (p.85) It is also the only event, as Fitzgerald notes, that can dictate a commercial holiday in St. John's, held as it traditionally is on the first Wednesday of August or the nearest day thereafter as the weather permits. The book is not so much a history of the St. John's Regatta, as it is a compilation of information on each individual regatta culled from the newspapers of the day. As such, it provides an interesting glimpse into the social history of St. John's.

Melvin Baker
St. John's, Newfoundland

Elizabeth Snell. *The Churchills: Pioneers and Politicians. England - America - Canada.* Tiverton, Devon: Westcountry Books, 1994. viii + 228 pp., b+w plates, notes, index. £14.95, Cdn \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 1-898386-05-6. Distributed in Canada by Nimbus Publishing, Halifax, NS.

Not being a genealogist, nor indeed being parti-

cularly interested in family histories (other than my own), I find this a difficult book to review properly since the author sets out to link the famous Churchill family (the Duke of Marlborough, Sir Winston Churchill, etc.) with two branches of the Churchills in Nova Scotia and to give some of the latter's history. This link is made in the difficult-to-read first chapter of eighteen pages and ninety-nine references. She does give limited histories of the Yarmouth family and a more extensive discussion of the Hantsport branch.

As both these branches were connected with ships and maritime interests, the book is reviewed here with a view to its maritime contents — the first of which occurs in the chapter entitled "The Churchills of Nova Scotia." There we learn the reasons for Planter Settlement in Nova Scotia and that Lemuel Churchill arrived at Chebogue Point, Yarmouth County, in 1762. After several pages of interesting, for me, Yarmouth and Yarmouth-branch Churchill history the author brings up the story of Capt. George Washington Churchill and his mate (and nephew) Aaron Flint Churchill, and their "voyage of many rudders." This is perhaps the most famous shipping tale in the annals of Yarmouth's maritime history — it's the story of the ship *Research* and her voyage in 1861-62 from Quebec to Glasgow with a cargo of timber. A North Atlantic winter storm damaged the rudder and before reaching Scotland, after a voyage of desperation and courage, some seven jury-rigged rudders were affixed. This story, once found in many Canadian school readers, is quoted verbatim from Archibald MacMechan's *Old Province Tales*. The author did well to use that version as her own knowledge of things maritime, judging from several attempts at nautical jargon and comments on life at sea, leave much to be desired. Thus, while describing shipbuilding she talks of "framing ribs carefully steamed." (p.81) Later she discusses "a lad of 12 or 13, (in about 1785)... on a fishing vessel where he would have acted as cabin boy, helping the steward..." (p.81) And her use of nautical language fails with fabrications such as "bowsprit-sharp competency." (p.131) To be fair though, this is clearly neither a nautical book nor does the author claim a knowledge of maritime history.

There are several pages on Capt. Aaron

Flint Churchill's later life as a businessman in stevedoring and shipping business in Savannah, Georgia though the author goes into little detail here and does not even mention his sea-going career after the *Research* voyage.

The remaining five chapters are concerned with the Churchills of Hantsport, Nova Scotia — guess which Churchills were the author's ancestors! Two of these chapters, "Ezra Churchill — Shipbuilder" and "George Washington Churchill and the Churchill Line" deal partly with marine history — although not entirely. Ezra Churchill, who later became Senator Churchill, was responsible for initiating shipbuilding in Hantsport on a large scale and can be credited with Windsor, Nova Scotia, the port of registry for Hantsport vessels developing into the second largest Canadian port of registry continuously from 1888 to 1898 and from 1903 to 1906, according to the late Keith Matthews ("The Shipping Industry of Atlantic Canada: Themes and Problems," in K. Matthews & G. Panting (eds.), *Ships and Shipbuilding in the North Atlantic Region* (St. John's, 1978). Snell provides both a good background for Ezra Churchill, businessman and politician, as well as some insight into his shipbuilding and shipowning activities and the riches which they brought to his family. However, for a better understanding of the shipping end of his business, one would be better served to consult Snell's references directly. These include Armour's *Sailing Ships of the Maritimes*, Spicer's *Masters of Sail*, Wallace's *Wooden Ships and Iron Men* and *In the Wake of the Windships*, several authors of local history including H. Chittick and G.V. Shand, as well as manuscripts by George T. Bates and others. Much the same comments apply to the chapter on George Washington Churchill, Ezra's son, who, incidentally was not the same man as the captain of the ship *Research* mentioned above.

From a maritime history aspect the book was, overall, somewhat disappointing. Yet it did stimulate my interest sufficiently to make a recent two-hour detour to Hantsport to visit "The Cedars," a gracious former Churchill home now owned by the town, and to drive round the south end of Halifax, much of which was once the estate of one of Ezra Churchill's descendants. Now an area of posh homes, it includes Marl-

borough and Blenheim among its street names. While the book will remain in my library, it will not be shelved with my nautical books.

Eric J. Ruff
Yarmouth, Nova Scotia

Raymond A. Simpson (comp. & ed.). *If We Are Spared To Each Other: Love and Faith Against the Sea*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1995. 270 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps, bibliography. \$13.95, paper; ISBN 0-88999-557-5.

This is a well crafted and carefully researched book in which author/compiler Raymond A. Simpson, retired teacher, educator and singer of Halifax, tells the absorbing story of his grandparents, Captain John K. Butler and Annie (Rogers) Butler of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia and of their place in maritime history during the closing years of the nineteenth century. It was the twilight years of the great age of sail, when Nova Scotian master-mariners, seamen and their wind-driven ships were known and respected on every ocean, commercial sea-route and major sea-port of the world. It was an era when the master-mariner not only navigated and commanded his ship but acted as business and marketing manager, lawyer, and trader on behalf of the ship's owner as well, negotiating the best price based on the prompt delivery and quality of his cargo. Simpson draws his tale from Annie's detailed journal, the many affectionate and touching letters written by Captain Butler to his wife during his voyages, as well as from ships' accounts, notes and marine records, together with the research of selective literature.

During his short lifetime, Butler commanded seven sailing ships, all built in Nova Scotia and owned entirely by Nova Scotia business interests. He had already commanded three sailing ships when, in 1870, he married Annie and was appointed master of the brig *Daisy*. They then embarked on a "honeymoon voyage" to South America — a voyage destined to last thirteen months. During this voyage, Annie began making regular entries in her journal, thereby providing the author with a detailed, sometimes emotional, portrait of life at sea in a "very slow" brig. The sense of deprivation, isolation, and loneliness as well as the

general living conditions in a late nineteenth-century tall ship are all revealed. In particular, her entries emphasize the importance of home and the strong family ties, so warmly expressed, to loved ones left behind as well as her fervent hope that "God would spare us to return."

After a ten-day stop-over at Pernambuco, Brazil, *Daisy* proceeded further south until at last they arrived at Montevideo, followed by a visit to the shallow anchorage site of the Plata, several miles from Buenos Aires. There the crew engaged in the exhausting and time-consuming work of discharging the ship's cargo, a task made even more stressful by a plague of yellow fever at the port. Finally, with ballasting completed and clearance granted, *Daisy* weighed anchor in May 1871 and began the northward passage home, crossing "The Line" on 6 June, three days before Captain John and Annie celebrated their first wedding anniversary. After berthing at Barbados for a "Bill of Health" (Pratique) and stopping at St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands, *Daisy* terminated the thirteen-month voyage in August in New York. In this way, Annie completed her first and only foreign-going sea voyage. Annie settled in Yarmouth with her beloved family, never to go to sea again, while Captain Butler joined the barque *B. Rogers* as master. A year later he was appointed to the brigantine *Clifford* on which he completed nine voyages between Yarmouth and the West Indies. He was lost with all hands in 1876 on the maiden voyage of the brigantine *Clarence*. No longer "spared to each other," Captain John Butler was only thirty-nine years of age. The book concludes with particulars of Annie's life after the loss of her husband - living and supporting herself while raising two children in Halifax.

Books like this provide valuable and pertinent insight into the beauty and history of sailing ships, the courage of the men who sailed them, and the traditions that sustained them. *If We Are Spared To Each Other* is a masterful work that this reviewer believes should be carried not only in museums and archives but also in school and university libraries for the benefit and knowledge of future generations.

R.F. Latimer
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

John P. Dobson; Dorothy Dobson (ed.). *Last of the Four Masters. The Schooner Herbert L. Rawding at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia in July 1941*. Port Williams, NS: Mariner Books, 1994 [P.O. Box 184, Port Williams, NS BOP 1T0]. 53 pp., photographs, map, bibliography. \$8.95, paper; ISBN 0-9698501-1-5.

Last of the Four Masters is an interesting and nostalgic photo essay of a visit to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia by a four-masted schooner. This visit, over half a century ago at the height of World War II, was the last for this type of vessel to this famous old seaport. Fortunately, a number of excellent photographs were taken and are linked together with a helpful commentary.

The photographs were taken by John Dobson, who was the civilian Meteorological Officer at the RCAF Station at Yarmouth in 1941. He and his staff provided the weather information for the Hudson and Canso aircraft which flew from this base on anti-submarine patrols in the Battle of the Atlantic. The United States had not yet entered the war and there was considerable interest in Yarmouth when the *Herbert L. Rawding* sailed into port with a cargo of salt from Turks Island in the West Indies. She had an American flag painted on each side, her only protection against the dangers of U-boats. Built in Maine in 1919, she was the last such vessel to survive in active commerce on the east coast of North America. At one time, these three- and four-masters were important commercial carriers. In Atlantic Canada alone from the 1850s to 1930 nearly 700 of these vessels had been built. In their last years their cargoes were bulk such as coal, salt, stone, fertilizer and wood. Crews were small, typically consisting of captain, first and second mates, four sailors and a cook.

The essay, written by Dorothy Dobson, begins with a description of the wartime role of Yarmouth in defending the shipping lanes along Canada's east coast and the weather forecasting practices of those days. Yarmouth was and still is particularly vulnerable to severe weather or fog so the duties of the weather office were demanding. There are photographs of recreation in the area, military parades, bands and spectators. Two excellent maps depicting the Yarmouth area and details of the harbour provide

the setting. A newspaper item from the *Yarmouth Herald* of 29 July, 1941, then informs the reader of the rare sight of a big four-master under full sail entering harbour. This was the *Herbert L. Rawding* after a fast run-up from Turks Island. The captain was to be joined by his wife who was arriving by steamer. A chilling note is a description of *Rawding's* near collision with another vessel in thick fog off Nantucket. Those were the days before radar. There are excellent photographs of *Rawding* alongside discharging her cargo. When this was completed she left harbour bound for Sheet Harbour further up the eastern shore. The RCAF crash boat with John Dobson and his camera aboard accompanied *Rawding* to the open sea. There are several views taken as the RCAF vessel went up the harbour. These are interspersed with views of *Rawding* under tow to the harbour mouth, raising her sails, bow, beam and quartering shots under sail, concluding with the four-master vanishing over the horizon.

For any ship lover's library, this is a pleasant addition.

L.B. Jenson
Queensland, Nova Scotia

Garry Cranford. *Newfoundland Schooner Norma & Gladys: Her Story of Industry, Mutiny and Triumph*. St. John's, NF: Flanker Press, 1994 [P.O. Box 2522, Station C, St. John's, NF A1C 6K1]. 159 pp., photographs, appendices. \$14.95, paper; ISBN 0-9698767-0-X.

In 1973 the Newfoundland government purchased the old Grand Bank schooner *Norma & Gladys* to restore it into a floating museum of the Newfoundland fishery. The story of the project during the next several years is one of interest in terms of politics and planning, seamanship and stupidity, sheer merriment and eventual success, making this book an enormous joy to read. It is also a modest but accurate source of information on the Newfoundland fisheries and coastal trade.

Cranford is a local amateur historian and author who became interested in the *Norma & Gladys* in 1984 when he discovered it was being sold by the government. He had already col-

lected information on shipbuilding in Trinity Bay and realized this schooner was the last of a traditional fleet. It was then he began his research, based in part on extensive interviews as well as press clippings.

The book opens with a solid discussion of the Labrador cod fishery for which the schooner was built, actual construction in Trinity Bay in 1945, and its subsequent career on the Grand Bank and as a coastal trader. However, it was in 1973 that the most curious career of this schooner began and Cranford treats it in a masterful and very readable fashion. In that year the provincial Department of Tourism purchased the schooner and proceeded with a costly refit. When the *Norma & Gladys* was launched in 1975, the government announced its grandiose plan — the schooner would sail to Japan (via Panama) where it would be the province's exhibit at the International Oceans Exhibition. It would visit various ports on its return voyage, including major fishing ports in Europe. Tempting fate, the organizers scheduled the schooner's return to St. John's for 24 June (Discovery Day) 1976.

The plan quickly became the focus of criticism and ridicule: the schooner was discovered to be under-ballasted; the original captain was replaced; despite the expensive refit, the rudder needed further repairs; the masts were not pine but cedar and had to be replaced; there were problems with the crew. By the time the schooner reached Jamaica, it was leaking "like a basket." (p.73) Clearly, *Norma & Gladys* would not make Japan on schedule, and there was talk "of burning her to the waterline and flying everybody home." (p.76) A series of comic-opera incidents unfolded, involving various members of the crew; several were sacked and sent home in disgrace.

The *Norma & Gladys* was now ordered to head for Spain where its exhibits were put in order, and in Malaga it opened to tourists with tremendous success. After visiting six Mediterranean ports the ship entered the Atlantic, stopping at other ports before entering the Baltic. After several stopovers - and several more adventures and diplomatic incidents — the schooner returned to Newfoundland via London, Bristol and Irish ports, reaching St. John's in August 1976, a little over one year since its departure. *Norma &*

Gladys continued to be used locally to promote tourism, ending that career tied to the wharf in Grand Bank on Newfoundland's south coast. In 1984 it was sold to private interests, only to sink as it made its way back to St. John's - thankfully without loss of life.

This is a delightful book and to judge it by purely academic standards would be grossly unfair. Because there are no footnotes, this reviewer strongly encourages the author to preserve his taped interviews and his newspaper clippings and if possible deposit them in a responsible library or archives where they would remain accessible to other researchers.

Shannon Ryan
St. John's, Newfoundland

James R. Coull. *World Fisheries Resources*. London & New York: Routledge, 1993. xii + 267 pp., figures, maps, photographs, additional bibliography, index. US \$62.50, Cdn \$83.95, cloth; ISBN 0-415-07578-5.

This is a highly successful work. It is the type of comprehensive overview often attempted but rarely done well by academic scholars. In *World Fisheries Resources*, James Coull writes about a topic which has commanded his "interest and research for more than 20 years." His "family roots in a Scottish fishing community," a distinguishing force throughout his career, also contributes significantly to the success of this book. His is a deep attachment which contributes to an often profound understanding of regional, national and global fisheries topics and themes.

Coull approaches this work from his "professional view point in the discipline of geography." Chapter 2, "Biological Basis," sets the environmental/resource stage upon which the "actors" played their varied and changing roles over time (Chapter 3, "Historical Development"). Chapter 4 effectively combines these two — resource and fishers — in an economic framework. This model enables Coull to trace the evolution of the industry from place to place, species to species, and from its simple archaeological origins to the industrial expansion of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Chapter 5, "Spatial Organization," examines "the consequences of distance," and is the most

uniquely "geographic." His use of idealized geometric models to explain changing patterns in the spatial organization of the inshore and offshore components, also illustrates the effective use of supporting figures, graphs and photographs throughout the volume. Trends in production are considered systematically by ocean, continent, country and individual species in Chapter 6. Three case studies (the North Sea herring, the Peruvian anchovy, and the Arctic-Norwegian cod) demonstrate that "one of the matters of greatest concern in fisheries has become that of resource conservation, as with technologically advanced modern catching power there is now a permanent danger of over-exploitation of the resource base." As recent experience shows, this has occurred to an extent which has few parallels in other industries and fields of production. Coull then treats separately the substantial and rapid post-World War II expansion of recreational fishing and aquaculture. Perhaps the most useful chapter, however, in terms of current trends towards global catching crises, is Chapter 8, "Fisheries Management," which outlines succinctly the modern challenge of management at the local, national and international levels.

The final two chapters deal with landward organizational structures. "Fish Landings, First Sales and Processing" traces the historical development of the complex set of relationships which evolved between producer, processor and distributor, ranging from the early and relatively primitive, monopolistic truck system through to the more recent and more sophisticated Auction process. The patterns of marketing and consumption in fish and job-derived products are then examined. Besides addressing such straightforward economic factors as availability and prices, Coull deals successfully with more subtle, yet just as important, considerations such as "established practice and cultural traditions."

Despite the inherent dangers in attempting to treat any topic at the world scale, this volume succeeds admirably in meeting the author's principal objective, which is to present "a perspective of the main issues relating to fisheries, and to illustrate them with chosen detailed cases, in an endeavour to show how these issues bear on the people involved in fishing and ancillary activities in different parts of the world." There

are, nevertheless, a few minor quibbles. The format, for example, sometimes lends itself to irksome repetition, while a wider range of more current sources would have strengthened the overall usefulness of the book considerably. It would be churlish, however, to do otherwise than commend this book as a work of truly outstanding quality. At a time when global society continues to press hard on the limits of sustainable ocean assets, *World Fisheries Resources* presents a valuable guide to the issues.

Chesley W. Sanger
St. John's, Newfoundland

Duncan Stacey and Susan Stacey. *Salmonopolis: The Steveston Story*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1994. 152 pp., photographs, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55017-110-0.

The muddy Fraser deposited rich soil to form several islands at its mouth. Lulu Island, the largest, became the municipality and, more recently, the city of Richmond. On the south west corner of this delta is the small community of Steveston named after Manoah Steves who arrived there in 1877 and, with his family, sought to create a metropolis. They were not able to compete with Vancouver's growth but they did see an important fishing port develop.

Steveston is a place with an ambience which attracts visitors. The small town atmosphere of Moncton Street with its old buildings, the new waterfront development with its restaurants and gift shops, the docks where a modern fishing fleet ties up and fish can be purchased fresh off the boat, the produce market, the bakeries, the old canneries and the Buddhist temple are some of the things which provide the variety that make Steveston a very special place.

In *Salmonopolis* Duncan and Susan Stacey have produced a lively and colourful history of this farming and fishing community. The book is sturdily bound with a beautiful cover and a wonderful collection of photographs with informative captions. The authors have also included a large number of excerpts from written and aural records in an attempt to let the past speak for itself. Certainly the pictures and diagrams they have included contribute to that end. Nev-

ertheless, while many of the primary sources are unique and deserve inclusion, in the chapter dealing with the early years of the farming community they tend too often to become an end in themselves. The authors contend that voices from another period require "forbearance by modern sensibilities." (p.7) But surely the book is written for the modern reader and the voices should be included only if they contribute to our understanding of the past.

There is little reference to the history of farming on the delta. The need for dyking and the development of roads and transit systems is outlined but the account tends to be too anecdotal and the story is impeded by having facts in the text repeated in the excerpts.

The story of Steveston's development as an important fishing port is much better told. The authors have dealt with the industry as a whole. They have described the fish, the boats, the methods of fishing, the development of the canneries and they have outlined the changes over time. The people involved in both fishing and canning are described — the Indians, the Chinese, the Japanese and the cannery owners, as is the impact on the developing community of the huge influx of workers during the fishing season. Within this context the use of primary sources is a welcome addition.

Except for some market gardening, agriculture has disappeared from the delta, the fishing industry is under seige and the Gulf of Georgia Cannery is a museum. The first fishermen, the Indians, are not in evidence but their art is in the shops; the Chinese who provided cannery labour were replaced by the "iron Chink," so that it is more recent immigrants who make up the large Chinese population of Richmond; the Japanese who dominated the fishing were evacuated during World War II and those who have returned are now a minority. The authors claim that Steveston has managed to retain its identity and history. It is true that people of Richmond through maintaining parks and museums have done a great deal to honour their past. This book is certainly an important contribution to that end and will be welcomed by all those interested in tracing the boom and bust history of Steveston.

Morag Maclachlan
Vancouver, British Columbia

David L. Howell. *Capitalism From Within: Economy, Society, and the State in a Japanese Fishery*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. xvi + 246 pp., maps, tables, figures, notes, bibliography, index. US \$38, cloth; ISBN 0-520-08629-5.

This is a stimulating, closely argued work which is commendably well researched and documented. The author must be one of the few capable of introducing such an unusually detailed study of economic growth from the Asian into the Western World. It gives valuable perspectives on the growth and decline of a major fishery — that for herring in the northern island of Hokkaido — over the period of the modernisation of Japan. It also (incidentally) provides a number of interesting comparisons and contrasts with fisheries in the North Atlantic area at the same period. Most important, it makes a significant contribution to the theoretical understanding of the basic underlying forces of economic and social change through which a feudal society passes to a modern industrial one. The fishery took shape in the eighteenth century in a situation of proto-industrialisation whereby large-scale production occurs in rural areas for distant markets. While the main changes after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 were due more to the development of new economic, legal and political institutions rather than the increase of commerce, the full development of capitalism did entail an accommodation of these institutions to it.

Essentially this book shows that there were important developments in train in the fishery before the Meiji Restoration, and the roots of these go back to the early eighteenth century with merchants from the main island of Honshu initiating the essential market links which allowed the fishery to develop; in effect the inroads of commerce were actively undermining the former feudal organisation over a protracted period before the more rapid changes of the Meiji era, with the contract fishery representing a transitional stage between feudalism and industrialism. The early fishery was conducted either by family groups, or on the contract system in which licensed merchants organised it with paid labour. In a way reminiscent of change in many other locations, an expanding fishery became progressively more capitalist in

its organisation, as the inroads of commerce expanded; and in the course of a long and complex struggle the fishermen lost their position of independent producers and were relegated to the role of supplying wage labour. Capitalism expanded the social differentials in wealth and power, and subjected the fishermen to "immiserisation."

In important respects Hokkaido was also an internal colony in a frontier position in Japan. This saw it incorporated into national development plans, with the Japanese state taking measures to secure its northern claims against Russian expansion. Hokkaido was originally inhabited by the aboriginal Ainu people with a hunting and collecting culture, although by the seventeenth century the southern peninsula of the Wajinchi was already occupied by people ethnically related to the population of northern Honshu. Ainu labour was an important element in the growth of the fishery, especially in the early phases before it was dominated by immigrant fishermen from Honshu. The Ainu were a subordinate group who could be hired more cheaply, and they were frequently maltreated.

There were several notable developments from the 1840s which considerably changed the character of the fishery. The advent of the pound trap, which progressively displaced the original gill net gear, represented a major, if expensive technological advance: it did much to help the fishery to expand and enhanced the importance of the possession of capital. However its social consequences were complex; although it enhanced the position of entrepreneurs and reduced most of the fishermen to a level of hired labour, it did allow the more successful fishermen to advance to a position whereby they could bypass the merchants.

There are several points which emerge that will be of prime interest to students of fisheries history in North America and Europe. The geographical setting of the action at the eastern margin of the Eurasian landmass has much in common with Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, where a land environment of limited farming potential is juxtaposed to seas with rich fisheries. However there is also an important similarity with Europe in the prime importance of the herring fishery. Although it was always a coastal rather than an open sea fishery, it devel-

oped into a scale comparable to the major herring fisheries of Europe, reaching in its peak 1897 year a production of nearly a million tons. It was also like the European fisheries in being highly seasonal - the herring run lasted for about three months in the spring — so that it entailed seasonal migrations that involved thousands of fishermen who came to the island of Hokkaido from northern Honshu. Many settled permanently in new villages. The Hokkaido fishery partook more of the character of recent than earlier European fisheries in being primarily a fishery for reduction rather than for direct food supply. Furthermore, and in contrast to European fisheries for reduction (which essentially supply feed for intensive farming), the great role of Japanese herring meal was as fertiliser for rice fields. Not least in comparisons, it was subject to over-exploitation in advance of this occurring in Europe. Indeed it was in pronounced decline by the inter-war period, dwindling to extinction in the 1950s.

Overall, this is a work of considerable academic merit. It is valuable for its contribution to the understanding of the history of fisheries and of the process of economic growth and in shining a light into development on the Pacific rim.

James R. Coull
Aberdeen, Scotland

Daniel Vickers. *Farmers & Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1850*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994. xxiv + 347 pp., maps, tables, figures, illustrations, bibliographical appendices, index. US \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-8078-2148-9; US \$16.95, paper; ISBN 0-8078-4458-6. Distributed in Canada by Scholarly Book Services, Toronto, Ontario

In this superb study, Daniel Vickers undertakes to answer the question "who worked for whom under what circumstances." (p.viii) His method is clearly stated in the preface: to trace preindustrial development in New England by concentrating on two important occupational groups — the farmers and fishermen who lived and worked in a county rich in both history and historical records. His theme shows how successive generations of men and women adapted their work and

lives through three periods: 1630-C.1675, encountering the wilderness with inadequate supplies of capital and labour; 1675-1775, adjusting to the accumulation of wealth and manpower that followed; and 1775-1850, acclimating themselves to the commercialization that emerged by the end of the eighteenth century.

As professor of history at Memorial University of Newfoundland the author brings a valuable perspective to this study of New England. But Vickers is no stranger to Essex County, as his bibliographical essay attests. One statistical table drew its data from thirteen different account books and diaries. Other sources include probate court records, deeds, town records, tax and valuation lists, and census reports, most of which are found in manuscript depositories scattered throughout the county and beyond. Out of this material the author painstakingly fashioned records of thousands of instances of work performances (for want of a better term) which enabled him to identify hundreds of men as either farmers or fishermen, and occasionally both. Only then did he construct the tables and figures that present this data in usable form. By eschewing the usual reliance on occupational designations found on legal documents he had perforce to discard numerous individuals for whom he could find no evidence that corroborated the nature of their work. In exchange he gained a reassuring measure of reliability. Integrity of data has in fact been a hallmark of this historian's work, a characteristic never more evident than in *Farmers & Fishermen*.

Throughout the period of study Vickers contrasts the way farmers and fishermen of Essex County worked. In the seventeenth century the extensive demands of family farming under frontier conditions required sons to serve as agricultural labourers well into their adulthood. Vickers notes that, like servants of the Chesapeake plantations, New England farm children were also bound to service, though by custom rather than by law. Fishing, on the other hand, was rarely organized along family lines. Fishermen's sons were free to work for other fishermen, often out of other villages. The absence of family structure as a moderating influence contributed to the heightened level of rough language, heavy drinking, and physical violence that has always characterized fishing

communities.

Yet this freedom from parental control came at a cost — dependence on a system of credit under which merchant-outfitters provided fishermen with boat and other equipment in exchange for a share of their catch. After 1675 the fisheries underwent major change caused in part by a precipitous drop in market prices. While the men gained the freedom to seek berths on the larger off-shore schooners that gradually replaced the less productive vessels of the inshore industry, their lot continued to be one of grinding poverty. Few eighteenth-century fishermen of Essex County owned more than a roomful of furniture, a few cooking utensils, and some extra clothing.

By the eve of the Revolution ownership of the offshore schooners became concentrated in the hands of the merchant-creditors; only a few skippers held shares in the vessels they sailed and almost no other crew members did. The men were paid by a percentage of the catch. Each off-shore fisherman hauled in almost twice the catch of his inshore predecessor, offsetting the fall in prices, and allowing him to keep a little ahead of a rising cost of living. Even so, the rise in his standard of living was almost imperceptible, especially in contrast to the farmer, most of whom rode the crest of improving economic conditions. Land values increased, domestic and foreign markets expanded, and opportunities broadened for sons and daughters to develop skills as artisans, making shoes, cloth, and other products.

After the disastrous disruption of the American Revolution the fishermen of Essex County enjoyed twenty years of relative prosperity until the War of 1812. Peace brought diversification not only into the pursuit of other species like mackerel, but into other employment ashore. Gradually the fishing ports began to lose many of their younger men to the mills and even farms of Essex County. Marblehead hung on till the devastating Gale of 1846 and Gloucester for much longer, in part, only because the men had fewer alternatives. At the end of his period Vickers notes that both farmer and fishermen were overwhelmed by the same phenomenon — the industrial transformation of the county. Dependent employment became the rule for the sons and daughters of both farmer and fisher-

man, as "the social foundations of a working class came into being." (p.324)

Readers of this journal might wonder at first, as did this reviewer, why the author did not simply concentrate on the fishermen in this project. After all, the plethora of New England community studies as well as the writings of William Cronon and Carolyn Merchant tell us more than we need to know about farmers. Yet Vickers' data about the work of farmers is not only valuable in itself but also serves as a standard against which to measure that of the fishermen. Only by such comparisons can we know how truly impoverished were most fishermen throughout the period of this study. Perhaps this knowledge will help us to understand why fishermen of the late twentieth century have so relentlessly taken advantage of technology to exploit the stocks on which they depended. Their experience through 350 years has truly been a "tragedy of the commons."

Benjamin W. Labaree
Amesbury, Massachusetts

Shannon Ryan. *The Ice Hunters: A History of Newfoundland Sealing to 1914*. St. John's, NF: Breakwater, 1994. 537 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, tables, chapter notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55081-097-9. \$24.95, paper; ISBN 1-55081-095-2.

In this book Shannon Ryan aims to trace sealing's impact on Newfoundland's political, economic, and cultural development. The introduction provides a superb overview of the European fishery and settlement to 1815. Then follow chapters on the market conditions that fostered the exploitation of seals for oil and, to a lesser extent, leather; sealing's role in the Newfoundland economy; vessels and ports; working conditions; disasters; sealing's contribution to the Newfoundland identity; and a conclusion. There is also an appendix with extensive tables.

Others have noted the centrality of sealing to population growth in Newfoundland, but none more forcefully than Ryan. On the eve of the Napoleonic Wars, Newfoundland's population was still a modest 16,910. Even though the inhabitants were responsible for a growing propor-

tion of the annual fish catch, Ryan points out that this did not signify increasing settlement and a declining migratory fishery. The fishery was still dependent on migratory labour, but "servants" now worked for the inhabitants, not English interests. Ryan maintains that the emergence of vessel-based sealing after 1793 was the key to rapid population growth during the Napoleonic Wars and in the first half of the nineteenth century (122,638 by 1857) because it constituted an economic activity that sustained year-round settlement.

Ryan adds to our knowledge of the industry in three key areas. Markets have never been better analyzed. The same can be said of the rise of St. John's, which was based on the role of its merchants as suppliers to sealers in areas north of Conception Bay, purchasers of pelts from other centres, and especially refiners of seal oil. And for the first time we learn about the persistence of schooners in the hunt long after the triumph of steam.

For all this, questions remain. We are told that merchants north of Conception Bay fell prey to the post-1815 depression in the cod fishery because they failed to diversify into sealing. Since these merchants were physically closer to the main hunting area, their failure cries out for explanation. Ryan refers to the St. John's firms as "local," but of the three that controlled the industry in 1903, two — Jobs and Bowrings — had British parents. We learn that owners financed steel ships by offering shares, but there is no analysis of shareholders.

The conclusion is particularly weak. Ryan credits Newfoundland's achievement of self government in 1832 to the emergence of sealing, which is pure speculation, not history. Newfoundland probably would have joined its self-governing neighbours in due course. Prince Edward Island attained self-government in 1773, even though it possessed a seasonal economy and a population of under 5,000 at the time. In the same vein, Ryan attributes Newfoundland's political and economic collapse in the 1930s in part to the failure to find an adequate replacement for sealing. But Newfoundland's political and business leaders abandoned the industry prematurely, and Norway stepped in to fill the void. Odd, too, his assertion that over-harvesting by steamers undermined the subsistence econ-

omy of the west and northwest coasts during the Great Depression. By that time seal populations, which had benefitted from an extended period of reduced hunting, were probably growing and at the very least were stable, as British marine biologist J.S. Colman argued to deaf ears in 1937. As well, the logging and pulp and paper industries sustained a degree of economic stability on the west coast that fishing communities could not match.

Ryan clings to the usage "seal fishery" (everywhere except in the title), though the seal is a mammal, not a fish. As for the title, it is misleading. Ryan devotes only one sentence to the role that seals played in the lifestyles of Newfoundland's aboriginal cultures, (p.47) His actual subject is sealing as conducted by European settlers and their descendants; as a history of all Newfoundland sealing to 1914, this book is incomplete.

James E. Candow
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

Paul Watson. *Ocean Warrior: My Battle to End the Illegal Slaughter on the High Seas*. Toronto: Key Porter, 1994. xv + 264 pp., photographs, index. \$26.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55013-569-4.

In some circles, Paul Watson is the devil incarnate; in others, the ultimate heroic eco-warrior. To read *Ocean Warrior* is to understand some of the reasons why - in both cases. In this memoir Watson chronicles his war against pirate Spanish whalers (1979), Russian whale processing factories in Siberia (1981), Japanese dolphin killers (1982), pilot whale hunters of the Faeroe Islands (1985-6), Icelandic whaleships out of Reykjavik (1987), Japanese and Taiwanese drift netters in the Pacific (1986-7) and Caribbean (1991), and cod draggers on the Grand Banks (1994), with a few other battles along the way. Left for another day and another book are his struggles against Newfoundland sealers.

As a historical record, *Ocean Warrior* leaves much to be desired. It is vague on dates, cheerfully precise on verbatim conversations years later of which no record was made, and fuzzy on financial aspects — Watson is too broke to buy fuel one day, able to put down \$100,000 for a new vessel the next, and it is seldom clear

how. Some episodes are never adequately explained. For example, there is his opposition to fish farming in British Columbia, or his piratical attack on the replica ship *Santa Maria* off Puerto Rico. ("Taking my instructions from the Indians..."; p.217).

On the other hand, as a means of understanding Paul Watson, the book is a useful tool. His passion, his conviction that he is in the midst of a war against his numerous enemies, comes through with total clarity (and occasionally unnecessary crudity). "The nature of our game was confrontation." (p.210) Though Watson, by his own account, has always attempted to avoid injury to his human opponents, he has given no quarter to the whaleships, drift nets, and the like which came into his view, and equally little to hostile officials, most notably "the money-grubbing, insensitive, selfish bureaucrats of the Canadian corps of federal swivel servants." (p.54) (Lest there be any doubt, Watson is Canadian). Particular venom, however, is reserved for Greenpeace, of which organization Watson was once an important leader, and for those directors of Watson's own Sea Shepherd Conservation Society who for one reason or another are accused of treachery or betrayal. For his own crew-members over the years he shows a bit more sympathy, recognizing predictable problems when the main criterion for selection was the payment of a fee of \$1000 to Watson. There are only a few heroes: crewmen who stuck with him through thick and thin, steady financial backers, and a small group of kindred spirits like Farley Mowat, who incidentally contributes an interesting preface to this volume that says little about Watson but is a most informative autobiographical statement about Farley Mowat.

Despite the clouding of fact with passion, however, there is an internal logic to Watson's book. As he has proved over the years, and as even some of his closest supporters did not understand, his method was not adjustable to circumstances — confrontation was the goal as much as cessation of whatever crime against the environment he was combating at the moment. In Watson's view, other organizations talk and negotiate and, in the end, do little. His, on the other hand, "was a proud maverick organization. We made no excuses. We sank ships, we

rammed ships, we made waves..." (p.221) It is hard to be indifferent to this book, but from the standpoint of understanding the history of eco-conservation movements, we are better off with it than without it. As for Watson himself, each reader will reach his own conclusion as to whether the world has been better served by Paul Watson or the pirate whalers and drift netters who wish he never existed.

Briton C. Busch
Hamilton, New York

Francis E. Cuppage. *James Cook and the Conquest of Scurvy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. ix + 163 pp., illustrations, photographs, tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$55, cloth; ISBN 0-313-29181-0.

It is difficult to imagine anyone with an interest in maritime history who does not have at least a rudimentary knowledge of scurvy and the influence it had on seafaring, but there are few books dedicated to the study of this disease which, at the same time, place it into historical context.

Scurvy plagued sailors of all nations in all aspects of seafaring involving prolonged periods at sea, but it was not until the late eighteenth century that at last the cure, not the cause, for this clinical problem was beginning to be understood. It is estimated that over the three hundred years before its subjugation, scurvy killed as many seamen as all other causes of death combined. In hindsight, it seems natural that a sea captain from the country whose expansionist designs were probably the strongest in Europe, and with a disciplined scientific attitude, should be at the forefront of solving this problem. James Cook had scurvy dumped squarely in his lap and the notion of beating scurvy was an idea whose time had inescapably come; if the world was to be conquered, scurvy had to be subdued.

Francis Cuppage, the author of this study, is a pathologist by profession who clearly has a keen interest in history. Indeed he has even gone to the trouble of building a fine-looking model of *Endeavour* and has travelled to many of the sites visited by Cook. Thus we have a good example of an expert in one field applying his knowledge to a separate but related interest, and it is the blending of this information that makes

this volume particularly valuable and unique.

To explain Cook's role in fighting scurvy, all three of his voyages are fully examined by the author, as are the inherent problems that were presented by such missions - problems of manning, provisioning and diet, exercise, accommodation and so forth. Virtually everything deemed edible was served and one of Cook's biggest problems was simply getting his people to eat. Flogging was not uncommon if a person did not eat what he was given. However, on the positive side, Cook had at his disposal what was then state of the art knowledge and the best of experts, notably botanists. Moreover, the Royal Navy was willing to listen to him and provided him with a decent budget.

Cuppige gives heavy emphasis to Cook's efforts to prevent scurvy, which he managed to do almost totally. As the story unfolds, Cuppage also gives us a history of the disease, beginning with its first recorded incidents during the Crusades, and ending in 1933 when it was finally isolated though still not fully understood. Of course the watershed event in scurvy's defeat was the renowned introduction of citrus juice into the Royal Navy in 1795 as the principal anti-scorbutic. It is clear from his references that Cuppage has used every possible primary and secondary source for his work.

Things take a rather technical turn in the ninth chapter, and this is perhaps the heart of the book, for here we are given the scientific causes of scurvy, the rationale behind its cure and pathology's total knowledge of the disease to date. For the medical layman this chapter may seem daunting but I found that if I supplemented my imagination with a good dictionary I was fascinated. And, after all, the publishers have issued this volume in their "Contributions in Medical Studies" series.

Throughout its pages, the book is rife with imaginative and concise tables. I found the lists of Cook's accomplishments for each voyage of special interest, as was a table of food plants with anti-scorbutic qualities. My only criticism - and it really is a small one - is to suggest that a global map showing Cook's voyages would have enhanced my reading.

John McKay
Fort Langley, British Columbia

G.S. Ritchie. *The Admiralty Chart: British Naval Hydrography in the Nineteenth Century*. New edition; Bishop Auckland, Durham: Pentland Press, 1995. xiv + 444 pp., maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. £19.50, cloth; ISBN 1-85821-234-0.

Rear Admiral G.S. (Steve) Ritchie, CB, DSC rose through the ranks of the Hydrographic Department of the Royal Navy from pre-war service in the Far East, war-time service, to post-war Commanding Officer and secondment to New Zealand to become Hydrographer of the [Royal] Navy. After retirement, he continued to serve the hydrographic community as a Director of the International Hydrographic Bureau in Monaco. He was not, as a previous Hydrographer had been called, a member of "the feather bed crew about Charing Cross."

This edition is designed to update some of the errors made in the first edition (written in 1967), to coincide with the 200th anniversary of the Hydrographic Office of the Royal Navy, and to replenish the shelves of bookstores because the first edition was no longer in print. The new edition includes an introductory essay by Lt. Commander Andrew David, RN. This essay introduces the subject and is accordingly placed near the front, but it is worthwhile to return to it after reading the rest of the book, when the historical personalities mean more to the reader.

The world was poorly mapped in 1795, when the Hydrographic Office was established. Australia was hardly outlined, longitude was only beginning to be measured accurately, and ship captains, even of the navy, had to buy their own charts from commercial chart makers. But captains also sold their surveys to these chart makers. The need to provide a close blockade of Napoleonic Europe meant that the Royal Navy needed good charts, experienced hydrographers and good navigators. Interestingly, it is Cook, Des Barres, and Holland working in Canada that pioneered the accurate methodology of hydrography.

Indeed, Canadian content continues to be present in this book, in Vancouver's survey of the west coast, and the exploration of the North West Passage and high Arctic. Little is mentioned of the work done by Bayfield in the Great Lakes, of the surveys of Newfoundland

and Nova Scotia, or of the inception of the Canadian Hydrographic Service under the leadership of Staff Commander J.G. Boulton. But then, Adm. Ritchie makes no bones about the fact that he had to be selective. Moreover, we are introduced to the people whose names are preserved in many geographic place-names throughout Canada, thereby making the book most interesting to toponymists.

The trials and tribulations of the explorers-hydrographers are exciting tales. But the outcome of 100 years of surveying is a folio of more than 2500 charts worldwide — a remarkable feat given that the mode of transport was the sailing ship and every chart was printed by copper plate engraving. The Admiralty chart gained a reputation for accuracy and a lead in world sales which has been maintained to this day. Also of considerable interest is the exciting tale of technological progress recorded here: the use of lunar distances, eclipses (lunar, solar, of Venus), chronometers, and rockets to tell time; the invention of the three-armed protractor for plotting resection angles; the development of deep sea sounding and océanographie sampling; the problems of magnetism and the discovery of deviation of the ship's compass; the measuring of gravity with pendulums and hence learning of the earth's flattening.

This is not a dry tome; it is sprinkled with vignettes of humour, including several pages of quotations from "The Bogus Surveyor" by Whitewash (a.k.a. Lt. C.H.A. Gleig). The use of that pen-name has been repeated in history by hydrographers providing critical comment on sensitive topics. I still wonder if Adm. Ritchie was himself the Whitewash columnist in *The Hydrographie Journal* for many years.

In short, this is an interesting book. The thought of someone writing the history of surveying through the nineteenth century may sound dreadfully dull, but this is not. The tales of the exploits, the development of tools, the politics of the job, the necessity of working in a theatre of war, the need to be self-sufficient for long durations are all interestingly presented. I wish that I could elaborate more.

David H. Gray
Ottawa, Ontario

M.J. Ross. *Polar Pioneers: John Ross and James Clark Ross*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994. xxviii + 435 pp., illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-1234-9.

Some twenty years have passed since the publication of Ernest S. Dodge's *The Polar Rosses* (Faber, 1973). Based on both manuscript and printed sources, the book was limited to the explorations and related activities of Sir John Ross (1777-1857) and Sir James Clark Ross (1800-1862). Dodge remarked in his preface that "Their private lives and other pursuits would fill a much larger book." Now we have that larger book, admirably researched and written by the great grandson of James Clark Ross, Rear Admiral M.J. Ross, R.N. Having been a serving naval officer himself, the author stands on a particularly good vantage point.

Although he is a descendant, he is by no means partial or partisan — there is plenty of well-informed and fair criticism in the book. Sir John Ross is the principal character, but his life and that of his nephew, Sir James Clark Ross, were so inter-twined that they need telling together. A third quite prominent actor in the events recorded in this often dramatic work is the father of James Clark Ross and brother of John, George Ross (1770-1850).

Sir John Ross is perhaps best known for his command of the naval expedition of 1818 in the *Isabella* and *Alexander*, during which the appearance of the "Croker mountains" blocking Lancaster Sound put a stop to his attempt to find the North West Passage. The ridicule he suffered when Parry sailed through the supposed barrier led John Ross to redeem his reputation by leading the private N.W. Passage expedition of 1829-33 in the *Victory*. The achievements of nephew James Ross included long years spent in the region of the Boothia Peninsula, during which he attained the North Magnetic Pole and sledged to the west coast of King William "Land." His greatest achievement was the Antarctic voyage of HMS *Erebus* and HMS *Terror*, 1839-43, during which he penetrated the pack ice of the Ross Sea, discovering Ross Island and the Ross Ice Shelf. He failed to reach the South Magnetic Pole, being unable to find a safe

harbour in which to winter along the coast of South Victoria Land. He had earlier served under Sir William Edward Parry in all four of Parry's Arctic expeditions and had learned much from his example, professionally and personally. Both uncle and nephew took part in the search for Sir John Franklin's lost Arctic expedition of 1845-48, the elder unofficially, ineffectively but gallantly in his early seventies, and the younger in command of the naval expedition of 1848-49, which was handicapped by a bad ice year.

The Ross family's background in Galloway, southwest Scotland is described in the early pages, as is Sir John Ross' service in the Baltic, during the French wars. John and his brother George were given to unsuccessful business ventures, while John was an enthusiast for navigation by steam. Because John and James Clark Ross took part in so many polar voyages of the nineteenth century, Admiral Ross' narrative touches on most of these, including the Franklin Search. John Ross' wife left him and James' beloved Anne died, leaving him heart-broken. These closing years too are well told. Quotations are always apt and the reader is led from chapter to chapter of this well-balanced book, which is often difficult to put down.

On the editorial side the numerous sketch maps are helpful, but the end papers might have been used for larger ones, say of the Canadian Arctic and of the Antarctic. The illustrations tend to be rather dark. It is good that "she" has been retained as the pronoun for ships, but one deprecates the loss of upper case in the names of bodies such as the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. It seems an anachronism to change them to "lords commissioners." Likewise, one misses the definite article before a vessel's name. "The *Erebus*," "the *Victory*," is much to be preferred — they sound naked otherwise!

Never does the author get so cluttered with facts that he cannot see the wood for the trees and his characters are always well portrayed. Particularly interesting is his last chapter, "Envoi," in which he gives his own opinion of the two Rosses. I have come across only one error of fact: two records (not just one) were found on King William Island in 1859, both by Hobson. The first, quoted by the author (p.378), is in the National Maritime Museum, but there is a second in the Scott Polar Research Institute.

They were described and discussed by Dr. R.J. Cyriax in *The Mariner's Mirror* XLIV, No. 3 (1958), pp. 179-89, plate.

This reviewer has otherwise nothing but praise for a book which not only throws new light on a number of questions (eg. the supposed isthmus between King William "Land" and the Boothia Peninsula), but gives a considered judgement on the conduct, organisation and equipment (including sledges and dogs) of the nineteenth-century British arctic expeditions. It is a study in depth which never fatigues the reader and is immensely well done.

Ann Savours
Canterbury, Kent

Hervé Coutau-Bégarie (éd.). *L'évolution de la pensée navale V*. Paris: Centre d'analyse politique comparée, 1995 [École pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques, Sorbonne - Escalier E, 45-47, rue des Écoles, 75005 Paris] 249 pp., figures. 200 FFr, paper; ISBN 2-7178-2798-6.

This volume, created under the direction of Hervé Coutau-Bégarie, is the fifth in a series devoted to the evolution of naval thought, and includes essays on geostrategic and geopolitical concepts ranging from classical antiquity to the twentieth century.

In a clear, concise introduction, Coutau-Bégarie provides useful definitions. Geostrategy deals with geography as an independent variable in the acquisition and retention of sea power. Geopolitics goes beyond naval issues and problems and poses the problem of using effectively sea power against the land. He notes that the collection of articles is not meant to be a complete study of geopolitical concepts and their evolution. Rather the essays are an attempt, largely successful, to offer a preliminary exploration of a large and complex subject.

The chapter on Ancient Greece by Jean Pages notes that there existed in Athens an *anti* naval school of thought based on both political and ideological reasons. André Nied points out that Arab naval thought was sporadic and informal concerned as it was primarily with defensive approaches.

In the twentieth century R. Singh describes

the gradual realization among India's leaders that sea power was a necessary component of the newly independent country's national power. Late nineteenth-century China according to C. Y. Hsu faced a difficult choice between devoting resources to defence of the land frontiers — a traditional strategy — or reinforcing coastal defences to meet the new menace of European interventionism. Mark Peattie and David Evans describe a similar debate in Japan with a different result. Japan undertook the construction of a fleet that could project national power deep into the Western Pacific.

According to André Vigarié, Mahan never wrote a systematic work on the fundamentals of naval power, but succeeded nevertheless in creating a grand vision, almost a philosophy of history, of the battle between the land and the sea. Stephanie Beau notes that Homer Lea sought to view the Pacific in geostrategic terms, and Oliver Sevaistre notes that Liddell Hart, horrified by the slaughter on the Western Front, opposed future continental commitments and relied instead on sea power and peripheral expeditions, thereby vastly overestimating the impact of sea power on the European balance of power.

Chapters by Ezio Ferrante, Marco Anton-sich, Michael Korinman, Stephan Schutze and Lars Wedin deal with geopolitical thought in Italy, Germany and Sweden. All three countries, in the twentieth century at least, lacked a significant maritime tradition, with the result that naval thinkers wrestled with the problem of sea power in the context of continental states. While Swedish thinkers emphasized the concept of defence against invasion from the sea, Italians and Germans saw sea power in a global context.

All of the articles are interesting and many have unique insights. Geopolitical thought in France, Russia and Latin America is not included in this volume, but the editor promises that future works will explore these countries. Geopolitical thought in more recent times would also provide a useful area of research. These minor points aside, Coutau-Bégarie has again provided a thought-provoking collection that will be of use to scholars and sailors alike.

Stephen T. Ross
Newport, Rhode Island

Adrian B. Caruana. *The History of English Sea Ordnance 1523-1875. Volume 1: The Age of Evolution 1523-1715*. Rotherfield, East Sussex: Jean Boudriot Publications, 1994. xviii + 237 pp., figures, tables, illustrations, bibliography, indices. £50, cloth; ISBN 0-948864-20-6.

This is the first of a three-volume study of the history of English sea ordnance that, together with a fourth book listing the issues of guns in the Napoleonic Wars, will constitute the first complete study of the development and use of smooth-bore muzzle-loading artillery in the Royal Navy during more than three centuries prior to 1875. Such, at least, is the publisher's claim. But only time and the finished product will tell if these expectations will be met, for some problems have appeared that ought to be addressed. The author, formerly an officer in the Royal Artillery and one-time curator of ordnance at the Chatham Historic Dockyard, is the leading authority on English artillery and the acknowledged expert on firing historic guns. His thesis is that during the sixteenth century there appeared in England "a good sound gun, the English gun," the quality of which invariably declined as it fell under foreign influences during the next century. Here is only the first problem, for when it first appeared, this English gun was itself an amalgam of continental, chiefly Italian, and local influences which then assumed a character of its own. Yet, when foreign influences later reappeared, they brought about the decline of the gun. While the argument is straight forward, the demonstration of its validity is not. The claim that a native English gun emerged from continental influences and somehow preserved its purity free from foreign contamination simply won't wash. Moreover, point after point intended to support the claim is based on mere conjecture. The development of English sea ordnance was never free of foreign influence, which probably remained paramount throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. English pragmatism, fruitful eclecticism, and the limitations of brass- and iron-casting technology saw to that. Indeed, as late as 1696, more than half of all the guns in the navy were of foreign origin.

The study is founded largely on Surveys of Ordnance located in the War Office archives.

The book's major contents are organized chronologically into eight chapters that treat developments during Tudor, Stuart, Commonwealth, and later Stuart periods. Three subsequent chapters are topically organized to cover the development of gun carriages, ammunition and ordnance stores, and naval mortars. Chapter 12 provides the author's summary and conclusions. The whole is accompanied by sixty tables and 101 valuable, informative illustrations which, unless otherwise stated, are by the author. The thematic organization of the last few chapters appears more successful than the chronological arrangement of the others. Treating the material by monarchs' reigns is not very helpful, whereas chapters on the complex evolution of gun calibres or on the evolution of the Board of Ordnance and its relative place in the English government, for example, would have enormously aided the reader's comprehension.

The reader's need of assistance is largely due the author's failure to locate his study in a political-economic context. He lays great stress on technology in several explanations, chiefly stressing design. Yet at one point (p.112) he treats gun design as if it possessed a will of its own. Little consideration is given to gun founding or to the technology of the rural blast furnace during the period. As a consequence, the claim that a technological revolution in the development of the iron gun occurred between 1585 and 1595 (pp.33-4) is merely conjectural. The economics of gun production are virtually ignored, in 1622, ordnance was exchanged among ships of the navy, (p.52) but it is not clear why this occurred. During the second quarter of the seventeenth century, the navy adopted the drake, a light-weight gun with a tapered chamber, but the explanation also remains conjectural, (p.56) The adoption of Dutch poundage calibres in the third quarter of the century also marked a significant change, but reasons for the development are similarly conjectural, (p.70) Finally, while the development of ordnance under Queen Anne deals with the mysterious Establishment of 1703, the entire discussion is carried on without reference to the War of the Spanish Succession. Even when the Board of Ordnance was chiefly responsible for the dreadful state of English sea ordnance, (p. 107) the author points to foreign influence

rather than to the structure of administrative arrangements or human frailties to account for the often appalling state of affairs. Why foreign, chiefly Dutch-Swedish, but also French, influences continued to affect English developments is not explained. The political relationship between the Board of Ordnance and the Admiralty is ignored. Readers could not know that the Board was in no way subordinate to the latter. In an age when idiosyncratic behaviour and ideas of personal honour rather than duty or disinterested service motivated the king's servants, conflicts between agencies were endemic. Despite these criticisms of the study's lack of context, its ignoring of the social and economic dimensions of technological change, and its narrow focus, the heavy empirical emphasis and reproduction of many useful documents will attract maritime history buffs and historians, and though this reviewer found that the wealth of detail often overwhelmed the story being told, others will undoubtedly find them of great value to their own research.

James Pritchard
Kingston, Ontario

C.S. Forester (ed.). *The Adventures of John Wetherell*. London, 1954; London: Michael Joseph, 1994. 275 pp. £11.99, Cdn \$15.99, paper; ISBN 0-7181-3844-9. Distributed by Penguin Books.

The 'Great Wars' against France were a golden age of British naval memoirs, and for the first time the writers included a significant number from the lower deck. John Wetherell was one of the best of them, considered simply as a writer, and the selection first published by C.S. Forester in 1954 has now been reprinted (without the author's naive sketches). Wetherell was pressed into the Navy on the outbreak of war in 1802, and served in the frigate *Hussar* until she was wrecked in February 1804. Thereafter he was a prisoner in France until the end of the war. He hated his captain, Philip Wilkinson, whom he accused of being no gentleman but the son of a barber, capable of every cruelty and crime. Ashore in the hands of the French, however, Wetherell encountered much kindness, and his evocative memoirs of a prisoner's life in the

fortress of Givet, and on the march from place to place across France, form both the most and in many ways the best part of the book. His artless gallery of characters and incidents is as good as a novel, and just as readable.

For readers interested in history as well as literature, however, the difficulty is to know how much of it is in any sense factual. Wetherell kept a diary, and the narrative of his life as prisoner certainly has the appearance of having been written up from it. How closely he kept to his source, however, is more than doubtful. Forester rightly draws attention to his description of a criminal publicly tortured to death in Amiens as something altogether incredible, and one does not know how much of the rest to believe. Some of the stories could probably be checked by research, but Forester did not attempt any. He did not consult the *Hussar's* log, which might bear on Wetherell's stories of daily floggings, nor did he look at the court martial to establish the circumstances of her loss on the Iles de Sein (the author's 'Saint Rocks,' which Forester confuses with the Glénans Isles). We must assume Wetherell lost his diaries when the ship was wrecked, and he clearly hated his captain so much that he was incapable of taking a detached view of anything which happened on board. Perhaps Wilkinson was really a monster of cruelty, and the circumstances of the *Hussar's* loss certainly cast doubt on his professional competence, but when Wetherell points to gunnery practice as an extreme tyranny, or claims that his press gang carried off the Rector of Harwich, one begins to have doubts.

For the historian, then, this memoir like so many others proves to be a treacherous source. A writer with a strong literary sense and a powerful grudge, writing a book long after the event with no source but his unaided memory, provides very poor evidence of what really happened. Wetherell is probably a better authority for his time ashore as a prisoner of war; certainly his cheerful, picaresque and even romantic narrative is more agreeable to read than his embittered rantings against Captain Wilkinson; but even here one cannot help recognising a good story-teller enlarging on his theme to a receptive audience. Perhaps one day a social historian will study this period of naval history, check Wetherell's manuscript (which Forester

does not locate) and tell us what parts of it are to be believed. Until then, it can be recommended as literature, but only with great caution as history.

N. A. M. Rodger
London, England

Christopher Hibbert. *Nelson: A Personal History*. London: Viking, 1994. xix + 472 pp., figures, b+w and colour plates, chronology, references, bibliography, index. £20, cloth; ISBN 0-670-84342-3. Distributed by Penguin Books.

As the two-hundredth anniversary of Trafalgar approaches we may expect a broadside of books on Nelson. The prolific "popular" historian Christopher Hibbert in this "personal history" has, regrettably, delivered only a ranging shot.

Writing a fresh life of Nelson is admittedly difficult. Numerous studies exist, mostly ploughing through the same sources: Hibbert's bibliography contains twenty-four complete Nelson biographies and numerous other works on particular events in his life. Regrettably this means that the book tends to relate a string of familiar episodes. Those who have read a previous Life of Nelson will accordingly find themselves anticipating most events well before they appear. Also, students of maritime history must be warned that "naval" subjects are barely touched, and are superficially skimmed at that. This aspect is explained by the book's subtitle "A Personal History," by which Hibbert indicates he will focus on the private Nelson 95 per cent of the time. We thus learn as much about Nelson and Lady Hamilton as we have any decent right to, while the views of anyone in Europe who commented on the propriety of their relationship are dutifully recorded. The banquets, receptions, ballads, dinners, and honours of all kinds are described, we learn of Nelson's estrangement from his (apparently) unexciting wife, and we have a quick tour of his homes and finances. While this is all interesting, if not new, one may be excused for asking if it is enough to justify yet another Nelson biography.

The inattention to "non Nelson" details is telegraphed immediately in the family genealogical table, where Nelson's sister is shown marry-

ing someone indicated as her own brother, and Nelson's mother is shown as the great granddaughter of Sir Robert Walpole, not his grand niece. The Earl of Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty, is described as an "ugly, dissipated and charming man of fashion" who used "the immense patronage" of his office for "personal and political motives," (p.31) a traditional view recently discredited by Nicholas Rodger's brilliant biography, and while that book does appear in Hibbert's bibliography, its message has clearly not been absorbed. There are several other such examples, few of which affect the "personal" story of Nelson, but the knowledgeable reader's confidence is shaken on the author's grasp of wider issues.

When great events do happen, they are covered in preemptory fashion. A confrontation with Spain in 1790 is mentioned, but the words "Nootka Sound" never appear; the battle of St. Vincent in 1797 is covered in two pages, and there is no analysis of Nelson's daring decision to leave his own line to keep the Spanish fleet divided; the blockade of Toulon is covered twice, without any discussion of the merits of "close" or "open" blockade; Trafalgar (the battle) gets two pages, but in such general terms that all sense of drama or significance is lost. Once Nelson is shot all attention shifts to the death scene below decks; a lengthy footnote discusses the fate of Nelson's coat with the fatal bullet hole, but fails to mention that it is on display at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich.

It is unfair to criticize authors for not writing books they never intended to write, so the above points are meant more as a warning to those who might expect substantial naval details. The purely personal events of Nelson's life are described well enough: the early days of struggle, fortunately with the influence of an uncle who was first a RN Captain, then the powerful Comptroller of the Navy; the rapid climb to post rank, largely on merit; his falling in love several times, and eventual marriage to Fanny Nisbet; five years on half-pay until the War of the French Revolution erupted in 1793. It is, of course, his affair with Lady Hamilton, beginning in 1798, which dominates the book. Emma was of a poor family, but she made a career as a mistress of wealthy men. She was vivacious, eager to please, good-hearted and beautiful, but

those qualities never quite overcame her lack of breeding and polish, made all the worse when she became immensely fat. Eyebrows raised when she married Sir William Hamilton, and they raised even further when the affair with Nelson began. The picture with which we are left is of Nelson the brilliant naval commander, unmatched on the sea, but transformed into a love-besotted klutz when ashore. Even colleagues who worshipped him afloat were horribly embarrassed by his antics ashore with Emma. The public impact is hard to describe but there is little doubt that there were two Nelsons. This book *describes* one of them, but seldom rises to the level of analysis of his behaviour. There is no attempt to relate Nelson to wider contemporary themes (for example, Nelson as one of the first Romantics), or to draw comparisons to Napoleon in their shared lust for overwhelming victory contrasted to the restrained goals of many traditional eighteenth-century commanders.

This book will suit anyone who wants an accurate and thorough telling of Nelson's personal life. If, however, one has already read an extant biography, or if one seeks Nelson as a naval figure, there is not much to recommend this volume.

Paul Webb
London, Ontario

Ira Dye. *The Fatal Cruise of the Argus: Two Captains in the War of 1812*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994. xiii + 368 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. US \$35, Cdn \$49, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-175-0. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

In *The Fatal Cruise of the Argus*, Ira Dye, a retired US Navy captain, takes a little-known naval battle between the brigs USS *Argus* and HMS *Pelican* in August 1813 and brings the era of wooden warships to life. His love of maritime history and an eye for detail focus on the personalities of William Henry Allen, USN and John Fordyce Maples, RN as their careers and destinies converged during the War of 1812.

The product of nearly five decades of interest and research, Dye combines rich historical detail with a larger view of the political,

economic and strategic context of the War of 1812. He uses the literary technique of parallel narrative to present the stories of the American and British commanders from their earliest youth to their fateful meeting. Though we are prepared for the outcome, Dye's gripping style keeps the reader anxiously turning the pages.

Dye follows Allen from his birth in Rhode Island in 1784 to his first ship as midshipman, the frigate *George Washington*, and eventually to USS *Chesapeake*, on which Allen was serving when that ship had its humiliating encounter with HMS *Leopard* in January 1807. With the powder magazine in chaos and the gun-crews unable to light their matches, it was Allen who used a hot coal from the galley to fire the only American gun before Commodore Barron struck his colours. Allen's pride and strict sense of honour fuelled a deep distrust and anger towards the Royal Navy, an emotion satisfied in part when USS *United States*, on which Allen was serving in October 1812, met HMS *Macedonian* and decimated the British warship in an hour of fast, deadly accurate firing. Allen proudly sailed the prize back to America, but was denied the captaincy he had hoped for. Instead, he was made master commandant and given command of the US brig *Argus* in early 1813. After a successful mission to France, Allen and the *Argus* set off to harass British shipping.

Next, Dye chronicles the life of Commander John Maples, captain of HMS *Pelican*. Some twenty years Allen's senior, the cool and competent Maples began his Royal Navy career in 1782 as a twelve-year old "Captain's Servant." His early experience included port duty, a cruise around England and eleven years on the Jamaica Station chasing the French at Saint-Domingue. Maples lacked a wealthy family or significant political interest, and served in HMS *Magicienne* for several years, keeping clear of his flogging captain, William Henry Ricketts, before eventually being noticed by Admiral Sir Hyde Parker. In 1800 Maples was a lieutenant in Nelson's squadron at the Battle of Copenhagen, and five years later was in the frigate *Naiad* at Trafalgar. Finally promoted to commander in 1810, Maples took command of the newly-built HM Brig *Pelican* in late 1812. After a shake-down cruise to the West Indies, Maples found

himself stalking American cruisers off the coast of Ireland in July 1813.

It was at this point that *Argus* and *Pelican* had their brief and bloody fight, resulting in the immediate deaths of six men, the subsequent deaths of six more, including Henry Allen, and seventy wounded. This was "the highest per capita battle-casualty rate of any American navy ship during the War of 1812". (p.282) Using ship's logs, personal memoirs, surgeons' journals and archives, Dye provides a vivid description of events on the ships before, during and after the battle. The last chapter is devoted to putting the details of their lives to rest. This postscript and the twenty pages of archival illustrations give readers a strong sense of the men and events of the period. Meticulous footnotes and an extensive bibliography add depth.

Combining the spirit of Hornblower with historical research, *The Fatal Cruise of the Argus* serves readers maritime history with a twist — fact that reads better than fiction.

Faye Kert
Ottawa, Ontario

Charles M. Robinson III. *Shark of the Confederacy: The Story of the CSS Alabama*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. xii + 212 pp., photographs, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$25, Cdn \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-728-7. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

In this readable account of the building, the brief but dazzling career, the final battle and the sinking of the most famous of the Confederate raiders, the author makes dispassionate and quite objective use of the well-known sources of the *Alabama* story. That is not to be taken as faint praise, especially in view of the fact that the author avoided certain factual errors repeated by generations of historians. For example, he correctly states that Napoleon III was in Fontainebleau, not in Biarritz, where he followed the hourly account of the duel between the *Alabama* and USS *Kearsarge* off Cherbourg on 19 June 1864, thanks to telegraphed messages from naval authorities in Cherbourg and from the Minister of the Navy and his Chief of Staff in Paris.

Indeed, Charles Robinson has not only done

well with published historical sources, including the memoirs of the principal actors, but he has compared, evaluated and criticized them in a way that should prove helpful and interesting to readers of all categories. Yet his general maritime and naval "culture" appears to be of recent origin, and his knowledge of the highly complex field of what is usually referred to as international maritime law is somewhat limited, though he has the immense merit of not having ignored it altogether. These limitations are illustrated by his treatment of the end of the battle and its aftermath. For example, to "strike colours" is the "cease fire" signal and it is internationally understood to mean just that. The adversary is then supposed to cease fire also, while waiting to see what happens next. Usually the ship that struck its colours then surrenders, unless some unforeseen event prevents it from doing so. Surrendering a ship is a specific and important act by which possession and command is transferred to the victor. It was to confirm that he had been correctly understood by his adversary that Semmes sent Fulham to the *Kearsarge* with a boat-load of the wounded and some of his men who could not swim, to inform Winslow that he was obliged to surrender in order to prevent useless bloodshed. However, he was not able to do so for lack of time, nor, of course, could *Kearsarge* take possession of *Alabama*, which would have been the final, essential step in the procedure for its surrender. When it became clear to all that the *Alabama* was rapidly sinking and that the order to abandon ship had been given, the duty of all civilized persons in a position to do so was to rescue the men in the water. Those saved by French and British craft were not prisoners of war because the ship had not been captured, consequently both Great Britain and France refused to take into consideration Winslow's ill-advised request to turn "his prisoners" over to him.

The record of the *Alabama* as a commerce raider is a brilliant illustration of the shape of things to come in modern, total and global naval warfare. Economic warfare at sea is an important mission of modern navies and to the present knowledge of this reviewer, no one has yet equalled Semmes' record: sixty-five enemy merchant vessels captured and one enemy warship destroyed in the course of a twenty-two

month career, during which time Semmes showed remarkable consideration for the lives and welfare for all in his ship. In the absence of port calls and logistic support, there was nevertheless no loss of life or even serious illness among passengers and prisoners while on board the *Alabama*, and the officers and crew of the Union warship USS *Hatteras*, sunk off Galveston, were rescued and put ashore in Martinique. Among the officers and crew of the *Alabama* itself, only one death occurred on board, and it was accidental, and one officer shot and killed himself in a hunting accident in South Africa.

Perhaps it should be emphasized that CSS *Alabama* was a commissioned warship, not a privateersman, and certainly not a pirate. If it had been either a privately owned but unclaimed privateersman, or a pirate, by definition outside all national and international law, its wreck would today be the property of France, the nation in whose territorial waters it is situated. As a warship, however, it retained its "nationality" which, with Union victory, became American and it is now recognized to be the property of the United States of America as the successor state of the Confederate States of America.

The archaeological exploration of the *Alabama* wreck is now in its eighth year. Charles Robinson's information on that phase of the *Alabama* story is quite naturally fragmentary. The people who are doing the work involved in its archaeological exploration and study will write that story themselves some day, when the job is finished or otherwise terminated. It promises to be as interesting in its own way as the *Alabama's* career as a commerce raider, and equally challenging in the sense that the archaeological site, situated as it is in a natural environment that can only be qualified as particularly hostile, requires innovative methods, singleness of purpose and a generous measure of good luck if its exploration and study are to be brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that Robinson's book will encourage readers to learn more about the international repercussions of the far-flung naval and maritime aspects of the American Civil War.

Ulane Bonnel
Paris, France

Geoffrey Till (ed.). *Seapower: Theory and Practice*. Ilford, Essex: Frank Cass, 1994. 206 pp., figures, index. US \$35, cloth; ISBN 0-7146-4604-0. Distributed in North America by International Specialized Book Services, Inc., Portland, OR.

The goal of this collection, which first appeared as a special series in *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, is to demonstrate to military and political strategic planners that navies still have an important role to play, even in today's uncertain international environment.

The collection begins with a rambling and unfocused survey by Colin Gray as to what seapower might be, what it has been thought to have been, and what it should be. Gray's loose style and undisciplined terminology never allow the reader to get a clear picture of just what his argument is. Is naval power the same as seapower? Is maritime power the same as seapower? Are they all part of a bigger strategic planning process that links the land and the sea? These are the questions that Gray hints at but never really answers. Unless the purpose here was to utilize the Socratic method to enlighten readers, the chapter has limited use.

The pace picks up with Jan Breemer's fine intellectual history of the legacy of Trafalgar and its influence on the Royal Navy and the British strategic planning before World War I. In the tradition of Donald Schurman and the late Barry Hunt, Breemer reveals how an institution, the Royal Navy, thought about its place in the defence of Britain's empire and its strategic naval imperatives. What was the strategic rationale behind the RN's existence? What were the RN's and the public's expectations of that institution? How did traditions, hallowed legacies, and historical "lessons" influence the formulation of Britain's naval strategy, operational preparation and the deployment of the Royal Navy before 1914? Breemer illustrates clearly the influences and restrictions that can be placed on strategic planners by the uncritical acceptance of historical "givens."

Andrew (G.A.H.) Gordon and Andrew Lambert take the story of the Royal Navy from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance through to the opening stages of Britain's fight in the Battle of the Atlantic. Gordon's chapter briefly deals with

the question of Imperial overstretch and what the Royal Navy's operational options were during the period from 1902 to 1941. There is little new here. His suggestion that the RN could indeed fight in the Far East in 1941 is worth noting. But, after his excellent book, *British Seapower and Procurement Between the Wars*, there is a great feeling of disappointment with this chapter. As well, the fact that large parts of this article also appear in another chapter by Gordon in a forthcoming festschrift for Barry D. Hunt and that the similarity goes unnoted detracts from the uniqueness of his argument.

Andrew Lambert's contribution shows why he must continue to be considered one of the "bright young men" among British naval historians. His knowledge and understanding of the political, economic, financial, industrial, tactical, and technical elements that combine to form naval strategy were evident in his earlier works. Here he explores the use of intelligence, particularly Ultra and its impact on the early stages of the Royal Navy's fight against Hitler's submarines in the Atlantic, from September 1939 to mid-1941. His thesis is that mid-1941 was a decisive turning point in that struggle, as British efforts began to make telling blows against the U-boats. The argument is clear and persuasive.

This study of the RN is followed by two "guest appearances": one by John Pay, on US carrier development and the supremacy of the 'blue-water' school in US strategic naval planning from 1974-93, and another by Jacob Borresen, on whether or not 'brown-water' navies still have a place in the naval scheme of things. His focus is primarily European in nature and as such is an interesting juxtaposition to Pay's piece. Both are adequate general surveys with a few interesting points concerning the future use and definition of 'blue-water' fleets. Nonetheless, both are of limited use.

Geoffrey Till concludes the collection with a clear, well-thought out article that looks at where seapower might be going in the next century. His clear thinking, definition, precision and insight reflects the abilities of one of naval history's senior scholars and makes this a "think-piece" article well worth reading.

Greg Kennedy
Kingston, Ontario

Julian S. Corbett; John B. Hattendorf and Donald M. Schurman (intro.). *Maritime Operations in the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905*, 2 vols. Annapolis, MD & Newport, RI: Naval Institute Press and Naval War College Press, 1994. I: xvii + 567 pp., figures, tables, appendices, index; II: xi + 469 pp., figures, tables, appendices, index. US \$65, Cdn \$90, cloth, ISBN 1-55750-129-7 (set). Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This book, a 'lost' masterpiece by one of the great naval historians, is now published for the first time. Corbett's place in naval historiography and the development of modern strategic thought is unquestioned. As John Hattendorf and Donald Schurman demonstrate in their introduction, this book was commissioned by the Admiralty, and completed before the outbreak of World War I. It was intended to inform the Royal Navy of the strategic and tactical experience of the most recent naval war. This placed it squarely in the tradition, begun by Sir John Knox Laughton, in which naval history was deployed to support the intellectual and doctrinal development of the modern service. However, it was issued in pitifully small quantities, only four copies of the first volume, and kept secret to avoid offending the Japanese, who had provided much classified material. Furthermore, many in the Navy objected to the task being given to a civilian, preferring to take their strategy from Mahan on the grounds that he was a seaman. Corbett had been singularly unimpressed with the Committee of Imperial Defence history of the war, and even less happy with early efforts by naval officers to prepare a naval account from British, Russian and Japanese materials. He stressed the need for a strategic overview, linking the war at sea to that on land. Corbett's approach to 'Official History' demonstrated that he did not approve of the highly detailed German General Staff model, which was then being copied around the world. For him detail was subordinate to strategic and doctrinal issues.

The result of Corbett's labours stands comparison with his two finest histories; *England in the Seven Years' War*, and the *Official History of the War: Naval Operations*. After outlining the origins of the war, Corbett provides an insight into Russian pre-war planning.

His development of a coherent strategic narrative, while following the ebb and flow of events on land and sea, is exemplary. Here, for the first time, it is possible to follow the higher direction of the war, and follow the development of plans. In addition, while he appreciated that this was a limited war, he did not attempt to create a false analogy with the case of Britain for, as he observed, the strategic situations of the two countries were quite distinct. Corbett assessed and criticised the strategies of the two powers, particularly that of Russia, and took the opportunity to discuss the basic principles, from the 'fortress fleet' to the passage of expeditionary forces across an uncontrolled sea.

The influence of this book on the Royal Navy at the outbreak of World War I is difficult to quantify. It contained a wealth of evidence on such disparate issues as the use of minefields to warn of sorties, the importance of a second-line fleet of older ships for coastal operations, the use of uncommitted naval reserves as an advance landing force, the tactical value of speed and strategies for drawing the enemy into battle. The correspondence of the naval high command in 1914-15 reveals an awareness of Corbett's conclusions, especially those from Volume I, published in January 1914, whether from a close reading, or a verbal briefing. The leading figures of the age, Fisher, Churchill and Battenberg, either corresponded with Corbett, or read his work. Fisher saw Corbett as a key member of his unofficial staff and doctrine development cell; Battenberg had a more rounded sympathy with his work.

The reproduction, from the original print, is excellent; but the book is incomplete. Corbett, more than any other naval historian/strategist of his age, wrote with the maps before him. Every chapter of this book is headed by a brief summary of the contents, and the injunction to refer to the relevant maps, charts and tactical diagrams. These have not been reproduced, and as a detailed knowledge of the geography of Korea, the Liaotung peninsula and the Sea of Japan is critical to the strategic thrust of the book, and the tactical diagrams to the narrative of events, this makes for a hard read. With this caveat I would urge anyone interested in the work of Corbett, the Russo-Japanese War, the naval history of the twentieth century, or the

historiography of naval and strategic studies to read this book. It should have been the most effective £1,000 spent by the Royal Navy in the twentieth century, but it proved to be another case of too little distribution, following too late a start.

Andrew Lambert
London, England

James Cable. *Gunboat Diplomacy 1919-1991*. 3rd ed.; London: The Macmillan Press, 1971, 1981, 1994. xiv + 246 pp., tables, chronological appendix, notes, select bibliography, index. £17.50, paper; ISBN 0-333-61680-4.

As this review is being written (mid-April 1995), the so-called "Turbot War" between Canada and Spain has just ended. The Canadian press was quick to trumpet its passage "a victory for gunboat diplomacy." But was it, on either account — a victory, or even gunboat diplomacy?

James Cable, a retired British diplomat, uses the first chapter of this book to develop the theoretical basis of the subject, and arrive at a workable definition (p. 14):

Gunboat diplomacy is the use or threat of limited naval force, otherwise than as an act of war, in order to secure advantage or to avert loss...in the furtherance of an international dispute...

By the standards thus established, the Spanish-Canadian contest was most certainly gunboat diplomacy in one of its purest forms, and an unqualified success for Canada. Indeed, it would be difficult to provide a better contemporary illustration of the concept. One further suspects that the Commander of the Canadian Navy had a copy of Cable in his top drawer, or at least a nearby staff officer who had read it recently.

For *Gunboat Diplomacy* is in every sense a textbook on the subject. From the derivation of the definition cited above, Cable proceeds methodically to demonstrate that not all uses of naval force short of war are the same. He assigns four categories of force available to employers of gunboat diplomacy, in a roughly descending scale of violence: definitive, purposeful, catalytic, or expressive. Each is illustrated by at least two in-depth case studies and

a host of lesser-known, but supporting examples.

There follow in quick succession chapter-length discussions of related themes. He gleans patterns from what he readily admits is an "activity so essentially irregular and *ad hoc*" (p. 65). Then he explores the capabilities of and range of operations open to various naval forces, from "simple ship" to "opposed amphibious" landings. He ends with a discussion of the future of gunboat diplomacy, in the absence of the Soviet Union. A detailed "Chronological Appendix of Seventy Years of Gunboat Diplomacy" demonstrates that the use of limited naval force has been a popular resort among maritime nations: for only one year since 1919 has he failed to uncover an instance of its use; that was 1944, at the height of World War II.

His prognosis is for more, not less, of this form of naval action in the future. Nor will it be limited to the traditional naval powers, or latter-day pretenders to great navy status. Without any foreknowledge of the Spanish-Canadian quarrel, Cable points to control of undersea resources as a likely source of conflict short of war between nations. Regions for his concern are the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean, but clearly we need not be limited to those areas.

Should there be any reservation, this is no dry, academic tome. The way in which Cable derives his ideas from basic principles and sets them against accepted truths makes this as useful and easily read a volume for the novice as for the seasoned naval officer. The result also has a certain timelessness, for Cable's textbook has been around in one form or another for over two decades. When it first appeared in 1971, at the height of the Cold War, his arguments seemed to have a wistful quality, almost a yearning for simpler times, before the assumption of Armageddon as the inevitable result of any super-power posturing put a check on the widespread application of gunboat diplomacy.

This much expanded edition returns the study very firmly to the realm of the possible. It is a timely examination of an issue bound to dominate interaction amongst maritime nations as the world grapples with the consequences of the new world order.

Richard H. Gimblett
Blackburn Hamlet, Ontario

John M. MacFarlane. *Canada's Admirals and Commodores*. Rev. ed.; Victoria: Maritime Museum of British Columbia, 1994. 93 pp., photographs, appendices, abbreviations. \$24.95, paper; ISBN 0-09693001-2-3.

Dictionaries of naval biography are of varying usefulness. Those developed for the Royal Navy in the heroic age (none of which, surprisingly, appear in the fourth edition of R.G. Albion's *Naval and Military History: An Annotated Bibliography*) were compiled by editors willing to engage in massive polling of the naval profession. Historians frequently offer up thanks (or, if they do not, they should) to those tireless and, one suspects, sometimes less-than-impecunious toilers. Yet they also know that some of the published information is highly subjective, much of it having been provided by the officers themselves, and thus must be resigned to the probability of missing data. More recently, the National Maritime Museum has produced the *Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy 1660-1815*, a completely different kind of work. Every entry is standardised, showing nothing more than the bare bones of each officer's career, and lending itself to constant updating. The anecdotes are missing, but for the period it covers, it is probably even more useful to the historian than its predecessors.

John MacFarlane, formerly of the Maritime Museum of British Columbia, has taken on a daunting task of producing such dictionaries for the Canadian navy, the essential first step to a systematic record of the flesh and bones of the naval profession. This volume begins with officers of Flag rank, and makes a valiant attempt to go beyond the bare bones with snippets of personal information, thus combining the best to be found in the British models. It will not displace Navy Lists, but is more easily accessible and informative.

The data are in a software programme that will facilitate updating and revision, and is produced in a relatively cheap form, which will open the way to subsequent and much to be hoped for revised editions. One could wish for better reproduction of the photographs (although any such material is welcome), and in any enlarged and revised edition, missing information will need to be supplied by the subjects.

their friends and families. In some cases the photographs may have been attached to the wrong entries: in particular I note "Doch" MacGillivray and (unless he is the spitting image of his father) R. StG. Stephens.

As a last thought, this project lends itself to the CD-ROM format. If a sponsor could be found it might well be worth exploring the possibility. For now, however, let us hope that John MacFarlane has the time and energy to complete his exceptionally worthwhile efforts to give Canadian naval endeavour a human face. And will anyone start work on the lower deck?

W.A.B. Douglas
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R.A. Burt. *British Battleships 1919-1939*. London: Arms & Armour Press, 1993. 414 pp., photographs, figures, bibliography, index. £40, cloth; ISBN 1-85409-068-2.

R.A. Burt has followed up his earlier noteworthy books on the subject of British capital ships with this lavish volume devoted especially to the interwar period, but with comprehensive ships' histories covering the World War II years as well. This impressive and highly-detailed work is extensively researched and based almost exclusively on archival sources and rarely-before published photographs.

Employing a chronological, class-by-class and often ship-by-ship organizational framework, Burt provides much information concerning interwar British battleship and battlecruiser basic design features, armour, armaments, machinery and power plants as well as the numerous modifications and reconstruction programs undertaken in the period between Jutland and the end of World War II. Not even the most superficial detail escaped his survey. All battle damage sustained by these ships from 1939 to 1945 is meticulously recorded, as are many interesting technical or tactical subjects such as the employment of embarked aircraft, camouflage schemes, planned defence against chemical attack, direction finding and radar. Burt includes a chapter on the evolution of aircraft carriers in the Royal Navy and describes at length the conversion of the battlecruisers *Furious*, *Glorious* and *Courageous* into carriers.

Burt is unabashedly passionate about his subject, declaring that "actions speak louder than words and when one examines the record of the British battleship from 1919 to 1945, the Royal Navy's designers, the crews serving them and the vessels themselves, it becomes clear that they had little reason to pay heed to derogatory opinion", (p.7) Although he admits that the proven efficiency of air power heralded the eclipse of capital ships, Burt attempts to show that the British battlefleet earned its keep during the war. Yet he is inclined to demonstrate this by attempting to rebuff the many criticisms made of British capital ships in this period rather than illustrate in a comprehensive strategic sense the full utility of the fleet.

Burt's love affair with British capital ships occasionally strangles his writing style as well, and affects the logic of his conclusions. He glosses over many problematic features associated with British capital ship design in the post-1918 period, noting that many obvious drawbacks were imposed by treaty limitations. For example, of the furious debate over, and everlasting criticism of, the choice of 14" guns as the main armament in the *King George V* class, he calmly states, "true, the main armament was not powerful enough." (p.376) Many of his apologias, including a somewhat half-hearted defence of Admiral Phillips' actions off Malaya in December 1941, are simply not convincing and rely on speculation, such as his views that the much-maligned *Royal Sovereigns* would surely have bested in battle ships of the Japanese *Kongo* class. It did not happen and we do not know; this view cannot be used as evidence in the defence of the *Royal Sovereigns*, which were all laid up into reserve status by 1943-44.

Given the highly technical nature of much of the material, the political, economic and strategic contexts of the interwar period receive very short and much-simplified attention. Inter-war naval rivalry, financial constraints, a rapidly aging battlefleet and the growing view in public and private quarters that the battleship era had passed, all served to throw Britain's naval building programs into disarray. The reader is poorly served by the lack of detail concerning the basis for the Royal Navy's strategic decision-making in the interwar period. Roskill's work on naval policy between the wars does not even appear in

the rather weak bibliography.

The text is supplemented by hundreds of superb photographs (including some especially outstanding shots of *Barham*, *Warspite*, and *Hood*) and dozens of excellent line drawings and information tables which, taken together, provide a comprehensive picture of the interwar British battlefleet. There are some flaws, however. The text can be annoyingly repetitive and contains numerous sloppy typographical errors, particularly where dates or statistics are concerned.

Despite these criticisms, with this beautifully designed and produced book, author and publishers have provided a great service to naval historians, enthusiasts and modellers alike. Notwithstanding its price, the book is much to be recommended.

Serge M. Durlfänger
Verdun, Quebec

Tobias R. Philbin III. *The Lure of Neptune: German-Soviet Naval Collaboration and Ambitions, 1919-1941*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994. xxv + 192 pp., photographs, figures, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87249-992-8.

J.N. Westwood. *Russian Naval Construction 1905-45*. London: The Macmillan Press, 1994. xii + 251 pp., maps, figures, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. £45, cloth; ISBN 0-333-55553-8.

Despite the demise of the Soviet empire, the navy built by its leaders retains much of the enigmatic quality it has long held for scholars and naval analysts. The books by Philbin and Westwood maintain the tradition of trying to unravel the puzzle that the Soviet Navy has always presented to non-Russians. Throughout the Cold War, we kept on asking: "Why is it there?" and "What will it do?" Today those questions remain valid, albeit in a more historical sense now, because we never fully answered them. Neither Philbin nor Westwood provide full answers to those questions, but they offer some fresh insights on aspects of the Soviet fleet that were a little opaque before.

In some respects, the two volumes are unlikely companions. Yet, there are a surprising

number of commonalities. Because naval history and strategic studies tend to devote more time to the development of Cold War Soviet naval doctrine, both books could be seen as mere footnotes to the more significant work. This is not the case. Although Philbin and Westwood might not deal with traditional "mainstream" issues they offer views of the early Soviet system trying to grapple with the naval problem.

In *Russian Naval Construction* Professor Westwood makes a fascinating comparison between Tsarist and pre-Cold War Soviet concepts of seapower and of the way in which the two vastly different political systems went about creating the fleet needed to meet the respective naval objectives. Despite the ideological differences in the two forms of government, they were remarkably similar in other respects, such as in controlling the shipbuilding industry. As Westwood explains, both systems tried to make Russia a major naval power yet could not make it happen. Even the reasons were similar. Both systems seemed unable to master completely all the technology necessary to build modern warships without considerable help from other countries. Designing new ships was often a problem because of a shortage of qualified naval architects and an inability to draw the many pieces of the shipbuilding industry together to build a complex warship. In tsarist Russia ship designers had an unfortunate history of failures and thus tended to fall quickly from favour; under Stalin the designers fared little better in falling victim to the political purges. The result was the same: the shipbuilding industry did not mature and thus was not able to meet the political goal.

Westwood also provides an intriguing critique from a technical perspective of the failure of the Soviet command economy, especially the five-year planning process, to produce the right materials at the right time. Not only were essential components not there on time, they also invariably failed to meet quality control standards. In some cases, a component simply could not be produced to the right specifications. There is one incredible story, which must be believed because of Westwood's precise research, of sea trials of a new submarine that was clearly not seaworthy. As the author explains, the trials were a "severe test not only of the boat but of the crew's courage." (p. 157)

The message Westwood brings home very bluntly is that Soviet-style revolution with its near-constant spectre of purges exacts a very heavy toll on technological advancement. It is surprising, in fact, that the wartime Soviet Navy was ever built at all. The shipyards were a constant source of concern to the Communist Party "mechanism" because work always lagged behind political production targets. The irony was that "administrative" purges to promote efficiency merely took away the most experienced shipbuilders.

The gap between political and technical requirements was often as deep as that between Stalin and his fleet commanders over the types of ships needed. As Westwood makes so clear, Soviet shipbuilding was virtually immobilized in the ideological debate over naval doctrine. By the mid-1930s (the Third Five-Year Plan), however, Stalin had overcome his resistance to capital ships and embarked on a huge building program that included no less than fifteen battleships and fifteen heavy cruisers. In light of the shipbuilding industry's track record in the 1920s and early 1930s that was a leap of faith that defies explanation. This time, Stalin's grandiose plans were dependent on Italian and German help.

It is at this point that *The Lure of Neptune* dovetails into Westwood's work. Unfortunately, Dr. Philbin's very detailed and interesting story of German-Soviet collaboration in the inter-war years does not read as easily as Westwood's description of the larger picture. Nevertheless, it is well worth persevering because he explains some very significant points about the way in which Stalin built his Navy.

The historical setting for German-Soviet relations before 1941 is a little complicated, and to get the most out of Philbin's detailed description it is useful to refresh one's memory of contemporary European events, particularly the Rapallo Treaty that is central to the book. The marriage between Germany and Russia forged by Rapallo was one of mutual convenience in which both sides tried to get as much as possible out of the other before the inevitable divorce. The Germans had technology but were short of some key resources, the Soviets had resources but desperately needed technological help to build their new fleet. Yet it was never an open

relationship; the partners were always hiding things from each other and were perpetually suspicious of each other's ulterior motives. Besides some naval hardware transfers to the Soviets — the partly finished cruiser *Lulzow*, gun turrets, and some technical "know how" that included help with submarine construction (which may have been of even more value in 1945 when the Soviets took some Type XXI and XXIII boats back to Russia) — the cooperation did not result in any landmark changes in either navy. The Soviets probably came out ahead because of the boost given to their self-confidence in shipbuilding.

Two other dimensions of the relationship, however, are very much more interesting. The first is the role of Grand Admiral Eric Raeder in the process. Not only was he a Russian-speaker but he also turned himself over to the Soviets at the end of the war. His motivation for the various cooperative ventures has to be questioned. Was it just good politics? The other feature is the provision of a naval operations base near Murmansk to the Germans in the early days of the war against Britain and the Allies. As Philbin makes absolutely clear, this was hardly the act of a neutral. In fact, the Soviets were playing with fire, knew it, yet chose to continue. The implications of this act could have been far reaching. Ironically, it was probably a good thing Hitler decided to invade because it got the Russians off the hook and allowed them to side with the Allies. But such is the way of international politics: seldom predictable and certainly never dull.

Russian Naval Construction and *The Lure of Neptune* are useful, albeit non-traditional, contributions to the study of the Russian and Soviet Navies. Both books also provide glimpses of the future course of events in carefully explaining that the early years of the command economy were not exactly conducive to building a modern fleet. With help, however, the Soviets muddled through, and after the war were able to go on and become a major sea power. Without that help, one has to wonder what might have happened.

Peter Haydon
Bedford, Nova Scotia

Charles W. Koburger, Jr. *Naval Warfare in the Baltic, 1939-1945: War in a Narrow Sea*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994. x + 151 pp., maps, tables, photographs, appendices, annotated bibliography, index. US \$49.95, cloth; ISBN 0-275-95027-1.

For Charles Koburger, our continued disinterest in the roll of the minor Baltic nations and their small fleets during World War II is an alarming case of historical myopia. This retired US Coast Guard Reserve officer and prolific writer believes that the conduct of naval operations in this region during that war offers valuable insights into the nature of future conflicts in the narrow seas of the world. He feels that the recent breakup of the USSR will, in time, exacerbate regional tensions in areas separated by narrow seas, and that we must be prepared for them. Even if we dismiss his fears, the fact remains that he has illuminated a relatively poorly lit aspect of World War II. This makes *War in a Narrow Sea* worthy of a closer look.

The book is divided into six small chapters that cover the history of this region from Hitler's invasion of Poland to the collapse of his Third Reich. The author's main focus is the interplay between the various small nations and the two largest powers in the region: Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Although they are given their due, his main concern is to highlight their relations with the smaller powers. The same applies to his description of the actual conduct of the war in this region. He spends as little time as possible on the conduct of individual operations, preferring to provide us with an overview of the strategies employed by the Baltic nations. For example, the combined German-Finnish landings in the Aland Sea are mentioned, but not covered in any detail.

The text is buttressed by eight appendices; readers unfamiliar with this region are encouraged to examine some of them before reading the main text. The two detailed maps are quite useful. He has also included thirteen pictures of Finnish, Swedish, Danish and Russian ships and aircraft. Although the omission of images of German men of war serves to remind us of the Baltic-wide focus of the work, it is otherwise regrettable. The annotated bibliography is adequate.

Koburger takes the trouble to bring to our attention two factors from the conduct of campaigns in this region that strongly differ from modern US Navy doctrine. The first is the virtual lack of amphibious assaults; the second is the very limited employment of naval sealift capability by either side. He is probably correct in believing that the *IVehrmacht's* failure to consider using any kind of seaborne assault in the initial planning of Operation Barbarossa was a fundamental, though perhaps not crucial, error. On the other hand, Koburger seems to have written his account in a kind of vacuum. He tends to gloss over crucial events in other theatres, even though they influenced the conduct of operations in the Baltic. His penchant for describing the German *panzerschiffe* as armoured cruisers is unfortunate, and the decision to omit diacritical marks is very distracting.

Nonetheless, his work is certainly a welcome addition to the historiography of World War II, and he raises some interesting parallels and points. These include the relatively defensive posture adopted by the German Navy in this region in both World Wars, and his speculation on the political factors that prevented the *Kriegsmarine's* evacuation ships from bringing German refugees to Sweden. For these reasons, it is certainly a recommendable read, but it is far from being the definitive account of the battle for control of this "narrow sea." Readers in the US can order this work directly from the publisher at 1-800-225-5800.

Peter K.H. Mispelkamp
Pointe Claire, Quebec

Steve Neary. *The Enemy On Our Doorstep*. St. John's, NF: Jespersion Press, 1994. 140 pp., charts, photographs, appendix, glossary. \$12.95, paper; ISBN 0-921692-58-7.

Professional historians have long acknowledged that local histories can be very useful in delineating in detail the major themes of national and international history. In scope and intent, if not quite satisfactorily in execution, this book fulfils that role for Newfoundland in World War II.

Author Steve Neary takes for his topic the U-boat sinkings in 1942 of four iron-ore carriers in the anchorage at Bell Island in Conception

Bay, Newfoundland. Though a minor event in the overall decimation of Allied shipping in North American coastal waters during the Battle of the Atlantic, this was a major local disaster. As Neary makes clear, these were not opportunistic attacks upon anonymous vessels. Rather, the U-boats at Bell Island had targeted vessels and crews with close links to the local community, taking the lives of crewmen from Newfoundland and wreaking havoc and destruction at shoreside facilities.

Neary gives a memorable impression of how the iron mining community was affected by the sinkings and the loss of life (sixty-nine seamen in all), indeed by the trauma of being under direct enemy attack. The extemporised morgues, the mass turnouts for the funerals of those killed, even the sense of fellow feeling expressed for the people of Great Britain — who routinely lived with the reality of aerial bombing — set the community apart from other North Americans, for whom the war remained remote from their homes. This "frontline" distinctiveness was something Bell Island shared to an extent with Newfoundland generally: the civil defence preparedness, the ARP (Air Raid Precautions) program, nightly blackout regulations, censorship, restrictions on movement, the special degree of police surveillance, the often uneasy relations with "allied" garrisons, the rumours of spies and fifth columnists - all were features that, in their local intensity, were more akin to the "total war" experience of the British people than that of fellow North Americans. Neary does a valuable service in reminding us of the special quality of that wartime experience.

If in this way Bell Island became the only site in North America to suffer direct attack by Axis forces, this was not unanticipated. Recognised as an important and particularly vulnerable source of war materiel, it was provided with defensive coastal artillery before the intensive and hurried build-up of Canadian and American defence forces in Newfoundland after the collapse of France in 1940. After the establishment of the Royal Canadian Navy's escort base in St. John's in May 1941, these defences were supplemented by patrolling RCN corvettes and motor launches. Air cover was also available from the new Canadian aerodrome at Torbay and, at a greater distance, from Gander.

One of Neary's stated objectives was to explain why these defences failed to protect the freighters anchored at Bell Island from attack. Here the author is on less secure ground, partly through omitting to provide adequate contextual information, but mainly on account of a reliance upon primary source texts in place of sustained analysis. Informed readers who are familiar with the general capacity and levels of preparedness of the Canadian armed forces at that time, and with contemporary criticisms of their performance by US and British allies, will recognize a familiar tale emerging from the reports, statements and Board of Enquiry findings presented here. The Bell Island sinkings reflected early Canadian command problems in the northwest Atlantic theatre: response-oriented, as opposed to integrated offensive reconnaissance by air units; poor leadership and inadequate command communications within the heavily reservist RCN fleet; an unacceptable incidence of equipment failures or, worse, lack of advanced electronic detection and navigational aids on RCN vessels; above all, a signal lack of the killer attitude on the part of RCN reservist officers. We are in Neary's debt for reprinting the official enquiry findings in which hard-bitten Royal Navy warriors criticise RCN reservists for giving priority to picking up survivors over full concentration on finding and killing the U-boat assailant.

One suspects, however, that most readers will miss these connections. This is a pity; with more context and analysis, there would have been a truly revealing argument. That said, this book has much to say about Newfoundland's experience in World War II; for anyone interested in the topic, it is good read.

Bernard Ransom
St. John's, Newfoundland

Fraser M. McKee. *HMCS Swansea: The Life and Times of a Frigate*. St. Catharines: Vanwell Publishing, 1994. xi + 190 pp., photographs, illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-920277-89-6.

Swansea's thirteen months' operations during the war were eventful: based in the United Kingdom, the frigate shared in the destruction of four U-boats, more than any other Canadian

warship. The first sinking came during *Swansea's* very first Atlantic crossing, and two others occurred within the first six weeks of operations out of Londonderry in EG 9. These three shared kills occurred under her first commanding officer, Lieutenant-Commander Clarence King, DSO, DSC, RCNR, English-born but from Oliver, British Columbia. Before commissioning *Swansea* in October 1943 he had already sunk one U-boat (U-94 in *Oakville*) and had been decorated in World War I for sinking a U-boat as an RNR in a Q ship. After sharing in the destruction of a fourth U-boat southwest of Land's End in September 1944 *Swansea* returned to Canada for a tropicalization refit that lasted until the summer of 1945.

Retained in Canada's post-war navy, the ship was re-commissioned in 1948, modernized between 1954 and 1957, and was finally paid off after twenty-two years' service in 1966. Author Fraser McKee emphasizes that *Swansea* was both typical in that her more than two decades of service mirrored the activities of her sister frigates, and atypical in that she was involved in so many successes in just over a year of wartime operations. This account of *Swansea's* story is therefore welcome.

McKee aims for an informal narrative that conveys a sense of how events in war and in peace were experienced by the ship's company. He draws on the memories of old *Swansea's* as well as official reports and records. (Among other facts he unearthed an indiscipline in 1949 similar to the better-known ones in other ships that resulted in the Mainguy report). The text is supported by numerous illustrations, including snapshots and sketches, humorous and factual, made by members of the ship's company. Indeed, most of the photographs are superb, adding greatly to a sense of immediacy. Two in particular speak volumes about seamanship and perils at sea: one sequence shows *Swansea* rescuing Royal Engineers adrift on an enormous concrete invasion caisson off Cornwall, another provides an arresting view of HMS *Pelican* in trouble while fuelling from an escort carrier. McKee assiduously contacted U-boat survivors, and was able to include wartime German photographs. There is also a poignant spread on facing pages of separate reunions of old *Swan-*

seas and U-boat survivors. The foreword is by *Swansea's* first post-war commanding officer, Rear Admiral Timbrell, CMM, DSO, CD.

One strength of the book is the character sketches of Lt.Cdr. King and Cdr. A.F.C. Layard, DSO, RN, the first two commanding officers. Their role in *Swansea's* successes is underscored by the youthfulness and inexperience of the ship's company of 130, largely RCNVRs - their average age, including petty officers, was twenty-two, two-thirds had no previous sea time, and all but twelve had joined in 1942 or later. Both commanding officers were determined, somewhat aloof, gentlemanly and considerate of their subordinates — and very effective.

McKee stresses that *Swansea's* wartime successes were products of training and painful lessons learned by others in four years of war. That capable Canadian frigates did not enter operational service until the Battle of the Atlantic had virtually been won points to Canada's lack of pre-war preparedness. Effective naval forces and skills simply cannot be improvised in a crisis but must be honed in peace.

A number of gremlins did manage to creep into the text. Much of it must have been re-formatted, since numerous hyphens are left in the middle of sentences. Factual errors occasionally appear: the RCN started the war with six, not five destroyers (p.19); the Canadian Navy started using Bermuda as a Work Up Base in 1944, not 1942 (p.40); and the post-war facility in Bermuda was a radio station, not a support base for exercises, (p.141) *Swansea* would have proceeded up the east, not west coast of Vancouver Island to Active Pass and Nanoose (p.47); Nigel Brodeur not only became a Rear Admiral but a Vice Admiral as well (p.48); the first Canadian Support Group in 1943 was EG 5, not EG 9 (p.57); *Valleyfield* was sunk south of Newfoundland, not Iceland (p. 103); HMS *Surprise*, not HMY *Britannia* was the reviewing ship at Queen (not Princess) Elizabeth's Coronation Review in 1953 (p. 152); there is an intriguing mention (p. 156) of a "second collision with HMCS *Algonquin*" in 1957, but the first one is not described; and finally, the *Rivers*, with a maximum speed of nineteen knots, had a speed advantage of at least eight knots over submerged U-boats but not when they were on the surface (p. 167). It is also

open to question whether "expensive yachts" in the Marblehead Race really had "better navigation electronics" than the Decca-equipped *Swansea* in 1961 and that she simply followed the yachts, (p. 161) One non-naval "gremlin": *The Nightwatch* is by Rembrandt, not Rubens (p. 166). As for the absence of footnotes and references in the text, this is by the author's choice; he finds these disruptive to the type of book he produced.

These quibbles aside, this pleasing and attractive book makes the story of a typical HMC ship and its people available to a wide audience. This is a valuable addition to the growing literature about the Canadian Navy.

Jan Drent
Victoria, British Columbia

W.G. Kinsman. *Before I Forget: From School-boy to Submariner*. Victoria, BC: the author, 1994 [available through The Maritime Museum of British Columbia, 28 Bastion Square, Victoria, B.C. V8W 1H9]. ii + 231 pp, photographs. \$35, plastic cover; no ISBN.

Peter Charlton. *Nobody Told Us It Couldn't Be Done: The VX10 Story*. Ottawa: the author, 1993 [305 Summit Ave, Ottawa K1H 5Z7]. viii + 179 + 52 pp., photographs, appendices. \$17, plastic cover; ISBN 0-9697525-0-4.

Frank Wade. *A Midshipman's War: A Young Man in the Mediterranean Naval War 1941-1943*. Vancouver: Cordillera Publishing, 1994. 256 pp., photographs, appendices, index. \$35.26 (incl tax/post), cloth; ISBN 1-895590-06-X.

These books are well-written accounts produced by three retired Royal Canadian Navy authors who were directly involved in the events they describe. Kinsman's is an autobiography through challenging times, Charlton's is the history of a naval air squadron in which he played a major part, while Wade's is a chronicle of a fierce World War II campaign of which he had an unusual vantage point.

Cdr. W.G. Kinsman DSC CD RCN (Ret.) set out to record his World War II experiences in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve for his family, from his boyhood in south Wales to the

return of his submarine to the United Kingdom after VJ-day. Trained as an ordinary seaman ashore in HMS *Raleigh* in February 1940, he served in the destroyer *Hesperus* and, selected for a commission, completed officer training at HMS *King Alfred* at Hove. Next, to HMS *Duke of York*, Home Fleet flagship, moving on to submarines in British and, later, Far East waters. He keeps his story moving, too, with anecdotes about shipmates and home life and reference to submarine patrol reports now accessible. It is all very modest: one can guess when he won his DSC but Bill doesn't say; he does relate a prototypically British kind of "*Caine Mutiny*" in which the first lieutenant reported his CO to the squadron commander for aborting a promising attack only to find the skipper had already done so and had asked to be relieved.

Cdr. P. Charlton CD RCN (Ret.) produced his book from research for another, *Certified Serviceable: Swordfish to Sea King The Technical Story of Canadian Naval Aviation*, due for release in October 1995. VX10 was a unit (VX signifying a fixed-wing air squadron [V] to conduct "experiments" [X]) formed in April 1952, originally to accept used Avenger strike aircraft from the US Navy and modify them for anti-submarine warfare. VX10 flew till unification gobbled it up in 1970. The book's title well reflects the "Can Do" spirit that animated the squadron and naval aviation, indeed the RCN, and accomplished great things despite difficulties. Peter, an air engineer who was senior technical officer in VX10 for forty-two months, played a large part in these tasks, though he never says so, including its best known feat, the mating of the large Sea King helicopter with a standard-sized destroyer. Every project is listed in an appendix and many are described in the text — and so are the people, true to the band-of-brothers spirit of this expert and dedicated little community.

LCdr. F.E. Wade CD RCN (Ret.), a past president of the Vancouver branch of the Canadian Authors Association, was a 1939 graduate of HMS *Conway*, a merchant navy academy, who joined the RCN as a paymaster cadet at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, in August 1940. Four months later he was in HMS *Queen Elizabeth*, soon to be Admiral Sir Andrew Cunningham's flagship in the Med Fleet. He had

attachments to other ships and ashore until completion of training and return to Canada late in 1943. With an eye for the absorbing, and with a wider horizon than most paymaster midshipmen because of his action station in the cypher room, Frank reports perceptively on many actions of a very active fleet, from the evacuation of Crete to the invasion of Sicily. Also, he was able to find Vancouverites witness to some aspects, such as the U-boat commander who sank the battleship *Barham*, and has turned up a collection of unfamiliar photographs. This is another reminder of the worldwide service of Canadian sailors in World War II, so often overlooked in Battle-of-the-Atlantic preoccupation. One must wonder how Frank found his final stint in an Ottawa, obsessed with paper fights over unification after so exhilarating a start to his career!

Apart from the spotlight on its own topic, each of these books throws a new, albeit pale, light on naval history and the people who made it.

Richard L. Donaldson
Victoria, British Columbia

Bill McAndrews, Donald E. Graves, Michael Whitby. *Normandy 1944: The Canadian Summer*. Montreal: Editions Art Global, 1994. 162 pp., photographs, colour plates, illustrations, maps, selected bibliography. \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 2-920718-55-X. Distributed by Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This most excellent book is the size and shape of a "coffee table" book. The similarity ends there. *Normandy 1944 follows* Canada's army through the preparations for D-Day, through D-Day itself and on through the bitter fighting which resulted in victory at Falaise and the end of the Normandy campaign in late August. It also follows the parts played by the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force on D-Day and the weeks that followed.

The three authors, all past or present members of the Directorate of History, Department of National Defence, have combined original source material with personal memoirs in a most compelling manner. To read this book is to enlarge one's understanding of events of 1994, both from the point of view of the historian

writing fifty years after the fact and of the men at the "sharp end" writing near to the events in regimental histories or unit war diaries. It is a credit to the authors that they succeed so well in taking these diverse sources and blending them into a seamless narrative.

That narrative makes it very clear that landing on the Continent and the subsequent battles of attrition were no pushover. Canadian sailors and airman had plenty of battle experience by the summer of 1944, but the same could not be said of the Army. The German troops manning the Atlantic Wall may well have been second-rate, but behind several metres of concrete, a second-rate soldier can be pretty dangerous. Once the crack panzer and SS units had belatedly arrived on the field, Canadians found themselves facing veterans of the Eastern Front and fanatic Hitler Youth. The authors have succeeded in showing the importance of the Normandy campaign to the Allied victory and the very difficult circumstances under which it was fought.

The book is amply illustrated with photographs from the DND and National Archives collections, many of which are new to this reviewer. The photos are generally arranged on the right-hand pages, referring to the narrative on the left-hand pages. One nice touch - the photos, printed in sepia, are of a size and appearance similar to those available during the war. The endpapers and four colour plates have come from Canada's superb war art collection. It is a great pity that this collection is so rarely seen. However, those paintings chosen by the authors add to the feeling of the events described in print. The maps are excellent and will assist the reader in following the complexities of the campaign.

Normandy 1944: The Canadian Summer ends with the acknowledgement that "Any Canadian account willingly stands on the shoulders of C P. Stacey, whose official army histories set the highest standards of research and writing." Indeed, this book lives up to those standards in every way. It should remind the reader that the three authors of this book are the heirs of Colonel Stacey. It should also remind the reader that these standards are the legacy of the Directorate of History and the distinguished historians who have served therein.

Adherence to high standards has not obscured humanity. On the afternoon of D-Day, the North Shore (New Brunswick) Regiment reached its objective—the village of Tailleville. Lt. Col. Buell, setting up his headquarters behind a burning house, noticed some twenty rabbit hutches piled against a wall. Some were burning and the animals were squealing. After sending his batman and a couple of signallers to release the rabbits, he set about arranging a naval bombardment onto his unit's next objective. Perhaps it was not the most earth-shaking event of June 6, but amidst the death and destruction, it was very welcome.

Thank you Bill McAndrews, Donald Graves, and Michael Whitby for a thoroughly readable book.

David Fry
Toronto, Ontario

Joseph H. Alexander and Merrill L. Bartlett. *Sea Soldiers in the Cold War: Amphibious Warfare 1945-1991*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. xi + 220 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. US \$32.95, Cdn \$45.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-055-X. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Placing armed forces onto hostile shores remains one of the most difficult operations in warfare. The problems inherent in such operations result in periodic predictions that invasions are no longer practicable in the face of new developments. On the other hand, the ability to place troops ashore can be invaluable in a wide variety of situations, and this advantage means the technique of invasion is just as frequently resurrected. The two authors of this volume, both Marine Corps veterans, highlight this paradoxical aspect of amphibious operations throughout the Cold War. The result is a solid scholarly study of amphibious warfare over a forty-five year period.

This book covers all significant amphibious operations between the Korean War and Desert Storm. US forces receive the most coverage, appropriate given both their size and activity. Soviet and British forces are also well covered, and there are short discussions of other forces as

well. While not exhaustive, the coverage of the period is certainly adequate.

The end of the Second World War closed what is sometimes referred to as the Golden Age of Amphibious Warfare. Beaches from Normandy to the islands of the Pacific witnessed the heaviest assaults from the sea in history. The atomic age, however, with the capability to devastate the concentrations of ships and troops seen in these classic operations, seemed to indicate the end of the possibility of significant amphibious operations.

The celebrated landing at Inchon illustrated that, once again, amphibious landings could be of great military value. Within weeks, however, a flawed effort at Wonsan demonstrated that traditional limitations still remained. Mine clearing in the latter operation took sixteen days, denying the subsequent landings of military value.

Mines proved a significant problem in the Persian Gulf in 1991 as well. The US did not actually conduct an amphibious landing as part of Desert Storm, although the authors argue persuasively that the ostentatious manoeuvres by sea-borne troops in the Persian Gulf prior to and during the short ground war diverted significant Iraqi forces. Any attempt to make a real landing would have been challenging given the barely adequate mine clearing forces available. In short the Desert Storm experience demonstrates both the value and limitation of amphibious warfare today.

The authors provide a cogent analysis of the requirements, possibilities and difficulties of amphibious operations under modern conditions. Their main argument is that sea borne invasions remain possible today when used appropriately. They provide eighteen considerations which should be kept in mind when amphibious operations are contemplated. These points vary from a reiteration of the implicit, such as stating that amphibious operations are inherently risky, to insightful explorations of the impact of new technology.

One of the most fascinating arguments the authors advance is that the navigational precision offered by inexpensive Global Positioning Systems allows landing forces to land dispersed across smaller beaches and then concentrate further inland. This would permit amphibious

force to achieve greater surprise by avoiding the wide beaches normally required for invasion.

The authors also dwell on the logistic challenges of amphibious operations. This aspect is a welcome reminder of the realities of force projection. The Maritime Prepositioning Ships program, which placed the equipment and immediate supplies needed by combat units aboard ships deployed in strategic locations so that they could be quickly 'married' with troops flown in from the United States, is correctly identified as one of the most significant and successful initiatives undertaken by US forces in the 1980s.

This book is a commendable summary of amphibious warfare in the modern world. It combines history and strategic analysis in a concise package, allowing those interested in the subject to gain a rapid understanding of the issues and concepts. If anything this book is perhaps a touch too concise. A few of the historical incidents could perhaps have been explored a bit more. This is minor, however. Those involved or interested in modern amphibious operations would be well advised to check this book out.

D.M. McLean
Victoria, British Columbia

Curtis A. Utz. *Assault from the Sea: The Amphibious Landing at Inchon*. "The U.S. Navy in the Modern World," No. 2; Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center, 1994. ii + 51 pp., photographs, illustrations, suggested reading. US \$6, paper; GPO Stock #008-046-00166-9, ISBN 0-945274-27-0.

The amphibious assault at Inchon harbour on 15 September 1950 turned the tide on the North Korean Peoples' Army's victorious rampage through the South. The audacity and success of General MacArthur's brilliant plan seemingly repudiated General Omar Bradley's 1949 prediction "that large scale amphibious operations... will never occur again." In the same statement, to the House Armed Services Committee, Bradley had dismissed the Marine Corps as "Fancy Dans." Less than a year later, MacArthur would say with characteristic hyperbole, "The Navy and Marines have never shone more brightly than this morning."

Assault from the Sea is the second contribution by Curtis Utz to "The U.S. Navy in the Modern World Series" (Peter Haydon reviewed *Cordon of Steel: The U.S. Navy and the Cuban Missile Crisis* in *TNM/LMN* V, No. 1). This book continues the formula of providing a focused account of a specific naval operation in about fifty, well-illustrated pages. The result is a concise and readable account of Operation Chromite. In less than ten pages Utz sketches the post-war strategic balance that led to US-dominated UN involvement in what was essentially a civil war. The remainder of the book is a straightforward record of Operation Chromite and the eventual link-up with the US 8th Army, which had broken out from the Pusan perimeter to pursue the fleeing North Koreans. Text boxes throughout the book highlight points of interest such as the heroism of First Lieutenant Baldomero Lopez, USMC and the unorthodox intelligence gathering operations of Lieutenant Eugene Clark, USN.

The aim of this series is to bring to the attention of readers the contribution of the naval service to the nation since 1945 - and in so doing, it could be added, to persuade them of the viability of the USN's self-justifying concentration on littoral warfare. Utz is careful to point out the shortcomings in the planning and execution of Operation Chromite but in all this he is perhaps just a little too obvious. Whether he is talking about the general unpreparedness of US forces in 1950, the difficulties of over-the-beach logistics, the criticality of mine warfare or the shortage of guide boats at Red Beach, the parallels with the USN in 1995 are plain to see. Even the title is redolent of the USN's strategic concept paper "From the Sea..."

This is not a scholarly work and Utz may be misleading his audience by drawing broad lessons from a single operation. Inchon can be seen as unique in the history of amphibious warfare because the success of Operation Chromite was highly dependent on MacArthur's vision and leadership. Perhaps, in protesting too much, Utz and the Naval Historical Center allow that there may have been more than a grain of truth in Omar Bradley's prediction.

Richard Summers
Orleans, Ontario

Edward J. Marolda (ed.). *By Sea, Air, and Land: An Illustrated History of the U.S. Navy and the War in Southeast Asia*. Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center, 1994. xvi + 416 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, appendices, selected bibliography, index. US \$43, cloth; GPO Stock #008-046-00145-6, ISBN 0-16-035938-4.

From the first minuscule beginnings in the mid-spring of 1950 to the crescendo of total commitment in 1968, Edward Marolda examines the forces and factors which transformed this nation from peripheral observer to dominant belligerent in Vietnam in a span of a quarter of a century. A participant in the conflict himself, the author has maintained a dispassionate focus and an objective treatment of his subject, offering in a vital, and well-written narrative a reasoned and trenchant overview of what has become one of the most controversial and absorbing episodes of this century.

For a nation which is still seeking to reconcile itself psychologically to the trauma of Vietnam, the exploits, both singular and collective, of our servicemen and women in that Asian conflict have only recently received the attention, assessment and appreciation which has been so long overdue and is so much deserved. Appropriately organized and superbly illustrated, this book well exceeds the traditional characteristics of "illustrated history" and stands as a solid chronicle and record of the devotion, commitment and sacrifices of the United States Navy and Marines in a war few still understand and none have forgotten. This blending of a crisp, fast-moving recitation of operational activities, to include those of South Vietnamese units as well, supported with carefully-chosen photographs and paintings, many of which eloquently display without comment the pathos of war, disqualify this work as a stereotypical "coffee table" book and instead elevate it to a legitimate historical contribution, professionally researched and delivered.

Arranged chronologically in five chapters, each dissecting in logical parameters the twenty-five years covered, the book offers a balanced and full treatment commencing with "The Early Years: 1950-1959," "The Era of Growing Conflict: 1959-1965," "The Years of Combat, 1965-1968," "Winding Down the War, 1968-1973,"

and "The Final Curtain, 1973-1975." Several quality maps punctuate the text. The appendix citing the US Navy recipients of the Congressional Medal of Honor is of special interest.

Throughout the book the reader is moved to ask "What might have been different if...?" From the opportunity lost had air strikes been launched in support of the French garrison in Dien Bien Phu in 1954 to the ill-advised bombing halts that interrupted the "rolling thunder" bombing offensive, one can only speculate on the alternatives avoided. Each phase of the escalating involvement is clearly delineated and a consistent balance preserved, from the preliminary showing of the flag in 1959 to the limited deployments in Thailand on behalf of the anti-communist regime in Laos, from simple deterrence to reducing North Vietnam's capacity to achieve a military victory in the South, to direct assault against the North to the final phase of Vietnamization. All aspects of naval air and surface operations are addressed. There is no burnishing of an image but neither is there an apologia. The author's criticisms of policy are well-taken, from the occasion of the Tonkin Gulf incident to operation "Talon Vice." The collisions over both goals and methods are recounted, as are the misperceptions and misinterpretations. Whatever a reader might wish concerning the US Navy's role in that war, whether it be coastal interdiction, SEAL operations, the Seabees, the Mobile Riverine forces, river patrols, "rolling thunder" or "linebacker" or "Tet" or the "Easter Offensive," to the withdrawal from the war and the final agony twenty years ago this spring, this book amply provides.

Calvin W. Hines
Nacogdoches, Texas

Tensor Industries, Inc.; Edward J. Marolda (ed.). *Operation End Sweep: A History of Minesweeping Operations in North Vietnam*. Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center, 1993. xiv + 129 pp., photographs, maps, appendices, index. US \$7.50, paper; GPO Stock #008-046-00156-1, ISBN 0-945274-14-9.

By 1968 the war in Vietnam had drained away the American and the North Vietnamese will to fight it to a conclusion. Peace talks were initi-

ated by the US government. These dragged on in a desultory manner with no apparent results. Then in early 1972 President Nixon, in an effort to bring pressure to bear on the Vietnamese to enter into meaningful negotiations, ordered the mining of North Vietnamese harbours. On the morning of 8 May, eight carrier-based intruder-attack aircraft laid thirty-six mines in two minutes in the approaches to the major shipping port of Haiphong. In the days that followed nearly 8,000 mines of two types were laid in all the sea approaches to the country and in the major inland rivers, virtually sealing them off from oil supplies and most imported war material. Twenty-seven merchant ships were trapped in Haiphong harbour, and almost no nation that traded with North Vietnam was prepared to risk steaming through the active mine fields for the remainder of 1972. In January 1973, an accord was initialled in Paris aimed at ending the war.

This small book is not for the casual reader. It is a security-cleared re-issue of a US Navy report of 1977 that described the 1973 efforts of the US Navy and Marine Corps to clear the mine fields they had so effectively laid only the year before. Tensor Industries was contracted to prepare the original report and this public version. It is not too surprising, therefore, that it still reads rather like a staff paper. But for anyone with even a passing interest in mine warfare and its effect on naval strategy and tactics it makes most interesting and educational reading. It proves the point, often ignored, that mine warfare remains a vital part of sea control. In peacetime it always is ignored in favour of the more glamorous anti-submarine and big ship surface operations.

In a move that was surprisingly prescient, as soon as the mines were laid, the CNO's office ordered an investigation into the facilities and equipment that would possibly be required to render the fields safe and, if need be, sweep them. The mines were designed to render themselves safe after a period and, one suspects, be renderable safe by a coded radio transmission. The North Vietnamese, and those that insure merchant vessels, were not prepared to accept these safety assurances, which led to the quite massive American Operation End Sweep to ensure they were indeed innocuous.

While the US Navy still had sufficient ocean minesweepers, albeit more than twenty years old, many of the mines were laid in shallow water harbour approaches, unsuited to ship sweeping. And all of the mines were bottom laid, influence- (magnetic and/or acoustic) activated. Investigators looking into the problem appreciated at once that the only practical way to sweep the areas was by as yet only partially developed helicopter-towed sweeping systems. While these had reached trial stages and had been used a few times in sweep exercises, the towed magnetic Orange Pipe and the Mk. 105 towed sea-sled magnetic/acoustic sweeps were by no means operational. Just as importantly the helicopter crews were not trained in this unusual type of operation, nor were most helicopters fitted with the necessary towing facilities.

While this story may have rather too many acronyms and organizational descriptions for the non-US Naval reader, it makes for both fascinating and surprising reading for those that have a concern for mine warfare. The final preparation by the EDO Corporation of their Mk. 105 sled for actual operations, the intensive training of Naval helicopter crews and then the US Marine crews that became even more numerous, the putting in place of Raydist very accurate navigation control beacons, and the off-shore support logistics all make for a vital tale.

The intransigence of the North Vietnamese, who could not clear the mines themselves yet objected to the speed and the operation of the American programme, forms a sombre sub-theme to the whole. It was only in mid-operation, when the American forces withdrew entirely due to political problems relating to cease-fire agreements and POW releases, that the Vietnamese appreciated they had no option but to accept the American clearance efforts in their entirety.

It proves a point (but not sufficiently for the Vietnamese) that in fact only one mine explosion was seen that was detonated by a sled sweep. A few others, not more than half a dozen out of the thousands of mines laid, were reported to have exploded spontaneously. Evidently all the other mines had become inoperative as designed. There was a problem in the dredged approaches to Haiphong where the Vietnamese

were concerned that their dredgers might encounter and accidentally detonate a supposedly safe mine. These mines, often buried in silt, had to be found and removed or detonated. It is not generally appreciated that many mines were dropped to deny the use of navigable inland waters as well. These were very sensitive "Destructors," made from bomb casings. Here the Vietnamese were not prepared to allow American searching and sweeping. Instead, the Americans set up "schools" to train Vietnamese naval officers who would in turn train crews for the job of locating and removing the riverine mines.

The whole actual operation was completed in exactly six months. It all makes for a most interesting story of cooperation between services and civilian experts, half a dozen command organizations, ten minesweeping ships, thirty-seven helicopters and their support ships. It all illustrates what a simple mine laying operation can accomplish as an offensive weapon, and what it takes to undo it again. Every naval unit library should have a well-thumbed copy of this volume, if not the original 1977 report. For others, it is an unusual and carefully documented story, out of the mainstream of naval history.

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Jeffrey G. Barlow. *Revolt of the Admirals: The Fight for Naval Aviation, 1945-1950*. Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center, 1994. xxi + 420 pp., photographs, figures, tables, notes, bibliography, index. US \$30, cloth; ISBN 0-16-042094-6; GPO Stock #008-046-00151-1.

This is not a book about mutinies or revolts. Having said that, many readers will still find it an emotionally-charged book, filled with intrigue. *Revolt of the Admirals* is the latest publication, in a long line of noteworthy books, produced by the Naval Historical Center. The author, Dr. Jeffrey Barlow, is a Staff historian with the Contemporary History Branch of the Naval Historical Center since 1987; he has written several chapters as well as articles on naval history, and is therefore well-acquainted with his subject.

The National Security Act of 1947,

intended to unify the separate services under a single Defense Secretary, failed to resolve the deeper issue that divided them, namely the debate over roles and missions. Air power reached paramount importance in 1945 with the advent of the atomic bomb. Following the war the United States decided to base its national security almost exclusively on air-delivered atomic weapons. For the Air Force and the Navy the debate centred around the strategic value of carrier-borne aviation. Post-war demobilization and diminishing budgets only exacerbated that debate. Unfortunately, for the Navy the argument became a full-fledged fight that threatened the very existence of the Navy's carrier-battle groups and naval aviation.

From the outset, differences of opinion surfaced over the wisdom of this strategy, as did arguments about assigning this strategic mission to either the Air Force, the Navy, or both. The battle over the Navy's post-war role was fought at the highest political and military levels. Then came the approval in 1949 of the Air Force's B-36 strategic bomber program, which resulted in the cancellation of the Navy's flush-deck super-carrier, *United States*. However, that decision did bring the controversy to an end. Instead, it intensified when an anonymous document, which alleged improprieties in the procurement of the B-36 bomber, was delivered to members of the Congress. These charges eventually led to two Congressional hearings: the first on the B-36 bomber program, and the second on unification and strategy.

During the second of those hearings, high-ranking naval officers led by Admiral Arthur Radford, Captain Arleigh Burke, among others, and supported by Admiral Louis Denfeld, challenged the Air Force's vision of atomic warfare, which promised a cheap and easy victory. Their impassioned testimony "challenged much of the accepted strategic wisdom regarding the role of the strategic air offensive in warfare, the proper use of atomic weapons, the capabilities of the B-36 as an intercontinental bomber, and the usefulness of carrier aviation." (p.268) The press quickly labelled their testimonies "revolt of the admirals." Certainly, Louis Johnson, Secretary of Defense, saw it that way, arguing "that the Navy witnesses, although ostensibly testifying on the vulnerability of the

B-36 were in reality rebelling against unification." (p.268) This is simply not the case.

Following the hearings, before the House Armed Services Committee, the Navy continued to suffer at the hands of the Johnson administration. For many, this was confirmation that the "revolt" had backfired. Yet Barlow argues convincingly that the Navy's testimony before the House Armed Services Committee convinced many of its members, chief among them Carl Vinson, of the importance of both the Navy and naval aviation to the nation's security. That the Navy was able to recover as quickly as it did, receiving approval for a new shipbuilding program, including the new flush-deck carrier *Forrestal*, must be attributed, in part, to the dedication of these naval officers. It is difficult to argue with this assessment.

Revolt of the Admirals makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the US Navy, and more importantly the place of naval aviation in the period between the end of World War II and the outbreak of the Korean War. Overall this is an excellent book, and essential to any scholar working in the field of naval aviation.

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Duncan E. Miller and Sharon Hobson. *The Persian Excursion: The Canadian Navy in the Gulf War*. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies and Clementsport, NS: The Canadian Peacekeeping Press, 1995. xiii + 239 pp., maps, photographs, index. \$24.95 (+ s&h, GST), cloth; ISBN 0-919769-78-0.

In *The Persian Excursion* Commodore Duncan E. "Dusty" Miller, the at-sea commander of the Canadian forces in the Persian Gulf during the war, and Sharon Hobson, the Canadian correspondent for *Jane's Defence Weekly*, team up to produce an interesting, well-written, part-history, part-first-person account of the Canadian naval experience in the war against Iraq. The topically organized work is marred by an occasional redundancy, but is enriched by Miller's pointed and often humorous first-person reminiscences.

While the fact that the Canadian contribution to the Allied effort against Iraq gained little

international notice came as no surprise to this American reader, the authors' contention that the operations of their forces in the gulf went largely unnoted north of the U.S. border as well, except by the families of those involved, was somewhat bewildering. Because of the small size of the forces deployed, troubles at home with Native-Canadians, and a variety of other factors, the Canadian media, according to Miller and Hobson, (p.211) made a conscious decision not to devote much coverage to the military effort in the gulf. Perhaps it was an undertaking with which many Canadians were not entirely comfortable, a possibility apparent in the government's, and the authors', rather strained efforts (p. 141) to show that their country did not participate in the implementation of a blockade—a clear act of war—but merely in an effort to cut off Iraq's trade to force a peaceful settlement.

Whatever the reality, Miller and Hobson have done an admirable job of highlighting in a short book Canada's very real and disproportionate contribution to Allied victory in the Gulf war. And the key to the Canadian contribution was quality, not quantity. The Canadian Navy sent to the gulf only three aging ships—the frigate *Terra Nova* (laid down in 1952), the operational support ship *Protecteur* (laid down in 1967), and the destroyer *Athabaskan* (laid down in 1969). The Canadians nevertheless did a superb job re-arming and re-equipping the three vessels in two weeks for what turned out to be a very long deployment virtually half-way around the world. The three ships, designed and equipped for anti-submarine warfare (ASW) operations in the North Atlantic, were hurriedly, but effectively, re-outfitted for anti-air warfare operations in the waters of the Persian Gulf.

Shortly after arriving on station, the Allied command thrust the Canadians into the middle of on-going maritime intercept operations. During the course of these operations, the "Crazy Canucks" (the authors' term, not mine!), using the support ship *Protecteur* as a make-shift destroyer, challenged 1,877 vessels, about 25 percent of the Coalition total, and conducted twenty-two boardings. The Canadian squadron's helicopters, accustomed to low-level ASW work, were well suited to the interception task.

The Canadians' professionalism assured that they ultimately would do more than just interdict

wayward merchantmen. As the prospect of active military operations grew, including those of an American four-carrier battle group deployed within the gulf, the Allied high command tasked the Canadians with responsibility for the logistic effort. "Dusty" Miller became the Allied Combat Logistics Force coordinator, managing the movements of as many as sixty vessels along an 800-kilometre-long supply line stretching back through the Strait of Hormuz. The Canadians, with their multi-lingual crews and extensive NATO experience, were well suited to administer the logistics effort. And it was no easy task, since the support ships operated under different national directives that permitted limited operations in confined areas of the gulf. Perhaps the best example of the Canadians' skill came when they managed to get a British tanker to refuel an Argentinean ship.

The Persian Excursion should be of obvious appeal to Canadians interested in their naval history, and, more generally, to anyone interested in the history of the 1990-1991 Persian Gulf war. But even more broadly, Miller's and Hobson's work highlights the value of frequent peacetime multinational exercises, the requirement for even small navies to be able to deploy self-supporting task groups that include ships such as the *Protecteur*, and the need for flexibility in platform design to allow refitting to meet needs dictated by deployment to an unforeseen theater of operations. Most especially, this book is about the Canadian men and women who made the "Persian Excursion" a success and who, once again, drove home the lesson that even in a high-tech, modern warfare environment, good people make all the difference.

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Michael A. Morris. *Caribbean Maritime Security*. London: The Macmillan Press and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. ix + 231 pp., maps, tables, notes, index. £40, cloth; ISBN 0-333-49932-8 (Macmillan) and 0-312-12057-5 (St. Martin's).

Caribbean Maritime Security is an academic study that provides a useful handbook for the student of Caribbean security. It is probably of

less interest to general readers, although as author Michael Morris points out, there is no other comprehensive treatment of the subject.

Morris acknowledges that he prepared the book over several years and in several places. This is evident! To compare the "national power" of the Caribbean states, Morris presents useful quantified information, but in so irritatingly disorganized a manner that it is a considerable struggle for the reader to obtain a coherent picture. Nonetheless, the data include a rank structure for navies and coast-guards, based upon the author's earlier work on the general subject of third world navies. There are also other selected indicators of national power, including economic and geographical data as well as fisheries, oil production and merchant marine information.

Caribbean maritime security is complicated by the region's dense concentration of more than thirty political entities, most of which are islands, most of which are relatively poor, and some of which are dependencies of France, United Kingdom, Netherlands and the United States. The gigantic shadow cast by the United States in the area is difficult to over-emphasize: a protective mantle to its friends, and a freezing chill to those not favoured.

Cold War maritime issues carry an untidy legacy: the United States shaped its policies in the region in relation to Cold War exigencies which down played local interests. Strains remain between the United States and the Eastern Caribbean states, as well as Puerto Rico, and of course the US Cuban Cold War continues unabated. There is little evidence to suggest any fundamental alteration of deeply rooted US security perceptions, which antedate the Cold War and are likely to outlive it. Canadians, or at any rate your reviewer, find it difficult to understand why the US continues to try to bash Cuba.

There are excellent chapters on boat people and drug trafficking. Unlike a good deal of the other material, they look as if they have been written for this book. The issue of Caribbean boat people is extremely complex. Most are trying to enter the United States. How can their status be determined? If boat people are politically motivated, they are likely to be accepted, but if they are economically motivated, they are not. How do you tell? US policies are confused,

and affected by public opinion: Cuban refugees are often admitted - after all, they must be politically motivated, living under a communist regime — but Haitian and Dominican Republic boat people in their *yolas* are thrown back. Perhaps being non-communists, they are *ipso facto* economically motivated. The size of the problem is staggering: in May 1992, 12,000 Haitians were interdicted at sea.

The issue of drug trafficking is also very complex. US regional policy is to work to control production and transit of drugs throughout Latin America and the Caribbean; its global policy is to disrupt drug trading world wide. Caribbean nations do not necessarily have the same view. The region produces and transports most drugs entering the US market. Estimates are given that Latin American countries supply a third of the heroin, four-fifths of the marijuana, all cocaine used in the US. Staggering quantities of drugs have been seized; the amount of cocaine seized has alone increased from 2 million pounds in 1984 to 86 million pounds in 1991. The Caribbean is the key conduit for drugs to the US as well as to Europe.

The US challenge is to shape a strategy for interdiction that is acceptable to small states but still effective, notwithstanding the many difficulties in interrupting the flow of drugs. In general drug trafficking countermeasures are complicated by the large sea area, the flexibility available to traffickers, and the lack of close cooperation among the states - until recently the government of Surinam was building the drug routes and promoting the traffic. The major drug trafficking centre of the Bahamas, with short routes among the 700 islands of the Bahamian archipelago provides huge surveillance problems, although the Royal Bahamas Defence Force has had considerable success on its own as well as in cooperation with the United States. Generally, the task is more a para-military one than a military one; the burden of any direct action is largely with Coast Guard or other constabulary forces. At the same time, air and sea interdictions have become more integrated, and increasingly sophisticated techniques are used such as aerostat balloon-mounted radars towed by cutters and of course increased use of embarked helicopters.

The last major subjects tackled in the book

are local maritime issues, particularly the regulation of the major Caribbean straits and international waterways: the Florida Strait, Yucatan Channel, Windward Passage, Mona Passage and the Panama Canal. The pre-eminent local issue is that of boundary delimitation. Eighty-one of the 376 maritime boundaries of the world are in the Caribbean, and less than a third of them are delimited. The density of states in the Caribbean area, the 12-mile limit, and the 188-mile exclusive economic zones beyond these, mean that there are practically no "high seas," and that there are plenty of grounds for conflict.

In brief, there are very large issues concerning maritime security in the Caribbean, but the islands do not have enough resources to handle them. Thus the region is likely to remain highly dependent on the United States for its stability. This is a useful book for specialists, although there is plenty of material in it to assist those aspiring to write Graham Greene-type novels.

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Richard Sharpe (ed.). *Jane's Fighting Ships 1995-96*. Coulsdon, Surrey: Jane's Information Group, 1995. [104] + 908 pp., tables, photographs, glossary, indexes. US \$275, cloth; ISBN 0-7106-1254-0. US \$795, CD-ROM; ISBN 0-7106-1294-X.

The new edition of the world's most comprehensive yearbook on naval and government fleets is as authoritative and interesting as ever. This year there are two notable innovations. In order to assure the reader that the statistics and other information has been checked for accuracy during the preceding twelve months, or is new, the words *Updated*, *Verified* or *New Entry* are included after the text for each ship or class. The majority of entries bear one or other of these notations. The second new policy is the inclusion of a sixteen-page section of colour photos of representative ships of various nations. Until now, colour photos were found only among the advertisements, though most photos as originally received must be in colour, only to be printed in black-and-white. Modern techniques have reduced the comparative costs of colour vs. black-and-white reproduction. Are we

on the verge of a full-colour *Jane's*? One is reminded of the 1899 and 1900 editions in which photographs began to replace sketches; a process that was completed in the 1901 issue.

The editor's world-wide review of the naval scene is the part of the book most quoted by the general press. As usual, it is comprehensive and very much up-to-date: even the Canada/Spain fishing dispute which occurred on the very eve of going to print is included! Sharpe quotes an unknown sailor claiming that navies are being used twice as much as during the Cold War. This is certainly true of Canada's navy which has been busy in numerous real, if low level, operations and, as Sharpe says, can be found wherever multi-national naval forces are required. For the rest, the US Navy has a few morale problems of the type that always come with major force reductions, but is nevertheless supremely effective. The Russian Fleet appears in a sad state, but "still has (the) potential to get up off the deck and come out fighting again." Despite the stepped up operational requirements in various trouble spots, European navies continue to reduce while Far East navies are expanding. Coastal anti-ship missile batteries, some mobile, are an increasing factor in some areas of the world. Warships carry electronic warning devices, decoys and anti-missile systems but the targets are quite likely to be merchant ships, which have no defence.

In my review three years ago, I predicted that advertisements for Russian builders and arms manufacturers would soon appear and this has now come about. A full page colour ad for *Rosvoorouzhnie*, the State Corporation for Export and Import of Armament and Military Equipment offers submarines, frigates, missiles and technical assistance. This is in the Russian section; several other important builders have ads in their national section rather than at the front of the book as in the past. In a yearbook such as this, the advertisements are significant as they represent what armaments are available to world buyers now and in the immediate future. Because of its size and price, this book is not for everyone but to those who need current naval information, there is no substitute.

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